Reviews

Crude Reality: Petroleum in World History, by Brian Black. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2012. 287 pages. $27.95, paper.

Alexander Pope, an American entrepreneur of bicycles and electric vehicles, attempted in 1899 to put the internal combustion engine out of business. In that year, Pope bought up a seventeen-year patent on the "road engine," as it was then called, locked that patent away, and set out to build a competing infrastructure for his electric vehicles. Several court cases and a few years later, Pope's electric dream had been reduced to tatters. He found himself short on funds and, in an ironic twist of fate, forced to manufacture combustion engines to subsidize what remained of his electric vision (pp. 112-113).

Petroleum and the road engine did not have to wait long before they became deeply embedded in the nation's transportation infrastructure. Just a short generation later, in 1919, the federal government was, in fact, already commissioning Captain Dwight D. Eisenhower to conduct for military purposes a transcontinental survey of its interstate roadways. Equipped with forty-two gas-fueled trucks, several tank carriers, five passenger cars, and a handful of mobile field kitchens, Eisenhower's team was charged with the task of traveling west from the East Coast—sometimes as slowly as three to five miles a day—to collect evidence on the quality of the nation's roadways and the state of motor travel. Two months, and several headaches, later upon his arrival in San Francisco, Eisenhower could say with confidence that the prospects for motor transport in the U.S., and the health of the nation's emergent military-petroleum complex, were limited by a faulty infrastructure of roads that were "not too good," "nonexistent," and at best just "average" (pp. 132-133).

These are just two examples of the many hidden gems scattered throughout Brian Black's new book *Crude Reality: Petroleum in World History*—a concise and readable global history of petroleum. Black's aim in this book is to provide the reader with a compelling primer on the history of petroleum from its uncertain origins in the oil seeps of rural Pennsylvania to its world-wide grip on the economies and societies of such far-flung places as Russia, the South Sudan, Dubai, Venezuela, and Texas. A deft synthesis of the most current literature on oil, *Crude Reality* addresses: 1) how petroleum as a natural resource came to be controlled by a highly structured oligopoly, known as "big oil," and a handful of petro-dictators; 2) how the shift to petroleum defined modern conceptions of automobility and its impact on both military strategy and national infrastructures; 3) how an abundance of petroleum by midcentury supported the rise of a stratified consumer society of rich and poor; and 4) how theories of peak oil, climate change, and the modern geopolitics of oil are shaping our long-term energy future. Black's overall point is that

we live in a "crude reality," defined by the inevitability of oil depletion, by the birth of petro-dictators, by an unstable infrastructure of oil production and pipelines, and by the intensifying blowback from carbon-induced climate change.

While this book has several strengths, the most important contribution it makes is a simple one. *Crude Reality* takes a subject studied by a small subset of policy and environmental historians and manages to successfully integrate it into the core historical narratives that govern our teaching and scholarship at the K-12, undergraduate, and graduate levels. Black is persuasive in arguing, for instance, that we can no longer responsibly separate the history of petroleum from how we teach industrialization, World War I and II, colonialism and neocolonialism, and the rise of both a post-war consumer culture and the modern conservationist movement. His book will be useful, in that regard, in helping historians to close that gap as we experiment with integrating the history of oil into teaching units on industrialization and economies of scale, on the structure and motives of modern warfare, on the geopolitics of empire, and on the rise of mass consumption and the modern stratification of wealth.

Of course, every work has its limitations. As for *Crude Reality*, its two main limitations are that it is primarily a work of integration rather than original research and that its global scope still remains mainly oriented around the historical narratives that frame the work of U.S. historians. But those are small caveats to a big book that will help scholars, teachers, and students alike wrestle with how petroleum can be brought into the classroom and how it can inform the narratives that we develop for confronting the environmental changes we face in the years to come.

National University Robert Johnson

The Myth of the Strong Leader: Political Leadership in the Modern Age, by Archie Brown. New York: Basic Books, 2014. 466 pages. $29.99, cloth.

The Myth of the Strong Leader: Political Leadership in the Modern Age by Archie Brown is a thorough and detailed analysis of political leadership in the twentieth century. Brown asserts that what is traditionally considered as "strong" and "weak" in terms of a powerful leader is in fact an illusion. In a revisionist position, Brown argues that a person who consults, delegates, and seeks not to dominate policy might be portrayed as a "weak" ruler, but in fact can be more of a durable commander who reaps long-term successes.

Archie Brown is highly qualified to undertake this monumental task of reimaging former political officials. He is an Emeritus Professor of Politics at Oxford University and Emeritus Fellow at St. Antony's College. His area of expertise is in Russian and Eastern European leadership, focusing on topics such as the Cold War, political culture, and leadership. This book marks his nineteenth publication and several of his books have earned high praise and awards.

The book is organized thematically with eight large chapters. Within each section is an introduction and a discussion of specific leaders. Each section ends with a small conclusion. Chapter eight, titled "What Kind of Leadership is Desirable," could be considered a conclusion, as Brown pulls together a thorough assessment of the qualities of an extraordinary chief. Brown supplements his arguments with seventy-one pages of endnotes as well a shorter index. One might have wished that the author would have included a bibliography, but perhaps that might have been too much for this already large work.

What is unique about Brown's book is the blend of political science and historical methodology. This book could be used for both disciplines in an undergraduate setting. While focusing on the well-known totalitarian and authoritarian leaders such as Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin, Brown also gives attention to heads of democratic entities, such as Clement Atlee, Margaret Thatcher, Tony Blair, and most recently Barack Obama. What he summarizes, based on many years of research and expertise, is that there are three categories of exemplary leadership: redefining, transformational, and revolutionary. Brown then weaves together a narrative that assesses whether a leader was redefining by bringing about radical changes in policy, such as Atlee and Thatcher, or was transformational by revitalizing the nation in some systematic way, such as with domestic or foreign policy. He finds that Thatcher made a key impact in foreign policy, most notably at the end of the Cold War with her East-West diplomacy efforts, maintaining essential relationships with Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev (p. 96). Transformative types of heads of state would be men such as Gorbachev, Nelson Mandela, and Charles de Gaulle. In the end, he concludes that "leaders who believe they have a personal right to dominate decision-making in many different areas of policy…do a disservice both to good governance and to democracy. They deserve not followers, but critics" (p. 262).

This book can offer much value in the classroom. The arguments and choice of heads of state by the author would provide great material for undergraduates to discuss, debate, and analyze. The choice of political leaders, many well known and studied, would attract a large audience. However, the length could be a deterrent, as it comprises of four hundred and sixty-six pages. Perhaps breaking up the chapters for students could be a more viable alternative in using this book.

One wonders if the views of Brown are in fact the reality of this period or what he wished them to be. This book is clearly an opinionated treatise, as he has praise for leaders such as Atlee and Mandela, and more critical analysis for Blair and George W. Bush, particularly during the Iraq War of 2003. He finds that "Better-informed collective judgment, in the case of the Iraq war, should have led to serious scrutiny of easy assumptions about what would follow the overthrow of Saddam Hussein" (p. 340). Likewise, Brown's focus on the executive or "top" leadership, a seemingly "top-down" approach, raises the question of the role of the "foot solders" or officials who truly carried out policies. What about councils or other leaders, less known, who perhaps influence governance more than the well-known names described in the book?

Brown deserves to be commended for tackling such a key topic in political leadership studies. He offers a thought-provoking interpretation of the dynamics of rule in the twentieth century. His questions concerning the dichotomy of weak/strong leaders merit serious consideration for future studies.

Thomas More College Jodie N. Mader

Emperor of Liberty: Thomas Jefferson's Foreign Policy, by Francis D. Cogliano. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014. 302 pages. $28.99, cloth.

The "Sage of Monticello" never fails to engage scholars, teachers, and the public at large with his Renaissance mind, political skills, contributions to the young republic, and amazing inconsistencies. Those contradictions are scattered throughout Thomas Jefferson's life and play out in the ongoing controversy about his mindset as realist or idealist. The debate is especially profound in dealing with his role in foreign affairs. Francis Cogliano uses case

studies to reveal the evolution of Jefferson's statecraft prior to and including the presidency. Cogliano refuses to get bogged down in the ideological debate over Jefferson. For the author, the Virginian emerges with a clear vision; a pragmatist advancing his goals. In a nation perpetually threatened by Europeans, Jefferson dedicated himself to defending the country's existence and the mission of liberty. This liberty could only survive if the United States had access to abundant lands and overseas markets. Willing to use any number of tactics—including economic pressure, negotiation, threats, and force—Jefferson's flexibility was situational and learned over time. Importantly, this intellectual elasticity was a realistic response borne of the ongoing weakness of the country.

As the British ran roughshod over the Commonwealth in 1781, Governor Jefferson was embarrassed by charges of inept leadership. The author contends this disastrous experience provided Jefferson with the foundation for lessons in leadership. His reputation in tatters, he garnered a valuable education that he later applied—perhaps extra-legally—about decisive action in a crisis. The republic must be defended at all costs from both internal and external enemies, and the popular will marshaled within the framework of limited time and scope.

The Barbary States provided two opportunities for Jefferson's developing philosophy and policy. Commencing with his stint as minister to France in the 1780s and continuing into his first term in the White House, the North African pirates preyed upon American shipping. Jefferson believed firmly in the principle of free trade and recognized the importance of pleadings failed during the Articles of Confederation; as president, he expended millions of dollars and dispatched squadron after squadron to bring the Tripolitans to their knees. Jefferson held that the president had extensive power in foreign affairs, and acted aggressively in defending the nation's interests prior to receiving congressional approval of his actions.

To show Jefferson's growth as Secretary of State, Cogliano explores several lesser-known topics, such as the Nootka Sound controversy and collapsing relations with revolutionary France. The former short-lived crisis in the Northwest involved Spain and Great Britain in 1790. The United States, operating with a meager military establishment, sought to take advantage of the situation by advancing several of Jefferson's goals regarding Madrid—gaining control of the Mississippi River and the Floridas. Temporarily unsuccessful, Jefferson proved relentless in promoting territorial acquisition for his beloved yeomen farmers, which could possibly extend as far north as Canada and as far south as Cuba.

Setbacks existed. Given his Francophile viewpoint, the Quasi War with France (1797-1800) put Jefferson in a difficult political situation, as did his controversial stance on state nullification of federal laws in the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798. Cogliano argues that nullification was Jefferson's way to offer a safety valve to preserve liberty and the union. In addition to the Barbary conflict, Jefferson as president also dealt with his greatest triumph—the Louisiana Purchase—and his greatest disaster—the Embargo. In each case, he stretched executive powers, staying consistent with his vision for the nation, if not his construction of the Constitution. A handful of members of Congress grumbled about the legal issues surrounding Louisiana, but could not refute its impact on the course of the republic. In contrast, Jefferson's excessive enforcement and inability to rally the public in response to impressment and the "Chesapeake affair" helped doom his economic strategy.

The author offers a very able defense of Jefferson's statecraft. Many teachers will be familiar with the topics covered, but will find the interpretation focusing upon Jefferson as an idealist clothed in pragmatism interesting and worthwhile. Readable, well-researched, and manageable in length, this should become the "go-to" book on the subject. A bibliography would have been useful for easy reference, and some of the lengthy quotes would be just as valuable in reduced format. Scholars of the Tripolitan War may debate

whether the area is "largely neglected" (p. 170), but this and other minor quibbles should not detract from the overall quality of this fine volume.

University of South Florida John M. Belohlavek

A Disease in the Public Mind: A New Understanding of Why We Fought the Civil War, by Thomas Fleming. Boston, MA: Da Capo Press, 2013. 284 pages. $26.99, cloth.

Historians rarely harvest the words of James Buchanan for their book titles, but Thomas Fleming provides an exception to the rule with his new study of the Civil War's origins. Fleming borrows from Buchanan's 1859 message to Congress, which described Harper's Ferry as the work of "heated partisans" promoting "abstract doctrines" to the point of violence, revealing an "incurable disease in the public mind" that might soon result in an "open war to abolish slavery." Alas, Buchanan's address is this book's muse. Like Buchanan, Fleming portrays a North fuming over an institution that annoyed them; a South distracted by fear of servile insurrection; and a wider nation that lacked brave leaders and could not recognize that slavery might eventually expire under the burden of its own contradictions. It is not a persuasive thesis.

Much of Fleming's argument rests on the debatable assertion that war might have been averted if prominent men like Thomas Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, or William Lloyd Garrison had moderated their fear and outrage during the early decades of the nineteenth century. What if Jefferson, for example, had supported the cause of Haitian independence rather than succumb to the planter class's fear of race war? What if Garrison had followed the English and become an advocate for compensated emancipation? What if Adams—instead of becoming an antislavery "warrior for righteousness"—had remained the "judicious politician" of his younger years? The book is loaded with these sorts of counterfactuals, each of them more hypothetical than the last. Adams in particular is singled out for acute criticism. As Fleming tells it, Adams might have worked magic by rebuking Garrison, becoming an advocate for compensated, gradual emancipation, and helping bring slavery to an end in Delaware and Maryland (and possibly even Virginia). Readers never find a convincing explanation for *how* this alternative history—or any of the others he proposes—might have come to pass. We're simply asked to join Fleming in his regret that the past didn't turn out differently.

Fleming reserves his greatest criticism, however, for abolitionists themselves, who are among other things "manic," "sneering," "paranoid," and "heartless"—a "throng" of true believers whose work calls to mind the Salem witch trials or the Red Scare. Curiously, the abolitionists depicted are overwhelmingly white and almost exclusively male. Regardless, the "frenzy" of abolitionist opposition to the "Slave Power" leads inevitably—as Buchanan himself claimed in 1859—to the murderous delusions of John Brown. In essence, Fleming argues, abolitionists spent decades frightening Southern whites, stoking their anxieties with words that seemed to encourage rebellion. Blinded by self-righteousness and hatred for the South, they could not perceive that slavery was undergoing great changes that might eventually have brought it to an end without the intervention of a remorseless war. Eventually, Fleming argues, "Southern Masters would have had to confront slavery's greatest failure: its lack of freedom." He supposes that more individuals "might have become ready to risk emancipation rather than to live with such gross injustice on a day-to-day basis" (pp. 210-211). The word "might" does a lot of work in that sentence, and is

representative of the book's embrace of hypotheticals that cannot be proven or disproven, but would certainly cause vigorous debate among historians.

While abolitionists receive withering scrutiny, little attention is paid to the evolution of secessionist ideology. Fleming briefly covers John C. Calhoun's nullification doctrine, and two paragraphs are reserved to describe the political formation of the Confederacy. Meantime, no mention is made of William Lowndes Yancey, Edwin Ruffin, or any of the other great Fire-Eaters of the 1850s (indeed, the term "Fire-Eater" itself never appears); nor does Fleming mention the Bluffton Movement, the Nashville Convention, or any of the other precursors to the secessionist campaign of 1860-1861. For those well-versed in the historiography of the roots of the war, these are conspicuous omissions, but students will not be as sophisticated. Teachers should challenge their classes to critically investigate Fleming's portrayal of a South spurred to radical action primarily out of fear rather than by deliberate, prolonged effort. Readers who are particularly interested in the ideological roots of the war and the development of Southern nationalism would do well to compare this work against William Freehling's *Road to Disunion*, Elizabeth Varon's *Disunion!*, David Potter's still-unsurpassed *Impending Crisis*, and even older "needless war" historians like Avery Craven.

Overall, the book's thesis overestimates the historical force of "leadership" and insufficiently confronts the free South's existential investment in white supremacy. It understates the political chaos of the 1850s and holds John Quincy Adams somehow more responsible for the Civil War than Roger Taney. And finally, with the war over and American slavery rebuked and dismantled, discussion then turns to reconciliationist sentiment that could only be sustained by forgetting the horrific aftermath of the war itself. A truly "new understanding" of the war's roots will have to wait for another day.

University of Alaska Southeast David Noon

African & American: West Africans in Post-Civil Rights America, by Marilyn Halter and Violet Showers Johnson. New York: New York University Press, 2014. 352 pages. $26.00, paper.

Marilyn Halter, Professor of History and American Studies at Boston University, and Violet Showers Johnson, Professor of History and Director of Africana Studies at Texas A&M University, offer a compelling examination of West African immigration to the United States in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. Through an introduction, six chapters, and conclusion, the authors successfully investigate "the intricate patterns of adaptation and incorporation among [West African] immigrants and their children, the evolution of new forms of transitional ties with Africa and Europe, as well as translocal connections among the numerous enclaves in the United States, and the impact of recent postcolonial and voluntary immigrations of West Africans on the changing meaning of 'African Americanness'" (p. 6).

Chapter one, "West Africa and West Africans," provides an overview of the complicated history of West Africa leading up to late twentieth-century migration patterns in the region. As the authors' note, West Africans "coexisted in ways that led to the birth of regionalism that would become even more complex with the arrival and interference of different groups of Europeans" (p. 39). Chapters two and three examine the economic opportunities available to and jobs occupied by recent West African immigrants. The authors find that most recent West African immigrants do not fill jobs that they were professionally trained

for, thereby making their participation in the U.S. workforce one marked by flexibility and entrepreneurship. In fact, in many urban areas, these immigrants create niche markets in fashion production, fashion merchandising, hair care, and the ethnic foods industry.

Chapters four through six examine the ways West African immigrants see themselves in relationship to their countries of origin, their new home country, and the racial landscape in the United States. In cities and suburbs throughout the United States—like Fauta Town, a West African neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York, and Doraville, a suburban community in Atlanta, Georgia—transplanted West Africans form ethnic enclaves among native-born African Americans. Such enclaves host a plethora of ethnically based and nationally based newspapers, mutual aid societies, and social clubs to maintain social bonds and connections to their countries of origin. As newcomers to the American concept of race, West African migrants constantly negotiate issues of cultural blackness among African Americans and notions skin color in the larger American populace. Despite these constant negotiations, the authors find that, more often than not, recent immigrants from West Africa "privilege their ethnicity or nationality as their primary group attachment" (p. 186), while the second generation is marked by a high degree of social versatility and hybridity.

The book blends primary qualitative interviews, historical methodologies, and a broad cross section of secondary sources to expand a discussion of immigration, race, and how the African Diaspora continued to change in the late twentieth century and remake itself in the early twenty-first century. While it deals with West African immigration to the United States, Halter and Johnson's work is truly a work in world history.

African & American is not suitable for high school students or lower-division college/university students, but it can be useful in college and university courses in Africana Studies, American Studies, and Sociology, or for demography examining contemporary immigration patterns, identity development, and politics. Even here, instructors should be careful in helping students read the text and understand the obvious and not-so-subtle discussions of identity formation and contestation. Students should have a firm foundation of how race is (re)made in the United States over time, a sense of how race and ethnicity work, and an understanding of the plurality of West Africa. To be sure, Halter and Johnson do a fine job of explaining these developments, but students should come to the work with more than the basics in order to appreciate the work's contribution to the content of the discipline. The extensive bibliography and secondary sources could be used to inform that discussion. Ideally, the book would be a point of departure to get college and university students into the communities wherein West Africans reside to build bridges of understanding and cross-cultural competence. Whether or not the book is used as a course reading, it is a necessary read for any teacher or instructor who teaches any history course about modern United States history, post-colonial Africa, or modern world history because it discusses an important segment of America's immigrant population that is virtually invisible to most Americans.

Salem State University Jamie J. Wilson

Gettysburg Religion: Refinement, Diversity, and Race in the Antebellum and Civil War Border North, by Steve Longenecker. New York: Fordham University Press, 2014. 239 pages. $45.00, cloth.

Steve Longenecker has produced an innovative study about a Gettysburg that most of us do not know. The Gettysburg we think we know—scene of the great battle and Lincoln's

nation-defining address—shows up long after Longenecker has surveyed the Border North community's eighteenth-century origins and its nineteenth-century civic development, reconstructed its religious and ethnic mosaic, and introduced readers to a handful of Gettysburg's religious residents. Relying on solid research into local histories, archives, church records, censuses, and newspapers, Longenecker situates Gettysburg within the context of larger American concerns and happenings, and what emerges is both a window into the past and a mirror of the present. In bringing Gettysburg to life, Longenecker renders the familiar less familiar and more human—and thus more interesting. Gettysburg, he says, "was intriguing before it became famous" (p. 33).

Before, during, and after the famous events of 1863, Gettysburg's residents engaged in routine nineteenth-century activities alongside the perennial Christian task of being faithful in relation to the "world." Paved sidewalks, a town clock, a waterworks, a library, a firehouse, gas-lighting, a community cemetery, and the railroad all came to antebellum Gettysburg, while congregations struggled financially, called pastors, constructed buildings, argued over property, and disciplined congregants. And they did these things within a broader movement of "refinement," or the middle-class desire for material and spiritual improvement made available by the "market revolution." Gettysburg churches participated in refinement by beautifying their buildings inside and out, while also aiming to improve their congregation's worship and manners through music and education. Longenecker presents Gettysburg as an ordinary antebellum town, which generally includes its religious believers' ability to overcome their scruples about the worldliness of refinement.

As was true of many nineteenth-century communities, ordinary life in Gettysburg appears axiomatically religious. However, its diverse religious composition stands out. Protestants were represented in and around Gettysburg by Lutherans (including a seminary), two Presbyterian denominations, German Reformed, Methodists, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Dunkers, Quakers, and Mennonites (notably absent were Baptists and Episcopalians). In Longenecker's view, such diversity adumbrates a less homogeneous, less evangelical, and more modern America. He stresses that evangelicalism, particularly its emphasis on revivalistic methods and regenerative experience, proved divisive within some of Gettysburg's denominations. Such controversy was not unique to Gettysburg, and Longenecker's treatment is somewhat problematic because he essentially equates evangelicalism with revivalism; broadening evangelicalism to include other traits—particularly emphases on the centrality of scripture, individual piety, and the person and work of Christ—might make many of Gettysburg's Protestants more evangelical than Longenecker perceives them to have been. He is strongest in treating outsider sects like the Dunkers, particularly their efforts to negotiate their relationship with mainstream society (including refinement), though perhaps they receive disproportionate attention. This attention is unsurprising, however, given his previous academic work, and the Dunkers help him portray a Gettysburg where "oddness," he claims, "was almost normal" (p. 130); in addition, it was a Dunker family who owned the Peach Orchard made famous by the battle and who later could not resist the temptation to cash in on that fame by selling "battle-field" peaches (p. 168). Adding to Gettysburg's variety was Roman Catholicism, whose "inflammatory" (p. 90) presence was met by "rampant" (p. 92) nativism. Gettysburg's Protestants were fairly ordinary, then, in their hostility to Roman Catholicism, but Longenecker nevertheless incongruously concludes that Roman Catholics "enjoyed general acceptance" in Gettysburg (p. 97). Overlay Gettysburg's religion with ethnicity and race, and the mixture becomes even more complex. Both Lutherans and Reformed struggled over the use of English and German in worship, while the town's eight percent African American population, a relatively high proportion in the

North, struggled in the face of racism and occasional racial violence, poverty, southern slave catchers, and a denial of full civic and political equality. Longenecker's treatment of Gettysburg's African Americans is done well and could be particularly valuable to one unfamiliar with the free-black experience in the North.

Longenecker might have heightened Gettysburg's diversity further had he given attention to politics. Perhaps the sources did not reveal much, but religious Gettysburg comes off as surprisingly apolitical. Are we to believe that its religionists were uniquely disconnected from national affairs? Aside from brief discussions of Know Nothings, slavery, and civil religion, one would not know from reading *Gettysburg Religion* that many Civil War-era religious Americans were intensely political. Nevertheless, Longenecker has written a neatly conceived book that leaves us asking the right questions about how we go about the vocation of rendering the past and then relating that rendition to present-day concerns.

The Geneva School (Winter Park, Florida) Grant R. Brodrecht

Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia, by William D. Phillips, Jr. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. 272 pages. $65.00, cloth.

Slavery is a critical issue in any course on the history of the Americas. But where did the ideas behind slavery as practiced by European conquerors and colonists come from? William Phillips's *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* addresses both the institution of slavery and the lived experience of slaves during the ancient, medieval, and early modern periods in the Iberian peninsula, synthesizing the last several decades of research on the subject to provide teachers and scholars with the means to orient themselves in the history of slavery before the age of European colonization.

After an opening chapter that presents a helpful overview of the history of slavery in the peninsula, Phillips's book is organized thematically, beginning by addressing how a person became enslaved (chapter two). Wars of conquest and reconquest between Christian and Islamic powers in the peninsula provided slaves to both sides, but Phillips is careful to emphasize that this dynamic is not as clear-cut as it seems: Islamic law forbade the enslavement of members of protected religions (Christians and Jews among them) unless they resisted conquest or rebelled afterwards, and Christian conquerors usually found it expedient to maintain the non-combatant Muslim populations of the areas they conquered as a free (albeit subject) labor force. Given these limitations, as well as the bans on enslaving co-religionists, both sides depended on slaves imported through the slave trade (chapter three). Muslims purchased "pagan" slaves from the Slavic regions and sub-Saharan Africa, while Iberian Christians participated in the Mediterranean slave trade in Crimean peoples and even Orthodox Greeks, supplemented in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by slaves purchased from West African traders. Chapters four and five move on to the experience of slavery. While the law generally treated slaves as things rather than persons, religious authorities encouraged humane treatment—a notion of the fundamental humanity of slaves that is tragically undercut by the chapter's discussion of the sexual vulnerability of the women who made up approximately two-thirds of Iberia's slave population. And while historians have classified most pre-modern Mediterranean slavery as "domestic," Phillips shows how this label masks a wide variety of productive

activities: household production, work on private agricultural estates and in artisan workshops, and even the widespread practice of renting out one's slaves as a sort of investment property. As a final step in the cycle of slavery, a slave might gain his or her freedom (chapter six), sometimes through flight, but most commonly through formal manumission. Here, Phillips notes important differences between free persons and freed persons: the latter were subject to lifelong legal disability, continuing ties of obligation to their former owners, and the suspicion of their free neighbors.

Lurking in the background of all these discussions is the important question of race. In his epilogue on the American legacy of Iberian slavery, Phillips argues that while slave-owners in all pre-modern Iberian societies distinguished between slaves by skin color and ethnicity, they generally did not assign inherited intellectual or moral traits to these physical characteristics: large-scale black African slavery in the Americas was more likely the cause of racialized thinking about servitude than the other way around. Yet even if Iberian slavery did not supply the ideas of race that would become intertwined with the institution of slavery to such devastating and far-reaching effect, it did provide the institutional, cultural, and economic framework that, when exported to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, allowed those ideas to grow and thrive.

One of the great strengths of this book is the way it points out both unity and diversity in the practice of slavery across the many cultures of pre-modern Iberia. Along these lines, a reader might wish for more attention to the differences between Iberian Islamic regimes, and for more to be said about the role of the peninsula's third great population, the Jews, as slaves, slave-owners, and slave traders—though this latter gap is surely due to the comparative shortage of scholarly work on the subject to date. There are also a handful of repetitions from one chapter to the next, making for a slightly jarring read in places. These quibbles aside, this book is an admirable overview of the state of research in this field. It will provide a valuable starting point for college-level classes covering slavery in Mediterranean and Atlantic worlds, and for secondary school teachers who wish to add a comparative dimension to their existing discussions of slavery or to explore the cultural, institutional, and economic roots of slavery before the colonial age.

California State University, Long Beach Marie A. Kelleher

A Companion to Late Antiquity, edited by Philip Rousseau with Jutta Raithel. Chichester, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012. 734 pages. $49.95, paper.

A Companion to Late Antiquity is neither a multi-authored textbook, nor a comprehensive reference work. Rather, like the preceding volumes in Wiley-Blackwell's Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World series, it is a collection of topical essays aimed at an audience of "scholars, students, and general readers" (p. iv). The lengthy volume is divided into five sections, each containing between five and nine essays: (1) The View from the Future; (2) Land and People; (3) Image and Word; (4) Empire, Kingdom, and Beyond; and (5) The Sacred. As these sectional titles suggest, and as Rousseau explicitly acknowledges in his general introduction, the collection's thematic scope is broad, but not comprehensive. There is more sustained coverage of the social, cultural, and especially religious history of the period, while political and military history receive comparatively less attention. Rousseau credits this uneven topical coverage to his decision to allow the contributors themselves to determine the volume's contents. The volume's contributors

demonstrate no discernable geographical bias, however, and ample coverage is offered for both the eastern and western halves of the Mediterranean. Unfortunately, the volume's contents do reflect the absence of a universally accepted periodization for Late Antiquity. Rousseau is not being facetious when he writes, "Late Antiquity is considered to be… after some things and before others" (p. xxii). In particular, the coverage of sixth- and seventh-century Western Europe is surprisingly slight. The title of the collection might very easily have been changed to *A Companion to the Later Roman Empire* with only minimal revisions to its contents. Despite the volume's uneven coverage, an effort is made to link the contents with connective tissue in the form of an introductory essay by Wendy Mayer and brief notices at the beginning of the volume's five parts. No conclusion, however, is provided.

The *Companion*'s strengths lie not in its design, but rather in the quality of the individual essays. Although any anthology of this length will contain stronger and weaker chapters, the overall quality of the essays in this collection is impressive. The essays in the volume's second part, "Land and People," which examines the period from geographical and socio-historical perspectives, are particularly consistent and informative. In one of the rare chapters focusing exclusively on infrastructure, Blake Leyerle's essay on travel and transportation emphasizes the mobility of the late antique population, the significance of which is illustrated in Claire Sotinel's subsequent essay on the movement of information around the Roman Empire. In the same section, S. T. Loseby's chapter on cities is a helpful and informative overview. Similarly, essays by Judith Evans-Grubbs and Éric Rebillard, on familial relationships and religious funerary rituals, respectively, are both lucid and fascinating.

Unfortunately, many of the essays in the *Companion* assume some prior knowledge on the part of the reader, knowledge that many general and undergraduate readers will lack. For example, Clifford Ando's critical gloss of Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is stimulating, but likely would be of minimal interest to readers not already intimately acquainted with that work. Occasionally, allusions to specific persons or publications are made without sufficient identification (e.g., the reference to a lecture by the otherwise unidentified Ernst Kornemann on page 77). Additionally, foreign terms and titles are not always translated into English. Non-specialist readers also may find some of the essays difficult to parse due to the use of technical terminology and occasionally dense academese. For instance, it is doubtful that general readers and students below the graduate level will know what to make of references to "readings of premodern texts that treat their metarhetorical assumptions as indices and repositories of cultural tensions and negotiations" (p. 19). Some readers may also find the use of parenthetical citations to be intrusive distractions from the narrative.

In short, despite the intentions of the series editors, this volume likely will be of more interest and use to graduate students and professional scholars than general readers and undergraduates. Graduate students, in particular, will find the individual essays helpful encapsulations of the latest research on the period by some of its leading specialists. Instructors of upper-level undergraduate courses on Late Antiquity might profitably assign individual essays from the anthology to complement readings and lectures, but the volume's overall difficulty and uneven coverage prohibit its use as a textbook proper. While the *Companion* might not achieve all of the stated goals of its series, it is nevertheless a very impressive collection of essays, which reveal late antique studies as an established and dynamic field of study.

Framingham State University Gregory I. Halfond

The Internal Enemy: Slavery and War in Virginia, 1772-1832, by Alan Taylor. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2013. 624 pages. $35.00, cloth.

Alan Taylor's *The Internal Enemy: Slavery and War in Virginia, 1772-1832* is yet another impressive tome from the Pulitzer and Bancroft Prize-winning historian. The central focus of this book is the Virginian slaves who escaped to British warships during the War of 1812. These runaways, who eventually numbered about 3,400, aided the British by sharing their knowledge of Virginia's landscape and waterways. Equipped with this information, the British were better able to perform raids and commandeer supplies. By accepting these runaways onto their ships, the British also deprived their American foes of their labor force. In return for the slaves' efforts, the British offered them freedom as well as a chance to fight against their enslavers. After the war, these free blacks settled in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Bermuda, and Trinidad. Scholars have recognized the existence and impact of wartime runaways during the American Revolution, but have neglected the same phenomenon during the War of 1812. With this important work, Taylor corrects this oversight.

Taylor contends that Virginians considered their slaves an "internal enemy." They lived in constant dread of an uprising, particularly after Gabriel's Revolt and the Haitian Revolution. As concerned as they were about holding black slaves, Virginians were equally afraid of freeing them lest they face violent retribution from their former "property." It is within this context of suspicion that Taylor places slaves' actions during the War of 1812. Their exodus and their willingness to bear arms against Virginia confirmed slaveholders' worst fears about their "internal enemy."

With his clear prose and engaging style, Taylor tells his story in twelve chapters, spanning from 1772 until 1832. In this way, he encapsulates the events of the 1812 war within the larger context of Virginia history, from the American Revolution until Nat Turner's revolt. He peppers his narrative with fascinating examples, like that of the runaway slave Bartlet Shanklyn. Shanklyn, a blacksmith, escaped to the British in 1814 and became a successful free man in Preston, Nova Scotia. He wrote to Hooe, his former master, in 1820 and boasted of his new prosperity. Hooe used this letter as evidence in his bid for post-war compensation from the federal government. His petition, and those of other slaveholders, reveals the frequency with which slaves absconded and the disruption that their actions caused the plantation system. These documents serve as a core element in Taylor's research (pp. 2-4). Taylor also bolsters his narrative with remarkable images. For example, he includes a photograph of Gabriel Hall, a runaway slave from Maryland who escaped to the British during the war. In 1815, Hall settled in Halifax, where he lived until at least ninety-two years old. The photograph is the only known image of a runaway from the War of 1812 (p. 350).

Throughout the book, Taylor further illuminates the experiences of the runaways. He devotes an entire chapter to discussing the mass exodus of slaves from the Corotoman Plantation in 1814. He emphasizes that runaways, after securing freedom from the British, often returned to their plantations to retrieve family and friends. The British recognized that the runaways would not accept freedom without their loved ones, so they permitted women and children to remain among them. The British formed the male runaways into a "special unit of Colonial Marines," which brought pride to these formerly enslaved persons (p. 279). They were central to British victories in 1813 and 1814. After the war ended, President Monroe sent three agents to retrieve the freed slaves, most of whom had settled throughout British territories. Despite the hardships they endured in their new homes, none of the runaways returned to Virginia.

Taylor's work expands our knowledge on slave resistance. Scholars have long recognized that slaves ran away from their masters. Taylor emphasizes the prevalence of this practice during wartime, a previously undervalued element of the story. During the War of 1812, slave absconders significantly undermined the plantation economy and brought some masters to the brink of ruin. Importantly, runaways identified the British as liberators. This characterization irked Virginians, who were devoted to the idea of themselves as the protectors of freedom and Britons as the tyrannical imperialists. The runaways forced America to confront its central hypocrisy; this "land of the free" was built upon the backs of slaves.

Cumberland County College Christina Dickerson-Cousin

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