

Reviews

The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism, by Edward E. Baptist. New York: Basic Books, 2016. 498 pages. \$35.00, cloth. \$19.99, paper.

There are a few books that you expect to see on the shelves of professors of American history when you walk into their office—that is, books that have become standard syntheses of an era or subject. Books like James McPherson's *Battle Cry of Freedom*, Ira Berlin's *Many Thousands Gone*, and Daniel Walker Howe's *What Hath God Wrought* are a few examples. Edward Baptist's *The Half Has Never Been Told* is exactly that kind of book.

The goal of the book is ambitious; it sets out to counter several assumptions about slavery that have, in spite of generations of scholarship, been proven intractable. The first of these is that slavery did not fit in with the broader American economy—that it was separate from the emerging capitalism of the American North and England as it was rooted in a backward-looking, anti-modern, and static model. The notion, as anyone who has ever studied or taught American slavery knows, is the simple (and wrong) sense that the North was an industrial economy while the South was agrarian and centered on an unchanging, inefficient, and unprofitable system of forced labor. The implications of this make it easy for us to suggest that slavery was an anomaly: that because it was centered on only one portion of the country, it must have had little to do with the development of the United States, and that the Civil War, Reconstruction, and finally the Civil Rights Movement forced the South into the modern age. Baptist explodes this notion completely. He traces the expansion of the United States as explicitly an expansion for slavery by paralleling the political events of the movement west (land speculation, the Louisiana Purchase, the War of 1812, etc.) with the interstate slave trade's growth and some incredible narratives of the men and women who were forced into that journey. Moreover, he capably demonstrates that this western movement created a new type of slavery, one that was so ruthlessly efficient that the production of individual slaves increased via negative incentives (physical torture, splitting families through sale, etc.) at rate equal to that of factory workers in free labor situations.

The profits to be had in cotton did more than simply create “factories in the fields,” rather, they help counter the second major assumption of slavery—that slavery was so far outside of the ideas of republicanism and free labor that eventually it had to end. Instead, what this book makes abundantly clear is that slave-produced cotton was the engine of early capitalism. By the 1830s, slaves had become the most secure investment in the United States. Even if land and credit were difficult to acquire, enterprising slave owners could expect politicians in Washington to support the acquisition of new lands that would be open to human property. Even as the conflict over slavery’s expansion became the major issue in American politics, there was no reason for slave owners to fear that they would be forced to resign to abolition since their products were in constant demand. While it is easy to read the history backward, believing that Southerners had to understand they could not triumph in a conflict with the North, the author makes it clear that this was not on the minds of Southerners in the years leading up to the war. Rather, as he puts it, “The only question was, Which fork in the road would the South choose, the one that kept it in the United States by securing a deeper national commitment to the expansion of slavery, or the one in which the region as a whole seceded in order to gain control of expansion for themselves?” (p. 347).

The final assumption about slavery is that the worst thing that it did was deny the rights of citizenship to the enslaved. As this entire book makes clear, though, disallowing rights is far from the worst aspect of slavery; the worst aspect was that it legalized the torture, rape, and murder of human beings. By putting the focus on “rights,” the violence of slavery is diminished making this an easier to digest incongruity in American history. This book does not let the reader escape the sheer brutality of slavery and that is part of what makes it so powerful. This is a masterfully argued, well-written, and exhaustive (if occasionally exhausting) work of scholarship.

Troy University

Timothy R. Buckner

South Side Girls: Growing Up in the Great Migration, by Marcia Chatelain. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015. 240 pages. \$84.95, cloth. \$23.95, paper.

South Side Girls refocuses Chicago history during the first Great Migration (1910s-1940s) on three main questions: what did urbanization mean for black girls? How did Chicago’s black community leaders think about black girls, their behaviors, their choices, their social problems, and their potential for social prosperity? How did ideas about black girlhood influence the history of black institutions and black leaders—and the girls themselves—during this period of tremendous demographic, social, economic, and cultural change?

Chatelain’s time period is the first half of Chicago’s Great Migration. The analysis builds from three arguments about the Great Migration. First, cities like Chicago never became “promised lands” for transplanted black Southerners. Second, the migration period put established black residents and black newcomers

in a tense dance of class competition and cooperation. Third, migrations to metropolises made black Southerners into modern citizens. Chatelain's attention on black girls advances this scholarship.

South Side Girls contains four thematic and chronological chapters. The first chapter tells the story of a late-nineteenth-century orphanage and industrial school for black girls. Its founder, Amanda Smith, a Christian missionary, hoped to uplift the city's most destitute black girls. But just as massive numbers of black Southerners came to Chicago, the orphanage and school closed. A combination of ineffective leadership and conflict with white philanthropists doomed this institution. An interesting part of this chapter highlights debates over whether or not black girls should integrate into state-run orphanages. Chatelain recounts discourses on the supposed corruptible influence black women's sexuality would have on white girls if their populations mixed.

The second chapter covers black migrant girls and the urban market place during the 1920s. Chatelain documents how Southern girls developed new identities through their consumption of beauty products, clothes, popular culture, and religion. The section focuses mainly on the black religious and nationalist "cult" movement that appeared during the 1920s. Chatelain focuses mainly on the Moorish Science Temple of America (MSTA). Moorish Science drew black women away from black Christian churches, Chatelain contends, because "Moorish women held an advantage over middle-class Christian women" (p. 81). Migrant women members of the MSTA could choose their places of worship more easily than Christian women who had lived in Chicago for generations. Most important, the MSTA's nationalist ethos—a precursor of the Nation of Islam—praised women as valuable, essential members of the community. Whereas patriarchal Christian communities supposedly marginalized black women, the MSTA put black women on a pedestal. In the MSTA, women's rectitude and respectability paved the way for all of black people's cultural and moral ascendancy. Black migrant women responded well to this, Chatelain argues. "One Moorish Science woman recalled," writes Chatelain, "that when she assumed the last name Bey, a 'Moorish' surname, she felt: 'The Bey on the end of my name made me a woman'" (p. 83).

These first two chapters are hindered by convoluted prose, speculative arguments, and cursory attention to demographic statistics and substantial comparative evidence, weakening this otherwise analytically rich and innovatively researched book. However, in the second half, Chatelain hits a stride. The third chapter on employment activism and vocational education during the Great Depression provides excellent additions to well-known histories of the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" boycott campaigns. And the fourth chapter on black girls and camping during the New Deal offers a fresh interpretation on how twentieth-century black Americans sought full citizenship. This chapter would work well in any teachers' urban history curriculum that focuses on American citizenship and environmental history. Most histories of early-to-mid-twentieth-century young people in the outdoors do not include African Americans. Black girls are particularly absent from this history. Young urban African Americans usually enter the American history of camping and scouting after the 1960s. Chatelain focuses our attention on an earlier era and shows how urban activists worked to redefine black girls' identities as citizens through camping.

While the book's main subject is black girls and discourses on girlhood, this book provides solid history of black urban institutions that tried to help migrant girls thrive in Chicago. The voices of black girls come out occasionally, but mostly, readers hear from black leaders who advocated for black migrant girls. That these institutions met with limited success echoes across time. The book ends with Michelle Obama's eulogy for Hadiya Pendleton, a black girl murdered by gun violence on Chicago's South Side in January 2013. "Hadiya's family was just like my family," the First Lady said. "Hadiya Pendleton was me" (p. 173). Chatelain writes that Obama "was alerting Chicago's leadership to the need to protect black girls, and making a case for their value in a moment when their lives and their safety seemed unimportant to so many" (p. 173). A century earlier, black Chicagoans made the same pleas for their girls. Chatelain shows the historic significance of those pleas, and how they remain just as important today.

Bowdoin College

Brian Purnell

An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States, by Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2015. 296 pages. \$27.95, cloth. \$16.00, paper.

An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States is an important book. It is brutal and unrelenting, and will make every reader uncomfortable, but to varying degrees and for myriad reasons. The book is not a presentation of new material, yet provides a fascinating synthesis of existing scholarship in an attempt to illustrate the history of the United States through the perspective of the original inhabitants of the lands that now constitute North America.

Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz has made her career as an activist-scholar. Her previous works include *Outlaw Woman: A Memoir of the War Years, 1960-1975* and *Blood on the Border: A Memoir of the Contra War*. She speaks out often about injustices in the world in her published works, and how they all have deep historical roots that, more often than not, most would simply forget about. As far as she discusses things, most Americans accept the commonly taught metanarrative of their history as one of exceptionalism, and that the sins of the past are better off forgotten. Nothing could be further from the truth, and her latest book proves this.

Though scholars disagree over the population of the Americas prior to European contact, they all agree that an unprecedented demographic catastrophe occurred. For many Americans, the story ends there. A great deal of violence took place in the first three centuries or so of American history, but once the United States was born, with a few unfortunate examples, the violence ended. That is the widely accepted version of American history. Dunbar-Ortiz reminds readers that this is not true, and that the effects of colonialism continue into the present day.

The author relies heavily on the theory of "settler colonialism," particularly as espoused by anthropologist Patrick Wolfe, in addition to the work of John Grenier. She adroitly ties together the scholarship of countless authors in her retelling of American History. Her task is not easy. Using the lens of settler colonialism, she

follows a chronological approach, starting with a brief overview of Indigenous peoples prior to contact, and following through to the present day, with Indigenous peoples at the forefront of American history.

Dunbar-Ortiz proves a pattern of unjust violence perpetrated upon Indigenous peoples throughout American history, for a variety of reasons. The justifications given for activities that could be considered genocidal were often related to settler greed and an insatiable lust for land. One of the primary villains in her analysis is Andrew Jackson. Though his actions against Indigenous peoples are well known, the author shows Jackson as a man with broader and deeper roots of violent actions with extremely long lasting implications for Americans.

Dunbar-Ortiz is obviously upset throughout her narrative, and justifiably so. However, at times, she cannot resist making value judgments that do not add anything to the scholarship. In addition, she provides statements that make odd juxtapositions. For example, “Male settlers had been required in the colonies to serve in militias during their lifetimes for the purpose of raiding and razing Indigenous communities” (p. 80). While it is true that male colonists had to serve in local militias, they certainly did not serve for the sole purpose of raiding and razing Indigenous settlements. The likelihood that an individual militiaman would have engaged in violence against an Indigenous settlement is relatively low. Dunbar-Ortiz also makes provocative choices of words and turns of phrase that will grab the reader’s attention and keep the historical debate going. Two representative examples are her assertion that “genocide is inadequate (p. 79)” to describe what happened to the Indigenous peoples of North America, and the title of a section of chapter four, “Settler-Parasites.”

Dunbar-Ortiz’s greatest success in writing *An Indigenous Peoples’ History of the United States* is the fact that it is an uncomfortable book. Anyone who reads it will be forced to think more deeply and critically about American history than they likely have done previously. She does not shy away from delicate topics that have been considered too sensitive for too long. The author engages in contemporary historiographical debates, including the usage of the framework of genocide to describe the experiences of Indigenous peoples in North America—a debate that is heated and full of implications for how the world is understood. This book is a vital contribution that should be thoroughly digested and considered by anyone who seeks a broader understanding of American history—armchair historian and professional scholars alike.

Kent State University at Stark

James E. Seelye, Jr.

Stokely: A Life, by Peniel E. Joseph. New York: Basic Civitas, 2016. 399 pages. \$29.99, cloth. \$18.99, paper.

In *Stokely: A Life*, Peniel Joseph narrates the political path of the charismatic Stokely Carmichael, or Kwame Ture, a political organizer who came of age during the Civil Rights Movement. In an undergraduate classroom, this book could be useful in creating a more thorough and complex narrative of the Sixties

and Pan-Africanism, beyond the conventional stories of Dr. Martin Luther King's 1963 speech to a more complex set of deeply interwoven social movements and political thoughts of a global Cold War era. Carmichael gained the trust and support of sharecroppers in the South, urban workers and students, religious thinkers of nonviolence, and civil rights leaders, becoming a vociferous orator and leader of the Black Power Movement, and, later, a pan-Africanist among a coterie of African leaders. Joseph's main objective is to uncover a lesser-known but significant icon of the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements. For Joseph, Stokely Carmichael completed the trinity of black radical and activist leaders of the Civil Rights-Black Power era, alongside Dr. King and Malcolm X.

Stokely reflects Joseph's historiographical commitments outlined in his previous works. Joseph consistently argues that Civil Rights and the Black Power Movements temporally overlapped and were inextricably connected, without a clear demarcation. This narrative deflates the claim that the Civil Rights Movement was a more conservative, religious, and legal battle that began in 1954 and ended with the passage of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts by 1965. In 1965, then, the Black Power Movement began as a more youthful, enraged, and emotional counterpart to a previous and heroic generation of political organizing. Arguing instead that this periodization is largely an artificial one, Joseph develops the relationship of Dr. King and Stokely Carmichael (among his other relationships) in order to bridge the alleged gap and expose the contingencies between these movements. The Civil Rights Movement inspired Carmichael, and, furthermore, Carmichael would later shape Dr. King's career and political image. Joseph effectively lays out the complicated and interconnected efforts and organizing from within the broader Black Freedom Movement. Instructors could use this text in teaching this historiographical shift.

The book is chronologically divided into chapters. *Stokely* begins with Carmichael's younger years as a Trinidadian immigrant in New York who would go on to become a high school student at Bronx Science, and then college student at Howard University, where he would deepen his political thought and practice. Through protests, actions, issues, campuses, arrests, and introductions of familiar black activists of the Sixties, Joseph weaves Carmichael's story into the broad contour of the Black Freedom era. This rapid succession of events and ideas come at the expense of a complex analysis of Carmichael's context. Joseph aims to present an even characterization of Carmichael's political transitions and development: the first half of the book presents Carmichael's local efforts, such as in Lowndes County, Memphis, and Washington, D.C., and the second half reveals some of Carmichael/Ture's lesser-known political involvement with African leaders. Without a familiarity with African decolonization and the Cold War, the second half of the book could seem muddled with names of political figures and events for students using this text in the classroom. Furthermore, Joseph highlights the Vietnam War as a transitional moment in Carmichael's politics, but largely neglects the rise of the Third World and solidarity among non-aligned states and leaders and the Cold War's impact on African American politics and, particularly, the Black Power Movement.

While *Stokely* effectively connects political thoughts and actions among black leaders, the book seems to assume that readers know something about the

Black Power Movement and Pan-Africanism. This might be a challenge for instructors intending to use this text in the classroom. Like other biographies, *Stokely* requires a critical eye in order to understand the diversity of leadership in the Sixties. For example, this book lacks a sufficient analysis of black women's contribution to the Black Power Movement, as well as Black Power organizations' cross-racial interactions and alliances with other people of color. Additionally, while Joseph mentions Carmichael's sexism, Joseph problematically casts these aside, smoothing over Carmichael's flaws. This could be a problem of biographies, more generally, and their tendency toward heroizing the protagonist. Despite the shortcomings of *Stokely*, this book could be useful in the upper-class undergraduate-level course about the Black Freedom Movement or the Sixties, alongside other works.

Temple University

Minju Bae

Unreasonable Histories: Nativism, Multiracial Lives, and the Genealogical Imagination in British Africa, by Christopher J. Lee. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014. 346 pages. \$94.95, cloth. \$26.95, paper.

Histories of European imperialism in Africa usually work in black and white. Scholars often either detail how colonies operated and how imperialism benefited European economies or they articulate how Africans resisted imperialism and how European actions forever changed the continent. Christopher J. Lee's *Unreasonable Histories* complicates this binary by focusing on the history of multiracial communities (e.g., Anglo-Africans, Euro-Africans, and Eurafricans) in British Central Africa (present-day Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Zambia) from the dawn of colonialism in the late nineteenth century until the era of Independence in the 1960s. These individuals were of African, European, and Asian ancestry and heritage, and because of this point, they defied simple categorization. They were not fully British, but they were not entirely African either. They were colonial subjects, but should they be considered as "natives" like their African kin or "non-natives" like their European relatives? They possessed connections to both the colonized and the colonizer, but how did they view themselves and how did the government view them? *Unreasonable Histories* seeks to unpack this history. By focusing on this "mixed-race" minority, Lee demonstrates how notions of race and identity, and the colonial state's understandings of them, fluctuated over time. Consequently, *Unreasonable Histories* complicates our understanding of race, empire, and identity by defying the conventional historiography.

The book is divided into three main sections. The first section explores the experiences of multiracial persons during the initial decades of colonialism when the issues of foreign control and the existence of multiracial subjects both were relatively new issues to the region. Initially, "half-castes" were rare enough that colonial authorities, missionaries, kinship groups, and families struggled on how to treat them. *Unreasonable Histories* demonstrates how this matter was initially addressed on a case-by-case basis. By the interwar period, colonial

administrations primarily categorized “half-castes” according to racial ancestry, but also considered a secondary factor of culture (i.e., whether one spoke, dressed, and acted like a European or a “native”). Through court cases, letters to colonial officials, and various other archival materials, *Unreasonable Histories* fleshes out the details in such cases.

As multiracial populations grew in size, colonial officials found it necessary to standardize the racial classifications. The book’s second section analyzes how these classifications were developed during the high point of British indirect rule. The term “Coloured” was eventually used for this group of mixed-race ancestry, but even this categorization only solved some problems. Southern Rhodesia, as Lee notes, resorted to “[s]tremlining this diversity for administrative purposes under the rubric of *Coloured*,” but “this decision to standardize this racial category did not resolve legal matters” (p. 121). Lee points out that Coloured men were discouraged from agricultural work (largely the domain of “natives”), yet were barred from skilled employment because it could alienate white workers who frowned upon working with or under Coloureds (pp. 123-124). In Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, however, multiracial populations remained smaller in number, and thus “permitted informal flexibility but those colonies too struggled with how to develop adequate solutions” (p. 131). As such, Lee presents the inherent complexities and negotiations that occurred behind this Coloured classification.

The third section explores how multiracial populations forged collective identities and communities by challenging their “fixed place in a colonial racial hierarchy” (p. 141). They demanded recognition and privileges on account of their ancestry and loyalty to the British agenda. Lee describes this process as “a case of going British, in contrast to going native” (p. 144). Through various associations, kinships networks, and community-driven newspapers, Coloured populations lobbied for better opportunities and accommodations, lower rents, higher wages, and a raised standing within the empire’s racial hierarchy. Lee contends that through such histories, “the locally crafted meanings of colonial citizenship in its rhizomatic, incomplete forms can be better grasped and understood” (p. 145).

Unreasonable Histories captures just how perplexing and problematic these dilemmas were from the viewpoints of the colonial state and its subjects. Lee articulates how few adequate solutions could be developed given the problematic natures of imperialism, racism, and citizenship throughout the twentieth century. The book presents these dilemmas from multiple viewpoints ranging from the colonial office back in Britain to the administrators on the ground to members of these multiracial populations struggling to find a place within a seemingly forever-changing understanding of racial identities. As a required text in the classroom, Lee’s work may be too complicated for high school or lower-level college students, but the text would be quite suitable in upper-division seminars concerning the British empire, African history, or global conceptualizations of race. *Unreasonable Histories* deftly floats between a “top-down” imperial history and “bottom-up” history of an oppressed racial minority. Like its multiracial subjects, *Unreasonable Histories* defies simple categorization. In the end, its contributions will remain enduring.

In the Shadow of Zion: Promised Lands Before Israel, by Adam Rovner. New York: New York University Press, 2014. 352 pages. \$35.00 cloth.

For over 2,500 years, Jewish prayers, poetry, and rituals have revolved around Zion, one of the mountains of Jerusalem and a synecdoche for the Land of Israel. But where is the true Zion to be found? For close to 200 years, various Jewish and non-Jewish thinkers have looked for alternatives to the historical Zion, far from the Ottoman sultan's rule and the tumultuous Middle East. Their efforts are the focus of Adam Rovner's fascinating book.

Beginning with Mordecai Manuel Noah's 1820 plan to establish an autonomous Jewish colony on Grand Island, above Niagara Falls, Rovner's survey follows the various efforts to find new Zions in British Uganda (now a part of Kenya), Portuguese Angola, French Madagascar, Australian Tasmania, and finally Dutch Guiana (now Suriname). These were more than just idle fantasies; in each case, the projects Rovner studies "received the imprimatur of a diplomatic promissory or legislative consent," and a survey commission examined the territory to be settled. In addition, prominent Jewish individuals or organizations developed the colonization plan, which aspired to a high level of cultural and political autonomy, and each was promoted by a significant Jewish author.

One might expect that each plan was too fanciful at the outset to ever succeed, yet they had significant diplomatic and organizational support. In fact, as Rovner shows, several of these plans were seen as a direct threat to success of Zionism, and Zionist groups played an important role in scuttling some of them (e.g., Uganda, Madagascar, and Suriname). Still, the practical advantages of each alternative Zion were unable to dislodge the imaginative hold of the historical one.

Rovner's book is more than just a survey of failed initiatives; using archival materials on six continents and sources in English, Hebrew, Yiddish, Dutch, Portuguese, and French, Rovner reconstructs the history of the territorialist movement, which, driven by the plight and persecution of European Jews, looked for a solution to the Jewish Question outside the already settled territory of Palestine. Along the way, Rovner rescues from obscurity fascinating figures such as Dr. Isaac Nachman Steinberg, Lenin's first commissar of justice and a later a leading advocate of territorialism, and Critchley Parker Junior, the non-Jewish heir to an Australian newspaper fortune who died while attempting to survey the Tasmanian territory for a Jewish colony.

This study also raises interesting questions for the scholar of Jewish nationalisms. For example, in each plan, potential Jewish settlers were seen by the non-Jewish colonial power as white Europeans who could help secure the territory for white European settlement. At the same time, though, advocates of territorialism emphasized the indigenous population's or the land's Jewish connections. Thus, Native Americans and Malagasy were depicted as descendants of the lost tribes of Israel, while Uganda's Rift Valley was seen as simply an extension of the Jordan Valley. At the same time, many Surinamese can trace roots back to seventeenth-century Sephardic families, and some Portuguese legislators argued that creating a Jewish colony in Angola would be reparations for the fifteenth-century forced conversion. While these claims of Jewish connections served to establish the kosher

bona fides of the territory in question, they also ascribed to the potential Jewish settlers an imaginary liminality, where colonizer and colonized could coexist.

Finally, one cannot help but note one area of agreement that the territorial projects shared with Zionism: the effort to transform Jews from a commercial population living in cities, to one of rural farmers. The idea that European Jews required the regeneration provided by working the soil has its roots in the Enlightenment efforts to assimilate Jews to a more “normal” economic life. Just as Zionist poets called for a new Hebrew man and woman born out of working the land (*livnot ulehibanot*—to build and be rebuilt), so too the various colonization plans of the territorialists imagined large Jewish farming communities, and their proposals highlighted the fertility of the land (often in contrast to what they saw as arid and barren Palestine). In that sense, both Zionism and territorialism failed as the Jews who came to the Land of Israel overwhelmingly settled in the towns and cities, with only a small minority embracing agriculture.

California State University, Long Beach

Jeffrey C. Blutinger

The Bet: Paul Ehrlich, Julian Simon, and Our Gamble Over Earth's Future, by Paul Sabin. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014. 304 pages. \$28.50, cloth. \$18.00, paper.

A cacophonous din of polarizing arguments dominates any discussion of climate change, drowning out voices of reason and compromise. To understand how we arrived at such a place of acrimony and opposition in the debate over the future of the earth and human society, environmental historian Paul Sabin uses the famous bet between Paul Ehrlich and Julian Simon as a framework for analyzing the current state of the debate. In *The Bet*, Sabin argues that the extreme positions staked by these men years ago continues to define the parameters of current climate change discourse to such a degree that resolving the crisis is almost impossible.

Entomologist Paul Ehrlich rose to international fame as the doomsday Jeremiah *par excellence* in the context of an environmental reform consensus in the early 1970s with his predictions of inevitable, near-term famine, population collapse, and other disasters, and the publication of his alarmist book, *The Population Bomb*, in 1968. Even as other scientists, pundits, and President Jimmy Carter heeded Ehrlich's calls for action and promoted this viewpoint, an opposition perspective gained strength. Business professor Julian Simon originally agreed with Ehrlich's dire predictions, but over time, his own work led him to conclude that population growth provided a solution to resource shortages and would drive unlimited economic growth.

Sabin illustrates the degree to which the Carter administration's conservation efforts were dictated by the grim predictions of Ehrlich and others. President Carter embraced predictions of impending collapse with a blend of pragmatism and moralism, and invested much of his early political capital in a failed energy bill. Because of this and other matters, Carter became a symbol of pessimism

and constrained Americanism as Republicans' message of unfettered growth and rejection of sacrifice gained momentum, becoming normative in American society.

Sabin argues that rhetoric, extreme on both sides, fueled the backlash and the dissolution of support for environmental issues in the United States. Historians acknowledge that Reagan attacked Carter's pessimistic view of current and future conditions during his run at the presidency, but few realize the extent to which Reagan's critique was predicated on the projections of Ehrlich and the authors of *The Limits to Growth* and *The Global 2000 Report*. Reagan responded to *The Global 2000 Report*, which was released in 1980 during the presidential campaign, by "rejecting its warnings about overpopulation and resource scarcity. 'Well, you know there was a fella named Malthus who thought we were going to run out of food,' Reagan declared in September 1980. 'But Malthus didn't know about fertilizers and pesticides'" (p. 141). Reagan did not merely adopt rhetoric from Simon's work, but made Simon's ideas about growth and future prosperity central to his administration's anti-environmental policies. In this way, the author shows how Ehrlich's doomsaying and Simon's response proved integral to fostering a new Republican ideology that has now held sway for almost four decades.

The actual bet was a model in simplicity, offered by a pugnacious and confident Simon and eagerly accepted by an equally sure Ehrlich. If the price of five key metals (chromium, copper, nickel, tin, and tungsten) went up between 1980 and 1990, then Simon would owe the difference to Ehrlich; a drop in prices meant that Simon would collect the winnings. While Simon won the bet, Sabin points out that it was a meaningless victory and wager. Between the inflationary economy of the 1970s driving prices high and world economic trends, the prices of the metals do not indicate the correctness of either perspective. Moreover, changing the timeframe of the bet also changes the winner.

Compared to other works—for example, Adam Rome's *The Bulldozer in the Countryside*—the land ethic is not a point of discussion in this book. This is largely because it was not part of the debate between Ehrlich and Simon. As Sabin demonstrates exhaustively, Simon's only concern was human happiness and economic, social, and cultural development. Nature was purely instrumental. From this perspective, nature has no rights, merely providing resources and pollution sinks. While Ehrlich was certainly concerned with ecological health, his rhetorical strategy meant that he marginalized the rights of nature as well. The exclusion of this issue then persists within climate change rhetoric today, and therefore deserves further evaluation within the covers of this otherwise outstanding book.

Sabin's main argument, one that I believe is absolutely correct, is that by creating such rhetorical extremes of collapse versus unlimited prosperity, tied to competing ideologies and party affiliations, the debate epitomized by the bet has rendered middle-ground discussion and action on climate change almost impossible. This is an excellent study of a pivotal moment in American history, demonstrating the continuing power and danger of extreme rhetoric. For those seeking to better understand how the environmental consensus fell apart, the rise of the Republican Party at the end of the twentieth century, and the stasis we are trapped in today, this is a must-read.

American Jewish History: A Primary Source Reader, edited by Gary Phillip Zola and Marc Dollinger. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2014. 445 pages. \$85.00, cloth. \$40.00, paper.

People of the Book, a title given to the Jews during the early Islamic period, has manifested itself in America well beyond their relatively short period of experience in these new lands. This collection of newly presented documents from the monumental archive built by Jacob Marcus at the Cincinnati campus of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC-JIR) is like a ripe plum set before students, researchers, and the general public. It joins a distinguished list of documentary volumes that have appeared over the past half century, and no doubt will be followed by others as new documents enter the archive and new perspectives occupy scholars.

The documents presented in this volume, many new to the public, range from 1654 to 2013 and cover a wide variety of topics, representing new areas of scholarly interest that well represent the variety of religious, secular, business, social, and cultural as well as political and historical facets of the experience of Jews; each document is well introduced by the editors, which will facilitate the reader's orientation. Notably, there is an emphasis on the Reform Jewish movement that hosts the great archive from which they are drawn. A number of these documents have been printed previously and the editors have clearly identified their printed sources. The chapters are chronologically organized with subsections on various facets of the Jewish experience for easy reference. Indeed, there is a wealth of material on individuals both public and private, both Jewish and Gentile, both national and local—a treasure of informative documents for the general reader. Regrettably, the more unseemly aspects of the American Jewish experience are lacking in this collection: organized crime; Murder Inc.; the interwar Communist era; little Jewish military experience in the twentieth century; jazz, classical music, dance, theater, comedy, and other entertainment; Hollywood; and other less than laudatory topics. Hopefully, such documents will enter a future volume. This wide-ranging collection, however, will hopefully entice the scholar and researcher to visit the new building housing the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives on the Cincinnati campus of HUC-JIR, a most hospitable place to relax and work amongst its treasures.

The book will remain for the next generation a primary source for the study not only of American Jewish history, but indeed remain an important reference book for American studies in general.

University of Cincinnati

Steven Bowman