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## Reviews and Short Notices

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### Medieval

*The Apple of his Eye: Converts from Islam in the Reign of Louis IX.* By William Chester Jordan. xiii + 177pp. Princeton University Press. 2019. £30.00.

It has long been acknowledged that Louis IX of France promoted a programme of 'redemptive government'. Aiming at the moral improvement of society, the king and his agents wished heretics, usurers, whores and Jews to reform their ways, where possible by persuasion, otherwise under compulsion. Specialists here, most notably Benjamin Kedar, have noted the extension of this programme to Muslim and pagans, first through the training of missionaries for the east, sponsored by the friars and the Paris schools, and thereafter, in the aftermath of Louis IX's defeat and capture on crusade, through attempts to convert the Muslims of crusader Acre, employing cash and other incentives to persuade various of those on the margins of society to accept Christian baptism. William Chester Jordan, to some extent the first discoverer and for more than forty years the leading authority on Louis IX's 'redemptive' style, now takes up this story. Where Kedar and others left off in the mid-1250s, Jordan resumes with the deliberate transportation of Muslim converts to France and their resettlement, after 1254, as pensioners of the French crown. Evidence previously supposed to concern Jewish converts to Christianity, surviving among the fragmentary remains of the *Chambre des Comptes* burned in 1737, is here reattributed to the convert Muslim community whose fate can thus be traced into the 1260s and beyond. Whereas in the past, estimates of the size of this community have varied between 40 and 500, Jordan allows for a figure potentially in excess of 1,000. Avoiding the policy adopted towards Jewish converts in England and elsewhere – gathered together within a single 'House of Converts' in which former habits, language and faith tended to be obstinately reinforced rather than charitably eradicated – Louis and his administrators scattered their Muslim converts far and wide, often north of the Seine, where issues of language, diet, climate and general acculturation would have been especially acute. There is a noticeable absence here of another technique widely used in England: the settlement of Jewish converts as *corrodians* within monastic precincts, especially within those of the greater cathedral priories. Not surprisingly some of Louis IX's converts ran (or more often simply faded) away: six of the twenty-five heads of household in Orléans, for example, before 1260. Fear or resignation sustained the programme, not least given the example set by Jewish converts who apostatised after Christian baptism, publicly burned at Rouen in 1266 and at Paris two years later. Yet in other cases, as with the ten livres (a substantial sum) spent by the

crown in 1256 on the wedding feast of the Muslim convert Dreux of Paris, conversion may have proved both lucrative and long-lasting. In all likelihood, some of the original converts were boy children, chosen because of their potential for retraining as evangelists for the east, whether to Islam or Tartary. Others who raised families in France were replaced in due course by a second generation, no longer eligible for financial relief as converts, but occasionally recorded as the recipients of special favour. In this process, record-keeping itself became sporadic, so that by the 1290s the community became more or less invisible, melting into a predominantly French identity itself already leavened with many other ethnic ingredients. In investigating this story, and here borrowing a phrase dear to the late Rees Davies, Jordan turns over every stone in the rockpool, sometimes two or three times. With its implications for the history of immigration and assimilation elsewhere, not least in those societies which practise slavery or the exploitation of migrant labour, this is a book that will appeal well beyond any specialist audience. As with all of Jordan's books, its expertise comes wrapped in prose as eloquent as it is precise. It makes for a fascinating read.

*University of East Anglia*

NICHOLAS VINCENT

***Art and Political Thought in Medieval England c. 1150–1350.* By Laura Slater. Boydell. 2018. xxii + 287pp. £60.00.**

Political life in England c.1150–1350 could be petty, brutal and corrupt, a site for intrigues, power struggles and violence. It could be burdensome and unglamorous, involving gruelling travel, constant diplomacy and negotiation, and ever-expanding bureaucracy. But to contemporaries, as Laura Slater argues, political life was consistently imagined in transcendent terms: as a conflict between good and evil, involving holy kings and tyrants, Christian knights fighting with spiritual weapons, ecclesiastical counsellors following in the footsteps of earlier saints, and the guiding hand of God. Many scholars in recent years have investigated aspects of the political imagination of the governing elite under the Angevin and early Plantagenet kings, and some, including Frédérique Lachaud, Paul Binski, Nicholas Vincent and Martin Aurell, have done so while bringing together a wide range of media. What is distinctive about Slater's contribution is that it focuses directly on visual images, but seeks them as much in political treatises, sermons or chronicles as in wallpaintings or manuscript illuminations.

Slater's approach, as outlined in the introduction, is to address key thinkers, debates and events of the period, and then to focus specifically on visual culture. Chapter 1 examines how new political ideas and means of expressing them developed in the late twelfth century among Paris-educated courtier-clerics. John of Salisbury filled his *Policraticus* with visual metaphors: not just the defining image of the body politic, but those of vice and virtue as overflowing waters or blossoming plants. Such images find echoes in the windows of Canterbury Cathedral, and also in contemporary royal and monastic seals. Slater identifies the dominant political philosophy as an Augustinian one in which even good rulership is perceived as a shadow of its true, heavenly counterpart. In the first decades of the thirteenth century, discussed in chapter 2, this 'spiritualised'

vision of political society came to be more widely disseminated, and assimilated into shared understandings of the nobility. The baronial opposition to King John adopted the sacral language of the late twelfth-century courtiers but used it to demand reform. In the aftermath of Magna Carta, saints' Lives, painted ceilings and choir screens presented idealised images of holy struggle, and also of collaborative rule. With the Barons' War of the 1250s and 1260s, she argues, this shared discourse of Christian struggle and holy suffering reached a climax. In the images from Apocalypse manuscripts, tombs and chronicles discussed in chapter 3, it is possible to see different sides in the dispute articulating their arguments according to established frameworks, with a stable repertoire of visual images. In chapter 4 Slater turns to the age of the Three Edwards, when new visions of national history were expressed in chronicles, genealogical rolls and mirrors for princes. Here a new stress on the king's technical competence emerges, while more traditional themes of the guiding hand of God and his saints remain strong.

Certain basic images recur throughout the period. We find parallels between the discussion of the terrible end of the tyrant in the writings of John of Salisbury and Gerald of Wales and the depiction of evil rulers falling to their ruin in the Painted Chamber at Westminster Palace or trampled underfoot in the Canterbury windows and twelfth-century psalters. Ideals of good kingship are celebrated, too, in the writings of Robert Grosseteste and Walter of Milemete, in the allusions to Solomon in royal seals, and in the images of Saints Edmund and Edward as exemplary Anglo-Saxon kings in manuscript miniatures. In genealogical rolls and abbreviated prose chronicles, good and bad kings stand side by side in text and image. The righteous warriors struggling for liberty in the political songs of the thirteenth century find an echo in the representations of St Mercurius in the Queen Mary Psalter, St George and Thomas of Lancaster in the Douie Hours, and the *milites Christi* around the tomb of Thomas Cantilupe. In the *Commendatio lamentabilis* and the wall paintings in Canterbury Cathedral and Peterborough Abbey, kings and bishops are presented working together as pillars of the realm.

Slater often identifies pointed allusions to contemporary political concerns. She notes, for example, how Simon de Montfort's arms are associated with the 'tyrannical' Swein and Harold in a copy of Matthew Paris's *Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, and with the army of the Beast in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Apocalypse manuscripts. Here and elsewhere she piles up the evidence from a variety of sources, but in a few cases such contemporary connections appear more tenuous, for example the association of Exodus imagery in the Queen Mary Psalter with the troubles of early fourteenth-century England. The most useful connections made are perhaps those where she explains a contemporary discussion with reference to a long-established image – for example, the parallels drawn between the images of infanticide in northern chroniclers' accounts of Scottish invaders and illustrations of the Massacre of the Innocents in church paintings. Not everyone, then, will agree with Slater's interpretation of individual works, or indeed with the broader argument about the development of political thought and expression over the period. But nor does one have to, in order to appreciate the range of materials that she has brought together or to learn from the connections she has drawn here. In this book Slater provides us with a very valuable survey of the kind of visual language

– expressed in texts and in material culture – that underpinned and helped to shape political discussions and debates among the political elite of Angevin and early Plantagenet England.

*University College Dublin*

MICHAEL STAUNTON

***A Biographical Register of the Franciscans in the Custody of York c. 1229–1539.*** Edited by Michael J. P. Robson. Yorkshire Archaeological and Historical Society, 165, Boydell, 2019. xviii + 307pp. £50.00.

The Franciscan custody of York comprised seven friaries located in two counties, Yorkshire and Lincolnshire: Beverley, Boston, Doncaster, Grimsby, Lincoln, Scarborough and York. Arriving in the north of England in the late 1220s, the Franciscans of the York custody saw the suppression of their last house, Scarborough, in March 1539. Using the biographical index compiled by the late John R. H. Moorman, bishop of Ripon (1959–75, d. 1990), noted historian of the Franciscans, supplemented by his own further and exhaustive research, Michael Robson has produced a biographical register of friars of the York custody which runs to 1,704 names. The first part of the volume begins with a short introduction to the variety of documentary sources mined by Moorman and then by Robson. This is followed by ten short essays, the first of which provides the reader with an outline of the structure of the Franciscan Order and life within its friaries. The remainder discuss the value of specific types of sources: episcopal registers that uncover aspects of the ministry of the order, revealing as they do the names of ordinands, preachers and confessors (sometimes with family details); probate registers, which are important for bringing to light testamentary bequests to the Franciscans; and municipal, ecclesiastical and royal records that can throw light on their role in local society. The information gleaned from this wide variety of sources allows Robson next to take a prosopographical approach to friars' careers: their admission, education, progress to ordination, progression through the educational structure of the Order, and the ministry of the York friars within their church there through their sermons and urban ministry. The careers of a number of friars are analysed in detail. Franciscan suffragan bishops are not neglected, with discussion of those appointed to office in the crusader states as well as within English and Irish dioceses. The final section considers the ways in which northern chronicles and historians, such as the Louth Park chronicle, Thomas Burton, abbot of Cistercian Meaux, and Walter, chronicler of Augustinian Guisborough, and many others, described the friars' activities in the region. The Franciscan friars' footprints on the north emerge clearly here.

The second part of the volume comprises the biographical register of those friars known to have been members of the Franciscan houses of the Custody of York. Some appear to have spent their careers in one friary. Others clearly moved from one to another. The entries for many of these 1,704 men are brief, reflecting the paucity of evidence. About the first name, John Abney, for instance, we know only that he was the guardian of the Doncaster friary in 1442 when he appears in the plea rolls for the Hilary term (p. 85). The sole detail for John de Berways is that he was ordained subdeacon on 19 December 1349 at the York church of St Michael le Belfrey (p. 101). We know only that Reginald de Kenington was

licensed to hear confessions in the diocese of York in 1300 (p. 182). But for others there is a wealth of detail about their family connections or about their careers. Take, for instance, Roger de Frisby, friar of Boston, who was ordained subdeacon in June 1354 (p. 150). By the time he was ordained deacon (19 March 1356) he was a brother of the Stamford friary, and when he proceeded to the next stage, ordination as priest (March 1357), he was a member of the Grantham house. A Doctor of Theology at Cambridge, he was at the council which examined the opinions of John Wyclif, and he heard William Swinderby, priest of the Lincoln diocese, recant his error in Lincoln cathedral in 1382. He ended his life, hanged at Tyburn, in 1402, having been found, along with his brother, Richard, to have adhered to the prophecies of John of Bridlington, and maintained that were King Richard II still alive, he would be the true king. These few examples should whet the appetite of readers who seek to know more about those who lived in, or were based at, the friaries of the York custody, and to see them as actors, in many roles, on the local, national and international stages.

*University of Wales Trinity Saint David, Lampeter*

JANET BURTON

***Cuvelier: The Song of Bertrand du Guesclin.* Translated by Nigel Bryant.** Boydell. 2019. ix + 432pp. £60.00.

Born into a minor Breton noble family around 1320, Bertrand du Guesclin rose to the pinnacle of French society. His considerable military prowess, which he demonstrated first during the War of Breton Succession and then in Spain, won him renown at the Valois court, and following the resurgence of the Hundred Years War in 1369 Charles V named him constable of France, a position which gave him command over the royal army. While the appointment of a man of relatively low status to one of the most esteemed positions in the kingdom angered leading French nobles (many of whom refused to serve under him), du Guesclin's strategic skills led him to turn the tide of the war and recover territories lost to the English during the reign of John II. Certainly, the Hundred Years War was the making of du Guesclin. He achieved international fame and was considered to be one of Christendom's greatest knights; indeed, he was ranked as the 'Tenth Worthy' alongside such renowned figures as Alexander the Great, Arthur, Julius Caesar and Charlemagne. Following his death in 1380, du Guesclin was granted the major honour of being buried alongside the kings of France at the basilica of St Denis. His fame continued to grow posthumously, with Cuvelier's work playing a key role in this process.

*The Song of Bertrand du Guesclin* was probably commissioned soon after du Guesclin's death, and although we know nothing about Cuvelier beyond his authorship of this poem – which is one of the longest, if not the most elegant, example of the medieval French genre of epic poem, the *chanson de geste* – it remains the principal source for our knowledge of du Guesclin's career. While Cuvelier's work is often criticised for playing fast and loose with the facts, Nigel Bryant points out that this misconstrues both the author's purpose in writing and the expectations of his readers. Rather than providing an accurate chronicle of events, Cuvelier sought to memorialise du Guesclin in an epic tale. Du Guesclin was probably the individual most associated with the growth of

French power during the reign of Charles V and Cuvelier made him the star of a resurgent French chivalry. To this end, he altered the chronology and invented or changed facts to suit his purpose. Neither a chronicle nor a traditional biography, Cuvelier's work 'defies categorisation', according to Bryant.

The poem Cuvelier produced celebrating the exploits of his subject runs to some 400 pages in Bryant's translation of this important work, which will be of great value to teachers and students alike. For the poem's limitations as an accurate historical record it nonetheless provides a key example of the ideals of late medieval chivalry, valuable information on key events of the Hundred Years War, such as the battle of Auray, the encounter with the English at Lussac (which led to the death of Sir John Chandos) and the recapture of La Rochelle. Bryant's translation follows Jean-Claude Faucon's French edition of the text (Toulouse, 1990–3), which was based upon a manuscript separated in the sixteenth century (one part is now held at Montpellier and at other at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris). Bryant provides a short introduction to the text, which, while useful, could have been expanded. Nonetheless, Bryant highlights the key secondary sources for further reading (most notably Richard Vernier's *Flower of Chivalry*), in addition to which there is a series of useful maps highlighting key locations mentioned in the text. Historians of fourteenth-century France teaching in anglophone countries are increasingly well served by the appearance of translated works. Bryant has already made a significant contribution to this body of work, having translated the chronicle of Jean Le Bel, and it is to be hoped that he will next turn his attention to fifteenth-century France, which is poorly served with translated works.

*Northumbria University*

NEIL MURPHY

***Arthurianism in Early Plantagenet England: From Henry II to Edward I.* By Christopher Michael Berard. Boydell, 2019. vii + 363pp. £60.00.**

This excellent book studies the political use of Arthurianism by the first Plantagenet kings. According to Christopher Michel Berard's account, their intellectuals practised a 'medieval medievalism' comparing their reigns to the golden age of King Arthur. This re-enactment was not the 'British Hope' of King Arthur's return from Avalon to help the Welsh or the Bretons against the Anglo-Normans, but the incarnation of his qualities by the Angevin kings, conquerors of an empire as vast as his. Berard chooses explicitly the scepticism of J. S. P. Tatlock towards Celtic traditions in the Arthurian story in favour of a Latin and scholarly historiography initiated by Geoffrey of Monmouth. For Berard, Henry II was the first Plantagenet to take advantage of Arthurianism in order to reinforce his authority. Like his father, Richard I fostered the discovery of the bones of King Arthur in Glastonbury monastery. In 1190, he appointed as his successor his nephew Arthur of Brittany (1187–1203), whose name obviously had allusions to the mythical hero of the British past. He prepared the marriage of Arthur to the daughter of Tancred of Sicily, while offering Tancred Caliburn, King Arthur's weapon and 'the best sword, forged in the island of Avalon'. Writing during Richard's reign (a more likely timeframe than the traditional dating of between 1185 and 1216), Layamon made King Arthur's messianism

acceptable for the English. The disgraceful murder of Arthur of Brittany by King John explains why Richard's brother and successor and Arthur's rival for the Plantagenet dominions in 1199 neglected Arthurianism. Instead, the Arthurian legend was used against King John by the barons in 1215–17. Henry III (1216–72) was as devout to Edward the Confessor as he was cautious about King Arthur, in contrast with his brother Richard earl of Cornwall, who refurbished Tintagel. Edward I (1272–1307), who defeated the north Welsh and overran the principality, boasted of having carried Arthur's crown from Wales to Westminster. He also used the story of Arthurian conquests in Britain in order to legitimise his Scottish campaigns, after having asked for a *historical* inquest about his pretended ancestral rights. His feasts and tournaments often chose themes related to King Arthur and his knights of the round table, as, for example, in 1302 at Falkirk, where he had beaten, four years before, William Wallace. For Edward I, as for his predecessors, 'impersonating King Arthur was a good public relations strategy' while achieving 'the anglicization of Arthur' (pp. 298–9).

This is a solid and erudite book, founded in a thorough analysis of the Latin and French texts. Some of these texts are unknown to most specialists, such as, for example, the very interesting letter from King Arthur to Hugh the Chaplain in 1157 and the *Roman du Hem* of c.1278 by Sarrasin. Moreover, Berard engages in a respectful and stimulating discussion with modern historians, whose works in several languages he has read carefully. For example, he considers that John Gillingham, Ralph V. Turner and I adopt a 'maximalist view of the potency of the British problem' in relation to the Arthurian myth (p. 18). But I find it difficult to accept his argument that the Arthurianism of Henry II was adopted to counter the 'Brittonic resistance' of his Breton and Welsh neighbours. If Richard I and Edward I were explicitly compared to King Arthur by Gaucelm Faidit and Sarrasin, Henry II was never compared to the mythical king. On the contrary, the bards of his Welsh contemporaries, and sometimes enemies, compared Owain ap Gruffudd and Madog ap Maredudd to King Arthur, not Henry II; Berard does not comment on these Welsh-language laudatory poems. Duke Geoffrey of Brittany and his son Arthur (who are studied by Berard in a remarkably new way) took advantage of the Celtic Arthur. And Berard's rejection of the evidence of William of Newburgh concerning the synchronisms with the reign of the anti-Arthurian King John is not convincing (p. 113). The double reading of the correspondence between Henry II and King Arthur by Etienne de Rouen is sophisticated indeed: 'Henry II is shown to be the new Arthur' (p. 75) against the old, but not less real, one. But it is difficult to believe that medieval readers and listeners to the letters thought of this complicated and modern interpretation. They perceived quite simply Henry II mocking Arthur, who defended in a ridiculous way Bretons rebelling against him. As ludicrous was the unjust and cuckolded King Arthur of *Lanval* by Marie de France, who dedicated her *Lais* to 'the noble king, so valiant and courteous' Henry II; Berard does not discuss Marie's *Lanval* either. And neither does Berard discuss Wace's own auto-censure of his translation from Geoffrey of Monmouth of the subversive prophecies of Merlin.

A more exhaustive and less thematic index would have allowed an easier consultation of these rich pages, but it would be unjust to finish in such a negative way. Berard has written a very important study on Arthurianism and politics, and good books do not leave their readers, especially their knowledgeable readers,



indifferent; on the contrary, good books provoke debate. This is a good and admirable book which merits serious study. It is written clearly and is brimful full of original ideas.

*Université de Poitiers*

MARTIN AURELL

***Immigrant England, 1300–1550.* Edited by W. Mark Ormrod, Bart Lambert and Jonathan Mackman.** Manchester University Press. 2019. xi + 300pp. £19.99.

Between 2012 and 2015 the Arts and Humanities Research Council funded a fascinating project, led by Professor Mark Ormrod at the University of York, to investigate England's immigrants in the period 1330–1550. The resulting website, [www.englandsimmigrants.com](http://www.englandsimmigrants.com) anyone working on the later Middle Ages, and a salutary reminder that England has always been a place of international influx and movement, both temporary and permanent. This book is equally as fascinating as the website, enhancing further the importance of the research carried out by Professor Ormrod and his team. What is perhaps most revealing is the wide social range of immigrants, across all classes and occupations and from virtually every country in Europe. Indeed, we should not forget that while people of Jewish extraction were forbidden to live in England after 1290, there was no ban on those who at the time were lumped together under the label 'Saracens' – Muslims from the Middle East, North Africa and Iberia. It was once claimed that 'the very first Muslim about whom some information has survived arrived in England in the mid-1580s', but the current study reveals some interesting correctives. Take, for example, Sigo and Nakok, in the household of the Black Prince, described as 'the Saracen children', or Francis Panizonus, an Arab doctor originally from Alexandria, who was physician to Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou. Within the taxation records of the alien subsidies of the fifteenth century we find three people described as 'of Inde', a married couple in London and a male servant in Dartmouth. The latter was called James Black, but as the authors explain, we cannot assume that this surname – found quite often in the period – indicates racial connotations. 'Black Meg', a woman from the Isle of Man resident in Chester, seems to have been given that nickname because of her involvement in the sex industry.

The book is full of vibrant and fascinating examples which provide in their own right real insights into the fabric of society in the period. Also impressive is the thoroughness of the study and the overall conclusions which it provides based on a very wide archival study. While the taxes imposed by the crown on aliens in the mid-fifteenth century and also other official pronouncements, both locally or nationally, are already part of the political history of the period, this is the first full study of these records and policies, taken together, for what they can show about the nature of late medieval society and economy. The authors' painstaking aggregation and analysis has allowed the construction of maps and tables showing the presence and distribution across England of those deemed 'aliens' as well as revealing what 'alien' meant and why at certain points the government appeared more interested in them than at others. Out of this study of a formidable amount of data, the authors are able to probe more deeply into the bigger questions of confrontation, nationalism, racism and xenophobia, as well

as integration and cultural contact. But they also make a new and transformative contribution to the understanding of the development of industry and commerce, and to the urban as well as rural communities of late medieval England. The book is organised into chapters explaining first the data and methodology, and then surveying immigrants by origins (including mobility within the British Isles), by their occupations, wealth, status and gender; the writing is eminently clear and readable. The authors conclude that while there were moments in the later Middle Ages when the number of emigrants exceeded immigrants – largely as a result of English interests in France perhaps – for the majority of the period ‘there were rather more incomers than leavers’.

No short review could give full justice to the richness of this book, not only for its scholarship but also for the fascinating insights it provides, especially on cross-cultural impacts: the French chef employed at Trinity Hall Cambridge, the many doctors from Italy with successful practices, the nineteen Dutch and German beer-makers operating in Ipswich in 1483. But also present are those fleeing from political and economic difficulties elsewhere, not least the Gascons who came to England after the French took the last bastions of English control in south-west France in the early 1450s.

*University of Southampton*

ANNE CURRY

***Aristocratic Marriage, Adultery and Divorce in the Fourteenth Century: The Life of Lucy de Thweng (1279–1347)***. By **Bridget Wells-Furby**. Boydell. 2019. xi + 246pp. £60.00.

Lucy de Thweng had a difficult life and tracing its many stages allows us to see how a woman’s life can be read as a weave of forces she could control in contrast to those that controlled her. Her attempts to ‘go her own way’ often meant going against the grain of her world, and her freedom to follow her own inclinations was frequently thwarted by the powers of patriarchy (as supported by both law and custom).

Bridget Wells-Furby follows Thweng’s story by way of a series of chapters that move chronologically through the stages of her life, cobbling the scattered and often elusive sources into a serial narrative. But this book is not a full-fledged biography; the usual strictures about medieval biography are too familiar to need spelling out. Rather Wells-Furby discusses each of Thweng’s life stages in the context of – or set against – comparable activities by other upper-class and (often) propertied women of her world, although she ranges through several centuries for her examples. What we have are two parallel stories or lines of exposition: the narrative of Lucy and, set beside this to give context and mostly in snippets and with some statistics where data permit, a look at what other women (and their husbands and lovers) did in the wide crevasses of failed marriages, extra-marital affairs, and so on. The question is posed: ‘if Lucy was living with her lover, how many other wives ran off and did this?’ This approach makes her less the wayward heiress, led astray by lust, than a woman searching for a role she could define if not always control – with three marriages, children by two partners, an estate to transmit, male relatives to keep an eye on and the obligations of the lady of the manor. The main line of narration follows Thweng through such chapters

as 'Birth and Family', 'Wardship and First Marriage', 'Separation and Divorce' and 'Adultery and Fornication', and so forth through to her death and last will.

There are elements of soap opera in Thweng's long and eventful life. A royal ward, then married to William Latimer and bearing him a son. Then escape from that marriage, with the help of her own family, and then living with but not marrying Thomas Meinill. This is followed by a second marriage, perhaps initiated by abduction and rape. And, in later days, a third marriage that seems to have been satisfactory as the years of romance and passion faded. Life had been complicated; she would have been 'divorced' and perhaps free to marry Meinill except that Latimer (husband number one) contested the separation long after the archbishop of York had given it his approval. Meinill wanted to see that their son was his heir, despite the significant bar of illegitimacy. And whatever its beginnings, she stuck to her second marriage to Robert de Everingham for a few years, until he died in 1316. This all sounds fairly adventurous, or perhaps fairly painful.

Given that we cannot get close to 'the real' Lucy de Thweng, we are helped in context-setting by some statistics, plus those many references to comparable cases, offered to show what other women were doing, or trying to do. For example, in a summation of thirty-eight cases of divorce, Wells-Furby tells us that seventeen were on grounds we can identify: two for impotence, one because of a crime, three dissolved because of pre-contract, seven because of non-age and 'force and fear', and so forth. Where the woman's adultery was the activity under discussion, five of the women studied fled with lovers, two got entangled with new partners while husbands were off on campaigns and two were already pregnant by the new man when they took off. When women married lovers, seven out of twenty-six women were (already) widows, four were 'maidens' and fifteen were (still) married. Ten of the thirteen women who married their lovers were heiresses, a factor that certainly did not lessen their attractions. Although Lucy's second marriage may have been one of coercion and her third a matter of free choice, of the 308 widows of men summoned to parliament in the fourteenth century, 167 did not remarry.

After a great deal of research and a window on the lives of many other women, there is a final look at Lucy de Thweng. When she neared her end at the age of 67, she could look back on a reasonable network of descendants. By her first son, William Latimer, she was a grandmother, and by her never-legitimated son by Nicholas Meinill it was the same, although her granddaughter Elizabeth Meinill's children by two husbands were born after her death. Her will, rather to our disappointment, was a simple and straightforward one: burial at Guisborough Priory, of which she was patron, and a few unexciting personal items (mostly clothing). Given the unconventional and complicated life she had led, it would seem that by the end she was content to go, at long last, with the mainstream.

Thanks to a great deal of digging and patching and mix-and-match, Wells-Furby has given us more information about Lucy de Thweng than we have about most of her contemporaries of comparable status. Certainly, the full story pretty much vindicates Lucy from nineteenth-century censure. This book not only sets her in a broader context – women wanting some share in shaping their personal as well as their public (heiress) lives – but it reminds us that simple

labels about behaviour and categories pay little homage to the difficult realities of personal choice, even if the road to which they lead might be a difficult one.

*Stony Brook University*

JOEL T. ROSENTHAL

***Herbert of Bosham: A Medieval Polymath.* Edited by Michael Staunton.** Boydell. 2019. xii + 204pp. £60.00.

Herbert of Bosham is perhaps one of the most famous twelfth-century authors due to his involvement in the Becket dispute and the subsequent history of the archbishop. Yet his life and career went beyond the martyred prelate. Herbert was also an accomplished theologian and Hebraist, compiling a revision of Peter Lombard's Great Gloss on the Psalms and the Pauline epistles, a commentary on Jerome's Hebrew Psalter and a substantial letter collection. For such an important figure of the twelfth century therefore, it is surprising that there has been little written about his life. He is instead always a secondary figure illuminating the main subject, whether it be Thomas Becket, biblical commentaries or King Henry II, before fading back into the darkness of obscurity. This new volume, edited by Michael Staunton, goes a long way to correct this deficiency in our knowledge.

Herbert (b. c. 1120) was the son of a clerk (and later priest) and almost certainly came from the seaside village of Bosham in West Sussex. He studied in the schools under the tutelage of Peter Lombard, one of the greatest theologians of the time, before working as a clerk for King Henry II on diplomatic missions. After this he joined the household of Thomas Becket and became the archbishop's 'closest advisor and confidant, his inseparable companion through his exile and the most enthusiastic champion of his cause' (p. 1). It was perhaps this enthusiasm, combined with what can only be described as an arrogant and unattractive demeanour, which prevented him from succeeding after the archbishop's death. Herbert's attempts to set up a school of his own appear to have been a dismal failure and he spent most of the remainder of his life in self-imposed exile at the Cistercian abbey of Ourscamp. But while he may not have been a success during his lifetime, his surviving works have made him well known among medievalists ever since his works were published by J. A. Giles in the mid-nineteenth century.

It is the role of J. A. Giles in reviving Herbert's reputation that is the subject of Nicholas Vincent's chapter. Vincent charts the career of the eccentric clergyman, including the enjoyable stories of how Giles established his own publishing press to publish his materials, and how he was sent to prison for performing an illegal marriage. The image created is one of a bumbling but rather loveable clergyman with a greater interest in history and manuscripts than in performing his religious duties. Most of all, however, it shows us the value of understanding the editors when reading their editions of medieval texts.

Two more chapters follow in similar veins by looking at Herbert's literary works after his death. The first, by Sabina Flanagan, takes us on a fascinating historical detective story, discovering the lost folios from Arras MS 649, the most complete surviving version of Herbert's *Vita S. Thomae*, most of which are now in Lambeth Palace Library. The second chapter recounts Christopher

de Hamel's highly enviable position of having fragments of Herbert's manuscripts quite literally fall into his lap, including those from the Arras manuscript. Both chapters, while not being the conventional contributions usually found in such volumes, are highly enjoyable reads that bring life and colour to the history of a man who was known for his colourful career.

The other chapters all provide engaging and informative entries into the world of Herbert of Bosham. Michael Staunton's introduction and Anne Duggan's chapter on Herbert as Becket's *eruditus* provide excellent accounts of his life and the varied roles Herbert played within the archbishop's household. Laura Cleaver's chapter includes beautiful glossy photos of Herbert's manuscripts and is an excellent example of codicology at its best. The three final chapters all study aspects of Herbert's works. Matthew Doyle's chapter provides a good introduction to Herbert's relationship with Peter Lombard, although you do need to read his *Peter Lombard and his Students* (2016) to get the most out of this chapter. Staunton's chapter on Herbert's *Historia* is an excellent read and provides a detailed discussion of the changing portrayal of Becket within the text. Finally, Julie Barrau's superb chapter shows us how important Herbert's letter collection is to our understanding of the Becket dispute, especially concerning Herbert's role in drafting letters for the archbishop and the use of biblical figures as allegories in the conflict. She also makes a particularly strong critique of the published edition of Herbert's letters, showing how Giles was very selective in what he chose to publish from the collection, and the need for a new scholarly edition of the letters.

Overall, this is a superb book which will be the first port of call for anyone choosing to study the life and works of Herbert of Bosham. It is also an essential read for anyone interested in the intellectual culture of the twelfth century.

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JAMES BARNABY

***Formative Britain: An Archaeology of Britain, Fifth to Eleventh Century AD.* By Martin Carver.** Routledge. 2019. xxix + 735pp. £115.00.

***Early Medieval Britain: The Rebirth of Towns in the Post-Roman West.* By Pam J. Crabtree.** Cambridge University Press. 2018. xvii + 227pp. £24.99.

The titles of these two books convey the impression that they cover broadly the same ground, albeit at very different lengths. While this is generally true there are two immediately striking differences other than numbers of pages: Crabtree concentrates upon towns while Carver's otherwise comprehensive appraisal is surprisingly thin on urban development; and Carver's title is much the more accurate. Indeed, Crabtree has been rendered a disservice by her publisher; her account is very much concerned with England, to the exclusion of Scotland and Wales, and predominantly eastern England at that. Using 'Britain' to mean 'England' as a book title is unfortunate in a politically febrile twenty-first-century context.

Martin Carver is clearly concerned with Britain as a whole and is very careful to define what he means. He excludes Ireland, reluctantly and indeed not utterly because he finds it necessary to consult Irish evidence on occasion. His definition is nevertheless interesting and perhaps deliberately challenging as he divides his

Britain into seven zones: western Scotland; Pictland or north-east Scotland; north-west England; Wales; south-west England; Northumbria; and the rest of England south of the Humber, here termed Southumbria. There is a rationale at work: Carver aims to write an account of Britain between the fifth and eleventh centuries from an archaeological perspective, utilising an archaeological rather than a historical framework. The emphasis persists throughout the book, even as far as a chapter entitled 'Materiality in words: myths and records' where he states that 'The purpose of this book is to court the interests of historians of art and literature with what we have to offer and so earn the rights and pleasures of reciprocity' (p. 601).

Carver is courting all historians, not just those of art and literature. His framework divides into three broad periods which he terms Formative 1, 2 and 3 (Fm1 = 5th–7th cents.; Fm2 = 7th–9th; Fm3 = 9th–11th: there are deliberate overlaps). Within the framework he discusses four main aspects of life that are approachable through archaeological research: 'personhood', that is, physique and adornment; settlement and economies; cemeteries as ritual places; and 'monumentality, sculpture, churches and illuminated books' (the 'monumentality' of such books lying 'in the value of the materials used and the time taken to assemble them', – p. 580).

The structure makes for very long chapters: each of the four main topics is discussed through seven regions and three broad periods. As a result, the volume frequently reads as a textbook, but what a textbook! The range of location and example is extraordinary, with excellent referencing and a comprehensive bibliography. As a teaching aid, it should be welcomed; as a student's introduction to the fast-changing perceptions and understandings of this well-named 'formative' period in Britain's history, it will be a valued primer: the text frequently takes the reader on a virtual 'field trip' where key sites are presented, summarised, discussed and interpreted, all supported by appropriate referencing and often by key illustrations. The book brings together a considerable amount of very recent research into a coherent narrative while, at the same time, ensuring that advances in interpretative assessment are also explored.

While much of this interpretation is drawn from the work of others, it is Carver's own interpretations that can make the reader sit up on occasion. Thus, a bald statement is made of the celebrated Franks Casket that it was 'the constructed compendium of an intelligent upper-class woman' (that is, a casket containing 'accessories, amulets, ornaments and mementos'). His justification for this is that 'The context for such audacity is the greatly increased evidence for female agency in the 7th century' (p. 105), an assumptive leap which some might find a little audacious. Some statements seem clearly written to encourage comment if not fierce argument. An example is on page 255: 'The [Viking] objective was to replace an ideology [monasticism] seen as oligarchic and stifling with a more basic one in which enterprise was rewarded with wealth, land and progeny.' Did Scandinavians really set out towards these islands with the *specific* political objective of removing a religious oligarchy in favour of a free enterprise economy? This might have been the result: was it the intention?

Elsewhere, however, interpretation is less overtly provocative if still thought-provoking as when discussing drivers for change in settlement archaeology during Fm2 (7th–9th cents.). Drawing on his experience at Portmahomack in northern

Scotland as well as work in England he concludes that agency was provided by *wics* or trading settlements in the south and east, but by monasteries in the north and west. These had ‘analogous but contrasting roles, the one driven by the enlargement of royal power, the other by dedication to a theocratic alternative’ (p. 207). Not everyone will agree with this analysis but such attempts to draw meaning from archaeological material, seeking context and providing frameworks both for discussion and further research is enlivening.

Understandably, Carver is concerned about archaeological methodologies, both in the field and in subsequent analysis. He is not afraid of the occasional splendidly acerbic comment: he rails against ‘the atavistic professional practice of attempting to understand [larger examples of Pictish strongholds] with small trenches’ (p. 187) but, in contrast, praise is given to the Lairg project in Scotland which examined 60 hectares of Achany Glen ‘with important implications for the things that field archaeologists must not do: no more trenches or partial excavation’ (pp. 188–9). There are also useful reminders that excavation methodology can introduce caveats into interpretation of discoveries, as at West Stow in Suffolk where, notwithstanding an association between finds and buildings that was ‘unusually good’, removal of a rich overburden was undertaken by machine (pp. 196ff.).

Throughout the volume there are helpful summaries of important work, some perhaps below the general radar such as the important sequencing and dendrochronological dating of the sixth- and seventh-century crannog at Buiston in Ayrshire. The work here is published in a Scottish Trust for Archaeological Research monograph and is deserving of wider attention outside Scotland given that the results, as Carver states, provide ‘a historical precision that can scarcely be claimed by any other excavated settlement in Britain’ (p. 183).

As always with Carver the range of his scholarship is impressive. A discussion of the use of standard measures and ratios at Portmahomack notes an apparent ‘anachronistic’ use of the ratio of the golden number, centuries before its discovery in the Fibonacci series in the thirteenth century. However, as Carver points out, ‘the ratio does exist in nature, for example in the increasing radii of a spiral shell’, although one could argue that the monks did not necessarily observe such a spiral ratio. Not everything is set out thus for the lay reader; there are several references in the text to the use of Bayesian analysis for instance but, apart from statements that ‘prior knowledge’ was provided by artefact evidence or stratigraphy, and provision also of a somewhat complex graph (fig. 4.62), attempts to assist the reader to understand the methodology are not obvious.

The text is largely free of typos, but that of ‘Stanford’ instead of ‘Stamford’ on page 253 could perhaps stand as a metaphor given the generally thin appraisal of work in towns compared to that on rural sites. The sense of hurry when discussing urban material is also suggested here where the normal clarity of expression is clumsily undercut by repetition of the verb ‘to employ’ twice in a single line.

Notwithstanding such caveats, *Formative Britain* is a great achievement. It will undoubtedly be used as a quarry for those seeking to explore emerging evidence for the period. Equally, its arguments will both stimulate and infuriate, feelings helpful to further enquiry and understanding. It should be of great use to historians, encouraging consideration of a period where more traditional mechanisms of historical enquiry are few in number, and offering an approach

which facilitates understanding of the processes of analysis and synthesis employed by archaeologists.

At the outset of the book, Carver states that he ‘had set his heart on a vivid rollicking book in a bid to popularise the period ... using a rhetorical and reckless approach ... I hoped to attract more readers than those already embedded [but] the hard work has to come first, and its outcome has to be a serious book full of verifiable detail’ (p. xxviii). This has certainly been achieved but his twenty-first-century voice intrudes quite often: ‘In the eyes of archaeologists, monuments are manifestos, branding allegiances and advertising agendas’ (p. 461) is but one example. The statement ‘It seems that adolescent leadership can return at any time to wreck the laborious achievements of thinking generations’ is surely not simply directed at the fifth–seventh centuries (p. 644) but intended to show the relevance of study of both his chosen period and that of history in general to contemporary life.

Such contemporaneity is also utilised by Crabtree in her very different book. She explores a particular issue of early medieval England, the rebirth of towns and, in doing so, she needs initially to explain the apparent collapse of urban living at the end of the Roman period. To do so, she chooses an analogy, a surprising one, that of the city of Detroit. Exploring this city’s decline since the late 1950s she draws several pertinent lessons such as ‘standing buildings alone do not make an urban environment ... Abandonment of one part of the city may not mean that the entire town was abandoned at that time [and] ... decline of a major industry can lead to urban decline even when municipal, state and federal governments continue to function’ (pp. 24–5).

A further difference in Crabtree’s approach is utilisation of the historical background, unlike Carver’s deliberate archaeological framework. In exploring the first two centuries of settlement following the Romans, however, she investigates – as she must – the same key sites, locations such as West Stow, Mucking and West Heslerton. It is only when she reaches the later seventh century (Fm2 in Carver’s terminology) that significant differences begin to appear. Some differences are interpretative, as at Brandon where Crabtree essentially accepts the published report’s assessment that the site was a possible monastery (p. 93) in contrast to Carver. Both authors reproduce the published plan – Crabtree as figure 3.2 leaving the label ‘church’ un glossed; Carver as figure 3.89 where the putative ‘church’ is marked by him as ‘[Hall]’. They differ too on ‘productive sites’, those locations beloved of metal-detectorists, where Crabtree (following Ulmschneider) states: ‘Since church estates were important centers [sic] of land-holding, production, and consumption ... many of the productive sites may be church-related’ (p. 96). For Carver, in contrast, such sites represent enterprising aspects of the aristocratic estate or magnate farm ... There is no good archaeological case that the church is yet involved’ (p. 248).

The greatest difference of approach, however, and an excellent reason for reading both books, is in consideration of towns themselves. Crabtree’s volume is necessarily directed towards the issue of early post-Roman urbanism whereas Carver at best seems to view urban development as marginal. The discussion of Middle Saxon *wics* is a case in point: Crabtree devotes a chapter to these settlements which she is unequivocal in calling towns; Carver writes barely a page. Crabtree also brings her particular specialism, that of the study of animal bone, to bear upon her discussion. Noting ‘no appreciable change through time’



of faunal and finds' assemblages from Middle Saxon to early medieval Ipswich, she concludes from her study of the bone that the town had a working market economy throughout this period. This stands in contrast to the *wic* of Hamwic in Hampshire, which seems to have relied upon royal food renders.

As with Carver, Crabtree's book is also a primer, providing excellent signposts to recent research, summarising key projects and their findings, and exploring theoretical concepts used to interpret the data. She complements Carver, particularly with her appreciation of the importance of numismatic studies, notably sceattas with reference to *wics*. She explores reasons for the tenth- and eleventh-century development of towns and notes the relatively rapid development evidenced by urban centres in the east such as Ipswich, Norwich, Lincoln and York in comparison with the very slow population growth for the *burhs* of Wessex such as Cricklade or Wallingford. She is unafraid of theory, proudly proclaiming near the beginning of the book that it is written from a 'processual-plus perspective' seeking to add such issues as agency and identity to studies of the processes of cultural change. In aiming to examine economic models of urban development, she follows Hodges' 2012 assessment that his 1980 understanding of the 'Dark Age' economy was 'more varied, more regional and more complex than [previously] envisioned'.

The volume is largely free of typographical errors (although this reviewer's name is misspelt, a common problem). The inclusion of a short discussion of Viking Dublin (pp. 166–8) seems almost gratuitous, as if seeking to fulfil the promise of the subtitle – the rebirth of towns in the post-Roman *west*. This Irish example does not provide much of a wider context where discussion of the near continent would have been more informative, especially reference to Scandinavia (Ribe? Hedeby?). Antwerp gets a glancing mention because of the author's own work on the faunal remains there; Dorestad similarly is mentioned twice, on both occasions with reference to farms in the eighth century. *Early Medieval Britain* therefore is primarily concerned with early medieval *English* towns. It may not state this explicitly on the tin but it delivers its assessment clearly and thoroughly. Crabtree is a self-confessed 'outsider' (she is American and Professor of Anthropology at New York University), 'one of the very few university archaeologists in the United States whose primary interest is Anglo-Saxon England'. Her outsider view, with its concentration on the information that can be gleaned from ostensibly unpromising evidence, is very welcome.

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BRIAN AYERS

***Reading and Writing in Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Mary C. Erler.*** Edited by Martin Chase and Maryanne Kowaleski. Boydell. 2019. 267pp. £60.00.

Mary C. Erler is an internationally distinguished scholar of the history of the book and has, over a lifetime of research in medieval studies, shown how attention to the materiality of texts, and treatments of the manuscript and early printed book as object, can open windows into the human lives which shaped the sources we study. This collection of essays by her colleagues and friends lives up to its claim to honour Erler and her work.

The opening essay by Joyce Coleman considers Erler's long-standing interest in women's readerly communities. She provides a close analysis and contextualisation of a moment from Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, in which the eponymous heroine, in besieged Troy, is seen reading a romance about Thebes in the company of her female entourage. In the course of a reading which pays attention to the significance of Chaucer's intertextual imports, as well as how the passage functions as a scene of speech acts, Coleman convincingly argues for the popularity of non-linear readings of such texts among a fourteenth-century aristocratic milieu for whom reiterative reading of favoured passages was a pastime. She also contextualises the social and architectural valences of the 'paved parlour' in which this reading takes place as a private and decidedly feminine conference venue of unusual comfort and prestige. The wider move to Chaucer's own youthful experiences, in 1357–9, in the household of Elizabeth de Burgh, Countess of Ulster and wife of Edward III's son Lionel of Antwerp, also offers a potential biographical inspiration for this fictional community of female readers. The only blip in this essay is its discussion of the problematic nature of relations between Criseyde and Pandarus, but Coleman rounds off her chapter with a judicious conclusion.

Heather Blatt's essay, tackling the neglected topic of what 'book furniture and accessories' can contribute to an understanding of texts and readers, continues the focus on female readers by considering, in another nod to Erler's studies, the abbey of Syon (fl. 1415–1539). Blatt's analysis of the sources shows how such 'furniture', with the exception of the bookmarkers produced by women and used by all genders until Protestantism asserted the primacy of linear reading against the dipping into and out of texts, was used more by monks than by nuns. By contrast, as she argues, the greater corporeality associated with the feminine led to nuns resting their books on their laps rather than on desks or lecterns. The turn to visual art as a witness to this adds a stimulating layer to the argument, though inconsistency rears its head when it is later claimed that the use of tables, desks or lecterns in these visual depictions are roughly equal between the genders. Nonetheless, Blatt amply demonstrates the vitality of such paracodexical studies. Another essay, by Michael G. Sargent, also looking at Syon, provides studies of manuscripts of Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* associated with the abbey. He shows their significance in shaping responses, both physically embodied and spiritual, to devotional texts, thus extending our conception of the affective piety of the period.

Two essays focus on genre. Kathryn A. Smith's study of the early fourteenth-century Queen Mary Psalter shows how an analysis of words and images together can open up contexts of production and reception. A highlight of this essay is Smith's demonstration that Arthurian textual and pictorial sources inspired the Psalter's recasting of Bathsheba as a chatelaine on a parapet being addressed by a knight-like David. This is suggestive of a genre-crossing vogue in which sacred and secular were made to evoke one another in a climate of 'intervisual', as well as intertextual, multilingual artistic practice. Martin Chase, dealing with a generically ambiguous text – the late medieval Icelandic poem *Enska Visan* (*English Verse*) – explores the poem's metrical affinities to Icelandic devotional works of the same period, as well as to the Middle English *Sir Orfeo* and Pierre Bersuire's allegorical interpretation of the Orpheus myth, which recasts its hero as an analogue for Christ.

Other essays in the collection present books as more candid snapshots of social history, in particular that of fifteenth-century London. Caroline M. Barron's study of the books bequeathed in Beatrice Melreth's 1448 will demonstrates that multilingual readerly communities existed among the lay women of the city. Joel T. Rosenthal's essay notes the role of books and the writing they contained as witnesses for proof of age, to be cited alongside injuries, storms, pilgrimages, burglaries and acts of church renovation. Sheila Lindenbaum's contribution reasserts the intellectual engagement of Londoners in the early fifteenth century through a study of their responses to the disciplines of grammar and logic coming out of the universities and into city schools. In her sophisticated analysis Lindenbaum argues for the popularity of grammar as a useful preparation for public life, and the contrasting hostility to logic as heretical, as exemplified by Ralph Mungyn's Wycliffite preaching. This hostility, enforced by London mayors and their clerical associates, was maintained even against the orthodox positions of Reginald Pecock, whose avoidance of the acceptable 'soft logic' taught in grammar schools in favour of the suspicious academic logic of the universities led to his being tried for heresy.

The final essay, by Allison Adair Alberts, carries the timeframe into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while also stretching it back to the late Roman period, through its discussion of the role of late antique and medieval hagiographies in John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. This chapter offers an analysis of the ways in which Foxe's Protestant piety united the domestic and the sacred in its depictions of female saints. Alberts claims that Foxe's work provided a model for English wives and mothers and that this constituted a clear break from the child- and family-rejecting saints venerated under Catholicism. Rather than jettisoning these earlier saints altogether, Alberts argues, Foxe replaces their inhuman asceticism and incredible miracles with realistic models for female emulation, showing that ordinary family women could also be holy.

This entire collection, as is suggested from its editors' respective positions as professors of English and History, offers much to students of both disciplines, or, to be more exact, shows the solvent effect of genuine scholarship on such artificial disciplinary boundaries. The inclusion of a bibliography of Erler's works is useful and will enable interested readers to explore further this scholar's works. After reading this book, they should want to.

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BRETT MOTTRAM

## Early Modern

***Gunpowder, Masculinity, and Warfare in German Texts, 1400–1700.* By Patrick Brugh.** University of Rochester Press/Boydell and Brewer. 2019. xv + 255pp. £95.00.

In this rich and ambitious study Patrick Brugh traces the literary and cultural representations of gunpowder weapons in German-speaking lands over a three-century period that saw such technology steadily transform the nature of armies, formations, tactics and the scale of warfare. Brugh quickly distinguishes his

approach from existing studies of early modern warfare by moving the critical conversation away from narrowly defined analysis of technological developments and larger-scale debates relating to the so-called military revolution. The focus instead is on the ways in which gunpowder weapons changed how people imagined warfare. Brugh's methodology is to consider the gendered, ethical-moral and aesthetic implications of this weaponry as reflected in the textual and literary representations of war in a broad range of German writings produced between the early fifteenth century and later seventeenth century. The implementation of gunpowder weapons and the changing, and eventually diminished, role of the mounted knight on the battlefield had a profound impact on conceptions of warrior masculinity and the ways in which it was constructed through military action that demonstrated and sustained an individual's sense of honour. The democratising potential of gunpowder weapons meant that the lowliest, relatively unskilled gunner could bring down members of the martial elite, and this generated a long-running tension concerning the military effectiveness of firearms and the immoral or unethical nature of their use. Furthermore, the introduction of gunpowder weapons created a sense of aesthetic dissonance between martial ideals, and their foundation in classical and medieval chivalric models, and the reality of early modern warfare. One question that implicitly underlies each of Brugh's chapters is 'what does heroism look like in the age of gunpowder weaponry?'

Brugh begins by examining the decisive use of gunpowder weapons by the peasant armies of Czech Hussites under Jan Žižka in 1420 and sets the practical implementation of guns within portable siege castles (known as *Wagenburgen*) alongside two key military scientific works of this period produced in German territories: Konrad Keyser's 1405 verse treatise *Bellifortis* and the anonymous *Feuerwerkbuch von 1420*. Brugh's treatment of the latter is particularly insightful as it shows how this technical manual codifies the comparatively new profession of the *Büchsenmeister* in a way that not only looks back to the mythical European inventor of gunpowder, Bertholdus Niger, but anticipates the valorisation seen in later martialist treatises of individuals possessing practical knowledge with military applications. Chapters 3 and 4 focus on sixteenth-century military compendia, or *Kriegsbücher*, and on how these exhibited a deeply ambivalent attitude to gunpowder weapons: on the one hand this is an 'unmanly' and seemingly infernal technology; on the other it is an effective, unavoidable means of conducting warfare – and thus of maintaining what Brugh calls 'loaded peace'. Attention then turns to the representation of gunpowder weaponry during the Thirty Years War in illustrated military broadsheets, particularly those relating to the battles of Breitenfeld (1631) and Lützen (1632). Broadsides on the latter engagement held back from condemning gunnery for the death of the Swedish king Gustav Adolf or characterising it as 'unheroic', but they did grapple with the difficulty of representing visually battles conducted using infantry firearms and artillery, due to the speed and scale of such warfare. The final two chapters consider the impact of gunpowder weapons on representations of the soldier and cavalier in later seventeenth-century war novels and the way in which guns, and the violence they inflicted on the civilian population across Germany during the Thirty Years War, functioned metonymically to invite condemnation of soldiery and martial heroism itself in the works of J. M. Moscherosch, H. J. C. Grimmelshausen and Eberhard Werner Happel.

The breadth of coverage in this book can leave one wanting more detail or examples in places. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *Kriegsbücher* and *Kriegstraktate*, and their treatment of gunpowder weapons, could easily warrant a book-length study of their own, and it would also be interesting to consider these, and the broadsides, in relation to broader European traditions of publishing military technical knowledge and news. The impact of firearms on contemporary conceptions of *honour*, a concept curiously absent from the index, could also have been confronted more explicitly here, particularly due to its significant relationship to early modern military masculinity. Brugh's book offers an important example of the new perspectives and insights that may be gained from exploring the intersections of early modern military and cultural history, and from carefully framing literary sources within their historical and generic contexts. The author's attention to the form and structure of his material, and not just its content, is to be welcomed here. Scholars of early modern warfare in Europe may find themselves drawing instructive parallels with recent studies on Italian and Spanish sources (by Stephen Bowd and Miguel Martinez, respectively) that adopt a broadly similar methodology to that used here.

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MATTHEW WOODCOCK

***Venice's Secret Service: Organizing Intelligence in the Renaissance.* By Ioanna Iordanou.** Oxford University Press. 2019. 288pp. £30.00.

Secrecy, spies and subterfuge have long been subjects which fascinate, and, in recent years, there has been an uptake in the number of studies examining the intelligence services of various early modern states. One of the main challenges which historians of early modern espionage face, perhaps more so than those studying other areas, concerns the gaps in the archival record due to the intentional actions of spies and intelligencers to conceal their activities. As a result of the patchy extant documents, most scholars have focused on individual spies, spymasters and operations for which there is more material. Such an approach is, inevitably, rather narrow, and does not portray early modern espionage activities as either centralised or systematised, nor does it explore fully the impact intelligence had on political decision-making, economic activities and social conduct. In *Venice's Secret Service: Organizing Intelligence in the Renaissance*, Ioanna Iordanou approaches the subject of early modern espionage from a novel perspective. Drawing on theoretical concepts from sociology, management and organisational studies to fill the gaps in the source material, Iordanou 'investigates and evaluates the function of Venice's state intelligence apparatus from a political, socio-economic, and organizational perspective' (p. 9) to argue that sixteenth-century Venice created a state-intelligence organisation that was both centralised and systematised.

Iordanou contends that the structure of Venice's intelligence apparatus was unique among European states at this time, and that it bears greater resemblance to modern intelligence organisations 'despite the overwhelming lack of technology in that period' (p. 223). Whereas most other European intelligence-gathering organisations were in practice private espionage networks run by councillors or grandees for their own advantage first and the state's

second, the Venetian secret service was centrally organised and administered by ‘managerial structures that determined the working relations between its members’ (p. 123). At the top of the hierarchy was the Council of Ten, who made the executive decisions and managed the operations conducted on their behalf by Venice’s diplomats and governors, military commanders, secretaries, spies and informants. The delegation of duties was controlled through a ‘string of regulations that determined not only uniform professional operations but interwoven ways of working based on the notion of giving account through formal reports’ (p. 123). Such practices enabled the Council of Ten to depart from more conventional forms of power such as tradition and charisma relied upon by their contemporaries, and to keep its far-reaching grip over agents spread across Europe, North Africa and the Middle East. Similarly, Venice’s secretaries and cryptographers were subject to ‘human resource management practices – such as talent acquisition, recruitment and promotion, and performance appraisals’ (p. 157), which ensured that these services delivered a consistently high quality of service in support to the Council of Ten’s espionage activities.

Most scholarship on intelligence emphasises its military and political dimensions. Iordanou does not dispute the importance of intelligence in these spheres, indeed she acknowledges that the immense threat posed by the Ottomans to Venetian interests in the late-sixteenth century ‘intensified the use of intelligence and espionage’ (p. 20), but she also views intelligence through a socio-economic lens. She highlights how merchants proffered intelligence to the Council of Ten in order to protect Venice’s, and by extension their own, economic interests. Moreover, Iordanou argues that the Ten ‘commodified’ intelligence and state security operations. Ordinary Venetians were incentivised to denounce their peers via special letter boxes, or to engage in intelligence activities such as infiltrating foreign lands in return for a cash reward, official privilege or government position. At the same time, Venetians were discouraged from interacting with foreign envoys in Venice, discussing government business outside official committee rooms and putting state security at risk through the threat of severe punishments not only for those found guilty, but for their families too. Intelligence-gathering, espionage and counter-espionage thus ‘turned into a transaction between the government and the governed whereby the latter expected some kind of benefit for services rendered to the former’ (p. 189).

One area which could have been expanded upon in *Venice’s Secret Service* is the role that women played in the organisation. Recent scholarship, especially by Nadine Akkerman, has shown how women were able to exploit the invisibility their gender conferred upon them to engage in espionage, but there is much more to be learned. Iordanou acknowledges that some women performed a similar role for sixteenth-century Venice. She recounts how ‘Chirana’ acted as an intermediary between the Council of Ten and Nurture Sultan, Sultan Murad III’s mother, and how Beatrice Michiel, a woman who fled Venice to escape a dysfunctional marriage, supplied intelligence to the Ten concerning Ottoman military, political and diplomatic affairs. Both women were incentivised to engage in these activities. Chirana was sent several bribes, while Beatrice Michiel hoped that, by supplying this intelligence, the Venetian government would look kindly on her sons who were growing up in Venice. Clearly women were no different from men in wanting rewards for their involvement in espionage. Exploring both of

these women and others like them in greater detail would have added something else to this study of Venetian intelligence.

But such complaints are nitpicking, and should not take away from this excellent analysis of early modern Venice's intelligence organisation. Through its integration of archival material with theory, *Venice's Secret Service* presents an alternative approach to studying early modern intelligence which others should consider applying to other states and their espionage activities.

*University of Nottingham*

JONATHAN ROCHE

***Scotland in Revolution, 1685–1690.* By Alasdair Raffe. Edinburgh University Press. 2018. xi + 257pp. £80.00.**

*Scotland in Revolution, 1685–1690* does more than offer a welcome analysis of James VII's short reign and its revolutionary aftermath. Drawing upon a wealth of previously neglected archival material, the focus of Raffe's book is on the impact of James's rule in the localities, an aspect of his government which has been under-explored, but which sheds new light on the nature, as well as the collapse, of his authority in Scotland. Where most other accounts are Edinburgh-centric, Raffe's extra-metropolitan perspective reveals, through an extensive interrogation of local archives, the importance to the outcome of the 1689 revolution of James's earlier interference in the communities outside the capital. By looking more closely at local situations, it is clear that James's experimental and energetic approach to government meant that much of Scotland had already been in a state of 'revolutionary' upheaval for most of his reign. Paradoxically, however, this study also reminds us of another crucial point, which is that, inasmuch as it formed one component of a multiple monarchy, post-1688 Scotland 'departed from familiar revolutionary scripts' (p. 5), because the ultimate breakdown of the regime and the establishment of its successor were caused primarily by English events, rather than by domestic affairs. Therefore, the book's title works on a number of levels.

After a brief introduction, which establishes definitions, high politics dominates the first chapter – 'King James's Scotland' – which provides the historical context for the thematic chapters to follow, three of which draw extensively on local sources. It provides a summary of the key events of the post-Restoration period and James's subsequent Scottish viceregency, from which emerged the twin (and interdependent) themes which shaped the king's later reign – namely, the assertion of royal authority and the issue of religious diversity. As James's power had three main foundations, fiscal, military and administrative, this enabled him to make 'more deliberate strides towards absolutism' than Charles II (p. 29), but because he left much of Scotland's jurisdiction in the hands of private landowners, his approach was less 'obsessively' centralising than in England. It was in the area of religion that James was most experimental and this is introduced in chapter 2, which analyses the impact of the two 1687 indulgences (February and June), suspending anti-Catholic penal laws and offering freedom of worship for most Scots. If the period before 1685 was marked by repeated attempts to achieve uniform worship within a national church, after James became king of Scotland, he advocated a different approach, promoting

Catholicism at every turn and offering what appeared to be toleration for other dissenters. However, although the king's motives have aroused suspicion among contemporaries and the cynicism of modern scholars, Raffe's main concern in this chapter is not to ponder over the king's intentions, but to explore the effects of his religious 'experiment' in the localities. Although it went into decline overall, in some areas, episcopalianism remained strong and, while Catholics and Quakers naturally benefited, it was the Presbyterian communities which experienced the most significant major resurgence after 1687, prefiguring that church's re-establishment in 1690, particularly in the south and south-west. The upshot of the indulgences was the creation of a 'multi-confessional marketplace' (p. 56), which is dealt with in the book's third chapter, the most important point to emerge from which is that after 1687, Scotland experienced a period of 'unprecedentedly free religious pluralism' (p. 78).

During this period, the episcopal church was not eclipsed *per se*; rather, it was one denomination among many, competing for followers and often losing out, in a shift which saw episcopalian worshippers increasingly and more commonly attending Presbyterian services. Chapter 4, 'James and the Royal Burghs', serves an important function in exposing the royal attempt to interfere with appointments of commissioners in the sixty-five parliamentary burghs over which the crown held control. The king's desire to achieve Catholic toleration underpinned his intervention in the burghs, since acquiescent parliamentary commissioners were essential, if his long-term aim was to repeal anti-Catholic legislation. While royal meddling in burgh elections was nothing new, 'James was the first Scottish monarch to invade the privileges of all the royal burghs at a stroke' (p. 80). This, Raffe argues, was one of the ways in which James's government was innovative and felt invasive and, ultimately, it led to a sense of turmoil in many parts of the realm. It was also an important element in his overthrow, the events of which are explored in the fifth and final chapters, which consider the revolution in the localities and the settlement which followed.

From a teaching perspective, this book might have been strengthened by a little more detail in the first chapter, to provide greater clarity for undergraduates wishing to gain a better understanding of the religio-political developments leading up to James's reign. This remains relatively under-furrowed ground. Nevertheless, this is a thoroughly researched and well-written book, which maintains the right balance between theme and narrative. Raffe provides us with important new insights into the interplay between religion and politics, also exposing how these two crucial aspects of later seventeenth-century Scottish life were played out in the localities, while, at the same time, not losing sight of the centre. This is an achievement.

*University of Kent*

LEONIE JAMES

***Charles I's Killers in America: The Lives and Afterlives of Edward Whalley and William Goffe.* By Matthew Jenkinson.** Oxford University Press. 2019. 288 pp. £20.00.

Matthew Jenkinson's work traces the later lives of the regicides Edward Whalley and William Goffe, after they fled to the Massachusetts Bay colony



following Charles II's restoration, and the impact their story had on the culture of colonial and independent America. This work provides an accessible introduction to the regicides and their story in exile and shows originality and expertise in exploring the way that story interconnected with American culture and changed with perceptions of the regicides as a link between English Republicanism and American Liberty.

Jenkinson divides his work into two halves, beginning with the 'Lives' of the regicides, followed by 'Afterlives'. Jenkinson begins with a brief guide to Whalley's and Goffe's military and political lives during the interregnum. It would have been helpful to have greater clarity regarding the religious lives of the regicides, since Jenkinson later discusses their faith while in exile. The work would also have benefited from a discussion of the regicides' political views, defining if their loyalty to the 'good old cause' meant a continuance of Cromwellian government or a loyalty to republicanism. However, the strength of the chronology and the concision of the account allows Jenkinson to concentrate on his highly detailed exploration of Whalley and Goffe's exile. The second chapter describes the period of greatest danger for the regicides between the Restoration and late 1661. Jenkinson shows how the regicides found supporters amongst the authorities of the Massachusetts Bay colony. In the third chapter Jenkinson contrasts the Westminster government's abortive attempts to secure the regicides in America with its success in pursuing them in the Netherlands. Jenkinson argues that George Downing was vital to the success of the pursuit in Europe, while the support of American communities for the regicides slowed the less enthusiastic hunt in the Massachusetts Bay. The government's efforts were poor, lacking the manpower and enthusiasm to overcome the New Englanders' reluctance. More controversially Jenkinson argues that Goffe was the so-called 'Angel of Hadley' by re-evaluating contemporary accounts to argue that the attack on Hadley occurred in April and so it was plausible that Goffe was there.

The stronger part of the book is the second half, which explores the cultural afterlife of the regicides. Jenkinson, an expert in cultural history, is at his best describing how the vicissitudes of the nascent United States of America influenced the way the two regicides were portrayed. Jenkinson shows how this was expressed both through contemporary historical research and interest in the lives of the regicides, and through their appearances in popular literature, theatre and artwork as heroic figures. Chapter 4 reveals the complex position the regicides had in the American colonies before the revolution. They were publicly forgotten due to a 'combination of ignorance, feigned ignorance, and covertness'. The regicides were brought back into public consciousness by the loyalist Thomas Hutchinson, and as Jenkinson says 'from their first appearance on the printed page, the regicides in America became political pawns whose story was filtered according to the agenda of the author telling that story'. In Chapter 5 Jenkinson shows how the decades following the American Revolution began a 'rediscovery' of the regicides, as Ezra Stiles codified extant myths, which Jenkinson is careful to debunk. Jenkinson argues convincingly that the regicides had a place in American literature as a connection to English republicanism that underpinned the new American liberty. Chapter 6 shows how the regicides were tied into the legend of the Angel of Hadley and Nathaniel Bacon's rising in contemporary literature, the regicides aiding their adopted nation in moments of peril as heroes against tyranny. In chapter 7 Jenkinson does very strong work

in tracing how interest in the regicides was linked to wider cultural and political trends, notably their declining reputation following the American Civil war, Kennedy's assassination and the Civil Rights Movement. Jenkinson's conclusion brings these threads together to argue that the story of the regicides in America adapted to the changing nature of American politics, before noting the resurgence interest in the regicides since the 1980s. Jenkinson's appendices include a brief outline of the major players, a timeline of Whalley and Goffe's American sojourn, a transcription of the diary of William Goffe, and a short guide to John Dixwell's disappearance and survival in the American colonies.

*Charles I's Killers in America* adds to the existing historiography with its depth of cultural interests. While it lacks the forensic analysis of the careers of the regicides shown in Don Jordan and Michael Walsh's *The King's Revenge* or Charles Spencer's *Killers of the King*, Jenkinson's work explores the period of their American exile in more detail and sophistication. Jenkinson's reliance on the primary material and its impact on later accounts contrasts with previous works on the regicides in America such as Christopher Pagliuco's *The Great Escape of Edward Whalley and William Goffe*, which takes the contemporary records of hunting Goffe and Whalley at face value. Jenkinson's discussion of the cultural impact of the regicides is also more advanced than that any other contemporary work. Pagliuco devotes only one chapter to discuss the regicides' influence, compared to the four chapters that Jenkinson devotes to the same topic. Jenkinson's work develops the legacy of the regicides and provides a template for further research.

*University of East Anglia*

DANNY BUCK

***The Dutch in the Early Modern World: A History of a Global Power.* Edited by David Onnekink and Gijs Rommelse.** Cambridge University Press. 2019. xxi + 293pp. £22.99.

David Onnekink and Gijs Rommelse have produced an excellent introduction to Dutch history which builds on their earlier collaborative work *Ideology and Foreign Policy in Early Modern Europe* (2016). The present book, unsurprisingly, develops their contribution to what has been described as 'new diplomatic history', which seeks to place international relations and diplomacy in a broader social and cultural context than hitherto. The authors' intention is not to provide a complete overview of Dutch history from 1572 to 1795, but to give pride of place to foreign policy given that the new state was 'uniquely situated at the crossroads of international and global developments'. Its ascendancy, they suggest, heralded an age of global capitalism through integrating trading networks, creating new financial facilities for entrepreneurs, and preserving an institutional framework which protected private property rights. The label 'venture capitalism' is frequently used in place of the more common 'merchant capitalism', reflecting perhaps the book's emphasis on the unique role of the great trading companies in developing the Republic's global ambitions and promoting encounters with other cultures, often deeply problematic.

In taking foreign policy as their primary focus, the authors have adopted a chronological approach which subdivides the republic's larger history into

six phases, shaped by conflict with Spain, England and France. The resulting narrative resembles the picture sketched out by Jonathan Israel, but with significant differences. In spite of deeply challenging religious and ideological problems, Onnekink and Rommelse characterise the years separating the 1609 truce and the peace treaties of 1648 as a period of growing overall confidence, paving the way for the Republic's ascendancy during the de Witts' regime of 'True Freedom'. Israel, by contrast, places greater emphasis on the crisis of the world economy from 1621 to 1647, together with the reimposition of Spanish embargoes, as ushering in a period of crisis and stagnation for the Republic. Geoffrey Parker has more recently depicted the 1640s in similarly dark tones, drawing attention to the enormous increase in the Republic's debt charges arising from military and naval expenditure between 1618 and 1649. The years from 1672 to 1713 are more readily accommodated in the turn to foreign policy, shaped as they were by strenuous efforts to contain the hegemonic ambitions of Louis XIV, accompanied by intensified domestic ideological conflicts. By 1713, financial exhaustion and the cumulative effects of French and English mercantilist stratagems had eroded the Republic's commercial and industrial pre-eminence.

Specialists will doubtless continue to weigh the relative significance of political and economic changes and their place in establishing turning points and conjunctural shifts. As Braudel reminded us, economic life, politics and diplomacy rarely move in step or at the same speed, and Onnekink and Rommelse's chronological scheme sometimes obscures this, especially in relation to long-run economic and climatic changes. Readers will find relatively little on the trade and shipping of the North and Baltic Seas, regarded by many as generating the heartbeat of the commercial sector and associated processing industries. Instead, emphasis is placed on economic warfare in America, Africa and Asia and the making of a global trading empire, cosmopolitan in nature and reliant on 'intercultural pragmatism' to maximise legitimacy if and when possible.

The authors' willingness to acknowledge the frequent failure of efforts at legitimation follows the growing trend among historians of empire to bring to light the cruelties and atrocities committed overseas by the Dutch, British and other European nations. In Brazil, European conventions derived from the just war doctrine were abandoned when indigenous groups opted to side with the Portuguese and, like the VOC (Dutch East India Company) in Indonesia, the WIC (West India Company) increasingly perpetrated bouts of appalling violence to deter future insurgency. Both companies routinely played a game of divide and rule among indigenous peoples, and efforts at conciliation by 'intercultural brokers' were punctuated by cycles of brutal atrocities, from Coen's genocide and conquest of the Banda islands in the 1620s, Kieft's war against the Lenape in the Hudson valley during the 1640s, the VOC's slaughter of more than 10,000 ethnic Chinese in Batavia in the 1740s, to the notorious attacks against the Maroons of Surinam chronicled by John Gabriel Stedman in 1796. These sordid episodes illustrate the complicity of the companies in an asymmetric power struggle with indigenous peoples in three continents. The reader is presented with a clear picture of the assumptions, ideologies and policy decisions underlying Dutch efforts to build an 'empire of exploitation', in which the riches from the commercial companies were unevenly distributed.

Onnekink and Rommelse contrast the oppressive aspects of Dutch global enterprise with the Republic's conspicuous achievements at home, in many spheres. In the welcome given to migrants and refugees from religious persecution and the accompanying establishment of Dutch cities as centres of international learning and publishing, the Republic led the way. In the visual arts, scientific and philosophical enquiry, and in the establishment of representative government, it pioneered a liberal and egalitarian environment at home, in which the combined efforts of skilled artisans and educated professionals produced new knowledge and innovative practice.

In these respects, the book undoubtedly fulfils the authors' intentions to integrate the history of the Dutch Republic in Europe with wider global perspectives, and to interpret its foreign policy in a broad cultural context informed by encounters with other cultures. In doing so, it rejects uncritical myths surrounding Dutch colonialism with clarity and originality, and deserves a wide readership.

*University of Kent*

DAVID ORMROD

***The Life and Works of Robert Baillie (1602–1662): Politics, Religion and Record-Keeping in the British Civil Wars.* By Alexander D. Campbell. Bloomsbury. 2017. 131 + 259pp. £75.00.**

Alexander Campbell offers a fresh look at a well-known figure. Nicely structured around a set of central themes, his book offers many new perspectives that will help scholars to understand not just Baillie himself but the events in which he played a part. It is a careful and impressive piece of scholarship.

Chapter 1 presents Baillie's life and intellectual formation. It centres on Glasgow University, where he built a significant career in university reform and scholarship focused on the Hebrew language, religious controversies and biblical chronology. He earlier enjoyed a decade of pastoral ministry in the rural parish of Kilwinning from 1631, the year in which he began transcribing copies of his letters and organising them as the basis for a sympathetic historical account of what came to be known as the Covenanter movement.

Chapter 2 explores Baillie's political theory, which was grounded in loyalty to the Stuart monarchy. He 'preserved a quasi-Erastian role for the monarchy' in religious affairs (p. 73), which set him apart from many of his fellow Covenanters and shows that their apparent unity was only superficial. At several important moments in his career Baillie chose to align himself with more moderate figures, even royalists and even at the cost of religious concerns, because he was haunted by the actions of English separatists and regicides. Thus Campbell brings a sensitivity to understanding Baillie's choices, which tends to emphasise their consistency over time.

Chapter 3 examines Baillie's ecclesiology. He self-identified as a Presbyterian but, building on the analysis in Hunter Powell's *Crisis of British Protestantism*, Campbell recognises that there were competing visions of Presbyterianism and a growing 'bifurcation of Presbyterian tendencies' (p. 112). One tendency inclined in the direction of Congregationalism and a church composed of visible saints. The other tendency, the one shared by Baillie, accepted aspects of episcopal

ecclesiology in an effort to preserve proper doctrine, ward off the horror of English-style separation and maintain national church unity. Politically, this also inclined Baillie to entertain reconciliation with Charles I and Charles II.

Chapter 4 examines Baillie's Reformed theology of salvation, placing him alongside variant positions within Reformed Protestantism – Arminianism, Antinomianism, Amyraldianism and (not to be conflated with it) hypothetical universalism – and against other outside groups, such as Socinians and Roman Catholics. Over against previous scholarship that presents Baillie as rigid and intolerant, Campbell seeks to show that his theology was 'more malleable and contextually determined' than earlier scholars have supposed. Baillie may also legitimately be deemed 'the tolerant Robert Baillie' (p. 115). While certainly showing that Baillie was prepared to overlook minor theological differences in the cause of unity, the evidence in the chapter does not quite bear out this ambitious claim. In reaction to Gerardus Vossius's efforts at accommodation with the Arminians, for example, Baillie 'resolved not to concede any ground' (p. 129). Campbell rightly encourages us to understand the practical pressures in Baillie's context but, even so, his stance on toleration was less open than that of some others in much the same context. It is also unfortunate that Campbell's presentation of Antinomianism appears to rest on the hostile construction of Baillie himself (p. 131, n. 79). Campbell attributes to them a position that many alleged 'Antinomians' would have repudiated.

Chapter 5 continues to challenge existing historiography, in this case the tendency to conflate opposition to the Perth Articles of 1618 and the imposition of the Scottish Prayer Book in 1637. Baillie could endorse the first but not the second. He took the time to read the Prayer Book for himself before he came to a judgement. Alarmed by too many signals that could be interpreted as presaging a return to Rome, he could not countenance such a tangible step in the direction of popery. Here again, Baillie indicates the range of positions among the Covenanters.

Chapter 6 creatively brings together two related dimensions, Baillie's biblical scholarship and his preaching, to demonstrate that each had an influence on the other. His work on biblical chronology took place at a time when new developments in textual criticism tended to play up the human origin of the sacred texts of the Bible, rather than their divine origin. Baillie viewed those developments with suspicion. His scholarship served to shape his preaching style, which was typically Reformed in its emphasis on opening up the text of scripture and calling hearers to a strong application of biblical truth.

The final chapter is a fascinating account of Baillie's legacy or, more accurately, the afterlife of his carefully constructed collection of manuscript correspondence. Inevitably the result was a body of evidence compiled by an ambiguous figure who was '[n]either a hero nor villain' (p. 225), with its share of doubts, questions and unguarded uncertainty. After his death, others put that evidence to use in divergent accounts of the British Civil Wars, thus fitting Baillie into one particular view or another. The two men who edited Baillie's manuscripts were selective in what they included (Robert Aitken) or completely rearranged Baillie's deliberate construction (David Laing). As a result, and in the hands of subsequent historians, 'Robert Baillie quietly vanished from the records he had painstakingly gathered, only to be replaced by caricature – the dutiful

letter-writer, the virulent critic, the unashamed time-server and the embarrassing vacillator' (p. 225).

With its origins in a PhD dissertation each chapter of this book tends to accentuate its departure from existing scholarship, perhaps overly much. For example, with such a sharp schism in 1651 scholars are unlikely to have missed entirely the differences within the Covenanter movement. There is also not much in the way of criticism of Baillie. He is presented in a sympathetic fashion as a largely consistent figure whose alleged weaknesses are more the creation of his editors and partial scholars than the man himself. Even so, Campbell's sensitivity is to be applauded. This is a fine work of scholarship that will guide future scholars into a more sophisticated understanding of Baillie and his times, and that can only be welcome.

*University of Otago*

TIM COOPER 

***The Perraults: A Family of Letters in Early Modern France.* By Oded Rabinovitch.** Cornell University Press. 2018. xvi + 233pp. \$57.95.

Researchers interested in the relationship between history and literature have long made seventeenth-century France a privileged subject for investigation. This critical scholarly agenda is associated with the Groupe de recherches interdisciplinaires sur l'histoire de la littérature, or GRIHL, based at the École des Hautes Études in Paris, where scholars such as Christian Jouhaud and Alain Viala, or more recently Dinah Ribaud and Nicolas Schapira, have pioneered new ways of studying how literary activity was both shaped by and also reshaped the society and culture in which it took place.

Oded Rabinovitch's major study of the Perraults as a family of letters in seventeenth-century France is in part a product of this school, although it is shaped by academic cultures in North America and Israel too. It makes an important contribution to the social history of literature, and its role in the making of the *ancien régime* in France, by showing how successive generations of the Perrault family developed a strategy for social advancement that took advantage of the opportunities they encountered in Paris, its rural hinterland, and at court.

The chapters focusing on Charles Perrault are perhaps the most compelling in the whole book, since he rose so high thanks to his powerful combination of acute literary and social skills. Rabinovitch demonstrates how Charles's literary achievements convinced patrons such as Jean-Baptiste Colbert that he deserved preferment, opening the way for his progress through Parisian social hierarchies. Following his rise in the 1660s, Rabinovitch analyses how Charles ensured the continuity of his new-found prestige by making an astute marriage, establishing international scholarly contacts, and exploiting the opportunities for advancement opened to him through his membership of the Académie Française and his access to the court at Versailles.

Yet the book also situates Charles Perrault's rise in the context of the society of royal office-holders in Paris, where his father Pierre Sr held legal and financial positions, while his older brother Pierre Jr followed in their father's

footsteps as a financier before becoming embroiled in the financial scandal that brought down Fouquet. It is interesting to contrast Charles Perrault's rise in the 1660s with the struggles early on in that decade of his storytelling rival Claude de La Fontaine, as the latter initially failed to assert himself at court because of the taint of Fouquet's patronage, as Marc Fumaroli showed in his 1997 biography. Charles's younger brother Claude proved the importance of Charles's shift away from royal finances and into intellectual affairs through his scientific works, which achieved renown especially following his work *On the Mechanics of Animals* (1680). A 'Cast of Characters' at the outset of the book helps to keep track of the sometimes complex and overlapping lives and career trajectories of these distinguished brothers, none of whom managed to outshine Charles.

A more general question with the approach that this book exemplifies is whether it is possible to detect a coherent social strategy in the decision-making of a family such as the Perraults that might be generalised across seventeenth-century elites, or whether their improvisation and opportunism rather gains coherence in retrospect. One hopes that further research will continue to explore this important topic in order to build up a larger comparative picture. Moreover, the success of Charles as an author might leave literary scholars asking for further analysis of the works themselves, although they will appreciate the chapter openings which effectively present elements of Charles's storytelling as a foil for his family's manoeuvrings.

Overall, this book adds significantly to a growing body of work that demonstrates how the literary and courtly life of France's *ancien régime* cannot be understood as the emanation of the glory of the absolute monarchy, but instead shows that writers, artists and their families exploited the opportunities offered by the monarchy in order to bolster their own prestige and social status. At the same time, this book offers an excellent model of how to combine historical and literary research by situating literary production in precise political and social contexts.

Durham University

TOM HAMILTON

## Modern

***Black Handsworth: Race in 1980s Britain.* By Kieran Connell.** University of California Press. 2019. xiii + 220pp. £27.00.

Kieran Connell's *Black Handsworth* is a welcome addition to the growing historiography of 1980s British race relations, taking the story of the black globality in Britain beyond the context of high imperialism that has hitherto largely preoccupied historians, as well as further decentralising the focus from the metropole of London. It also builds on recent works such as Rob Waters's *Thinking Black?* and Kennetta Hammond Perry's *London is the Place for Me?*, which collectively unveil a textured narrative of interwoven stands of radicalism, localism and globalism within black British resistance.

As Connell sets out, this was an 'ambiguous moment in postcolonial Britain', which cannot be viewed in isolation but rather as part of a broader narrative of

the 'long 1980s'. Thus, in his introduction, Connell masterfully situates his study within the context of post-war migration, from the rise of Powellism in the late 1960s, to the moral panic surrounding mugging and 'black street crime' which erupted in 1972. As tensions surrounding black communities mounted, Connell also draws attention to the expanding range of resources which the community of Handsworth harnessed to negotiate this terrain. He argues that some of the consequences of these developments only began to become clear in the context of the long 1980s (p. 6). By 1978, for example, more than half of the black population of Handsworth owned their own houses, and their children had begun to reach political maturity, increasingly inspiring a self-recognition of themselves as 'settlers rather than sojourners'. This stood in stark contrast to the anxieties manifest in Powellism around the black inner city which, following the major uprisings of 1981 and 1985, cemented the black inner city as a violent and near pathological threat to the 'British ways of life'. Yet throughout this study, Connell consciously chooses to separate himself from what he describes as the emergent historiography's 'concurrent emphasis on ideological and political developments and the series of social and economic crises that increasingly dominate British political life' (p. 5). Instead, he focuses on the everyday experience of both living and articulating race in daily practices and sociability, in an attempt to unveil what Raymond Williams termed the 'structures of feeling'.

Yet Connell does not ignore the role of politics. In his first chapter, 'Shades of Black', Connell demonstrates how the black globality was used and disused by Handsworth's political organisations as a means of framing the struggles they waged locally. The 1980s have been identified as the period during which the encompassing political notion of 'black' resistance fragmented, giving rise to a 'community of communities' focused on cultural differences (p. 20). This shift has commonly been attributed to the state's embrace of policies of multiculturalism in the early 1980s, which saw it increasingly allocating funding to minority groups on the basis of ethnicity. Connell agrees that it is 'certainly striking that the groups who were awarded funding in Birmingham in the 1980s often defined themselves in narrow terms', and that 'the funding system undoubtedly favoured those predominantly white, anti-racist organisations born out of the new Left' (pp. 25, 21). The latter often were 'better placed to speak to the state's language of multiculturalism' (p. 21).

However, by highlighting how groups such as the Indian Workers Association consistently emphasised the importance of a unified definition of black as well as ongoing connections to global anti-colonial structures, while simultaneously accepting state funds, Connell argues that there was no straightforward relationship between funding and political agenda (p. 21). He counters that the same 'practical experience of Handsworth' which had made black a political necessity, in turn, caused the political colour to divide along ethnic lines and the rise of a more seemingly relevant identity politics. Connell's work does not actively undermine Ambavalar Sivanandan's claim that governmental policies of multiculturalism purposefully defanged black resistance movements by 'going for the cultural jugular' and dividing factions along ethnic lines. It does, however, alert us to the range of localised, confused, if not conflicting, responses emerging from local governments during the Thatcher era until at least the 1985 Local Government Act (p. 25).



Chapter 2, 'Visualizing Handsworth', offers an insight into the ways in which individual artists used their work to explore their own identities, through a process of self-fashioning that examined race and diaspora as part of an increasingly atomised political agenda. An examination of the varying experimentalist approaches of photographers and documentarists such as Vanley Burke and the self-titled 'bastard children of 68', who founded the Black Audio Film Collective, unfurls the inherent tensions, contradictions and political implications they faced when trying to capture a 'true' sense of community (p. 64). This desire to demystify black communities and depict the colonial vestiges of empire in a period when explicit references to it could be largely absent from public debate was made all the more pertinent in the wake of the 1981 uprisings. Documentarians were torn between a need to faithfully record what was happening, and a reluctance to perpetuate the damaging discourse surrounding the black inner city by promoting the 'front page' image: 'fire, riots, looted shops, young Rastas and helmeted cops by night' (pp. 71–4). Here, Connell illuminates the inner workings of contemporary history-making and claim-making informing historical sources, while revealing a lesser-known narrative surrounding the communal reactions to the riots.

In chapter 3, he turns his attentions to the 'Dread Culture' of Rastafarianism as a tool of alternative education, self-help and spiritual guidance. By tracing the stories of those involved in the music, dance and poetry of the subculture we see how many residents found some empowerment through localised performances of diaspora. At the same time Connell shows how black globality functioned as a tool for making sense of events in the locale. Similarly, in chapter 4, 'Leisure and Sociability' are found to be routinely bound up with a nostalgia many felt for their childhoods in the Caribbean. A simple game of dominoes could function as a symbolic conduit for a set of feelings carried by a generation's diasporic identity and affinity with the Caribbean, providing rare familiar systems of sociability and cohesion. Connell suggests that arenas such as pubs, cricket clubs, churches and front rooms 'arguably functioned less as a line of defence against the racism of white society and more as a space for the articulation of black identities'; they clung to durable class distinctions, regimented gender roles and projections of respectability (p. 125). Yet throughout Connell's analysis of these practices it becomes apparent that they were also potential means of reclaiming power. The developing professionalism of sports teams, or the establishment of men's private members clubs and their corresponding ethos of reliability, permitted members some level of outward social mobility via more formal structures such as Partner investment schemes, for instance. For women, domesticity epitomised by 'Aunty Linda's' immaculate front room, used for guests only, manifestly refuted racist rhetoric of black women as bad mothers and a burden on the dole system (pp. 146–54).

In sum, Connell's decision to avoid engaging with the existing politically centred historiography inevitably limited the scope of his findings, precluding any ground-breaking arguments in the footsteps of Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy. As Connell concedes, even within his focus on the Handsworth locale there are omissions of whole areas of study such as those on the female or South Asian experience. Yet his determination to focus on the quieter aspects of ordinary Handsworth life uniquely captures the juxtapositions of an alternative, concurrent story of the black inner city. Informed by legacies of colonialism and

a particular reading of diaspora, a diverse ‘structure of feeling’ emerged as an assertive presence varying with issues such as class, age and gender, but invariably tied by a powerful if political undercurrent of resilience and hope that flowed through the black everyday as much as the extraordinary.

*University of East Anglia*

AMY GRANT

***Colonial Fantasies, Imperial Realities: Race, Science and the Making of Polishness on the Fringes of the German Empire, 1840–1920.* By Lenny A. Ureña Valerio.** Ohio University Press. 2019. xxiii + 295pp. \$70.00.

The history and formation of identities in partitioned Poland has received extensive scholarly attention. Nevertheless, in this crowded field, Ureña Valerio makes a powerful and original contribution. *Colonial Fantasies, Imperial Realities* examines German and Polish scientific developments on the fringes of the German Empire used to reinforce racially based concepts of health, hygiene and the spread of disease. In highlighting the importance of colonial ambitions in the partitioned land, the text explores how Poles were both objects and subjects of colonial agendas. Ureña Valerio illustrates how Poles constructed their identities in relation to the Germans, but also in relation to indigenous populations in both German Africa and Brazil, a process which became particularly important after the failed uprising of 1863. Crucially, this work makes a compelling case that Polish colonial ambitions were active before the Second Polish Republic (1918–39) and the creation of the Liga Morska i Kolonialna (Maritime and Colonial League).

Throughout *Colonial Fantasies, Imperial Realities* there is a reiteration of Polish colonial ambitions in both Africa and South America. In the first two chapters, Ureña Valerio studies the ‘civilising mission’ of German scientists in the German east (Prussian Poland) and how they used racialised taxonomies to develop scientific theories regarding the spread of bacteria. The author documents tensions between German and Polish scientists and how, in the later years of the nineteenth century, ‘the language that bacteriologists started to use reflected the politics of cultural struggle and the ethnolinguistic definition of German nationalism’ (p. 53). Both chapters 2 and 3 of the text highlight a tendency to ascribe the spread of disease to people from the east, with the supposedly ‘unclean’ habits, laziness and uncivilised behaviour of Poles, Slavs and Jews being held to cause the spread of infection. The same pseudoscientific rhetoric was then subsequently used as justification for subjecting these people to the process of Germanisation. However, the author demonstrates that attempts to ‘Germanise’ settlers in the German east had the effect of ‘raising the political consciousness of Polish-speaking subjects’ (p. 76). Indeed, Ureña Valerio demonstrates that ‘the Polish question became a testing ground for the German Empire, in which the limits of colonial power and resistance were first exposed’ (pp. 76–7).

The third chapter also explores colonising missions in Africa, focusing on the relationships between medicine, disease control and overseas expansion. By using case studies of Emin Pasha, Robert Koch and Jan Czekanowski, the author is able to demonstrate how Prussian Poland and Germany’s African colonies

were connected by an ideology that privileged ethnic Germans. Pasha and Czekanowski positioned themselves as cultural interlocutors between colonised and coloniser, identifying not only with the German colonisers attempting to ‘civilise the natives’, but also with the indigenous population, as victims of German oppression and colonisation.

The fourth chapter looks at Polish travel accounts and colonial fantasies, contrasting the seemingly contradictory ideas of Poles as colonised peoples, ‘a nationality without a modern state’ (p. 117), and a pursuit of freedom through mimicking the colonial practices of Germany and Britain. Throughout the chapter there is a focus on the making of Polishness within the context of Poles, such as Stefan Szolc-Rogozieński, attempting to create colonies in Africa. Szolc-Rogozieński’s expedition was opposed by intellectuals such as Aleksander Świętochowski, who believed they should follow the example of Switzerland and not Spain, by focusing on reinvigorating and uplifting the Polish people instead of obtaining colonies and ruling over others. This chapter is extremely rich in analysis of memoirs, travel accounts and contemporary literature, providing a fresh view on the making of ‘Polishness’ within the context of Polish colonial ambitions. It looks at how people like Szolc-Rogozieński sought a ‘place in the sun’ (p. 123) as opposed to trying to work within the existing political and societal structures of a partitioned Poland. The chapter repeatedly shows that ‘colonial fantasies’ were already part of Polish thinking before the Second Polish Republic was established. This chapter also contends that colonial ambitions, at least among some Poles, were not dissimilar to those expressed in other parts of Europe. Ureña Valerio explores Henryk Sienkiewicz’s 1911 novel for children, *In Desert and Wilderness*, as an exemplar of seemingly contradictory approaches to colonialism. Set in Africa, *In Desert and Wilderness* displays not only imagined Polish physical and intellectual superiority to the indigenous population, but simultaneously presents Poles as being more benign and enlightened than other European colonisers.

The last chapter focuses on the creation of the Polish nation abroad, focusing on ‘Brazilian fever’ (*gorączka brazylijska*) in the late 1880s, which led to the creation of settlements such as Nowa Polska (New Poland), mostly inhabited by ‘peasants’ wishing to pursue a life outside Poland’s borders and away from German control. By 1918 over 120,000 ethnic Poles had settled in Brazil and had created a ‘national space where Polish culture and language could thrive semiautonomously’ (p. 152). This chapter highlights another dichotomy, that the only way that many Poles saw to retain and express their Polishness was to migrate to South America.

Throughout this book the author uses a rich and well-chosen array of sources to convey the complex network of German–Polish relations across Europe, Africa and South America. The methodology and framework are original and offer a well-researched and valuable contribution to the field. This book is not only an exceptional addition to the discussion around identity formation and the making of Polishness, but also offers new insights on colonial comparative studies, and an invaluable addition to theories of eugenics and race science in Europe.

University of East Anglia

SAMANTHA K. KNAPTON 

*Journeys from the Abyss: The Holocaust and Forced Migration from the 1880s to the Present.* By Tony Kushner. Liverpool University Press. 2017, 348pp. £85.00.

'Journeys' matter in Tony Kushner's scholarship – as metaphoric discoveries of the subjective self, as real movements in space and time. The distinction is characteristically rigorous and playful from a historian who is concerned with actuality and the imaginary, the contradictions of public and private memory, the relevance of any constructed past to its political present.

*Journeys from the Abyss* has three subject groups that generate its organising structure. The first part of the book has two chapters on 'Gender, Forced Migration, and Testimony' which cover their theme from the 1880s to 1945 (chapter 1), and from 1945 to the present (chapter 2). The second part, 'Holocaust Survivors and Other Migrant Journeys in the Long Twentieth Century', adds two more subjects: 'The Journey of Child Refugees, Lost and Rediscovered' (chapter 3) and finally 'The Ship and the Battle over Migrant "Illegality"' (chapter 4).

One example may illustrate Kushner's approach. In the last of his four long wide-ranging chapters the author visits Lampedusa and talks to members of the Askavusa anarchist collective whose 'alternative archive' of migrant experience consists of the boats and everyday possessions of some of those who survived the Mediterranean crossing. By way of contextualising the 'complex performativity' which the island provokes, both among migrants themselves arriving from North Africa, and among the EU contract security companies who stress 'tough' restrictions, Kushner considers some past parallels. These include an analysis of the situation faced by Palestine and Jewish refugees in the 1930s, an account of European Jewry during and after the Second World War, and a discussion on the varied reworkings of the *Exodus 1947* story.

This way of constituting what we might call 'histories for the now' puts in fruitful proximity state and charity records, personal testimonies from a wide variety of sources, and media representations. In the latter case a complex, contradictory history of public recollection emerges. More importantly, by combining these diverse archival materials and types of analysis it becomes possible to explore thematically connected migrant pasts. In doing so Kushner creates an intricate web of associations, allusions and textual echoes, and the critical effect of this method is to complicate, contradict and place in conversation varied 'journeys'. As Kushner puts it: 'The hope is that comparisons will shed light on all such journeys – then and now – with the ultimate aim of combatting forms of ahistorical tendency in both the specific area of Jewish refugees from Nazism and refugee studies more generally' (p. 12). This comment suggests a marked theme also running through Kushner's earlier work, including *The Battle of Britishness* (2012), namely the public instrumentalisation and politicisation of particular migrant pasts. The distorting effects of state campaigns, and more importantly the acts of neglect and forgetfulness which inevitably result, are critical subjects in Kushner's wider project.

Consequently, the search for less-known, alternative pasts runs throughout this account. Part I is a sustained meditation on the experience and representation of refugee domestic servants. It provides a counter-narrative to both central and eastern European Jewish arrivals before the First World War and to the Kindertransport story, which has 'become part of a morality tale featuring Britain as "fairy godmother"; helping the children to be "re-born" with all

traces of ambiguity removed' (p. 43). This theme of who is remembered and to what end facilitates an elegiac sense of remembering and reclaiming the lives of forgotten others, as can be seen in the extended section on parallels, overlaps and continuities between the lives of forced migrant prostitutes in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and of domestic servants between the wars.

While Kushner uncovers many fragments of material for the earlier period until the end of the Second World War, a fuller set of accounts, including memoirs, letters and oral history interviews, is more easily accessed in the later twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The increase in interest during the 1960s, when seven accounts were written by former refugee domestic servants, leads into one of the strongest, most sustained examinations of a particular source, Lore Segal's remarkable memoir-fiction *Other People's Houses*. Yet what matters here more than any individual analysis is the expanding network of experiences and impressions that generate a much wider interpretation among the lives of a collective cohort.

Throughout the book there is an admirable lack of overstatement. Historical knowledge, like memory itself, is often claimed as provisional and malleable in accordance with present-day interests. That sense of provisionality is less often embodied within the language and structures of historical writing. *Journeys from the Abyss* is also quick to catch tokenism and superficiality in more modern-day approaches to migrant representation in museums and contemporary art, as when Kushner visits the 2014 Turner Prize exhibition and gives a measured consideration of Clara Phillips's soundscape work 'New things to discuss'.

In my reading three critical questions emerge from this account. First, there is the matter of agency. Kushner asserts that refugees can and do direct their lives, and that archival materials can show us this. A more direct discussion of the nature and extent of this agency and how it can be read in textual sources remains to be written. Second, the 'network' approach – placing a broad group of texts in conversation across the course of the entire book – is a rewarding and original way to connect past and present, and to bring together a broad, dispersed set of experiences. Yet the extended reading of *Other People's Houses* shows the author's skill with more in-depth analysis. Perhaps we can hope for further such extended interpretative work as a means to expand the range of what social and cultural history can achieve. Third, there is the question of inner mental states, psychological processes and the ways in which they shift across time. An important avenue of historical investigation now opening up may consider what 'memory work' is to the individual migrant, how its purposes change, the ways in which the past can be differently rendered at successive moments in a life-course, and to what end such journeys are taken.

*University of Copenhagen*

PETER LEESE

***London and the Emergence of a European Art Market, 1780–1820*. Edited by Susanna Avery-Quash and Christian Huemer. Getty Publications. 2019. 263pp. £45.00 (pb).**

*London and the Emergence of a European Art Market, 1780–1820* is an ambitious volume, bringing together twenty-one contributors and sixteen essays

from across art history, history of collecting and art market studies in order to explore the commercial milieu of art sales which occurred in London between the years 1780 and 1820. As Avery-Quash and Huemer explain in their introduction, the volume has been developed from an international conference jointly organised by the National Portrait Gallery and the Getty Research Institute in June 2013 and an impressive research project across the two institutions. The volume is an excellent example of how collaborative projects across institutions can have fruitful outcomes, with the resulting data inputted into the Getty Provenance Index providing a rich archive of sources for researchers. The wide range of methodologies and case studies included in the volume attest to this. The resulting essays go beyond traditional art-historical and provenance studies to include statistical data analysis, allowing for a large scope in topics that would appeal to a range of scholars working in the fields of art history, history of collecting and museum studies in particular.

The main aims of the volume have been to assess how the turmoil of the French Revolution altered the activities and networks of connoisseurs and dealers and why, in the aftermath of the revolution, London became the new hub of art sales. It also explores the degree to which the important European art markets of Paris, London and Amsterdam were integrated and to what extent these were metropolitan phenomena. Essays are separated into three themed sections titled 'Patterns', 'Collections' and 'Dealers', with each themed section introduced by an eminent scholar in the field. These introductions provide a key contextual background to the following chapters in order to draw together themes and potential areas for development.

The first section, 'Patterns', makes a strong case for the advantages of quantitative studies of art market information with several authors utilising large datasets from the Getty database to form general ideas about art sales in Britain over the period. In particular, the essays in this section explore what European trade in artworks can tell us about the British interest in foreign art, employing statistical analysis to draw conclusions on ideas of national taste and preference. This section is further enriched by the collaborative essay of Hans J. Miegroet, Hilary Cronheim and Bénédicte Miyamoto, which draws together comparative data to explore fully how art dealers exploited networks across London, Paris and Amsterdam in this period in order to maximise profits.

While the first part uses large data sets to chart attitudes and change over the period, the second and third parts utilise case studies focused on the dealers, collectors and artists who interacted in art sales. 'Collections', the second themed section, relates to the formation and dispersal of collections by both individuals and institutions. Essays in this section cover a range of contexts such as commercial art galleries and print shops, the collection of individual artists, as well as the importance of particular art sales on the art market such as the dispersal of the Orléans collection of the 1790s and the Christie's sales of John Trumbull and Welbore Ellis Ager in 1797 and 1806 respectively.

Finally, rounding off the volume, 'Dealers' explores the auctioneers, dealers, brokers, curators and gallerists who acted as the middlemen of art transactions. The expected figures, such as James Christie and Noel Desenfans, are paid due attention; however, the essays also explore not only the role of dealer as seller but also the complex nature of competition, personal branding and social networking, which were necessitated by art sellers within this period.

The combined essays show how the professionalisation of the art dealer and auctioneer shaped the circulation of artworks within Europe.

The volume is produced to a high standard and is liberally illustrated with plenty of high-quality coloured images and graphs. Owing to the scope of the project some topics have necessarily been neglected: while several authors within the volume mention other forms of art and their sale by dealers, the focus remains securely on the sale and collection of paintings and the associated print market. This means that other areas, such as decorative arts and sculpture, are underrepresented. However, the introduction states that this book aims to spark wider discussion and debate, encouraging further scholarship and a greater engagement with the Getty Provenance Index. As such, this volume provides an excellent addition to the study of art markets, providing a much-needed resource for those wishing to study not only the development of London as a centre for the European art trade but also the associated artists, critics and collectors in both private and public institutions who interacted with and were shaped by such practices.

*University of Hull*

NICOLE COCHRANE

***Stalin's Gulag at War: Forced Labour, Mass Death, and Soviet Victory in the Second World War.* By Wilson T. Bell.** University of Toronto Press, 2019. xiv + 262pp. \$29.95 (pb).

Since the renewal of academic and popular interest in the camp system in the early 2000s, and its subsequent use as a metonym detailing the barbarities of the Soviet (even at times simply Stalinist) system more generally, the word 'Gulag' itself has been subject to a number of preconceptions which differ from its original bureaucratic designation. This is particularly the case in regard to the panoply of detention institutions covered under this more general banner, and the importance of Wilson Bell's erudite and nuanced study of a region which contained, among other types of imprisonment, the remarkably understudied corrective-labour colonies. In creating a rich and varied source base compiled from both published and unpublished memoirs alongside dense archival material at the central and local level, Bell has successfully followed the work of Kate Brown, Stephen Kotkin and the more Gulag-specific Alan Barenberg in creating a microstudy which not only provides deep insight into the workings (or non-workings) of the Western Siberian Gulag but also overflows with conceptual ideas to help illuminate the system and period as a whole.

Beginning with the onset of Operation Barbarossa in June 1941, Bell's introduction neatly lays out both the geographical and historical parameters of his study. Positioning Western Siberian Gulag within the wider Stalinist state both before and during wartime, the author crucially, as this theme will be returned to regularly, looks at the development of the Gulag in this region in its temporal context, even pointing out the irony of Stalin being exiled there in the years leading up to 1917. Indeed, this approach continues in the first chapter, which studies the link between forced labour and Western Siberia's economic development, recalling how the need to extract resources represented an attempted solution to a long-standing issue in *Russian* (not just Soviet) history.

Bell details the myriad problems facing the largest camp complex Sibilag following its establishment in 1929 through some particularly visceral recollections from former prisoners (p. 41).

Continuing the reader's chronological journey, Bell's following chapter seeks to demonstrate how the Western Siberian camps adapted to the destructive effects which followed the Nazis' incendiary prorogation of the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact and the ensuing total mobilisation of resources towards Soviet victory at all costs. The author's remarkable attention to detail is highlighted by comparisons of prisoner populations and mortality rates alongside an intricate discussion of rationing and its potential effects on prisoner society (p. 61). Recalling vividly how authorities evidently viewed prisoner labour as a 'human-resource puzzle' (p. 77) the underpinning theme of the chapter, and of another which will be continued later, remains the overwhelming sacrifice forced upon both prisoners and non-prisoners, who were, as Bell surmises, intertwined in this struggle at various levels within the forced labour apparatus.

Delving deeper into the underlife of Gulag society, the third chapter on the perceived patriotism displayed by prisoners, and the potential differences from overt forms of camp propaganda, again focuses on hitherto understudied minority groups within the prisoner population such as the Volga Germans and Kalmyks. The author astutely judges some of the geographical reasoning which explains why the majority of prisoners incarcerated for petty offences are regularly overlooked by historians preferring to focus on the experience of 58ers incarcerated for alleged counter-revolutionary activities (p. 105). He deftly engages with recent discussions regarding the paradoxical functions of the system in relation to the medical condition of their inmates, often aligning his own analysis alongside Giorgio Agamben's concept of 'bare life' with which Bell interacts in a complex and assured manner throughout (p. 110).

As with prisoner society, Bell's fourth chapter on 'Patriotic Personnel' also seeks to develop another understudied area, suggesting that many camp employees (like Soviet citizens outside the camps) were not ideologically motivated and in fact stood out for their 'ordinariness', viewing the camps as merely a place of work. Discussing the multiplicity of camp positions and continued blurring of Gulag and non-Gulag, the author advances further conceptual influences by suggesting that the Western Siberian camps were prime examples of a number of Primo Levi's 'grey zones' in which personal relationships were very complex and marked by the importance of individual decisions opposed to formal directives, prevalent nepotism, abundant black market activities, and the frequency of prisoners and non-prisoners occupying the same social sphere (pp. 114–19). Examining the many disciplinary procedures initiated against Gulag workers and noting that fewer than 20 per cent had a party-influenced background (p. 125), Bell argues that, against the backdrop of war, violence became increasingly normalised within the camp system (p. 135).

Chapter 5 sees Bell looking to (re)assess the Gulag's role in Second World War victory, not only through the same detailed analytical reading of archival documents as in the previous chapters but also by introducing more fully a comparative aspect to situate the wartime Gulag within a global context. Underpinning Bell's own analysis here is the Foucauldian-influenced concept of biopolitics and modernist debates initiated, among others, by Zygmunt Bauman (p. 139). Arguing persuasively for more specific periodisation, highlighting the



fact that over half of Gulag deaths took place between June 1941 and May 1945, the author again shows how a top-down emphasis on bureaucratisation and professionalisation was far removed from the informal practices, which were not only tacitly encouraged but ultimately defined prisoner society on the ground (p. 148). Sadly, as Bell highlights, the ultimate military victory seemingly provided Soviet officials with ample justification for prolonging the system in the immediate post-war period.

Tying these many complementary themes and insights together through the complexities of Gulag memory, Bell concludes his study by recalling the continuing opposition to the work of human rights organisations such as Memorial and the Sakharov Centre through the powerful vignette detailing the vandalism of the Tomsk ‘Sorrow Stone’ (p. 162). In doing so the author highlights how commemoration of the Gulag’s role is often viewed as officially acceptable only if aligned alongside, yet still in the shadow of, memorialisation of the wider conflict. This stark reality, Bell suggests, demonstrates alarmingly how the Second World War victory can only be viewed as a pyrrhic one at absolute best for the many people incarcerated not only in Western Siberia but throughout the Soviet Union. It is in these considerations of the fragility of many of Bell’s anonymous subjects, many of whose deaths could potentially have been avoided if mobilisation had occurred in a different manner, that the author closes an excellently researched and thought-provoking study which will no doubt influence the direction of future research.

*University of East Anglia*

MARK VINCENT

***An American in Warsaw: Selected Writings of Hugh S. Gibson, US Minister to Poland, 1919 – 1924.*** Edited by Vivian Hux Reed with M. B. B. Biskupski, Jochen Bohler and Jan-Roman Potocki. University of Rochester Press. 2018. xxvii + 546pp. £60.00.

This wonderfully detailed book presents the previously unseen writings of Hugh S. Gibson. Located in the archives of the Hoover Institution in America, thousands of personal letters from Gibson to his mother (Mary Gibson), alongside US state dispatches sent by Gibson and an assortment of telegrams and letters act as an intimate diary of the events that took place in Poland in the early part of the twentieth century. The sources used in this book are written exclusively by Gibson. Vivian Hux Reed, M. B. B. Biskupski, Jochen Böhler and Jan-Roman Potocki, together with an exclusive biography from Gibson’s son, Michael Francis Gibson, have filled an important gap that not only highlights the work of Hugh S. Gibson, but allows an exclusive insight into Polish politics during the inter-war period.

This book is unique for a number of reasons, among them its structure, which gives Gibson’s writing centre stage. The editors’ voices are heard through annotated footnotes and with small references at major turning points in the chapters. The letters are ordered chronologically and are chosen to track Gibson’s experiences in Poland. Each chapter is dedicated to one of the years during which Gibson was a foreign minister in Poland, starting with the appointment

of Gibson to Poland until the start of his post in Switzerland on 5 May 1924. While this is not outwardly stated, it seems the book is to be read as a diary.

The first chapters of this book deal exclusively with much-needed context. Not only is the history of Poland's creation well documented but the editors provide a short biography of Gibson's life and his entanglement with some of the main issues of the era, such as the Jewish Controversy (p. 26). These chapters set the stage for the introduction of the letters, telegrams and state documents. Michael Francis Gibson claims that Gibson is a unique case study as foreign ministers during this period were usually descendants of aristocratic families. Unlike other members of the Foreign Service, Gibson was not a member of the aristocracy. As noted by Michael, 'There is a saying that well educated aristocrats have ancestors and ordinary people have grandparents. Gibson had grandparents' (p. xvii). However, even with this humble background, Gibson's mother was a 'significant political force' who provided Gibson with an intriguing background and one that so clearly influenced his future success. Gibson's letters demonstrate him to be cultured and witty.

Gibson's letters offer an insight into some of the most precious moments in Poland during his tenure. They uncover key discussions taking place underneath the surface of major political and societal events. The first chapter is vast, showing Gibson's experience of coming to terms with a new Poland in its formative years. As seen from an intimate perspective, Gibson was introduced to a Poland deeply troubled by vast political divisions. These divisions are emphasised in this chapter by the editors' inclusion of correspondence noting Paderewski's internal battle with the Diet regarding a potential offensive on the Lemberg Front (p. 66). The communication shown here acts as a microcosm for 1920s Poland, highlighting a larger issue of division on the political landscape. Gibson's personal account perfectly encapsulates this detachment, stating: 'I have seldom felt so sorry for anybody as I did him [Paderewski], hounded and badgered as he is by all sorts of factions wanting to do all sorts of contradictory things' (p. 67). Gibson was introduced to a landscape threatened not only by internal strife but also by external threats, and these threats continued throughout his tenure. In 1920, Gibson's correspondence included initial considerations that took place as the allies lifted an economic blockade against Russia (p. 184). Gibson played a central role in the negotiation process, calling for 'effective action' to ensure peace and the independence of Poland. His telegrams offer an insight into the considerations that would underlie Poland's decision, for example, recognition that the Polish army lacked material resources (p.187). Ultimately, the Polish–Soviet War ensued in the following months, ending in small defeats and victories for the Polish army. Gibson's documentation of the war, and diplomatic conversations underpinning the conflict, again acted as another piece of commentary that can be used to fortify previous claims about the Soviet–Polish War. Gibson also offered some more personal accounts, discussing the everyday life of Polish society during the conflict. More specifically, Gibson documented the effect that conflict had on other aspects of society, noting a loss of manpower from the industrial forces and to the army (p. 242). Gibson documents continuous divisions in society, whether it be politically or in terms of religion. This is certainly highlighted in his correspondence regarding the occupation of Vilna (p. 379). He noted that solutions, such as the creation of a federated Lithuanian State of Kovno and Vilna, were rejected due to those who

were inspired by ‘pro-German sympathies’ and the ‘communists’. These divisions were emphasised further by Gibson, who claimed that future plans were to be coordinated to consider the rights of minorities (p. 380).

This book is extremely important as it introduces previously unseen documentation into the public sphere. While the format is interesting and allows the work to be read almost as a day-by-day memoir of Gibson’s experience in Poland, it is also one of the book’s very few downfalls. While the editors do make a concerted effort to provide the readers with a few well-rounded introductory sections on the history of Poland and Gibson’s role within it, more context should have been provided throughout – possibly at the start of each chapter. Gibson deals with and documents a number of important and tumultuous events that took place during Poland’s formative years. For example, in the first chapter, he writes not only about the Polish–Soviet War, but also on issues of violence towards the Jewish population. While the editors tried to signpost the initial changes in the topic of correspondence from war to the Jewish populations (p. 77), Gibson’s dialogue flitted between these two topics, which made this section, in particular, a more challenging read.

Overall, this book fills a major gap on the history of Poland during this period, through the writings of Hugh S. Gibson. He acts as an excellent case study for understanding the diplomatic discussions that were taking place behind the scenes as Poland geared to establish itself on the global stage.

*University of Warwick*

ALLYSON EDWARDS

***The Colonial Occupation of Katanga: The Personal Correspondence of Clément Brasseur, 1893–1897.* Edited by Giacomo Macola.** The British Academy. 2018. xxxviii + 618pp. £110.00.

*The Colonial Occupation of Katanga* contains seventeen diaristic letters, originally in French, which Clément Brasseur wrote to his older brother Désiré Brasseur during Clément’s posting to Katanga in the Congo Free State (CFS). They begin by describing Brasseur’s posting to Lofoi in 1893, and they end with his last missive, which he set down as he lay dying near the Luapula river in 1897. Many of Brasseur’s dispatches had already appeared in contemporary publications such as *La Belgique Coloniale*. Whereas those were often edited, Giacomo Macola’s book gives us his unredacted letters, in English, furthering the *Fontes Historiae Africanæ*’s goal of bringing to light informative primary sources.

Much of Brasseur’s writing is almost stream-of-consciousness, with single paragraphs jumbling together diverse topics. The correspondence is resonant of C. S. Lewis’s *The Screwtape Letters*: any communication to Brasseur in Katanga has to be inferred from his outgoing letters. There are no introspective passages where Brasseur reflects on himself, his mission, or why he and the CFS are in Katanga. Still, the book provides a wealth of information on Katanga in the 1890s. It offers insights into Brasseur’s mindset and transports the reader through time to reveal another era’s *mentalité*. For instance, the book underlines the era’s glacial speed of communication, which contributed to a different conception of time compared to today. In one letter, Brasseur proclaims

his excitement at a caravan's imminent arrival: 'It will be here in four days!' (p. 198). Macola provides a top-notch guide to the hundreds of proper names and place names to which Brasseur makes reference. There are four maps, and footnotes inform Brasseur's innumerable cross-references and refer the reader to pertinent archival, primary and secondary sources. The translation is solid, although some readers might be disconcerted by the decision to translate the term *nègre* as 'nigger'. Fortunately, the British Academy and the *Fontes Historiae Africanae* have made available a French transcription of the letters, gratis, at <https://www.fonteshistoriaeafricanae.co.uk/>, which allows readers to judge the soundness of the translation for themselves.

Macola's introduction interprets Brasseur's letters as showing that the Katanga administration was 'Africanised', which some readers might infer to mean it was mainly European beforehand, which it was not. What Macola means is that CFS agents like Brasseur relied heavily on Africans. Brasseur's dependence upon his interpreter reveals that he, unlike some nearby missionaries, did not speak the local languages, and he feared losing a guide more than he did going into battle: 'I don't care a fig about a scrap, but I worry about finding myself without a guide' (p. 253). Whether at the Lofoi post or on tour, Brasseur was always dependent upon Africans for manpower, food, portage, troops, knowledge and sexual companionship, and many turned such European need to their advantage.

Brasseur's priorities were mapping the area, securing locals' allegiance and gathering state-claimed commodities, above all ivory. His responsibilities ranged widely, and his correspondence touches on subjects as diverse as village life, gender relations, language, local politics and culture, economics, demographics, the environment, trade, and even hunting and animal life. For instance, Brasseur occasionally records the weight of 'collected' elephant tusks, and at one point hints at a budding conservationist bent, as he warns of the decimation of the region's elephants (p. 397). In these and other respects, Brasseur sometimes comes across as a sympathetic, daring character. He was a young Belgian from Oizy – which still today has a street named in his honour – who had left home to live and fight in a foreign land that was for him in the middle of nowhere. Yet he took it all in his stride. In one letter he remarks on his exotic locale with insouciance: 'I am camping on the outskirts of a never-ending village located in the middle of a forest of banana trees and ten minutes away from the Kalumengongo' (p. 244). He endured numerous illnesses that would cripple most people today. Once he suffered diarrhoea lasting three months, another time a sore eye that 'was completely out of action for three weeks' (p. 8). Although he never dwells on his own mortality, he reports on the illnesses and even deaths of missionaries and other CFS officers, meaning that for years he knowingly risked death, which for him arrived on the battlefield in 1897.

Nonetheless, it is hard to sympathise with Brasseur because of his callousness and brutality, in particular toward Africans. Even his European contemporaries considered him a harsh, violent man. While touring Katanga, he had local chiefs provide him with young African women, for sex. He fathered at least one child with a local woman, and at one point had two 'wives', one of whom he beat on several occasions. He resorted to cruel punishments, including frequent use of *la chicotte*, a hippopotamus-hide whip that could inflict great bodily harm.

He records without compunction having ordered and supervised numerous executions, many of them intended less to punish than to send a message. He had one person hanged for not turning in enough flour and sorghum (p. 169), and he required his soldiers to confirm their kills by bringing him the hands of their victims. Though he expressed regret for having gone 'a little too far with some measures' (p. 412), this was because of the growing attention being paid to atrocities in the Congo and his fear that someone might report him.

Brasseur's brutality was typical of the CFS, which was a weak state that resorted to violence to get its way. *The Colonial Occupation of Katanga* lays bare the destruction and instability that Leopoldian intervention brought to Katanga. During a tour of the Upemba Depression, Brasseur and his forces wreaked havoc as they moved around trying to impose their authority. He notes countless times how locals – even entire villages – 'slipped away' to avoid the arrival of him and his men. Unable to offer Africans much of value in exchange for their work, Brasseur resorted to forced labour. He himself recognised the precariousness of the entire CFS endeavour when he complained about locals fleeing Katanga for British-claimed territory to the east: 'The main reason: we tax and we have nothing to give' (p. 382). Many hold the view that industrial and capitalist Europe's takeover of Africa was thorough, even inevitable. Yet Brasseur always struggled to assert the sovereignty of the CFS until he died in the effort, in 1897. In this way, Brasseur's communications reveal the degree to which CFS control in Katanga was violent, halting and incomplete.

*Berry College*

MATTHEW G. STANARD

***On the Edge of Democracy: Italy, 1943–1948.* By Rosario Forlenza. Oxford University Press. 2019. 278pp. £65.00.**

Anglophone historiography of Italy in the 1940s has split unequally along the dateline of 2 May 1945. Scholarly and popular writing about the war overshadows the work on reconstruction, Allied military government, the birth of the republic, and the defeat of the left. This imbalance reflects a perennial fascination with Mussolini and the Axis, but Italy's military failures from Ethiopia to Russia also cast a spell. As with the Habsburg empire in 1914, the sight of a European regime choosing the path to perdition has a strong allure.

Churchill joked in January 1945 about wondering who had surrendered unconditionally to whom. The country's tragic equivocations were grist for comedy at home, too. The film *Come persi la guerra* (How I Lost the War, 1947), a lovely send-up of national misperceptions, ends with the ingenuous Leo telling his mate Cecco before they part, 'There's something I've been wanting to ask. This war we've had, did we win or lose?' Wise Cecco shrugs. – 'So who can I ask?' – 'Let's see,' says Cecco, tossing a coin. He peers into his hand: 'Lose' – 'That's what I thought,' says Leo, 'it's just I wasn't sure'.

The entangled legacies of war and Fascism were bound to be daunting, and also contradictory. Perhaps historians have also been deterred by the complexities of recovery and democratic transition in a society that had suffered greatly but

not been razed, and where Allied occupation conditioned post-war governance without determining it.

Rosario Forlenza rightly treats the end of the war as a moment in Italy's turn from dictatorship, not the origin of it. He is by no means the first to do this, but I am not sure anyone else has made such a diversely knowledgeable and lucid case that democratisation was a continuum over five years. He calls his book 'a problematization of the country's political transformation' (p. 17). This is too modest. Citing aptly from an excellent range of sources, he revises our familiar map of causes and effects, and proves that a nuanced awareness of 'messy continuities' (p. 6) is essential to understanding the period. Analysing the 'liminal situations' in which Italians found themselves, he often rises to eloquence.

This fine, creative study has blemishes that should generate useful debate. Concepts from social anthropology help to identify and frame continuities beneath the political tumult, but they sometimes run out of control. The failure of the partisans to convert wartime leadership into post-war ascendancy is seen as ordained by ritual: 'Once the path to the future was open, it was inevitable that they would die and disappear' (p. 171). This slide towards determinism goes unnoticed by the otherwise very vigilant author.

What does it mean to insist, as Forlenza does, that Italian democracy was 'shaped' by 'manifold meanings' that 'did not derive from external factors, but from within society and from people's experiences' (p. 217)? The antithesis is unworthy of this author's finesse; he knows that society and experience were saturated with external influences. Before they invaded Sicily, Allied leaders pledged to 'reconstitute' Italy in line with the 'principles of self-determination', but excluding 'any form of Fascism or dictatorship'. Interference intensified on the mainland. Liberated Italian leaders were in dialogue with the Allies, jostling for advantage. When General Mason-Macfarlane endorsed a government without Marshal Badoglio, he made a resonant political intervention. Generals Wilson and Alexander also took measures that set back anti-Fascist forces. The quashing of war crimes trials (there would be no 'Italian Nuremberg') was another step with consequences. In sum, Forlenza goes astray when he short-circuits those 'messy continuities'.

The Allied role is underestimated in other ways too. Apropos the 'anti-Fascist narrative' (p. 139) about innocent Italians misled by a tyrant, Forlenza argues that this 'myth' became 'the dominant public and social memory' after 1945 because it 'was based on the idea of the Resistance as a second Risorgimento' (pp. 139, 143). This is overly intellectual. While he also grants that Allied propagandists 'helped to create' this myth (p. 145), it would be truer to say that they effectively invented it. Italian democrats at the BBC promoted the myth relentlessly from 1940 to 1943 for instrumental reasons. The profound structural critique of Fascism elaborated since the 1920s, starting with Gobetti's dictum that Fascism was the 'autobiography of the nation', would hardly encourage insurrection. Radio Londra became more trusted by Italians than their own broadcasters, and Allied leaders echoed its message. Churchill assured Italians that their plight was 'all' due to 'one man – one man and one man alone'. Naturally a sense of betrayal spread when a muddled surrender entailed conditions that seemed punitive. Over time, the fairy tale fed the 'concept of "*Italiani brava gente*"', which Forlenza accurately calls 'one of the most powerful self-absolving popular memories of the war' (p. 173).

There are some questionable historical judgements. Forlenza is naive about the crowds in Piazza Venezia in June 1940; they were not really 'fervent' (p. 28) and 'happily celebrating' (p. 203). The applause was contrived, as the newsreel suggests and witnesses admitted. It is eccentric to say that Stalingrad sealed Mussolini's fate (p. 105) more than losing Tunisia or the invasion of Sicily or the bombing of Rome. As for claiming that the cult of the Duce 'emerged largely from below, almost magically' (p. 111), this is anthropological to a fault. The king and Badoglio did not abandon Rome on 9 September 1943 out of distrust of 'ordinary people and the soldiers' (p. 46); naked fear of capture, along with concern for continuity of the state, were the spurs.

*University of East Anglia*

MARK THOMPSON

***Unknown Conflicts of the Second World War: Forgotten Fronts.* Edited by Chris Murray. Routledge. 2019. 232pp. £115.00.**

As the 80th anniversary of the Second World War looms into view, we will be reminded of the famous and decisive actions of the conflagration. Dunkirk, Alamein, Stalingrad, Midway, Anzio, Normandy and others will receive their rightful commemoration and will serve as a focus with which to contemplate those destructive years. The outcome of the war was decided by the actions of large military forces land, sea and air, in engagements almost too large for the modern world to imagine. Yet while major events were shaping the destiny of the world, other less notable stories were being enacted, ones which were all-consuming for those involved but the effects of which have largely been considered as insubstantial as those of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern on the outcome of *Hamlet* by many in the historical community.

This edited collection of twelve essays (including the Introduction) covers a number of lesser-known arenas of the Second World War, covering the whole globe from Great Britain, to the Southern Cone, to rural China. Individually and collectively they demonstrate how this was an interlocking and truly global catastrophe with keeping out of trouble and living in peace not being a viable option for remote areas. The first chapter of the book is a good example of this with Disu Oluyemisi Abayomi and Raheem Oluwafunminiyi examining British recruitment strategies in Nigeria. This country was a long way from any active theatres of war, but Nigerian soldiers made an important contribution to defeating the Italian forces in East Africa and also saw service in North Africa, Sicily and mainland Italy. The British favoured the Muslim troops of northern Nigeria, who they believed made far better soldiers than members of the Yoruba or Ibo tribes, but recruitment was undertaken throughout the whole country. Many Nigerians were keen to enlist, seeing a boost to their career prospects, and while conscription played a part, the voluntary nature of service cannot be overlooked.

Perhaps surprisingly for a book on lesser-known areas of war, half of the chapters are concerned with European events. Two describe matters in the Baltic theatre. The three distinct, yet related, wars fought by Finland between 1939 and 1945 involved only one Allied power, the Soviet Union (Great Britain declared war on Finland but did not enter into armed hostilities), but the Finnish

government had to consider what its actions entailed for its relations with Great Britain and the United States, and the chapter by Finnish historian Henry Oinas-Kukkonen relates the evolution of Finnish policy as the country reacted to developments which could have led to the end of its existence as an independent state, as well as how the Allies sought to establish a coherent and consistent policy.

While the Finnish chapter relates to the policies and actions of governments, the chapter by Yaacov Falkov considers the involvement of non-governmental communist guerrillas operating on the other side of the Baltic Sea. The three Baltic States suffered alternating Nazi and Soviet occupation during the war. Falkov describes the activities of pro-Soviet guerrillas, the use made of them by the Soviet authorities and the damage inflicted on them by those same authorities who were supposedly on the same side.

Guerrilla activity also informs the chapter by Chris Murray, the editor of the volume, on the path from resistance to revolution in Yugoslavia. As a result of diverging post-war aims, confrontation in the Balkans ran on intra-allied lines as well as being directed at the German occupiers. The author shows how Yugoslavia became such a stumbling block to harmonious relations in the immediate post-war period and how American opposition to Soviet and communist plans for the country prefigured the US attitude to later developments in the Balkan region, most famously with the Truman Doctrine.

The chapter by Frederico Ciavattone is also concerned with irregular, though not guerrilla, warfare, examining the unique case of the Italian Social Republic which was established by Mussolini, following the surrender of the Italian Government to Allied forces in September 1943. Thousands of Italian soldiers stationed abroad decided to continue the fight at Germany's side rather than return to the country of their birth, which they believed had betrayed them and the values for which they were fighting. A different situation existed in Britain throughout the war, though instead of Britons openly fighting alongside Germany as in the case of the Italians, the fear was of an enemy within. Robert Loeffel's chapter shows how these fears were exaggerated and that a collaborationist movement, such as had seized power of a sort in Norway, Belgium and France, could not find fertile ground in the United Kingdom. The British security services were easily able to deal with such minor threats as existed at all.

The British were spared the fate of occupation and the political and social stresses that it brought to so many European countries, particularly Poland, which was occupied and fought over for longer than any other European nation. Katherine Rossy shows in her chapter on missing Polish children how the end of the war did not mean a resolution to domestic problems. Thousands of Polish children were taken from their families and 'Germanised' by the occupying power. Contrary to Hitler's beliefs, Poles could easily pass for 'racially pure' Germans and thus it was very easy for Polish children to blend in with their German counterparts and to be mistaken as German in the post-liberation period. UN aid was denied to 'ethnic German' children, which meant that the stolen Polish children were taken to be German and therefore received no help to deal with the unimaginable suffering they had already experienced. The fate of children in the United Kingdom could have been very similar and it is fortunate that the fears of a dangerous 'Fifth Column' remained as mere fears.



The remaining four chapters focus on the Japanese aspect of the war. Lu Xun outlines the difficult choices available to the rural population of northern China. The voices of so-called collaborators have seldom been allowed to be heard and the world has generally grown up in ignorance of the horrific circumstances in which rural Chinese people attempted to survive from day to day and the unimaginable burdens placed upon them. Resistance was an option, though clearly not a safe one, but collaboration held its own risks, particularly in the post-war period when survival could depend on personal relationships with the new authorities, rather than a wartime record.

The role of irregular Kachin forces and their relationship with the SOE and OSS in wartime Burma is the subject of the chapter by Robert A. Farnan. While the part played by the Kachins in resisting the Japanese advance and in the eventual liberation of the country has been given some prior attention, their role in the Burmese campaign has often been downplayed and certainly their collaboration with SOE and OSS can accurately be regarded as an ‘unknown conflict’. Farnan shows how Kachin troops were recruited, how their local environmental knowledge played a large role in their success, how they assisted in intelligence-gathering, and how the western Allies were able to learn from working with these local forces.

Two chapters engage with areas where the Japanese presence was felt but was rewarded with very little success. The Indian Ocean saw fierce naval battles, which involved the interaction of Japanese, Italian, German, French and British fleets, and the complication of Vichy control of Madagascar and French Somaliland. Oliver Coates shows how the disruption caused by the war in the Indian Ocean continued after the victories over Germany and Japan in the form of new and successful Asian and African political movements.

The Southern Cone was an area largely untouched by the war, with Chile and Argentina remaining neutral for almost the whole duration of the war. Pedro Iacobelli examines how the area became a fight between the United States and Japan over the neutrality of the area. Neutrality is inevitably compromised in time of war, but the Americans and Japanese both hoped that any compromise would benefit their own interests.

This is an interesting and worthwhile collection of essays whose content will add to existing knowledge of the Second World War and serve as a launch pad for further research into many areas. Unfortunately, there are a number of spelling and grammatical errors which, while not undermining the empirical and interpretative aspects of the book, can be a little irritating. That said, most scholars of the period will find something outside their immediate research interests that they can now regard as ‘known’ rather than ‘unknown’, which is what I believe must be the aim of the editor.

*University of Liverpool*

CRAIG GERRARD

***Eleanor and Hick: The Love Affair That Shaped a First Lady.* By Susan Quinn.** Penguin, 2016. 355pp. \$18.00 (pb).

In August 1932 Lorena ‘Hick’ Hickok was the only woman in the press team accompanying Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt on the campaign trail.

When a rookie male reporter was invited to travel privately with the Roosevelts on an outing, the outspoken Hick was furious. Having already complained upon learning that all her male counterparts had private compartments on the train, while she occupied 'a small berth up towards the engine', she was not about to accept a junior reporter receiving such preferential treatment (p. 14). She complained to the future First Lady. To her surprise, Eleanor invited Hick to join them. Susan Quinn takes this meeting as her starting point, and proceeds to chart the course of the two women's extraordinary relationship over the next thirty years, encompassing the era of the Great Depression, the Second World War and the post-war years. A dual biography of two women, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt and reporter Lorena 'Hick' Hickok, this is a well-researched, engaging and thoroughly readable volume, accessible for a general audience while also detailed enough to appeal to more specialist readers. Quinn presents a rich portrait of both women, offering her reader fresh and detailed insights into their relationship as well as providing a fascinating lens through which to examine this tumultuous period in American history.

Quinn stresses the unlikeliness of this pairing, given the ways in which Eleanor's privileged upbringing stood in stark contrast to Hick's, who began working as a maid at the age of fourteen. She goes on to outline the influence that each woman had on the other's public life, and on how they perceived the changing world around them. For instance, she explores the impact that Hick had on Eleanor's relationship with the American people, particularly through encouraging Eleanor to write her daily newspaper column 'My Day', which brought her ideas into millions of American households. Hick, in turn, corresponded privately with Eleanor over the course of her assignments across the United States, where she reported on the poverty wrought by the Great Depression, and on the implementation of various New Deal programmes. Quinn also devotes considerable space, in the first half of the book, to discussing the private trips taken by Eleanor and Hick, as well as discussing the women's other friends and confidantes.

Perhaps surprisingly, there was relatively little public speculation about Eleanor and Hick's relationship from their contemporaries. Following the release of their extensive private correspondence, over 3,300 letters, by the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library in 1978, several books have attempted to establish the precise nature of their relationship (p. 5). Reluctance to accept the notion of Eleanor Roosevelt engaging in a romantic, potentially physical relationship with another woman coloured the early attempts to write about this aspect of the former First Lady's life. Though newer biographical literature has treated this relationship with more care, Quinn's book is the first to be devoted solely to illuminating and explaining the story of how these women's lives became intertwined. She concedes that the extent or exact nature of the relationship between the two women is difficult to establish precisely, but approaches the available archival material with an open mind. Quinn takes care not to speculate unnecessarily, allowing readers to draw their own conclusions on the nature of Eleanor and Hick's love. Both women emerge as multifaceted and complex characters, and each stage of their relationship is treated with care and respect.

The book's subtitle indicates that the women's 'love affair' will be the sole focus of this volume. In fact, the volume spans the period from their first meeting

until both women's deaths. It therefore includes stretches of time when the two were not in close contact, and Quinn spends a significant portion of the book discussing Eleanor's and Hick's relationships with other people. While these sections are interesting in their own right, readers should note that the book's subtitle perhaps overstates Hick's significance in Eleanor's life, which is then reflected in the structure of the latter stages of the book as the two women's relationship shifts quite significantly.

Overall, this book is enjoyable and accessible for a general audience. Quinn paints a rich portrait of both woman and the era in which they lived, with enough depth to make this book a worthwhile read for individuals with an academic interest in the subject. Furthermore, the chronological span of this volume means it offers a very interesting perspective from which to examine the social and cultural history of the United States from the Great Depression, the Second World War and the post-war periods more broadly. For those already well versed in recent biographical literature on Eleanor Roosevelt, there may be less to learn. However, it is a well-paced and enjoyable read regardless.

*University of Edinburgh*

SARAH THOMSON 

## General

***The Oxford Handbook of the Ends of Empire.* Edited by Martin Thomas and Andrew S. Thompson.** Oxford University Press. 2018. xiii + 775pp. £95.00.

This edited collection offers a weighty and authoritative overview of the current state of scholarship in a busy field of study, presenting imperial and regional surveys and a range of thematic contributions. Historians have traditionally pointed to the rise of anti-colonial nationalism and the purposive dismantling of the centre–periphery relationships that the imperial powers had previously imposed on their colonies to explain imperial demise. The term ‘decolonisation’ also carries its own baggage and has usually been associated with the western European colonial empires that all but disappeared in the middle of the twentieth century.

Martin Thomas and Andrew S. Thompson open the volume by calling for a new approach to the study of decolonisation, contending that the story of the ‘ends of empires’ is radically different from the established decolonisation narrative. In practical terms, this means widening the field of vision to include the other empires that also collapsed in the last century: Qing, Habsburg, Ottoman, Romanov, German, Italian and Japanese, all of which receive chapters in the book. Surprisingly the Soviet Union does not. On a global and theoretical level, Thomas and Thompson argue that imperial collapse caused not just a proliferation of new nation-states, but was also ‘actively globalising’ as the process of decolonisation dragged the late colonial world into the orbit of the Cold War. The supporters of decolonisation also invested in a post-colonial vision of an ‘interconnected world of mobility and movement’ in goods, people and ideas. As Marc-William Palen’s chapter demonstrates, this included US policy-makers who sought to exploit and emulate British informal imperialism from the 1860s to the 1930s. Thomas and Thompson suggest two other broad

themes. Decolonisation was not inevitable or planned, but contingent and messy, starting long before and finishing long after the formal moment of 'flag decolonisation'. Sarah Stockwell's survey of British decolonisation provides a particularly effective demonstration of the reactive nature of policy-making. Thomas and Thompson also propose that asymmetrical violence lay at the heart of the ends of empires, usually directed towards non-combatant colonial subjects.

Most of the contributors to this volume have picked up the editors' global gauntlet with creative and original results. Collected works on decolonisation often promise readers a comparative analysis but few actually deliver, relying too heavily on the comparisons implied by juxtaposing discrete chapters on individual empires or colonies. By contrast this collection includes genuinely comparative chapters on a wide range of global themes.

The impact of global conflicts features regularly, in particular the Second World War (including Christopher Goscha's chapter on East and South East Asia) and the First World War (Robert Gerwarth) and the Cold War (Piero Gleijeses), while Martin Thomas considers the impact of several local, late colonial 'emergencies'. The interconnected, transnational characteristics of anti-colonial political ideology also feature prominently in the book thanks to Christopher Lee's survey chapter on anti-colonialism but also David Motadel on Islamic revolutionaries, Marieke Bloembergen on Greater Indian identity in Indonesia, Spencer Mawby on the 'Black Atlantic', and James Mark and Quinn Slobodian on the links between the Eastern Bloc and anti-colonial liberation. Unusually the book also explores the links between decolonisation and the ideological tenets of international structures with chapters on self-determination, the Atlantic Charter and the UN (Brad Simpson) and humanitarian organisations and NGOs (Andrew S. Thompson). Robert Aldrich's chapter on post-colonial reparations and apologies is another unusual and welcome addition to the standard narrative.

Robert Fletcher's study of decolonisation in the arid world stands out as an original and particularly effective example of the comparative approach, blending political and ecological histories, and complementing Sylvie Thénault's chapter on decolonisation in the Maghreb. Across late colonial 'Saharasia', nationalist resistance and unrest in cities contrasted with colonial expansion into arid regions, lured by the prospect of oil revenues and seemingly empty lands (as John Locke had it) where military bases and dams could be built with ease. These sandy Eldorados were, however, hard to control thanks to porous borders and nomadic societies, and could lead to costly entanglements such as the British imbroglio in South Arabia. More recently, it has been in the arid world that 'neo-colonial' economic and military influence has often been felt most acutely.

Combined with the more conventional surveys of individual empires and regions the book has a predominantly political and, to a certain extent, elite focus. However, several chapters offer broader insights into the impact of decolonisation on the societies involved. Barbara Bush's chapter on the gendered nature of 'development discourse' in late colonial British Africa demonstrates the extent to which women were repressed by the colonial state and, after independence, humanitarian organisations. Miquel Bandeira Jerónimo echoes this argument in his study of the colonial policies of 'repressive developmentalism'. By contrast Joya Chatterji demonstrates that decolonisation in South Asia caused significant social change, while leaving imperial political

structures partially intact. Elizabeth Buettner and Panikos Panayi offer two chapters on migrants and refugees, a theme also considered by Spencer Mawby in relation to the Caribbean. Cultural aspects of decolonisation receive brief coverage, thanks to chapters by Paul Cooke on film and Charles Forsdick on literature. Nicholas White effectively surveys the complexities of post-colonial economic influence in a single chapter.

This impressive volume deserves to be essential reading for all students of decolonisation and, considering as it does an unusually broad range of empires, offers an original and refreshing corrective to many of the classic texts on decolonisation. However, compendious as it is, the overwhelmingly political focus is limiting and the non-political aspects of decolonisation receive tantalisingly brief coverage if at all. Excepting the studies of post-colonial migration and Andreas Eckert's piece on the long shadow of Germany's colonial past, there is little to be found here on the impact of imperial collapse on metropolitan societies. Theyun Ma's chapter on the collapse of the Qing is an interesting addition to the conventional decolonisation narrative in this regard and it does give a fruitful insight into the imperial legacy after the Revolution of 1911. However, the primary focus is less on the ends of empires than on the increasing colonisation of China by outside imperial powers. The critical role of mass media, in particular radio, for late colonial repression, anti-colonial consciousness and post-colonial nation-building also deserved direct discussion. Lastly, the volume does not adequately explain why the study of decolonisation should be limited to the twentieth century. As Spencer Mawby points out, the Haitian Revolution cast a long shadow over Caribbean politics, but other seismic events also set precedents and influenced later policy-making, in particular the American Revolution.

*University of Oxford*

PETER BROOKE

***Facing the Rising Sun: African Americans, Japan, and the Rise of Afro-Asian Solidarity.* By Gerald Horne.** New York University Press. 2018. 227pp. \$30.00.

Gerald Horne's *Facing the Rising Sun* is a fascinating introduction to Afro-Asian relations in the United States in the twentieth century, especially for those new to the topic. Horne expertly traces how, despite the actions of the Japanese army on mainland Asia throughout the Second World War, African Americans developed strong ties with Japan, with many Black nationalists in the United States viewing Japan as a prevailing nation of non-whites who could help combat white supremacy in the United States. Horne pays particular focus to how this close relationship profoundly affected US war efforts and ultimately pushed for the end of the Jim Crow laws in the United States – laws that enforced racial segregation in the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, namely the 'separate but equal' mantra.

Utilising extensive archival resources, Horne examines how anti-Asian bias in the West of the United States in the early twentieth century mirrored anti-Black sentiment in Dixie – a comparison that became more problematic for the United States as time went on. Some of the central figures in Horne's investigation are Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. DuBois. DuBois in

particular is noted as being the father of Pan-Africanism and foresaw the end of white supremacy in Japan's defeat of Russia in 1905. This defeat was seen by many within the African American communities as a sign that white supremacy was ending.

As lynchings of Black citizens continued in the United States, sympathy for the plight of African Americans became a focal point for Japanese observers to the extent that, in the 1920s, African Americans learned of reports from the foreign ministry in Tokyo that the captains of ocean-going Japanese ships afforded Black passengers preference in every way connected with their travel. It was an anomaly that African Americans in the United States were not used to and ties between the two communities strengthened further still. Booker T. Washington, for instance, went so far as to remark upon how there was no other place in the world where Japanese people had such large support than among the Black population in the United States. Indeed, Japanese appreciation of jazz music became so prominent that gospel groups from the United States travelled to perform in Japan and were warmly received.

Another catalyst for solidarity between the two groups came via the Immigration Act of 1924, which disallowed immigration from Asian states and was propelled by Republican politicians within the United States. The act not only infuriated Japan, it angered the African American population. Many within these groups compared the insult to the Peace Conference at Versailles, where Japan's demand for racial equality was denied. The Immigration Act was viewed as a national insult to Japan and further solidified the ties between African Americans and Japanese. Horne traces how this burgeoning friendship led to connections with other minority groups as well. 'Black, Yellow and Brown' even became a unifier for opponents of white supremacy.

Horne's investigation also encompasses the growing ties between Japan and Ethiopia, and how the two groups were increasingly interlinked. The US high court placed Japanese and African Americans in the same category, and slurs for one side were applied to the other. A Los Angeles radio station even referred to Japanese as Ethiopians. Horne further asserts that the bombing of Japan would not have happened the same way had Pearl Harbor been bombed by a European country such as Germany. Pro-Tokyo and anti-white supremacy sentiments merged in the years leading up to the bombing of Pearl Harbor, and crackdowns on pro-Tokyo African Americans occurred shortly thereafter. When Japanese Americans were rounded up and placed in internment camps, African Americans were shocked at the lack of outcry from Euro-Americans, and feared that they would be next.

The comparison between Pearl Harbor and Versailles was made repeatedly by African Americans, who impressed upon Jim Crow advocates that their rhetoric was dangerous and that 'the stage for the Pearl Harbor debacle was not set in Tokyo but in Paris in 1918' after Japan's push for racial equality was soundly defeated by white Europeans. This comparison was made also by Walter White, a prominent figure in the African American movement towards equality. White's work with the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) was a huge factor in the push to change the Jim Crow laws in the face of rising Nazism in Europe.

The growing backlash against racial chauvinism both at home and abroad had an unexpectedly negative effect on the United States' ability to subdue

Japan in the Pacific War. It is here that Horne makes his largest argument – that the propaganda aimed at African Americans in the Pacific War forced Washington to begin slowly repealing aspects of the Jim Crow laws, with Dean Acheson, the former secretary of state, even acknowledging that ‘the existence of discrimination against minority groups in the United States is a handicap in our relations with other countries’. With a comparison to how the Civil War in the United States forced political hands finally to repeal slavery laws, Horne makes the compelling case that it was necessity, not desire, that finally pushed the repeal of the Jim Crow laws.

With remarkable readability and an array of archival materials, Horne’s investigation forms an important part of the history of the rise of Afro-Asian relations, and is undoubtedly essential reading for anyone seeking to understand not only the historical links between the two groups, but how integral their relationship was in the fight for equality in the United States.

*University College Cork, Ireland*

REBECCA CRUNDEN

***The Pocket: A Hidden History of Women’s Lives, 1660–1900.* By Barbara Burman and Ariane Fennetaux.** Yale University Press. 2019. 264pp. £35.00.

As a discipline that has wholeheartedly embraced material culture studies among its central methodologies, it is no surprise that eighteenth-century history is awash with publications, events, and exhibitions arguing for the significance of the period’s smallest things. Barbara Burman and Ariane Fennetaux’s *The Pocket* exemplifies this approach, focusing on the most humdrum of everyday items: the tie-on pocket. The tie-on pocket, worn around the waist underneath the petticoat, was a staple item in women’s wardrobes during the period covered and served a similar function to the modern-day handbag. The authors open *The Pocket* with a quotation from James Deetz’s foundational study *In Small Things Forgotten* (1977), a book which resonates with their own discussions of a once ubiquitous, but now mostly forgotten, object. Deetz’s mantra of paying attention to those ‘seemingly little and insignificant things that accumulate to create a lifetime’ runs throughout the text, and the authors use the tie-on pocket as a key to understanding a range of issues at the forefront of women’s lives in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These ideas are explored at length in each chapter, which variously examine the range of pockets available, how they were made and sold, and the meanings behind their ownership and use.

Though concerned with small things, Burman and Fennetaux are nevertheless dealing with big ideas, and deftly explore how a study of women’s pockets might reveal issues of agency, privacy, and mobility, or sociability, exchange, and emotion. This binary between the literal microcosm of the pocket and the macro contexts of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century culture and society is not only right at the heart of this book, but it is ultimately what makes it such an important contribution to the field; it provides a model for taking small and, most vitally, gendered things seriously. The opening quotation from Deetz also suggests something of the book’s tone: mixing theoretical rigour and dense historical detail, with an inherently accessible delivery. Alongside its innovative focus, *The Pocket’s* capacity to present complex histories in a compelling way

is really what makes the book so special. Burman and Fennetaux's text will undoubtedly become a model for how to write simultaneously for academic and wider audiences.

In terms of its subject matter, *The Pocket* is very much a project concerned with historical source materials and how we use them. In researching the book, Burman and Fennetaux consulted 390 extant pockets from collections held in museums, record offices, and private hands and analysed them against extensive primary research drawn from *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, contemporaneous printed literature, and other forms of visual and material culture from the period. One of the text's strengths is its provision of exhaustive appendices, which will provide a useful guide for future researchers. Most notable are the appendices documenting the Old Bailey records in which pockets feature, as well as their list of surviving pockets delineated by collection.

Used to discuss a category of object for which there is often no supplementary material, these 'accumulated shreds of evidence' are skilfully brought together in order to provide a fuller picture of the pocket than surviving examples alone can provide (p. 18). This rich panoply of materials is not always discussed with equal attention, however. Notably, visual materials, such as graphic satire and paintings, are deployed somewhat illustratively, and are often not interrogated as the complex cultural objects that they themselves represent, although this is perhaps unsurprising in the context of a book which covers so much material and so many forgotten stories in its pages.

Minor reservations aside, *The Pocket* is an exemplary model for what women's history can look like both within and beyond the academy. Telling us not only how and why pockets were worn and used but also what they meant, the book highlights how an account of such apparently quotidian objects can reveal multiple lives once lost from the historical record.

*University of Derby*

FREYA GOWRLEY

***Shades of the Prison House: A History of Incarceration in the British Isles.* By Harry Potter. Boydell. 2019. £25.00. xiii + 558pp. £25.00.**

In Britain, as in the rest of the world, the constant presence of the prison has created a sense of inevitability, a belief in an inextricable and timeless link between crime and imprisonment. As Harry Potter's survey of the last fourteen centuries of penal development makes clear, however, criminal justice-oriented lock-ups are recent creations. In this ambitious monograph, Potter outlines the prison's long-term evolution with two broader goals in mind. The first is to provide a readable history of imprisonment that is suitable for a general audience. The second, and somewhat subtler, goal is to push back against the 'revisionist' (mostly Marxist) influence in penal scholarship. Potter argues that British penal development was a more contingent process than 'revisionist' scholars' claim, having emerged out of the ongoing tension between political considerations and earnest moral and religious sentiments.

Potter lays out his story in six parts, stretching from the Anglo-Saxon period to the present-day. Parts I and II take the reader through the Norman Conquest to the Gordon Riots, ably covering the development of castle prisons and proto-



jails; the creation of common-use local and regional prisons; the founding of the Tower of London, the Fleet and Newgate; and early Quaker dalliances with penal reform. Parts III and IV introduce readers to John Howard, Elizabeth Fry, Jeremy Bentham, Edmund Du Cane and Alexander Maconochie, figures whose influences loom over the entirety of Britain's modern penal story. These sections cover early debates about the weighty notions of morality, humanity and efficiency that framed the creation of the separate and silent systems, the use of prison hulks and transportation, the development of the Pentonville 'model prison', and the eventual passage of the Prison Act of 1877. Parts V and VI examine twists and turns in penal development since 1895, beginning with the turn-of-the-century reformism of William Gladstone and Evelyn Ruggles-Brise before moving on to the later political influences of Lionel Fox and Alexander Paterson. Potter goes on to unpack the role of enlightened reformers in ending the death penalty, creating the borstal system and developing therapeutic prisons based on the principles of modern psychology. He ends his story with the collapse of the rehabilitative model, the two clearest symptoms of which were the normalisation of extreme prison overcrowding and the ascendance of 'tough on crime' political posturing.

Despite its considerable length, *Shades of the Prison House* is an engaging survey of an important subject. Broadly speaking, it is a story of stories, as Potter spins yarns about the experiences of individuals ranging from kings to paupers. One of the book's more endearing traits is the tendency to dot the narrative with familiar faces from literature, as John Bunyan, Daniel Defoe, Charles Dickens and Oscar Wilde walk us through experiences of British incarceration over four centuries. This is not simply a rote synthesis of the literature, however, as Potter also strives to add to the academic conversation about the long-term development of the prison. A former chaplain at Aylesbury Young Offender Institution, Potter contends that historians frequently minimise the role of religion in the development of penal policy and practice, too often subsuming such considerations in broader discussions of ideology, or simply ignoring religion's influence altogether. Throughout, Potter speaks to the intellectual foundations of penal evolution by teasing out the role of Quaker, Anglican and Calvinist cosmologies, among others. In doing so, he contributes to broader discussions of the notional development of British imprisonment.

The work's strong authorial voice makes for an engaging narrative, but it does so at the expense of some important silences. Race is under-discussed and a greater exploration of the prison's role in controlling members of racial and ethnic minority populations would have given the book more gravity and immediacy. Additionally, apart from a few brief remarks about the American experience, Potter says little about the British prison as part of a global project that was indelibly tied to international developments in trade, industrialisation and migration. Finally, while *Shades of the Prison House* covers many subjects, its perspective remains fairly static. Potter could have given his writing additional texture by providing more vivid, 'bottom-up' descriptions of prison life or, in the spirit of Clive Emsley's classic *Crime in Society in England, 1750–1900* (1987), long-term quantitative data showing macro-level trends.

Admittedly, these critiques risk missing the point entirely. Potter freely admits that it is not his goal to provide a traditional academic perspective. Rather, he has presented an ambitious history of imprisonment for a general audience that

counters what he believes to be the academy's overemphasis on social control. Ironically, *Shades of the Prison House* is strongly reminiscent of the work of David Rothman, whom Potter names as an early 'revisionist'. In 1980, Rothman's *Conscience and Convenience* contended that early modern penal reform in the United States was based on an uneasy balance of humane, philanthropic ideology ('conscience') and practical operational restrictions ('convenience'), a view that Potter echoes in his own monograph. Perhaps this means that Potter is himself a 'revisionist', a fellow traveller in the ongoing project to reframe, rethink and ultimately make sense of the vastness and complexity of penal history.

*University of South Carolina Upstate*

ALEX TEPPERMAN

***Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination.* Edited by Adom Getachew.** Princeton University Press. 2019. xii + 271pp. £27.00.

Getachew's book is a work of political theory that should be read by historians who study decolonisation and want to acquire a better insight into the intricacies of anticolonial thought as it was developed in the space of the Black Atlantic. *Worldmaking after Empire* takes its readers for a walk through a museum filled with anglophone anticolonial thinkers. Famous names such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere and George Padmore are discussed alongside actors who have faded into the woodwork, such as president of Nigeria Nnamdi Azikiwe, Jamaican prime minister Michael Manley and the first premier of Trinidad and Tobago, Eric Williams. Getachew seeks to explore the original political philosophies that went into this 'project of reordering the world' which 'sought to create a domination free and egalitarian international order' (p. 2). In this way, the author provides an important anglophone counterpart to scholarship that has been dominated by studies of francophone African intellectuals. Getachew's general argument that decolonisation was not a moment of nation-building, but rather a moment of worldmaking, while innovative for IR scholars, on the surface offers little new for historians familiar with the work of Frederick Cooper. The notion that anticolonial leaders viewed their nationalist project as an incomplete step towards complete liberation as they sought to create a post-national federation has been well established. The immense value of this book, however, lies in the fact that the author looks under the hood of anticolonialism in the anglophone world, which historians of decolonisation have often cast as an offshoot of socialism.

This approach leads the reader to an unconventional starting point for decolonisation: 1492, the first moment when European conquest and colonisation had global implications. In chapter 1 the author develops the political theory of decolonisation which in the case of anglophone black intellectuals had the principle of 'non-domination' at its core. That principle extended beyond the state and included 'more demanding internationalisms' as a way to overcome the 'unequal integration' that marked the 'international order' (p. 33). Chapter 2 further analyses empire as a project of 'unequal integration' and points to the limits of anticolonial self-determination (p. 10). While anticolonial commitments to independence, equality and non-intervention are often viewed as indications of the universalisation of the 'Westphalian regime of sovereignty', Getachew

shows the extent to which anticolonial activists had to reinvent many aspects of this system to ensure respect for the norm of 'non-domination'. In that context, the 'right to self-determination' became a way to mitigate the 'effects of the substantive hierarchies that structured international society' (p. 98). Chapter 3 describes the intellectual transformation of norm of self-determination in a postcolonial setting. Getachew convincingly makes the case that imperial history should be included in the analysis of the international system since the realist 'characterization of Westphalia' as 'inaugurating an international society of sovereign and equal states' does not adequately account for the existence of a 'Eurocentric international society' that needed to be remade (p. 99).

Chapter 4 reconstructs the political and ideological conundrums that led to the establishment of federations at the very moment the nation-state form was being universalised. The intellectual origins are located in the United States, the first country that embraced a particular form of federation to resist exploitation by a colonial power. Eric Williams recast what he called 'the spirit of 1776' and emphasised 'colonialism's economic dimensions'. He insisted that 'political freedom' predicated 'economic security' and the removal of the 'economic fetters' that restricted the colonies (p. 111). Nkrumah, in Getachew's reading, in a similar fashion sought to cast himself as a fellow anticolonial nationalist and as one of the 'heirs to the tradition of 1776' in which federalism is seen as a solution to the problem of 'international hierarchy' (p. 112). Chapter 5 redefines the NIEO as a deeply contradictory project that sought to reinforce state sovereignty while recommending internationalist solutions. The project to create a 'welfare world', as Getachew terms the NIEO's project, was therefore doomed to fail (p. 170).

How the worldmaking project described here remade the 'real' post-1945 world seemingly structured by 'the West', however, remains unclear. Where, for instance, is the Cold War in the world-view of these anticolonial leaders? The author still conceptualises the Cold War in a fairly limited way, as a problem of 'military interventions' (p. 28). Despite all its innovations, this book still runs into an enduring problem that historians of decolonisation should address: how did these new detailed and complex roadmaps for global reform materialise on the international stage? More fundamentally, Getachew's narrative is defined, but also circumscribed, by economics. The book downplays the formative role of cultural anticolonial resistance even though anticolonial intellectuals such as Frantz Fanon and Aimé Césaire were explicitly motivated by their concern with the cultural and psychological impact of colonialism. Pan-Africanism and Négritude were political movements that also drew strength from notions such as the 'African Personality' while they sought to forge a type of modernity that would not only be more egalitarian, but also help restore the culture that colonialism had sought to destroy. This book, however, still mainly situates the intellectual genealogy of anticolonial thinkers within Marxism and Dependency Theory. As Getachew writes, 'anticolonial nationalists represented the postcolonial world as workers of the world' and 'fashioned Third World solidarity as a form of international class politics' (p. 145).

How the many profound cultural concerns and worries shaped the project of self-determination remains underexplored in this book, despite the many disagreements over the role race had to play, particularly in pan-Africanism. The end of empire resulted in a multitude of paradigms that went beyond economics ranging from Senghor's Négritude through Nkrumah's pan-Africanism to

Kaunda's Humanism. The stance of these ideologies on the impact of race can be mapped out on a continuum from pan-black, believing the determinative force of anticolonial struggle was race, to pan-human, which meant that all oppressed peoples were engaged in the same fight. An integration of this a hotly contested question into the worldmaking project, as described by Getachew, would have further strengthened this work.

Nevertheless, the author should be lauded for taking on the many complicated and difficult questions that make up anticolonial worldmaking. The book lays out a coherent and innovative argument that makes our conversations about anticolonial politics richer and more layered. Structuring the contradictory, stormy and loud conversations of a wide range of intellectuals must have been a harrowing enterprise, making this book all the more remarkable. We are in dire need of scholarship that studies the political theory of decolonisation on its own terms and articulates what the main components of anticolonial thinking were. This book is a decisive step in that direction.

*Utrecht University*

FRANK GERITS

***Land Warfare since 1860: A Global History of Boots on the Ground.* By Jeremy Black. Rowman & Littlefield. 2019. viii + 279pp. \$35.00.**

Evelyn Waugh, a veteran of the 1941 Crete campaign, once claimed that 'All wars are infantry wars'. Waugh's assertion, although not literally true, captures the centrality of fighting on land to almost all types of war. It is not to deny the importance of the maritime or air dimensions to state that, in the subtitle of the book under review, the performance of the 'boots on the ground' – land forces – is often critical in determining victory or defeat, success or failure. Paradoxically, the very indispensability of armies and land warfare to conflict means that their study is often subsumed into broader analyses. Jeremy Black's *Land Warfare since 1860* is therefore particularly welcome.

The story of land warfare has been one of continuity and change, and Jeremy Black is a sure-footed guide who invariably has interesting things to say. One of his trademarks is the breadth, in both temporal and geographical terms, of his interests. This book is not untypical of his output, covering more than 150 years and giving global coverage. So, alongside the American Civil War, Operation Barbarossa and the 1991 First Gulf War – all of which one would expect to see in a survey of land warfare – Black includes conflicts such the Chaco War (Paraguay vs Bolivia, 1932–5), and the Tanzanian invasion of Uganda in 1979. By starting his survey at the beginning of the 1860s, Professor Black picks up when a substantial transformation in warfare was already well under way. In retrospect, Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815 marked the beginning of the end of a style of land warfare that dated back to the late seventeenth century. The burgeoning industrial revolution, which produced ever more destructive and accurate weapons; another product of the industrial revolution, railways; and the telegraph had, in the quarter century prior to Black's starting point, brought about changes in the conduct of war. Some were very radical. It would have been helpful to have had more contextual material, particularly for the students whom Black sees as part of his potential readership.

A theme that runs throughout the book is the sheer diversity of land warfare. Conventional armoured/infantry/artillery warfare, insurgency and counter-insurgency, and amphibious operations all feature. Indeed, it is impossible to talk about land warfare since 1915 without bringing in the aerial dimension. One near constant factor, arguably since the emergence of effective bombers towards the end of the First World War, is the notion that technology has made land warfare obsolescent. Time and again this idea has been shown to be false. But as Black correctly argues, the recent failures of military force in Afghanistan and Iraq caused the idea of obsolescence to be reframed: it was no longer related to the idea that ‘war was unlikely, but that it was unlikely to achieve the goals anticipated’ (p. 244). This is a western perspective that is not universally shared.

Black provocatively contends that it is odd that war in the modern period is described in terms of totality, while earlier conflicts are not, given that earlier periods suffered death rates as high or higher. He challenges the idea that total war must involve ‘mass-production’ of war-making material, which is a modern phenomenon, arguing that forms of mass-production existed in earlier times. This is an interesting idea, but ultimately it falls down. At the core of total war is mobilisation, of resources and people, allied to political and military ruthlessness. The latter has never been in short supply, but the ability of western governments to mobilise economies and societies moved onto another level in the mid-nineteenth century, through a combination of nationalism and the increasing grip of the state. Earlier wars certainly displayed elements of totality, and may in fact be regarded as ‘total’ within their own context. However, it was not until the twentieth century that mass mobilisation joined with mass-production and ruthlessness to produce the all-encompassing, all-out wars that we commonly regard as total. It is the mark of a good book that, in considering a proposition, you are compelled to think through your own ideas. *Land Warfare since 1860* falls into that category.

This is a book rich in ideas and detail, which relentlessly debunks the western-centric focus of much writing about land warfare. Historians will undoubtedly benefit from it. Indeed, it will repay multiple readings. It is also a very timely book. While the use of military force is out of favour in some states and societies, in others it is not. Politicians and generals are apt to ignore history, or at least the bits of history that they do not like. Worse, history can be used as a blueprint, rather than a guide. This book illustrates the importance of a nuanced, contextualised understanding of history to decision-makers down the years. In that regard, things have not changed since the 1860s.

*University of Wolverhampton*

GARY SHEFFIELD

***Islamism in the Modern World: A Historical Approach.* By W. J. Berridge.** Bloomsbury Academic. 2019. xii + 298pp. £21.99.

Over fourteen chapters, W. J. Berridge offers a multifaceted analysis of Islamism not often seen in contemporary scholarship on the topic. In this work, she emphasises heterogeneity over causal and simplistic links between past and present Islamic thought and practices. Consequently, she takes into consideration a myriad of other ideological influences beyond Islam, including Marxism and

fascism, to explain the emergence of Islamist discourses and actions in their colonial and post-colonial contexts. Primarily meant for an undergraduate and non-specialist audience, the work incorporates different scholarly perspectives and debates, as well as additional readings on the themes that it covers.

Chapter 1 provides a detailed discussion of key contemporary concepts and terms, including 'Islamic fundamentalism', 'Radical Islam' and 'Political Islam'. While many of these terms have overlapping meanings, Berridge explains that her own preference is to use 'Islamism', which denotes a particular 'ideologization' of Islam 'in a manner that transforms it into a tool of mass politics' (p. 3). The next three chapters focus on different examples of transformations in Islamic thought and practice prior to the emergence of Islamism in the twentieth century. Chapter 2 outlines numerous political expressions in early Islamic history, and because of this diversity, Berridge demonstrates why 'Any effort to trace the origins of twentieth- and twenty-first-century Islamism to the classical period of Islam is fraught with danger' (p. 13). Chapters 3 and 4 compare and contrast two different historical phenomena, 'Islamic revivalism' and 'Islamic reformism'. The former was an internal reaction to perceived shortcomings within the Muslim community, and included ideas about 'cleansing Islam from imported customs' (p. 30). The latter broke from an 'emphasis on internal revival' and instead argued 'that the prosperity of the Muslim community would depend on its success in adapting to the specific form of modernity brought about by post-Enlightenment industrial Europe' (p. 45).

Chapter 5 traces the beginnings of Islamism, through an analysis of the life of Hasan al-Banna, who founded the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 1928. In emphasising the importance of context, she notes that 'the emergence of communism and fascism certainly helped to shape the political environment in which the Muslim Brotherhood operated' (p. 67). The next chapter focuses on Mawlana Abu'l-'Ala al-Mawdudi, who founded the Jama'at-i-Islami in British India in 1941, and enshrined two concepts, '*jahiliyya* (the age of ignorance)' and '*hakimiyya* (divine sovereignty)' (p. 92) that later Islamists reinterpreted and adopted. Numerous Islamists, including al-Banna and al-Mawdudi, were heavily influenced by Marxist-Leninist ideas, and chapter 7 explores the complex context of ideological entanglements to explain how Islam became a 'revolutionary ideology' (p. 106).

Chapters 8, 9 and 10 focus on Sayyid Qutb, Ayatollah Khomeini and Hasan al-Turabi respectively. While numerous Islamists cite Qutb as an important ideological influence in promoting violence, Berridge attempts to contextualise his life, including his membership in the Muslim Brotherhood, and explains the role that torture at the hands of the Egyptian authorities may have played in his radicalisation. She uses this analysis to remind the reader that 'Qutb's brutalization highlights the role of the colonial and post-colonial states in forming the totalitarian agenda of Islamist ideology' (p. 124). Like Qutb, Ayatollah Khomeini was also influenced by numerous political and intellectual trends, in addition to his conflict with the Shah's regime in Iran. But what differentiated this Shia cleric from his Sunni contemporaries was that he was the first to launch an Islamist revolution that brought about radical statewide transformation. Hasan al-Turabi became an important figure of Islamists politics in the Sudan from the 1960s, and for several decades was a key link in the export of Islamist ideologies abroad. Even though all these figures are

defined as Islamists, these chapters highlight their complex and, at times, differing ideological positions, which speak to their unique and changing political circumstances.

Chapter 11 offers a digression to complicate the relationship between feminism and Islamism, and expands on Berridge's claim that 'the realm of Islamist politics has never been an exclusively masculine affair – women have been important agents as champions as well as opponents of Islamist ideology' (p. 167). Chapters 12 and 13 outline how 'in the last two and a half decades of the twentieth century, militant Islamist groups emerged that sought to mobilize ordinary Muslims in order to make a more radical break with the existing sociopolitical order' (p. 179). She traces these transformations to several events in the period after 1979, including the Afghan conflict of the 1980s, and compares and contrasts groups such as the Taliban, Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State.

The final chapter raises the intriguing possibility that we have now entered a new era of post-Islamism. Berridge notes that '[n]ot every Islamist movement over the last forty or so years has dedicated itself to bringing about sharia-based governance through revolutionary militancy' (p. 217), and many have simply become part of the status quo.

While the book clearly demonstrates 'that Islamist ideology is not an undifferentiated whole' (p. 1) it also lays the foundation to ask further probing questions. For instance, Berridge notes that 'Al-Turabi thus absorbed Western colonial knowledge and classical Islamic knowledge in equal measure during his time in Sudan, and – as with Mawdudi – his Islamist worldview derived from a synthesis of this twin inheritance' (p. 151). This quotation clearly emphasises that colonial modernity brought new conditions of possibility for the emergence of these intellectuals and their activism. Unmoored from the traditional religious scholarly class, these individuals synthesised and incorporated competing ideologies. But a further point of analysis could also explore how those ideologies radically altered the very basis of their epistemological and interpretative stances in relationship to the primary sources of Islam itself.

Understanding these shifts might help us to better appreciate discontinuities with the past, and analyse more carefully the formation of new elites that took on the role of religious interpreters for specific political ends. This requires a much more sophisticated analysis of the traditional scholarly class or the *ulama* than the book is meant to offer. But such an analysis would help qualify statements in the book like, 'Sufi mysticism required that its adherents seek union with the divine essence. This led in practice to the cultivation of esoteric approaches towards Islamic knowledge that diverged from the orthodoxy of the *ulama*' (p. 21). Yet throughout Islamic history the *ulama* were also often Sufis, and such categorical distinctions are not always visible in the past. Another similar example later in the work is: 'The earlier Sufi orders in Sudan developed a largely syncretic relationship with local cultures . . . Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, relatively more orthodox forms of Islam began to appear' (p. 149). It is not clear what 'syncretic' and 'orthodox' mean here. Without qualification there is a danger in reproducing Islamist categorisations, which often serve an ideological purpose and may not accurately reflect historical relationships.

Notwithstanding these few points of additional analysis and clarification, this is a unique and exceptional book that will certainly find a wide readership. It

will force readers to think more historically about Islamism in order to add new interpretations and perspectives on contemporary events.

*University of Pittsburgh*

AMIR SYED

***Understanding and Teaching the Age of Revolutions.* Edited by Ben Marsh and Mike Rapport.** University of Wisconsin Press. 2017. xi + 362pp. \$39.95.

This volume promises scholars, teachers and ‘new generations of learners’ (p. 4) fresh insights into the revolutionary age that gripped Europe and the Americas during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The volume adds to the already extant challenges to the mid-twentieth-century work of Jacques Godechot, a pioneering French historian, and R. R. Palmer, whose *Age of the Democratic Revolution* (1959) earned the Bancroft Prize in 1960. Both historians viewed the French and American Revolutions as twin anti-monarchy movements that gave birth to western democracy. Their conception of the ‘West’, however, included Poland and Belgium but not Haiti or Latin America, and as the editors point out, their ‘narrative of triumphant democratization’ similarly ignored ‘the enslaved, women, and indigenous peoples, and the impoverished’ (p. 7).

The contributors to this volume, by contrast, offer Atlantic and hemispheric perspectives that often succeed in forging new and insightful connections, though at times the book falls short of its lofty aims. There are chapters devoted to the Haitian and Latin American revolutions, and while slavery and people of African descent are emphasised (albeit unevenly), indigenous people are only given passing attention. The volume more usefully explores the ‘Age of Revolutions’ in relationship to the Enlightenment, the visual arts, print culture and music. This is a necessary and valuable correction to an older historiography that tended to focus more exclusively on military and political events.

How should historians and teachers frame the Age of Revolutions in a global context? The editors rightly observe that ‘no two revolutions were alike’ (p. 13) and that there is no ‘easy, single definition’ of what constitutes a revolution (p. 10). The cross-fertilisations that shaped the Atlantic revolutions of the era were cultural and social as much as political, but tracing these connections, as many contributors note, is not as straightforward as it seems. Revolutionary texts in Europe and the Americas were steeped in Enlightenment language. Yet, as Ambrogio Caiani argues, the Enlightenment was either too incoherent, too amorphous or too comfortable with aristocracy to achieve, much less articulate, a revolutionary political agenda. The Haitian Declaration of Independence, as Julia Gaffield contends, imitated the American declaration but ‘prioritized national independence ... over individual rights’. This was because Haitian revolutionaries, unlike their Euroamerican counterparts, risked ‘more than a return to collective subordination within an empire: it could mean their legal reenslavement’ (pp. 87, 89). James Ashton points out that the ‘Star Spangled Banner’ was based on an English composer’s ode to a London social club. According to Ashton, ‘its genteel origins were obscured in its broad use’ during the American Revolution but re-emerged later in Federalist party songs (pp. 138–9).



While many chapters in this volume cover familiar territory, unconventional framings give them a fresh perspective. Sharla Chittick, for example, argues that scholars need to pay more attention to the 'environmental pressures' that 'compounded duress and contributed significantly to the physical and psychological sense of urgency and desperation fueling revolutionary action' (p. 320). For instance, Chittick maintains that a record number of frosts and poor harvests in eighteenth-century New England contributed to the increased politicisation of women during the American Revolution. Chittick also contends that George Washington's success depended as much on his ability to overcome the weather (his winter encampment at Valley Forge in 1777–8 comes to mind) and flooding as on the military capabilities of the Continental Army.

As this volume suggests, the persistence of monarchy, empires, patriarchy, racism and slavery problematises easy teleological narratives of revolutions as harbingers of democracy or liberty. According to Christopher Hodson, students take it for granted that 'kings and the hierarchies that sustain them collapse; [whereas] popular rule and the leveling ideologies that promote it rise' (p. 214). Yet in the Americas, indigenous peoples appealed to monarchies to preserve their independence and to restrain land-hungry colonists, and slaves petitioned kings and royal governors for their emancipation. Toussaint Louverture was a 'royalist' allied to the Spanish monarch Charles IV in 1793 and only switched to republicanism after French officials abolished slavery in the empire a year later. As Hodson observes, 'for a long time and for all races, kings were self-evidently the guarantors of freedom in Saint-Domingue' (p. 215). Revolutionary movements also depended on exclusions of all sorts. Lindsay Parker notes that 'revolutionaries clung to the separation of the sexes to preserve some familiar order'. Patriot women found ways to work around and through the revolutionary 'brotherhood', but the feminine realm remained 'a potentially corrupting force threatening masculine progress in [so-called] secular, rational, democratic government' (pp. 167, 169).

Several contributors note that historicising revolutionary movements entails making assumptions about chronology, though the editors could have done more in the introduction to emphasise this point. Lester Langley argues that to truly understand how revolutionary movements were intertwined with colonisation and empire, historians must expand their time horizon forward to the twentieth century. His argument that the US annexation of the Philippines, Guam and Puerto Rico during the Spanish–American War was a working-out of the American Revolution and Civil War is particularly compelling.

While the editors state that the Atlantic revolutions 'shaped the meaning of modernism' (p. 3), the volume never really defines what that term means, nor is there any explicit attention given to how modernity relates to revolutions. Hodson intriguingly describes 'modernity's Janus face', with the plantation complex on the one hand 'ensuring the sacrifice of African bodies to the profit-making process', and Saint Domingue's 'oceanic exchanges' on the other, 'saturated with the possibility of liberation' (p. 211). More attention to the meaning of 'modern' and how revolutions create modern worlds seems warranted, especially given that the volume takes pains to assert (correctly) that these revolutions were never linear events and that despite the fact that revolutionaries tried to create brave new worlds, republican democracies did not abolish 'early modern' empires so much as they reconfigured them.

Finally, the editors and contributors should be commended for engaging with the pedagogical implications of their topics in the volume. Some of the contributors provide useful anecdotes about their teaching experiences, while others outline lesson plans and assignments based on particular sets of primary sources. The volume provides a link to an online chapter on ‘the digital turn’ (p. 347) with suggestions for further sources. Not every contributor in the volume addresses teaching equally, of course, and a few make only perfunctory remarks on the topic. But the overall effort is welcome, and revolutionary in a way, as the struggle to find ways to integrate teaching and research continues alongside recent advances in digital humanities and public history.

*Utah Valley University*

MICHAEL GOODE

***Famagusta Maritima: Mariners, Merchants, Pilgrims and Mercenaries.* Edited by Michael J. K. Walsh. Brill. 2019. xx + 300pp. \$140.00.**

The Cypriot port of Famagusta has been the subject of a series of major conferences and publications over the past decade, most of them edited by Michael Walsh, with a striking and rich collection of scholarship from many countries. The city has a rich history of trade, conquest, access and closure, as a cultural meeting point for divergent worlds, interspersed with long epochs of closure and decay. This book, based on a 2017 conference that examined the maritime perspective, provides a fine overview of that history, from the dynamic growth of a Christian trading, corsair and slaving hub after the fall of crusader Acre to the current situation, where the former Greek part of the city, home to a dynamic holiday industry, is silent and empty, part of the closed Turkish military zone.

In simple terms Famagusta, facing east towards the Syrian coast, has been a port of great consequence in the hands of maritime/commercial states such as Genoa, Venice and Britain, using the combination of insularity and control of critical regional shipping lanes, especially those which linked Constantinople/Istanbul with Alexandria, or those opened by the Suez Canal, to strategic effect. As a port city largely peopled by immigrants and sailors Famagusta bears the imprint of many cultures: the churches reflect French, Byzantine and Armenian influences, along with legacies from the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

By contrast, under Ottoman Turkish rule after 1571 the Christian population was expelled from the walled city, while the harbour was closed to Christian shipping, and almost all Muslim trade as well. It became a defensive position, securing Ottoman shipping and lands from Christian raiders. For 300 years the port slowly silted up, Cypriot trade declined and the city became a quiet relic of past ages. The arrival of the British occupying forces in the late 1870s re-energised the port and the city, opened up trade, extended the harbour, developed a dynamic tourist industry and began serious work on the historic architecture.

In the interval, the riches of Venetian Famagusta became a standard Elizabethan reference as English maritime enterprise pushed into the eastern Mediterranean and began to aspire to a similar empire of the seas. It is no coincidence that it features in Shakespeare’s *Othello*, which deals with Venice

and the Islamic other, just as the Tudors opened relations with the Ottomans, or that the audience included mariners who had sailed to the Levant. The Dutch were also engaged in creating knowledge about this famous place. The new maritime powers looked back on a golden age of commerce, when Famagusta had been the final stop on the Venetian route to Alexandria, where they traded oriental luxuries for western goods with the Mamluk regime. When the Ottomans conquered Egypt, undermining the Venetian economic model, Famagusta became a standing threat to Ottoman authority and Ottoman grain supplies from Alexandria. The fortifications were updated with artillery, using standard designs that are found across the Venetian empire, and remain largely unaltered. The importance of the place became clear in 1571, when a massive Turkish army conquered Cyprus: Famagusta held out longest, a siege that cost the Ottomans 50,000 troops. When the city fell Marcantonio Bragadin, the Venetian commander, was flayed alive: his stuffed skin was sent round the Ottoman empire as a warning. Yet the Ottomans had no use for the port, which they closed. The naval base and trade hub of a dynamic sea-power state became a dead end under a static continental military hegemon.

In the 1860s imperial France took a serious interest in Famagusta. As the Suez Canal project gathered pace, it was the only closed harbour in the Syrian sea where French influence in what are today Syria and the Lebanon was already marked. Charts were drawn, and approaches made in Istanbul, but after 1870 France was in no position to act. Lucie Bonato's essay raises a major question: how much did the British know about these French initiatives, and did they have a bearing on the British takeover of Cyprus in 1878? The British were quick to examine local resources, including surveying the harbour, applying their technical knowledge of the era to enhance the geopolitical consequence of the location. Some soldiers dreamed of turning Famagusta into another Malta, covering the entrance to the Suez Canal, but wiser heads, not least retired Admiral Sir William Martin, who published a highly effective essay on the subject, pointed out that there was no need while Britain ruled the Mediterranean. His Venetian precursors would have agreed. Sea powers do not need to fortify islands, only to keep control of the sea. Instead the city became a trade hub and a tourist destination. Asu Tozan's essay on the British period makes good use of Cypriot archives on what was planned and built, but the discussion of policy can be found in British archives. To emphasise the global/imperial dimension of British activity, Famagusta's harbour improvements were made by the same contractors who were building a new harbour at Colombo. Following useful service in two world wars, Famagusta witnessed a post-independence tourist boom, which was crushed by the Turkish invasion of 1974, which saw the Greek population expelled, because the city was once again on the front line of an unresolved conflict. So long as control of territory is the main issue this fabulous port city cannot achieve its full potential in trade, tourism or culture.

This richly illustrated collection opens new perspectives on an old city, and the relationships between ports, islands, economic and geopolitical power. In many ways Famagusta stands as a model of the collision of land and sea states, as Michael Walsh's elegant introductory chapter emphasises. The city was of the sea, and whenever it has been cut off from that dynamic context it has become petrified, a ghost city deprived of purpose and meaning by shifts in global affairs. Overlaying of dynamic maritime occupation with static continental attitudes

shaped the city that survives and asks larger questions about sea-power identities that can be examined in many places.

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***Language, Capitalism, Colonialism: Toward a Critical History.* By Monica Heller and Bonnie McElhinny.** University of Toronto Press, 2017. xxii + 336pp. £29.99.

How can one combine three concepts into one seamless academic publication? This question rests at the core of Monica Heller and Bonnie McElhinny's volume with a tripartite title, *Language, Capitalism, Colonialism: Toward a Critical History*. These three overarching keywords are forcefully and artificially spliced into asymmetrical parts comprising eight chapters in a dense volume. As the title suggests, this monograph comprises three separate books, each with its own focus, case studies and discussion. With its core organised in a point/counterpoint structure, the book revolves around the intersection of language, social difference and social inequality. Thus, from the very thesis of this publication onward, there is an inherent lack of precision and focus in the way key ideas are presented.

The authors promise to explore the relationship between language and social order. Heller and McElhinny tender a fascinating claim that silence, often caused by fear or complicity, leaves few traces. It is a pity that this idea was not more fully developed as it would have made for a more thematically coherent focus for the monograph. Instead, the authors assert that their interest is 'in which stories are told and which ones are not told' (p. xvi).

In their rationale for writing the book, the authors position Toronto as both centre and periphery. Nonetheless, the monograph is overwhelmingly Eurocentric as little attention is given to non-Indo-European languages. Already the introductory chapter, 'Language, Capitalism, Colonialism: Walking Backward into the Future', explains the purpose of the book as 'an account of how ideas about language play a central role in the making of social difference and social inequality' (p. 2); the authors provide an overview of past scholarship, including Raymond Williams, Sylvia Wynter and the Anishinaabe philosophies from the Great Lakes; particularly noteworthy here is the analysis of keywords, for example an extremely timely 'alt-right' (pp. 5–6). The discussion that follows is divided into three parts, each deserving a brief overview. The first of these, 'Language, Intimacy, and Empire', comprises a section with two case studies to illustrate the regimented conquest of the New World conducted in both Spanish and indigenous languages, as well as the linguistic tradition of Panini in India; the counterpoint chapter poses three different challenges to comparative philology (family trees, pidgins/creoles and Franz Boas's critique of racism). Both chapters, even if closest to the central argument of the book, fail to provide a meaningful contribution to it as a whole.

It remains unclear if this monograph will find an audience. It could appeal to undergraduate or graduate students from political science, anthropology, history, sociology or linguistics, but the disjointed thematic exposition of material challenges the usefulness of the entire volume to students of any one discipline. Instead, fragmented sections of the book may benefit students in their studies. As an example, Part II, 'The Contradictions of Language in Industrial Capitalism',

opens with a section which provides an overview of industrial capitalism and European imperialism, with the focal case study of the French Revolution, before rushing into the next chapter, which serves as a balancing response to the preceding one, with the discussion of challenges to bourgeois nationalism, including International Auxiliary Languages, communism, fascism and race theory. Without much of a transition, in Part III, 'Brave New Worlds: Language as Technology, Language as Technique', the authors investigate universalist understandings as embraced by structuralists and generativists. The main strength of the argument is the discussion of the silencing of scholars labelled communist, anti-racist or pro-Indigenous. Although the final paragraphs present a very strong analysis of George Orwell's ideas about language, this segment is all too brief. The counterargument, instead of a focused riposte, attempts to tackle an astonishingly broad spectrum of concepts, including sociolinguistics, decolonisation, uplift, foundations, feminist linguistics and African American language. While undoubtedly wide-ranging, this incoherence inevitably comes at the expense of scholarly depth. This chapter seems curiously unfinished and resembles a selection of research notes and essay drafts, rather than a polished and engaged piece of academic writing.

The authors fail to convince the reader that the ideas they have grouped together under a single heading are thematically related. Their point/counterpoint structure collapses in the final chapter, where the paragraphs are assembled in a seemingly haphazard order under the guise of vague headings, such as, 'Language, Inequality, Ideology'. The final fail is the commentary about 'hope', which provides a bizarre bookending to the beginning of the volume, yet is still unrelated to the overarching thesis.

The transitions between many of the paragraphs and sections are inelegantly rendered and often lack thematic continuity, leading to a confused presentation of ideas. Forced together, the concepts do not align to produce a coherent argument. This lack of coherence is the greatest weakness of a volume that would perhaps work better as three distinct monographs. The underdeveloped nature of this project is reflected in the surprising number of typographical errors that litter the text. The authors are honest with themselves when they realise that the experience of writing the book had been eye-opening and left them with more questions to pursue in the future. Hopefully, one of these will focus on the issue of coherence of prospective research.

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***Madness on Trial: A Transatlantic History of English Civil Law and Lunacy.* By James Moran.** Manchester University Press. 2019. 272pp. £80.00.

Modern histories of madness have often focused on the asylum, not least because of the richness of archival material that these institutions generated. James Moran's new book, *Madness on Trial*, introduces a 'treasure trove' of an alternative archive, in the form of documents relating to civil proceedings in lunacy from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century New Jersey. In so doing, it challenges the centrality of the asylum and highlights instead the role of civil

law, local custom, and family or community dynamics in defining and dealing with madness in England and the New World alike.

As Moran explains at the outset, the primary incentive for this book was the archive itself: an extensive collection of uncatalogued material at the New Jersey State Archive. These documents date from 1790 to the early twentieth century and are concerned with 'lunacy investigations', in which the ability of an individual to look after themselves or their property was scrutinised. This process had roots in English law, and so Moran's study begins by returning to fourteenth-century England in order to provide a review of the development of this branch of civil law. Spanning five centuries, this is a brief but useful survey of the evolution of the monarch's jurisdiction over the property and person of 'lunatics' and 'idiots', which was by the eighteenth century enacted through the lunacy inquisition before judge and jury. Lunacy in this context was closely connected to the desire to preserve property and conventional lines of inheritance, especially in the face of apparently irrational behaviour.

*Madness on Trial* then features a further three chapters on English lunacy inquisitions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, before the book returns in its second half to New Jersey. The sources, as Moran explains, are rather more limited for England, but he is nonetheless able to draw out some interesting themes surrounding the shifting meanings of madness, and the complex family situations and motivations that drove lunacy investigations. Gender also features in this analysis: the behaviour of wealthy unmarried women came under particular scrutiny during lunacy inquisitions, and Moran connects the uses of the law to women's limited property rights in the period.

Much of this work on England follows in the footsteps of Akihito Suzuki's *Madness at Home*, which is a regular point of reference. What distinguishes *Madness on Trial* is its transatlantic approach, as Moran then follows these legal proceedings to their new home in the New World. As is clearly acknowledged, the book has little to say about questions of race and racism within colonial medicine and law. Despite long-standing associations between colonised peoples and a lack of reason, lunacy investigations in New Jersey only seem to have been used to regulate the affairs of European settlers. Importantly, though, this was the first formal response to madness in most, if not all, colonies, designed to regulate property management and individual conduct alike. And as Moran argues, it remained the primary response to madness in New Jersey until the late nineteenth century, given the late arrival of the asylum on the scene there. These legal investigations are situated alongside the emergence of asylum care, which remained only one possible option for dealing with mental illness right up to the end of the century.

Delving into the archives, we learn more about the role of family dynamics and disruptions in prompting legal investigations in New Jersey, and the role of the wider community in both defining madness and providing care for those seen as mentally infirm. The extensive New Jersey archives also permit careful scrutiny of the symptoms that were described in witness statements, and Moran includes detailed breakdowns of the behaviours and beliefs given as indicators of madness. Delusions, incoherent speech (or silence), solitary behaviour and violence were all commonly mentioned.

*Madness on Trial* contains a few minor inaccuracies, which is not surprising given the complexities of these legal proceedings. Perhaps, also, it would have

been interesting to compare more directly the ideas of madness that these lunacy investigations generated in the two different jurisdictions. But as it stands, *Madness on Trial* is a welcome addition to the history of mental illness, and is a very useful and accessible work for anyone interested in mental health law and community or family practices of care.

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