

Reviews

Improbable Voices: A History of the World Since 1450 Seen From Twenty-Six Unusual Perspectives, by Derek Dwight Anderson. Sausalito, CA: Derek Dwight Anderson, 2020. 690 pages. \$25.00, paper.

The inclusion of exemplary individuals in historical narratives is not an uncommon component in contemporary classrooms. Depending on a student's local curriculum, survey courses offer the perspectives of Alexander Hamilton, Genghis Khan, and Frederick Douglass to help students conceptualize and contextualize the past. However, the neglect of alternate historical perspectives in contemporary classrooms has perpetuated the omission of voices from non-hegemonic societies. To counter these skewed historical narratives, Derek Dwight Anderson details the accounts of various persons from the mid-fifteenth until the twenty-first century in his 2020 compendium, *Improbable Voices: A History of the World Since 1450 Seen From Twenty-Six Unusual Perspectives*. By focusing on actors from various class, racial, and gender backgrounds, Anderson explains "the history of the world since 1450 without either focusing upon history's most well-known personalities or ignoring the importance of individuals in shaping human events" (p. 15). Throughout his book, Anderson creates a vivid historical representation of world history by analyzing themes such as the intersection of cultural hegemony and individual experiences during the colonization of African territories, Byzantine iconoclasm, and the navigation of Asian political courts.

In order to address world histories from the past five centuries, Anderson structures his book into six sections, organized chronologically. Although his spatial framing stretches across the world, Anderson thematically links his chapters around "the fundamental beliefs of various cultures and subcultures, and how they differ," to create a more comprehensive understanding of the past (p. 16). His examination of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries includes the accounts of figures ranging from Russian noblemen to Ethiopian rulers, heavily focusing on the role of Christianity within these societies. Anderson's analysis of the seventeenth century includes more non-European perspectives, such as the histories of the Ottoman Empire's ruler Ibrahim I and Japanese

Emperor Go-Mizunoo. The following section engages with eighteenth-century Korean, Vietnamese, and Western European accounts that discuss gender, court politics, and social mobility. He follows with an examination of nineteenth-century modernization, imperialism, and colonization through the perspectives of Iranian monarchs and African American activists in his fourth set of case studies. In the final two sections about world history since 1900, Anderson positions subaltern actors into the histories of globalization, imperialism, and nationalization, including analyses of indigenous peoples in British-controlled Oceania and Kenyan activists. In crafting these chapters, Anderson supports his examinations with ample archival and secondary material from American, European, Oceanian, and Asian archives. Additionally, his glossary and index offer elaborations on historical terminology and events to help provide context for readers unfamiliar with the histories of particular times or regions. However, the lack of introductory segments leading into these case studies hampers the accessibility of this text. Such an omission creates a reading context in which the reader has to be responsible for possessing historical information related to several of these figures, limiting the audience of this book. Despite this hurdle, Anderson's collection functions as a significant source of alternate perspectives that help round out historical understandings of how beliefs functioned in world history since 1450.

Regarding the applicability of Anderson's collection to historical curricula, the author's writing offers history students robust supplementary material helpful in branching away from master narratives. Since the stories presented in the text depict diverse perspectives, ranging from Polynesian travelers to Kenyan public health activists, teachers can use excerpts to augment their lesson plans depending on thematic or spatial components. Anderson's weaving of secondary literature and theoretical frameworks in his case studies contributes to instances where these passages become dense, risking confusion for lower-leveled history students. Keeping in mind this prerequisite of historical information, history teachers in secondary education will find it hard to use this compendium as a primary text in their classes. Similarly, lower-division survey courses in colleges will struggle to engage in material and methodological discussions of Anderson's work because each of his perspectives engages in a breadth of historical processes. However, the plurality of perspectives in Anderson's work offers educators ample material to incorporate into their curriculum because there is no strict metanarrative in Anderson's work apart from his desire to "address the planet's enormous cultural diversity" (p. 15). Students in upper-division history courses and graduate students are best equipped to benefit from *Improbable Voices* because their experience with critically assessing historical frameworks and processes allows for more meaningful integration of alternate perspectives into their understanding of history and historiographies. As teachers struggle to expand beyond master narratives of the past, Anderson's text offers a bridge into lesser-studied perspectives and histories for educators and students alike.

Race and the Wild West: Sarah Bickford, the Montana Vigilantes, and the Tourism of Decline, 1870-1930, by Laura J. Arata. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020. 304 pages. \$24.95, paper. \$24.94, electronic.

“Sarah Bickford and the Montana Vigilantes both left indelible imprints on western history, but while thousands of pages have been written about the Vigilantes, little has been written about the woman who preserved a cornerstone of their legend,” writes historian Laura J. Arata (p. 1). Beginning with a brief description of the storied Montana Vigilantes and their 1864 reign of terror—they executed some twenty-two alleged white outlaws in just over a month—Arata focuses on a biography of Sarah Bickford, a Black woman who settled in Virginia City (site of the Vigilante violence) after the American Civil War and lived there until her death in 1931. Central to the story of Bickford, Arata asks her readers to believe, was the preservation in her business office of a crossbeam upon which the Vigilantes had hanged several victims in 1864.

The historiography of the American West has largely ignored the experiences and contributions of Black women, and, in producing a study of Bickford, Arata has performed an important service. Beginning with Bickford’s birth sometime in the mid-1850s as an enslaved person in Tennessee, the author paints a persuasive picture of the danger and tumult that rocked the American South during the Civil War. This created a terrifying environment for a young and vulnerable girl like Bickford, who soon fled for the relative peace and safety of Virginia City, where she would soon be one of the few Black residents in the Montana Territory. Relying out of necessity on scant primary documentation pertaining to her subject’s life, Arata does an admirable job of patching it together using newspaper accounts and public records. In 1872, for instance, Bickford married an Irish immigrant named John Brown who physically assaulted and verbally abused her and their children until their divorce in 1881. Thereafter, Bickford lived an eventful life: opening a restaurant; raising vegetables for sale; facing the racist slurs and obstacles endemic to the age; marrying a white man named Stephen Bickford (with whom she had several more children); and, after the death of her husband, becoming the owner and operator of the Virginia City waterworks, thereby giving her a position of some authority in the community and making her one of the most prominent Black businesswomen in the West. After she had established her office in an “otherwise unremarkable building where five Road Agents [had been] lynched” during the Vigilante days of 1864, she demonstrated her business acumen by charging tourists eager to see the crossbeam still bearing the imprint of the rope once strung over it (p. 180).

Unfortunately, the connection between the 1864 Vigilante lynchings and Sarah Bickford that was used to attract interest in the book’s title and its early and closing pages proves to be tangential at best, is not in conversation with the ample literature on the subject, and is ultimately unpersuasive. Furthermore, while a biography of this nature requires some speculation, Arata sometimes offers potential claims far bolder than the evidence seems to support. In describing John Brown’s domestic abuse of Sarah Bickford, she writes: “If the credible speculation

that the Montana Vigilantes remained latently organized throughout the 1870s is correct, and if the stories saying that they were known to threaten suspected criminals and abusive men with lynching if they did not heed warnings to leave are true, then it is entirely believable that some vestige of the Vigilantes ran John Brown out of town” (p. 66). She then goes on to speculate that “this may have been Stephen Bickford’s most credible connection to the movement. Though his children later believed him to have been a Vigilante, there is nothing to suggest that he played any active role in 1864; however, it is entirely possible that he made a foray into a remnant of their ranks at this juncture” (p. 66). When speculating as to why Bickford preserved the lynching crossbeam in her business office, Arata admittedly writes that Bickford’s reasons for doing so were unclear: “Perhaps the Vigilantes, or some remnant of them, had run John Brown out of town and she never forgot it. Possibly she believed that Stephen Bickford had supported them, and in maintaining their legend she honored his memory” (p. 200). Interestingly, this could offer a teachable moment. While extensive speculation rightly draws concerns, it also presents an opportunity to urge students to consider what they can (or cannot) claim when faced with incomplete or inconclusive evidence. Notwithstanding these concerns, Arata has undertaken an exhaustive search of the evidence into the remarkable life of an extraordinary Black western woman and business owner.

University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

Brent M. S. Campney

Debating Nationalism: The Global Spread of Nations, by Florian Bieber. London, United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020. 256 pages. \$80.00, cloth. \$25.95, paper. \$25.95, electronic.

Despite recurring predictions of nationalism’s decline or demise, nationalist ideas and nationalist states continue to shape identities in every modern society and flourish amid constantly expanding global economic and cultural systems. As Florian Bieber notes in this book, our era’s “globalism” may actually be intensifying contemporary nationalisms because globalization is pushing vulnerable social groups to embrace populist movements, denounce immigration, and condemn international institutions such as the European Union. Bieber therefore examines a subject that students need to understand. Although they live in a world of “everyday” nationalism that deeply affects their lives (from education and sports, to warfare, religion, and political campaigns), students rarely know that nationalism emerged from specific historical processes that have constructed modern nationhood since the eighteenth century.

Debating Nationalism introduces readers to political and identity-shaping strategies that nationalist movements and governments have used to create a sense of “membership in a shared political community” and affirm the importance of sovereign “self-rule” (p. 7). Bieber’s book mostly focuses on this political description of nationalism rather than on the cultural, religious, literary, or

gendered themes that have attracted much historical analysis in recent decades. His approach to nationalism thus prioritizes political discussion compared to the diverse theoretical approaches that have reshaped the recent historiography in this field, though he persuasively rejects theories that argue for a “primordial” national essence.

Bieber’s chapters describe the emergence and evolution of nationalist ideas in early nineteenth-century Europe, the anti-colonial nationalisms that created twentieth-century nations after long struggles against Western imperialism, the rise of new ethnic conflicts that followed the breakup of colonial empires and communist regimes, the recent anger about immigration in Europe and North America, and the “new nationalism” that fuses populism and authoritarianism in political movements that are increasingly hostile to democratic institutions. The discussion of nationalism’s early history is relatively brief, and there is not much analysis of how the French Revolution, Napoleonic wars, or new intellectual elites contributed to the emerging national cultures and states in nineteenth-century Europe.

Bieber seems to be more engaged with recent events (perhaps because he is based at the Center for Southeast European Studies at the University of Graz, Austria), and he provides his best insights and information when he writes about the rise of populist, authoritarian movements and the current right-wing hostility to immigration. He rightly stresses that fervent nationalists imagine and try to defend a unified cultural and political nation that can never exist because nations inevitably consist of people with diverse cultures, beliefs, and ethnic identities. The nationalist dislike for these differences, as Bieber notes, merges with fears that “others” or “outsiders” (and the cultural elites who are accused of supporting them) endanger the status and well-being of the nation’s “real” citizens. Populist political leaders thus gain adherents when people perceive a “status reversal” in their own lives and experience a “multidimensional sense of marginalization” (p. 201).

Such perspectives may help students understand the current appeal of anti-democratic nationalisms and leaders. Bieber also provides useful documents that show how nationalist leaders have defined their nationalist goals or policies. Although the book offers insights and potential value for students, its flaws often outweigh its insights. *Debating Nationalism* carries a somewhat misleading title because the narrative is actually about nation-building policies and conflicts rather than the debates that shape historical studies of nationalism’s political and cultural power.

More generally, however, students unfortunately should not be encouraged to read this book because the publisher has not adequately completed the editorial tasks of correcting awkward, unclear writing. One sentence from the Introduction exemplifies the problem: “This [chapter] includes discussions over civic nationalism that emerged in certain states it versus ethnic nationalism in cases in others, where eiether [*sic*] large empires or smaller states were rejected where nationalisms rejected either large empires or smaller states” (p. 17). Such prose suggests why history teachers should not give this book to students who are learning how to write. Bieber provides some useful perspectives on recent nationalist

populisms, but students are unlikely to gain a well-informed understanding of nationalism from its analysis of historical debates, and they will be confused by the poorly edited prose.

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Lloyd Kramer

An Environmental History of the Civil War, by Judkin Browning and Timothy Silver. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020. 261 pages. \$30.00, cloth. \$22.99, electronic.

A historian on a prestigious prize committee once told me that she strives to honor books that “inspire teachers to revise their classroom lectures.” Although Judkin Browning and Timothy Silver’s *An Environmental History of the Civil War* was not eligible for this particular prize, it unquestionably meets that committee member’s criteria. Since 2001, a growing number of scholars have heeded Jack Temple Kirby’s now famous call to put the Civil War back in its natural environment, but Browning and Silver are the first to do so comprehensively, in a narrative that examines the war from the spring of 1861 to Appomattox and beyond. Along the way, the authors prove that non-human nature—that is, flora, fauna, microbes, climate, weather, and terrain—decisively shaped the conflict’s course and outcome and, perhaps more importantly, that the Civil War constituted “a significant episode in the changing story of the American environment” (p. 6).

Browning and Silver make no claim to unearthing any new sources or historical events. Rather, like Mark M. Smith in *The Smell of Battle, the Taste of Siege* (2015), they tell familiar stories and use traditional sources in novel ways, offering, ultimately, “a more holistic way of thinking about the Civil War” (p. 7). Like Smith, Browning and Silver organize their book both chronologically and thematically, with each chapter depicting a season of the war and a corresponding environmental topic. Chapter 1, “Sickness,” for example, describes the diseases soldiers suffered as they congregated in camps and marched to war in 1861, while the second chapter, “Weather,” analyzes the ways meteorological forces and “geologic history” altered military campaigns and agriculture from winter 1861 to fall 1862 (p. 59). By and large, the authors agree with Kenneth W. Noe’s recent *The Howling Storm* (2020), which similarly cites the work of climatologists and meteorologists, that the La Niña phase of the El Niño-Southern Oscillation (ENSO) triggered a “Civil War Drought” that crippled American farms, especially in the West and South, between 1856 and 1865. Concurrently, the waning Little Ice Age brought warmer temperatures and a greater potential for severe storms, which in spring 1862 ruined the South’s wheat, oat, and potato crops before a summer drought devastated its corn. The resulting famine, among other things, compelled Robert E. Lee to move his army north in fall 1862 to sequester food. Thus, the Antietam campaign—so key to the Civil War’s course and consequences—had environmental causes as well as political, military, and diplomatic ones, something many scholars have been slow to recognize.

Those spring 1862 storms likewise facilitated the fall of Fort Henry by flooding the Tennessee River and aiding the Union's assault. They also saturated the clayey, sandy soil of eastern Virginia and thwarted George B. McClellan's Peninsula campaign, something Noe and various military historians have recently begun to emphasize. But while Noe urges empathy for the maligned federal commander, Browning and Silver stress that "acknowledging nature's agency in Civil War battles does not absolve military leaders of responsibility for their actions" (p. 69). In other words, nature was but one actor in the Peninsula story, albeit a crucial one, while human nature—namely, Little Mac's timidity and stubbornness—constituted another, equally significant factor that prevented the general from adapting to that challenging Virginia environment. Such nuanced interpretations pervade this book, which accentuates nature's pivotal role in human history while carefully avoiding environmental determinism.

The book's remaining chapters, "Food" (fall 1862-summer 1863), "Animals" (summer 1863-spring 1864), "Death and Disability" (spring 1864-fall 1864), and "Terrain" (fall 1864-spring 1865), as well as the epilogue on the war's environmental legacy (1865-present), contain equally valuable fodder for the classroom. To cite just one example, the authors underscore the ecological disturbances caused by Civil War soldiers and their accompanying livestock by labeling their movements a "massive mammalian migration" (p. 5) that transformed towns like Sharpsburg, Maryland and Vicksburg, Mississippi into an "instant metropolis" (p. 98). Because they lacked the infrastructure to sustain so many people and animals, those communities—and their temporary residents—endured many of the problems of nineteenth-century cities, including overcrowding, lack of sanitation and waste management, food and clean water shortages, and sexual promiscuity, all of which made them ideal breeding grounds for disease.

No brief review can do this important book justice. The partnership between Browning, a military historian, and Silver, an environmental historian, is a testament to the power of collaborative scholarship in an increasingly siloed academy. The authors' willingness to engage with science is also a model for our students who, upon reading this book, should be convinced that "even the most carefully considered human efforts must accommodate the vagaries of nature" (p. 38).

Crowder College

David Schieffler

America and the Making of an Independent Ireland: A History, by Francis M. Carroll. New York: New York University Press, 2021. 312 pages. \$35.00, cloth. \$19.25, electronic.

America and the Making of an Independent Ireland is bracketed by the period from 1914-1928. Carroll begins by exploring American responses to the Easter Rising and Ireland's push for recognition during the Paris Peace Conference. Subsequent chapters explore American financial contributions to Ireland, attempts by American organizations to expose war crimes committed by British forces during the Anglo-

Irish War, and efforts to provide relief for Irish people affected by those atrocities. Carroll concludes the book with an examination of several landmark moments in diplomatic relations between Ireland and the United States in the 1920s.

The characters in Carroll's story are a diverse group, including Irish American activists from across the militant-to-moderate spectrum, national and local political operatives, famous figures such as Woodrow Wilson, and lesser-known individuals such as W. M. J. A. Maloney. Carroll's analysis operates on several different levels: nearly all the chapters of the book involve the interaction of grassroots, local, federal, and international organizations. He convincingly demonstrates that American influence on Ireland came in a variety of forms—political, humanitarian, diplomatic, and financial—and that it was the combination of these that explain how “the United States contributed significantly to the making of an independent Ireland” (p. 202).

Carroll makes a persuasive case for the American contribution to the Irish struggle for freedom, but this is no triumphalist narrative. Unintended consequences play a large part in Carroll's story: many of the individuals and groups profiled here helped Ireland almost despite, rather than because of, their impassioned efforts. The book expertly traces the compromises, trade-offs, alliances, and betrayals characteristic of international politics; Irish independence involved more entities than simply the U.S., Ireland, and the U.K. (Germany, Canada, and Japan, for instance, all figure here), and Carroll captures those difficult negotiations well. Finally, while identity formation is not one of Carroll's explicit concerns, his book contains much to interest scholars working in this area. Readers who equate “Irish American” with “working class” and “Democrat” will find a much more complex picture in this book. Upper- and upper-middle-class figures play decisive roles, and Hoover, Harding, and Coolidge turn out to be better friends of Ireland than the received narrative might lead one to expect.

This relatively brief book covers a lot of ground and, as a result, certain aspects of the analysis are somewhat underdeveloped. First, the “European” side of the story could have been sketched out more, especially after the first few chapters. As Carroll notes, the long-term impact of these American efforts was to establish Ireland's identity as a European nation—albeit, one with strong economic links to the U.S.—and this irony could have been fleshed out more fully. Secondly, readers unfamiliar with the history of Irish American demographic change might come away from this book incorrectly assuming that “the Irish American community” in the 1910s and 1920s formed a uniform, unified, and energized bloc. Neither of these points undermines Carroll's central argument—in many ways, they strengthen it—so Carroll might have addressed them a bit more.

Although this book is essential reading for graduate students studying the history of Ireland and Irish America, it could also be used in a variety of different types of graduate or upper-level undergraduate courses in Irish history, American history, or international relations. Also, many of the case studies towards the end of the book would be useful additions to upper-level undergraduate or graduate courses in historiography, as models of how to do diplomatic history well, and as a reminder to students of the continuing value of this underappreciated subfield.

At this point in his career, Professor Carroll could rest on his laurels: his contributions to the study of Irish-U.S. relations are widely acknowledged. *America and the Making of an Independent Ireland* could have simply been the valedictory cap on a distinguished career. But this book is more provocative than that: it feels like the work of a scholar who is just getting started.

The University of New Mexico

Caleb Richardson

Rethinking America's Past: Howard Zinn's A People's History of the United States in the Classroom and Beyond, by Robert Cohen and Sonia E. Murrow. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2021. 344 pages. \$114.95, cloth. \$29.95, paper. \$29.95, electronic.

Rethinking America's Past illuminates the educational impact of Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States* over the past forty years since its initial publication. Through their study of Zinn's papers housed at New York University, Robert Cohen and Sonia E. Murrow bring the voices of students, teachers, and adult readers over several decades into the larger conversation about the relevance and utility of *A People's History*. The authors synthesize documented evidence within Zinn's personal archive alongside interviews with historians, educators, and popular media.

Although the authors focus on pedagogic impact, it is not a book on pedagogy. The book is primarily a work of historical archival research. The authors succeed in contextualizing how *A People's History* has been taken up as a useful text for teachers, and why people are drawn to it. The chapters discussing pedagogy do not intend to instruct teachers how to use Zinn, but are grounded in archival research to contextualize cases of how readers have developed pedagogic approaches and resources. Nonetheless, the book offers history teachers instructive insights for how to best use *A People's History* in class.

The authors emphasize Zinn's intention to not create one new synthetic history textbook, but a companion counternarrative that works best when read as a critique alongside traditional U.S. history textbooks. Whereas traditional textbooks position two political parties in conflict, *A People's History* posits "the people" ignored by textbooks in conflict with the status quo (comprised of both ruling parties). The authors explain that, "For Zinn, the two-party system represented a trap for both Americans forced to choose leaders who had no genuine interest in true equality and for historians and textbook authors who allowed it to shape and distort their historical narratives" (p. 189). Students get the full picture through juxtaposing *A People's History* alongside the traditional history survey textbook.

By examining teacher letters written to Zinn, the authors offer a pedagogic model that teaches historical thinking, again, through this juxtaposition of two secondary sources. We see the strength in Zinn's choice to not write a synthetic text, as teachers compare *A People's History* to their official textbooks, enabling

students to interrogate conflicting historical narratives on their own. Chapters 3 and 4 are filled with teacher and student letters demonstrating how this juxtaposition generated authentic historical inquiry in students as they engage in debate by asking their own questions about conflicting narratives. Across both chapters, the reader sees how one teacher's intentions expressed to Zinn result in the learning outcomes evidenced in the student letters the teacher had them write to Zinn. One unintended outcome the teacher addressed was the occasional tendency for students to idolize Zinn, rather than view him through the criticality with which they engaged the traditional textbook.

The authors' discussion of teachers juxtaposing *A People's History* with the traditional textbook responds to critiques that the book replaces the standard textbook, indoctrinating students to blindly accept a radical left narrative. Cohen and Murrow note how teachers encouraged "students to engage with those with whom they disagree and to try to judge opposing arguments on the basis of evidence and reason" (p. 103). They further note that teachers' pedagogies evidenced in the archive work against the "hyperpolarization promoted by Trump...in which demonization has replaced dialogue" (p. 102). Zinn's emphasis on social movements from the bottom up is mirrored in the teachers' pedagogies to instill original inquiry questioning ideological indoctrination.

The authors direct teachers towards a range of supplemental resources, from grassroots teacher organizations creating curriculum in Chapter 6, to supplemental historiographic texts suggested by historians to update Zinn's text in Chapter 7. Given the archive-rich nature of this book, Chapter 6 primarily contextualizes Zinn's interactions with various teacher-led organizations, but, as a teacher, I wanted more on how the pedagogy generated by these organizations complements *A People's History*. But as mentioned, this is primarily a historical (not pedagogic) book. The authors conclude with Chapter 8, on how Zinn was able to bring together Hollywood stars to perform readings from key historical figures. However, this final chapter left me wanting a conclusion to pull threads together and reinforce the impact on students. Ultimately, the book offers history teachers useful insights and resources, and contextualizes for general readers how *A People's History* has impacted various facets of American society.

California State University Channel Islands

Tadashi Dozono

The Horde: How the Mongols Changed the World, by Marie Favereau. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2022. 384 pages. \$29.95, cloth. \$18.95, paper. \$29.95, electronic.

The nomadic peoples of Inner Asia have contributed significantly to world history, and so deserve attention in the history classroom. However, nomadism defies the standard categories—of geography, religion, social organization, and economic activity—by which sedentary literate societies have understood

the human political world. As a result, nomads appear already in the works of Herodotus and Sima Qian as antitypes of the societies those authors knew. The ultimate expression of this is the vision of the Mongol horde as a ravaging band of blood-lustly savages intent on nothing but their next meal of meat, their next pile of loot.

Thankfully, over the last forty years, scholars have increasingly recognized nomadic societies as historical phenomena with their own agency and internal logic. While encounters between nomadic and sedentary societies often involved significant violence, there is also a political organization, a strategic outlook, and a desire for stability within nomadic societies. Scholars in the last quarter century have turned particular attention to the Mongol Empire and its successor states. We can now appreciate these as rational political and social organizations, and our modern global world invites the study of earlier globalizing moments. Under Chinggis Khan and his successors, the medieval political map was shaken up, settling ultimately into its early modern form; technologies, aesthetics, and disease found new human audiences; societies on either end of Eurasia became directly aware of one another like never before.

Marie Favereau takes nomadic political culture seriously and she neatly summarizes the Mongols' contribution to world history. In doing so, she treads a fine line between complexity and clarity: her narrative of Mongol history is academically rigorous, yet she couches it in plain language and pauses regularly to explain essential concepts. This narrative is supplemented by several very helpful maps and a glossary of terms. The result is a fine example of a teaching text, which credits the reader with enough intelligence to understand new and complex ideas while offering aids to overcome predictable barriers of terminology and geography. This can and should be the world history teacher's go-to text on the Mongols, perhaps finally supplanting Jack Weatherford's highly problematic *Genghis Khan and the Making of the Modern World* (2004) as an accessible history of the Mongol role in shaping history.

It must be noted that Favereau's main topic is not the Mongol Empire itself, but its western wing, often called the "Golden Horde" and recast here simply as the "Horde." This includes the political formations led by descendants of Chinggis Khan's eldest son Jochi and their military elites from the early thirteenth through the fifteenth century. This is a welcome addition to the scholarship even for specialists in the field. Because of how Mongol imperial politics unfolded in the generations after Chinggis Khan's death, most books on the Mongols end up focusing on the Middle East and China, the two main sedentary bureaucratic civilizations that produced the most coherent historical narratives of the period. Scholarship on the Mongols in northwest Asia has been a major sidelight of this focus unless one reads a fair bit of Russian. Favereau's work fleshes out the picture of Mongol Eurasia, showing the Horde to be a geopolitical power on par with the Great Khans who ruled from Mongolia and, after Qubilai, from China.

The Horde founded by Jochi and his descendants, and the states that emerged from it to rule over Siberia, southern Russia, and Central Asia, outlived the Mongol states in the Middle East and China and remained more nomadic than

they did. This is not a coincidence. Throughout the book, Favereau rightly credits the Horde's longevity to the flexibility of nomadic life. She returns to this idea repeatedly, showing how nomadic ideas about political organization and economic activity shaped the early Horde, but were adjusted according to interactions between the Horde and its nomadic and sedentary neighbors. Central to Favereau's argument is the idea that the strategies and epistemologies of nomadism were the very things that made the Horde so enduring and so influential. This not only shows us Mongol history, but also shows us nomadism as a historical system, changing to meet new challenges.

This book will undoubtedly become standard reading for graduate students of Mongol, Russian, or Medieval history, and it can be included into upper-division undergraduate classes on the Mongols. Its use in the classroom may end there, but it brings an important new perspective on the nomad-sedentary interface from which all teachers of world history can benefit.

Eastern Connecticut State University

Stefan Kamola

The Last Slave Ships: New York and the End of the Middle Passage, by John Harris. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2022. 312 pages. \$30.00, cloth. \$22.00, paper. \$30.00, electronic.

The continually advancing research surrounding the history of the middle passage will greatly benefit from the discourse presented by John Harris. Focused predominately in the years following the 1807 abolition of the transatlantic slave trade, Harris discusses the illegal trade that remained active until the 1860s, and the complexities and geopolitics associated with this clandestine aspect of mercantile history. This geographically expansive study extends far beyond what the title indicates, detailing the influence of nations in Central and South America as well as Europe and Africa, substantially contributing to current historiography on this topic.

In Chapter 1, Harris outlines the political, cultural, and social evolution of the illegal slave trade internationally, beginning with its abolition in the early years of the nineteenth century, all while centering relations with the United States. This discussion culminates with the creation of "a new hub" for the South Atlantic trade in New York, chosen as "an ideal base, boasting a large port that lay within a nation determined to keep Britain at arm's length and increasingly committed to the idea that Spain alone was responsible for illicit slaving" (p. 55). Chapter 2 details trade in the 1850s between New York, Cuba, and West Central Africa, including the process of leaving the U.S. ports for this illegal enterprise (which in some cases meant bribing American officials) and the route these vessels followed, highlighting the risks and substantial profits for investors.

Harris then takes a narrower view, articulating the journey of a trading vessel and the story of a spy. Chapter 3 focuses on the 1854 voyage of the *Julia*

Moulton, as it was “broadly typical of the midcentury traffic” specifically due to “the route it followed, the profile of its captives and crew, and its successful arrival in Cuba” (p. 94). Using this voyage, and infusing those of other ships, he articulates “the key features of the midcentury trade and the factors that shaped them” (p. 94), specifically highlighting how “the trade became indelibly marked by efforts to stop it” (p. 136). This more singular focus, and the continued argument that measures to maintain the slave trade were often emulated by those who wished to suppress it, is reaffirmed in Chapter 4. Focusing on the creation of a “network of spies that ringed the Atlantic world from Africa to the Americas” through the story of Cuban-born New Yorker, Emilio Sanchez, Harris navigates the victories and defeats of “the most important informant in slave trade history” (p. 138).

In his final chapter, Harris focuses on the impact of American administration and politics, arguing that “the federal government held ultimate responsibility for suppressing American participation in the illegal slave trade” (p. 185), which was finally achieved largely due to “the change in administration” (p. 234). Harris closes with the end of trade internationally in 1860s, affirming his position that the U.S. “was in many ways a linchpin in the triangular route sustaining the traffic, despite the fact that only a few hundred African slaves landed there” (p. 246).

This comprehensive source would make a substantial contribution to academic reading lists, either as a whole or in parts, providing accessible and captivating representations of previously under-represented aspects of the history of the transatlantic slave trade. Harris’ use of primary sources, including the transatlantic slavery archive, captain’s journals, newspaper articles, correspondence, legislation, and abolitionist’s speeches, provides students with an exceptional example of how to incorporate historic sources into academic scholarship. Additionally, Harris’ depictions of individual figures and voyages make this an asset as a teaching tool, allowing students to connect more with individuals beyond general political, social, and cultural histories.

While this source provides in-depth analysis of the illegal slave trade, certain considerations need to be made when adding it to an academic reading list. Though quite comprehensive, this book predominately focuses on post-abolition trade, giving sparing details of the middle passage when it operated legally. This context is crucial for students to comprehend the arguments and information presented in the source, so while this book contributes to this discourse, it should not replace a thorough discussion of the transatlantic slave trade. In addition, while this source demonstrates for students how to use a plethora of primary sources, the introduction lacks an explicit argument, methodology, or structure that would assist them in research essays, and these may need to be provided separately. Student preparations aside, *The Last Slave Ships* contributes a detailed articulation of the illegal slave trade, providing a nuanced re-telling of an often-overlooked period of history, providing a nuanced analysis that will benefit students studying this era of history.

42 Today: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy, edited by Michael G. Long. New York: New York University Press, 2021. 256 pages. \$27.95, cloth. \$27.95, electronic.

While it is hard to believe, it has been nearly seventy-five years since Jackie Robinson arrived in major league baseball. The foreword to Michael G. Long's *42 Today: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy*, penned by Ken Burns, Sarah Burns, and David McMahon, pulls no punches. Robinson's appearance on a baseball diamond on 15 April 1947, they write, "was arguably the most significant progress in civil rights since Reconstruction" (p. xi).

The thirteen chapters in this edited volume proceed to explore, analyze, and unpack Robinson's history and legacy for readers far removed from his playing days. All of them take the deeply intertwined relationship of sports and politics for granted. Consider the quote: "I cannot stand and sing the anthem. I cannot stand for the flag. I know that I am a black man in a white world." While some readers might assume the speaker of those words is Colin Kaepernick, they would be very much mistaken. These are the words of Jackie Robinson in his 1972 autobiography, *I Never Had It Made*. The authors here do not shy away from exploring the most challenging elements of Robinson's legacy, nor from linking his legacy directly to today's athletes who have taken up his mantle. For readers who want to see a particularly strong example of an essay that traces the history of activist athletes from Robinson to the present day, Peter Dreier's essay, "The First Famous Jock for Justice," appears in the Part IV of the volume.

The tone of the volume is set for readers in the very first essay from Howard Bryant, who draws our attention to how Robinson's struggles have often been portrayed. "Robinson and his wife living with a black family on the outskirts of town in spring training was framed as a sacrifice," he writes, "pitied as an injustice, but not as an offense to be immediately remedied" (p. 12). Historical interpretations of this sort dwell in platitudes, praising the Robinsons for their dignity and patience. Bryant cuts to the core of the problem with framing the Robinson story in this way. "Either one is an American or one is not an American," he continues, "and if one is an American, other Americans are not to be commended for the grand gesture of treating an American as one" (p. 12). That unwavering belief, that he was an American, Bryant goes on to argue, was the very heart of who Jackie Robinson was.

Starting here, asking us to see Robinson as an American, forces us as readers to grapple with these larger questions of national history and identity early and often as we move through the rest of these fine essays. What does it mean to be an American? How does the Robinson story help us, still, to understand ourselves? Can sports history allow us to grapple with the most difficult questions of our national history?

The authors who follow Bryant strive to do just that. Contributors such as Amira Rose Davis and Adam Amel Rogers use the Robinson story to open up conversations about other athletes confronting social and civil discrimination, exploring Robinson's legacy for black women athletes and gay athletes. Others,

including Mark Kurlansky, Yohuru Williams, and Sridhar Pappu, focus on the context of the civil rights movement of the time, providing a view of Jackie Robinson alongside Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X. The more challenging elements of Robinson's politics are not avoided; their exploration serves to deepen our sense of the complexities of Robinson's life. Gerald Early provides a consideration of Robinson as a black Republican. Several authors confront Robinson's testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in 1947 and his statements on Paul Robeson head on.

The book also brings us Jackie Robinson as a husband and father. Randal Maurice Jelks explores the impact of the Robinsons' Methodist faith. Jonathan Eig brings Jackie's wife, Rachel Robinson, further into this conversation about the history and legacy of her husband. Their daughter, Sharon Robinson, likewise appears regularly in these pages.

Each one of these essays in this highly readable collection is thoughtful and engaging. All of them offer insight into how and why Robinson remains a necessary historical figure for us to continue to grapple with and think about. All of these essays could be used with undergraduates or, in some instances, with advanced high school students. Particularly for them, placing Colin Kaepernick and Jackie Robinson side by side allows the latter to come alive, and lets a new generation discover the legacy of 42 for themselves.

Rochester Institute of Technology

R. A. R. Edwards

Imperfect Union: A Father's Search for His Son in the Aftermath of the Battle of Gettysburg, by Chuck Raasch. Guilford, CT: Stackpole Books (Rowman & Littlefield), 2021. 416 pages. \$29.95, cloth. \$24.95, paper. \$28.50, electronic.

Chuck Raasch, chief Washington correspondent for the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, offers an intimate narrative of a father and son before, during, and directly following the Battle of Gettysburg. In *Imperfect Union*, Raasch explores two figures: Sam Wilkeson, a war correspondent for the *New York Tribune* and *The New York Times*, and his son Lieutenant Bayard Wilkeson, commander of Battery G, 4th United States Regular Light Artillery. Although the book predominantly focuses on the careers of both men, Raasch situates their lives into the broader context of the Civil War and explores topics including the occupation of war correspondent, the life of soldiers in camp and battle, and the processes of grieving and locating loved ones following engagements. Raasch's work is ambitious, but he successfully contributes to Civil War historiography through his discussion of war correspondents, which he studies through the daily operations of Sam and many of his colleagues.

Throughout the book, Raasch meticulously unravels the experiences of Sam and Bayard Wilkeson as both navigated the war and attempted to capitalize on their respective roles in the newspaper business and the army. According to Raasch, Sam

and his fellow correspondents faced many of the same hardships and deprivations as soldiers in battle and in camp. Correspondents viewed warfare at its peak ferocity, risking their lives as battles raged to portray the events that led to victory or defeat in print for readers at home. In addition to physical risks, correspondents encountered extreme censorship from the army and newspaper editors, as each group sought to imprint their own perceptions on the events recorded by journalists.

Above everything, as the title suggests, this is a story about the Battle of Gettysburg, and Raasch's narrative overwhelmingly concentrates on the conflict that took place on July 1-3, 1863 and its aftermath. Nearly half of the book focuses on the battle itself, including several chapters devoted to the action around Barlow's Knoll, where Bayard led his battery into the fray on the first day of battle. In these chapters, Raasch humanizes the physical hardship of army life and the grisly nature of Civil War combat by following the men of the 11th Corps into battle and allowing their voices to describe the harrowing trials of Bayard and his comrades.

Civil War scholars have previously addressed grieving traditions in the Civil War era—most notably, Drew Gilpin Faust in 2008's *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*—advancing our understanding of how Americans coped with the unprecedented magnitude of death and destruction. Raasch uses Sam to provide a humanistic element to the grieving process and the desperate and emotional search for loved ones in the aftermath of a battle. Following each battle, thousands of family members of wounded and dead soldiers rushed to the battlefield to locate the bodies of their loved ones or to nurse the wounded back to health, including Sam, who searched for his deceased nephew John Wilkes Wilkeson after the Battle of Seven Pines and his son Bayard following Gettysburg.

Raasch's work is ambitious, as he seeks to capture the story of two of Gettysburg's well-known individuals while simultaneously inserting their stories into the broader contours of the American Civil War. Several sections of Raasch's book will likely aid in students' understanding of the Civil War, most notably, the experiences of soldiers and war correspondents, in addition to the amount of suffering and the processes of grieving associated with battle. However, the book's length, which numbers over 350 pages of text, should dissuade educators from assigning it in class. Furthermore, Raasch tailors his work toward an audience with prior understanding of the war, and it is best suited for those generally interested in the conflict. At times, Raasch includes many unessential and repetitive chapters that detract from the comprehension of his overall narrative, especially those dedicated to the 11th Corps' participation on the first day of Gettysburg. However, his examination of the burgeoning field of war journalism offers important insight into a topic greatly underexamined by scholars of the conflict. Furthermore, his discussions of soldiers' experiences in battle and the processes of grieving that followed the clashing of Union and Confederate forces renders an emotive connection to the Civil War. Although thousands of books on the Battle of Gettysburg precede Raasch's work, his insertion of the stories of Sam and Bayard Wilkeson into the battle reminds readers of the human element to our nation's bloodiest conflict.

Culture Change in Modern World History: Cases, Causes and Consequences, by Peter N. Stearns. London, United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019. 272 pages. \$95.00, cloth. \$32.95, paper. \$29.65, electronic.

Cesspools, human sweat, and mold suddenly began to make Europeans gag in the early nineteenth century. “The transformation was simple but fundamental,” according to Peter Stearns. “Smells that once had been registered as a perfectly normal and acceptable part of urban life now began to be redefined as disgusting, even intolerable” (p. 117). This is one of many intriguing shifts in beliefs and values that Stearns explores in his *Culture Change in Modern World History*. Stearns, a major scholarly force in world history for decades, writing about topics such as childhood, parenting, daily life, labor, gender, shame, and human rights, argues in this book that culture change is a significant and understudied historical phenomenon.

Stearns defines culture quite broadly as the assumptions and understandings that members of particular communities share in common. He offers a useful framework of six typical elements for interpreting cultural change that facilitates analysis and comparison: (1) clarifying the timing (and scope) of the change; (2) delineating the “baseline,” or prevailing patterns before the change; (3) characterizing the change itself; (4) assessing the factors of causation; (5) exploring resistance to change and continuities; and (6) investigating major consequences of the change (p. 29). Although he applies these steps specifically to culture change, his model could equally be applied to other forms of historical change.

After several disclaimers about the inability to apply the model in every circumstance, the need to use interdisciplinary scholarship for analysis, and the strengths and weaknesses of a case study approach, the remainder of the book consists of thematic chapters addressing culture change over the last several centuries. Each chapter includes multiple, often far-ranging case studies that fit broadly within a particular theme. A chapter on culture change on a “grand scale,” for example, addresses conversion to major world religions, the emergence of individualism in the West, and Turkey’s rapid transformation in the post-World War I period. Another chapter explores change on “a more personal scale,” including emotions (jealousy, boredom, and fear) and changing ideals of familial love, reflected in increased expressions of affection toward children. Latin America, British India, and recent globalization are all tackled in a chapter on change through cross-cultural contacts. The final chapter, which deals with prejudice and acceptance, begins with a “warm up” on attitudes towards lefthanders, then proceeds to address women’s roles, India’s caste system, gay rights, and rights for people with disabilities.

Despite some attractive features, *Culture Change in Modern World History* has some drawbacks worth noting. Collectively, the case studies address a variety of themes on a variety of scales, in contrast to texts that prioritize symmetry, sequence, or direct comparisons. Moreover, similar examples are often not placed in conversation. For example, a chapter exploring changes wrought by the French and Chinese Revolutions does not explicitly compare the two. And a chapter on organizational change within corporations could be found in a business leadership book rather than a work of history. Rather than canvassing world history, as the

title implies, the case studies overwhelmingly address European or American content. As the text itself indicates, “The West is disproportionately featured in several chapters” (p. 14) and “the cases disproportionately reflect relatively recent changes—for the most part, over the past 200–300 years” (p. 15). Although the case studies largely fall within the modern period, modernity is neither defined nor made a topic of explicit analysis, though modern culture change has presumably been more rapid and dramatic than in earlier eras. Chapters vary in how clearly the framework is applied—in some it is explicit, but in others the reader has to search for it. Without the framework, the narrative risks simply providing textbook-style coverage of familiar content.

Finally, the publisher has included several features that clutter the book. Roughly one image per chapter is inserted with little organic relation to the text. Similarly, each chapter contains one inset box that serves no clear purpose within the chapter. For example, in a chapter that already deals with disparate topics (hygiene and smell, masturbation, views of death, dieting, ADHD, and PTSD), an inset box explores Taiwanese response to the introduction of Western medicine. Two appendices at the end of chapter two cover the same ground as the material in the chapter.

Instructors at the high school and college levels will still find *Culture Change in Modern World History* a useful resource. The theme is important, the framework of culture change is helpful, and introducing one or more chapters for lecture or assigned reading could stimulate rich and engaging discussion.

California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

David Neumann

The Making of a King: Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon and the Greeks, by Robin Waterfield. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2021. 296 pages. \$27.50, cloth. \$26.99, electronic.

The prolific scholar and translator, Robin Waterfield, has provided us an excellent and accessible entry into the complexities of the third century BCE in the Greek world. Antigonus Gonatas stands out as a leading figure of a most eventful yet poorly known period in Hellenistic history. Unlike Janice Gabbert, whose slim biography, *Antigonus II Gonatas: A Political Biography* (1997), focuses on the king himself, Waterfield takes his cue from W. W. Tarn’s magisterial *Antigonus Gonatas* (1913) in making a study of the king’s life, as far as one can know it, a framework for fleshing out a comprehensive picture of the third century as a whole. Although he eschews the extensive and impressive scholarly apparatus that makes Tarn’s biography still the starting point for the study of Antigonus and his times, Waterfield shows himself conversant with the wealth of new information—particularly epigraphic—and interpretations that the last century of investigation into the third century have generated.

The book begins with a vivid introduction that sets the stage of politics in the world of the successor states following the collapse of the empire of Alexander the Great; there follows a brief discussion of the meager sources that make the

reconstruction of this period so difficult. Waterfield then divides his ten chapters into two parts. The first part surveys the world in which Antigonus came of age, 319-276: the chaotic and violent confrontations among Alexander's successors, the ineffectual efforts of Sparta and Athens to continue to matter in a world of great kings, and the remarkable growth of confederate leagues that allowed many of the other Greek cities to achieve independence from those kings. The second part of the book puts Antigonus center stage and describes his decade-long effort to recover a Macedon lost by his father, Demetrius, then his rule from 276 to his death in 239. Waterfield describes how during his long reign, Antigonus maintained stability and encouraged prosperity in Macedon; withstood challenges from neighbors to the north and west, such as the adventurer Pyrrhus of Epirus; and kept the Greeks at bay by playing them off against each other, maintaining garrisons in strategic sites such as Acrocorinth and Piraeus and supporting tyrants in many of the cities. Greek resentment of such policies did lead to uprisings—notably, the Chremonidean War in the 260s—but Antigonus succeeded in preserving Macedon's integrity and making his court a rival to those of the other Hellenistic Kings, even if not with quite the splendor of the Ptolemies. After Antigonus's death, as Waterfield describes in his last chapter, "A Glimpse of the Future," Macedon lost prominence again, first to the confederate leagues and northern and western neighbors, and, ultimately, to Rome.

This beautifully produced book will serve advanced undergraduate and graduate courses in Hellenistic history. The narrative proceeds in easily digestible sections within each chapter. Although aware of difficult points of interpretation, Waterfield does not argue them in text or notes, which contain references only to the sources he mentions, especially epigraphic. He does provide a robust bibliography, mostly of scholarship in English. More advanced students and scholars will find Waterfield's interpretations insightful, but will have to return to Tarn for exhaustive analysis of the problems and reference to all the relevant literature on the subject; Waterfield again will bring the sources up to date. Several maps usefully guide the reader, and a few well-chosen illustrations complement the narrative.

University of South Dakota

Clayton Miles Lehmann



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By 1967, the expanding collaboration of educators reorganized as the **History Teachers' Association** and decided to transform the bulletin into an academic journal—*The History Teacher*.

In 1972, the association transferred guardianship of *The History Teacher* to coordinating faculty members at the Department of History at California State University, Long Beach. In the interest of independence and self-determination, the associated teachers incorporated as a non-profit organization.

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