

## Reviews

*A History of the World in 12 Maps*, by Jerry Brotton. New York: Viking, 2012. 521 pages. \$40.00, cloth.

Maps and mapmaking have long been contested subjects, as scholars have debated not only the meanings that maps bring to the world, but also how maps engage the sociocultural and political work of empire building and everyday practice. Brotton's exposition of mapping and mapmaking builds on this tradition, focusing on how the "map, whatever its medium or its message, is always a creative interpretation of the space it claims to represent" (p. 14). Taking up twelve maps in world history, Brotton suggests that these maps may be seen as representations of spatial understandings, while arguing that they are not necessarily change engines of worldviews or opinions. Many maps, as he says, "fail to reach their objectives" (p. 15). This is an interesting provocation that places this volume within a critical historical cartography tradition that seeks to contextualize and, in different ways, destabilize the teleological and progressivist assumptions often assigned to maps as mimetic representations of the world. In short, Brotton aligns himself with other scholars who have chosen to interrogate scientific cartography not as an end in itself, but rather as another moment in the history of representational politics.

The book is creatively organized around twelve empirical chapters, each of which centers on a map. As Brotton notes, the book's organization is not intended to be a comprehensive history of all maps and mapmaking. He intends for the reader to appreciate the disjointed nature of mapmaking, a process contextually associated with what is happening in particular spaces and times. Jumping from one place and time to another (although the book is still organized chronologically), Brotton challenges readers to imagine each of these maps as objects within a wider set of socio-spatial relations. Put another way, and in Brotton's own words when discussing the Kangnido map of Korea (World Map, 1402): "The idea of the world may be common to all societies; but different societies have very distinct ideas of the world and how it should be represented" (p. 144). In each chapter, Brotton assesses the mapmakers themselves, suggesting that their work was intended to achieve some sense of the real, even as the political impetus of the mapmakers may have been to decenter one narrative—based on a particular set of mapped distortions (e.g., maps that make Greenland appear larger than Africa)—with a different, perhaps more accurate, projection (e.g., maps that make area equal). It is not surprising that Brotton takes up the now (cartographically) infamous Peters Projection, a map designed by Arno Peters to represent the world in a way that, for its author, more

accurately reflected the size of Africa (and the global South) relative to Greenland (and other parts of the global north). Brotton argues that Peters, like other cartographers, “still cling to the Enlightenment belief that his own world map could...be truly objective” (p. 404). So, even as many scientific cartographers criticized Peters’ map for its many flaws, Brotton suggests that Peters’ map “illustrated a deeper truth about mapping the world, that any map of the world is always partial and inherently selective” (ibid.).

In Chapter 12, Brotton moves from the world of print form to the virtual world of Google Earth. Situating his discussion within the wider changes in cartographic theory and practice—the move to think about maps as communication devices and not just simplifications of mapped data—and the broader debates about the information age, Brotton argues that, “Google Earth retains continuities with more traditional methods of cartographic representations” (p. 434). Indeed, one of the biggest criticisms of Google Earth is that its representation of “continents, countries and discrete regions draws on the atlas format popularized by Mercator and Blaeu” (ibid.). Brotton, like others, does find democratic potential in a new mapped world that can call upon data from so many different sources simultaneously. Even so, Google Earth must still be contextualized as part of a multinational corporation’s strategic business plan.

Brotton’s book is an interesting and well-written examination of how maps and mapmaking processes must be historically and spatially contextualized if we are to understand the complexity of the sociocultural and political-economic relations that make maps not only possible, but also necessary. For critical cartographers and historians of this field, this book does not add anything demonstrably new to our understanding of maps and mapmaking as ongoing, open-ended, and contested processes. For those who are seeking out a way to think about maps as contextual objects, whose meanings must always be situated within a wider understanding of how maps are made, produced, and eventually deployed, this book does a nice job of doing that in its focus on twelve world maps. Thus, while I found Brotton’s arguments well-worn, the organization and style of the book provides insights and focuses attention on the history of maps in a way that makes it accessible and even useable in a course on world history or an introductory course on critical cartography.

*University of Arizona*

Vincent J. Del Casino Jr.

*Byzantine Matters*, by Averil Cameron. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014. 164 pages. \$22.95, cloth.

Beginning with Edward Gibbon, who dismissed Byzantine history as a monotonous tale of weakness and misery, Byzantium has had a poor reputation within much of Western historiography. Consequently, writers of world history textbooks have largely overlooked or severely downgraded a civilization that flourished for over a millennium, and most students of history in the United States graduate knowing little or nothing about it.

Averil Cameron, a distinguished Oxford Byzantinist, has set out to demonstrate that *Byzantium Matters*, but that many difficulties of interpretation stand in the way of our seeing Byzantium as anything other than “an exotic and unchanging other” (p. 112). Her corrective is a call for Byzantinists to apply up-to-date theoretical and multidisciplinary modes of analysis in order to debunk a view of Byzantine exceptionalism that has retarded understanding of this richly complex society. In the process, she has produced a book that is eccentric in style and format.

The author's use of the jargon of literary criticism will not suit the sensibilities of many historians, and at times, her sentences require a second, even third reading—e.g., “Siniossoglu is an advocate of a philosophical essentialism based on Weberian ideal-types, the very opposite of the discursive anti-essentialism discussed earlier” (p. 62). Moreover, the author assumes that her readers are well grounded in the liberal arts and will understand her many, often obscure allusions. This is not a work for the casual student of history.

Through five short essays on specific “Byzantine matters,” Cameron suggests the wide range and significance of Byzantine history and, just as important, identifies several critical areas in which further research is necessary, especially research that integrates theoretical approaches, such as the form of contextual analysis of literature championed by Stephen Greenblatt, which Byzantinists have been slow to adopt. The first essay, “Absence,” begins by outlining some of the reasons for the relative absence of Byzantium in Western historiographical discourse, such as its presumed lack of cultural originality, its supposed “oriental” exoticism, and the assumption that because it “fell,” its history was a long downward spiral. Then, in three and a half pages, Cameron sketches the range of Byzantine literature as a way of putting the lie to charges of Byzantine unoriginality, “otherness,” and degeneracy, and as a prolegomenon to the chapters that follow. Chapter 2, “Empire,” traces in broad outline the history and salient aspects of the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire and its ruling elites beginning with the establishment of Constantinople in 330 C.E., thereby arguing that Byzantium's imperial, economic, and cultural reach was far-ranging and widely respected and that it was able “to absorb and survive a high degree of internal and external challenge over a period lasting many centuries (p. 45). The third essay, “Hellenism,” centers on the ambiguities and paradoxes that characterized what many have seen as *the* central element of Byzantine culture, its presumed Christianized Hellenism. As Cameron notes, its Hellenism was inherited from the multi-ethnic Eastern Roman Empire of late antiquity. In short, Byzantine society was thoroughly hybridized, and although Hellenism (or Christian Hellenism) was an important part of the Byzantine identity, it was not the sum total of Byzantium. “The Realms of Gold,” the fourth essay, focuses on issues confronting students of Byzantine art, which include the need to take into account Byzantium's roots in the Roman Empire of late antiquity, awareness of the intimate relationship in Byzantium between image and text, especially theological texts, and the desirability of applying the interdisciplinary modes of analysis of the new field of material culture studies to Byzantium's secular, everyday objects. The last chapter asks the question, was Byzantium “The Very Model of Orthodoxy?” Cameron argues that a vast body of religious texts remains so understudied, undertheorized, and accepted at face value, that an unnuanced and simplistic “yes” is easily given to this question. The result is continuation of the view of Byzantium as “an exotic and unchanging other.”

In summary, this is an important book that challenges specialists in the field to look at “Byzantine matters” with new eyes, but its utility for students and instructors of pre-modern world history who are not trained Byzantinists is limited at best.

*University of Vermont*

Alfred J. Andrea

*Ways of Forgetting, Ways of Remembering: Japan in the Modern World*, by John Dower. New York: The New Press, 2012. 306 pages. \$19.95, paper.

This collection of essays by John Dower, Professor of History, Emeritus at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, explores the development of modern Japan from

World War II through a historiographic lens. His purpose is to show how history is used and abused as a tool “to educate and to indoctrinate,” with each essay addressing a different topic, from wartime propaganda and the atomic bombings to the creation of a collective memory to deal with guilt and defeat (p. viii). While he details key wartime and post-war events during Japan’s emergence in the international community, Dower also discusses how aspects of the past are both intentionally and unintentionally neglected in order to emphasize current perceptions and ideas (p. 3).

Professor Dower’s essays chronologically address major steps in the development of Japan in the modern world, with each also addressing a key theme relating to the construction of national identity and public memory. Readers previously acquainted with his analysis of race in propaganda and the effects of defeat on the past, present, and future of Japan will find familiar treatments, but the framework of tying these topics into both popular and disciplinary uses of history creates significance and relevance. In discussing the post-war idea of “victim consciousness,” in part an internally developed notion of being victims of military defeat as well of their own blindness in being swept up in a militaristic “holy war” fervor, Dower shows how Japan’s defeat immediately affected not only post-war occupation society, but the way in which the war is remembered and manipulated in public and academic discourse. This consciousness pervaded society throughout the Allied Occupation of Japan, where censorship was a tool for both publicizing Japan’s wartime atrocities during the Tokyo war crimes trials and blunting coverage of such actions as the United States worked to establish Japan as a powerful Asian ally at the start of the Cold War. Dower emphasizes this complex relationship between victimization, recognizing war responsibility, and the uses of history in a discussion on the opening of museums such as the “National Showa Memorial Museum” and “Peace Memorial Museum,” which dilute the realities of wartime actions in favor of showing the hardships of civilian life during the war and the effects of the atomic bombs.

A key point that Dower makes in his case of showing the controversial uses of history in the making of modern Japan is the ongoing, public debate over textbook treatments of the war. He shows that Japanese officials are often the cause of “watered-down” textbook accounts of wartime atrocities, stating the general public is much more receptive to recognize and heal the domestic and regional, physical and psychological scars caused by militaristic aggression. Perhaps most intriguing is Dower’s discussion of the perceived lack of “patriotism” in younger generations in Japan, where conservative politicians like former Prime Minister Mori Yoshiro equate modern Japan to the “last days of Carthage” (p. 110). Using language that recalls the emperor-centric rhetoric of wartime Japan and lamenting the country’s focus on economics, Mori concludes a country that is not proud of its modern history is not really a nation at all, which Dower uses as his introduction to a discussion on five key factors that shape memory and perception in modern Japan.

While some of the topics and analyses of Japan-U.S. relations may seem redundant to those familiar with Dower’s earlier monographs, the historiographic nature of this work makes it a strong contribution. Chapters ten and eleven try to find commonalities between the recent U.S. invasion of Iraq and the American occupation of Japan (or Japanese invasion of Manchuria), but the case is not particularly compelling, which Dower himself acknowledges. These issues do not detract from the overall impact of the work, though, even fitting in with Dower’s emphasis of history as an active, relevant discipline.

The inclusion of the visual sources Dower analyzes strengthens his chapter on race and language in propaganda, while his extensive notes section provides interesting continuations and an abundance of source material to investigate. The writing style and amount of detail would not be accessible to many high school students, but would serve well, wholly or in part, in undergraduate courses dealing with the Pacific War.

In addressing periodization, by altering the timeline of the Pacific War in Japan, and perspective, in a section about the dangers of viewing non-Western cultures through a Western lens, Dower offers some interesting historical thinking frameworks that would be applicable in the secondary or undergraduate classroom.

*California State University, Long Beach*

Patrick Flanagan

*Aztlán Arizona: Mexican American Educational Empowerment, 1968-1978*, by Darius V. Echeverría. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2014. 179 pages. \$55.00, cloth.

In *Aztlán Arizona*, Darius V. Echeverría draws inspiration from the passage of HB 2281, a 2010 Arizona state law eliminating Mexican American Studies in the Tucson Unified School District, to “examine the educational experiences of Mexican Americans in Arizona during the 1960s and 1970s” (p. 4). With most published historical studies on the Chicano Movement focused primarily on California and Texas, the book’s focus on Arizona provides readers with new insight from which to appreciate the multiple regional manifestations of the national Chicano Movement as well as the role of student activism in K-12 and higher education institutions. Notwithstanding the lack of a strong central argument linking the significance of the Chicano Movement in Arizona to current Chicano Movement historiography, the book sets out to demonstrate that “Arizonan-Mexicans orchestrated their own Chicano Movement, illustrated principally through educational agency that was the product of [Arizona’s] social, political, cultural, and historical inequalities” (p. 5). Similar to other Chicana/o student movement historical scholarship by Juan Gómez-Quiñones, Carlos Muñoz, Armando Navarro, and Maylei Blackwell, the author positions Chicana/o students as the vanguard of the Chicana/o Movement.

Drawing heavily from Arizonan newspaper serials and university archival collections, Echeverría presents a series of case studies documenting that the Chicano Movement inspired community and student based activism at Phoenix Union High School (PUHS), Tucson High School (THS), Arizona State University (ASU), and Arizona University (AU) from 1968 to 1978. To illustrate the unique nature of the obstacles and challenges encountered by Arizona Chicano Movement activists in their quest for educational equality, the book first charts the local history of Anglo-Mexican race relations. It demonstrates how white supremacy and its accompanying economic exploitation of the Mexican working class community in Arizona translated into a dehumanizing and unequal institutionalized educational policy and practice with adverse affects on Mexican American educational attainment levels, social-economic mobility, political integration, and social acceptance from the late nineteenth to the mid twentieth century. According to the author, institutional discrimination did not go unchallenged by some members of the Mexican community during the first half of the twentieth century, yet the response by earlier generations paled in comparison to the radical protest politics, ethnic solidarity, and political savvy of Chicano Movement activists. Echeverría charts the development of various episodes of boycotts, picket lines, marches, grievances, demands, meetings, and legal challenges characterizing Chicano student activism at PUHS, THS, ASU, and AU. In one of its most revealing episodes of university-based Chicano student activism, Echeverría cites a 1973 episode in which the Chicano Movement student organization MEChA (el Movimiento Estudiantial Chicano de Aztlán) at ASU filed “the first ever class

action suit against a university with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)” charging the university with “discrimination practices in recruitment, hiring, promotions, transfers, and job placement” (p. 86).

While one can appreciate the numerous footnotes accompanying the anecdotes and episodes covered in the chapters, herein lies one of the book’s major shortcomings. The book’s primary source evidence rests heavily on an exhaustive collection of quotes, statistics, events, and names of individuals featured in serial newspapers to substantiate its claims and assessments of key Chicano Movement issues and developments in Arizona’s history. One can only imagine how oral history interviews of former student activists, faculty, staff, and educational administrators would have created a stronger analysis of the Arizonan Chicano Movement as a distinct social movement from California and Texas. Instead, the book’s account of student activism tells a familiar story of Chicano activism centered on self-determination; Chicano cultural identity; the development of Chicano Studies departments; community relevancy and accountability; and increased rates of educational access, retention, and graduation for Mexican Americans.

The author’s over reliance on newspapers may have also contributed to the book’s emphasis on male participants as key movers and shakers of the Arizona Chicano Movement. As demonstrated in Maylei Blackwell’s *¡Chicana Power!: Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (2011), mainstream media as well as Chicano Movement print media often reproduced patriarchal privilege by featuring males as prominent social movement actors at the cost of rendering Chicana activists invisible in the movement. Unfortunately, Echeverría does not provide a discussion on the methodology and historical questions guiding the focus, interpretation, and findings of his study. Instead, the reader is often left with the task of evaluating the significance of the featured case studies in relation to the burgeoning historiography on the Chicano Movement and its Chicano Student Movement component.

*Santa Monica College*

Marisol Moreno

*Politics and the Classroom: The Struggle over Standards in Texas and the Nation*, edited by Keith Erikson. New York: Palgrave, 2013. 258 pages. \$85.00, cloth.

This work is an ensemble text that looks at changes the Texas State Board of Education made to its social studies curriculum and provides readers an inside look into the “three-ring circus” of the Texas standards adoption process. Texas has significant influence, the editor argues, on the national debate in history standards, specifically because of its size and influence on textbook publishers. Different chapters of this book examine different points of the standards revision process, and how conservative members of the Texas State Board of Education re-interpreted history to ensure balance between the manifest destiny view of history conservatives hold and the perceived liberal bias associated with the multicultural approach the Texas state social studies experts called for. The chapter authors provide either firsthand accounts of their roles in the process or observations of the revisions to the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills standards (TEKS), and how the process was not a smooth or ideologically neutral one.

The text lends itself to three types of graduate level classes: an educational policy class, a political science class, and a communication/journalism class. First, educational policy classes will benefit from the case studies presented within the textbook that describe the role of the state in setting educational policy for the schools. The case studies will

allow researchers studying policy requirements for Texas schools an opportunity to have “behind the scenes” access to some of the contributors to the Texas standards review committee. The chapter on the history of Affiliated schools would be useful for scholars of the educational history of Texas. The ability of the committee to try and balance its charge against the political realities in Texas form an interesting basis for study for other states revising standards, such as New York.

Another class that could benefit from this text is a political science class. This offers an example of the roles of the elected Board of Education, lobbyists, and the general population coming together in ways that created public debate not centered on the standards, but on ancillary materials. The text provides a relevant case study that examines how lobbyists have altered educational policy discussions to reflect political beliefs. The role of the Gabler family in marshalling support for the control of textbook content within Texas and across parts of the United States is of particular importance for interest group researchers. Political scientists should examine the techniques and language used in this case study for further research.

Lastly, the third group, journalists/communication classes, will use the text as an example of the role media plays in public education and the debates surrounding the use of media by special interest groups. With local and national media reaction to Texas’ standards debate profiled in the work, students will see how debates that were nuanced behind closed doors become broad assertions in public. This is essential, as education is one of the key debates in local journalism in the United States. As public policy debates in the areas of Common Core Learning Standards emerge from the state education departments into the press, subtleties are lost to sound bites.

While the book provides great insight into the revisions by many of the committee members and outside reviewers, the reader may be left ambivalent. Partly, the reader will cheer for the academics finally getting their say, with explanations and clear rationale for why committee members failed to endorse the standards. The other emotion is a sadness that social studies is no longer valued, simply because the subject tries to teach students to think beyond self-identity, patriotism, and expansionism, and weigh evidence of the multi-cultural value of all American citizens. The chapter authors within the book go a long way to show how social studies standards continue to be a battleground for the heart of the American education system.

The material covered is directed more to researchers and scholars than to high school or undergraduate students preparing for teaching positions. The book does provide interesting insight into the standards revisions in Texas and provides critiques of the United States and world standards, as well as suggestions to teachers who wish to enhance their students’ learning beyond the TEKS materials. Faculty working with preservice candidates may wish to consult the Appendix for Teachers to gain insight from the book about the perceived weaknesses of the TEKS standards.

*State University New York, Albany*

Casey Jakubowski

*Migration: A World History*, by Michael H. Fisher. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. 149 pages. \$19.95, paper.

Migration has now become an established subfield in the study of world history. Michael Fisher’s concise study of this topic, addressing the full span of human history, is a welcome addition to the substantial New Oxford World History. The series, edited by

Bonnie G. Smith and Anand Yang, is intended to present works on numerous world-historical issues, written at a level accessible to middle-school students and above. Of nearly twenty volumes published, most are regional in their focus, but some—like this one—focus on historical themes or periods.

Fisher interprets migration in history through five chronological chapters, beginning respectively at 200,000 B.C.E., 600 C.E., 1450, 1750, and 1914. The opening chapter focuses especially on technological improvements (such as advanced tools and agriculture) as the impetus for successive long-distance migrations of communities. The second chapter focuses initially on Islamic politico-religious impetus for migration, and then turns to other political prompts for Eurasian migration. Chapter 3 emphasizes imperial and maritime migrations launched by European and Asian powers. Chapter 4 tempers the focus on political impetus with attention to economic—especially industrial—prompts for migration. Chapter 5 addresses a wide range of causes of migration build around political causes.

Readers will benefit from the book's description of migratory processes over a wide range of places and times, further documented by twenty illustrations, eight maps, and stories of migrating individuals. In some ways parallel to my *Migration in World History*, Fisher's volume is aimed at a somewhat more introductory audience and differs in its relative emphasis on political rather than socio-economic factors in migration.

The strength of Fisher's approach is that it places migration in world history by linking it to widely known political narratives. To sustain the narrative, Fisher focuses on the ways that states have provoked or halted migration. Nevertheless, I wish the book had given more attention to the local and familial experience of migration in addition to the cause of migration—that is, to the social as well as the political history of migration. Such nuances might have included short-distance movements, such as movement for marriage and urbanization. Regionally, it would have been good to have more attention to migrations within Africa, the Americas, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific. The chronological appendix confirms the priority given to political causes and links of migration, as contrasted with social and economic factors.

University of Pittsburgh

Patrick Manning

*The Rise and Fall of Détente: American Foreign Policy and the Transformation of the Cold War*, by Jussi M. Hanhimäki. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2013. 274 pages. \$60.00, cloth. \$24.95, paper.

In his introduction to *The Rise and Fall of Détente*, Jussi Hanhimäki defines détente “loosely” as a time during the Cold War “when subsequent American administrations attempted to redefine their relations with the Soviet Union in order to increase predictability and reduce the potential of direct military confrontation” (p. xix). He argues that it has to be understood as both an era and a strategy. As an era, it had its roots in the turmoil of the 1960s, reached its greatest influence during the “long 1970s” under Richard Nixon and his principal foreign policy advisor, Henry Kissinger, then subsequently declined during the Carter and Reagan years. As a strategy, détente represented an adjustment to how the Cold War was waged and was never intended as a means to end the Cold War. According to Hanhimäki, neither Nixon nor Kissinger conceived this policy as differing fundamentally from the containment policy adopted at

the end of World War II. Rather, they intended it to stabilize the world situation—which was made precarious in the late 1960s by the Vietnam War, the escalating arms race, and the disintegrating domestic consensus—in order to bring American foreign policy back into focus and maintain the nation's global power vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. Détente's reliance on negotiations, according to this interpretation, was essentially a means to regain the diplomatic initiative, not a goal in itself. The Soviet Union was still seen as a threat. Nixon and Kissinger were searching for a structure of peace as a method of fighting that irreconcilable struggle with Moscow. In other words, it was containment through creative diplomacy, a change in tactics, but no fundamental change in objectives espoused by past administrations. In Hanhimäki's judgment, "even as they talked about the relaxation of tensions and signed nuclear arms agreements, the United States and the Soviet Union continued to vie for unilateral advantages around the globe" (p. 149).

Their efforts did achieve some striking accomplishments—including the diplomatic opening toward China, the first Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty signed in Moscow, and the end of the long Vietnam conflict. While détente did not survive into the Carter and Reagan administrations, Hanhimäki contends that it did introduce into the international situation elements that, often unintentionally, began to undermine the Cold War system. "Détente ultimately and ironically discredited the system it was meant to stabilize" (p. 150). Furthermore, it left a "revolutionary legacy" of intended and unintended consequences. Hanhimäki emphasizes two particular aspects of this legacy: it institutionalized summitry, which created the expectation that American and Soviet leaders would meet regularly to confront issues; and, particularly as a result of the 1975 Helsinki Accords negotiated by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, it "introduced the notion of human security as an important element of European (if not necessarily global) security" (p. 151).

Although Hanhimäki's focus is primarily on the role of U.S. policymakers in the evolution of détente, he also acknowledges the crucial role of other players, including Leonid Brezhnev, Mao Tse-tung, and especially Willy Brandt. In regard to Europe, despite "alarmist rhetoric" that aroused fears that Brandt's Ostpolitik and the enlargement of the European Economic Community would endanger U.S. policy toward Europe, the author contends that western unity prevailed both because of a basic convergence of U.S.-European economic interests and because Europe would not abandon NATO as long as the USSR with its nuclear weapons and a daunting conventional force presence remained. In spite of pursuing goals intended to transcend Europe, the Nixon administration did reluctantly engage Europeans because, without doing so, its grander goal of building détente with the USSR on America's terms would have been more difficult to achieve. By cooperating with West Germany on Ostpolitik and participating more actively in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe negotiations, Nixon ensured "that the United States remained the primary spokesperson of a 'united West' vis-à-vis the USSR" (p. 76).

This work is a clear, concise survey of an important period in American foreign policy. Despite its brevity, Hanhimäki's interpretations are nuanced and reflect a firm grasp of the historical arguments and disagreements of scholars. As such, it would be a suitable text for use in both upper-level undergraduate courses and as an introduction to the subject in many graduate courses. An eighty-page appendix that includes relevant documentary materials from U.S. and Soviet government archives as well as well-chosen excerpts from speeches made by presidents and other important foreign policy figures complements Hanhimäki's analysis and adds to the educational value of this volume.

*A Dreadful Deceit: The Myth of Race from the Colonial Era to Obama's America*, by Jacqueline Jones. New York: Basic Books, 2013. 381 pages. \$29.99, cloth.

In *A Dreadful Deceit*, Jacqueline Jones explores the ways in which the idea of race has shaped the lives of individual Americans throughout the country's history. In a series of biographical sketches, Jones situates personal narratives of racially defined relationships within larger regional and national contexts to show the complicated development of a racial understanding of America's past and present. The stories she uses both refute the myth that the United States was fundamentally shaped by the racial differences of its early inhabitants and demonstrate that racial justifications for the mistreatment and abuse of large groups of Americans developed slowly and in response to specific economic, political, and social circumstances.

The experiences of the historical actors within the text clearly show the malleability and inexactness of race as an identifying label from the earliest periods of American history. Jones argues against the myth of a system of slavery built on racial assumptions, exploring colonists' reliance on labor from Europe, Native American populations, and Africa in early Chesapeake agriculture. Jones shows that rather than any kind of racial classification, Africans' place in a global economic and military environment left them uniquely vulnerable to the developing slave system, and slaveowners in this early period felt little need to justify their use of slave labor beyond the fact that it made good economic sense. Jones tracks the shifting nature of race in America, exploring the activities of blacks navigating the different racial understandings between British and American soldiers during the Revolutionary War, the role of free blacks in the largely white abolition movement, and the struggles of black Civil War veterans to obtain their federally guaranteed benefits. In each of these cases, Jones shows how actors of all skin colors used the idea of race to pursue their own self-interest, which was often economically driven.

Some of the most interesting and nuanced chapters concern shifting understandings of race in twentieth-century America. The story of William H. Holtzclaw's attempts to establish and maintain an industrial school in the Mississippi Delta reveals both the dynamics within the highly segregated world of education in the south and those within the local economy, which often trumped racial prejudices. Jones explores the way in which the local community feared and fought back against efforts to educate blacks in the area, but she also shows how Holtzclaw was able to forge valuable economic ties with white businessmen who realized the economic benefits of a local industrial school. However, in the final biographical sketch, Jones uses Simon P. Owens to show that economic circumstances can lead whites to rely on the idea of race to protect their economic self-interest. Owens, an automotive industry worker and advocate of workers' rights, was discouraged by the racial divisions that plagued the American working class. While Owens and others argued that economic downturns and automation negatively affected workers of all skin colors, his white coworkers utilized strategies based on the idea of race to portray black workers in a negative light and exclude them from a white vision of labor reform.

Because each of the six narratives Jones uses comes from a particular time in American history, the connections between these stories are limited. Although Jones occasionally refers back to an earlier chapter, there is a marked lack of continuity in the description of the development of racial ideologies on a national level. However, the disjointed nature of this collection of personal stories accomplishes Jones' goal of refuting any myth of a racially determined course of American history. Indeed, within each chapter, the concept of race is often subsumed beneath more pressing concerns

shaping the actions of those involved. Jones' focus on the specific circumstances demonstrates that motives unique to the individual actors, shaped by unique historical circumstances, led to the use of race to define individuals, groups of people, and the actions taken by those people.

Through all of these stories, Jones deftly weaves personal narratives into larger contexts to show the inherently complicated process of developing racial understandings of people and events. Importantly, Jones seeks to demonstrate how these historical formulations of the idea of race have real impacts on the modern world. Her ability to demonstrate the ways in which race has been used by a variety of groups for their own economic and political gains reminds readers of how the idea of race is in itself a construct of history.

*Central Michigan University*

Dale Moler

*Mexico's Once and Future Revolution: Social Upheaval and the Challenge of Rule since the Late Nineteenth Century*, by Gilbert M. Joseph and Jürgen Buchenau. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013. 252 pages. \$23.95, paper.

The Mexican Revolution represents a great challenge for History teachers. There are few events more important or more complex. Generations of scholars have explored its broad sweep and numerous particular details. When the Mexican government decided to commemorate the centennial of the revolution, it sponsored a documentary history that filled fifty-nine volumes. An attempt to master its historiography can overwhelm even the best student.

Two leading historians who have both made valuable individual contributions to our understanding of the revolution's social, cultural, and regional characteristics in their past publications have tackled the task of presenting a compact, accessible, and current overview. They have divided the revolution into seven periods. They begin with the *porfiriato*—the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz that ruled the country for more than a generation. This sets the context and connects the regime with the Independence and Liberal eras of previous generations. Their narrative continues through the revolution's distinct periods of military conflict, social and political strife, state consolidation, and eventual crisis—over a century of conflict and change. An introductory chapter presents the fundamental concerns and questions that shape the narrative, and the concluding chapter explains how the revolution—both its achievements and its shortcomings—shape current events.

Joseph and Buchenau admit that there are few subjects in Latin American history that have attracted an equal amount of attention. In recent decades, social and cultural historians have presented a number of significant works that have emphasized regional variations, the distinct experience of different social actors, communities, and groups, as well as the complex interaction between authorities based in and beyond Mexico City. In turn, as important as local and particular issues and interests are in the revolutionary process, recent research has reinforced our appreciation of the influence of international issues and actors.

It would be impossible to cover every issue, theme, or trend. The authors, to their credit, manage to cover much. With the revolution defined as a process, the timeline forces a quick march. The text moves from the revolution's roots, its military phase, the Sonoran Dynasty, the emergence of a more centralized state and party, and the unraveling

of the revolutionary state after 1968. These are familiar topics. The presentation, however, is vibrant and engaging. It seems inclusive rather than restricted. Examples help the reader appreciate complexity without any excessive detours. Across the chapters, Joseph and Buchenau manage to present a clear explanation of how those who have the revolutionary process pressed upon them shape the course of events in significant ways. Their exploration of the “negotiation of rule” makes the narrative appear broad, sweeping, and nuanced.

Researchers who have built careers in a particular corner of the historiographical debate will find *Mexico’s Once and Future Revolution* problematic. Most others will be impressed by how well the authors address the revolution’s history in a single, relatively short volume. Joseph and Buchenau have produced a valuable text that will help teachers and students engaged in the study of modern Latin America, Mexico, and world history. While their focus allows little room for detours into particular or parochial topics, the text addresses most of the major historiographical lines of inquiry related to the Mexican Revolution and its significance. Fully aware of what they have not addressed in sufficient detail, their bibliographic essay gives those who want to broaden and deepen their investigations ample guidance.

*Mexico’s Once and Future Revolution* provides an excellent foundation upon which teachers can organize a course that addresses modern Mexico’s seminal event. While the authors appear to target a college audience, high school students in Advanced Placement and International Baccalaureate programs will find it accessible and instructive. Since its authors address social and cultural as well as political topics, it will support a wide range of courses and assignments. Its scope, clear narrative, and balance will serve the needs of students well.

California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

Daniel Lewis

*Alice Paul: Equality for Women*, by Christine Lunardini. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2013. 174 pages. \$20.00, paper.

In an era that takes gender equality for granted, noteworthy women’s historian Ruth Cowan directs publication of a series of biographies examining extraordinary women in history. In this particular publication, historian Christine Lunardini illuminates the passion and charisma of Alice Paul that embodied her advocacy for equal rights. Paul’s Quaker heritage equally encouraged sons and daughters to better the world around them. Through her education in social work that was complemented by studies in sociology and political science, in conjunction to her Quaker roots, Alice Paul passionately dedicated herself to bettering the world around her.

During the early days of the suffrage movement, two opposing thoughts were represented by two national associations: The National Women’s Suffrage Association (NWSA), founded by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, promoted the securing of a federal Constitutional amendment to grant women the right to vote. Meanwhile, the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), led by Lucy Stone, advocated women’s suffrage as a state’s issue. However, after decades of passive-aggressive campaign tours of speeches, distributed literature, and peaceful protest, these two associations lost their momentum and motivation, accomplishing very little for women’s rights in America. Later, in the 1880s, these two organizations merged under the second generation of leadership. However, the suffragette movement in

England was just the opposite: successful, aggressive, and still full of vigor. American Alice Paul, studying in England through a fellowship to the central training school for Quakers in Woodbrook, England, became involved with the Pankhursts and the more militant, aggressive women's movement with the Pankhursts. Today, "militant" would not be used to describe the movement, as it was merely an intense display of publicity.

Upon her return to the United States, Alice Paul finished her dissertation, and joined the American suffrage movement. Paul contributed a new passion for the movement with leading by example, as she was not working for a cause, she was the cause. After the Constitutional Amendment granted women the right to vote, Paul dedicated herself to the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Her persistence for the suffrage amendment achieved voting rights years before women otherwise would have. Because of this success, Paul pushed forward, noting that true equality was the right idea. The foundation constructed by Paul allowed women later to push the ERA through Congress much faster. Alice Paul's commitment to service and sacrifice allowed her to lead the movement with force. Chrystal Eastman notes that "history was rife with men and women whose every waking moment was devoted to an impersonal cause" (p. 173). The equality of genders advocated within the Quaker life encouraged Paul to fight for equal rights within the greater society. Lunardini's depiction of Alice Paul is an inspiration to young women, illuminating the notion to embody the change one wants to see in the world. Paul dedicated her entire life to bettering the world around her by promoting gender equalities.

Lunardini presents Alice Paul in an easy-to-read format, bringing Alice Paul's story alive to readers with the use of narrative. This book would be beneficial to junior-and senior-level high school students, as well as undergraduate students learning of the American suffrage movement. The inclusion of a selection of primary sources utilized within the book allows the reader to reference the original work while reading the social context surrounding its drafting. These sources are accompanied by an annotated bibliography, and a short list of open-ended study questions that could be implemented to provoke critical thinking and discussion. Most importantly, this book illustrates a key principle to living a successful life, as it shows how Paul embodied the movement, dedicating herself to a cause that had personal meaning. Lunardini thoroughly described the personal history of Alice Paul that developed her passion for social progress, the progression of the women's suffrage movement, and the dedication of Paul for the ERA until her death in 1977.

*Austin Peay State University*

Naomi Rendina

*Freedom National: The Destruction of Slavery in the United States, 1861-1865*, by James Oakes. New York: W. W. Norton, 2013. 554 pages. \$18.95, paper.

President Abraham Lincoln set the agenda for historical studies of the Civil War when he stated in his Second Inaugural Address of March 5, 1865, "One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war." James Oakes in the book under review has given this thesis its definitive exposition during the war years. Republican Senator Charles Sumner's 1852 speech "Freedom National; Slavery Sectional" in opposition to Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 provides the title of the book. In highlighting

the contradiction between slavery and liberty, Sumner anticipated Lincoln's axiom in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858 that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." The Age of Emancipation had witnessed the Somerset decision in England, gradual abolition in the northern states, the Haitian Revolution, abolition of the international slave trade, and the end of slavery in the British Empire. Yet, at mid-century, slavery flourished in Cuba, Brazil, and the southern United States, where the Constitution protected slavery in the states where it already existed. The framers of 1787 anticipated the withering away of human bondage as economically retarded (as Adam Smith emphasized) and morally backward. They had not foreseen the dynamic growth of the slave power after 1790 and the bloody internecine confrontation that historian Charles Beard aptly called the Second American Revolution.

Oakes argues that the Republican Party was committed to what Lincoln foresaw in 1858 as "the ultimate extinction of slavery" and acted consistently on that goal. Although the federal government could not constitutionally legislate against slavery in the states where it existed, it could establish a "cordon of freedom" of free soil that would block the expansion of the Cotton Kingdom and facilitate emancipation in the states. This peacetime policy with a dogmatic faith in the triumph of free labor further encouraged abolition with a gradual timetable, financial compensation, and voluntary colonization. If war or rebellion occurred, Republicans foresaw that the Constitution authorized the Union to implement military emancipation whose capstone was the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. In the face of the threat to their "peculiar institution," secessionists left the Union after Lincoln's election in November 1860, not because of irrational hysteria, but because of the real threat to their "way of life." During the war, Republicans applied state abolition and military emancipation in increasingly robust ways. Gradual abolition applied to the loyal slave states. The First Confiscation Act led to the freeing of slaves as a "military necessity" in August 1861. Military emancipation was immediate, without compensation, and applied initially to the disloyal states. By the summer of 1862, Republicans, including Lincoln, concurred on the policy to free all the slaves in areas in a state of rebellion, which the Preliminary Emancipation made clear on September 22, 1862. By 1865, military emancipation freed hundreds of thousands of slaves and six states had abolished slavery under intense federal pressure. Yet, at the end of actual fighting, most slaves were still in bondage and slavery was still legal in nine of fifteen states. Republicans had already turned to a third policy, the Thirteenth Amendment, in 1864 to make "freedom national." Not until December 1865 did Republicans muster enough votes to amend the Constitution.

What Oakes has done is not only to tell the story comprehensively, but to revive the neo-abolitionist paradigm of what historian Dwight Lowell Dumond called "the antislavery origins of the Civil War." The "needless war" doctrine of revisionists James G. Randall, Charles G. Ramsdell, Avery Craven, and others during the 1930s and 1940s, portrayed abolitionists (and their fellow travelers in the Republican Party) as fanatics and proclaimed the war as morally unjustified. African Americans—slaves, free, soldiers, sailors—were "invisible," to apply novelist Ralph Ellison's revealing descriptor, in this interpretation. And the fraudulent ploy, now revived by the rightwing alliance of plutocrats and racists in the Southern Strategy, that the war was not about slavery (contrary to Lincoln's assessment), but about state's rights has gained traction. Oakes persuasively responds: "The real moral dilemma of the Civil War, however, arises from the fact it *was* about slavery; the tragedy of the war lays not in its pointlessness, but in its necessity" (p. xvi).

*Between Slavery and Freedom: Free People of Color in America from Settlement to the Civil War*, by Julie Winch. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014. 150 pages. \$35.00, cloth.

In this accessible and engaging book, Professor Julie Winch, a historian at the University of Massachusetts Boston, examines the challenges facing free African-Americans from the colonial period to the eve of the Civil War. Her central argument is that the free black population in North America occupied a nebulous space between freedom and slavery. Professor Winch's goal is to "probe the ill-defined space between black freedom and white freedom" over 350 years of history (p. xv). While she explores how time and space shaped the free black experience for over a dozen generations, nevertheless, she explains how free blacks constantly fought back against their oppression no matter what their circumstances.

Professor Winch takes a chronological approach to exploring the experiences of free African-Americans, beginning with free blacks who arrived with the Spanish settlers and tracing the free black experience up until the eve of the Civil War. While her discussion of the shift to race-based slavery in colonial America will be familiar to many readers, her analysis of the status of free blacks under Spanish law provides new insights into how different European colonial powers defined slave and free status. In particular, Winch explores the *coartación* principle, which allowed a slave to ask Spanish authorities a price for his or her freedom and also gave the slave an opportunity to save money to purchase his or her freedom. This speaks to the different types of slave status that existed during the colonial period in North America. Professor Winch also does an excellent job comparing the Spanish slave laws with those of Great Britain and France. Of particular interest is her examination of the emergence of the Code Noir (Black Code) in the French colonies in North America. These laws provided at least a legal promise (often unfulfilled) of improved status for ex-slaves. In her exploration of slavery in the British colonial North America, Professor Winch clearly illustrates that slavery existed in all of the colonies and was not solely limited to the southern colonies.

Throughout the book, Professor Winch clearly supports her central argument: that free blacks consistently challenged the discrimination that they faced politically, socially, and economically. For example, in her examination of the role of black soldiers in the American Revolution, she explains how black loyalists demanded that the British hold true to their promise of emancipation even after their defeat in the American Revolution. Professor Winch also describes how free blacks routinely turned to the courts as a form of political activism, using lawsuits to demand their freedom. Though not considered citizens, many free blacks did win well-publicized court cases and gain their freedom in the late eighteenth century.

A final yet crucial contribution of Winch's book is that she shows the persistent optimism of free blacks. In her discussion of various emigration and colonization efforts in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, she clearly demonstrates that most free blacks viewed America as their home. In other words, the vast majority of them wished to stay in the United States and work to gain full citizenship rights despite the discrimination (that was oftentimes violent during the nineteenth century) that they faced.

The strengths of this book are many. In particular, the book is aimed at non-specialists and is written in a style that is simply a pleasure to read. The book also should be praised for providing the long view of the struggles and challenges facing free blacks. Generally, free black studies have been community-oriented in their approach, with historians focusing on the black population in a particular city. Professor Winch's broad overview of free blacks—both geographically and temporally—allows the reader

to make comparisons about the experiences of free blacks residing in different times and places.

Another strength of the book is that Professor Winch has selected over thirty primary documents to accompany the text. These documents are wide ranging and include examples of some of the early Black Codes from seventeenth-century Virginia to documents about free black business owners in nineteenth-century South Carolina. These documents would be particularly useful in a secondary classroom or an undergraduate course.

*Between Slavery and Freedom* is an excellent addition to the study of African-American as well as American history and is ideal for use in the classroom to explore the experiences of free blacks. This is particularly important given the fact that many Americans know little if anything about the long history of this group that occupied a space between slavery and freedom for over three centuries.

*California State University, Long Beach*

Jane E. Dabel