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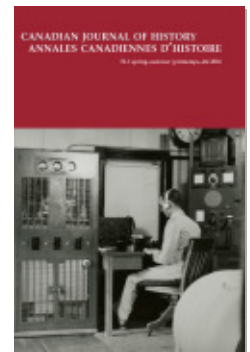
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When Sex Threatened the State: Illicit Sexuality, Nationalism, and Politics  
in Colonial Nigeria, 1900–1958 by Saheed Aderinto (review)

Judith A. Byfield

Canadian Journal of History, Volume 51, Number 1, spring-summer/printemps-été  
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family structure. It adds to the comparative analysis of Puerto Rican communities in the Midwest with other historical groups, such as Mexican Americans (Lilia Fernández's *Brown in the Windy City*, Chicago, 2012).

*We Are Left without a Father Here* exposes the complexities derived from a colonial apparatus that is carving its own formula of modernization. In the process, concepts of class, gender, and race intersect in very subtle ways throughout the migration process. This book can be used as a reference or complementary text for a college and graduate level course. It is a valuable source for any course on American, Caribbean, Latino, and Latin American studies, and any other related fields.

Milagros Denis-Rosario, *Hunter College, City University of New York*



### Middle East, Central Asia, and Africa Le Moyen-Orient, l'Asie centrale, et l'Afrique

*When Sex Threatened the State: Illicit Sexuality, Nationalism, and Politics in Colonial Nigeria, 1900–1958*, by Saheed Aderinto. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 2015. xviii, 241 pp. \$95.00 US (cloth), \$32.00 US (paper).

In seven engaging chapters and an epilogue, Saheed Aderinto has produced a very important contribution to African social history and Nigerian historiography specifically. His intellectual journey, as revealed in his introduction, is a “must read” for graduate students for this book is the outcome of a scholar who listened closely to his sources and grappled with the complex realities they revealed. Aderinto had initially planned to write a history of gender and prostitution in colonial Nigeria by examining the correlation between sex work and social class. However, as he followed his sources along the pathways they presented, he came to appreciate that to do justice to the topic he had to engage multiple archives and literatures (6–7). Sexuality was of concern to legal, medical, social welfare, and military arms of the state, as well as multiple social groups including the clergy, nationalists, elite women, village elders, and landlords. While keeping these different actors and their competing perspectives and objectives in the same frame, Aderinto provides a clear and accessible narrative that locates the evolution of prostitution and state sanctions within the changes in the larger political economy. Sexuality, and more specifically prostitution, also raises questions of morality and Aderinto illustrates throughout

the text the multiple ways in which discussions about morality and prostitution were further nuanced by ideas about race, gender, and class.

Aderinto argues that African men and women were at the forefront of discussions to prohibit prostitution. Without creating monolithic or binary oppositions, he illustrates the points of conversion, overlap, and disagreement as Nigerian men, women, and different branches of the colonial state debated prostitution in public and in private. Africans too connected morality and prostitution; however, that connection unfolded in discourses that challenged colonial racism, critiqued colonial policy and practice, and anticipated a post-colonial future. The Lagos Women's League offered the first concerted effort to compel the government to prohibit prostitution (65). Motivated in part by a politics of respectability and guided by their cosmopolitan experiences in London, the Lagosian elite wanted the colonial state to invest similar levels of resources to address prostitution in Lagos. Both colonial officials and the Lagosian elite expressed moral panic about child prostitutes, and shared the developmentalist notion that mitigating adult crime required juvenile intervention (158). Whereas elite women imagined that they would play a significant role in the infrastructure created to address female delinquents, colonial officials could not imagine educated African women serving in any administrative capacity.

The Nigerian colonial state took little action against prostitution before World War II though they were concerned about the medical, moral, and security implications of the sex work industry. In 1919 the Colonial Office demanded detailed information about the prevalence of venereal disease (VD), its impact on Britain's civilizing mission, and the cost of establishing and running VD clinics (102). Epidemiological data was faulty for a host of reasons, nonetheless, as Aderinto illustrates, the discussion among colonial officials is germane to a much broader understanding of the cultural frameworks and inter-agency conflicts that shaped colonial policies in this area. Using an idealized notion of European sexual mores as a yardstick, they pathologized African sexuality. Colonial officials theorized that the prevalence of venereal disease reflected the still shallow roots of Britain's civilizing mission — Western education, biomedicine, and Christianity — therefore Nigerians, like other colonial subjects, needed sexual discipline to both address the prevalence of VD and to climb the "ladder of civilization" (106). Medical officers devised a plan to combat VD in the civilian population, but it was not implemented.

The fall of France in the early months of World War II forced Britain to rely more heavily on the resources of its African colonies. Equally important, the war led to the significant expansion of military personnel in Lagos. In 1941, the Unlicensed Guide (Prohibition) Ordinance came into effect. It institutionalized a tour guide system in the hope of restricting sex tourism and the army of unemployed and underemployed young men

who directed foreigners to red-light districts. Operating on the presumption that the best way to safeguard the health of its Nigerian soldiers was to control VD among the civilian population, the Nigerian colonial state passed its first anti-VD ordinance in 1943. Thus, the study contributes to a social history of World War II in Nigeria as it explores the impact and consequences of the colonial state's public health policy.

Finally, this study is further enriched by its epilogue where Aderinto illustrates the importance of this study to understanding Nigeria's policies on transnational prostitution and HIV/AIDS. *When Sex Threatened the State* can be used in graduate and advanced undergraduate courses. It will be of great value to scholars interested in public health, colonial law and policy, gender studies, as well as urban history.

Judith A. Byfield, *Cornell University*



*Paths toward the Nation: Islam, Community, and Early Nationalist Mobilization in Eritrea, 1941–1961*, by Joseph L. Venosa. Athens, Ohio University Press, 2014. xix, 283 pp. \$29.95 US (paper).

Eritrean nationalist historiography has suffered from two biases: pro-Christian and pro-Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). Since the Christian-dominated EPLF was the one that eventually delivered on Eritrean independence, the prejudice echoed the old cliché about history being written by victors. The major significance of Joseph L. Venosa's work lies in its rejection of this hegemonic narrative. In seven chronologically organized chapters that span two decades, plus a detailed introduction and epilogue, Venosa addresses one of the most conspicuous silences in Eritrean history: the history of the Muslim League.

The history of what is now Eritrea starts in the 1890s when Italy, unable to penetrate the Ethiopian interior militarily, managed to annex the Red Sea plateau as a colonial territory. In 1935 Mussolini launched another war on Ethiopia, and this time his army was able to occupy the country for five years. The ejection of Italy from Ethiopia with the help of British forces, in 1941, served as a catalyst for Eritrean decolonization. Eritrea was placed under British Military Administration (BMA), while the international community decided on the ex-colony's fate: union with Ethiopia, federation with Ethiopia, partition between Ethiopia and Sudan, or full independence. It was in this volatile context that the Muslim League came into being in December 1946 as the most vocal champion of Eritrean nationalism (chapters one and two).



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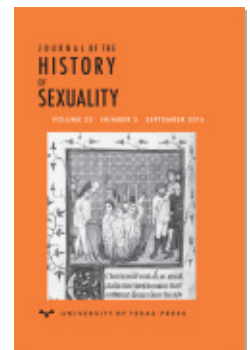
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When Sex Threatened the State: Illicit Sexuality, Nationalism, and Politics  
in Colonial Nigeria, 1900–1958 by Saheed Aderinto (review)

Carina Ray

Journal of the History of Sexuality, Volume 25, Number 3, September 2016,  
pp. 508-510 (Review)

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## Book Reviews

*When Sex Threatened the State: Illicit Sexuality, Nationalism, and Politics in Colonial Nigeria, 1900–1958.* By SAHEED ADERINTO. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014. Pp. 264. \$95.00 (cloth); \$32.00 (paper).

Saheed Aderinto has produced a crucially important and innovative study that repositions historical investigation of illicit sexuality, specifically prostitution, from the margins to the center of colonial and nationalist politics in colonial Lagos. Drawing on a vast corpus of primary sources, including colonial correspondence from the lowest level of the administration to the highest, relevant legislation and legislative debates, Nigerian-owned newspapers, locally published memoirs, and novelistic accounts, Aderinto makes a persuasive case for the centrality of prostitution to the social, political, economic, cultural, and rhetorical life of Lagos during a period of intense urbanization, growth, and ethnic diversification as people from all over the colony and beyond were drawn to the colonial capital.

Emerging throughout the book is a sense of female prostitution's particular relevance to the lives of Lagos's large migrant populations, not just because most sex workers were migrants from other parts of Nigeria and even farther afield in West Africa, but also because the city's large migrant male population was particularly reliant on these women to meet their sexual, affective, and pragmatic needs in ways that are consistent with the well-documented nonsexual economy of sex work in other parts of the continent. By attending to those who paid for or otherwise facilitated commercial sex, rather than simply those who sold it, Aderinto laudably makes men visible in the history of prostitution in Lagos (chapters 2, 6). While prostitution was certainly a fact of life elsewhere in the colony, Aderinto convincingly shows that the phenomenon of migration accounts for why it was particularly endemic in Lagos, helping to explain the book's narrower focus on the colonial capital (chapter 1).

Aderinto makes a critical contribution to the historical literature on prostitution in Africa by focusing on the realm of child prostitution, which almost exclusively involved girls (chapter 3). By disaggregating it from adult (female) prostitution, Aderinto is able to explore how age shaped the experiences and outcomes of these two groups—something that most colonial administrators overlooked because they lumped women and girls into a single category. Aderinto routes his discussion of girls' prostitution through the figure of what he calls the "erotic child" and the long-term implications of childhood sex work as these girls matured into women. Rather than a natural condition, he argues that the "erotic child" was eroticized as she became the object of a sexualizing gaze. This process was particularly acute in spaces where girls were the most vulnerable, for instance, while they labored as street hawkers. Greater clarification between increased risk of molestation and increased likelihood of being trafficked into sex work, as well as a deeper discussion of how these categories of sexual exploitation both converged and diverged, would have further strengthened the analytical potential of Aderinto's notion of the "erotic child." Moreover, given the conceptual and experiential fluidity between adolescence and adulthood that the author so expertly demonstrates, the stark binary he draws between child and adult prostitution, in which adult prostitution is wedded to pleasure and childhood prostitution to exploitation, could have benefited from a more nuanced reading. Adult prostitution, in particular, seems to be evacuated of its potential for trauma, even though Aderinto acknowledges that sex workers were frequently exploited.

Among the many compelling arguments and discoveries that Aderinto makes is his reading of the Undesirable Advertisement Ordinance (chapter 5). Moving beyond a narrow understanding of it as an "economic subsidy" of imported British aphrodisiacs "camouflaged in the language of sin and medico-morality," Aderinto powerfully demonstrates that it was an attack on "the entire edifice of non-western therapies" (128) in Nigeria, because these locally produced sexual tonics were also intended to cure quotidian ailments. This example speaks to how pursuing questions of sexuality as a methodology opens up a much wider scope of analysis of the modalities of colonial rule that have little to do with sexuality itself but rather exemplify how sexuality operates in the Foucauldian sense as a strategic linchpin of colonial and later nationalist instrumentality.

Throughout the book both sexuality and illicit sexuality frequently stand in for prostitution, leading to some slippage between the terminology, which in turn leaves the reader with the impression that these three categories were somehow synonymous. This impression is further entrenched by the book's narrow focus on prostitution, with little attention paid to other forms of illicit sexuality, most notably, homosexuality, or to other modes of sexuality that Lagosians were engaged in. Greater discussion of romantic love, concubinage, or even of how relations of prostitution could be converted into

something else would have profitably ameliorated this. If transactional sex in Lagos was a “core component of urban life, its youth-centeredness, and its economic opportunities” (59), what other channels for sexual satisfaction and emotional intimacy did the urban environment open up? Without a wider view of the diverse sexual and affective economies that Lagosians were participating in, there is a risk of reinscribing the very colonialist trope of the hypersexualized African that Aderinto otherwise so convincingly dismantles.

Readers familiar with the history of sexuality in other colonial African contexts will find much that resonates with Aderinto’s perceptive account. From the mapping of diverse colonial and nationalist anxieties onto illicit sexuality (chapters 4, 6, 7); the role of the press in fomenting and disseminating conversations about prostitution (chapter 6); the link between prostitution, the military, and colonial state security (chapter 4); to the role of elite men and women in engaging reformist agendas (chapters 6, 7), what was happening in colonial Lagos was also happening elsewhere, especially in British West Africa, where prostitution and sex trafficking were regionally linked enterprises. A broader engagement with the secondary literature, in addition to the impressive corpus of primary sources that the book is largely based on, would help bring greater clarity to what is exceptional and what is more widely representational about the Lagos case study.

A final note: This book ends with a compelling conclusion about the Nigerian government’s comparative disengagement with contemporary prostitution in favor of addressing international sex trafficking because of the latter’s implications on Nigeria’s global standing. Aderinto’s conclusion powerfully illustrates how state politics continue to turn on questions of illicit sexuality with differing and often devastating consequences for those whose lives are conditioned by the domestic rather than international realities of the sex trade. Engagingly written, perceptive in its analysis, and concerned with issues of deep historical and contemporary importance, this book has much to offer those interested in not only African and sexuality studies but also urbanization and migration studies, as well as colonialism, nationalism, and race.

CARINA RAY  
*Brandeis University*



*Mobilizing New York: AIDS, Antipoverty, and Feminist Activism.* By TAMAR W. CARROLL. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Pp. 304. \$34.95 (paper); \$27.99 (e-book).

Someday, because of historians like Tamar Carroll, the history of postwar radical feminism will be understood as the rich cross-class, multiracial movement that it was. Made up of neighborhoods full of immigrants and people



read outside material that might usefully have been included in this edition. On the other hand, the editor has wisely decided to include the pagination of the original Arabic edition in the English translation, which will allow comparison with the Arabic text, and even with the French translation, which also marks the Arabic pagination.

However, it is difficult to be too critical of this edition. It renders the whole text, translated out of the original Arabic in a manner that is likely to bear favorable attention from Arabists, it is reasonably priced, and produced in way that undergraduate students and the general public can read it. It is an interesting and exciting text, and while its scholarly shortcoming might be a bit annoying to the specialist, it still renders this text available to those who read English and not Arabic, whatever their level of scholarly engagement.

JOHN K. THORNTON

*Boston University*

***When Sex Threatened the State: Illicit Sexuality, Nationalism, and Politics in Colonial Nigeria, 1900–1958.*** By Saheed Aderinto. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015. Pp. xvii, 241; illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography. Pp. 288. \$95.00 cloth, \$32.00 paper.

Saheed Aderinto's fine book demonstrates how the politics, policies, and popular cultural debates about sexuality both animated and crystalized many of the ambitions and struggles of colonial and nationalist projects in twentieth-century Nigeria. Focusing on Lagos, and in particular on legal, social, and moral efforts to address illicit sexuality, especially prostitution and venereal disease, Aderinto provides an insightful perspective on issues of race, class, and gender as they played out in contestations over sexuality. In the author's adept hands, the reader learns that regulating sexuality was at the core of colonial and nationalist projects, at once serving as a means and justification for colonialism, but also as part of nationalist agendas for independence. Aderinto shows that preoccupations with illicit sexuality were not peripheral to larger political agendas, but instead central to them.

Drawing on a rich mix of colonial archival sources, court records, newspaper accounts, and oral histories, *When Sex Threatened the State* takes the reader into early twentieth-century Lagos's sexual economy with vivid accounts that neither sugarcoat nor sensationalize the importance of prostitution during this period. Issues such as the definition of marriage (particularly competing views about polygamy and monogamy), indigene-immigrant tensions among Lagos's growing population, regulation versus prohibition of sex work, British racism, the role of medicalization in the control of prostitutes (and populations more generally), and the very definition of prostitution itself are handled deftly by the author, who marshals compelling evidence and puts forth a nuanced analysis.

Particularly persuasive is the author's ability to show how concerns about illicit sexuality could be simultaneously a colonial rationale for subjugating the native population and a pillar of Nigerian nationalists' demands for independence so that they could correct the moral wrongs produced by colonial rule. But Aderinto's analysis is more nuanced still, documenting competing positions within both colonial and nationalist approaches to the nature of the problem and the policies to deal with it. The important role that elite Lagos women played in popular debates about prostitution, revealing both class hierarchies and emerging tensions regarding gender inequality, is but one interesting example of the book's fruitful lines of inquiry. Another is the way that policies to address endemic sexually transmitted diseases revealed how colonial authorities differentiated between military and civilian populations. One particularly interesting chapter explores this issue in detail, and provides wider insights into the importance of local military units for the larger project of colonial rule.

The author examines in great detail the emergence of both British and Nigerian concerns about child prostitution in particular, arguing that this coincides with the rise of new notions about childhood, but also that these moral preoccupations with child prostitution offer an especially insightful window onto the larger political-moral dynamics at play in both colonial and nationalist projects. Anxiety about child prostitution coincided with increasing attention in the 1940s to the question of whether prostitution should be prohibited or better regulated. These questions were not new, but seemed to take on great significance in this period, with the issue of child prostitution often at the forefront.

One appealing aspect of the book is that the history is not told chronologically; rather, the narrative tacks back and forth across time, driven by the author's questions and analysis. While this approach was quite effective, at times I found myself asking why certain historical trends unfolded as they did. For example, while the author clearly demonstrates the emergence of the preoccupation with child prostitution and the heightened concern with questions of prohibiting prostitution in the 1940s, why these things happened when they did was not entirely clear to me.

Finally, a brief concluding chapter connects the themes and historical focus of the book to contemporary events and discourses in Nigeria about human trafficking and about the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Although the chapter is more suggestive than fully fleshed out, it certainly shows that concerns about illicit sexuality continue to be central to postcolonial statecraft, just as Aderinto has persuasively demonstrated for Nigeria's colonial and nationalist projects in this excellent book.

DANIEL JORDAN SMITH

*Brown University*



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Gender, Sexuality, and the State in West Africa

Sarah Zimmerman

Journal of Women's History, Volume 31, Number 1, Spring 2019, pp. 160-164  
(Review)

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## Gender, Sexuality, and the State in West Africa

Jessica Cammaert. *Undesirable Practices: Women, Children, and the Politics of the Body in Northern Ghana, 1930–1972*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016. xv + 306 pp.; ISBN 978-0-8032-8680-1 (cl); 978-0-8032-8696-2 (pdf); 978-0-8032-8694-8 (epub).

Saheed Aderinto. *When Sex Threatened the State: Illicit Sexuality, Nationalism, and Politics in Colonial Nigeria, 1900–1958*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015. xviii + 264 pp.; ill. ISBN 978-0-2520-3888-4; 978-0-2520-8042-5 (pb); 978-0-2520-9684-6 (epub).

### Sarah Zimmerman

According to Achille Mbembe, “given the degeneracy and vice that, from the colonial viewpoint, characterized native life, colonialism found it necessary to rein in the abundant sexuality of the native, to tame his or her spirit, police his/her body.”<sup>1</sup> Mbembe characterized colonialism as a disciplining, violent field of force determined to transform indigenous Africans into economically useful and socially compliant modern subjects. The texts under review qualify the degree and methods with which colonial states intervened in the practices of African women and girls. Jessica Cammaert and Saheed Aderinto historicize the detrimental gendered effects of British indirect rule in Gold Coast/Ghana and Nigeria. Their work highlights the progressive marginalization of African women in rural and urban public spheres. The authors draw our attention to the ways in which colonialism impacted female sexuality, girlhood, and gendered traditions related to marriage and reproduction. They examine colonial governance and illustrate how male (and a few female) actors—African and European—participated in the production of knowledge around female sexuality and traditional practices. *Undesirable Practices* and *When Sexuality Threatened the State* show how anxieties surrounding female circumcision and prostitution reveal deep ambiguities at the heart of governmental policy making, as well as how vocal African subjects (and later citizens) petitioned the state to achieve their desired outcomes. The gendered language of colonial intervention made a lasting impact on the development of discourses that continue to inform contemporary relief and aid initiatives on the African continent.

Cammaert’s monograph examines governmental debates concerning “undesirable practices” associated with rural women and girls in northeastern Gold Coast/Ghana. These practices include female genital cutting

(FGC), human trafficking, prostitution, nudity, and illicit adoption/child abduction. This study employs colonial and postcolonial government documents to chart the production of information related to gendered traditions, its contestation, and the circulation of this information as bureaucratic knowledge. Policymakers struggled over the institutionalization of this knowledge, as well as its use in the management of women's reproductive capacities and the maintenance of moral economies (2–4). In lieu of development and its trappings of progress, Cammaert uses the concept of “trusteeship” to describe the ultimate goal of governmental reformers—maintaining authority over rural African populations. Trusteeship facilitates Cammaert's historicization of state action and inaction concerning undesirable practices from the 1930s to the 1970s. This narrative bridges the colonial/postcolonial divide and calls attention to continuities and discontinuities in development discourses as they changed in orientation and scale over time. Cammaert demonstrates that the expansion of colonial social welfare initiatives in the interwar era coincided with the state's promotion of patriarchy and paternalism. Gendered colonial authority continued to have salience during the period of heightened nationalism as well as in international aid campaigns operating in postcolonial Ghana. At each historical moment, Cammaert underscores how states compromised rural Africans' sovereignty and normalized gendered interventions into their everyday practices. *Undesirable Practices* begins with three chapters on FGC in the interwar period. The second half of the monograph widens its scope to address slavery and female pawing in the 1940s, female anti-nudity campaigns in the 1950s–1960s, and orphaned girls and illicit adoption in the 1960s–1970s.

Cammaert's work appears at a moment of renewed scholarly concern with FGC in Africa and the legacies of anti-FGC campaigns of the 1990s.<sup>2</sup> The three interwar chapters on FGC provide new insights on colonial nonintervention into African women's reproductive rights/rites in British Africa. The interwar period is an era in which gender relationships, local authority, and the articulation of power evolved in conjunction with the expansion of colonial capitalism, imposition of indirect rule, and the erasure of matrilineality in Gold Coast. Colonial officials, local leaders, and newly minted experts (like the anthropologist Robert Sutherland Rattray) competed for fluency in and authority over gendered sociocultural practices that threatened state initiatives to introduce “modernity” and “civilization” to the rural Northern Territories. Indirect rule encouraged local and state competition for patriarchal authority and expertise over female circumcision, while simultaneously facilitating the state's inaction regarding this “undesirable practice.” Amid this ambiguity, the debates surrounding FGC uniformly disempowered the women and girls at their center.

The second half of Cammaert's monograph addresses slavery, nudity, prostitution, and illicit adoption in order to track the ways in which the paternalistic custodianship of girls and women transferred from the colonial state to the independent Ghanaian state and later to international aid organizations. Cammaert argues that abolition shifted the burden of labor onto premarital-aged girls in post-emancipation societies, which likely increased female slavery and pawning during the 1940s in rural Gold Coast. Since these practices were directly linked to marriage, household, and reproduction, rural colonial administrators opted for inaction in order to maintain state and paternalistic control over women and girls (123). In an innovative chapter on nudity, Cammaert compellingly argues that the rise of nationalism and promises of decolonization reframed undesirable practices within a language of modernity. Predominantly male Ghanaian politicians, in anticipation of decolonization, hastened to eradicate "backward" sociocultural practices like female nudity and scarification on the eve of Ghana's independence (166). The final chapter illustrates how the post-Nkrumah Ghanaian state failed to provide welfare for orphaned children or eradicate illicit adoption. As a result, international development and aid organizations cast Ghanaian children as synecdoches of failed, postcolonial African states (214–15). The discourse around development in Africa cast the state as obstructing modernity, which paved the way for international intervention in the era of structural adjustment and neoliberalism.

Saheed Aderinto's *When Sexuality Threatened the State* joins a recent uptick in publications on female sexuality in urban colonial African studies.<sup>3</sup> His monograph examines gendered colonialism and "selective modernity" by way of illicit sexuality—predominantly prostitution—in Lagos from 1900 to 1958. Lagos is a unique site to study illicit sexuality because of the presence of vocal, educated Christian elites who invested in the social development of colonial Lagos and its moral order. Their concerns spilled across Lagos's newspapers, where prostitution sat at a nexus of interrelated concerns about girlhood, sexuality, urbanism, and nationalism. Aderinto uses the phrase "selective modernity" to describe a strategy deployed by Lagosians to selectively appropriate "'positive' practices of social advancement and doing away with those constructed as 'negative'" as they advanced Nigeria on the path towards modern statehood (14). Aderinto importantly emphasizes that prostitution is "as much about men as it is about women" (51). His study of public debate on sex work makes intelligible the ways in which gender, authority, and power shifted through the colonial period. Colonial Lagos was an urban space of constant renewal, where competing gendered, racial, and socioeconomic forces shaped sexual politics. These forces, however, were not neutral and resulted in a gendered colonialism that disempowered women and "made gender inequality an official policy

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of the state" (32). Aderinto threads this argument across four chapters on prostitution and two post-WWII chapters in which elite male and female Lagosians struggled for legitimacy in the public sphere.

The chapters on prostitution illustrate that civilian male elites and governmental representatives gradually reduced women's public power and brought their social institutions and practices under the regulation of the colonial state. The first chapter focuses on adult prostitution and the physical, ethnic, and racial geography of sex work in Lagos. In other African colonial cities, the colonial state or members of white settler societies dictated the nature of and interventions into prostitution.<sup>4</sup> Aderinto found that Lagosians directed public opinion and state responses to prostitution. The second chapter addresses underage prostitution and the emergence of the idea of the erotic child. This innovative chapter focuses on how girls' sexuality became central to debates about selective modernity and the moral obligations of African elites. The colonial state moved to define and protect urban girlhood, which paradoxically elicited new concerns about the state's attempt to redefine and potentially criminalize indigenous marital practices. The third chapter places prostitution at the intersection of public health concerns and the colonial military. The military buildup of single, male African colonial soldiers in Lagos during WWII precipitated new medical initiatives to protect the sexual health of enlisted men. Aderinto illustrates how "the moralization of sex and pathologization of the African body as a vessel of venereal disease" allowed medical officials to manipulate public concern over prostitution and reposition colonialism as a constituent element of positive development (94). The fourth chapter examines how the criminal justice system, through policing and legislative measures, influenced how the public perceived urban women. The bundle of anti-prostitution laws passed during WWII made public flirting and lewdness criminal behaviors, which pathologized "all women and extended the geography of policing prostitution . . . to virtually any domain" (119).

The final chapters of *When Sex Threatened the State* address how public discourses related to prostitution affected male and female Lagosians' access to and image in the public sphere. Anti-prostitution legislation had gendered consequences—intended and unintended—for men and women. Male elites wanted to regulate prostitution yet ensure that young women remained sexually available to them. Erstwhile moralists who once cast prostitution as a negative component of modernity defended prostitution in the post-WWII era and framed sex work within the "rhetoric of national self-determination" (136). Illicit sexuality was a "battleground of contestation over gendered colonialism," which portrays how women's involvement in public initiatives related to prostitution opened them up to state and discursive attacks on their rights (157). Prostitution provides another

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lens through which to map the marginalization and delegitimization of African women in the colonial era as well as explain their absence in the postcolonial public sphere.

Before concluding, I want to air a few light criticisms. These monographs exhibit odd image decisions. Aderinto's cover features a Tanzanian girl, and most of Cammaert's illustrations are located on her Wordpress site.<sup>5</sup> Both texts could have provided more insight into how African stakeholders recognized the difference between childhood and adulthood. Legitimate marriage was and remains fundamental in defining African women's public social status, sexual availability, and respectability. Finally, these texts could have more explicitly engaged with the literature on West African marital traditions.

In the main, *Undesirable Practices* and *When Sexuality Threatened the State* deepen our understanding of sexuality, reproduction, girlhood, and the state. They provide new insights regarding how colonial governments functioned along axes of gender. Colonial rule disempowered African women, the consequences of which are starkly visible in contemporary Africa. Cammaert and Aderinto demonstrate that colonialism ultimately aimed to alter Africans' sexuality and that its objectives were gendered.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 113.

<sup>2</sup>Saida Hodžić, *The Twilight of Cutting: African Activism and Life after NGOs* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017); and Miroslava Prazak, *Making the Mark: Gender, Identity, and Genital Cutting* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2016).

<sup>3</sup>Ndubueze Mbah, "Female Masculinities, Dissident Sexualities, and the Material Politics of Gender in Early Twentieth Century Igboland," *Journal of Women's History* 29, no. 4 (2017): 35–60; Carina E. Ray, *Crossing the Color Line: Race, Sex, and the Contested Politics of Colonialism in Ghana* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2015); and Rachel Jean-Baptiste, *Conjugal Rights: Marriage, Sexuality, and Urban Life in Colonial Libreville, Gabon* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014).

<sup>4</sup>Luise White, *Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Diana Jeater, *Marriage, Perversion, and Power: The Construction of Moral Discourse in Southern Rhodesia, 1894–1930* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); and Isabelle Tracol-Huynh, "The Shadow Theater of Prostitution in French Colonial Tonkin: Faceless Prostitutes under the Colonial Gaze," *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 7, no. 1 (2012): 10–51.

<sup>5</sup>Jessica Cammaert, *JCammaert* (blog), <https://jcammaert.wordpress.com/author/jcammaert/>.



critical gaps for a new generation of scholars to pursue. There is a lot in this book that offers leads for new directions, notably in the dimension of a prayer economy. With the new work by Nimi Wariboko, *Nigerian Pentecostalism* (2014), greater space has been opened up to include Nigeria's Middle Belt, the current zone of vibrant Christian activism, as well as to connect with the global literature on Christianity, Islam, religious encounters, and comparative religion. When this historiography is written, Shankar's book will receive its own full insertion and commendation.

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SAHEED ADERINTO. *When Sex Threatened the State: Illicit Sexuality, Nationalism, and Politics in Colonial Nigeria, 1900–1958*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2015. Pp. xviii, 241. Cloth \$95.00, paper \$32.00.

Saheed Aderinto investigates the history of the regulation and practice of child and adult heterosexual prostitution in twentieth-century colonial Lagos, Nigeria. Aderinto refers to the African residents of the town as Lagosians, emphasizing how Africans shaped city life prior to and during the period of British colonial rule. The book chronicles the reconfiguration of sexual politics from the first decade of the twentieth century to 1958. An epilogue briefly analyzes the regulation of domestic and transnational sexual human trafficking in postcolonial Nigeria.

The text forwards three arguments. One emphasizes that the significance of sexuality can be understood in the context of broader historical processes such as the meaning of colonial governance and modernity. Second, age is a central, but overlooked lens of analysis for the history of sexuality in Africa. Aderinto argues that elite Lagosians and colonialists alike feared the existence of the erotic child and viewed the girl child as in need of protection from being the object of adults' sexual pleasure. Third, sexuality and nationalism are intertwined; the book stresses that elite Nigerian men and women formulated ideas about nation-building and selective modernity within the context of the sexualization of nationalism.

The book develops thematically and chronologically in seven chapters that analyze the changing practices, moral discourses, and policies on prostitution. Chapter 1 shows how elite African women, not colonialists nor African men, were the "arrowhead" of decrying prostitution as a vice to be prohibited in the early twentieth century. Chapter 2 deftly analyzes the role of men in prostitution. *Boma boys* and *jaguda boys*, youth whom Lagosians decried as delinquents, undergirded the sex industry as bodyguards and intermediaries for clients and prostitutes. Bachelor soldiers and married men sought out prostitutes for sexual pleasure, to have a roof over their heads, and to eat cooked meals. Fleeting evidence also demonstrates that British and European men

of varied classes were also clients. Chapter 3 analyzes the policing of girlhood beginning in the 1940s by the Colonial Welfare Office. Colonialists viewed child prostitution, often confounded with child marriage, as a sex crime and punished adults and sought to reform girls. Elite Nigerian women also sought to minimize the exploitation of girl children, but under their own direction. Chapter 4 explains how British military and civilian medical personnel racialized and pathologized African sexual practices as imbued with venereal diseases in the 1920s and 1940s. Chapter 5 tracks varied anti-prostitution laws of the 1940s, ranging from the criminalization of advertisements for aphrodisiacs and medical treatments for venereal diseases in newspapers to raising the age of consent for sexual contact from thirteen to sixteen years old. These laws infringed upon the rights of Lagosians to move freely about the town or earn a living. Chapters 5 and 6 focus respectively on the reactions of Lagosian men and women to the prohibitionist laws. Men's opinions varied, but elite men began defending prostitutes' rights as preserving the integrity of "traditional" customs and nationalism. Elite women consistently argued that prostitution should be prohibited yet claimed that they, not British men and women, should direct reformist policies and agencies.

This book contributes to four important themes in African history. First, it fills in the dearth of research on the history of sexuality in Africa. It explicates how Nigerians of varied classes, ethnicities, and genders conceived of their own sexuality and expands the geographic focus beyond settler colonies in Southern Africa. Aderinto elucidates sexist and racist colonial thinking about African sexualities that bolstered imperial rule. Second, the book expands research that questions the fetishization of oral histories as "authentic" African sources. Aderinto makes use of the tremendous amount of written source materials produced by Lagosians—articles, editorials, and advertisements in newspapers, correspondence and petitions to colonial officials, and novels—as well as the lyrics of songs. Third, the book articulates gender as pertaining to both men and women. The text examines colonial ideas about the sexuality of African men, military and civilian, as well as how men conceived their own sexuality. Also presented is a rare analysis of how African women directly communicated with colonial officials and shaped colonial governance. Fourth, it expands research that questions the trope of cities in Africa as colonial cities.

However, the book suffers from insufficient theorization and in-depth engagement with the historiography of gender, sexuality, and urbanism elsewhere in Africa. The significance of concepts like "the erotic child" and "selective modernity" remain underdeveloped and the rich source material is not always fully analyzed. The book would have also benefitted from greater critical engagement with the rich body of source materials and the subjectivities of their production, as well as a more critical articulation of methodologies of interpretation.

Nevertheless, this book makes important inroads in the history of sexuality and gender, childhood, urban history, colonialism, the military, and the history of medicine in Africa and in twentieth-century world history.

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MEGHAN HEALY-CLANCY. *A World of Their Own: A History of South African Women's Education*. (Reconsiderations in Southern African History.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013. Pp. xiv, 312. \$29.50.

*A World of Their Own: A History of South African Women's Education* is a savvy book that identifies and fills a large hole in the social history of South African education. In telling the story of Inanda Seminary, a high school for African girls founded in the colonial province of Natal in 1869 by the American Zulu Mission, Meghan Healy-Clancy deftly stitches a story of the Christian remodeling of African women's aspirations to the larger political strategies of South Africa's political powers over the course of almost a century and a half. This is no mean feat.

In focusing on Inanda as an institution, the book provides a new perspective on the growth of gendered strategies of material advancement by black South Africans, and on the individual labors of white foreign missionaries. Early U.S. missionaries' horror at the "sinfulness" of African culture led to dual strategies for African educational development: political subalternity for men bolstered by psychological domestication of women, and to various African reshaping of those lessons. This is a familiar story for readers versed in the growth of educational ideologies of domesticity, respectability, and social reproduction in other southern African contexts. When comparative ballast is required, the book most often looks cross-continently to experiences and histories of American women, presumably because of Inanda's ties to missionaries whose referents were U.S. institutions like Mount Holyoke. Healy-Clancy engages minimally with histories of gendered social reproduction, domesticity, and respectability closer to South Africa's regional borders. Perhaps we are gradually moving toward a truly regionalized historiography of African women which will privilege their common bonds rather than the colonially imposed borders between them; this study will be a valuable contribution to such an effort.

The accustomed strength of women's history is that it forces a reassessment of platitudinous historical tropes. Notably, Healy-Clancy seizes on a rich contradiction of apartheid-era education: in the midst of a barren desert of educational options for black South Africans, African women had a few more options than African men. This is the kind of detail that has been bypassed by most other scholars. When African education was forced into the straitjacket of apartheid, we have been told up to now, mission schools were either forced to turn their facilities, curricula, and staff over to the state or decided to close altogether. This was not true of Inanda, however, where the combination of the determination of the

school's leadership and the self-interest of the apartheid state allowed the continuation of independent education of a few skilled African women. In Healy-Clancy's hands, this hitherto untold story becomes a structure on which to pin larger questions about individual aspirations, community development, and political maneuvers.

One of the book's strengths is its narration of generational continuities in educational strategies, in many cases, from grandmother to daughter to granddaughter. These stories are told with verve and a keen ear for detail; and the women's "world of their own" comes alive. Healy-Clancy balances the women's "school-days" nostalgia with assessments both of Inanda's educational strengths and its social limitations.

As the title states, this is a story of South African women's education, not the story. It does not cover the education of women of other races, nor in the later period does it examine experiences of African women's education in run-of-the-mill government high schools. In the larger context of African education as a whole, it specifically traces the experiences and strategies of better-off African families who had opportunities and the means to send their daughters to boarding school. However, Healy-Clancy does a wonderful job of evoking the joys of learning in a place where Africans girls were encouraged to hold their heads high—almost uniquely in the country—and were taught, led first by white Americans and then by black South Africans, that nothing was beyond their reach.

Against the odds, Inanda survives to this day, even in the tricky crosswinds of democratic South Africa. The book surveys the difficult terrain where individual and family respectability has intersected with African nationalism, enabling us to probe more deeply into the new country's social complexities. For example, for women such as Ms. Baleka Mbete, an Inanda graduate who became a leading light in the African National Congress, and served as Speaker of Parliament in democratic South Africa—how revolutionary can respectability really be? On the other hand, some "Inanda girls" must have ridden the conservative lessons of respectability straight into non-political materialism and/or alliance with the calculated, narrow ethnicities associated with African adherents of the pre-democratic Bantustan strategies. How can the legacies of these women's choices be understood?

Overall, this is a fine study of that rarity in South African history: a proud tradition of educational achievement for African students that has endured for more than a century.

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KEITH BRECKENRIDGE. *Biometric State: The Global Politics of Identification and Surveillance in South Africa, 1850 to the Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pp. xi, 252. \$99.00.

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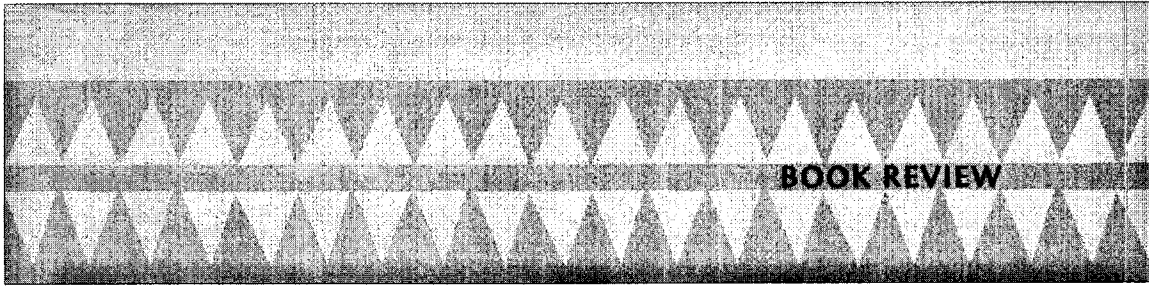
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## When Sex Threatened the State: Illicit Sexuality, Nationalism, and Politics in Colonial Nigeria, 1900–1958

SAHEED ADERINTO

Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2015; pp. 264, \$32.00 paper.

This noteworthy text brings to light the intimate connection between sexual politics and nationalism in colonial Nigeria during the first half of the twentieth century. Indeed, as the title suggests, sex threatened the colonial state by disrupting power dynamics within the socioeconomic, cultural, and political spheres. More to the point, prostitution and sex workers garnered much attention from British colonial officials and Lagosians (predominately Yoruba Nigerians living in colonial Lagos). Both parties struggled to maintain moral and sociopolitical authority by attempting to control women's sexual behaviors. The book complicates debates about sex by disaggregating the identity of various classes of people involved—from soldiers in the colonial army to Western-educated Nigerian women. The author judiciously reminds readers that race, geography, gender, and power influenced the diverse motivations that colonial administrators and Nigerians had for policing illicit sexuality. Thus, one of the main aims of the book is to “holistically demonstrate how their stance changed over time, as did the conditions responsible for the transition” (10).

Three overarching arguments frame this seven-chapter book. First, understanding sexuality cannot be divorced from broader historical processes. The author addresses this issue by maintaining that sexuality was a platform on which Nigerians and colonial officials voiced conflicting perspectives about modernity and colonial practices. The second fundamental argument is that the age of female sex workers influenced viewpoints and colonial regulations about prostitution. The last key argument is that the sexualization of nationalism illuminated how colonial administrators and Nigerians believed that certain expressions of sex threatened nation-building. This anxiety was shared by colonial authorities, who wanted to maintain the stability and security of the colony, and by Nigerian

elites who envisioned themselves as taking over the political, economic, and moral spheres of the country after independence.

The book contains many compelling contributions. First, it effectively complicates the motivations of the various actors that were at the center of sexual politics. It is not a debate with clearly drawn boundaries and sides. Case in point, Chapter 5 underlines how colonists disagreed about policies regarding sexual conduct and venereal diseases. They further diverged on how these issues might affect the health of the colonial state and its people. Medics claimed that venereal diseases among civilians were a public health problem whereas the civil administration focused on overall sanitation and linked it to the sociopolitical stability of Lagos. Chapters 6 and 7 demonstrate that the women and men of the Lagos elite did not always necessarily hold the same standpoints on the policing of sexuality. Elite men did not speak with one voice. Military soldiers of the Royal West African Frontier's Force advocated for the regulation of prostitution whereas newspaper journal editors pushed for its prohibition by asserting that sex work was foreign and un-African. In contrast to their counterparts, Lagos's elite women were more unified in their ideological approach to the regulation of illegitimate sexuality. They consistently challenged colonial authorities on how they implemented anti-prostitution legislation.

Chapters 6 and 7 do more than unveil how elite women and men diverged on sexual politics. They successfully argue that men (Nigerian and colonial) did not dominate public discourse over illicit sexuality. It cannot be denied that Lagosian elite women "were the first to insert illicit sexuality into their long list of projects aimed at improving women's sociopolitical and economic visibility" (156). Thus, the importance of Chapter 7 is due to the fact that it emphasizes the voices of Western-educated Nigerian women, who were at the forefront of the debates about prostitution in colonial Nigeria. This is unusual because such voices were often muffled within sexual politics in Anglophone African colonies, particularly in West Africa. The author attempts to redress this imbalance by drawing on oral testimonies and the official files of various elite women's associations in order to highlight their stance on prostitution.

A further notable contribution of the text is that it uses age as a tool to recall the anxiety and moral panic that ensued from child prostitution in colonial Nigeria. Chapter 3 illustrates that colonial officials relied on ethnocentric beliefs to craft policies about the appropriate age of consent (raising it from 13 to 16). However, many Nigerians did not determine adulthood by using chronological age but on traditional rites of passage. The author avers that prostitution must be viewed through an age-specific lens (along with race, gender, and class). The utility of this approach bring to light the fact that not all prostitutes and sex workers within Anglophone African colonies were viewed in the same ways. Perceptions

about age were surely a determining factor in how colonialists and Africans both attempted to regulate illicit sexuality.

One criticism relates to the author's assertion that the use of newspapers not only brought forth the voices of elite women and men, but also "ordinary" Nigerians in Lagos (albeit in unedited form). It is difficult to believe that many "ordinary" Nigerians (who were mostly likely illiterate and had low socioeconomic status) used newspapers as the main pedestal on which they shared their views about illicit sexuality in colonial Nigeria. Despite this minor drawback, the book is a valuable contribution to scholarship on the sexualization of nationalism in Anglophone Africa. No doubt it will generate debate and induce more critical research on the topic, such as conducting cross-cultural analysis. The book is written and organized in a fashion that makes it highly accessible to a wide audience. For instance, Chapter 1 does a remarkable job of providing a useful historical and geographical context that makes it easier to envision the motivations and agendas of the main characters in the book. It is a solid contribution to scholarly works on sexuality in Africa and is of interest to scholars and students in the fields of African studies, gender, and history.

**Jacqueline-Bethel Mougoué**  
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**SAHEED ADERINTO, *When Sex Threatened the State: illicit sexuality, nationalism, and politics in colonial Nigeria 1900–1958*. Champaign IL: University of Illinois Press (hb \$95 – 978 0 252 03888 4; pb \$32 – 978 0 252 08042 5). 2015, 264 pp.**

ABOSEDE GEORGE

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SAHEED ADERINTO, *When Sex Threatened the State: illicit sexuality, nationalism, and politics in colonial Nigeria 1900–1958*. Champaign IL: University of Illinois Press (hb \$95 – 978 0 252 03888 4; pb \$32 – 978 0 252 08042 5). 2015, 264 pp.

This monograph addresses the politics of the regulation of prostitution in colonial Nigeria. The key concepts in the title are illicit sexuality, which mainly means prostitution, and politics, which includes nationalist politics but also extends beyond this. In seven chapters and an epilogue, ‘Prostitution and trafficking in the age of HIV/AIDS’, Aderinto tracks the practice and ideological underpinnings of prostitution control in Lagos from the first decades of colonial rule through the nationalist era, and also in the present-day Fourth Republic. The central questions of the book are: how did successive regimes conceive of the threat of prostitution, what policies were followed, and what actually changed over time?

Aderinto argues that answering the question of how different regimes conceived of the threat of prostitution requires first that we identify two characters: the figure of the prostitute and the figure of the customer. Whether the individual sex worker was an adult or an underage child made a difference in how lawmakers and enforcers conceived of the degree of menace posed by prostitution. Whether the sex customer was a civilian or a member of the colonial armies and whether they were Nigerian or European also had an impact on the degree of seriousness with which prostitution was treated as a threat to the political order. In short, prostitution threatened the state to different degrees depending on who was selling sex and who was buying it.

Aderinto’s exploration of the special role of soldiers in the history of prostitution control in Lagos is especially fascinating and insightful. The West African Frontier Force (later the Royal West African Frontier Force), on which colonists relied to police the subject civilian population, was itself imagined as relying on ready access to commercial sex in order to maintain its martial masculinity. European sailors in Lagos during the First and Second World Wars were similarly the focus of policy discussions that prioritized protecting the health of the soldier (and thus the imperial might) while preserving his sense of entitlement to sexual pleasure and privacy. Thus prostitution regulation, from the colonial state’s point of view, was driven more by a need to appease or control colonial militias and imperial armies than by any concern for the well-being of sex workers or the larger public.

Colonial officials were, of course, not the only ones engaged with the issue of prostitution control. Aderinto offers a thoughtful reading of the changing engagement of elite Nigerian women with this issue and how the politics of prostitution control splintered African elites along gender lines. Aderinto’s study of the history of prostitution control organically opens up other fascinating subjects, such as the history of venereal disease control in Nigeria, the long-standing wars between native medicine practitioners and purveyors of Western pharmaceuticals, local sexual ideologies and vocabularies, the urban underclass world populated with *boma* boys, crooked cops, bar girls, belligerent touts, drunken sailors and young musicians, who documented urban dramas in song for posterity. Aderinto draws on a wide array of cultural and social history sources, including music, the Segilola novel and advertisements, as well as medical records, military records, court records, contemporary newspapers and colonial welfare reports. Aderinto’s evident facility with Yoruba and Pidgin also allows for the rich use of oral evidence on sexual cultures in colonial Lagos.

Any African history book addressing the topic of prostitution is going to invite comparison with Luise White's seminal project *The Comforts of Home*. Aderinto's use of an oral history method invites a double comparison. What White was able to accomplish in *Comforts* was to focus the reader on a view of the sex economy in colonial Nairobi as narrated from the point of view of the women who were at the heart of that economy. From the point of view of sex workers, we gained a more nuanced view of the variations among different forms of sex work, and the variations that emerged in that industry over time. Aderinto's book differs from White's in that it moves its focus, chapter by chapter, between child prostitutes, soldiers, adult prostitutes, commercial sex consumers (also known as 'John Bulls') and elite women. In the introduction, Aderinto mentions an early ambition to write 'a total history of sexuality'. While he seems to have scaled down the project, he still packs into this first book many innovative meditations about sexual practices, ideologies and economies, and their relation to the governance of colonial Lagos.

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ROBERT LORWAY, *Namibia's Rainbow Project: gay rights in an African nation*. Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press (hb \$60 – 978 0 253 01514 3; pb \$24 – 978 0 253 01520 4). 2015, 155 pp.

In *Namibia's Rainbow Project*, Robert Lorway provides an ethnographic study of a Namibian LGBT organization in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Like other countries in southern Africa, Namibia has a history of state-sponsored homophobia in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, with SWAPO politicians calling for the arrest, detention and deportation of LGBT citizens. LGBT Namibians founded the Rainbow Project (TRP) in 1997 to combat this persecution. From its Windhoek-based office, TRP also aimed to persuade the government to supply full equal rights to LGBT Namibians, despite the government's rhetoric that they were immoral, un-African and outside the bounds of the morality of the nation state. Lorway details for readers the experiences of a group of young people (whom he calls the Rainbow Youth) – men and women in their late teens and early twenties who lived in townships, attended TRP workshops and classes, and cooperated with advocacy and political organizing to combat state-sponsored and local homophobia.

Much of the text addresses the intended and unintended effects and consequences of TRP's rhetoric and practices on how the Rainbow Youth learned to see themselves, experience their gender and sexual identities, and relate to other LGBT people, their family, neighbours, communities, and the nation state. TRP taught attendees at their workshops how to get in touch with their desires – both for intimate and sexual relationships and also for affect and self-presentations. TRP encouraged youth to be out and proud about their gender and sexual identities and to celebrate sexual differences and diversity. However, there were limitations to how TRP intervened in the lives of this group of young people. At the same time that youth were encouraged to embrace themselves, their bodies and their desires, the organization was silent about other aspects of their lives. In particular, Lorway draws attention to the way in which TRP largely ignored the effects of neoliberalism and structural violence – in

# NOTES DE LECTURE

## LES FEMMES DANS L'ACTION COLLECTIVE

**Saheed ADERINTO.** – *When Sex Threatened the State: Illicit Sexuality, Nationalism, and Politics in Colonial Nigeria, 1900-1958*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 2014, 264 pages.

L'ouvrage de Saheed Aderinto se propose d'étudier la prostitution et les politiques sexuelles qui en découlent en se penchant sur la ville nigériane de Lagos, du début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'en 1958. Cette période qui précède l'indépendance du pays, obtenue en 1960, comprend un moment de rupture : en 1940, les Britanniques, qui avaient auparavant toléré la prostitution, mettent en place un ensemble de règles contre cette forme de « sexualité illégale » (*illicit sexuality*) et créent une institution, à l'intérieur de l'appareil colonial, pour protéger les filles du trafic et de l'exploitation sexuelle. L'ouvrage porte principalement sur la prostitution hétérosexuelle, entre des femmes qui vendent du sexe et des hommes qui payent en échange de ces services sexuels, au sein de laquelle on peut distinguer prostitution enfantine et prostitution adulte. Dans le but de comprendre la place de la sexualité et de la prostitution dans le projet colonial, le choix de se centrer sur Lagos, première ville du pays à être placée sous le contrôle colonial et capitale du Nigeria pendant la période étudiée, paraît particulièrement judicieux : c'est dans cette cité que les colonisateurs et les Nigériens ont concentré la plus grande partie de leurs efforts pour contrôler les ressources politiques.

La singularité de l'ouvrage de Saheed Aderinto vient de ce qu'il appréhende la prostitution et les politiques qui lui sont liées comme des phénomènes révélateurs de dynamiques sociales et politiques de plus grande ampleur. Considérée comme un élément central du processus historique, la prostitution et le langage du sexe et de l'amoralité qui l'accompagne sont replacés dans un vocabulaire plus large de la « civilisation » qui s'exprime en couples de valeurs binaires et dialectiques, telles que légitimité/illégitimité, tradition/modernité, progrès/faillite, normal/anormal. La prostitution est perçue différemment selon la région d'origine, le genre et la classe sociale des acteurs étudiés et selon l'âge des prostituées. C'est un sujet qui suscite des oppositions en fonction des projets et des ambitions des différents groupes sociaux et politiques à l'intérieur du système colonial. La prostitution, longtemps considérée comme relevant de l'ordre du privé, est désormais pensée comme un problème collectif, une menace pour la structure de l'État colonial, « un des sites complexes à travers lesquels diverses représentations des pratiques coloniales et différentes pensées sur la modernité étaient configurées et reconfigurées » (p. 4).

Constitué de sept chapitres, l'ouvrage se fonde sur différentes sources d'archives et une analyse de la presse pour identifier les acteurs impliqués dans cette « sexualité illégale » étudier les lois sur la prostitution et sur les maladies vénériennes et saisir les réactions des différents acteurs à la prostitution. Les trois premiers chapitres se concentrent sur les acteurs et les significations de la prostitution. Le premier dresse un cadre historique et socio-économique de Lagos. Il s'attarde sur les lieux de sociabilité de la ville et sur l'émergence d'une construction coloniale de la prostitution comme un « crime moral » et une « menace » pour la société. Après avoir retracé ces éléments de l'histoire urbaine, l'auteur passe aux politiques sexuelles qui s'y



insèrent. Dans les deux chapitres qui suivent, l'attention est portée sur les prostituées, avec un tableau contrasté des prostitutions adulte et infantine. Le deuxième chapitre se centre sur la prostitution des adultes en décrivant les prostituées et leurs clients. Âgées de vingt à trente ans, célibataires, mariées, divorcées, veuves ou séparées, les prostituées de Lagos offraient à leurs clients des relations sexuelles mais aussi d'autres types d'activités (cuisine, danse, accompagnement...). Du fait de cette dimension sociale des relations de prostitution, les hommes fréquentaient généralement des prostituées de même provenance qu'eux, donnant lieu à une « ethnisation » de la prostitution. Les clients étaient majoritairement des soldats. Mais il y avait aussi des Européens parmi les clients assidus, bien que leurs pratiques soient moins documentées – dès 1909, en effet, toute forme de relation sexuelle entre officiers coloniaux et femmes natives était formellement interdite. Si cette histoire sociale des prostituées et de leurs clients se révèle très intéressante pour compléter notre connaissance de la société lagosienne, en sortant les prostituées de la marge de l'histoire, ce chapitre permet également de saisir les relations entre prostitution, immoralité et crime à travers les changements sociaux de la première moitié du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Si la prostitution était tolérée par certains (propriétaires de bars et de bordels, propriétaires tirant profit de la location des locaux, familles des prostituées), d'autres l'assimilaient à une dégénération sexuelle. À la différence d'autres colonies où les débats liés à la sexualité étaient monopolisés par les colonisateurs, à Lagos, les Nigériens émirent des protestations contre la prostitution. L'élite nationaliste nigérienne se fit notamment la porte-parole de ce combat, en condamnant la tolérance des Britanniques. Ils dénonçaient la faillite de la mission civilisatrice et la volonté de miner les bases d'un Nigeria indépendant. Un troisième chapitre se penche plus particulièrement sur la prostitution des filles de moins de 17 ans. Saheed Aderinto cherche à retracer les différences dans le traitement de ce type de prostitution en analysant les dispositifs coloniaux mis en place pour le combattre. Il montre comment, à partir des années 1940, la prostitution infantine est perçue comme un grave danger social, reflétant la faillite des adultes dans l'éducation des enfants et d'un État incapable de protéger une nouvelle génération de femmes et de mères.

Le quatrième chapitre se concentre sur les maladies vénériennes qui commencent, au début du siècle, à être considérées comme une sorte de manifestation pathologique et psychologique de l'infériorité de la race noire par rapport à la race blanche. Le corps africain, particulièrement celui des femmes, était considéré comme un véhicule de maladies sexuelles. Par conséquent, les investissements dans les soins médicaux pour lutter contre ces pathologies étaient perçus comme s'inscrivant dans la mission civilisatrice des colonisateurs. Ce chapitre illustre donc en détail les mesures prises pour contenir ces maladies, sur un plan sanitaire (ouverture de cliniques, dépistages, soins gratuits, etc.) mais aussi social (promotion du mariage, contrôle de la prostitution, etc.). La diffusion de maladies sexuellement transmissibles, associée aux contraintes budgétaires auxquelles les Britanniques font face dans les années 1940 à la suite du conflit mondial, fait que la prostitution commence à obtenir une place centrale dans les affaires de l'État. Cela débouche sur une révision des lois contre la prostitution, avec l'objectif d'y mettre un terme. Différents dispositifs, décrits dans le cinquième chapitre, entrent en vigueur aux fins d'éliminer à la fois la prostitution infantine et celle des adultes. Une série de lois est également mise en place pour contenir les maladies vénériennes. Dans son analyse de cet ensemble de lois, Aderinto met en évidence la façon dont elles appliquent à l'ensemble de la colonie des règlements imprégnés d'une culture occidentale qui modifie le tissu social du pays.

Les deux derniers chapitres analysent les réactions lagosiennes à l'ensemble de ces lois en distinguant celles des hommes et des femmes. Au-delà du genre, ces

réactions sont influencées par la classe sociale, les salaires, l'éducation, l'état civil des Lagosiens, ainsi que par l'âge des prostituées. Les hommes étaient partagés entre ceux qui étaient favorables à la prostitution, considérée comme un travail légitime nécessitant une réglementation (ouverture de bordels légaux et codifiés, taxation de prostituées, etc.), et les prohibitionnistes pour qui, moralement inacceptable, elle devait être interdite. Du côté des femmes, celles de l'élite, qui auraient été les seules à s'intéresser à la question, se déclaraient unanimement en faveur de la lutte contre la prostitution, lutte qu'elles menaient dans le cadre d'associations féminines. Premières à se mobiliser, au début des années 1920, en faveur de l'abolition de la prostitution, elles combattent surtout la prostitution infantine et militent pour la réhabilitation des filles prostituées.

En sondant tous ces aspects de la prostitution, Aderinto en arrive à la présenter comme un aspect de la vie sociale, économique et politique d'un pays, comme un angle d'analyse permettant d'étudier les divers projets qui animent la société coloniale. La « sexualité illégale » devient un facteur de déséquilibre qui met en danger la structure étatique et qui suscite en conséquence des réactions multiples dont l'analyse permet de mieux comprendre les dynamiques qui animent ces cinquante années. En considérant la prostitution comme un fait collectif de première importance, l'ouvrage propose une approche novatrice. Il manque cependant d'un cadre conceptuel et d'une perspective comparatiste. Cela en fait un cas d'étude qu'un lecteur non expérimenté aura du mal à inscrire dans un cadre plus général, y compris historiographique (on pense en particulier aux travaux de Luise White). Ce qui rend difficile de saisir les singularités de l'expérience nigérienne par rapport à celle d'autres pays du continent africain, mais aussi de l'Angleterre qui a influencé, via les colonisateurs, le traitement nigérien de la prostitution.

Sara PANATA

**Karen BOUWER.** – *Gender and Decolonization in the Congo. The Legacy of Patrice Lumumba*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 247 pages.

À quelques heures de l'indépendance de la jeune République du Congo, Pauline, la femme de Patrice Lumumba, est inquiète : son mari va devenir premier ministre et elle pense qu'il va être tenté de prendre une nouvelle femme plus éduquée, plus « européanisée », pour tenir son rôle auprès de lui dans les cérémonies diplomatiques. Elle organise une manifestation de femmes pour protester contre le possible comportement de son mari et des futurs ministres.

Le pari de Karen Bouwer est original et audacieux : utiliser la figure de Patrice Lumumba (1925-1961), le leader charismatique congolais mort assassiné en 1961 et devenu mythique, pour favoriser la recherche sur le genre et la décolonisation. Cette initiative place au centre la cellule familiale, comme un espace de contestation des rapports de genre. L'autrice met en lumière les interconnexions entre les sphères privée et publique de Patrice Lumumba à un moment clé de l'histoire de la jeune République du Congo. Karen Bouwer revient aussi sur la manière dont la construction mémorielle de la figure du leader congolais a participé à l'occultation des femmes et de leur rôle durant cette période, contribuant ainsi à l'émergence d'une mémoire sexuée de l'indépendance.

Les chapitres 1 et 2 révèlent le décalage entre les idées théoriques de Patrice Lumumba sur les femmes congolaises, exprimées dans ses écrits, et ses propres actions envers les femmes dans sa sphère privée. La radicalisation politique progressive du leader est soulignée par l'autrice, la rupture de 1958 est réaffirmée : la participation de Patrice Lumumba à la Conférence des peuples africains, qui se tient à Accra le

2016

Aderinto, Saheed. *When Sex Threatened the State: Illicit Sexuality, Nationalism, and Politics in Colonial Nigeria, 1900-1958*. University of Illinois Press, 2015, 264pp.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

**Aderinto, Saheed.** *When Sex Threatened the State: Illicit Sexuality, Nationalism, and Politics in Colonial Nigeria, 1900-1958.* University of Illinois Press, 2015, 264pp.

*When Sex Threatened the State*, the first book-length history of prostitution in colonial Nigeria by Saheed Aderinto, examines the contestations over the control of illicit sexuality in Africa's most populous country. Aderinto renders an impressive interpretation of diverse primary and secondary sources to explain the significance of sex and sexuality in Nigeria during the first half of the twentieth century. The author makes three core arguments: First, he posits that sexuality cannot be understood in isolation from the broader history of a society. "The language of sex" he points out, is not just about such vague categories as "immorality" but also about contestation normally couched in the vocabulary of civilization. Second, he contends that the difference between adult and child sexualities was a significant factor that shaped sexual politics. Unlike existing works that pay overwhelming attention to adult prostitution, Aderinto shows that a comparative discussion of adult and child sexualities would expand the scope of scholarly research in a fruitful manner. Third, the intersection between sexuality and nationalism in Africa, the author argues, is far more complex than the present literature reveals. Throughout the colonial era, Nigerians espoused conflicting forms of nationalism as they interpreted sexual vice and its consequences from their prejudiced perspectives. One of Aderinto's methodological interventions is the idea of a "Total History of Sexuality." (pp 6) He contends that historical scholarship on sexuality has been over-compartmentalized. Thus he calls for a paradigm that combines many fields—economic, urban, social, gender, childhood, race, political, medical, military—in shedding light on the experiences of men and women who sold and patronized sexual services in the past.

*When Sex Threatened the State* has a total of seven chapters. In Chapter One, Aderinto lays the foundation of the work by examining the history of colonial Lagos within the context of social, gender, and racial relations. This intriguing chapter argues that the history of prostitution in colonial Lagos cannot be understood in isolation from the rapid social, political, and economic changes of the first half of the twentieth century. Indeed, illicit sexuality, Aderinto argues, was one of the numerous sites of struggle among diverse groups of people who defined "social" and "moral" respectability to conform to African and European notions of responsible use of time, leisure, and the body. He introduced the men and women (Nigerians and British) who shaped the politics of sexuality in Lagos, exposing the

internal and external factors, which informed their disposition.

Chapter Two then turns to the narrative of sex and vice with particular focus on adult prostitutes. This chapter allows Aderinto to articulate one of his main arguments that the difference between adult and child sexualities shaped the tenor of politics in Nigeria. Aderinto unveils the identities of women who sold sex, integrating their ethnic and social identities within the context of a modern colonial society. But unlike several existing works, which only discuss the experience of women who sold sex, Aderinto gives detailed insight about men who bought sexual favor. His analysis allows us to come to terms with the “inevitability” of sex work in the colonial society. All classes of Nigerian and European men patronized prostitutes. But if prostitution had remained a secret affair between adult men and women, the “moralists” of Lagos might not have contested it. Prostitution related activities such as street-walking supported the activities of young delinquent criminals who undermined the colonial ideals of public peace and decency.

The involvement of underage girls in prostitution was also a serious moral question in Lagos. In Chapter Three, Aderinto presents the history of child prostitution. He takes us through the underworld of girls who worked in Lagos brothels and the kinds of relationship that existed between them and other members of the prostitution subculture such as the *Boma* boys and the madams. One of the biggest questions about child prostitution was the relationship between age and psychosexual development. Child prostitution was morally unacceptable, not only because it involved sexual and financial exploitation of minors, but also because it endangered the medical and psychological health of girls who the Colony Welfare Office, the government establishment that policed child prostitution, and the leading Nigerian elites believed needed state paternalism. While the impact of prostitution on public order and the exploitation of children worried Nigerians and the British colonialists, the increase in the cases of venereal disease (VD) among the Nigeria Regiment of the colonial army, the Royal West African Frontier Force, placed the crisis of illicit sexuality at the center of colonial security. In Chapter Four, Aderinto explores the relationship between prostitution and the survival of the British colony of Nigeria during the WWII. The high incidence of VD in the colonial force became a major security issue, which needed to be addressed.

Chapter Five is about the laws passed to deal with the real and imagined consequences of prostitution. By dividing the anti-prostitution laws into “adult” and “child” related legislations, Aderinto is able to present interesting data about how the government conceived the criminal justice system as the main solution to the “problem” of prostitution. His engagement of VD laws also placed the war against sex work within the framework of medical and legal history. According to Aderinto, colonial laws on prostitution tended to homogenize children’s



experience by disregarding the diverse definitions of childhood across the hundreds of Nigerian ethnic groups. The author focuses on the reactions of Nigerian men to anti-prostitution laws in Chapter Six. His conviction is that men and women responded to anti-prostitution laws differently, because sex work affected them in diverse ways. Chapter Seven tackles the position of the Lagos elite women on the government's decision not to formally enlist their associations (the Women's Welfare Council and the Nigerian Women's Party) in the fight against prostitution. Aderinto notes that the government's decision was based on the well-established notion among British political officials that African women lacked the intellectual capacity to manage resources on behalf of the state. In the Epilogue, the author links the past with the present. He explores the changes and continuities in the politics of sexuality regulation between 1960 and 2014, and notes that the postcolonial government revised the colonial stance on prohibiting sex work by making it an "illegal but tolerated" offense.

My prediction is that *When Sex Threatened the State* will stand the test of time, not only for the quality of Aderinto's analyses, sources, and interpretations, but also for the ways he placed sexuality at the center of core structures of everyday life in colonial Nigeria. This is a major contribution to African studies and historical scholarship on Nigeria.

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*AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST*

*When Sex Threatened the State: Illicit Sexuality, Nationalism, and Politics in Colonial Nigeria, 1900-1958.* By Saheed Aderinto. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 241. \$32.00.)

Finally since Luise White's groundbreaking *Comforts of Home* [1990], which detailed the problem of prostitution in colonial Nairobi, students of African studies are once again provided with an intriguing conversation on sexuality as an arena of politics, nationalism, masculinity, and pop culture in urbanized colonial Nigeria. Deploying a repertoire of sources that include court, medical, and military records; musical lyrics; published advertisements; colonial welfare reports; as well as indigenous idioms and historical novels that highlight incidents of pimping, girl trafficking, prostitution, and settlements, Saheed Aderinto tells how uncontrolled appetites for sex and graft created moral panic in society in the twentieth century as venereal diseases beleaguered the sex workers and their patrons. Also lucidly covered in the book are the laws that were rolled out by the British colonial officials to address the problem and attempts by Africans to undermine these laws, which they considered as alien to the indigenous society.

The book is important because it details the British perception of prostitution as a problem of a lack of progress on the part of the "primitive" African whose lifestyle, in the Eurocentric parlance, was an aberration to what was modern. Though this view aligns with the "civilizing mission" grand narrative, it is noteworthy that prostitution was synonymous with urbanization and the customers of prostitutes in colonial Lagos included both Africans and Europeans. More fascinating is that in its effort to combat prostitution, the colonial state was more concerned with protecting randy and corrupt colonial officials (soldiers, policemen, visiting businessmen, and sailors) than the sex workers or the larger population.

The book is neatly ordered into seven chapters with an epilogue that draws attention to the resilience of commercial sex in Lagos even as the scourge of HIV/AIDS grows around the world. In chapter 1, the author provides a historical emergence of the port city of Lagos in the nineteenth century as one of Africa's most culturally diverse cities (28–29). Indeed, the interracial, interethnic, and intraethnic character of the "No Man's Land" embedded politics of sex into the existing tension over social privileges, urban citizenship, class stratification, and race relations.

In chapters 2 to 5, Aderinto covers the narration of sex as an obstacle to modernization and social progress. Yet, without "places of socialization like hotels, pubs, and cinemas," as the author notes, the discrete practices of

commercial sex, child prostitution, sexual exploitation, and spread of venereal diseases would have been uncommon (36). In chapters 6 and 7, the contradictions and consequences of antiprostitution laws, enacted to checkmate the problem, are covered. The antiprostitution discourse delineates issues surrounding power and gendered ideologies premised on cultural ideals rather than the realities on the ground. Also revealed are the differences between elite men and women in Lagos, and how roguish and desperate policemen would rather arrest and punish innocent people than endanger their source of illegal earnings (including payoffs with free sex) by arresting the enablers of prostitution. Even a policeman, Mr. Flavian Opara, on one occasion swallowed a bribe of £5 “to escape arrest by his colleagues” (139).

Overall, this book is a great addition to an area of African studies that has not been adequately covered by research. Future studies of a similar nature on Port Harcourt, Calabar, and colonial cities in Nigeria will make a delightful read. Aderinto must be praised for his vigor, vision, clarity of expressions, and intelligent use of humor to treat this complex subject.

*Idaho State University*

Raphael Chijioke Njoku

*The Ba‘thification of Iraq: Saddam Hussein’s Totalitarianism.* By Aaron M. Faust. (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2015. Pp. xxi, 296. \$55.00.)

The Iraqi archives, based at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, contain millions of documents relating to the thirty-five year period [1968–2003] when Iraq was ruled by the Ba‘th Party. These archives comprise, inter alia, the correspondence of the ruling party, the presidential palace, and the intelligence services and allow researchers to examine how the country was ruled.

Coming on the heels of other books that heavily used the archives (the reviewer is the author of one of them), the expectation is that new ones further expand our knowledge of the system. Aaron M. Faust’s focus is on how Saddam Hussein Ba‘thified the country, and the book’s title and contents inform readers time and again that the regime was a totalitarian one. The book is basically divided into three parts: ideology; organization (of the party and society); and terror and enticement. Throughout the book, Faust compares Saddam Hussein to Hitler and/or Stalin rather than to other regimes in the Arab world, such as Syria under Hafiz al-Asad or Libya under Muammar al-Qaddafi. These authoritarian Arab leaders controlled their countries with an iron fist, and their systems were essentially similar to Iraq’s.

Faust's argument about totalitarianism suffers from a number of flaws. First and foremost, he totally ignores the economy, which is remarkable given his attempt to show how Saddam's regime controlled all aspects of life. In fact, apart from one sentence and a footnote, there is no reference to how the regime ran the economy, how it allowed the private sector to develop for many years, and how it managed the economy during two wars and thirteen years of harsh sanctions (253). Second, Faust disregards the fact that, unlike the Soviet Union, Iraqis were allowed to leave the country, albeit after enduring onerous bureaucratic measures and security checks. Indeed almost one million Iraqis left the country between the end of the Iran-Iraq War in 1988 and the US-led invasion of 2003. Third, religion under totalitarian regimes such as the Soviet Union did not function the way it did in Iraq under the Ba'th. Faust correctly argues that the authorities saw in religion a threat and all mosques and imams were under surveillance, but the fact remains that praying and mosques were not banned.

The author's contribution lies in detailing certain aspects of the Ba'thification of society such as the professional and mass organizations, and Faust's assertion and documentation that the violence of the Ba'th "was not to inculcate fear but rather to root out, destroy, and deter threats that the regime perceived to its security" is absolutely correct (91–96, 151). Students of the Middle East will find this book useful for its details of the party. However, the questions that he presents in the beginning of the book of why millions of Iraqis participated in the system and swore allegiance to Saddam Hussein remain largely unanswered.

*Georgetown University*

Joseph Sassoon

*Saladin: The Sultan who Vanquished the Crusaders and Built an Islamic Empire.*

By John Man. (Philadelphia, PA: Da Capo Press, 2016. Pp. xv, 288. \$26.99.)

The author of this book is an entertaining storyteller with an ear for a good turn of phrase. Unfortunately, this is not enough to save his biography of Saladin from numerous problems stemming from inadequate research or lack of attention to detail.

It is evident from the outset that John Man does not know Arabic. Nowhere is this more apparent than in his mishandling of the names of his subjects. Numerous Muslim figures in the crusading period had compound honorific titles ending in "al-Din," such as Salah al-Din himself (Saladin, "Goodness of the Faith"), and his predecessor Nur al-Din ("Light of the Faith"). Man treats the second halves of these titles as surnames, to be omitted or attached to other

parts of people's names as he sees appropriate. Thus Nur al-Din becomes Nur for short ("Light," actually a popular girl's name), and Saladin, whose given name was Yusuf (Joseph), becomes Yusuf al-Din ("Joseph of the Faith"). Other compound names and titles get similar treatment; for example, the historian Ibn al-Athir ("son of al-Athir") becomes al-Athir for short.

Man's understanding of Islam is also shaky. He uses this term for the faith, but also at times for the lands in which the faith was dominant; this should be, more accurately, the Muslim world. He seems to have a somewhat confused understanding of the various strands of Shi'ism and sees the Isma'ili branch as having originated with the Fatimids, when in fact the Fatimids were just one group that grew out of the Isma'ili movement. He also adopts a simplistic understanding of jihad as "holy war," despite the numerous modern works that explain that this aspect is only part of a wider concept of struggle for Islam that can be expressed in speech, writing, and (most importantly) the struggle against one's own inner sinfulness. Man's use of other terms such as "Arab," "Arabic," "caliph," and "sultan" is similarly imprecise and inconsistent.

The historical information in this book is also periodically inaccurate or based on stereotypes; for example, the crusaders took Jerusalem in 1099, *not* 1098; Ismat al-Din ("Purity of the Faith," whom Man calls Ismat) was Saladin's *only* wife, *not* his fifth; and the idea of the First Crusade as being "extreme and unprovoked aggression" is decidedly open to question. Man also at times commits anachronisms, for example describing some of Saladin's followers as "jihadists," a twenty-first-century neologism that only refers to modern, militant Muslim extremists.

Even accepting that he does not read Arabic, most of the errors in Man's book could have been avoided with a modicum of more thorough research, both in the sources that he does cite in his bibliography and the much wider range of available scholarly literature that he ignores. Those looking for an accurate biography of Saladin are advised to look elsewhere.

Langara College

Niall Christie

#### THE AMERICAS

*Lynched: The Victims of Southern Mob Violence.* By Amy Kate Bailey and Stewart E. Tolnay. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Pp. 304. \$29.95.)

How does one do justice to lynch victims? For over a century, one tradition of researchers has doggedly compiled statistics, motivated by a faith in scientific

rigor and a liberal impulse to provide irrefutable evidence of its terrible frequency. In this study, the authors go one better: They meticulously cross-reference news articles on individual cases of lynching with detailed census information to tell readers more about who these victims were, people who too often have remained mere “figurative silhouettes” (32). Census information yields two types of knowledge for these researchers. It provides specific information about the lives of particular people, thus humanizing them. Take James Clark, lynched on 11 July 1926 in Eau Gallie, Florida (36–39). The authors glean from the 1920 census his employment history, his level of education, and that he was married to Mary P. and had three children—Charlie May, Elizabeth, and James Jr. The irony of their approach is that the census is usually the symbol par excellence of reducing populations to statistics and instituting systems of racial classification, but here it is used to add dimension to those lives.

Census data also help the researchers answer more sociological questions about what kinds of people were lynched. The researchers compare lynch victims to a “control group” of nonlynched Southerners. The authors strive (a bit in vain, however) for a common profile. They come to the reasonable conclusion that the data show great diversity among the victims. Context matters, they conclude. No great insight there, but this does not stop them from observing sociological patterns, some quite subtle. People who stood out, whether through wealth they had accumulated or because of their social marginality, were more vulnerable.

One also learns from this book the challenges to documenting lynching, and reasons historians have given for why lynching arose, why it declined, and who were its likely targets. This would serve as an excellent resource for the uninformed reader as well as the seasoned historian in this field.

Amy Kate Bailey and Stewart E. Tolnay describe their innovative methodology at great length. They relied extensively on undergraduate assistants. They used Ancestry.com to trace individual genealogies. They have also created a website that archives an extensive trove of documents searchable by name, race, state, and year ([lynching.csde.washington.edu](http://lynching.csde.washington.edu)).

The authors are heirs of a tradition that looks for statistical patterns in lynching. Although they spend a lot of time on the contribution of similar scholars, they largely overlook documentation by Ida B. Wells, W. E. B. Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, and others in the black freedom tradition. Since their focus is on the Southern lynching of African Americans, they also do not seem to notice the thousands of people of Mexican descent, Native Americans, and others who were lynched, many of whom were classed as “white” in the

census statistics. Nevertheless, Bailey and Tolnay have performed an invaluable service in filling in the lives of those who were so cruelly murdered by racist mobs.

*Binghamton University*

Joshua M. Price

*Mobile Selves: Race, Migration and Belonging in Peru and the U.S.* By Ulla D. Berg. (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 304. \$49.00.)

This study is a deep and engaging anthropological work on race and Peruvian migration. Rather than focus on transnational mobility alone, in *Mobile Selves*, the author adroitly weaves together the histories and experiences of both internal and external migration of Peruvians, and how both processes are intimately tied to Peruvians' particular understandings of race, class, and social mobility. Utilizing "ambulant ethnography," Ulla Berg follows individuals from sending communities in Peru's Mantaro valley to the receiving communities of Miami, Florida, Paterson, New Jersey, and Washington, DC, in the United States (29). In so doing, Berg "examines the experiences, practices, and imaginaries of transnational migration among Andean Peruvians" (2). Throughout the volume, Berg is attentive to the meanings produced by migration, not simply its patterns or numbers.

In chapter 1, the author focuses on the "ideology of self-improvement" in Peru and the Mantaro valley specifically, by first identifying early precursors to the ideology in the region's history and then revealing contemporary meanings of "getting ahead" through the actions and words of two young women from the region, Inés and Domitilia, whose migration to the United States fulfilled very different visions of upward mobility. In chapter 2, the author provides an ethnographic analysis of the formal and informal institutions of migration—from informal Peruvian "document fixers" to US immigration agents that form part of the global security state—all of which constrain and shape patterns of migration. Again, Berg uses contrasting individual experiences, this time in navigating the migration bureaucracies, to highlight how race, rurality, and social class interact with these technocracies of power to determine individual Peruvians' possibilities of achieving their dreams of migration. More often than not, rural and dark-skinned Peruvians find their dreams denied.

In subsequent chapters, the author explores migrants' lives once they are settled in the United States—from a focus on maintaining affective relations across space through traditional oral and newer, videographic means (chapters 3 and



4) to the performative acts that re-create Peruvian identity in the United States (chapter 5). Each chapter is rich with theoretically informed ethnographic material on how Peruvian migrants in the United States navigate simultaneous hierarchies of race between the United States and Peru and hierarchies within Peru. Examples include the Andean Peruvian nanny finding ways to maintain contact with kin in Peru, despite the surveillance and control of her white US employer, and rural, Andean Peruvians' use of annual Peruvian independence day celebrations in Paterson, New Jersey, to assert equality with their urban and whiter comigrants from Peru's capital, Lima. The author in chapter 6 brings the intertwined experiences of race and migration full circle with an account of how US migrants from the Mantaro valley used their stronger economic and social positions as a result of migration to demand greater respect for themselves and their home community from the Peruvian state by financing a crucial court case.

*Mobile Selves* provides powerful insight into the ways complex issues such as inequality and sociality contribute to and are reconfigured by the transnational migration process.

*University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Christina Ewig

*Untrodden Ground: How Presidents Interpret the Constitution.* By Harold H. Bruff.  
(Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. 550. \$55.00.)

Of the forty-four US presidents, twenty-five of them have been lawyers, so there is a certain logic to the author's lawyerly approach in his new study of the presidency, which spans the entire period from Washington to Obama. Presidents leave multiple imprints during their time in office; this volume takes as its particular object of study the shape of the Constitution as it has been handled—sometimes lightly, sometimes roughly—by the occupants of the White House.

Harold H. Bruff is a legal scholar whose work focuses on constitutional and administrative law. That emphasis naturally leads to the president, who plays a special role in overseeing the departments and agencies of the executive branch. Despite judicial protestations to the contrary, it is often the president who decides what the law, including the Constitution, means, and specifically how it constrains (or fails to constrain) the presidency. The author is particularly interested in the many domains in which presidents operate free of judicial or congressional oversight, at least for a while. In those arenas, he argues,

institutional constraints fall away, and presidents are guided by past practice, the counsel of their advisors, and the shadow of future political, judicial, and historical judgment.

Presidents respond differently in these circumstances. Bruff frequently grounds variation in presidential constitutional interpretation in presidential personalities—their “character and experience” and “political values and priorities”—as well as in the “practical problems of the day” (3). Many presidents untimely bow to the pressure of the office and opt for expansive definitions of their powers, taking the initiative and finding out later whether their actions were ratified or rejected by Congress or voters.

But Bruff also argues that there is a kind of precedent at work in the White House. He takes his title from a 1790 letter from George Washington to English historian and radical Catharine Macaulay in which the new president notes the potential precedent-setting nature of his actions. But presidential precedent works differently than judicial precedent, especially in how it interacts with the party system. Presidents certainly appear less constrained by prior legal interpretations, and during party transitions they may even feel obligated to explicitly break with the past. In this way, presidents are as much at risk of creating antiprecedent as they are of establishing norms that will be followed in the future. In addition, when defending controversial conduct, presidents will be inclined to reach for analogies from their predecessors from the opposition party, thereby disarming their most potent critics. Presidential precedent, then, is duly fraught: a source of anti-influence, or a tool easily picked up by the enemy.

The incidents that Bruff discusses are well known, and there are some missed opportunities, such as a more thorough exploration of the role of legal advisors to the president. Nevertheless, the volume usefully contextualizes two-and-a-quarter centuries of presidential constitutional interpretation and will be of interest to students of the US presidency and executive power.

*University of Virginia*

Michael A. Livermore

*Lincoln's Ethics.* By Thomas L. Carson. (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. xxvii, 427. \$32.99.)

Abraham Lincoln's morality has been a disputed question at least since the publication of James G. Randall's biography and the debunking treatment of Lincoln by Richard Hofstadter. More recent criticism includes the description

of Lincoln as an unrepentant white supremacist who was indifferent to slavery and interested only in the preservation of the Union and the depiction of Lincoln as a statist tyrant by Thomas DiLorenzo. Works by Allen Guelzo, George Fredrickson, Eric Foner, Mark Neely, and Mark Grimsley are more nuanced and have given detailed and largely sympathetic treatment to controversial uses of power by Lincoln, such as the suspension of habeas corpus and the suppression of newspapers. Two recent studies by William Lee Miller have provided a comprehensive and discriminating narrative of the major incidents and themes of Lincoln's moral life.

In the book under review, Thomas L. Carson makes a distinguished addition to the tradition of Lincoln scholarship best represented by William Lee Miller's two recent volumes *Lincoln's Virtues* [2003] and *Abraham Lincoln: The Duty of a Statesman* [2008]. What is special about Carson's book is the intellectual precision and nuanced discrimination he brought to the book as a trained philosopher.

This new study covers a wide range of disputed topics concerning Lincoln both as a statesman and as a man. Concerning Lincoln as a politician and commander in chief, Carson provides a cogent and historically literate defense of Lincoln's prewar compromises with slavery (his choice, despite his opposition to slavery, which sought to limit the expansion of slavery into the western territories rather than to achieve the destruction of slavery where it already existed) and a careful reconciliation of Lincoln's dual roles as savior of the Union and emancipator of the slaves. The author provides a thoughtful vindication of the Emancipation Proclamation, with all its limitations, as the only realistic blow against slavery that Lincoln was in a direct position to strike, and one he could not have struck much earlier than when he did. And Carson provides reasoned and thoughtful accounts of Lincoln's courses of action about habeas corpus, colonization, the treatment of civilians, and the treatment of prisoners.

Carson's treatment of the necessity and morality of the Civil War itself and of the detailed conduct of the war by Lincoln is telling and persuasive. In both areas, he notes that the philosophical defenses of Lincoln's course are different at different stages of the war. The defensibility of the war itself, for example, is weaker at the beginning of the war than at the end of it, but the defenses of specific war measures become weaker as the outcome of the war becomes more certain.

The author notes also that different philosophical traditions might weigh the evidence differently. He endorses a utilitarian interpretation of Lincoln's conduct (or more specifically, he adopts foreseeable-outcomes utilitarianism, which

weighs the cost of benefits that Lincoln could have foreseen, rather than weighing the actual outcomes). Here Carson discriminates between what strikes him as Lincoln's rather weak argument that the dissolution of the Union would portend ill for the future of democracy generally and the rather stronger argument that the secession of the Confederacy would have strengthened the position of slavery throughout the hemisphere.

Slightly different cases on the political issues, with different weaknesses and strengths, Carson notes, could have been built on the basis of just-war theory, particularly as articulated by Michael Walzer, with its emphasis on the moral necessity of the ends, the proportionality of the means, and the discrimination between legitimate and illegitimate targets of force. That tradition of argument does not treat weighing outcomes as the only consideration, as utilitarianism does, and gives greater deference to such things as fulfilling one's duty to God and the keeping of promises than utilitarianism does. Although the arguments Carson most strongly endorses derive from the utilitarian tradition, he argues that Lincoln himself could only be seen as a utilitarian in a rather qualified sense, since Lincoln often made arguments on the basis of deontic theories as well as on a utilitarian basis. But utilitarian and nonutilitarian lines of argument converge on most of the same conclusions.

Carson also provides a careful account of Lincoln's private morality as well, including his behavior as a suitor, as a husband, and as a parent; his relationships with his friends; his personal contempt for political opponents early in his career (and his striking magnanimity later on); his mercy and honesty; and, what is most important, his striking absence of self-righteousness.

Of particular interest is Carson's treatment of arguments that Lincoln's racial views evolved over his life and that his occasional racist pronouncements (such as during the Charleston debate during the 1858 campaign against Stephen Douglas) are often seen as carefully hedged strategic concessions rather than positive statements of racist conviction. Carson concedes this but adds considerable nuance to the argument by using the current philosophical literature to distinguish nine different species of racism (each of slightly different moral gravity from the others). He provides detailed and discriminating arguments, on the basis of the historical evidence, about which kinds of racism of which Lincoln was definitely free, which kinds he probably did suffer from (but differently at different points in his career), and which kinds of racism the evidence does not enable us to decide about one way or the other.

Carson's ability to see Lincoln's policies in the light of different philosophical traditions and his ability to make fine but telling distinctions between

different developments of the key themes mark his book as the work of a historically literate philosopher and bring to the discussion the precision and intellectual discipline that only a philosopher could provide.

*Brandeis University*

John Burt

*Franklin D. Roosevelt: Road to the New Deal, 1882–1939.* By Roger Daniels. (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 522. \$34.95.)

The life story of Franklin Roosevelt affords many readers the pleasures of an often-told tale rich in dramatic incident—the early life of privilege, the illustrious presidential cousin made uncle-in-law, service to Woodrow Wilson’s doomed internationalism, the love affair, polio, the return to politics, the New Deal enacted and thunderously ratified in 1936, and the fight against fascism. Encountering a new biography of Roosevelt is like seeing another production of a great Shakespeare play; readers largely know what will happen but want to see whether a shift of emphasis will render the moral slightly different, and maybe whether a beloved lesser episode—the 1924 convention, the gold-buying program of fall 1933—will be highlighted, or perhaps cut in the interest of pace. Above all, readers want to know how the lead will play his part: blithe spirit blandly skating by on charm and luck; wily manipulator bent on power; planner, improviser, failure, success?

Roger Daniels stages the story as a mystery, asking how Roosevelt “managed to achieve liberal results in peace and war in a nation whose people were far from liberal and with a Congress that was increasingly conservative” (xiii). The author focuses on the president’s public utterances—press conferences and speeches. The complete press conferences are newly available on the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library’s website, and make an especially rich resource. Using them, Daniels shows how the president used misdirection, wit, erudition, and sometimes irritation to guide reporters toward the stories he wanted them to write for his constituents.

The answer to Daniels’s question is, Roosevelt managed his successes through great shrewdness and care. The author appears impatient with the commonplace, if careless, assessments that Roosevelt was an intellectual flyweight. He quotes Walter Lippmann’s 1932 remark that Roosevelt was “a highly impressionable person, without a firm grasp of public affairs . . . a pleasant man who, without any important qualifications for office, would very much like to be President” and declares it is “the most famous—and perhaps the most fatuous” sketch of

the candidate (100). Whatever Roosevelt's undergraduate performance (which was good enough to let him continue to graduate study), Daniels notes how the grown Roosevelt continued aggressively to educate himself, inviting experts to give "postgraduate" tutorials (81). The president consulted widely and without regard for orthodoxy, keeping an open mind.

Studying leadership means less attention to policy outcomes. Daniels is at one point so critical of cliometricians that he will not cite their data—it "would give their efforts a seeming authority that they do not deserve"—and the historiography on Roosevelt's economic effectiveness goes unaddressed (93). More, Daniels is sufficiently good with the presidential record that one misses the insights he might have gleaned from wider consultation of sources revealing the offstage Roosevelt.

This volume moves briskly, covering all but about six years of Roosevelt's life. Heading into volume two, Daniels—long a leading scholar of Japanese American incarceration in the 1940s—may just be hitting his stride.

*University of California, Davis*

Eric Rauchway

*Florida Founder William P. DuVal: Frontier Bon Vivant.* By James M. Denham. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 456. \$49.95.)

Although William Pope DuVal was a central figure in the development of Florida (serving as governor for twelve years from 1822 to 1834), his name does not ring with familiarity in American history. There are reasons why he has been overlooked. He had a certain wanderlust that took him from Kentucky to Florida to Texas during his lifetime, and his political career fizzled to nearly nothing during the 1840s and 1850s. More to the point, his personal papers are scattered, so that assembling source material about him is a Herculean task. Author James M. Denham, known for his major works in nineteenth-century legal and social history, has undertaken the challenge—one that required twenty years of research in different archives. The result is a fine and well-written biography about a man who epitomized his era as well as Henry Clay or John C. Calhoun.

In large brushstrokes, but with great attention to detail, Denham embeds DuVal's life in a wider portrait of the young Republic, and particularly in issues affecting the western states and the former Spanish borderlands. DuVal, who grew up in Kentucky, had a typical storyline for Virginians moving west—death of a parent (his mother), a family plagued by debt, tutelage in law, military experience in the War of 1812, and entry into politics. By age thirty-seven,

about the time he left Kentucky for Florida, he was already the *bon vivant* of the book's title, an admired orator and engaging teller of tales, caricatured as Ralph Ringwood in Washington Irving's tales about a frontier hero.

The author explores various themes in DuVal's life, all of them tied to larger questions about national sovereignty. The central part of the book, covering DuVal's long tenure as governor of Florida, includes a well-constructed examination of his efforts to come to terms with the five thousand Seminoles, Miccosukees, and Creeks who lived within Florida's boundaries. Denham's exposition on the governor's policies provides essential grounding for how and why the Second Seminole War came about as well as DuVal's own misgivings about trying to incorporate Native Americans into a future state. Similarly, Denham brings clarity to the complex interplay between local and national politics in Florida, as citizens battled for and against statehood, and for and against banks. Throughout the book, he demonstrates how party and factional loyalties at the national level played out in the local arena.

The postgubernatorial years are equally well handled. DuVal continued in public service in Florida as a member of the convention that drafted Florida's Constitution in 1838 and then as a member of the legislature. However, he was increasingly drawn into the affairs of Texas. Two of his sons fought in the Texas Revolution [1835–1836]. By 1846, part of his family was living in Texas, and DuVal spent his last years there. Denham makes use of this part of DuVal's life to examine debates on the extension of slavery, DuVal's association with John C. Calhoun, and the rivalry between Whigs and Democrats for national prominence. Readers will find in this book a well-researched and well-written history that informs on many levels.

*University of Florida*

James G. Cusick

*After Appomattox: Military Occupation and the Ends of War.* By Gregory P. Downs. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 342. \$32.95.)

In a tightly woven narrative of nine chapters and a conclusion, utilizing the technique of data mining, the author focuses on the postsurrender wartime actions of President Andrew Johnson and congressional Republicans. He contends that both Johnson and Congress extended wartime in order to maintain their war powers, as a declaration of peace restored civil and legislative responsibilities to the states. By holding on to their war powers, Johnson and Congress, using the military to police rebel states, intentionally and inadvertently set precedents and

crafted legislation that proved invaluable for future change in American life and government.

Gregory P. Downs posits that “Johnson’s protection of military rule, support for army-led emancipation and requirement that reconstructed states pass the 13th Amendment were crucial to the legal abolition of slavery” (247). In addition, Congress also used its war powers to control how Southern states returned to the Union by devising laws, which they believed would protect the civil rights of freedpeople because “slavery did not die, it had to be killed” (41). Moreover, the author points out that military occupation provided protection for African Americans and Southern loyalists to produce a new South in which freedpeople were able to protect their families, accumulate property, build schools and churches, defend their rights, and reshape politics. According to Downs, however, both President Johnson and Congress made miscalculations in their occupation of the South, particularly in demobilization of the army. Among the first to be mustered out were cavalry regiments, thus leaving the responsibility of policing the South primarily to infantry troops on foot while the assaulting rebel Southerners were on horseback. The aggressive demobilization resulted in the number and type of troops spread across the South being inadequate for the job.

Downs’s [mappingoccupation.org](http://mappingoccupation.org) website illustrates what military occupation looked like in the postsurrender period and gives the reader access to his research material. He has joined a number of historians who have taken the voluminous data generated by their projects and turned them into user-friendly databases for future use. In doing so, the author and others point to the fact that the documents created by such events as the Civil War and Reconstruction era are rich with information that enables scholars more fully to understand the eras, but they must be willing to put in the time and hard work to earn this reward. In addition, the byproducts of scholarly research, research notes, graphs, and tables are now themselves as valuable as the manuscript that is written.

After laboriously making the case for the use of war powers and post-Civil War military occupation of the South, Downs’s conclusion is less than satisfactory. In it, he attempts to summarize what the Reconstruction era did and did not do, explain the impact of its legislation on twentieth-century civil rights, and discuss the problem of twenty-first-century military occupations. It detracts from his original argument—wartime lasted long after the guns of war ceased but postsurrender wartime was necessary for significant change in American government and American society.



*Slave against Slave: Plantation Violence in the Old South.* By Jeff Forret. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 530. \$65.00.)

The author of this study examines so-called “slave-slave” violence in the antebellum South. In doing so he enters the complex intersection of widely circulated media reports of modern-day intraracial homicide and historians’ near-universal belief that harmonious slave communities dotted the Old South’s plantation landscape.

Jeff Forret’s study of the historical and theoretical literature, as well as his detailed analysis of intraracial slave homicides in antebellum Virginia and elsewhere, leads him to identify “no consistent pattern of elevated rates of violence among black Americans over time” and to dismiss “any suggestion that contemporary ‘black-on-black violence’ may be explained as the residual aftereffect of slavery” (394). Forret’s splendid study also contributes significantly to historians’ understanding of slave life and the violence that constituted “an organic part of southern society” (26). He notes correctly that “[s]laves faced a much greater danger of physical assault or death at the hands of whites than from their fellow inhabitants of the quarters” (49).

Historians confront an interpretive challenge when assessing black violence within the slave community. Revisionist scholars of the 1970s identified slaves not as passive objects of white oppression, but rather as active agents of their own lives and guardians of their own humanity. Historians, emphasizing the importance of the slaves’ familial, religious, and social lives in promoting group solidarity and resilience, have created what Forret terms “the powerful ‘slave community’ paradigm,” one that downplays disagreements and fissures in the slave quarters (5). To revise the revisionists, Forret draws effectively on ex-slave autobiographies as well as church and court records, among other sources, to identify hundreds of cases of overt violence, including intraracial quarrels, physical confrontations, and homicides, that erupted between slaves, both male and female.

Forret identifies conflicts and jealousies, divisions and disputes, and mistrusts and rivalries that contributed to episodes of physical violence within slave communities. Redirecting conventional understandings of “agency,” in his narrative the bondspeople “betray, fight with, murder, and cheat on one another, and they express agency with knives, fists, and fence rails” (8). Based on his close sampling of sources in the Virginia Piedmont, the South Carolina upcountry, middle Georgia, the Old Southwest cotton frontier, and several urban settings, Forret unearths evidence pointing to slave-slave violence resulting from conflicts within the slave economy, in the creation and defense of enslaved families, and

in the negotiating and renegotiating of the masculinity of enslaved men and the femininity of bondwomen. Both genders fought to preserve their honor—"to maintain their good word and reputation" (382). He explains: "Violence afforded slaves an avenue through which to uphold cultural expectations, police themselves internally without interference from whites, and impose a moral and ethical code of their own creation" (25).

By examining interpersonal, intraracial slave violence, Forret demystifies and deromanticizes slave communities, reminding readers of slavery's inherent ambiguity. Resembling all humans across time and space, slaves disputed, fought, and sometimes killed. Forret thus provides an invaluable corrective to the historiography of slave culture that defines slave behavior as homogeneous. His book will surely influence future slave community studies.

*University of North Carolina at Charlotte*

John David Smith

*A Just and Generous Nation: Abraham Lincoln and the Fight for American Opportunity.* By Harold Holzer and Norton Garfinkle. (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2015. Pp. 311. \$27.99.)

In their new book, Harold Holzer and Norton Garfinkle advance a dual message. First, they propose that Abraham Lincoln had one paramount commitment: to use the power of government to advance individual economic opportunity. He went to war in 1861 "to ensure that the middle-class society of the North rather than the aristocratic society of the South would define the future of the nation" (76). Believing slavery to be antithetical to American values, he willingly paid a high price to end it. Second, the coauthors surmise that Lincoln would not feel at home in the early twenty-first-century Republican Party, which denies that government can widen opportunity. They contend instead that the Clinton-Obama Democratic Party carries forward Lincoln's goal of building "a large and vibrant middle class" (256).

A review in this venue will necessarily focus on the first point. Lincoln undoubtedly believed that a good society resulted when individual initiative gained a fair reward. Holzer and Garfinkle extract numerous block quotations to this effect from his writings, but their tunnel vision presents problems. Lincoln comes across here as uncomplicated and heroic, more a political philosopher than someone who engaged in the messy nitty-gritty of electoral politics. Their Lincoln knew all along what he wanted, acted deliberately to achieve it, and succeeded.

By focusing so narrowly on Lincoln, the coauthors blur the larger picture. They do not use key secondary sources—books by Michael Burlingame, Michael F. Holt, Russell McClintock, and the late William E. Gienapp, among others—that situate Lincoln more firmly in a complex partisan milieu. It bears repeating that Lincoln lived in a state where he was long in a political minority, outnumbered by Democrats who thought an activist government would only benefit rich insiders. Furthermore, before the Civil War, Lincoln's Republican Party rejected interfering with slavery in the states where it existed and never promised African Americans the same rights as whites. Confident that the South would acquiesce peacefully in his 1860 election, Lincoln and his fellow Republicans were startled to find themselves fighting a war.

Although Eric Foner was enlisted to provide a testimonial on this volume's dust jacket, he recently cautioned against explaining Lincoln in terms of "a political philosophy that remained constant throughout his life." Foner's Lincoln was not "born with a pen in his hand ready to sign the Emancipation Proclamation." During wartime he came to occupy "a very different position with regard to slavery and the place of blacks in American society than earlier in his life" (Foner, *A Fiery Trial*, xvii, xix).

Historians who might agree with the coauthors' second main point—and many will—may nevertheless question the decision to stretch it out over multiple chapters. Why burden a book about Lincoln with so much effort to identify his modern heirs? The blogosphere is full of half-baked ideas about connections between past and present. Those who work to illuminate a differing and earlier era should be wary of these facile and inherently speculative endeavors.

*College of New Jersey*

Daniel W. Crofts

*The History of Street Gangs in the United States: Their Origins and Transformations.*

By James C. Howell. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books/Rowman & Littlefield, 2015. Pp. xii, 165. \$80.00.)

The growth in scholarly research and publications on street gangs since the 1980s has been commensurate with their important relationship to the problems of crime and violence in the United States, especially in urban areas. Although gang-related crime has varied by time and location, it has become a commonplace feature of American urban life. How did that happen? James C. Howell notes that "At the time of the American Revolution, there were no

reports of street gangs in the United States” (xi). Starting from that baseline, he skillfully guides the reader on a tour de force from the past to the present.

Tour stops along the way include informed discussions of important issues such as: Where and how did street gangs emerge in different regions of our nation? How do street gangs differ from youth gangs? How have gangs been transformed over time? How do street gangs interact with prison gangs? Have females been members of predominantly male gangs, or have they formed their own gangs? What is the relationship between gangs and drug trafficking and are there “drug gangs?” How have transnational gangs emerged as one of the newest manifestations of street gangs? What role has migration, both internal and international, played in the formation and composition of street gangs? These and other questions are addressed with careful analysis and documentation as the reader benefits from Howell’s encyclopedic knowledge of street gangs.

The final stop along Howell’s tour appears in his “Epilogue,” wherein he draws upon his decades of research and public policy experience in discussing some of the key socioeconomic and demographic factors that exacerbate the gang problem and some of the most promising programs that have demonstrated some effectiveness in helping prevent and control gang-related crime. As the author and other informed gang scholars know, gangs are often viewed as an independent variable that “causes” crime, but in reality gangs generally result from causally prior socioeconomic conditions that are associated with increased crime.

This book represents the most complete and informative history of gangs in America. Instead of painting with a broad brush, Howell provides a systematic analysis that uniquely and thoroughly traces gang development specific to each region of the United States, noting similarities and differences among the gang developments in those regions. Readers will come away with a much deeper appreciation for the ever-increasing complexity of “the gang problem” and a greater understanding of its history in the United States.

*University of California, Irvine*

C. Ronald Huff

*Spring 1865: The Closing Campaigns of the Civil War.* By Perry D. Jamieson. (Lincoln: NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2015. Pp. xi, 320. \$34.95.)

This study provides an examination of both the eastern and western theaters during the Civil War’s closing months. Admittedly, the author’s focus is mostly at a strategic and operational level; readers wanting in-depth, tactical descriptions

will find the bibliographic essay helpful. Similarly, he sees the war's final campaign through the lens of Union and Confederate political and military leaders—namely Presidents Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, Union Generals Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman, and Confederate Generals Robert E. Lee and Joseph Johnston.

*Spring 1865* provides a chronological narrative from the Union triumphs at Fort Fisher and Wilmington to the war's closing moments at the McLean House and the Bennett Place. Among the strengths of Perry D. Jamieson's work are the ways in which he smoothly integrates diplomatic efforts into the narrative. Keeping the interplay between war and peace at the forefront, Jamieson outlines the occasions on which representatives from the Federal and Confederate governments met to negotiate the war's end. Aboard the *River Queen* on the James River, Lincoln and Secretary of State William Seward met with three Confederate representatives, including Confederate Vice President Alexander Stephens, on 3 February 1865. With both sides remaining steadfast to particular terms, the meeting quickly reached an impasse.

Similarly, Jamieson's attention to the diplomatic efforts between Grant and Lee at Appomattox and Sherman and Johnston in North Carolina are also admirably covered. Grant's surrender terms proved magnanimous, giving parole to the Confederate soldiers and allowing them to retain their animals and sidearms. Jamieson then addresses the surrender of Johnston's army in North Carolina. He argues that Sherman offered Johnston lenient surrender terms, in part out of Sherman's confidence that he or other military officials were better equipped to handle the diplomacy of the war's end. Sherman's generosity, particularly in terms of civil policies, however, was rebuffed by Federal authorities. In fact, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton and General Henry Halleck publicly criticized Sherman's surrender terms, a slight the general never forgot. Jamieson's interpretation of Johnston's role in the war's final months is sympathetic. He argues that Johnston successfully achieved his goals of maintaining a cohesive opposition to the Federal army and, when forced, negotiated an amicable surrender. In fact, Jamieson maintains, "Even after the Johnson administration vetoed Sherman's original terms, Johnston still gained a settlement for his troops that was superior to the one Lee had accepted for his soldiers" (201).

Jamieson's *Spring 1865* stands as an engaging synthesis of the Civil War's closing campaigns in the eastern and western theaters. Not intended to provide an in-depth tactical analysis of the 1865 battles, Jamieson produces a coherent narrative that views the war's final months through a strategic and political

lens. In doing so, this is a fine contribution to the Great Campaigns of the Civil War series.

*University of Virginia's College at Wise*

Jennifer M. Murray

*A Season of Inquiry Revisited: The Church Committee Confronts America's Spy Agencies.* By Loch K. Johnson. (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2015. Pp. xxii, 345. \$34.95.)

This author's contributions to the literature on congressional oversight of and efforts to reform the intelligence community reflect his unique perspective. After serving with the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (Church Committee), he held staff positions on subsequent intelligence committees and commissions. He also holds a chair in political science and has written multiple books and articles on intelligence, the most important of which address the question of how to align an enterprise that is inherently secretive and engages in sordid activities with American ideals and democratic practices while improving its effectiveness and service to the national interest.

Loch Johnson's *A Season of Inquiry* came out in 1985. Not surprisingly, it was a study of the Church Committee investigations. Likewise, not surprisingly, it was as much a memoir as it was a monograph. Johnson drew on the committee's records and other primary sources. Written mostly in the first person, he also provided his personal assessment of the internal and external politics that enveloped the investigation, the attitudes and behavior of the principals, the conflicts between the Senate, CIA, White House, and more. *A Season of Inquiry* was more description and observation than analysis and theory. It gave the Church Committee—and Senator Frank Church himself—higher grades than most scholars have. Its value was nevertheless indisputable.

More than three decades later, Johnson has revisited this study, to use his title. A better verb is “reinforced.” He has not adjusted any of the twenty-three brief chapters or appendix that provides the text of the legislation produced by the Church Committee mandating the president to issue a “finding” justifying a covert action and establishing the Senate Select Subcommittee on Intelligence and House Permanent Subcommittee on Intelligence. Johnson omitted the bibliographic note from the 1985 edition but did not replace it with a current one. He did add a foreword and postscript, and he updated the list of the intelligence community's leadership, as well as its organizational chart and chronology.

Informed readers will be disappointed by Johnson's "revisiting" but not "revising." There remains much value in the original text. Johnson writes with grace and sense of drama. In addition to the revealing details he provides, he adeptly recreates the atmosphere in which the Senate conducted the hearings and enacted the reforms. Leaving this exposition untouched was smart. But he could have added without subtracting. Over the past three decades there has been an explosion of relevant scholarship. Johnson cites none of it. Instead, a footnote in the preface refers the reader to a bibliography that he published elsewhere.

More substantively, the book begs for a rigorous assessment of the effectiveness of the oversight mechanism. In the eight-page postscript, Johnson discusses Iran-Contra, the 9/11 Commission, and the "torture report," but he is mute about the politicization of congressional oversight, the FISA controversies, and parallel phenomena. Nor does he raise the question of why the success of efforts to enhance oversight and institute needed reforms of the intelligence community has been so limited. Thus, he denies readers the full benefit of his insights and expertise.

*Temple University*

Richard H. Immerman

*Marching Home: Union Veterans and Their Unending Civil War.* By Brian Matthew Jordan. (New York, NY: Liveright, 2014. Pp. 374. \$28.95.)

A reader might assume that a book whose introduction includes the phrase more than 26,000 veterans of the war in Iraq and Afghanistan

[that] dwell in homeless shelters; thousands suffering from posttraumatic stress and traumatic brain injuries [that] have yielded to drugs and alcohol . . . [while] bureaucratic delays have kept some veterans waiting impatiently for promised benefits

addresses the challenges facing contemporary veterans; you would be wrong (8). Instead, the author of this study invokes the experiences of contemporary veterans to contextualize troubled Civil War veterans' postwar lives. Brian Jordan's study is part of a resurgence in scholarly interest in nineteenth-century veterans in the first decades of the twenty-first century. In addition to winning a number of dissertation prizes at his alma mater—Yale University—this study was a finalist for the 2016 Pulitzer Prize, an unusual honor for a published dissertation. No one who reads this book would question these awards; it is one of the most elegantly written historical studies the reviewer has ever examined. Its literary value is only exceeded by its contemporary resonance.

Though his inspiration might partly be modern veterans, he examines Civil War veterans on their own terms. Jordan argues that because of the horrific nature of Civil War military service, the Civil War never ended for Union veterans. The long march home that Jordan describes was particularly difficult for those who were

hopelessly addicted to laudanum they had first sampled in Civil War field hospitals. Especially for those sporting empty sleeves or staggering along with irksome and ill-fitting wooden legs, joblessness, vagrancy, and penury loomed. Vivid nightmares of the picket post and the prison pen mocked any proclamation of peace. (4)

Jordan attributes former soldiers' misery to civilian unwillingness to support these men in their postwar struggles because they did not understand the nature of their suffering and sacrifices. Bringing this study back to the present, he argues that "even today, as soldiers return home from new and more complex wars farther away and more difficult to imagine, we still have trouble seeing the pathos of American veteranhood" (8).

Though these contemporary connections make this study more relevant, it may make some readers question the value of this work. To what extent some might wonder, is this about contemporary times and not about the Civil War? Ironically, modern wars may lead contemporary Americans to underestimate Civil War veterans' problems. Because of modern military technology, many veterans of more recent conflicts served behind the lines supporting combatants. In contrast, the vast majority of Civil War soldiers experienced front-line combat suggesting that the percentage of veterans adversely affected by these experiences was higher than in more recent conflicts. Overall, one cannot recommend this study enough. Jordan's book provides both scholars and students with an outstanding example of elegant and relevant historical writing.

*University of Central Florida*

Barbara Gannon

*Cherokee Medicine, Colonial Germs: An Indigenous Nation's Fight against Smallpox, 1518–1824.* By Paul Kelton. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 281. \$29.95.)

The story of Native Americans succumbing to European diseases with death rates of 90 percent is a familiar one to historians of the colonial Americas. The author of this book asks readers to reconsider this story of virgin soil epidemics



and its inherent emphasis upon biological accident, which leads to underemphasis on the violent actions Europeans and Americans took in colonizing the Americas, and dismissal of Native American attempts to deal with new diseases as naïve, ineffective, and harmful. Paul Kelton aims to correct this deterministic picture of European colonialism by focusing on how violence facilitated the spread of disease and interfered with native strategies of dealing with germs. He offers a case study of the Cherokee struggle against smallpox, giving a new perspective on how human agency shaped disease in early America.

Using the sizable Cherokee historiography and extensive documentation from traders, officials, soldiers, missionaries, and Cherokee leaders, Kelton traces Cherokee responses to smallpox from its first appearance to 1824, when most of the tribe underwent vaccination. In chapter 1, Kelton tracks smallpox's arrival in the Southeast, enumerating factors that facilitated its spread: settlement and trading patterns, political organization, and warfare. In chapter 2, he explores connections between the spiritual world, health, and medicine, outlining adaptations Cherokee medical practitioners made to their rituals, along with their creation of new rites, like the weeklong smallpox ceremony and proactive quarantines, emphasizing the need for ritual purity and underscoring the connection between spirits and sickness. Far from being passive victims, Cherokees actively sought to protect themselves physically and culturally by restoring harmony to the spirit world. Since early modern Euro-American medicine routinely killed patients, modern scholars should question statements from observers like trader James Adair, who claimed Cherokee medicine was laughably ineffective.

In chapters 3 and 4, Kelton focuses on the Cherokee War and the American Revolution, detailing how violence disrupted native responses to smallpox epidemics and handicapped enforcement of pre-emptive village quarantines. Warfare, Kelton contends, was far more destructive than disease, as Cherokee speeches mention violence more than the effects of viruses. In chapter 5, he follows the process of vaccination in the early nineteenth century. This aspect of American civilization was similar to the pluralistic Cherokee acceptance of Christianity and farming: Individual Cherokees took what they thought useful and discarded the rest while retaining aspects of Cherokee culture (and medicine) they deemed valuable.

At times, Kelton uses conjecture—for example, there is no direct evidence of a Cherokee smallpox epidemic in 1690, but the fact that a middle-aged Cherokee fared well in the 1730s epidemic strongly suggests there was an earlier exposure. However, his argument provides an insightful analysis into the

relationship between violence, warfare, and disease, and his focus on human agency—both Euro-American and Cherokee—offers a fresh perspective to the historiography of disease in early America and a fine example of cultural persistence and adaptation into the early nineteenth century.

*Georgia College & State University*

Jessica L. Wallace

*The New Freedom and the Radicals: Woodrow Wilson, Progressive Views of Radicalism, and the Origins of Repressive Tolerance.* By Jacob Kramer. (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2015. Pp. 226. \$79.50.)

The author of this study seeks to explain the complex relationship between progressives and radicals during the first quarter of the twentieth century. In evaluating the vast primary sources and scholarly literature on reform in the Industrial Age, the author painstakingly traces the labyrinthine connections between progressives and radicals, be they socialists, anarchists, syndicalists, or foreign revolutionaries. Jacob Kramer argues that both New Left and more recent scholarship attempts to establish a uniform explanation of these connections that reduces them to a simple, though nonetheless untenable, unity. Instead, he maintains, this relationship was ever-changing, often disputatious, and seldom reducible to simple formulae.

Progressives could be sympathetic to radicals, even engaging in concerted action with them, and yet, Kramer maintains, that sympathy was predicated upon radicals serving progressive ends. An example is the Protocol of Peace, overseen by Louis Brandeis in 1910, which helped facilitate collective bargaining on behalf of labor, on one hand, but denied them the right to strike, on the other. When that relationship ceased to be beneficial to those ends, radicals were subjected to the same kind of repression usually reserved for the conservatives of Kramer's work. Such "repressive tolerance" was most pronounced, the author maintains, in "the eleven months of 1918 before the end of the war" (127).

It is in his analysis of the relationship between progressives and radicals that Kramer's work is most convincing. He clearly shows a pattern of progressive support (however guarded) for radicals' ends when it served their mutual benefit. The reader is struck by the extent to which progressives seemed able to read the public temper in order to know how far to push their association with radicals and when, as in World War I, it was better to either downplay such association, or even suppress radicals as in the Justice Department raids of Industrial Workers of the World offices in 1917. Where once "there was an

open-ended embrace of radicalism before the war, progressives now settled upon state control of the economy and a league of nations” (91).

Kramer substantially demonstrates through close analysis of progressive ideas espoused in the writings of Herbert Croly, W. E. B. Du Bois, Jane Addams, and many others how closely allied progressive and radical agendas were. He is less convincing, however, in his questionable analysis of Wilson’s progressivism and the extent to which progressives, though not espousing the violence often associated with radicalism, nonetheless represented a quite radical understanding of the American political order and the extent to which they intended to change it. Wilson’s early writings, for example, demonstrate a kind of radical, revolutionary thinking that is not indicated in Kramer’s assessment, which adheres to the standard interpretation of Wilson as a latecomer to progressive reform. That understanding of Wilson, however, is successfully challenged by such works as R. J. Pestritto’s *Woodrow Wilson and the Roots of Modern Liberalism*.

*University of Dallas*

William Atto

*One Nation Under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America.* By Kevin M. Kruse. (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2015. Pp. 384. \$29.99.)

“Our form of government has no sense unless it is founded in a deeply-felt religious faith, and I don’t care what it is.” When President-elect Dwight Eisenhower, named after the nineteenth-century evangelist Dwight Moody, spoke these words before the Freedoms Foundation at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on 22 December 1952, he signaled his plans to usher in an era of “government under God.”

The 1950s were indeed a time of what legal scholar Eugene Rostow called “ceremonial deism.” Church membership spiked to unprecedented highs, prayer breakfasts became annual political events in the nation’s capital, the phrase “under God” was added to the Pledge of Allegiance, and “In God We Trust” became the national motto affixed to US currency. Kevin M. Kruse puts a new spin on this otherwise familiar story by contending that the religious expressions that came to dominate American political life during the 1950s were the ironic legacy of a collaboration between right-wing clergy and corporate tycoons.

Business conservatives like Howard Pew believed the New Deal was bringing ruin to the United States, since they interpreted regulation and high

taxation as threats to the liberties upon which the nation was founded. This was not a new argument, but during the Great Depression the immensely popular Franklin D. Roosevelt swept such arguments into the political shadows, leaving “economic royalists” in search of new logic to combat what they saw as an emerging totalitarianism.

Kruse unearths mountains of archival evidence to tell the compelling story of how corporate barons discovered capitalist-loving pastors like James Fifield and Abraham Vereide and in so doing discovered that perhaps “Christian libertarianism” was the answer to their prayers. They launched a massive propaganda campaign to convince Americans to turn against the New Deal by enlisting conservative pastors across the country to preach the sermon that Christianity and capitalism were mutually reinforcing agents of American liberty.

The Christian libertarian project seemed to come to fruition with the election of Eisenhower. During the 1952 presidential campaign, Eisenhower told the increasingly influential evangelical preacher Billy Graham that the nation was in need of a spiritual revival, while also whispering anti-New Deal sweet nothings to wealthy tycoons like oilman Sid Richardson. But much to the dismay of the wealthiest Americans, the Christian libertarian project was transformed into something else entirely. Eisenhower indeed channeled the broad-based, if shallow, religious fervor that gripped the nation during the tense days of the early Cold War, when religion seemingly soothed fears of nuclear holocaust. But he did not marry this civil religion to the cause of “free enterprise.” Quite to the contrary, Eisenhower’s “government under God” was a New Deal government that pleased the majority of Americans in both major political parties. As Kruse shows, Richard Nixon was the first postwar president to use religion for strictly partisan purposes, as the emerging culture wars seeped into electoral politics.

Kruse’s thesis overreaches. Many millions of Americans, mostly Protestant Christians, had long believed their nation a Christian one, and would have put such beliefs into so many words with or without Kruse’s business tycoons. A more accurate, if less provocative, title would have been “How Corporate America Failed to Co-Opt Christian America.” But such criticism aside, Kruse’s book is required reading for students of postwar American politics.

*The Power Brokers: The Struggle to Shape and Control the Electric Power Industry.*

By Jeremiah D. Lambert. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 400. \$29.95.)

As a practicing energy lawyer, the author of this book is well positioned to illuminate the oft-arcane operations of the electric utility industry. In *The Power Brokers*, however, he attempts something more, donning a historian's cap to track the industry's evolution from a few nineteenth-century monopolies into today's disaggregated collection of competitive power generators, opportunistic energy brokers, and turf-protecting retailers. At the end of this century-long transformation, Jeremiah D. Lambert's take is that the more things changed, the more they stayed the same. His concluding chapter on Duke Energy's conditional support for carbon regulation—as long as existing investments are protected—makes it clear that the industry's guiding principle remains a desire to coopt regulatory oversight to ensure corporate profits. Energy executives may espouse free markets and competition, but the power industry is and always has been a supporter and beneficiary of government regulation.

This principle, Lambert tells readers, was laid down by the industry's founder, Samuel Insull, a Thomas Edison protégé who brought the central generating station to the frontier town of Chicago. Fearing corrupt city leaders, Insull struck a deal with state officials to allow minimal oversight in exchange for state-sanctioned electricity rates that guaranteed a reasonable return on investment. But this "regulatory compact" also left a regulatory gap over the wholesale transmission of interstate electricity, which Insull exploited to create holding companies that controlled the bulk of the nation's power. New Deal laws eventually dismantled the largest of these entities and authorized federal authorities to set wholesale rates, but they left intact large utilities that still dominated protected regions. Similarly, federal agencies like the Tennessee Valley Authority established "yardstick" comparisons to check high electricity rates, but they never upset the industry model of a vertically integrated monopoly with guaranteed profits. In fact, these agencies simply emulated that approach, slapping a public label on a private template.

Real change emerged, according to Lambert, in the 1970s, when the combination of energy crises and economic stagnation triggered calls for increased competition to improve industry efficiency. Antitrust lawsuits, federal laws, and agency rulings pried open the utility-owned grid to third party generators, decoupling power generation from transmission and distribution. This allowed for the introduction of market-based prices to supplant government-approved, cost-based rates. But the devil of deregulation was in the details. Lambert's

chapter on Enron's manipulation of California energy markets in the mid-1990s demonstrates just how powerful regulators remained when setting the terms of "deregulated" markets. Here, deregulation was poorly executed with disastrous results for Enron investors and California consumers.

There is much to learn from this work. The descriptions of Paul Joskow's economic rationale for deregulation, the incremental steps taken to implement it across federal and state jurisdictions, Enron's nefarious operations within that deregulating system, and the congressional debates about extending market-based approaches to carbon regulation are masterfully done. But these new lessons do not begin until the book enters the post-1970s era of deregulation, which is clearly Lambert's terrain. The first three chapters are based entirely on secondary sources yet fail to offer any new synthetic analysis. Instead, Lambert falls into the trap of simply reporting what others have written, including the use of long, unintroduced quotes to carry the narrative. There's not much history being practiced here, though the concluding chapters provide an excellent reference for those interested in the industry's current structure.

*Christopher Newport University*

James R. Allison III

*After Lincoln: How the North Won the Civil War and Lost the Peace.* By A. J. Langguth. (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2014. Pp. xv, 464. \$28.00.)

The author of this work finishes his series of popular works on American history with a gripping and ultimately tragic retelling of Reconstruction. *After Lincoln* uses a series of minibiographies of prominent individuals to narrate the political battles that raged once the official hostilities of the Civil War ended.

Though the approach is unconventional, the story is familiar. After initial hopes that Andrew Johnson would be one of their own, radical Republicans like Benjamin Wade, Thaddeus Stevens, and Charles Sumner fiercely countered the president's conciliatory approach to the former Confederate states. Johnson's obstinacy engendered greater support for radicals in Congress, but also helped instill a belief in Southerners that they could and should resist attempts to reconstruct their society. With the more sympathetic Grant in the White House from 1868, radicals drove the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, the Enforcement Act of 1870, and the Civil Rights Act of 1875. The success of these measures allowed the rise of figures like Hiram Revels, the

man who filled Jefferson Davis's former Mississippi seat to become the nation's first black senator. Yet A. J. Langguth's narrative stresses that progress proved fleeting, ending with a chapter on Jim Crow that culminates with Lyndon Johnson's signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The book's focus on race as the central dynamic of Reconstruction makes it accessible and compelling to the modern reader, even if it obscures other explanatory factors. Langguth astutely notes the uphill challenge that radicals faced when even men like Gideon Welles, a New England Republican, confided to his diary that he did not want the black man "at my table, nor do I care to have him in the jury-box or in the legislative halls" (140). Northern racial prejudice undermined the promise of Reconstruction and Southerners' unwavering commitment to white supremacy doomed it. The combination allows Langguth to conclude that the Compromise of 1877 was "simply acknowledging ways in which the past dozen years had not changed the American South" (351). But much had changed. Mark Summers's recent work, *The Ordeal of the Reunion*, argues that after the Civil War most Americans prioritized reconstructing the Union, not the South. Few saw the need to reorder racial hierarchies beyond ensuring slavery's permanent demise. Americans meant to secure the perpetual Union for which they had fought, seeking sectional harmony to banish forever the possibility of secession and place the whole nation back on a path of prosperity and development. Such a purpose for Reconstruction is largely absent from this work, and helps explain why individuals like Grant and Seward, for whom Union remained paramount, appear to lack clear driving principles.

Langguth writes for a popular audience, eschewing historiography or even a stated interpretive stance. Scholars will be frustrated by numerous quotations without easily comprehensible citations. What should appeal to all readers is a riveting narrative constructed around people. These historical figures are vividly rendered and acutely human, sharing the same foibles and intertwined personal lives that people all do. Langguth may overstress the significance of Grant's drinking or rumors about Sumner's sexual failings, but such realities lend a sense of veracity to his work. *After Lincoln* succeeds most dramatically in demonstrating how both lofty ideals and petty vendettas helped shape the history of Reconstruction.

*Imperialism and the Origins of Mexican Culture.* By Colin M. MacLachlan. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. 330. \$35.00.)

The author of this book hypothesizes that the cultural fusion of Spanish and what he calls Indo-Mexico cultures began many years before their historical encounter in 1519. At that point, both peoples, according to Colin MacLachlan, were becoming imperial powers. (His use of the terms “empire” and “imperial” is problematic because, in the modern sense, the terms refer to the last stage of capitalism, and the Aztecs were certainly not capitalists.)

The strength of the book is its readability. It is an entertaining book, with a provocative, if not controversial, discussion of the world and religious views of both civilizations. One flaw is that the author, for the most part, does not use indigenous sources to document the gory and highly contested descriptions of human sacrifice and cannibalism (“Feeding the Population,” 92–97). There is considerable documentation that Columbus created the word “cannibal,” initially derived from Carib or Caribes. Throughout Mexican colonial history, the invention of cannibalism and human sacrifice were pretexts for enslaving or making war on native populations; charges of cannibalism and human sacrifice justified the brutal conquest. It also dehumanized the indigenous peoples.

The book has other flaws, beginning with MacLachlan’s reliance on arguments first made in his book (with coauthor Jaime E. Rodríguez), *The Forging of the Cosmic Race: A Reinterpretation of Colonial Mexico* [1980]. That treatise offers a central argument that has come under much critical scrutiny: the notion that the Mexican nation-state forged an integrated pan-ethnic national identity during the colonial period. Today, the notion of *mestizaje* is contested, and many younger scholars are more in tune with the late Jack Forbes’s “The Mestizo Concept: A Product of European Imperialism.” It was Forbes who, before Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, presented the argument that the concept of *mestizaje* is “a subtle undermining of native peoples.”

MacLachlan mixes his terms. He does not explain what he means by “civilization” or “culture.” His definition of the boundaries of “Indo-Mexico” is unclear; at times, he seems to refer exclusively to the valley of Mexico and the Mexica (Aztecs). Although he mentions them, his narrative ignores the great indigenous peoples north and south of the valley that played major roles in the cultural fusion of Indo-Mexico. The reviewer found himself asking: What happened to the Mayan, the Purépecha, Zapotec, Mixtec, and other great Mexican states in MacLachlan’s Indo-Mexico construct?



Population dynamics have constantly reshaped the history of Mexico. The driving force is the dramatic increase of the Mexican-origin population in the United States. It has zoomed from three and a half million to thirty-five million since 1970, and the impact of this is the growth in the number of scholarly and popular publications on Mexico. Before 1971, for example, 660 dissertations were listed on Mexico in the ProQuest data bank. From 1971 to 2010, 9,078 were written.

MacLachlan ignores the large body of research produced by Chicana/o and younger, more radical scholars, as well as many works on Mexico in other fields (3). The study of Mexico is neglected by traditional history departments while the field of Chicana/o studies is growing. For example, at California State Northridge, the history department provides one course on Mexican history every other semester, although the Chicana/o studies department offers over 160 sections per semester (4). It lists courses on Nahuatl and has offered courses on classical Yucatecan Mayan. These changes promise to impact historical interpretation because no longer will history be learned exclusively in translation.

In sum, many scholars question not so much the established story but what it is based upon. More indigenous sources would have added to the depth and nuances of the author's major arguments. MacLachlan is a leading historian in the field of Mexico; however, the lack of clear definitions makes it seem as if the author lacks a profound grasp of indigenous societies of the Western hemisphere.

*California State University, Northridge*

Rodolfo F. Acuña

*Addressing America: George Washington's Farewell Address and the Making of National Culture, Politics, and Diplomacy, 1796–1852.* By Jeffrey J. Malanson. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 253. \$55.00.)

The author of this book is to be congratulated on this fine addition to the New Studies in US Foreign Relations series published by the Kent State University Press. Though the title references culture and politics, the clear focus of this work falls upon diplomacy, most particularly Washington's Farewell Address and its use and misuse by succeeding administrations.

Jeffrey J. Malanson begins with an excellent overview of the creation of the Farewell Address, emphasizing the political factionalism, particularly surrounding foreign policy, which drove Washington nearly to distraction during his

second term. Noting that the address was drafted by Alexander Hamilton, Malanson demonstrates that he worked from drafts supplied by Washington and so the final document reflected the thought of the first president, if mostly in the prose of Hamilton. Malanson recognizes the sagacity of Washington's advice, as the president counseled against allowing personal and party considerations to affect considerations of policy, foreign or domestic. Instead, understanding that circumstances and interests change over time, Washington advised against "permanent" alliances, insisting that policy be constructed only in regard to a careful consideration of the national interest. Unfortunately, however, Washington's advice became confused when, in his inaugural address in 1801, Thomas Jefferson advised against "entangling" alliances. Though Malanson may exaggerate the distance between the basic foreign policy views of Washington and Jefferson, he is correct that Washington was henceforth identified with a much more restrictive, if not actively isolationist, policy than that which he had advised. The remainder of the book illustrates how this advice was used and abused by American policymakers over the succeeding half-century.

John Quincy Adams emerges as a crucial figure in this study and rightly so, given his critical role in US foreign policy during the first third of the nineteenth century. As secretary of state from 1817 to 1825 and then during his term as president, Adams constructed policy in the fallout of the collapse of the Spanish Empire in the western hemisphere and the ensuing threats of intervention in the newly independent states by the European powers. In perhaps the strongest section of a fine book, Malanson skillfully develops how Adams, certainly the finest American diplomatic strategist of the nineteenth century and arguably in the entirety of American history, artfully produced an effective policy, culminating in the Monroe Doctrine. Unfortunately, neither Congress nor the American public held as clear a grasp of Washington's advice as did Adams, and his further efforts to promote US interests in Latin America were stymied by those who misunderstood Washington as having called for a policy of strict nonintervention.

As Washington had expected, changing times brought new challenges and the expansion of American strength and confidence contributed to an expansionist philosophy personified by John Tyler and James K. Polk. Though their policies certainly represented a break with traditional US foreign policy, one might debate the author on how much they actually conflicted with Washington's advice. This study concludes with an interesting discussion of the visit of the Hungarian revolutionary Louis Kossuth to America in 1851–1852 and his direct challenge to the principles of the Farewell Address.

*Addressing America* by Jeffrey J. Malanson is an excellent study and an important contribution to the history of the early republic and to the American diplomatic field.

*University of Tennessee at Martin*

Daniel McDonough

*Lincoln's Autocrat: The Life of Edwin Stanton.* By William Marvel. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Pp. xvii, 611. \$35.00.)

The second most powerful civilian in the Union government, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, was difficult to work with and hard to like. Few contemporaries doubted his dedication to victory, but many criticized his overbearing manner, backroom deceptions, and disregard of due process. In his latest book, William Marvel painstakingly documents these character flaws and forges them into a hard-hitting chronicle of Stanton's life and career.

Studious and combative, the young Stanton relished debates at Kenyon College and later gained fame as an attorney who argued corporate suits and won acquittal for a congressman charged with murder. Cultivating political allies, Stanton rose to serve in three presidential cabinets: as attorney general for James Buchanan during the secession crisis, as Lincoln's second war secretary, and in the same position for Andrew Johnson until supporting his impeachment. Breaking with his Democratic roots after Lincoln appointed him, Stanton advocated, with the zeal of a convert, emancipation and a hard line toward rebellious Southerners. Marvel finds little sincerity in this and other shifts, only opportunistic maneuvering by Stanton. Among his exhibits is Stanton's rapid change of heart toward General George McClellan, a former ally who, according to Marvel, Stanton dumped not because he proved a reluctant fighter but to please congressional Radicals. As he examines Stanton's role in military appointments and recruitment, civilian arrests, and prisoner exchanges, Marvel adds cronyism, despotism, and vindictiveness to his indictment.

Some of these attacks hit home. Marvel's impressive sweep of primary sources uncovers new evidence of Stanton's self-serving duplicity toward Buchanan and Johnson. His research shows that Stanton used government contracts to raise campaign money for Republican candidates. Other findings document Stanton's machinations against unfairly accused targets, from reputedly disloyal civilians to the army's surgeon general. The force of such criticisms is blunted by Marvel's obvious bias. His strong detective work is rarely rounded out by incorporating contrary evidence or historical studies that point to other actors

or factors. Instead, Marvel tends to fill gaps in Stanton's documentary record by quoting others' suspicions and offering his own damning conjectures. Occasionally he exonerates Stanton, but in the case of Stanton's alleged tampering with John Wilkes Booth's diary, the verdict appears only in an endnote. Even Stanton's much-praised steadiness during Lincoln's assassination is attributed to his gift for "dictatorial leadership" (370).

At one point the author credits Stanton for bringing "relative order" to the war office after Simon Cameron's inept tenure and admits that "probably no one could have done a better job" as war secretary (355–356). That kind of broad and balanced perspective is mostly missing in a biography that finds no detail too small, especially if it might impugn its subject. For more than half a century, the panoramic biography of Stanton begun by Benjamin Thomas and completed by Harold Hyman in 1962 has been the standard treatment. Marvel updates its research and rightly casts doubt on its overly generous assessment, but his contentious biography is framed as a rebuttal and not a replacement. Readers who wish to situate Stanton in context and to assess his actions fairly ought to consider Marvel's book in company with the Thomas and Hyman volume and recent works on Lincoln and his cabinet.

*Saint Mary's College of California*

Carl J. Guarneri

*The Brandywine: An Intimate Portrait.* By W. Barksdale Maynard. (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. Pp. 276. \$34.95.)

Historians have long used bodies of water as stages on which to set dramas of the past. The author uses the flowing waters of the Brandywine (Creek and River; to explain fully why it is known as both would take up much of this review) to tell a story of a place's distinctiveness and its change over time. The Brandywine region, which spans an area of Pennsylvania and Delaware, is probably best known for two reasons: the lavish châteaux and gardens American aristocrats built there and the distinctive artistic expressions that the region's natural beauty and colonial past have inspired. The author's focus is on why these distinctions came to be.

In often beautiful prose, W. Barksdale Maynard tells the region's story from outpost of empires to growing industrial powerhouse, as the waters flowing through the region powered mills that ground wheat, corn, and eventually another "grain": the explosives used to clear roads, modify riverbanks, and

wage war. Indeed, war would be a factor in changing the Brandywine Valley's identity forever. On 11 September 1777, American troops engaged the British there and Washington's men were defeated, and the struggling army suffered at Valley Forge that winter. Maynard likens Brandywine to Gettysburg, a very large, very costly battle, but he acknowledges that the battlefield never received the same reverence (or the same federal dollars for land preservation) as its Civil War equivalent. Gettysburg was a victory for the United States; Brandywine was a loss.

But the battle encouraged a nostalgia that would turn the site from being one more creek with mills and farms lining its banks into something distinctive. Early versions of heritage tourists started arriving in the nation's first decades, and generations traveled to see the fields on which Washington, Lafayette, and their men had fought. By the early nineteenth century, Du Pont mills brought the changes of the earliest days of the Industrial Revolution. But that industry, and the growing impact of the trains, trolleys, and eventually automobiles that changed the area's population, continued to encounter resistance from the presence of the region's past. Industrialization came up against Colonial Revivalism at its most fervent. Mills fell to ruins; colonial houses underwent restoration and similar new buildings rose in the region. By the mid-twentieth century, artist Andrew Wyeth—who would have as much to do with creating the Brandywine's modern fame as anyone—would paint his adopted home with beautiful colonial spaces where the artist's brush ignored the modern roads, cars, and infrastructure. This narrative is an important one and one the author covers well.

However, Maynard focuses only on that narrative, and readers may sense other missing voices at times. Early in the story, he postulates an ethnographic perception of the area, with its "daydreams of Englishness." Yet, although these white Anglo-Saxon Protestants may have held a persisting hegemony, other groups' significance is lost. The rising number of nineteenth-century Irish immigrants, who worked in the region's mills, is summed up in a few quaint anecdotes about drunken workers. Likewise, other stories of complex ethnic or social backgrounds are overlooked—with the exception of the Du Ponts, but their French heritage does not appear as much of a factor in the book's narrative. The silence of these absent stories becomes deafening at times.

*Colonel House: A Biography of Woodrow Wilson's Silent Partner.* By Charles E. Neu. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. xiv, 720. \$34.95.)

Edward M. "Colonel" House, President Woodrow Wilson's advisor and confidant, has remained an enigma for historians. Charles E. Neu has spent much of his distinguished career working on this conundrum. The result is a major examination of House, with 512 pages of text and 139 pages of notes and bibliography. Neu seeks balance, allowing both House and Wilson great credit but acknowledging they were not without flaws.

Admittedly, House and Wilson were an "odd couple" in terms of personality and experience. Nevertheless, they struck up a very close and mutually beneficial friendship when they met in 1911. Wilson had almost no experience in national politics and no network of friends and contacts within the Democratic Party to whom he could turn for advice. House had extensive experience in Texas politics and many contacts within the party, and the fact that he somewhat ostentatiously refused to seek an office for himself appealed to Wilson. Thus, early in Wilson's presidency, House was a useful advisor, never intruding himself on the president and seeing Wilson only periodically. House also went to Europe regularly and, given Wilson's antipathy toward the diplomatic community, he became Wilson's "most cosmopolitan" advisor, in Neu's words, about Europe and the war crisis (510). As Wilson's confidential agent, however, House's travels and conferences with both German and Allied leaders "had yielded few results," the author concludes (275). Once the United States entered the First World War in 1917, House's role became more public. He represented the United States on the Inter-Allied War Conference and as one of the American commissioners to negotiate peace. House increasingly undertook decision-making roles, generally without instructions from Wilson. Neu argues that House felt he had a better grasp of European affairs than Wilson and was better able to work with the European leaders at the peace conference. Wilson, although increasingly dissatisfied with House's actions, continued to rely on him, for example, when he left Paris to return to the United States in February and March of 1919 and when he fell ill in April. The author concludes that Wilson "always viewed House as a counselor, not as a statesman," but kept him in a statesman's role until the Versailles Treaty was signed and their relationship was at the breaking point. Their conversation as the president left Paris is famous, with House urging Wilson to be accommodating with the Senate and Wilson replying defiantly, "House, I have found one can never get anything in this life that is worth while without fighting for it" (422). It was the last time they saw each other.

Into his old age, House continued to express his admiration and devotion to Wilson, but as for the split between himself and Wilson, or the countless problems stemming from the end of the war and the Versailles Treaty, in Neu's judgment House failed to "accept any blame for what had happened" (508). This book is a major study of House, and it provides a valuable insight into the Wilson presidency.

*St. John's College, University of Manitoba*

Francis M. Carroll

*Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery.* By Margaret Ellen Newell. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 316. \$45.00.)

Forced indigenous labor was part of the New England experience from the outset of Anglo settlement, and in this monograph the author explores its consequences. Countering traditional historiographical assertions that the invaders separated themselves from Indians, she reveals that indigenous servants (captured as a result of war, most notably the Pequot and King Phillip's Wars) helped create a "hybrid" society that made English households central locations for cross-cultural exchange. As a practical matter, this society came to affect all aspects of regional life, from economic expansion to the establishment of legal codes to the motivating thrust behind Indian conversion efforts. New England's commitment to indigenous labor became so notable that after King Phillip's War the English metropolis asserted greater oversight in part to avoid slavery's negative impact on imperial expansion. It would not be enough.

Margaret Ellen Newell's narrative begins with the Pequot War, a confrontation that caused an explosion in captive taking and slave trading. The foremost rationale behind English actions, she points out, was the need to supply labor to New England, the West Indies, and even the Portuguese wine islands. In effect, New Englanders used indigenous captives to establish the Atlantic connections that modern historians assert were at the heart of the region's economic experience. More locally, the emerging hybrid culture made New England far less monolithically "English" than scholars previously have believed. Indians and Anglo settlers lived in close proximity to one another, Newell observes. The former not only were servants and slaves, they also were day laborers, cattle drivers, managed communal resources, and engaged in public works. As captive Indians became part of day-to-day English life, they involuntarily helped establish legal precedents that defined indigenous servitude for decades thereafter.



By 1676 the negative consequences of slaving had become so notable that it captured the attention of the English empire. To the metropolis, the inherent violence and destabilization of Indian alliances justified greater oversight. Subsequent pressure pushed colonists to reject official forms of Indian slavery, although Newell points out that the system continued in more insidious fashion. Local governments, for example, restricted free Indians and channeled indigenous captives into long term, and in some cases permanent, indentures. Certain actions, only sporadically applied before 1675, became prevalent by the eighteenth century: Indians were sold to cover debts or as restitution for legal fees; children were forced into long term apprenticeships; and emerging racial categories—African, *mustee*, mulatto, Spanish Indian—were assigned to Indians to justify their servitude. As puritans became yankees, in short, they constructed a “society with slaves” that was deeply rooted in indigenous realities.

Although Newell could do more to explore the Roman and medieval roots of English notions of slavery and just war theory, *Brethren by Nature* is an outstanding monograph. It is a must read for anyone interested in the early modern origins of North American slavery.

Dartmouth College

Kristofer Ray

*Slaughterhouse: Chicago's Union Stock Yard and the World It Made.* By Dominic A. Pacyga. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. xvii, 233. \$26.00.)

Meatpacking, for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, gave Chicago its identity. The “City of the Big Shoulders,” in poet Carl Sandburg’s phrase, was an industrial metropolis, and no locale was more synonymous with mechanical processes, working-class activity, and the connection with the Midwestern hinterland than the Union Stock Yard. Opened in 1865, the Stock Yard complex soon became a wonder of the industrial world, employing tens of thousands, processing millions of animals each year, and even attracting a stream of visitors from abroad.

In recent decades, historians and other scholars have devoted considerable attention to the workers in the yards and plants, their communities that surrounded the complex, and their efforts to organize. Yet until the appearance of Dominic Pacyga’s *Slaughterhouse* they lacked a book that focused in a detailed way on the Union Stock Yard itself. Tracing the development of the 500-plus acre facility from the consolidation of several geographically scattered smaller stockyards before the Civil War, through the heyday of the Chicago industry,

and into the era of decline in the 1950s, Pacyga ably synthesizes a vast amount of recent scholarship and draws upon his own original research to craft a compelling and highly readable narrative. Perhaps his most important contribution in this section of the book is an argument, often understated, about the key role played by the Union Stock Yard in ushering in a truly “modern” sensibility, one in which technology and organizational efficiency transformed the way in which Chicagoans—and, indeed, much of the world—thought about economic enterprise. To be sure, other scholars have covered this ground—most notably Siegfried Giedion in a 1969 volume, *Mechanization Takes Command*—but none have woven it into a history of meatpacking in Chicago in the way that Pacyga does here.

The other signal contribution of *Slaughterhouse* is the final section on the revitalization of the yards and the neighborhood around them in the last decade. Little known outside of Chicago, the reclaiming of vast acres of property vacated by the packers in the late 1950s and 1960s and the seeding of vital smaller human-scale industry in this section of the city is a story that deserves wider telling. The Chicago Stockyards Industrial Park, funded largely through tax increment financing, is now home to alternative energy producers, aquaponics, and craft breweries. Its modest success has also led to the resurgence of neighborhoods such as Canaryville and Back-of-the-Yards that had deteriorated badly when the packing industry and its well-paying jobs vanished.

One wishes that the author had included more material on the changing demographics of these neighborhoods, the waves of immigrants who provided labor for the giant packinghouses, their community-based organizing, and their often troubled relations with one another. So too, many readers will hunger for a more explicit engagement with a number of debates in urban and economic history, but Pacyga’s decision to focus firmly on the yards themselves has yielded a very readable book that contributes significantly to a greater understanding of Chicago.

*University of Toronto*

Rick Halpern

*Ku-Klux: The Birth of the Klan During Reconstruction.* By Elaine Frantz Parsons. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Pp. 388. \$34.95.)

This book on the origins of the Ku Klux Klan during Reconstruction is the first major study to emerge on the topic since the 1970s. The author draws upon a rich body of interpretive approaches that have emerged in the intervening

decades to read the Klan's origins and public representations anew and to fill gaps in our understanding.

Elaine Frantz Parsons begins her study with a careful archaeology of the roots of the Klan in Pulaski, Tennessee. The Klan's origins have long been shrouded in myth and legend, and the author pieces together the most complete understanding of its origins yet, finding that its earliest incarnation was inchoate and local. She traces its origins to a small group of professional men in Pulaski during the aftermath of the war who initially took inspiration for the form of their organization from Northern cultural sources. A record of violence by this Pulaski group does not appear until late 1867, and from then on it spread, became increasingly violent, and took the form "of a daunting national movement" (72). What made the Klan new, Parsons argues, was not the infliction of pain and violence upon black bodies but the "networks of dark cultural meaning" with which the Klan surrounded their violence. Parsons demonstrates how the Klan's early participants appropriated Northern cultural forms such as minstrelsy and burlesque, using them first to deflect the overt political nature of their violence then later, through the Northern press, to amplify their violence beyond the local.

The interplay between North and South, local and translocal, forms a central theme of Parsons's study. The Klan intended accounts of their deeds to be "circulated through a national newspaper exchange and wire system" in which Northern newspaper accounts amplified Klan violence and shaped a national narrative of race and citizenship (9). The Klan's "performative" violence found a ready audience and amplification in the Northern press and, ironically, among Northern political leaders who took testimony and framed a narrative that tended to portray blacks as "failed citizens" and whites as "the people" (109). African Americans sometimes were able to resist this narrative, but Northern elites had the ability to shape the narrative in ways that reflected their political interests.

In later chapters, Parsons provides a close analysis of Klan violence in Union County, South Carolina, and its local and national repercussions. Parsons makes use of an algorithm that depicts the strength of relationships between individuals who appeared in indictments in Union County criminal records and the strength of the relationships between propertied men in that area (225, 229). She is able to use this analysis to deepen our understanding of the local particularities of Klan violence as well as its relationship to Federal enforcement of the Ku Klux Klan Act. This complex study is a valuable addition to the scholarship on the early Klan and will be of much interest to scholars of the period.

*Beyond Freedom's Reach: A Kidnapping in the Twilight of Slavery.* By Adam Rothman. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. 263. \$29.95.)

A vibrant new literature on the rights of African Americans in court during the eras of slavery and the years of Reconstruction and Jim Crow is challenging modern notions of the Southern legal system in the nineteenth century. From Melvin Ely's *Israel on the Appomattox* and Kirt von Daacke's *Freedom Has a Face* to Michael Ross's *The Great New Orleans Kidnapping Case*, other scholars have challenged historians to see the courts as more open to claims by African Americans than has been realized. Now Adam Rothman has produced a microstudy that adds to the questions about when the courts could "hear" the claims of African Americans. He details the successful efforts of Rose Herera, a formerly enslaved woman who used the Louisiana and US military courts to recover her children, who had been spirited away from New Orleans to Cuba as slavery was collapsing in Louisiana in 1863.

In this gem of social history, Rothman recovers the lives of Rose Herera and her family and then turns to the lawsuit that she prosecuted against her former owner, Amelie De Hart, who had taken her three oldest children from New Orleans to Cuba. In this improbable story, Herera attempted to use the Louisiana courts and, when that was unavailing, the military court system to compel De Hart, who had returned to Louisiana in January 1865, to repatriate the stolen children. Even though slavery was still at least nominally in force in 1863 when the children were taken, there was an 1829 Louisiana law that prohibited the removal of enslaved children under the age of ten from their mother. That was one basis for arguing that the children were removed wrongfully.

General Banks, the head of the Department of the Gulf, ordered De Hart held until the children were returned. But when President Johnson removed General Banks from his post, De Hart was freed. The State Department ultimately secured the return of Herera's three children from Cuba. Despite the numerous setbacks that would have stymied a less determined person, this is still a powerful story of a humble woman using the court system to call the mighty to account and then getting assistance from the federal government. But as with other microhistories, the question is how much can be generalized from this? It should not surprise readers that a military court was amenable to a claim against a kidnapper in 1865 and 1866. Yet even then the military court struggled to figure out the status of the children as of February 1863 when they were taken to Cuba. That is, the military court took seriously the law of slavery and the transition to freedom.

This book should spark discussion of what law and justice mean and the circuitous paths through which they are achieved. Ultimately, the children were not beyond freedom's reach, even if the difficulty of recovering them was enormous and the prospects for others similarly situated were bleak.

*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

Alfred L. Brophy

*Groucho Marx: The Comedy of Existence.* By Lee Siegel. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. vii, 162. \$25.00.)

Look out Margaret Dumont, hell's other source of matchless fury is a comic scorned, especially one named Groucho Marx. Lee Siegel's slim yet substantial contribution to Yale University's Jewish Lives series examines the aptly named comedian and his "comedy of existence" in three related contexts: as the product of an Upper East Side immigrant household steeped in trauma, frustration, and the borderline chaos central to his most memorable films; as a participant in the crucial transition of early and mid-twentieth-century popular amusements from vaudeville to motion pictures and television; and as a Jewish-American.

Julius Marx, "the unassuming and seemingly unremarkable middle child, was largely lost in familial tumult" (4). His ineffectual father (Frenchie) and assertive mother (Minnie) doted on his younger brothers, the "sickly" (Gummo) and their baby (Zeppo); while Harpo, "a quiet and dreamy child" his teachers labelled "slow," endured persistent bullying by Irish-American classmates; and Chico, "a pathological gambler and thief who often pawned the family's possessions to pay off his debts," remained "Minnie's favorite" (4). Add the constant traffic of extended family through a crowded apartment, the occasional presence of Minnie's brother Al, a noted vaudevillian, and his sister's "passion for performance" and both the comedic focus and career future seemed assured at the outset—all of it against the wishes of that middle child who aspired to medicine. Instead, his mother ended his formal education in the seventh grade and sent him to Heppner's wig factory, partly to offset his brother's gambling debts. The ensuing frustration lasted a lifetime, inspired some of the defining comedic scenes of mid-twentieth-century America, and limned the future of someone who—to invert his own famous aphorism—never joined the club to which he considered himself entitled.

Language remained Marx's life-long coping mechanism. "Groucho lived through the written and spoken word," Siegel explains. "Over-looked as a child, he spent his adult life as both a performer and a man speaking as though

he never expected to be heard" (6). Yet, as he clearly understood, those words held power, and he deployed them with devastating effects on Dumont's embodiment of the Victorian matron, words which contributed to the broader modernist project of 1930s America, or later, in a series of increasingly testy, even thin-skinned exchanges with T. S. Eliot and words that served Marx's own, at times, nihilistic impulses.

Students searching for a full biography of Groucho Marx should look elsewhere, as the author himself advises in his "Note on Sources." Still, though Lee Siegel is not a professional historian, *Groucho Marx*, which was alternately wry, insightful, and suffused with the author's own keen understanding of and feel for humor, offers much to any student of mid-twentieth-century America. Merely consider the implications of this son of immigrant Jews who, as a young boy, imbibed a success ethic through Horatio Alger and Frank Merriwell only to contribute so decisively to its demise during the formative period of the mass popular arts amidst the larger cultural upheaval of an increasingly modernized and modernist America.

*University of Alabama*

Rich Megraw

*The Cherokee Diaspora: An Indigenous History of Migration, Resettlement, and Identity.* By Gregory D. Smithers. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. i, 358. \$40.00.)

In 2001, a chance encounter with an Australian immigration file for one Cherokee Meeks, seeking residency status, set the author of this book—a scholar of race who works at the intersection of Native and African American history—on a more than decade-long journey to find the meaning of concepts like "home," "migration," and "identity" for Cherokees. Gregory D. Smithers shared with fellow historian Rose Stremmler a frustration that, though the events of Cherokee removal from their traditional homelands in what is today the American Southeast during the late 1830s are well-known, "before and after removal, the Cherokee diaspora went undocumented" (4). Today there are well over three hundred thousand enrolled Cherokee citizens spread over three federally recognized tribal nations. Roughly an additional one million persons claim Cherokee ancestry. These people, both citizens and unenrolled descendants, are dispersed all across the United States—and indeed around the globe (as Cherokee Meeks's application to live in Australia attests). Given this geographic diversity and varying ties to tradition and community, what does it mean to be Cherokee?

Smithers divides the book into two broad sections: “Origins” and “Diaspora.” These titles are, however, deceptive. Migration and diaspora have been facts of Cherokee life since well before first contact with Europeans. Though the Cherokee have a traditional origin story, rooting them in the southern Appalachians, they also preserve not one but two migration myths, most probably reflecting their original location near their northern Iroquoian kin before moving into the southern homeland, where Europeans encountered them. Later, during the American Revolution, fifty Cherokee towns were burned by colonial forces, forcing dislocations of many Cherokees throughout their home territory. By the last decade of the eighteenth century, they were migrating west of the Mississippi. Yet even this brief rehearsal fails to do justice to the complexities of the Cherokee diaspora. As Smithers writes, between the Seven Years’ War and World War II, “the experiences of migration and resettlement (be they forced or free), and the vagaries of memory, prompted innovations and changes in the way Cherokee understood identity” (7–8).

Smithers’s research is thorough, and he builds upon the good work already done by others. He documents how a diffuse and dislocated people has managed to maintain bonds to “home,” be it in the East (today North Carolina) or in the new homeland in what is now Oklahoma, regardless of location. They have managed to keep up psychic and actual ties of community and kinship, even if, in the case of many of those in diaspora, many of those ties are largely fictive.

Ultimately, Smithers does not finally answer the complex questions he sets for himself, if only because no single book can hope to. Still, as a piece of scholarship, *The Cherokee Diaspora* contributes to the understanding of the complicated issue of identity, not only for Cherokees but for all contemporary Native Americans.

University of Georgia

Jace Weaver

*The Deluge: The Great War, America and the Remaking of the Global Order, 1916-1931.* By Adam Tooze. (New York, NY: Viking, 2014. Pp. xxiii, 644. \$40.00.)

Many historians have portrayed the Great War as a tragedy that left a lasting scar on European life. The author, one suspects, would not take issue with this interpretation—indeed, his book is titled *The Deluge*—but he claims that, in addition to being a catastrophe of immense proportions, the war was also an

opportunity to create a new and liberal world order. Adam Tooze argues that during the crucial years between 1916 and 1931 this window of opportunity was not seized by the United States, the only nation to emerge from the war in a position of hegemonic strength. What, in Tooze's view, accounted for this fateful mistake that yielded such tragic results? He leaves no room for ambiguity, stating that "the answer must be sought in the failure of the United States to cooperate with the efforts of the French, British, Germans and the Japanese to stabilize a viable world economy and to establish new institutions of collective security" (26).

Many will find reasons to quarrel with this bold assertion. But even if one agrees with Tooze that the United States bears responsibility for the eventual collapse of liberal Europe, this only pushes the debate to another level. Why did the Americans fail to exploit this opportunity? In answering this question, the author stresses the role played by belief in American exceptionalism, a belief common to both sides of the political divide, the deep conservatism of the American political tradition, and the inadequacies of a political system rooted in the eighteenth century to meet the demands of the twentieth century.

This sounds like a variant of a well-worn refrain that has been heard before: the nefarious role played by America's feckless retreat into isolationism after the Versailles Peace Conference. The novelty of Tooze's approach, however, is his insistence that the other great powers were prepared to join the United States in the construction of a new world order, and here the reviewer is not convinced that the author has made his case. Moreover, the case regarding America's responsibility for the collapse of liberal Europe is further weakened by Tooze's failure to take into account the devastating intellectual and cultural critique of liberal values and institutions that predated, accompanied, and legitimated the events he describes between 1916 and 1931. This critique, of course, had its roots in Europe, not in the United States.

Yet even if one takes issue with the author's central thesis, as the reviewer is inclined to do, there is much to admire in his global approach to the failure of the liberal project in the years following the Great War, an approach that dares to integrate into its narrative events in such far-flung countries as Russia, China, India, and Japan. Tooze's insistence on the importance of economics ends up paying dividends. He understands the role that financial strength and weakness played in the war and its aftermath in a way that few historians have. The secret of American power was not its military, which played a minor part in the outcome of the war, but its limitless financial resources and the dependence of its allies on American financial support. Tooze also shows convincingly that the war



debts and reparations issues were not a sideshow but rather central to the history of the 1920s and early 1930s in Europe. For this he deserves much credit.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

Robert Wohl

*Henry Clay: America's Greatest Statesman.* By Harlow Giles Unger. (Boston, MA: Da Capo Press, 2015. Pp. 318. \$25.99.)

Americans hardly knew what kind of wild political ride they were in for when Henry Clay, a gangling Kentuckian with a silver tongue and a brilliant gift for legislative strategy, became the youngest ever speaker of the House of Representatives at the age of thirty-four—and the only freshman ever so honored—in 1811. As a “war hawk,” Clay pushed the United States into the War of 1812, then helped end it as one of the delegates to the peace conference in Ghent. Later, as a senator, he played pivotal roles in the Missouri Compromise, which in 1820 drew a supposedly permanent line between slave states and free; in the nullification crisis of the 1830s, when South Carolina attempted unilaterally to defy federal law; and in the Compromise of 1850, which averted civil war over the question of allowing slavery in the western territories. Along the way, he also served as secretary of state under John Quincy Adams, founded the Whig Party in opposition to his bitter rival Andrew Jackson, and ran four times for the presidency, an office that he passionately craved but never attained. In contrast to states-rights-oriented Democrats, Clay strove to make the national government a creative force that used its resources to develop canals, roads, and railways to facilitate national expansion, a farsighted, if highly contentious, policy known as the “American System.”

In this lively, short, and eminently readable new biography, Harlow Giles Unger delivers a vivid portrait of this colorful and self-dramatizing statesman, and provides a rousing account of his remarkable life's journey through the political minefields of the antebellum United States. Clay was a political rock star in his day, celebrated by men for his statesmanship, and adored by women who competed with each other to kiss his cheeks and acquire locks of his thinning hair. Though Clay's enemies may have envied his charisma, they often condemned his bold opportunism and slippery support (so it sometimes seemed) for every side of an issue. Although Clay famously was said to have proclaimed that he “would rather be right than president,” his naked ambition was all too obvious (204).

Unger's admiration for his subject shines through on every page, sometimes a bit too brightly. He seems to want to believe that Clay was more committed to

ending slavery than he actually was. Although he professed a distaste for slavery, Clay owned slaves his entire life, condemned abolitionism, and assuaged whatever mixed feelings he had by serving as president of the American Colonization Society, an organization dedicated to deporting freed slaves to Africa. Unger also credits Clay with single-handedly pushing through the Compromise of 1850, which brought California into the union as a free state, postponed the problem of slavery in the territories, and enacted an infamous new Fugitive Slave Law. Although Clay worked heroically to craft such a compromise, his omnibus bill was in fact defeated in the Senate. It was Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois who made the compromise a reality by cobbling separate bills from the wreckage of Clay's omnibus and winning their passage with an array of different coalitions after the exhausted Clay had left Washington.

Readers seeking a more scholarly and fine-grained account of Clay's life might turn to *Henry Clay: The Essential American*, by David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler (Random House, 2010). However, Unger's book is a splendid introduction to this endlessly fascinating man who may well have been the most qualified presidential candidate in American history never to have won election to the nation's highest office.

*San Francisco, California*

Fergus M. Bordewich

#### ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

*The Making of Modern Chinese Medicine, 1850–1960.* By Bridie Andrews. (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 294. \$30.00.)

The author of this book argues for a syncretic approach in understanding medicine in modern China, transcending the common dichotomy between “Western” and “Chinese” medicine. To Bridie Andrews, ideas and practices drawn from these two medical systems were seen as pragmatic devices by different stakeholders in Chinese society to achieve broader aims of healing and political modernization. Clinical efficacy, which was closely associated with Western medicine, became secondary to the issue of political efficacy that pushed practitioners to develop syncretic forms of medicine in China (216).

Andrews comprehensively delineates the broader trends in Chinese medical history in showing this hybridized form of medicine. In chapters 1 and 2, she shows how the pluralistic universe of Chinese medical healing coincided with the arrival of missionary-style medicine in China during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In chapter 3, Andrews describes how the growth of

Sino-Japanese medical publications catalyzed scientific investigations of Chinese medicine. In chapter 4, the author describes the beginnings of Western-style public health, with Dr. Wu Lien-teh building an antiepidemic infrastructure to combat the outbreak of bubonic plague in Manchuria. Chapters 5 and 6 delineate the interactions between practitioners of Chinese medicine and Western medicine, arguing that the former often drew on the latter's methods in shaping their publications and institutions. In chapter 7, Andrews argues for the importance of the state in influencing the trajectory of the new "scientific medicine" vis-à-vis Chinese medicine. Chapter 8 looks at the evolution of the Chinese medical case studies approach into Western-style case histories, as well as the reformulation of acupuncture into a scientific discipline.

The main strength of Andrews's book is her comprehensive take on the different themes that constituted medicine in modern China. Andrews tackles topics ranging from the influence of *kampo* (Sino-Japanese) medicine to the effects of bubonic plague on catalyzing the development of public health to Qiu Jin's ideas on nursing. She reveals that different groups of Chinese drew on and integrated different forms of medicine on their own terms. What constitutes traditional Chinese medicine today, in particular, emerged in the modern period during which practitioners integrated Western scientific methods with longstanding ideas of Chinese medicine. However, in adopting an approach that alludes to the distinct categories and histories of each medical theme, the argument of political efficacy as the key factor that shaped medicine remains underdeveloped. Comparing explicitly how the Chinese state sought to influence practitioners' decisions in configuring their medical ideas, practices, and advocacy in chapters 5 and 7 with other competing factors—such as Wu's transnational efforts in establishing public health in chapter 4 and Xie Guan's creative configuration of Chinese medicine in chapter 6—would shed more light into why political efficacy was more important than other factors. Drawing more from the voices of patients would also illustrate better the relative importance of clinical efficacy in societal attitudes towards healing.

In sum, this book will be useful to specialists and students of history of medicine and East Asia, because it provides a comprehensive survey of the different thematic concerns in medicine and society in modern China and the world.

*Tea in China: A Religious and Cultural History*. By James A. Benn. (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015. Pp. 304. \$65.00.)

This is not a general history of tea in China, nor does it pretend to be. The operative part of the title is actually the subtitle: *A Religious and Cultural History*. As will be obvious to anyone who reads this book, the author pays overwhelming attention to the religious aspects of tea. Moreover, the author makes no attempt to be chronologically comprehensive. Rather, he focuses very heavily on the medieval period, in particular the Tang Dynasty [618–907]. Consequently, this is not a book for someone who wants to learn about diverse manifestations of tea throughout Chinese history.

The volume has its strengths and its weaknesses, and it is the duty of a reviewer to point out both. In terms of scholarship, James A. Benn's study is Sinologically and Buddhologically generally adequate. By and large, the author's translations are up-to-snuff, and his references to and annotations for early texts, for the most part, are reliable. Where he goes astray is in placing so much emphasis on the religious affinities of tea, to the degree that it slants the overall development of tea drinking in China.

As Benn would no doubt himself admit, his preoccupation with the religious dimensions of tea is by no means the only approach that one might adopt. Indeed, another book with a completely different outlook on tea appeared at almost the same time as this one: Bret Hinsch's *The Rise of Tea Culture in China*, which has the striking subtitle *The Invention of the Individual*.

Although Hinsch paid due attention to Buddhism, Daoism, and transcendence, he gave more prominence to topics such as power, connoisseurship, morality, and manhood.

The ample bibliography of *Tea in China* is divided into "Primary Sources" and "Secondary Sources." Benn's treatment of Chinese and Japanese texts is exemplary, giving transcriptions of the authors' names and transcriptions and translations of titles. Moreover, he has dug up a number of rather obscure references that are quite useful for his purposes. It is surprising, however, that he does not include the reviewer's (with Erling Hoh) *The True History of Tea* [2009], especially since there is such a large amount of overlap between materials covered in that book and Benn's own.

Before the integrative research of that work, which began in the 1960s, these and many other sources pertaining to the history of tea in China were only to be found scattered in specialized journals and original language sources. The

reviewer and Hoh brought these new additions to the history of tea together in a comprehensive history for the first time.

Benn's bibliography omits Charles D. Benn's *Daily Life in Traditional China: The Tang Dynasty*. In that remarkable study, Charles Benn looked at all aspects of everyday life during the Tang period, the same period upon which James Benn focuses in the volume under review. Charles Benn placed special emphasis on alcohol and tea, just as this author does. However, whereas James Benn stresses the religious implications of tea and alcohol, Charles Benn paid greater attention to the social, quotidian manifestations of tea on the street and in the shops, as it were.

There is much readers can learn from *Tea in China*. For example, the author displays good judgement when he states that "tea was essentially a Tang invention" (95, see also 200). And he is also right on the mark when he emphasizes that it was around the time of Lu Yu when tea consumption began to transform from "slurping vegetable soup" to drinking a refined beverage (99). But this reviewer thinks Lu Yu deserves more credit for this dramatic transformation than Benn affords him when he says, "his book on tea coincided with a rapid development of interest in the topic. By default, his work became the definitive word on the topic for centuries and a blueprint that was copied by other aspiring experts on the subject." This reviewer believes that Lu Yu was a genius who brought about the revolution in tea usage by legitimizing tea drinking, not as something uncouth from the barbarian south, but as an elegant and cultivated activity suitable for elites. Naturally, commoners could tag along if they wished.

*University of Pennsylvania*

Victor H. Mair

*Nanjing 1937: Battle for a Doomed City*. By Peter Harmsen. (Philadelphia, PA: Casemate, 2015. Pp. 336. \$32.95.)

Journalist Peter Harmsen seeks "to recount history as it really was" and hopes for "a frank and open debate" with researchers holding various viewpoints derived from their examination of multifarious documentary materials (10). His outlook is refreshing in studies of Nanjing today, where dogmatism reigns supreme. Although adopting a Chinese orientation based mainly on English- and Chinese-language sources, Harmsen on the whole maintains admirable impartiality. His military history relates Shanghai-to-Nanjing operations in 1937 with a detailed focus on what combat entailed for men on both sides. Harmsen's central

argument is that, in contrast with the Shanghai campaign from August to November, which was a stationary conflict like the trench warfare of World War I, the battle for Nanjing from November to December was a war of movement like German blitzkriegs in World War II.

His most important point is that the Chinese side dished out punishment aplenty in ways detrimental to prevailing victimization narratives that relegate China to the role of a passive, helpless prey. Despite suffering an overall disadvantage in weaponry, Jiang Jieshi's elite German-trained divisions exploited foreign-made anti-aircraft artillery, pillboxes, and machine guns to deadly effect, inflicting huge casualties and stalling the Japanese assault for months. Furthermore, Harmsen attributes shrewd foresight and potent agency to Jiang and fellow Chinese leaders who maneuvered Japanese forces away from north China into central and inland areas, where limitless reserves of manpower plus compact supply lines insured future victory. In sum, Jiang duped Japan into expanding hostilities at Shanghai and lured them toward Nanjing, where seemingly catastrophic Chinese defeats actually created conditions for eventual triumph in a war of attrition. Harmsen duly warns us that this argument contains *post facto* rationalizations of a type often found in memoirs; and, one could add, totally apart from his intentions, this is a standard argument of right-wing Japanese who deny having waged a war of aggression. Harmsen also contends that Jiang's stratagem exposed civilians and POWs at Nanjing to the equivalent of "early Holocaust killings carried out by German *Einsatzgruppen* in Eastern Europe, prior to the introduction of the gas chambers" (243). Other noteworthy points in the book are Harmsen's use of wartime photographs for pedagogic and not propagandistic purposes, his citing of Japanese sources in Chinese translation in an attempt to portray both sides graphically in the conflict, and his stress on significant Soviet aid to China's war effort, especially in the form of pilots and planes, on top of earlier assistance from Germany.

Professional historians will fault Harmsen on certain issues. He cites some primary and secondary sources of highly dubious reliability, he fails to contextualize his findings within the field scholarship, and he indirectly likens Japanese war crimes to genocide without sufficient elucidation or qualification. Nevertheless, he deserves thanks and praise for an engrossing study that rewards specialists and general readers alike.

*The Pearl Frontier: Indonesian Labour and Indigenous Encounters in Australia's Northern Trading Network.* By Julia Martinez and Adrian Vickers. (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015. Pp. xi, 227. \$50.00.)

This welcome volume, focused on maritime Australian-Indonesian connections, serves as a reminder of the deep historical roots of the intertwined dynamics of mobile capital and mobile labor. Through meticulous research, the authors identify and trace the complex networks that drew together Euro-Australian capital and Indonesian indentured labor in the pearling industry. Based in the frontier towns of Broome and Darwin, the industry covered the maritime zone between northern Australia and eastern Indonesia, to include small towns like Dobo in the Aru archipelago, and drew in labor from as far away as Japan. Julia Martinez and Adrian Vickers reveal the cosmopolitan nature of out-of-the-way places that have long served not only as stopping off places for supplies and labor but also—and importantly—as nodes in the circulation of cultural capital, the local knowledge necessary to maintain and grow industry.

The book covers the beginning of the recruitment of Indonesian labor in the pearling frontier from the second half of the nineteenth century, describes the impact of the 1901 promulgation of the Immigration Restriction Act (the infamous “White Australia Policy”), the repercussions of two world wars, in particular of the 1941 entry of Japan into the Pacific Theatre, and of the subsequent era of decolonization on these practices. However, it offers far more than a straightforward account of capitalist exploitation of indigenous labor in an extractive industry for export; rather, the transnational history of the pearl industry forms the armature for a richly textured narrative of the people who were taken up in these networks and helped to shape them. Writing at the intersection of race, labor, and gender, the authors throw light on the formation of racial stereotypes, the disruptive impact of immigration policies on families and affective ties, and the conflicting, contradictory role of labor unions. From discrete events and places like soccer matches, cinemas, and hotels, the authors elicit an intriguing history of liminality that invites a critical rereading of colonial era subjectivities. Women's stories are generally difficult to grasp in male-dominated extractive frontiers, but they appear at important moments as pioneering figures, among them the *karayuki-san* in the brothels that hint at far-flung trafficking networks that brought women to these pearling outposts. There are also stories of the aborigine women who marry the Indonesian workers, creating different forms of naturalization that challenge and, to some extent, subvert legal-formal processes formulated at the distant political centers of power.

The authors draw on a wealth of sources from standard archives to newspapers, literature, and oral histories to narrate this fascinating history. At times the density of detail makes it difficult to follow the intricate lines of peripatetic capitalists—the “Pearl Kings”—and the individual Indonesian pearler, while promising subsections, such as “Symbolic Links,” leave the reader wanting more (46). Yet the challenge, as the wanting more, are marks of a very worthwhile book.

*University of California, Berkeley*

Sylvia Tiwon

*Building a Heaven on Earth: Religion, Activism, and Protest in Japanese-Occupied Korea.* By Albert L. Park. (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2015. Pp. xi, 307. \$56.00.)

The author of this book has written an informative and insightful work on the multifarious ways that Korean religious organizations helped rural farmers respond to modernization during the 1920s and 1930s, a time when Japan held colonial control over the peninsula. More specifically, this work focuses on the social activism of the YMCA, Presbyterian Church, and Ch’öndogyo (an indigenous Korean religion) in the rural areas as they attempted to “combat poverty, social inequality, and cultural dislocation while building a new heaven on earth where Koreans could experience material stability and spiritual enlightenment” (225).

Albert Park does a good job explaining the historical background relevant to his thesis. Those who are not acquainted with Korean history will benefit from the introductory history to Christianity in Korea, the Japanese colonization of the peninsula, as well as the origins of the Ch’öndogyo religion. The book argues that the collapse of the traditional Confucian polity and agrarian order at the end of the Chosön Dynasty [1392–1910], coupled with the arrival of full-scale capitalism during the Japanese colonial era [1910–1945], transformed social and economic relationships that contributed to a disordered world for peasant farmers. As agriculture became more commercialized, landlords raised rents and assumed more control over production. The result of these changes filled people’s lives with “destructive, unsettling, and overwhelming experiences” (102).

According to Park, the YMCA, Presbyterian Church, and Ch’öndogyo faith each blamed capitalism, materialism, and modernization for the spiritual alienation and disorder of rural Korea. The three religious organizations did not look



to the future (as did leftists) or the past (as did agrarianists) for solutions, but rather were rooted in the present. The religions redefined modern as “the pursuit of creating new religious, economic, social, and cultural paths for Koreans in the present” (220). These religious organizations also offered an alternative interpretation to modernity—one that attempted to revalue the agrarian lifestyle. Each reform movement adopted similar educational, literary, and social programs. For example, each attempted a slightly different Danish-style cooperative system for credit and marketing (and even farming for Ch’öndogyo) in order to rectify the destructive forces of modernization and as a foundation for a modern agrarian-based nation-state. The goal of this religious social activism was to erect a heavenly kingdom on earth.

This work provides a fresh viewpoint from which scholars can examine religion and colonial modernity in Korea. Park leaves the familiar urban and industrial centers in order to provide a highly readable analysis of how three religious organizations responded to modernization in small, rural villages. Oddly, *Building a Heaven on Earth* does not discuss in detail the Japanese colonial regime’s agricultural or social policies, such as the Rural Revitalization Campaign of 1932, which offered peasants alternatives to these religious movements. Nevertheless, this book makes a worthy addition to those who have research interests on colonialism, religion, and modernity.

Coastal Carolina University

Brandon Palmer

*Breaking With the Past: The Maritime Customs and the Global Origins of Modernity in China.* By Hans van de Ven. (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2014. Pp. xiv, 396. \$60.00.)

In the last decade, the opening of new archival records on the Chinese Maritime Customs Service (CMC) has led to a burst of new scholarship. The CMC was a foreign officered tax bureaucracy that administered China’s customs revenues and administration from the 1850s until the Communist Revolution in 1949. Led by a series of British inspectors general through almost all of its existence, and officered by a multinational staff, the CMC upheld much of the treaty system that framed China’s relations with foreign powers in the century following the Opium War. Hans van de Ven of Cambridge University, who worked with Chinese archivists in making these materials available to scholars, has now published a history of this important institution.

The author presents a history of the CMC from its beginnings in the 1850s to its end with the Communist Revolution in China in 1949. The author focuses his

attention on the top: particularly the four men who filled the position of inspector general: Sir Robert Hart [1863–1910], Francis Aglen [1911–1927], Frederick Maze [1929–1943], and L. K. Little [1943–1950]. The book examines their approaches to leading the CMC, and how they dealt with the Chinese government and foreign powers.

This work stands out among the large and rapidly growing literature on the bureaucracy. It is the first book to survey the entire history of the CMC and does so in a concise 309 pages of text. There are areas in which the book breaks new ground. There is an excellent discussion of the changing place of China in the global economy in the 1880s and 1890s, and van de Ven gives new attention to the CMC's role in administering foreign loans. The section on the period from 1945 onward offers a great deal of altogether new material. Overall, this book is the clearest and most concise introduction to the CMC available.

The reviewer has two reservations. At times van de Ven is overly sympathetic to the inspectors general. Readers hear nothing of the widespread criticism of Hart from many directions in the latter years of his career. The author gives Maze a pass for extraordinary behavior during the war with Japan, which included attempting to serve both sides of the Sino-Japanese conflict and desertion of his post. Second, contrary to the author's claim that "little work has been done on the Customs Service," there is a substantial literature dating back to the 1930s, and it is growing (7). Van de Ven does not always situate his own interpretations in light of the existing research or make full use of the secondary literature available. Donna Brunero's 2006 book on the bureaucracy in the 1920s and 1930s is never cited, and Stanley Wright's monumental *Hart and the Chinese Customs*, while mentioned, is rarely referenced. As for Chinese scholarship, Tang Xianglong's remarkable *Zhongguo jindai haiguan shuishou he fenpei tongji* (Beijing, China, Commercial Press, 1992), the only statistical breakdown of the allocation of customs revenues from the nineteenth century, is not cited. These flaws notwithstanding, this book is an important contribution to the field.

*University of California, Northridge*

Richard S. Horowitz

*Deng Xiaoping's Long War: The Military Conflict between China and Vietnam, 1979–1991.* By Xiaoming Zhang. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 277. \$34.95.)

Although the author of this book asserts that "Deng is best remembered for the reforms that he introduced and directed during the last twenty years of his

life,” he focuses on one of Deng’s egregious actions: the launching of a bloody war against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (33). This first socialist war commenced at dawn on 17 February 1979, when two hundred thousand Chinese troops crossed the Vietnamese border. Over three hundred thousand more followed, and the Chinese penetrated more than twenty miles. On 16 March they pulled out, but the border conflict continued for eleven more years, until March 1990, “with both sides committing a large number of forces” (142). It was the largest and longest fighting in the history of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), and as Xiaoming Zhang estimates, it cost over twenty-four thousand Chinese and Vietnamese lives: twelve thousand Chinese and an “at least equal” and “likely greater” number of Vietnamese killed in action (211).

This excellent book is based on a great variety of sources, including the most valuable archives of the PRC’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the PRC’s Ministry of Railroads as well as Chinese provincial depositories, which are still unavailable for the majority of scholars. In addition, Zhang also relies on documentary collections printed in the PRC as well as memoirs of Chinese high-ranking generals. This solid documentary base strongly supports his major theses.

The author convincingly demonstrates that the conflict was inevitable. Not only did it have historical roots extending from the traditional distrust between the two nations, but it also had international dimensions. On the one hand, Deng feared the encirclement of the PRC by the Soviet Union with the aid of Vietnam that by this time had leaned to the Soviet side, begun persecuting Chinese emigrants living in Vietnam, and even occupied Cambodia, a Chinese ally. On the other hand, Deng seemed to believe that his punitive expedition would help him win the sympathy of the United States to get their support for China’s economic modernization.

There was actually an additional dimension to the war. It was important for Deng personally since it undermined the authority of his old mentor, Marshal Ye Jianying. Since November 1978, it had been Marshal Ye rather than Deng, as Zhang incorrectly believes, who served as the higher authority in the PRC. Therefore, Deng should have listened to Ye, who opposed the war, but he brusquely ignored him, making the old marshal lose face. Thus, the war helped Deng establish his own total control over the party and the state.

This critical remark in no way undermines Zhang’s great contribution to the understanding of Deng Xiaoping and his foreign policy. His book will remain for years a masterpiece that sheds light on the forgotten history of Deng’s shameful war.

## EUROPE

*Medici Women: The Making of a Dynasty in Grand Ducal Tuscany*. Edited by Giovanna Benadusi and Judith C. Brown. Translated by Monica Chojnacaka. (Toronto, Canada: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2015. Pp. 380. \$45.95.)

The ten essays in *Medici Women: The Making of a Dynasty in Grand Ducal Tuscany* profile nine *donne illustre* of the Medici house, highlighting the way in which they contributed to the consolidation and maintenance of the grand ducal regime between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Starting with the first duchess, Eleonora de Toledo, and ending with Ann Maria Luisa, the volume includes both foreign princesses who married into the Medici house and Medici daughters who were married off to other princes but continued to intercede on behalf of their natal family in foreign courts. Taken as a whole, the volume foregrounds the instrumental role of these aristocratic women in helping to create and sustain the political culture that enabled nearly two centuries of relatively stable rule under the Medici.

Inspired by wider European historiographical interests in gender and political power, the authors focus their gaze on nine figures who have remained largely neglected or understudied in the twentieth century, especially in the English language, a lacuna underscored by the fact that the contributors' consistent historiographical foils are the largely negative assessments of these women rendered by Gaetano Pieraccini nearly a century ago. Thus, the work is significant primarily for demolishing the nearly century-old picture of the Medici women of the grand ducal period as insipid, intolerant, religious ideologues. At this task, the volume is particularly effective, as its contributors tease out of otherwise mundane archival sources (mainly letters and diplomatic correspondence) the way in which Medici women served both as hubs of informal networks of social power and as brokers of formal political power in their own right.

The work also contributes to the growing interest and reassessment of the grand ducal period and the Medici regime. As several of the contributors note, it was court culture itself that opened up spaces for women (albeit a very small and privileged group of women) to exercise public power in a way that would have been difficult during the republican age. The authors show us duchesses and princesses leveraging traditional roles to exercise public power, by, for example, interceding in patronage requests with their husbands, directing and influencing the standards of sociability at court through their roles as mothers

of future rulers, and perhaps most importantly, functioning as intermediaries between their natal families and the families into which they had married, occasionally, as in the case of Margherita Medici de'Farnese, acting as the primary diplomatic interlocutor.

Medici women were not merely wives and mothers, however. Sheila Barker's essay on Christine of Lorraine shows the grand duchess parlaying her role as caretaker of the family's health into a reputation as a patroness of chemistry. Other figures, most notably Eleonora de Toledo and Vittoria della Rovere, emerge from the pages as boundary breakers, independently powerful figures in their own right who used their own personal fortunes to lay claim to traditionally male spaces of patronage and power.

Each of the essays in this volume easily stands on its own; nevertheless, the volume is to be praised for the cohesiveness with which it unfolds its argument about the importance of women in creating Medici court culture and linking the Medici court to international networks of power and influence. It should be of especial interest to historians of Florence, those interested in gender and politics, and historians of court culture.

*Mount Saint Mary's University*

Gregory Murry

*Fracture: Life and Culture in the West, 1918–1938.* By Philip Blom. (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2015. Pp. xii, 482. \$32.00.)

The interwar period has so far defied easy categorization. Bookended by the two world wars, it was an interlude that tilted toward political and cultural extremes. Most of the essential political and cultural ideas predated World War I, but they were radicalized by the experience of the war and its comprehensive failure to resolve anything. The grim application of technology to the art of destruction tainted modernity. At the same time, technical advances transformed social life in positive ways. Whether developments were positive or negative, the era of modernism ushered in a systematic criticism of tradition in which no idea, social relationship, or authority was sacred. Interwar culture spectacularly attempted to break the political and cultural stalemate and transcend the status quo that had created the Great War. As the title indicates, Philip Blom characterizes this period as a significant break with the past. The idea of fracture also applies to the failure of interwar culture to create a viable cultural consensus, leaving the Western world deeply divided and unable to fend off the return of war.

*Fracture* is not a comprehensive global history of the interwar period. Its focus is on the contradictions of modern life and tends to be cultural and social rather than political, although Blom makes sure to contextualize events. The author ties Europe and North America together and assumes a common Western perspective. This strategy creates novel juxtapositions, such as the Holodomor (the Terror Famine of Ukraine) and the Dust Bowl in the American Midwest.

Highly readable, *Fracture* brings to life a number of events and personalities that hover on the edge of general historical awareness. This is the strongest part of the book. Rather than rehash the standard cultural icons of the period, Blom divides the book into twenty chapters representing each consecutive year. A single carefully chosen and often unexpected vignette serves as the focal point for each chapter. Betty Boop, the Soviet city of Magnitogorsk, the *Scopes* trial, and P. G. Wodehouse are just a few examples of the topics. They became, in Blom's deft narrative, starting points respectively for a discussion of 1920s flappers, the relentless effort by Stalin to out-produce the West, the international popularity of the eugenics movement, and the changing sociology of Britain.

This is popular history at its best. Drawing on vivid anecdotes and covering issues in high culture, science, sex, consumerism, and everyday life, Blom effectively captures the contradictory impulses of an anxious time. Cultural and scientific genius sculpted a modern society different from the more optimistic nineteenth century.

*Westminster College*

Sam Goodfellow

*Agincourt*. By Anne Curry. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 256. \$29.95.)

No one is better qualified to write about Agincourt than the author of this book, one of the foremost scholars of the Hundred Years' War. This is not a military history but rather a holistic account of Agincourt as an "event," timed to appear for the battle's six-hundred-year anniversary. In a mere 214 pages of text, Anne Curry covers a broad range of topics in a scholarly, yet conversational, tone. She presents Agincourt for what it was and is: a battle (which she covers in one chapter), but also a literary, national, mythic, and historiographical event. She wears her learning lightly, offering readers an engaging book appropriate for a large audience, especially undergraduates.

Curry acknowledges that Shakespeare's *Henry V*, reinforced by the classic 1944 film, starring Laurence Olivier, and Kenneth Branagh's 1989 interpretation, continues to dominate how Agincourt is perceived. All three project a largely false picture, especially concerning the battle's decisiveness. Though Henry's army experienced an undisputed tactical victory there, beyond that it was inconclusive. The biggest Shakespearean myth linked Henry's battlefield triumph to his becoming heir to the French throne, which was precluded only by his untimely death in 1422. Shakespeare omitted entirely events between Agincourt's aftermath and the Treaty of Troyes in 1420 (41). Henry had to fight in France in 1417 and only pulled off his coup because of diplomatic wrangling and internal French problems. The battle of Agincourt had little to do with it. Curry does an economical job of outlining this and other controversial aspects of the battle, such as the killing of the French prisoners, for which no clear-cut answer exists as to why Henry ordered it (33–37).

The author surveys all the major contemporary sources produced in the battle's wake, and also a representative sample of secondary sources that began appearing near the end of the fifteenth century and continue today. Interest in Agincourt has been perennial in the anglophone world. The French had nothing to celebrate, hence they have written far less about it, although Curry apprises readers of the major threads of francophone scholarship. Modern scholarship, including Curry's own, has both qualitatively and quantitatively advanced scholars' knowledge of the battle, partially because of the now common use of extant financial records and muster rolls that remained largely unmined prior to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus the understanding of Agincourt is much improved despite Shakespeare's version holding sway (171).

Curry respectfully criticizes many but excoriates none. She demonstrates that Agincourt remains a kaleidoscope through which people see what they wish to see. Historians will, of course, find chapter 7 the most interesting, because in it the author surveys the fretting and feuding of academic historians amongst themselves and the omnipresent tensions between academic historians, public historians, archaeologists, reenactors, and the general public. For Curry herself, Agincourt's importance is muted but reflects the thoughtful historian she is. To her, Agincourt says something about Henry's leadership, and how a smaller but better trained, more professional army defeated a larger one without those qualities (214).

*The Duke's Assassin: Exile and Death of Lorenzino de' Medici.* By Stefano Dall'Aglio. Translated by Donald Weinstein. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. vii, 300. \$40.00.)

Through a masterful combination of archival sleuthing and careful historical revisionism, the author of this book sheds new light on the shadowy figure of Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, best known as Lorenzino or Lorenzaccio, who is notorious for the assassination of Florentine Duke Alessandro de' Medici. Two grisly homicides frame Stefano Dall'Aglio's analysis, expertly translated from Italian by the late Donald Weinstein. The first murder transpired late in the evening of 6–7 January 1537, when Lorenzino lured his unsuspecting friend and cousin, Duke Alessandro, to his bedchamber where accomplices lay in wait. Hours later the duke's body was found bloody, butchered, and lifeless. As news of the assassination spread, Medici factions swore revenge against "Lorenzo the traitor," while anti-Medici exiles beyond Florence celebrated the heroism of the "Tuscan Brutus" whose tyrannicide invigorated the republican cause (xi). Despite a generous bounty offered by Duke Cosimo I, Lorenzino eluded capture for eleven years, finding refuge in France, Constantinople, and finally Venice, where his troubled life met an untimely end. On the morning of February 26, 1548, Lorenzino died in the street, stabbed by two hired assassins armed with poisoned knives.

Dall'Aglio delimits the chronological scope of his study to focus on the entangled international intrigues surrounding Lorenzino's crime and death in exile [1537–1548]. Using new and understudied sources from the archives of Florence, Simancas, and beyond, Dall'Aglio argues that Lorenzino's political legacy has been grossly misunderstood due to the manipulation of Medici propaganda and the careless oversight of previous scholarship. His findings are organized into two major sections, the first of which examines the longstanding historiographical assumption that the exile community marginalized Lorenzino after his crime and failed to instigate political change. Dall'Aglio reveals ample documentation to the contrary. Rather than sulking in the shadows, Lorenzino enjoyed the support of powerful allies including the Strozzi family. Moreover, he spent a number of years in the entourage of French King Francis I and was entrusted with several diplomatic missions on behalf of the exiles. Previous scholars have sought insight into Lorenzino's psyche by examining the rhetoric of his *Apologia*, written to justify his violent deed. Dall'Aglio compares codices that contain copies of the *Apologia* to propose that a version of this text circulated earlier than previously assumed [February 1537].



In the second section of the book, the author highlights how misinterpretations and “good faith errors” can calcify within accepted historiography (195). Although Lorenzino’s death in Venice has traditionally been understood as the fruition of Duke Cosimo’s personal vendetta, Dall’Aglio proves that Emperor Charles V and his imperial agents were the instigators behind Lorenzino’s assassination. Given early modern spies’ efforts to propagate rumors, write coded letters, and circulate false reports, some red herrings in the archive may be unavoidable.

Nonetheless, Dall’Aglio demonstrates how rigorous archival work can “purge the historical record” and correct distortions resulting from parochialism or the “partial and uncritical use of sources” (xiii, 182). By contextualizing Lorenzino’s personal motivations with macrocosmic reasons of state, Dall’Aglio’s gripping narrative succeeds in adding layers of complexity to the understanding of *The Duke’s Assassin*.

*Parsons Paris: The New School*

Stephanie Nadalo

*The Real Lives of Roman Britain*. By Guy de la Bédoyère. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. xxi, 241. \$40.00.)

The historian who wants to write a popular work about Roman Britain faces a problem: Though there is a great deal of information, there is not much story. Between Boudicca’s revolt in AD 61 and the withdrawal of the legions in 410, scholars’ main sources are archaeological and epigraphic, not the sort of thing that usually makes for a best seller. British historian and *Time Team* veteran Guy de la Bédoyère has tried to create interest in the period by focusing on people whose names can be known. The result is a work that has a different feel from any other about Roman Britain. It is arranged chronologically, but otherwise it jumps around from inscription to inscription in an almost random fashion, giving readers a soldier on the wall, a priest in Lincolnshire, an official in London, then perhaps a potter or merchant. The effect is lively and occasionally enlightening, but somewhat incoherent. In a few cases, de la Bédoyère modifies his approach to discuss people known to archaeologists but not exactly by name, such as the Aldgate-Pulborough potter, recognizable because his work was so unbelievably bad, and the builder of the Fishbourne Palace.

De la Bédoyère also introduces some of the most evocative archaeological sites, such as Bath, Housesteads, and the Poundbury Cemetery, keeping his focus on particular people and their remains. One fine section describes the unusual octagonal temple at Nettleton Scrub, a small crossroads community

and an unlikely spot for some local worthy with architectural ambitions to erect a cutting-edge building.

There are two main problems with de la Bédoyère's approach, both of which are acknowledged by the author. The first is that scholars know almost nothing about many of these people beyond their names, so despite de la Bédoyère's efforts most of them remain shadowy figures. The second is that putting one's name in an inscription was a Roman habit never adopted enthusiastically by native Britons. As a result the people introduced are almost all soldiers, officials, or immigrants from the continent. De la Bédoyère fills in a little information on the rest of the population, but by and large this is a history of invaders. The native elite remains particularly obscure; what did they do between the conquest and their re-emergence in the "Age of Arthur"? They left no inscriptions or other records of their names, so they make no appearance here.

*The Real Lives of Roman Britain* presents much material about the era in a unique and sometimes entertaining format. However, it does not really transcend the limitations that make the topic such a hard one for historians to write about. Roman Britain is still waiting for an author who can turn the diverse mass of archaeological and other data into a compelling narrative, as Robin Fleming has done for the Anglo-Saxon period.

*The Louis Berger Group*

John Bedell

*Gregory the Great: Ascetic, Pastor, and First Man of Rome.* By George E. Demacopoulos. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015. Pp. vii, 236. \$28.00.)

For decades now, the Roman papacy has been atop the ecumenical agenda as Christians turn to popes of the first millennium to see if their papacies offer possible models of leadership that could be used today as a way around the roadblock to Christian unity that the papacy became after the eleventh-century Gregorian reforms and then especially after Vatican I in 1870.

Of the scores of popes from the first millennium, Gregory I [ca. 540–604] belongs to the first rank as the epithet traditionally given as a suffix to his name ("The Great") clearly indicates. But why? Until now, much of the assessment of Pope Gregory I's life and work has been piecemeal, seeing his massive urban "political" work (in shoring up an increasingly destitute, starving, war-ravaged Rome in steep decline) as separate from his theology (dismissed as entirely unoriginal) and his asceticism (often seen as a private pursuit). It is the achievement of

George Demacopoulos, a Greek Orthodox theologian who has previously published on important Roman ecclesiastical figures, to unite these three parts of Gregory I's life. The author, dividing the book into a corresponding three parts with fourteen chapters, builds on earlier scholarship about Gregory I to argue that his asceticism, pastoral-political activity, and theology were both more united and more creative than that for which he has hitherto been given credit.

Beginning in the first part but clearly threaded through the whole book is Demacopoulos's treatment of Gregory I's asceticism, which was not a private regime of fasting and self-flagellation but a thoroughly public series of practices, the goal of which was liberation from one's selfish desires in order unreservedly to serve the needs of others. This asceticism was bound up with an equally social practice of humility, whose internal logic leads, as Demacopoulos nicely puts it, even to "denying oneself spiritual joys, particularly the joys of contemplation and retreat" (27).

This humility and asceticism governed everything else in Gregory's life and work, including his exercise of the papacy and his relationship with bishops and other leaders across both the church and empire. Unlike the other "The Great," Leo I [400–461], who sought to augment the reach of the papacy (what Susan Wessel has called a "universal Rome"), Gregory's views of his office "indicate both nuance and ambivalence" (37). As Demacopoulos shows, that holds true even for Gregory I's brief stint in the office of *praefectus urbi*, where he was responsible for such "secular" tasks as care for the poor, supervision of legal suits, and maintaining public order.

The author, mastering the vast Gregorian corpus, has deftly shown that all these responsibilities flowed directly from Gregory I's theology and ascetical humility. Demacopoulos has thus stitched up the different parts of Gregory I's life that previous biographers and historians have treated as separable, showing us, as Kierkegaard famously said of Chrysostom, that "he gesticulated with his whole existence."

*University of Saint Francis*

Adam A. J. DeVille

*The Rise of Thomas Cromwell: Power and Politics in the Reign of Henry VIII.* By Michael Everett. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. xiv, 362. \$40.00.)

The author of this book provides an exhaustively researched history of the early career of Thomas Cromwell, secretary of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey and

then minister of King Henry VIII. By his early career, Michael Everett means the years 1531 to 1534, though some notice is taken of the preministerial years, from the birth of Cromwell in 1485, to his appearance as a London lawyer in 1520, to his work for Wolsey in the mid- and late 1520s. Cromwell died in 1540, attained for treason and heresy and executed on the king's orders.

The author runs a risk in writing a biography of a man before his moment of real greatness had arrived, especially since, as Everett freely admits, the three years devoted to archival research turned up few new documents of importance (11). But the research has paid off nonetheless, for Everett brings needed clarity to a period of Cromwell's life often neglected by historians while using his discoveries to explain Cromwell's remarkable rise to power. The book's thesis is this: Cromwell ascended from brewmaster's son to king's counselor because of his administrative competence, not because of any revolutionary plan concocted by him to free England from papal control, to establish royal supremacy over the English church, or even to accomplish Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragon. It would be going too far to call the thesis original or the biography a reappraisal, as Tudor scholars have for three decades been chipping away at Cromwell's reputation as a political visionary, a product of G. R. Elton's monumental labors. Everett adds to this body of scholarship with what some might regard as conclusive proof that Cromwell was a capable, though hardly exceptional, minister, one among many who did the king's bidding, and whose eventual emergence as preferred "factotum" was a function of energy and good fortune, such as the lucky removal of rivals Thomas More, lord chancellor, and Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester (230). Case in point is that during his first year of service on the king's Privy Council [1531], Cromwell was mainly occupied managing Crown lands and came to the king's attention because of the skill he demonstrated in performing this mundane task; meanwhile, the high politics of harassing the clergy was left to others.

Book chapters investigate the involvement of Cromwell in church affairs (e.g., monastic elections); his work in court, on Council, and in Parliament (e.g., offices held, bills drafted); the household he kept; the private life he led; the wealth he amassed (Was he a corrupt bribe-taker? Yes, but within bounds); and his contribution to the break with Rome, no more than some others' (e.g., Thomas Audley, speaker of the house, and much less than that of the king). Everett is perhaps at his boldest in disputing Cromwell's religious radicalism and at his shakiest in dismissing Cromwell's Machiavellianism.

This well-written study will undoubtedly affect scholarship to come. Specialists in the field are its audience, people interested to know whether, for example, it was May or October 1532 when Cromwell became Henry's chief minister.

Smith College

John Patrick Coby

*Augustine: Conversions to Confessions.* By Robin Lane Fox. (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2015. Pp. 688. \$35.00.)

It is hard to argue with faithful readings of Augustine's *Confessions*, for the same reason that no sustained interpretation of the work will ever command general assent. The text closes too perfectly on itself. The main historical action of the narrative ends with the author's hectic "conversion" in a garden in Milan in the summer of 386—before the earliest of his extant works was composed, more than a decade before the drafting of *Confessions* itself. By the time Augustine appears in the historical record, he is already (re)writing the story of himself and his associates—literally *rewriting* it in the case of the Cassiciacum dialogues from late 386, edited from the shorthand transcripts. The theological and historiographical debate over the veracity of the narrative line of the *Confessions* was more than half a century old when Pierre Courcelle raised the methodological bar in his *Recherches* of 1950.

Since then, the best work on Augustine's life, thought, and cultural significance has typically been done by respecting his masterly discourse of himself, resisting, and, where possible, recontextualizing it. Anglophone scholars have played decisive roles in the process, on the whole acknowledging the fundamental research of (especially) French colleagues and precursors. After Peter Brown, Robert Markus, James O'Donnell, Paula Fredriksen, and Carol Harrison—to name some of the more influential figures—Robin Lane Fox has now brought his exceptionally sharp eye and pen to the hermeneutical problem of the *Confessions* with mixed success.

Anyone with a serious interest in Augustine and late antiquity should read Fox's book with extreme attention. There are riches here. The chapters on Augustine as a disciple of Mani and on the philosophical coterie of Milan in the mid-380s offer a host of fresh insights, based on a remarkable command of the texts and dauntingly large bodies of relevant scholarship. Though likely to be more controversial, the treatments of Augustine's sexuality and the emergence of his ideas on divine grace are also worth following in their detail.

Fascinated as he is by Augustine's intellectual history, Fox never loses sight of the material realities of his subject's life and career. Guided by this author, readers understand better not only why Augustine was drawn to a life of contemplative withdrawal but also how he expected to pay for it. On page after page, assumptions are tested, hypotheses are probed and (usually) discarded, and the essential reliability of Augustine's own story of his early life are staunchly upheld. The book is never dull.

There are times, however, when it feels overlong, or seems to strain for credibility, or when its tone jars. "Compare and contrast" exercises involving Greek contemporaries unconnected to Augustine take up space that could have been devoted to Latin coevals with whom he was actively engaged. Section epigraphs tend to be "cliquey" and the main text drifts uncomfortably close to high-table chatter in places. Not least of the paradoxes of this version of the *Confessions*, so sedulously expanded and reauthorized by a late convert to its "truth," is that the written voice of Augustine is rarely heard in it for more than two or three sentences at a stretch.

University of British Columbia

Mark Vessey

*The Long Seventh Century: Continuity and Discontinuity in an Age of Transition.*

Edited by Alessandro Gnasso, Emanuele E. Intagliata, Thomas J. MacMaster, and Bethan N. Morris. (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2014. Pp. vii, 315. \$72.95.)

This is a valuable, but somewhat heterogeneous, collection of thirteen learned and specialized, yet thought-provoking, essays on different and wide-ranging aspects of seventh-century history. Continuity, discontinuity, and transition are the connecting threads. The reviewer can write only brief comments. The editors have striven to bridge boundaries. They have partially achieved their objective. The subject: "Study of things falling apart and new worlds being born. . . . Neither continuity nor discontinuity is the whole story" (297).

One of the best essays is the extremely worthwhile review of Frankish historiography by Richard Broome, "Approaches to the Frankish Community in the *Chronicle of Fredegar* and *Liber Historiae Francorum*." It contains up-to-date, brief reviews on the state of the question, with implications far beyond the limits of the Frankish kingdom. Paolo Forlin assesses the landscape change as the Lombards arrived in "The Periphery during the Seventh Century: The Rise of a New Landscape within the Core of the Alps: Climate Change, Land Use and the Arrival of the Lombards in the Eastern Trentino, Northern Italy (Sixth-Seventh Centuries AD)."

The volume's scope extends beyond the limits of Europe. Two very noteworthy papers on early Islamic history are the essays by Ryan J. Lynch, "Sons of the Muhājirūn: Some Comments on Ibn al Zubayr and Legitimizing Power in Seventh-Century Islamic History," and Marie Legendre, "Islamic Conquest, Territorial Reorganization and Empire Formation: A Study of Seventh-Century Movements of Population in the Light of Egyptian Papyri." Legendre concludes that authorities often were able to track down individuals efficiently who fled to try to evade forced labor in seventh-century Egypt. For the triple scholarly team of Giuseppe Cacciaguerra, Antonio Facella, and Luca Zambito, archaeological evidence in Sicily reveals more continuity than rupture, there being significant discontinuity only from the eighth century and especially from the ninth century. The transition in southeast Anatolia at Sagalassos was a very long one according to Ine Jacobs in "From Early Byzantium to the Middle Ages at Sagalassos." This essay includes lengthy discussion and bibliography.

Jörg Drauschke offers a very careful and trustworthy summary in "The Development of Diplomatic Contacts and Exchange between the Byzantine Empire and the Frankish kingdoms until the Early Eighth Century." José Cristóbal Carvajal López, Julio Miguel Román Punzón, Miguel Jiménez Puertas, and Javier Martínez Jiménez in "When the East Came to the West: The Seventh Century in the Vega of Granada (South-East Spain): Visigoths, Byzantines and Muslims," offer insights on the border between Byzantines and Visigoths in southern Spain. Two papers discuss conditions, including burial practices in England, authored by Heidi Stoner and Austin Mason. The reviewer does not feel competent to assess these.

These authors were regrettably unable to use another new collective volume of relevance: Antoine Borrut and Fred M. Donner, eds. *Christians and Others in the Umayyad State* (University of Chicago Oriental Institute, 2016). The ultimate overview is provided by Thomas J. MacMaster in "Afterword: Why the Seventh Century? The Problem of Periodization across Cultures." MacMaster, however, mistakenly confuses and writes "Hugo" instead of "Hugh" for Arnold Hugh Martin Jones (297).

It is difficult to assign these learned and specialized essays in most undergraduate courses, but they are valuable for graduate students in history, religion, comparative history, and medieval studies. The contributors have indeed advanced scholarly knowledge of the difficult and murky seventh century. These are stimulating essays. The book will advance early medieval and late antique history on both sides of the Mediterranean and beyond. It was a worthwhile endeavor to collect and publish these papers and the related

discussions. The outcome is no consensus on the seventh century, but it provides tentative glimpses and probes into a number of important and inadequately understood dimensions of what is justly called “The Long Seventh Century.” It is easy to list omissions of desired topics, but the editors have really accomplished a lot in this modest-sized and highly recommended volume.

*University of Chicago*

Walter E. Kaegi

*Spain: The Centre of the World, 1519-1682.* By Robert Goodwin. (New York, NY: Bloomsbury Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 587. \$40.00.)

Though it has the heft of a survey text, this book is better understood as an impressionistic and engaging tour of the politics, culture, art, and literature of Habsburg Spain. Robert Goodwin, an accomplished Hispanist, writes here for a general audience. In structure, *Spain* recapitulates the once-fashionable division of the period into the reigns of *Austrias mayores* and *Austrias menores*. Goodwin labels as “Gold” the former era of Charles V and Philip II and concentrates here on the imperial and fiscal history of the sixteenth century, envisioned as marking the emergence of the global Spanish monarchy and its rise to become, per the subtitle, the “Centre of the World.” The second half of *Spain* examines what Goodwin styles an age of “Glitter,” encompassing the reigns of Philip III, Philip IV, and half that of Charles II. Here the author emphasizes disparity between apparent imperial grandeur and the decadent and dysfunctional reality of an era of decline. In “Glitter,” Goodwin concentrates on the greatest writers and artists of the golden age, arguing that the dominant cultural motif of the period—labeled Baroque, though without reference to Maravall’s influential depiction of a guided Counter-Reformation culture—was the exploration of disenchantment (*desengaño*), revealing the vanity of human glory and the existential futility of worldly endeavor.

Goodwin writes marvelously well about poetry, lucidly explicating compositions of Garcilaso de la Vega or Luis de Góngora, for example, and placing them in historical context. Reading Goodwin on these daunting poets will encourage direct engagement with their works. Sadly, his lengthy plot summary of *Don Quixote* in chapters 13–14 lacks similar magic; this dreary trot fails to capture the novel’s genius (hardly a surprise), and there is no reason to imagine it will entice readers to discover Cervantes for themselves.



Some scholars will be displeased by how closely Goodwin hews to the traditional narrative of modern Spanish history as a rapid and unlikely rise followed by inexorable multiseular decline. He trades in other hoary stereotypes as well, describing Góngora as “an Andalusian with the sharp intellect and gilded wit so lacking among the stern Castilians” (381). Occasional factual lapses mar the text, as when Andrea Doria—then six years dead—commands a 1566 galley voyage, or when Charles V’s 1555 abdication occurs in 1554 (122, 177). Goodwin repeatedly dubs humanist Juan de Mal Lara the “Greek Commander,” an honorific belonging instead to Hernán Núñez de Toledo (e.g., 228, 357). And the author perpetrates the occasional howler, as when Cervantes acting as quartermaster strives “to requisition 4,000 *arrobos* of olive oil (thirteen million gallons)” (228). An accurate conversion would be nearer to thirteen thousand gallons, still seemingly a great deal of oil to extract from Écija and its district for military use. Faults aside, though, Goodwin’s *Spain* should be recommended to students with a budding interest in Spanish history, literature, or art, and more expert readers will find it fluent and often informative.

Tulane University

James M. Boyden

*Why Did Europe Conquer the World?* By Philip T. Hoffman. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015. Pp. 288. \$29.95.)

Why did Western Europe, which had been a cultural and technological backwater after the fall of the Roman Empire, suddenly embark on the path of global domination around 1500? How did it succeed? Many explanations have been proposed for this remarkable turn of historical fortune. Now the economic historian Phillip Hoffman enters the fray with *Why Did Europe Conquer the World?*

Hoffman’s explanation combines geography with technology and culture. Like many before him, he sees the secret of Europeans’ success in their ability to sustain rapid technological change, most importantly in the development of cannon and firearms. But as we know, gunpowder was invented in China, where gunpower-based weapons became an important military technology after 1000 CE. In China, however, guns developed not continuously but only during periods of political fragmentation and conflict between agrarian polities. Once a new unifying dynasty established itself, gunpowder technology stagnated because it was not particularly useful against the main enemy—steppe horse-riders. In China, periods of intense warfare using guns, and rapid gun

development, were concentrated in the periods associated with the Yuang-Ming and Ming-Qing transitions.

In Europe, by contrast, guns arrived only c. 1300. However, the technology was used continuously from the fifteenth century onwards. Unlike China (and other early “gunpower empires” such as the Ottomans, Mughals, and Russia), Western Europe was insulated from the influence of the Great Steppe. Not having to deal with the steppe riders, European states fought each other, and continuous warfare drove the evolution of artillery, firearms, and techniques of employing them on the battlefield, such as volley firing. As a result, Europe pulled ahead of other regions, which were under the influence of the Great Steppe.

The reviewer’s initial attitude upon starting the book was skepticism—the literature on “the Rise of the West” is truly vast. What changed this opinion was Hoffman’s methodological approach, which blends mathematical theory and empirical tests of key assumptions and predictions of the theory. Furthermore, unlike most economists, Hoffman explicitly engages with the new discipline of cultural evolution, and his argument is greatly enriched as a result.

This is not to say that the reviewer agrees with everything in the book. For example, one of Hoffman’s major premises is that intense military competition between European powers was due to European rulers glorifying war. The reviewer is quite sure that a comparative study using sources in non-European languages will show that “glory” was not a peculiarly European motive for war. When one thinks about famous conquerors who were not early modern Europeans—Alexander, Caesar, Chinggis Khan, Timur Lenk, Mehmed the Conqueror, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Shaka Zulu—can it really be said that they glorified war less than Carl V, Louis XIV, or Frederick the Great?

Despite this and other disagreements, the book is an enjoyable read. In the reviewer’s opinion, Hoffman’s answer to the question that he has posed is the best argued and empirically supported of the current crop.

*University of Connecticut*

Peter Turchin

*St. Petersburg: Shadows of the Past.* By Catriona Kelly. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014. Pp. xvi, 464. \$85.00.)

St. Petersburg, dubbed by Dostoevsky as the world’s “most abstract and intentional city,” has often been treated more like an idea or a literary-cultural palimpsest than a real, lived-in place with a tangible set of benefits, quirks, and annoyances. Perhaps this is why, as the author notes in her introduction to this

imposing one-volume history, “Far fewer people have written about post-revolutionary Petersburg than about the city before 1917” (16). Catriona Kelly’s book redresses the balance, focusing almost exclusively on the postrevolutionary city and especially on the decades since the death of Stalin—an epoch in the life of Leningrad/Petersburg to which relatively little scholarly attention has been paid but which encompasses the lifetimes of most of the city’s contemporary residents, including the author herself. The urban experience Kelly captures here is not wholly unique to St. Petersburg; some of its features are common to cities under (and since) socialism, and others are characteristic of city life in general. The book thus not only tells a story about a particular city but suggests a model for telling the story of any city: Where, in what records and realia and everyday minutiae do the telling details that make up the texture of life in a given city reside, and how does one transfer them to paper?

The book’s nine substantial chapters—devoted respectively to transport, housing, public and private spaces, economic and professional classes, shopping, the arts (high and low), cafés and flânerie, provincial travel, and death—offer a multidimensional, closely observed portrait of the city through different times, social echelons, and categories of experience. Kelly packs in so many details and draws on so many different kinds of documents, from Communist Party archives to personal reminiscences to the author’s own photographs, that her narrative has at times a bit of a “kitchen sink” feel: The chapter in which kitchens are actually discussed (chapter 2, “Making a Home on the Neva”) is thirty pages long with 169 footnotes. The author brings structure to this wealth of detail by organizing her chapters not only thematically but geographically and chronologically within each theme, so that one moves from area to area within (and sometimes outside) the city, and from decade to decade, rather in the manner of the city’s residents themselves.

Like the city itself—which, Kelly contends, has no single “historic centre” but rather “many different ‘centres’” depending on the observer’s perspective—*St. Petersburg* resists establishing any dominant focus (98). Instead, it calls us to put aside “what we think we know” and “listen . . . to the past, with all its many and contrary voices” (336). The book’s invaluable service to readers is to capture a rich cross-section of those “voices,” which are now so rapidly receding into the inaccessible past. Readers looking for a tidy narrative with a linear argument will not find it here; but students and scholars who want to understand not just “what happened” in the past but “what it was like” to live there will find ample resources in this book.

*Speer: Hitler's Architect.* By Martin Kitchen. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 442. \$37.50.)

For thirty-five years, from his trial for war crimes at Nuremberg in 1946 to his death in 1981, Albert Speer carefully constructed a legend about his conduct in the Third Reich that perfectly suited the intellectual mood of the postwar era. He had been, he claimed, an apolitical architect and technocrat, tempted by the opportunities given him into collusion with a regime whose crimes he should and could have perceived, but did not because of his many day-to-day obligations. As a result, he was “responsible” for the regime’s crimes, but not guilty of them. This mix of falsehood and sophistry barely persuaded the International Military Tribunal to spare him the death sentence and sentence him to twenty years in prison. In a Western world deeply conflicted about the development and use of atomic weapons and worried about the prevalence of “the organization man” (William H. Whyte, 1956) and “the banality of evil” (Hannah Arendt, 1961), Speer’s fable, as expounded in the memoirs he drafted during the early 1950s and reworked for publication in 1969, found a credulous reception. He died a wealthy and, in many quarters, respected man.

In the thirty-five years since Speer’s demise, historians and other commentators have unraveled his lies. The process started in 1982 with Matthias Schmidt’s book exposing Speer’s active role in persecuting Berlin’s Jews from 1939 to 1942, a revelation that had a greater impact on specialists than Martin Kitchen suggests. Paul Jaskot followed up in 1990 by showing how intertwined Speer’s architectural plans were with the exploitation of camp inmates by the SS. A few years later, Richard Overy demonstrated that Speer’s supposed “miracle” of surging arms production in 1942–1943 resulted primarily from initiatives on the part of his predecessor, Fritz Todt. Ten years ago, Adam Tooze showed that Speer’s principal contribution to increased output was his massive application of forced and slave laborers and blamed his delusional insistence that the war could still be won in 1943–1944 for their spiraling death toll, as well as that of Germans, more than half of whose wartime casualties occurred in the final year of the fighting. Writing about the same time, Heinrich Breloer, a German journalist, presented a devastating document collection with the subtitle “traces of a war criminal.”

Given these findings, Kitchen’s determination to reveal Speer’s lifelong opportunism, ruthlessness, avarice, egocentrism, snobbery, dissimulation, and mendacity is somewhat anticlimactic. Not much was left of the erstwhile armaments minister’s reputation by the time this book appeared. Most of it thus

amounts to a convenient compendium of the accumulated evidence. Kitchen's main value added is to treat Speer as prototypical of the Nazi regime in three respects: He personified the bourgeois backing Hitler could not do without, the combination of modernity and atavism characteristic of the Third Reich, and the corrupt profiteering rampant in the Nazi elite. He was thus more destructive than some other defendants at Nuremberg whose fate he escaped. The author's quirks (e.g., the use of apparently British terms, such as "skiver" for "shirker") and hobbyhorses (e.g., the downplaying and faint echoing of the East German historian Dietrich Eichholtz's ideological distortions concerning the German war economy) distract, but do not detract significantly from this conclusive condemnation.

*Northwestern University*

Peter Hayes

*The Archaeology of Sanitation in Roman Italy: Toilets, Sewers, and Water Systems.*

By Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Pp. 286. \$69.95.)

With her new book, Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow has justifiably retained her status as "Queen of the Roman Latrine." With a masterful stroke, she presents her study of Rome's toilets, sewers, and water systems as the more high minded "archaeology of sanitation in ancient Rome." Since it is the remains of picturesque ancient aqueducts delivering water to streetside fountains and monumental public baths that articulate the twentieth-first-century notion of Roman water distribution, readers are aghast when reminded that most Roman toilets were not connected to sewers and that cleanliness, in the form of a sponge on a stick stored in a communal bucket, was not in any way close to godliness.

Koloski-Ostrow builds her latest study on the foundation of her previous scholarship on this subject, also meticulously taking into account the relevant research of other experts. Even so, there are many new revelations. For example, for those who think they have explored every inch of Pompeii, Koloski-Ostrow makes them mindful that they have missed nearly every latrine location, as only eleven out of a much larger number are open to the public—with most of those that survive being private rather than public toilets. The latrine-dotted plans of Pompeii and Herculaneum supplied by Koloski-Ostrow (figs. 1 and 2) are also a further demonstration of how much evidence survives. The author does an outstanding job of marshaling and deploying that evidence and reinforcing it with her own photographic documentation.

The author's coverage of the subject is as encyclopedic as it is engaging. The chapters are unfurled in a logical sequence and cover such topics as urban case studies of the best preserved public latrines in Pompeii, Herculaneum, Rome, and Ostia; hygiene and sanitation through the lens of cross-cultural anthropology and archaeological theory, with brief overviews of biblical, European, Muslim, Hindu, Chinese, Japanese, and Vietnamese examples; sanitation in Rome, with the star appearance of the Cloaca Maxima; what Roman toilets reveal about a less-than-desirable level of Roman public health; the Roman concepts of public and private; the moral superiority of elites who used wealth to ensure their privacy; and finally the valuable evidence supplied by relevant Roman wall paintings and written sources.

The most significant takeaway disheartens those readers who consider the Roman Empire an advanced and sophisticated enterprise that supplied its burgeoning domain with state-of-the-art amenities. Koloski-Ostrow suggests that Rome's public health was far from cutting-edge. If she is right, Roman sanitation paled in comparison to the grandeur of Roman architecture and urban planning, law, literature, and so much more. The author concludes that scholars who praise Roman hygiene may be "unconsciously projecting a modern vision of white porcelain toilets onto Roman white surfaces" or "assuming that because the Romans had so many baths and toilets, these automatically prove their concern for strict hygiene" (119). Indeed, in her last sentence, Koloski-Ostrow says she mapped latrines and sewers "to understand many larger questions about Roman society" (122). Her mapping is meaningful and merits even more magnification.

*Yale University*

Diana E. E. Kleiner

*Scandal and Religious Identity in Early Stuart England: A Northamptonshire Maid's Tragedy.* By Peter Lake and Isaac Stephens. (Woodbridge, United Kingdom: Boydell Press, 2015. Pp. viii, 391. \$99.00.)

Amidst the social frictions, legal tussles, and religious rivalries of the reign of Charles I, few episodes involved so much pain and posturing as the moral drama outlined by Peter Lake and Isaac Stephens in this compelling new book. They tell the story of a Puritan minister who was betrayed by lust, and who took with him to the gallows the godly paramour who strangled their baby and the housemaid who connived in their deeds. Conformist enemies of the Puritans seized on this episode to expose the inherent disorder, subversion, and

hypocrisy of the so-called “godly.” Puritan apologists rewrote the story in terms of the struggle for religious certainty, divine grace, and ultimate redemption in a fallen world.

The triple execution at Northampton in 1637 was widely witnessed and much discussed. Competing manuscripts appealed to partisans on opposing sides. One was an exercise in Puritan damage control, the other an aggressive attack on the pretensions of the godly. Both examined the background to the crime and the speech and conduct of the condemned. Analysis of these texts might have produced a conventional microhistory, but Lake and Stephens have exposed in greater depth the factional religious environment of what one pamphleteer called “the torrid zone of Northamptonshire” on the eve of the English Revolution. Sermons by the local Calvinist militants Robert Bolton and Joseph Bentham, the moderate Puritan Edward Reynolds, and the Arminian conformist Peter Hausted are read alongside the spiritual diary of the Northampton steward Robert Woodford, the devotional confessions of the godly Elizabeth Isham, and the unpublished letters of the Laudian controversialist Robert Sibthorpe. These reveal the theology, rhetoric, passion, and fear of a deeply divided Christian community. Close reading and detailed exposition of these remarkable sources yields more, however, than the polarities of religious and cultural conflict of the sort that might fuel a civil war. By treating these texts as an ensemble, despite the very different audiences for which they were intended, Lake and Stephens demonstrate their dialogic nature, as if the writers were arguing with each other, with themselves, and with God. Their book is essential reading for everyone interested in early modern English religion.

Like the world of early modern religious disputation, though with less fraught soteriological consequences, the scholarly community in which Lake and Stephens operate also operates dialogically, with its allies and enemies, saints and sinners, insights, errors, and touchstone texts. This work positions itself as a historiographical adjudicator, commending and criticizing the likes of Patrick Collinson, when they share the authors’ view of the complexities of Puritanism, and chastising as untenable the views of such good fellows as Alec Ryrie, which do not. Lake and Stephens give generous credit to the scholars who first found the manuscripts on which this study is based. The writing is billed as a collaboration, a joining of expertise—but the long, looping sentences, the syncopation of thought and counter-thought, and the scattering of British colloquialisms suggest a dominant, magisterial exposition that is most likely Lake’s.

*An Extraordinary Italian Imprisonment: The Brutal Truth of Campo 21, 1942–1943.* By Brian Lett. (Barnsley, United Kingdom: Pen & Sword, 2015. Pp. x, 251. \$44.95.)

The author of this book is the son of a British prisoner of war who spent time in “Camp 21” near Chieti, Italy, during World War II. He describes his father’s captivity in a book that is mostly about the British prisoners, their attitudes, their organization, and their plans to escape. Readers hoping to discover much about Italian camps, which unlike the German ones, have been poorly studied, will be disappointed.

Brian Lett’s attempt to demonstrate how the prisoners “suffered under a violent pro-Fascist” regime fails when taken in the context of the war (dust jacket). To begin, the prisoners’ attitudes are perplexing. They focused on situations that one might think would have been obvious to prisoners of war: “The guards all speak a foreign language. . . .Your home is far away . . . and even if you manage to escape. . . , you would be in a hostile land surrounded by enemies. . . . You are . . . facing a sentence of unknown duration. Life is passing you by” (1–2). Readers learn another mundane fact: Some camp officials were not to the liking of the British. Lett maintains that the commandants and the translators were Fascists and that they did not treat the prisoners well. But, in explaining their conduct, they would not stand out for their brutality in World War II, and the author exhibits little understanding that in a twenty-year-old Fascist dictatorship the officers in command were unlikely to be anti-Fascists. The book omits an analysis of the command structure: Were the officers, for example, regular army or Fascist militia members? The soldiers guarding the prisoners were low-grade, poorly trained troops who, when news of the Italian armistice arrived after 8 September 1943, rejoiced even more than the prisoners. As to the “hostile land,” Lett goes out of his way to praise the local population’s friendliness and consistent aid, even at the risk of their own lives. He is concerned that his readers might get the wrong impression, highlighting that the Italians were not “a cruel and unattractive people” (4). He emphasizes that his father dedicated a book to the *carabinieri*.

The author describes harsh conditions in the camp—overcrowding; lack of food, water, heat, clothing, blankets, and medical supplies; poor sanitary conditions; and boredom. The inmates fought back by planning escapes, taunting the Italians, putting on plays, organizing art shows, and playing sports. But Lett acknowledges that the reason for the lack of amenities was that the country had been poorly equipped to enter a world war. In order to prove his point



about the harshness of the camp, he states that several Italian personnel were investigated for the commission of war crimes, including for the murder of a prisoner who attempted to escape; nevertheless, his postscript acknowledges that the investigations produced no conclusive evidence to warrant prosecution for serious crimes. Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is Lett's analysis of why the prisoners remained in the camp after the armistice, causing many of them to be captured by the Germans (194–217).

*Campo 21* presents a good portrayal of the prisoners but hardly reveals the “brutal truth” the title promises. If ever there was a book with a split personality, this is it.

*University of Massachusetts Boston*

Spencer M. Di Scala

*Food and Identity in England, 1540–1640: Eating to Impress.* By Paul S. Lloyd.  
(London, United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015. Pp. xiv, 245. \$112.00.)

The idea that foods can help build identity is not new. Eating corned beef in March can be a declaration of one's ethnicity or homage to the Irish. In the United States, the Thanksgiving turkey is a nod to the Pilgrims. According to the author of this book, similar links between food and identity helped to define classes of people in England in the later Tudor and early Stuart periods of English history and helped to blur the edges of those class groupings. His study of the gentry, the “middling sort,” and the “meaner sort” includes both urban people and those from the countryside, although the urbanites seem to dominate his evidence. He has also included glimpses of the food ways of unusual population groups such as sailors, soldiers, and even one tantalizing discussion of people bound for the American colonies. He considers what foods were being purchased and by whom and what foods were being accumulated by growing them at home, stealing them, purchasing them on what is now known as the black market, or receiving them as gifts. He also considers issues such as food preparation, social values, morality, and medical practices of the day as they related to what people ate. The slim volume contributes to the growing field of food and identity studies and presents creative and challenging sources but is less than satisfactory in structure.

Paul S. Lloyd contributes to the field by showing that the strict hierarchical structure of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was reflected in the foods each class ate. In his study of the diets of three main groups—the wealthy, the middling, and the poor—he identifies the sorts of foods were

considered appropriate to each and explores the social interactions between the groups through gifting and celebrations. Lloyd manages to show that, by adding new and exotic foods to their diets, the gentry continually expanded the category of luxury foods they consumed—those that existed for variety of diet—while the “middling sort” expanded the list of foods they used by imitating the wealthy, even going as far as making “mock” foods such as using beef to simulate venison. The poor expanded their knowledge of foodstuffs through participation in community celebrations or by stealing luxury items for resale on the Black Market. In this variety of ways, foods helped to both identify each group by defining what foods were appropriate for each and to blur the edges of the categorizations as foods became accessible to new groups.

Many of these ideas are at least common sense if not commonplace. It is no surprise that the wealthiest people could afford more luxuries and that, as more wealthy people had those luxuries, the middling sort became aware of them and found ways to get them or simulate them. Nor is it new work to announce that poor people’s diets were more limited in choices. The surprising and pleasing facet of Lloyd’s work is in the sources he uses. Much food history is written relying on cookbooks and household manuals. For Lloyd, those are the beginning. He found his evidence in poor laws, sermons, military procurement records, jail records, and personal journals by carefully mining each source for hints about what foodstuffs meant to the people of the time. Studying the use of sources alone makes this work highly useful for those interested in food history and the interplay between food and identity.

Lloyd’s *Food and Identity in England, 1540–1640* is not without problems. The structure of the book is the most significant of these. The author begins with consideration of luxury and necessity and then takes up each of the class groups in turn, ending with a discussion about the social relationships highlighted in gifting of food and celebrations. This straightforward approach seemed promising. However, the format led Lloyd to excessive stage direction, indicating where he had already addressed a point or indicating an idea and then pointing out when he would fully discuss it. As a result, the reader must move forward and backward through the book for full understanding or simply ignore the directions, constantly thinking something has been missed. The important issues presented in the text deserve a stronger narrative approach.

Lloyd’s work uses interesting sources to tell an important story about food in England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It was a fascinating period as Europeans moved into the wider world, stretching their boundaries and bringing new and exotic foods back home. Strict hierarchical

structures that allowed the wealthy to embrace luxury foods, such as venison, rabbits, and fish of woodlands and streams as well as spices, fruits, and vegetables of the new lands were under stress as the middling sort sought to mimic the wealthy and the poor tried to use the presence of new items to their fiscal and dietary advantage. The tale told in this volume will be of interest to those seeking to understand the meaning that clings to food and to those seeking a greater understanding of the Tudor and Stuart periods of English history.

*Saint Vincent College*

Karen A. Kehoe

*Brand Luther: How an Unheralded Monk Turned His Small Town into a Center of Publishing, Made Himself the Most Famous Man in Europe—and Started the Protestant Reformation.* By Andrew Pettegree. (New York, NY: Penguin Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 383. \$29.95.)

The author of this book has written an excellent new study of Martin Luther. *Brand Luther* explains Luther's life and achievements by placing the great man in several important contexts. The first is the context of the printing business, which the author argues both fed Luther's popularity and expanded rapidly in Germany as a consequence of Luther's savvy grasp of the potential of this new industry. The second setting is the town of Wittenberg, the small community in which Luther spent most of his life. Andrew Pettegree also places Luther in the company of his family and friends, emphasizing how important they were to his success as a leader of a new religious movement and a new church.

Pettegree insists that this is not a new biography of Luther, yet in many ways it does follow the structure of a traditional biography. The book is broadly chronological and highlights important moments in Luther's life: the posting of the *Ninety-Five Theses*, his "exile" to the Wartburg, his marriage, the debate with Huldrych Zwingli at Marburg, and a series of other theological disputes with a variety of Catholic and Protestant enemies. In telling these stories, Pettegree presents a range of excellent insights into Luther's character and personality, emphasizing both Luther's strengths and weaknesses. He was a clear and powerful thinker and writer, especially in German, an innovative pastor and pastoral thinker, a savvy businessman, and a leader of great charisma. He was also an impulsive disputant, a weak organizer, and a stubborn and often inflexible thinker.

The most original aspect of *Brand Luther* is the theme of the rise of the printing industry. It is of course not a new idea that Luther benefited from this

new technology and that Germany in the 1520s was flooded with pamphlets explaining Luther's ideas. Pettegree argues that the tie between Luther and printing was far from accidental and shows that Luther (and his followers) quickly developed a sophisticated understanding of this industry. Thus Luther patronized effective printers and actively supported the growth of the industry in Wittenberg. Together with the printers and Lucas Cranach, the painter and illustrator who was also based in Wittenberg, Luther created a brand such that his publications, both books and pamphlets, had a recognizable look and structure that was appealing to the audience. These printed materials, as we know, reached a growing audience of literate readers and in turn encouraged the growth of that audience. Printers in Wittenberg and elsewhere also made a lot of money.

Pettegree's focus on printing is the greatest strength of this study and opens new perspectives on the story of Martin Luther. Pettegree is effective in showing how the original and powerful content that Luther provided, particularly in his greatest publications, such as his three great pamphlets of 1520 (*To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, and *The Freedom of a Christian Man*), fed the rising printing industry. At times, unfortunately, the book gets bogged down in a less original analysis of the theological disputes that fed the printing presses, particularly in the later period of Luther's life.

There are other important insights in this study. The author certainly demonstrates that Luther's influence depended, especially in the period 1517–1525, on his own talents and determination, but he also points out that the Lutheran movement and the Lutheran Church would not have succeeded without the dedicated support of his "team," especially Philip Melancthon, and the protection of Elector Frederick the Wise. Pettegree does not neglect Luther's enemies either, including Eck, Erasmus, Karlstadt, and Zwingli. He emphasizes theological conflicts and the debates surrounding the organization of a new church.

Pettegree has less to say about the social contexts in which people received Luther's ideas and little to say about political context of the Holy Roman Empire. But no book can cover all the complexities of the "Luther Affair," and *Brand Luther* makes an original contribution to the increasingly crowded field of Luther studies.

*Imagining the Parish in Late Medieval England.* By Ellen K. Rentz. (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 183. \$62.95.)

In an era when religion and ethnic/local ties often dominate concepts of self-identity, this new interdisciplinary study is most welcome. The English parish church was the most important communal site in the village, the place of legal, social, and artistic as well as religious activities. In Norfolk, Wymondham Abbey remains a telling example. A Benedictine foundation built of stone imported from Caen in the early twelfth century, its north aisle nave and tower served as parish church for the town. These elements were rebuilt during the mid-fifteenth century as Norfolk's mercantile economy waxed and monastic hegemony waned. The approach to the shared building presents the new parish profile to the viewer, visually eclipsing the Norman foundation. Ellen Rentz examines the literary and material context of such transformations.

Rentz begins with parish practices concerning sin and redemption, including the sacrament of confession and the rites of burial of the dead with definition of the churchyard. Readers find conflict among coercion and choice; expression of piety and manifestation of social status. Her chapter "The Parish on Its Feet" highlights the importance of pilgrimages and processions, practices too frequently unappreciated in contemporary scholarship. Her wide readings connect multiple texts to images on fonts, tombs, altars, wall paintings, and stained glass. Understandably, William Langland's "Vision of Piers Plowman" assumes a major role, but Rentz also cites practical theology, such as the fourteenth-century poems "Prick of Conscience," the "Lay Folks Mass Book," and Robert Mannyng's "Handlyng Synne." These texts have been valuable to art historians who have long noted their correspondence to the transformation of imagery.

In addition to multiple primary works, the author cites a wealth of scholarly opinion: in literature, Robert Lewis, Nicolas Watson, and Sarah Stanbury; in social history, Beat A. Kümin, Katherine French, Ann Eljenholm Nichols, William Pantin, and Eamon Duffy; and in art history, Paul Binsky, Michael Camille, Richard Marks, and Roger Wierck. The reviewer would add Nigel J. Morgan's work, as well as specific references to the English Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, with its systematic analysis of authenticity and iconography. Rentz's case studies, such as the *Prick of Conscience* window of 1410 in All Saints North Street, York; the *Trotton Doom* (West Sussex) wall painting, with its Corporal Works of Mercy; and agrarian metaphors, in texts by Chaucer and

Langland and in image in the *Luttrell Psalter*, give structure to what could be a diffuse analysis.

It is hoped that Rentz's study will bring renewed interest in these texts and additional sites, such as the churches in East Harling, Long Melford, and York, including Holy Trinity Church Goodramgate. The text is accessible for an advanced undergraduate, and its availability on CD should facilitate classroom use. The editors need to apply more rigorous standards for illustrations by giving full identification. Thus plates 2 and 3 might read: The *Luttrell Psalter*: Psalm 94. Sowing and Harrowing, Lincolnshire, c. 1320–1340, British Library Add. MS 42130, ff. 170–171.

*College of the Holy Cross*

Virginia C. Raguin

*Fall of the Double Eagle: The Battle for Galicia and the Demise of Austria-Hungary.*

By John R. Schindler. (Lincoln, NE: Potomac Books, 2015. Pp. vii, 327. \$34.95.)

Armies rarely withstand close scrutiny. They vaunt their heroes and glory, but their everyday existence in times of peace is dull, plodding, bureaucratic, and invidious. Factions form and feud; budgets are raided to puff up already overstaffed offices; and service chiefs oversee these minor scandals without protest.

John R. Schindler has written a penetrating study of Austro-Hungarian military decadence in the first year of the First World War. He is wrong to assert that his is “the first work in English to focus on the campaign,” for this reviewer published a book on the very same subject in 2014 (*A Mad Catastrophe: The Outbreak of World War I and the Collapse of the Habsburg Empire*), which Schindler, perhaps because his book was already in production, cites neither in notes nor bibliography.

The book is very well done in some respects, and less well in others. The chief defect of the book is the absence of maps or images. A book that focuses on war plans, synchronized campaigns, and vast battles involving hundreds of thousands of troops *must* have maps. There is no other way for the reader to follow the action. A book that studies relatively obscure statesmen and generals should have photos so that the reader may put faces to the names. Schindler's descriptions of the battles in Galicia and Serbia can have a somewhat rote feel to them, as if drawn from official or regimental histories. Readers wanting to know what these battles *felt* like to Austro-Hungarian (or Russian or Serbian) troops and officers will not feel it here. The author also neglects at times to fill

in the feuding and carping between Austrian generals, who fought each other nearly as violently as they fought the Russians and Serbs.

Schindler has a very good ear and feel for Viennese politics and chicanery. He brings this skill to bear in this book. The chief failing of the Habsburg army was its poverty and lack of drive. The old monarch had proclaimed himself an “Emperor of Peace” after his defeat in 1866. As such, he tolerated a military establishment that degenerated from quite respectable in the Austro-Prussian War to contemptible in 1914. The reasons were many: thrifty parliaments in Vienna and Budapest, Hungarian hatred of the Kaiserlich und Königliche Army, a second-rate economy, a bloated civil service, and the emperor’s own failure to guide the army into the modern age. He preferred “sunset” platforms like cavalry to the arms of the future. Worst of all, the emperor failed to tailor his imperial ambitions to his diminished military capability. By 1914, Austria-Hungary was the weakest of the great powers, its neglected peacetime army little larger than Serbia’s. Franz Joseph’s foolhardy decision to ignite the world war in 1914 spelled the end of the Habsburg Empire.

The author shows how this happened, in various ways, but chiefly because the “professionals” who should have curbed the emperor were themselves pompous, distracted, blindly ambitious men, like Generals Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf and Oskar Potiorek. These two soldiers, dwarves in their profession, passed for giants in Vienna, chiefly because they had learned to manipulate the court and general staff apparatus. Their management of that fatal first year of the Great War—Conrad in Galicia, Potiorek in Serbia—effectively destroyed the professional Habsburg army (such as it was) and made eventual defeat nearly inevitable. John Schindler brings the reader along for the ride, charting the army’s decline in the prewar years, and its tragic immolation in 1914.

*University of North Texas*

Geoffrey Wawro

*William Howe and the American War of Independence.* By David Smith. (New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2015. Pp. 208, \$112.00.)

William Howe remains the most enigmatic of the British generals who served in America during the Revolutionary War. As British commander in chief between 1775 and 1778, he won every battle in which he personally commanded against George Washington. Nevertheless, Howe is generally regarded as having lost the best chance to win the war in 1776.

David Smith is often equally perplexed by his subject and concedes that “a theory that explains his conduct at every point has proved elusive” (63). He does, though, offer a nuanced and thoughtful explanation, which highlights several phases and changes in the strategic thinking of Howe. He attributes some of his caution to the traumatic effects of the losses sustained in the Battle of Bunker Hill. In 1776, Howe did not begin the campaign without the arrival of reinforcements. He made it a policy to avoid attacking prepared defenses. His hesitation may also have been due to lapses in the discipline of the British troops. After Trenton, Smith believes that Howe simply lost confidence either in the resources available to him or the support of Lord George Germain. In 1777, Howe’s third proposal to Germain for the campaign envisaged trapping Washington’s army but required 20,000 additional troops. Thereafter, Smith sees him as largely giving up on the idea of an outright victory and instead concentrating on territorial acquisition.

The author’s most novel insights are derived from a recently discovered draft of Howe’s “narrative” of his conduct in preparation for his defense to the House of Commons in April 1779. Howe blamed a Hessian contingent of his army for his failure to win the Battle of White Plains. He also implied that part of the failure at Trenton was due to one of the units being a less experienced garrison battalion. The draft most critically reveals that he did not regard himself as responsible for meeting Burgoyne at Albany and that he saw little purpose in the strategy for the two armies to meet along the Hudson.

Smith attempts to be empathetic, but he essentially concludes that Howe did not have the ability for senior command in America. Indeed, he wonders if Howe or any of his contemporaries really had much concept of a strategy, which is a term popularized by Clausewitz in the era of the Napoleonic Wars. The question should be central to any discussion of the Revolutionary War. The author rather cursorily dismisses the argument that Howe’s behavior was partially due to his conflicted position as a peace commissioner and commander in chief, which was the explanation advanced by Troyer Steele Anderson [1936] and especially Ira Gruber [1972]. He hardly mentions the influence of Howe’s older brother, Admiral Lord Richard Howe. He also omits that William Howe had opposed the war in Parliament and promised his constituents that he would not serve in America. Indeed, the virtual absence of the larger political and logistical influences excludes the possibility that Howe was in a situation in which he was virtually doomed.



*The German War: A Nation Under Arms, 1939–1945: Citizens and Soldiers.* By Nicholas Stargardt. (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2015. Pp. xxviii, 704. \$35.00.)

In this study, the author aims to understand how ordinary Germans viewed “their” war. He uses diaries and letters of select individuals, whom he follows over time, along with recent secondary works to illustrate evolving attitudes, changing expectations, and the prevalent German mindset. Despite their initial skepticism at an unwanted war, and much grumbling during it, Germans continued to support the regime, fought on, and rejected another November 1918. They emerge as complex and contradictory, a mixture of guilt and victimhood, aware of German atrocities but self-pitying, supportive of the regime, if not actively consensual, and wanting an end to the war but refusing to give up.

Nicholas Stargardt’s explanation of the German wartime mentality goes beyond conventional accounts of consent or terror. Instead, he stresses the evolution of an identity that ultimately embraced Nazi notions. The massive terror and destruction of the aerial bombing raids, the calamitous defeats, and the demands for unconditional surrender convinced many Germans that Hitler’s apocalyptic vision—that its enemies intended to destroy the nation—was correct. Growing public awareness and discussion of the fate of the Jews, coupled with the increased intensity of the bombing campaign, resulted in a curious inversion. As ordinary Germans sought to make sense of it all and connect the dots, they saw the terror bombing as Allied revenge for the murder of the Jews. This amounted to an admission both of knowledge of the Holocaust and of their complicity in it. It also mirrored the Nazi claim of a powerful international Jewish conspiracy bent on destroying Germany. Facing such an existential threat, Germans came to see themselves as victims. If its enemies meant to annihilate Germany, then it was imperative to fight on. Amid the growing hardships of the home front, and despite the grumbling, this sense of threatened nationalism prevented German society from atomizing and gave legitimacy to the war.

The author also notes the impressive efficiency and effectiveness—including using household goods plundered from Jews—with which Nazi organizations handled first those bombed out in the industrial cities, then evacuees from urban areas, and finally the hordes of refugees fleeing the Soviets. Both this proficient response and the large numbers of willing volunteers seemed to indicate that the Nazis, although perhaps not achieving the reality of a unified national community, nonetheless had considerable success in beginning to instill a new

mentality. Such might also be the case in explaining the racist response of average Germans to the presence of large numbers of foreign laborers in their midst, as well as the general unconcern at the bitter fate of Jews, Soviet POWs, and the Slavic population under German occupation.

Stargardt conveys a mass of detail, but in jumping from topic to topic and individual to individual, his attempt to integrate personal stories into the larger history leaves a sense of disjointedness. The theme of the book, whether Nazi or not—and whether because they were conservative nationalists, fearful of Bolshevism, fighting to protect their families, worried about retribution, or saw the hand of the “international Jewish conspiracy” at work—Germans stubbornly supported the war and regime, emerges only hesitantly. At the end, he does finally draw the strands together, in a rather damning portrait, to stress the German sense of their own victimization. They preferred self-pity to self-awareness and evinced little sense that their demands for revenge for their suffering rang hollow. Although the war was unwanted, and seen as a defensive one forced upon Germany, it was nonetheless a German war—“their” war—and the catastrophe was one of their own making.

*East Tennessee State University*

Stephen G. Fritz

*The Uses of Space in Early Modern History.* Edited by Paul Stock. (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. Pp. xiv, 269. \$95.00.)

The spatial turn in history, which is powerfully suggestive, points scholars in several ways at once. Some study old spaces themselves, as produced, enlivened, adorned, filled, and experienced. That is spatial history as socio-cultural phenomenology. Others scan past intellectual habits, asking how high and middle culture observed and described its own spaces, surveying, mapping, and depicting its surroundings. A third, fascinating mode puts intellectual and cultural life through a spatial lens, rereading familiar texts in radically new ways. This book, edited and introduced by Paul Stock and closed with a reflective essay by Beat Kümin, offers eight very diverse research essays, all good. They exemplify these assorted modes of spatialized history and suggest both the variety of the spatial turn and the uncertainty as to where it will head next.

Matthew Johnson, arguing as an archeologist, makes a telling case from English medieval houses for how material things shape practices that give spaces meaning. He reverses the usual causal arrow scholars often posit: meaning first; contents only afterwards. Amanda Flather looks at early modern

English churches, where seating arrangements sparked disputes over social precedence and women's honor. Her title evokes "the Organization of Sacred Space." But, first, how sacred were these pews, and second, can scholars learn more about a church as entire space; this article hunkers near the floor. Claire Norton smudges the Ottoman frontier in Central Europe, arguing that soldiers and settlers on both sides had symbiotic dealings and shifting, even shifty identities, suggesting sharp boundaries are mythic national hindsight. Paul Keenan looks at eighteenth-century Saint Petersburg as it hauled Russia's capital and culture westwards. The article is both macro- and meso-spatial: It scans wide geography and the block-wide differences from Moscow's use of urban land. One yearns for more micro- and experiential analysis of the new city, for close reading of the old urban panoramas and the handsome city maps.

Michael Heffernan takes up the early modern Académie des Sciences in Paris, where astronomy and cartography jostled over how to subject planet earth to a nascent technique of precise measurement. Geography came of age, casting off its astronomic trammels, emerging, with state patronage, as a new science. This is history not of space itself but of spatial thinking at its most refined. Lauren Benton and Jeppe Mulich revise modern geographic thinking, remapping maritime empires by exploring the fluid microregions between them circa 1800. They stress not territories but networks between them. Andrew Rudd spatializes elegantly the moral thought of Edmund Burke, who pondered the distant crimes in India of Warren Hastings. Burke asked, as must be asked today amid vast global woes, how best to balance remote miseries and crimes against those closer at hand. In like mode, Robert J. Mayhew reframes Malthus, spatializing intellectual history by setting his thought on three scales: the global, the national, and the local. His essay moves deftly inward, from the Club of Rome, across debates about poor laws, to Malthus's own raw experience as a curate in poverty-stricken eighteenth-century Surrey.

York University, Toronto

Thomas V. Cohen

*The Emperor's Old Clothes: Constitutional History and the Symbolic Language of the Holy Roman Empire.* By Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger. Translated by Thomas Dunlap. (New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2015. Pp. x, 332. \$120.00.)

Historians have long struggled to explain the nature of the early modern Holy Roman Empire as a polity. Constitutional approaches to this problem, which examine the laws and other official documents promulgated by imperial

institutions, have proven especially dissatisfying because of the ineffectiveness of many of these institutions. To understand the empire, Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger therefore takes a different approach in this book (originally published in German in 2008). Focusing on rituals and symbolic forms of communication, she argues that the rich sources describing the ceremonial procedures at imperial meetings are invaluable tools for clarifying how the empire worked. Analyzing four specific moments—Worms in 1495, Augsburg in 1530, Regensburg in 1653/1654, and Frankfurt–Regensburg–Vienna in 1764/1765—she demonstrates how changes in the performative aspects of imperial ceremonies illuminate broader transformations in the political culture of the empire.

The author begins with the imperial assembly at Worms in 1495. Stollberg-Rilinger demonstrates convincingly that the personal presence of the emperor and the electors was central to the performance of empire there. The ruler sitting in majesty, surrounded by the electors, was the embodiment of the empire. Participation in this ceremony was therefore essential for everyone involved, because the best way for the emperor and electors to prove their place in the hierarchy was to be seen displaying their elevated status. The story that unfolds across the remainder of the book is how this emphasis on personal presence changed over subsequent centuries. In 1495, there was not yet a “fiction of representation” that allowed envoys of lower rank to stand in for the emperor, the electors, and other members of the princely elite and to perform their ceremonial duties for them at imperial meetings (37). By 1764/1765, envoys and other representatives had come to replace the princes and emperor fully at the imperial diet in Regensburg. After 1648, the electors no longer wanted to be seen performing personally in ceremonies that implied political subservience to the emperors. The Habsburgs, meanwhile, had transformed their court in Vienna into the place where they could better control the symbolic performance of their rule.

Stollberg-Rilinger provides a wealth of detail drawn from her close reading of a wide range of primary sources, including visual evidence. She uses this material to explain such seemingly incongruous situations as the Protestant electors’ presence alongside the emperor at the Catholic Mass of the Holy Spirit in 1530 and Emperor Joseph II’s laughter when having to wear the imperial regalia in Frankfurt in 1764. Some work on ritual has been criticized in recent years because it is difficult (if not impossible) for modern historians to know how rituals were perceived by the actual attendees. Stollberg-Rilinger is cautious here, and by clearly showing change over time in the way imperial ceremonies were staged, she is convincing in her claim that differences among

rituals were truly meaningful. She is perhaps too narrow in her focus on only four moments (with a brief discussion of 1806 in the conclusion), but this is a clear and compelling book for anyone interested in gaining fresh perspectives on the early modern Holy Roman Empire.

*University of Chicago*

Jonathan R. Lyon

*The Russian Army in the Great War: The Eastern Front, 1914–1917.* By David R. Stone. (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2015. Pp. viii, 359. \$34.95.)

Historians of the First World War face an acute problem of narration. The scale of the conflict was so vast and the cast of characters so huge that it is difficult for an author to present a meaningful story. The task is even more challenging if an author speaks to nonspecialists, as David Stone does here. He discusses people and places unfamiliar to Anglophone readers, even as he tries to provide a reasonably comprehensive account in a compressed space. By the end of the war, the Russian Army had enlisted millions of men into thirteen different armies and four different army groups. There are a lot of stories there, many of them dramatic, and few of them known.

Stone has a reputation as an intelligent, reliable, and clear-eyed historian, and this book showcases all of his strengths. One of the many virtues of this volume is that Stone foregrounds several campaigns that get little attention even in broader global or European military histories of the war. Every serious work includes a discussion of the early failures of the Russian army in East Prussia and its early successes in Galicia, but few deal as expertly with the continuing slugfest in Poland that occupied both Russia and the Central Powers for the remainder of the fall and winter of 1914–1915. These were significant clashes: The 56,000 casualties in just one Russian army (the Tenth) in just one campaign in February 1915 surpassed the total number of casualties at the Battle of Gettysburg suffered by both sides. Other lightly covered campaigns, such as those in Eastern Anatolia and Romania in 1916 and on the land and water around Riga in 1917, get similar treatment.

Throughout the study, Stone wishes to emphasize the importance of contingency. Different decisions could have produced different outcomes. Stone deals with the problem of narrating scale by focusing largely on Russian generals exercising command at the army level or above. Stressing contingency, therefore, entails engaging with a long-standing debate about the quality of Russian

military leadership. It must be said that Stone has it both ways here, arguing in line with much of the historiography that bumbling command cost Russia dearly at many crucial moments while still maintaining that the performance of Russian generals was at a par with that of other major combatants and that the “real crisis for Russian commanders came at lower levels” (224). The reviewer agrees for the most part with these conclusions but thinks one can also question the limits of contingency in this context. The structure of geography and logistics could and did weigh more than human will in many, if not most, of the situations faced by Russian generals during the war.

Unfortunately, a short review does not leave space for more praise for this excellent work. It introduces readers to a complex and confusing period sensibly and economically. The reviewer only regrets that this book was not available when he was a graduate student!

*Lafayette College*

Joshua A. Sanborn

*The Old Boys: The Decline and Rise of the Public School.* By David Turner. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. xiv, 336. \$65.00.)

Almost every modern study of British public schools begins with Thomas Hughes’s *Tom Brown’s School Days*, and so it is with this book, which begins and ends with references to the classic novel. David Turner’s goal is to bring the analysis of the public school up to date while providing a fresh perspective on the history of the institutions. Turner’s central question is whether the public schools, long a cornerstone of the British educational system but often held in contempt, are now an asset to the nation.

In order to achieve a new perspective, the author states that he hoped to utilize more “hard, cold numerical facts to back anecdotal evidence” (xiii). Despite this goal, much of the book relies on the same tales and commentary from heads and students that lay at the center of other studies. The strongest use of numerical evidence is in the later chapters when Turner engages the most recent history of the schools. Here he provides sound statistical analysis on a variety of topics including school accountability, whether public school graduates make more money and land better jobs, the impact of rising fees, and the percent of British pop stars who are public school alums. As it happens, statistics show that 22 percent of pop stars come from public schools (261).

Whether public schools are currently an asset to Great Britain is a question Turner more contemplates than answers. However, the assertion that the

schools are experiencing a new golden age provides a fascinating and well-documented addition to the historiography of the schools. Turner valuably analyzes a variety of factors that came together to revitalize them. Though “accountability” is a four-letter word in many educational circles, Turner maintains that the advent of accountability and the need to be responsive to parents spearheaded a public school revival. Reform of curricula, underway for decades, accelerated after the 1980s, and by 2011 public schools had triumphed in science based upon percentage of A-levels earned. The “Harry Potter Effect” may have ebbed by 2004, but internationalization has had a lasting effect (232). The opening of foreign campuses has been significant, but the biggest impact has come from the aggressive marketing to foreign students. By 2014 foreign students accounted for 36 percent of the public school population (231). This influx not only helped schools survive tough economic times but also made them far more diverse than their ancestors.

A journalist by profession, Turner provides an engaging and well-researched addition to the story of public schools. Turner’s study is strongest when it effectively updates the story and analysis of public schools, rather than its effort to add a fresh examination to well-trodden territory. Overall the book is a fruitful examination of the role of the public school in the British education system and its impact on society, both historically and in their contemporary form.

*Mississippi University for Women*

Thomas G. Velek

*Sympathetic Puritans: Calvinist Fellow Feeling in Early New England.* By Abram Van Engen. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 318. \$74.00.)

In the struggle to achieve “sympathy,” argues the author of this study, readers will find the interpretive key to the most basic messages of early New England literature. “Calvinist” because it derived from the biblical exegesis of John Calvin, sympathy was a set of “mutual and reciprocal affections” that united godly hearts to one another and marked the boundary between saints and the nonregenerate (4).

At the heart of this book, then, the reader finds one prominent text after another illumined through the lens of “sympathy.” Abram Van Engen moves through, most notably, John Winthrop’s *Model of Christian Charity*, the material collected by David Hall in *The Antinomian Controversy 1636–1638*:

*A Documentary History*, Anne Bradstreet's "Dialogue between Old England and New," William Hooke's *New Englands Teares for Old England's Feares*, the "Eliot Tracts" produced to support Native American missions, Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative, and the records of the Salem witch trials.

To take what seemed to this reviewer Van Engen's most significant discussion, he explains in his treatment of the texts of the "Antinomian" controversy that for most ministers, the presence of sympathy toward other saints would be a demonstrable sign of one's elect status. It was John Cotton's refusal to agree and his insistence that only a "semimystical superadded testimony of the Holy Spirit" could provide assurance of salvation that sparked the controversy (64). Far from a conflict between discipline and feeling, the controversy was actually a dispute about what constituted authentic religious experience (75). In a metaphor that will likely entrench itself in future scholarly debate, Van Engen pits those who imagined the quest for personal assurance of salvation as "a hurdles race"—in which "a Christian could look back over all the bars already leapt and accumulate comfort in an ever-increasing sanctification"—against those, like Cotton, who imagined it as a "pole vault" in which semimystical testimony would propel one once and for all over the bar (83).

Though its graceful and accessible style would make it an ideal supplementary text for an undergraduate course in colonial American literature, Van Engen clearly wants to bring scholars, and particularly scholars of literature, around to his point of view. So he argues repeatedly, with such scholars in mind, that "the process of stirring up sympathy . . . could lead Puritans to literary strategies that look in many ways like precursors of sentimentalism" (143). Students of history will be more inclined to see the texts he analyzes as documents providing evidence for seventeenth-century events, but they too have much to learn from Van Engen's insightful interpretations.

There are some minor quibbles: Published sermons were not only the primary literary genre of seventeenth-century New England but also the primary means to induce sympathy; Van Engen could have examined more of them. Too, some attention to John Davenport's New Haven and Thomas Hooker's Hartford would have allowed "New England" to mean more than the Massachusetts Bay. Notwithstanding, students and scholars alike will now want to grant "sympathy" a prominent place in their interpretive toolbox.



*The Politics of Cultural Retreat: Imperial Bureaucracy in Austrian Galicia, 1772–1867.* By Iryna Vushko. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 311. \$85.00.)

This well-researched and eminently readable study has much to offer to students of Habsburg and Polish history but also to readers more generally interested in state building, the Enlightenment, identity formation, and the revolutions of 1848. For historians of the Habsburg Monarchy, the book helps to shift attention away from the more commonly traversed ground of post-1867 Vienna and Bohemia and incorporates Polish- and Ukrainian-language scholarship into the English-language historiography. Focusing primarily on governors and other prominent administrators in Galicia, Iryna Vushko provides crucial insight into the relationship between the central administration in Vienna and those tasked with carrying out the Crown's policies on the ground, as well as ample evidence for the social—and, indeed, personal—construction of national identity in the empire. Official interactions between government officials and the public are outside the scope of the study as Vushko defines it.

Although the French Enlightenment was focused on individual rights, the Austrian Enlightenment was more practical, focusing on cameralism, or the use of state power to generate wealth; an educated citizenry was crucial to that project. Empress Maria Teresa [r. 1740–1780] and especially her son, coregent, and successor Joseph II [r. 1765–1780–1790] looked to apply Enlightenment reforms to Eastern Galicia, which they acquired from Poland-Lithuania via partition in 1772. Galicia was to be the “land of experimentation,” where Habsburg officials would build from scratch a new administration that would channel Vienna's policies to the province and create an educated Germanophone population (6). Deciding not to employ locals in the new administration, officials were brought in from other parts of the empire. Given the demand, some of those officials were not particularly qualified, but many had substantial experience, often in the Habsburg Italian territories. Although these officials were expected to follow orders from Vienna, Vushko demonstrates that they frequently pushed back, either questioning policies directly or modifying them in their implementation. The resultant practices demonstrated that rule from Vienna was “never unilateral, nor was it entirely oppressive” (247).

The policy of excluding locals from the administration was quickly modified out of practicality, and after the Polish independence became particularly remote with the Congress of Vienna in 1815, their participation was more common. After 1848 and especially after 1867, Poles and Ruthenians held

most of the administrative positions. Before 1848, however, they exercised political influence by intermarrying with Austrian officials, who helped to create a more accepting, multiethnic social scene in the Galician capital of Lemberg (Lwów/L'viv) than could be found anywhere in the Prussian or Russian partitions. Vushko provides fascinating examples of these families, whose members had so many options when it came to identity, as they spoke multiple languages and had ties to so many ethnic cultures throughout the empire. Many chose to make Polish or Ruthenian identities central to their lives. That is not to say, however, that they became Polish or Ruthenian nationalists; Vushko's study reinforces the idea that the Austrian Habsburgs did a better job of securing and retaining the loyalty of their partitions' inhabitants than did the Prussians or the Russians.

*University of Vermont*

Nicole M. Phelps

GENERAL, COMPARATIVE, HISTORIOGRAPHICAL

*The Atlantic World*. Edited by D'Maris Coffman, Adrian Leonard, and William O'Reilly. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015. Pp. xxii, 704. \$262.00.)

Coordinating what is in many ways an experimental volume, the editors state at its outset that their aim is to "illustrate the methodological diversity of more recent post-Atlantic approaches" (3). Accordingly, they even include a chapter on the Pacific. Not designed as a textbook and quickly moving between topics and across the map, the book benefits from innovative, specialized research and insights on the environment, indigenous peoples, finance, and culture. Some of the most intriguing work brings outlying states and actors, such as Morocco and the Barbary pirates, into the Atlantic fold.

Denise Spellberg integrates the Islamic Mediterranean into commercial and cultural interactions on the other side of the Atlantic. She also shows how language from the Old World morphed into markers of identity, even incipient racial categories, in colonial America. Yet, too often the chapters lack connections and, unlike conference proceedings, do not naturally flow. For example, moving straight from nineteenth-century South Africa, with a slave economy centered in the Indian Ocean, to the eighteenth-century Habsburg realms and migratory outflows feels a bit jarring. To cite other examples, an analysis of seafaring communities does not follow the chapter covering fish and fisheries. Two historians write about the Enlightenment, but over four

hundred pages separate their work. In addition, authors seldom reference each other's arguments or main points. Even strong contributions, such as back-to-back chapters by Catherine Styer and James A. O. C. Brown, are not in conversation with one another. As Brown notes, "although the Atlantic system was in many ways coherent, it does not necessarily follow that it was self-contained" (197). The book itself appears to be based on a similar premise.

Bernard Bailyn's notion of an early modern Atlantic world in constant motion serves as a common thread tying together many of these disparate investigations. Similarly, the idea that the Atlantic system provided Europe a passageway to modernity, with its attendant exploitation and brutality, connects each section. Many scholars admirably push the envelope and reconceptualize what has often been an Anglo-centric approach to an Atlantic paradigm. Appropriately, then, Laura Matthew insists that the history of the modern world must foreground indigenous peoples in order to complicate the idea that Europeans alone conquered and then administered American empires. Laurent Dubois likewise advocates including the enslaved as both actors within and consumers of Enlightenment culture. Extensive examinations of Catholicism and Protestantism, by E. L. Devlin and Travis Glasson, respectively, show how syncretic religious cultures developed from West Africa to the Caribbean and America. Multiple contributions on Catholics, Jews, and Muslims expand conventional narratives on the subject of religious practice and political identity in the New World. Maura Jane Farrelly demonstrates that Catholics in Maryland embraced independence before many of their Protestant neighbors, defying the stereotype of reactionary Catholicism. More traditional scholarship on violence and the military still maintains an Atlantic focus, as Charles R. Drummond links the republican ideal of the armed citizen as a bastion of liberty, which emerged in seventeenth-century England, with constitutional debates and the crafting of the Second Amendment in the United States.

With too many foreign terms (in Dutch, French, German, Italian, Latin, and Spanish), historical events, and obscure place names left without translation or description, this book would be challenging for undergraduates. However, it is an important and valuable reference for scholars interested in cutting-edge work in the changing field of Atlantic history.

*Paper: Paging Through History.* By Mark Kurlansky. (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2016. Pp. xx, 354. \$27.95.)

Mark Kurlansky is the author of many best-selling books including *Salt* and *Cod*, so it is no wonder that he has now turned to paper, another single word product of global importance. Invented in China in the centuries before Christ, paper is a mat of cellulose fibers that have been beaten in the presence of water, collected on a screen, and then dried. Chinese Buddhists carried paper and papermaking throughout Asia as they sought to collect Buddhist texts, and paper quickly supplanted earlier writing media such as bamboo strips and silk cloth. Muslims encountered paper when they conquered Central Asia in the seventh and eighth centuries CE and quickly adopted it for the burgeoning bureaucracy of the Abbasid Empire. Muslim bureaucrats realized that paper was stronger than papyrus (made from a reed that grew mainly along the Nile) and cheaper than parchment (made from the skins of sheep, goats, and cattle)—the two flexible writing media used in the ancient world. Muslim papermakers carried the craft from Central Asia to Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, and eventually to the Iberian Peninsula, and in the thirteenth century, European Christians in Spain and Italy began making paper. Papermaking flourished in Europe, particularly after the invention of printing with moveable type in the fifteenth century, as papermaking spread north of the Alps to Germany and the Low Countries. Though the Chinese had made paper from plant fibers, Muslim papermakers learned to use rags as well as plants, but European papermakers only used rags, eventually leading them to search for new sources of fiber. In the nineteenth century, it was discovered that paper could be made from wood, and the world of paper has not been the same since.

The book is entertaining but often infuriating to anyone who knows anything about the subjects covered in it. Anecdotes, digressions, and factoids abound, but there are no endnotes or references, simply an alphabetical list of books consulted, so it is impossible to verify any of the information presented. The author appears to have read widely but quickly, so that much misinterpretation and misinformation sneaks in. For example, paper *cannot* be made from silk, which does not contain cellulose (29). Albrecht Dürer may have been the first artist to produce etchings, but he made only six experimental examples, in contrast to hundreds of woodcuts and engravings; etching was actually Rembrandt's specialty (130). Marbled paper was not invented in twelfth-century Turkey or Persia; Harvard was not founded as a university but as a college (190, 206). Soldiers normally wore woolen uniforms; when they died on the battlefield, their uniforms would have been useless to papermakers although their (linen or cotton) underwear might have been useful

(245). At the beginning of the book, the Chinese began making paper in the second or first century BC; by the end it was in the first century CE (30, 293).

Kurlansky's tendency to wander off the subject may enchant some readers, but it infuriated this reviewer because so much seems not quite right, if not downright wrong. There is no reason that popular history has to be "lite." Readers in search of a better book on the subject might look at Nicholas Basbanes's *On Paper: The Everything of Its Two Thousand Year History* [2013], which is curiously missing from the list of books consulted.

*Boston College*

Jonathan M. Bloom

*Back to the Garden: Nature and the Mediterranean World from Prehistory to the Present.* By James H. S. McGregor. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 366. \$38.00.)

This fascinating book—more an essay than a monograph—covers a sequence of topics in environmental history. In chapters arranged chronologically from the Paleolithic to the present, James McGregor argues that the Neolithic Revolution ushered in a complementary and sustainable relationship between humans and the rest of the natural world that lasted until the end of the eighteenth century. The argument develops toward a diagnosis of ecological crisis brought on by abandoning a stable relationship between man and nature first established in the Neolithic. The culprits include rationalization of agriculture; separating of the human population from agricultural work, technology, and abstract thinking; and most of the usually suspected features of modernity. For some readers it will appear another jeremiad decrying the loss of innocence in modernity. Nonetheless, it establishes a clear position among other environmental creeds, accomplishing this in a sweeping sequence of essays, each rooted in a particular era, all focused on the Mediterranean ecological-agricultural zone.

To create this sweeping narrative, McGregor relies upon carefully selected authorities from a number of fields, including agriculture, archaeology, architecture, and art (to take a few from the beginning of the alphabet), demography, genetics, nutrition, and others. Thus, readers may be confident that some experts in all of the relevant fields support McGregor's arguments; whether these are consensus views would be harder to assess. For example, in chapters on the agricultural revolution and early cities like Uruk, McGregor argues that a revolution in archaeological thought has displaced an older synthesis associated with V. Gordon Childe that other environmental historians have relied

upon to explain ecological collapse in Mesopotamia, but he draws almost entirely from one authority for the newer view that irrigated agriculture did *not* result in ecological collapse. In his chapters on Greek and Roman agriculture, McGregor dismisses “elite” writers including Aristotle because they were rationalistic, not involved in practical agricultural work, and thus ignorant of the practices of husbandry shared by farmers throughout the Mediterranean. He draws interesting conclusions about farming practices in ancient Greece from his own novel reading of the famous shield of Achilles in *The Iliad*. This is all quite ingenious, provocative, and stimulating, but it may prove controversial in some of the particular fields of research implicated in the overall argument.

McGregor’s argument might be summarized: To solve today’s environmental problems, one should study agricultural history to discover what farmers did right, rather than simply studying what modern people have done wrong. That argument reminds readers that environmentalism (and environmental history) is a contentious arena of competing diagnoses and prescriptions. McGregor’s entry falls somewhere between the hands-off-nature arguments of the strict preservationists at one extreme and arguments of those who would solve the ecological crisis created by modern technology with more technology. How it will play among advocates of the many other histories and prescriptions also remains to be seen.

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Carl Pletsch

*The History of Emotions: An Introduction.* By Jan Plamper. Translated by Keith Tribe. (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 352. \$55.00.)

The author of this study offers a thorough, insightful analysis of a booming sub-field. The historical study of emotions has taken off recently, so much so that in 2010, Jan Plamper declared in an article that history had taken “an emotional turn.” In his new book, he outlines the history of the field, its interdisciplinary roots, its central debates, and its prospects. The text is an invaluable resource for scholars interested in this increasingly influential subdiscipline.

Since the early twentieth century, a small cadre of historians has sought to do a new kind of history, one that paid attention to past generations’ sensibilities and psychologies. In the 1930s and 1940s, Lucien Febvre, a member of the Annales School, called for histories of love, joy, and cruelty, arguing that

modern conceptions of these emotions had little to do with their meaning or expression in other times. Contemporary historians have embraced this contention, and they have documented the great variability of feelings across time and space. In doing so, they have taken issue with a fundamental assumption of many psychologists—that there are universal emotions hard wired into all humans.

Plamper suggests that he would like to move beyond arguments over universalism versus cultural constructivism, but his book nevertheless spends considerable—and profitable—time reviewing this controversy before turning to a host of related subjects.

In four well-conceived chapters, Plamper reviews the history of the history of emotions, considers the significant work done by anthropologists in documenting the cultural variability of feelings, examines theories of psychologists and neuroscientists who endeavor to show the universality of emotions, and finally charts recent developments in the field. He demonstrates great fluency in these diverse disciplines. Particularly impressive is his discussion of life scientists' approaches to feeling. He offers an effective critique of psychologist Paul Ekman's theory that there are six universal emotions common across the globe, which all people display using the same facial expressions. Plamper likewise makes a powerful case against the over-reliance on ambiguous neuroscientific findings, which psychologists as well as art historians, political scientists, and other academics, employ to suggest human nature is fixed, knowable, and measurable.

The only discordant note in the book is the suggestion that the events of 9/11 launched the history of emotions. Though Plamper spends hundreds of pages offering a review of the scholarship of historians of emotion, much of it published before 9/11, he nevertheless claims that date as the real start of the field. He contends that in the wake of the terror, scholars abandoned discourse analysis and looked for alternative ways of understanding why people acted in the ways they did. However, such a timeline would not hold up among leading scholars in the field, many of whom had been at work on the subject for years, and even decades before 2001.

Yet, though that point of origin is debatable, the merits of the book are not. Plamper offers readers much to ponder, extensive bibliographical references, and prospects for fruitful research.

*Revolutions without Borders: The Call to Liberty in the Atlantic World.* By Janet Polasky. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. xx, 371. \$35.00.)

“In the decades after the American Revolution, freed slaves, poets, and philosophers took to the roads of America, Europe, and Africa and the sea lanes of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean in search of liberty” (1). That is the thesis of Janet Polasky’s book. Some of these travelers journeyed to spread the revolution, while others hoped to escape its consequences. From 1776 to 1804, revolution “cascaded” through four continents in a tightly connected Atlantic world. There was no single vision, and the movement was contentious, “messy,” and full of contradictions and failures, but these varied utopian dramas shared a leitmotif that Polasky calls the “universal cry of liberty” (4).

Polasky’s work is notable as an age of revolution study for a number of reasons. Like others, she stresses the importance of the American and Haitian Revolutions, but she adds perspective and detail through her creative use of different kinds of documents, which enhance our understanding of how these two revolutions contributed to the larger movement. For example, ideas from the United States emerged in revolutionary pamphlets in Geneva [1782], among the Dutch Patriots [1787], and in Belgium [1787–1789]. Historians frequently cite the example of a copy of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man found on the body of an ex-slave who fell in battle defending Haiti from counterattacks after its revolution, yet Polasky found further examples of Haitians explicitly expressing the desire to realize the ideals of the Declaration during interviews.

The author’s treatment of Sierra Leone is exemplary, as she incorporates it into her argument about a cascading revolution and the Atlantic-wide search for liberty. The American Revolution set thousands of ex-slaves into motion, including many who went to Nova Scotia and ultimately Sierra Leone. Upon arrival, they demanded the right to vote and representation in the new government, as well as property rights. Their promotion of women’s suffrage put them on par with New Jersey, where women temporarily gained the right to vote. The Sierra Leone settlers struggled against white organizers and officials of the settlement, who denied them these rights. For this, William Wilberforce called the settlers Jacobins, which was a reflection of their radicalism.

Perhaps the greatest strength of this book is how Polasky incorporates slavery and emancipation into her narrative of cascading revolution and the universal cry for liberty. Antislavery efforts involving the British were part of the age of revolution that began in 1776. In addition to the Sierra Leone settlement, this included Equiano’s narrative, which Polasky calls a revolutionary



document. Jamaican planters demonstrated the connection when they burned Wilberforce and Thomas Paine in effigy in 1793. In Haiti, both white colonists and free people of color wanted revolution beginning in 1789, but the fear of a slave revolt restrained them. After the revolt began anyway in 1791, slaves appropriated revolutionary ideology and used that ideology to justify their actions, including winning independence in 1804.

There are some weaknesses in this otherwise excellent study. Polasky never explains why she ended her study with Haitian independence in 1804. The universal cry for liberty and cascading revolution that she describes so well continued thereafter with the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade, the settlements of Liberia and Aguda by newly freed slaves from the United States and Brazil, the entire array of Iberian American revolutions (such as they were), and further efforts at abolition. For these reasons, most historians extend the age of revolution to 1830. One surmises that Polasky chose to work with English, Dutch, and French-language sources and deal with an intense period of revolutionary activity that certainly did cross borders at will, but the movement did not end in 1804. Nevertheless, this is an important study showing how ideas circulated in the Atlantic World via various media and how they influenced one revolution after another, some successful and some not. Polasky's study shows how slavery and antislavery movements were connected to this cascading revolution.

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Aaron Spencer Fogleman

*The Conquering Tide: War in the Pacific Islands, 1942–1944.* By Ian W. Toll. (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2015. Pp. xxvii, 543. \$35.00.)

This volume follows the course of war in the Pacific theaters from Guadalcanal to Saipan. Highlighted are personalities, institutions, interservice rivalries, geographical challenges, and an unusual amount of supplementary information that will broaden the picture of the various conflicts. The writing has a very visual aspect, yet the details do not overwhelm the reader, nor does the well-organized and documented narrative. Told from the points of view of different military and political perspectives covering both sides of the war, plus allied concerns, the story never gets lost as it progresses through the period included. The battle stories include human stories and anecdotes from those not necessarily heard from, including those in the foxholes. Attitudes are explained with ease and controversies covered. Weapons are analyzed, particularly comparative systems, with their problems early in the war (United States) and later (Japan).

Of possible interest are details of Admiral Nimitz's card files with the names and details of subordinates, the feelings of Japanese merchant seamen that they were of lower importance than military pigeons, a first flight in a Hellcat, the accumulation of power in General Tojo's cabinet, and other details. Ian W. Toll tells a familiar story in unfamiliar ways, but the reader is effortlessly carried along the narrative.

The perceptions of each side are considered. The Americans first viewed the Japanese as only able to copy Western engineering, until they encountered the "Zero"; then they became extraordinary jungle fighters; and then a tenacious enemy. The Americans were originally seen by the Japanese as soft, too used to comfort to be effective in battle; not able to withstand the rigors of submarine service; and later they would be perceived as "animals," to whom the Japanese had best not surrender. Descriptions of jungle smell, as well as hazards, are included, adding color to the narration. Hand pumping five hundred barrels of avgas for a B-17, the loss of weight of the First Marine Division while sailing to the south Pacific, the awkward chains of command of services unused to effective coordination: All are described as elements in the overall account.

Included also are the problems and perceptions of the two governments, their attitudes to the war, their plans, and their ability to be flexible, or not, as circumstances dictated; all are discussed and explained as they affected the course of the war. This is a volume that anyone interested in the Pacific campaigns, military history in general, weapons of war and technological developments, war planning—including the demands of a complex of theaters—interservice priorities, logistics, and personalities and that all libraries should include in their collections. Rarely has an author captured such myriad details with such control of his craft.

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Katherine K. Reist

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## Histories of Heterosexualities in Colonial Africa

Marc Epprecht

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# HISTORIES OF HETEROSEXUALITIES IN COLONIAL AFRICA

**Marc Epprecht**

*Conjugal Rights: Marriage, Sexuality, and Urban Life  
in Colonial Libreville, Gabon*

Rachel Jean-Baptiste

Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014. xiv + 300 pp.

*When Sex Threatened the State: Illicit Sexuality, Nationalism,  
and Politics in Colonial Nigeria, 1900–1958*

Saheed Aderinto

Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015. xviii + 241 pp.

*Medicine and Morality in Egypt: Gender and Sexuality  
in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*

Sherry Sayed Gadelrab

London: I. B. Taurus, 2016. x + 204 pp.

Three new monographs add significantly to our understanding of the transformations of gender relations and sexual mores from premodern to modern times in diverse contexts in Africa. While the focus in all three is overwhelmingly on heterosexual relationships, they contribute to the theorization of “global queer” by introducing meticulously gathered empirical evidence from otherwise under-

researched historical African contexts. This evidence underscores how unnatural heterosexuality is: today's heteronormative gender relations and sexual mores did not become hegemonic except through a lot of hard ideological, legal, and other labor over decades of sometimes wrenching economic, political, and social change. Even then, heterosexuality as practiced is clearly a broad tent under which all kinds of relationships have flourished frequently in glaring contradiction to commonly heard claims about "African culture" or "African sexuality." These books also bring fresh insights into how and why colonial subjects were often attracted to and sought to shape for their own benefit certain aspects of metropolitan culture under the umbrella of modernity.

Rachel Jean-Baptiste's elegant history of colonial Gabon opens with an anecdote that poignantly reveals the yawning gaps between European intentions and African aspirations. France had abolished slavery and the slave trade in 1848. It thus found itself in a similar situation as the British had from 1807, with its navy patrolling the coasts of West Africa encountering ships laden with now-illegal human cargo. What to do with the liberated contraband? Like Britain with Freetown, France established an outpost on a convenient stretch of coast that was otherwise of little interest to it. This became Libreville ("Free Town"), where recaptives could be resettled with a hut and a plot of land. Within months, however, the first beneficiaries of French generosity rebelled. Roughly half of the freed slaves took up arms to attack France's African allies in the neighborhood. They wanted more wives than Libreville itself allowed, and for several weeks the men kidnapped young women from villages along the Gabon River. After the mutiny was quelled, the French state and Catholic missionaries hastily facilitated a mass, "proper" marriage for the survivors to restore the reputation of the civilizing mission.

This dramatic incident sets the stage for Jean-Baptiste to ask her big questions. How and why did heterosexual relationships change over time? What were the roles of African women in particular in effecting those changes? And how did sexuality affect the development of other social, economic, and political structures up to the end of the colonial era in 1960? Chapters unfold in rough chronological order, beginning with a close reconstruction of precolonial gender relations and the emergence of a vibrant transactional sexual economy (this makes the book a rare study of sexualities in Africa to include significant content from the nineteenth century). Chapters in the second part of the book focus on specific French and African anxieties and campaigns as the French state sought to mitigate perceived negative consequences of the emergent sexual economy: changes to the bride-wealth economy, marriage and divorce laws, the regulation of extramarital

sex, and the propriety of interracial sex. The key concern was how best to manage people's often unruly affairs as the city transitioned from colonial backwater to booming, cosmopolitan center on the verge of independence.

In posing these questions, Jean-Baptiste acknowledges her indebtedness not just to the rich feminist historiography of women and gender in Africa but also to the more recent scholarship on same-sex sexuality. In that vein, she describes looking for evidence of homosexual relations to provide a fuller picture of the history but comes upon complete archival silence and oral informants' flat denials. She then made a strategic decision to focus on the majority practices, albeit applying a critical queer perspective to the evidence. For example, Jean-Baptiste does not accept that formal monogamous marriage in a heteropatriarchal society meant that Gabonese wives were unable to make their own autonomous informal arrangements. Indeed, she shows (e.g., pp. 32, 63) that legally monogamous wives sometimes had sex with other men with the permission of their husbands, and that those husbands in some cases may even have encouraged informal polyandry when the extramarital sex involved white men and the exchange of cash.

Libreville provides an important case study for queering heterosexuality for several reasons. First, with a few notable exceptions, the historiography of women, gender, and sexuality in colonial Africa is heavily dominated by studies from the Anglophone colonies and South Africa. *Conjugal Rights* is thus a welcome contribution to broadening the evidentiary base. It draws largely on French archival sources (notably, civil court records), Gabonese texts in French (which was the lingua franca among Africans in the multi-ethnic city), and oral interviews (in both French and the main African languages, Mpongwé and Fang).

Second, unlike more-studied cities in eastern and southern Africa, where the sex ratio among Africans was heavily skewed male, Libreville from the beginning always had a rough gender balance, and even a female majority at times. As Jean-Baptiste makes clear, this had a significant impact on gender and sexual relations and thus offers a distinctive comparison to Nairobi, Lagos, Harare, or Johannesburg. Notably, the scholarship of the latter cities tends to argue that their demographic imbalance gave women a negotiating edge. Many men seeking the company of a few women allowed the women to bid their services up and to carve out a foothold in the city despite the many social and legal obstacles. Jean-Baptiste suggests, however, that there is more to the story than supply and demand. Even when the potential supply of wives was high, women were still able to negotiate advantages through innovative claims around custom, opportunistic relationships, and even overt political and legal activism.

And finally, Libreville had a distinctive multicultural ambience long after

the resettlement of freed slaves dwindled. The main indigenous African population of Mpongwé people had played a key role as middlemen in the local slave trade. Thereafter they enthusiastically adopted elements of French culture and had a history of profiting from sex with French men, including as formalized through marriage. This partly explains the rise of a class of local women with independent wealth, political voice, and sexual autonomy.

The French, meanwhile, were perpetually frustrated by Africans' refusal to conform to heteronormative expectations. For example, despite the healthy gender balance, Gabon suffered from chronically low birth rates (and hence chronic labor shortages). The French attributed this to African women having too much freedom to divorce and to conduct adulterous affairs (hence high rates of sexually transmitted infections that reduced fertility). Attempts to solve the problem included codifying stricter patriarchal "traditional" law and bolstering the power of chiefs to impose moral authority. The chiefs' behavior, unfortunately, sometimes made matters worse. By delaying rulings in cases of runaway wives seeking divorces, some chiefs exploited the women's labor in their own fields or added them to already large, market-oriented farming households. They also tended to side with women in order to increase their earnings through court fees, thus abetting women's "looseness." Birth rates were not boosted in the process.

Jean-Baptiste makes another contribution through her analysis of urban racial segregation. A common explanation for why so many African cities had segregated areas is whites' anxiety about the dangers of proximity to Africans. The "sanitation syndrome," notably, has been widely invoked as a shorthand for whites' exaggerated fears of catching contagious disease from blacks, while others have discerned fear of "black peril" (African men's lust for white women) as a driving motive in that geography. In Libreville the French did indeed seek to enhance their political power by establishing a whites-only zone and consolidating different ethnic groups in discrete neighborhoods. They failed, however, because of strong African resistance. That resistance in some cases hinged on fears that the proposed neighborhoods were a threat to African gender and sexual norms. Fang men, notably, feared that being forced to live together as a single group, when they had traditionally been scattered clans with no unifying social ethic, would increase the practice of adultery among them, with all the problems that that implied (57).

Overall, *Conjugal Rights* makes a compelling case that the culture, and even the physical layout of the contemporary city, owes much to the long history of struggle and joy found in the negotiation of erotic bonds between its citizens. "The geography of Libreville was not determined by only the built environment, but by the movement of women's and men's bodies and expressions of eros" (223). This is



a theme that Saheed Aderinto also develops in his analysis of conflicts over sexuality that have given Lagos, Nigeria, its distinctive character.

Like Jean-Baptiste, Aderinto opens his book with a revealing tale. In 1947 a leading female welfare officer in Lagos was convicted for accepting bribes. Three scandals swirled around the case. First, the corrupt official was responsible for the repression of child sex-trafficking. Thus, while the bribe payers were adults, the case drew attention to the issue of men having sex with girl children facilitated in part by the girls' mothers. Second, the bribe appeared to be part of a normal cost of operation for the city's thriving sex work scene. And third, relatedly, the official involved did not appear to be ashamed of her role in the sordid business. On the contrary, she retained five expensive lawyers and fought the allegations through to the highest court in British West Africa.

From here, Aderinto asks of the Lagos evidence many of the same questions as Jean-Baptiste does in *Libreville*, but with a stronger focus on the role that debates around sexuality played in nation building and decolonization. As Aderinto explains (7), the silencing of the history of contestation around sexuality both in official sources and in the scholarship on Nigeria impoverishes our understanding of other contestations in and around state formation. The opening anecdote is a striking nod to that impoverishment. It provides a small window into the history of elite privilege and government corruption that have so plagued the Nigerian nation-building experience but that clearly predated independence.

Aderinto weaves a subtle narrative of different groups trying to advance their social and political aspirations through their preferred visions of sexual propriety. At root, the British did not trust that Nigerians were culturally capable of demonstrating the kind of sexual self-control that was believed needed to exercise governance over a modern state, and the British did not hesitate to express that view in overtly racist language. Indeed, supposedly primitive or overexuberant sexuality among Africans had been an important justification for the colonial "civilizing mission" and underpinned the subsequent concept of a dual mandate of paternalistic, gradualist movement toward self-government. Many Christianized Nigerians actually accepted the basic outlines of that view but bridled at the tone. They offered their own counternarrative of sexual dignity within African culture as defined by them (to justify independence from the British) and selectively promoted aspects of British gender ideology (to make claims for Nigeria's modernity and potential for development under their leadership).

Aderinto also stresses an aspect of intersectionality commonly overlooked in the historiography: age. Disputes over when exactly ostensibly asexual and agency-less girls became women, with erotic (and other) agency playing an impor-

tant role in defining who, as a group, could be considered moral. People so defined would be the most appropriate leaders of the emerging national state. The book ends in 1958 when the British and their elite Nigerian partners in the decolonization process raised the legal age of consent for girls from thirteen to sixteen, demonstrating to the world their suitability as modern leaders.

Aderinto moves methodically through the sundry issues as they unfolded in the local, English-language press and government documents supplemented, to a limited extent, by oral interviews. But there are gaps. Given his attention to age, for example, it is curious that Aderinto does not discuss or even mention masturbation. Are we to assume that African youth in Nigeria did not do such things, or that the topic was not a concern to sexual moralists? Also, like Jean-Baptiste, Aderinto is aware and respectful of the scholarship on same-sex sexuality and gender variance, and he similarly pleads the invisibility of those topics in the archives to justify the almost exclusive focus on heterosexual sexuality. I say “almost” because he mentions a case of male-male sodomy in the military in 1921 (97). One could quibble that this seems a weak challenge to the heteronormativity of the sources, or be hopeful that it will be more actively addressed in a future study.

The book’s epilogue fascinatingly extrapolates these historical debates to a contemporary scandal—the trafficking of Nigerian women to Europe for sex work, and the proliferation, and normalization, of sex work domestically. Dispiriting parallels are drawn between now and the colonial era. As before, the laws and bureaucracies established to protect women and children appear less interested in the victims of exploitation than in the performance of respectability by the state and the elites who control it. In this case, the performance of cracking down on trafficking is intended to boost Nigeria’s tarnished international reputation.

*Medicine and Morality in Egypt* touches on many of the same issues as the previous books but with a much broader scope of time and more diverse sources (the author was Egyptian and consulted her Arabic- and Turkish-language sources directly). As this is the shortest of the three books under consideration, the race across centuries and decade hopping in the later chapters can be dizzying. I should also note with sadness that Sherry Sayed Gadelrab died in an untimely way and that the book was published posthumously. This may explain some disconcerting lack of attention to copyediting. The book nonetheless makes a coherent exposition on the ways that Western scientific knowledge—typically infused with orientalist, racist, sexist, and homophobic prejudice, as well as riven by great swathes of ignorance particularly around female sexuality—helped consolidate cultural and religious arguments for Egyptian women’s inferiority to men.

Chapter 1 begins with an overview of the principal ancient Greek philoso-

phers' theories of sexual difference and function. These were influentially translated into Arabic and Persian, and disseminated throughout the Islamic world over the millennium preceding Egypt's period of self-conscious modernization. Gadelrab relies heavily here on Thomas Laqueur's thesis that the ancient Greeks' "one sex" model of biological difference underpinned the edifice of heteropatriarchy, sexism, and misogyny that became Western civilization. According to that view, humans were physiologically of one sex, and females were simply flawed versions of the ideal. This notion was eventually upended by Enlightenment-era scientific observation. The central question Gadelrab assesses is how these ideas of biological sexual difference percolated through Islamic knowledge in the Middle East, eventually to frame the debates about women's and men's distinctive roles in a modernizing society.

Chapter 1 ends with the observation that classical Western science was interpreted over the centuries by Muslim scholars to adhere to teachings of the Koran, *hadith*, and *fiqh*. These teachings supported heteropatriarchal culture but also actively encouraged female sexual pleasure within the bounds of heterosexual marriage. They further allowed for significant tolerance of nonnormative expressions of gender and sexuality. Gadelrab analyzes several discussions of homosexuality, for example, where science backed the exegesis of sacred texts to reduce the severity of the moral infraction in certain circumstances. Indifference to male-male sexual relationships provided that they did not endanger the sanctity of heterosexual marriage and family honor was thus justified both by Koranic ambiguities and by physiological explanations around men's anatomical needs.

The majority of the book focuses on 1827–1949, bounded by the establishment of the first school dedicated to training Egyptians in Western medical knowledge and the criminalization of prostitution. Topics explored include female excision, polygyny, child betrothals, prostitution, the role of the veil, the rights of women, and much more as revealed through the writings of Egyptian intellectuals, feminist activists, and Islamic scholars. A trend quickly emerges in Gadelrab's analysis. Where Western observers judged Egyptians to have low morals, since they did not adhere to biologically suggested norms of civilized sexual behavior, Egyptians themselves tended to take a pragmatic view that put defense of family unity ahead of sexual ideals. For example, a husband who went to prostitutes or took a "temporary wife" or even had anal sex with a male was not necessarily immoral. If his sexual decisions did not interfere with the stability of the marriage, then they were tolerable, or even, if they protected the marriage from a husband's excessive demands on a wife, his queer sexual choices could be the preferable, moral options.

Chapter 4 is particularly revealing in this way by delving into some of the thousands of *fatwas* issued by prominent muftis in the mid- to late nineteenth century. In contrast to decisions by judges in formal court cases, *fatwas* were informed recommendations often issued in response to direct personal inquiries from people concerned about specific ethical questions. A pattern emerges over this period as *fatwas* moved from expressing pragmatic, relatively tolerant attitudes to become a weapon for regulating harsher interpretations of Islam backed by bowdlerized Western science. This trend was driven by a similar desire for respectability and modernity among Egyptian elites, as Aderinto describes. Here too that desire arose partly in reaction to orientalist slanders against Egyptian morals, and Egyptian women's in particular. Yet ironically, economic modernization tended to undermine that very desire to demonstrate respectability. Freed slaves and peasant women displaced by commercial agriculture had few survival options except to move to the cities and to sell sex.

As with Nigeria's raising of the age of consent, the eventual criminalization of prostitution in Egypt symbolically legitimized the moral authority of Egypt's ruling elite to steer the nation to what they perceived as its rightful place among the modern nations of the world, which British colonialism had denied. An important contribution of Gadelrab's study is to illuminate the role of elite Egyptian women in this assertion of modernity, and specifically in reconstructing the supposed nature of female sexuality in contradistinction to male. The irony is that Western science was invoked to promote both colonial and anticolonial discourses around sexual propriety. Regarding the latter, Gadelrab writes that the "behaviour of new Egyptian woman was expected to closely resemble her English Victorian counterpart: a loving wife and mother preoccupied mainly with the domestic sphere, and a woman with self-regulated sexuality" (107).

What a wealth of empirical evidence from hitherto largely unexamined sources, and what an enrichment these three books make to our understanding of colonialism and colonial science in the transformation of premodern gender and sexual relations globally. These books deserve to be read widely.



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*When Sex Threatened the State: Illicit sexuality,  
nationalism, and politics in colonial Nigeria, 1900–1958*  
by Saheed Aderinto (review)

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## ***When Sex Threatened the State: Illicit sexuality, nationalism, and politics in colonial Nigeria, 1900–1958***

**By Saheed Aderinto. Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2015.**

In his 241-page book, Saheed Aderinto looks at the historical significance of illicit sexuality and the structures put in place by the British colonial administration in Lagos, Nigeria to control the obnoxious practice. This book is an important contribution to Sexuality Studies and the colonial history of Nigeria. This work, the first full book dedicated to researching sexuality in colonial Nigeria, is centred on sex, sexuality, sexual politics, class conflicts, urbanisation, and gender. *When Sex Threatened the State* analyses Nigerian responses to British sexuality laws and the contradictory ways in which the British and African reformers advocated for the regulation and/or prohibition of prostitution. Aderinto builds on earlier works of scholars like Luise White's *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in colonial Nairobi*, George Mosse's pioneering study on *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-class morality and sexual norms in modern Europe* and Phillipa Levine's *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing venereal disease in the British Empire*. The book is divided into seven chapters and an epilogue.

In the introduction, the author incisively engages with the issues of prostitution and corruption. The introduction examines sexual politics, the criminal justice system as it affects prostitution, and girl trafficking. Aderinto carefully details the historical evolution of Lagos—the environment under which prostitution flourished. The author asserts that corruption was devised by officers of the Nigeria Police force, officers of the Colony Welfare Office (CWO) and sex workers as an escape route from the severity of criminal justice system, thus affirming the notion that corruption is a postcolonial problem is ahistorical “given the spate of corruption during the 1940s.” (3).

In the second chapter, he “unveils” the gendered narrative of prostitution that elicited concerns from the colonial government and the nationalists. Aderinto provides compelling arguments that established the link between prostitution and juvenile delinquency, exemplified by the *boma* and *jaguda* boys, as a “mutually constitutive and symbiotic” relation (69). The author emphasizes the relevance of newspaper articles as

a veritable source for the writing of colonial history while citing the story of the Lagos prostitute *Segilola: Eleyinju ege*, whose story was published as a novel and serialised in *Akede Eko (Lagos Herald)* in 1930 and which provided the author with a vivid image of the social life in colonial Lagos (53). This novel has recently been edited, translated and introduced by Karin Barber.<sup>1</sup> Most important in this chapter is his emphasis on “adult prostitution” as distinct from “child prostitution” (72). It is interesting to note that the colonial experiences in Lagos are replicated elsewhere on the continent. Whilst Aderinto documents the incidence of child prostitution in colonial Lagos (120–21), Luise White also highlights the prevalence of juvenile prostitution in colonial Nairobi.<sup>2</sup>

The third chapter of the book illustrates the “moral degeneration” of society as “criminally minded adults” introduced underage girls to prostitution. This development drove new interventionist initiatives from the colonial state, with the establishment of the Colonial Welfare Office (CWO) (74) and child prostitution laws. However, the claim by the author that “the age of consent in Nigeria was thirteen, meaning that an individual legally ceased to be a child at this age” (75) needs further clarification because there is no reference to any document to corroborate this assertion. The questions this raises are: Given the fact that Nigeria is a multi-ethnic society, is this age of consent applicable to all ethnic groups? In what areas of life is this age of consent employed? Also, is this age of consent gendered?

Chapter Four deals with the concomitant of “illicit sexuality”: the “sexual scourge,” that is, venereal diseases, and how they permeated society and the measures proffered to stem the tide of the menace. This issue was salient in the age (before the late 1940s) when the army, a strong colonial institution, discouraged marriage and expected soldiers not to have strong family ties or responsibilities that could militate against their productivity and mobility (98). The prohibition of prostitution became the primary official measure for the reduction of venereal diseases. Aderinto explicitly states that colonial officials were, however, not united about the best methods (112) to combat both civilian and military prostitution.

In Chapter Five the author discusses the “prohibitionist agenda” of the colonial administration in the establishment of anti-prostitution / “sexualized laws” that the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) was expected to enforce (113). Aderinto also discusses the

CWO's development approach to addressing the social vices in colonial Nigeria through the CWO-sponsored Children and Young Persons Ordinance of 1943 (121) where adulthood was declared to begin at age seventeen, and according to the author; "the science of childhood development (was) introduced", and adults were made liable to punishment for engaging children in prostitution (123). The author concludes this chapter by highlighting the inconsistent nature of the anti-prostitution legislation. Aderinto lays emphasis on the selfish nature of the colonial government's commitment to matters that affected it, opining that "the well-implemented ordinances were those that were presumed to have a greater impact on the colonial political economy, public order, health, and security" (133).

In Chapters Six and Seven, the author presents gendered and political analyses of sexual control, highlighting the contributions of elite Lagosian women as well as men. Here, the author reveals that the perceptions of these persons were not static but guided by identity and social class. Women's involvement in sexual politics reveals "a new perspective on established knowledge about colonialism as a male-centred institution" (168). Aderinto concludes that anti-prostitution laws failed and suggests that they failed not solely because of "racial and gender bias and a lack of sensitivity to cultural variations among the myriad of Nigerian ethnic groups" but also because "the adoption of a short-term approach to controlling vice meant that the colonialists were merely attacking the superficial aspects of the "problem of prostitution" (154). To address the inadequacies of the colonialists, elite women injected moral and cultural tones that reflected largely on the future of women, as respectable wives, mothers, politicians, administrators and law-abiding members of society (169).

In the Epilogue, entitled *Prostitution and Trafficking in the Age of HIV/AIDS*, Aderinto articulates the dynamisms of post-colonial Nigeria and the challenges posed by globalisation. He compares the problems of child trafficking, prostitution and sexually transmitted diseases, especially HIV/AIDS, between colonial and postcolonial Nigeria. It is a conglomeration of diverse topics that makes the section a little bit ambitious. Nevertheless, it serves as a pointer to other themes that needs to be addressed by future researchers.



Implicit in Aderinto's study is the complexity of the social, political and economic developments in the colonial period. From the available evidence, he draws a conclusion similar to Phillipa Levine's *Prostitution, Race and Politics* (7) that the colonial government's concern was born out of health implications of prostitution for the military – “the defender of the empire” (21) – rather than for the welfare of the people.

*When Sex Threatened the State* has been written in clear and fluid language. It exhibits a thorough historical scholarship that is firmly grounded in archival sources and periodicals. This book lives up to the expectations of contemporary scholars of history, sociology and anthropology as it establishes the connections between colonial concerns, nationalism, sexuality and social vices which resonates in similar studies in other parts of Africa and the modern world.

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#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Karin Barber, *Print Culture and the First Yoruba Novel: I.B. Thomas's "Life Story of Me, Segilola" and other Texts* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012).

<sup>2</sup> Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in colonial Nairobi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 154–58.