Reviews

In Dependence: Women and the Patriarchal State in Revolutionary America, by Jacqueline Beatty. New York: New York University Press, 2023. $39.00, paper. $39.00, electronic.

Jacqueline Beatty's *In Dependence* is a fascinating examination of the way in which women in the Revolutionary War era used their dependence on the patriarchy to ensure their social and economic survival. Rather than viewing women as powerless in an era in which they had no access to voting or political rights, Beatty contends that "early American women were able to negotiate and argue for a relative degree of power, independence, and rights from within the patriarchal state because of, and while they existed firmly within, this state of dependence" (p. 5). Beatty smartly emphasizes the need to examine women's relationship to the patriarchy through the lens of women's needs, rather than the more general standards of a male-dominated society. "We must seek to understand the impact of the American Revolution on women's lives by framing our inquisition around women's *own* worldview, their *own* needs, aspirations, and desires," she argues, "even when doing so is uncomfortable to our modern sensibilities" (p. 6). The narrative is most compelling when Beatty deftly examines the comparative experiences of white women in urban centers of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina.

The greatest strength of Beatty's work is her extensive use of archival sources, which is a significant contribution to the history of women in this era. *In Dependence* is a shining example of the way in which the experiences of women in Early America can be uncovered in the archives by focusing on court documents such as marriage settlements and divorce cases, petitions, and the records of almshouses and charitable institutions. Although the courts were generally considered the domain of men, the challenges faced by women in this period are inextricably woven into the legal history of post-Revolutionary War America and are used by Beatty as evidence of the how women's lives were impacted by marital disruption, abandonment, infidelity, and widowhood.

"Like others at the margins of society, white women," Beatty argues, "bore a disproportionate burden of the war's consequences" (p. 167). As a result, long after powerful American and British men signed a peace agreement, women

continued to fight for their legal and economic lives. Although fighting had ceased on the battlefields, American "women were compelled to demand aid, assistance, and protection from the state. Because of the war and the brutality it wrought, women petitioned their legislators in increasing numbers" in the post-war years (p. 167). Women forced the states to contend with their demands for property ownership, widows' pensions, and even the right to divorce. In her careful study of legal cases, Beatty's work uncovered at least one case in which a woman who had been unfaithful to her husband demanded economic support from him nonetheless because of her dependent state as a woman in post-war America. Beatty concludes that "In the new world the Revolution made, women's status changed very little. Yet, in one seemingly small but significant way, *they* were changed. They saw themselves as rights-bearing individuals, a necessary foundation for the long push for women's equality that still persists today" (p. 192).

Beatty notes that the book began with the question, "Why didn't the American Revolution bring about significant changes in women's lives?" (p. 193). In a compelling conclusion, titled "On Collaboration and Collective Action," she contends that most women in the era of the Revolution "did not have the time, capacity, or inclination to pursue collective action to fight against the oppressive forces of the patriarchal state" (p. 194). Instead, they used the avenues available to them (courts, laws, and societal expectations of men) to provide for their individual and family survival in times of economic crisis. While this nod to "dependence" did not lead women in this era into a collective movement for rights, there was, Beatty concludes, "a change in women's perception of their own individual rights, as they developed a new consciousness of and confidence in their ability to demand these rights from the state" (p. 195).

From a teaching perspective, I particularly enjoyed the (often ignored) "Note on Sources." Undergraduate history majors and graduate students beginning archival research could benefit from Beatty's thoughtful analysis of her experiences in the archives, particularly the lack of uniformity of state archival systems and the enormous challenge of locating women of color in the available sources. *In Dependence* articulately encourages future historians to push through these and other scholarly challenges to more accurately portray the complex stories of women's lives.

Community College of Rhode Island Suzanne K. McCormack

Engaging the Past: Action and Interaction in the History Classroom, by Elizabeth George. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2024. 127 pages. $75.00, cloth. $32.00, paper. $30.50, electronic.

Despite the best efforts of passionate instructors, many students do not enjoy history as a subject. This is often down to the staid lecture-and-discussion approach still employed in many high school and college classrooms. In *Engaging the Past*, Elizabeth George argues that there is a better way to reach history

students, presenting six teaching strategies that place students at the center of the learning process and foreground deep engagement and skill acquisition over content coverage. "The result is a whole new subject of exploration for students and deeper fulfillment in work for the teacher—in short, real engagement with the discipline of history" (p. ix). The reader should be forewarned: this book may revolutionize your teaching and change lives.

Chapter 1 presents the "You Decide Lecture," an interactive approach to teaching historical thinking skills that George has developed. Students are given background on a historical event and then asked to make choices as though they are participants in it. "By experiencing the complexities of decision-making, students realize on both an emotional and intellectual level that the course of historical events is not inevitable; instead, history consists of a series of choices made by real people" through which students understand that the choices they make today will shape the future and future narratives of the past (p. 1). A You Decide Lecture shows students that history is contingent, and instills a sense of empathy for those who made difficult choices in the past.

On a more familiar note, Chapter 2 describes how to integrate history labs into classes. History instructors likely have experience with this type of exercise, since guided discussion of primary sources is a history class mainstay. The difference lies in the freedom given to students in George's history lab. Students are directed to an online archive and then set loose in groups to find their own sources, read and interpret them, and then come up with an argument based on their investigation. The goal of a History Lab is "to give students the thrill of discovery and the intrigue of complex and puzzling mysteries" (p. 38). In so doing, it initiates students to the work of professional historians while teaching them to craft nuanced, document-based arguments.

Chapter 3 shows instructors how to use strategy board games in their classrooms. Games can inspire critical thinking when chosen carefully and buttressed with primary sources and thoughtful setup and debriefing. George gives several examples, including lessons about abolition in antebellum United States using *Freedom: The Underground Railroad*, and post-WWII art restitution with *Operation F.A.U.S.T*. I personally have used quick card-based games such as *13 Minutes* and longer, complex games like *Twilight Struggle* to teach different aspects of the Cold War to great student acclaim. Limitations of games are often a fruitful starting point for students to analyze the construction of historical narratives and the role of contingency in the past.

Perhaps the most ambitious, Chapter 4 focuses on storytelling, encouraging a micro-historical approach to topics that might otherwise receive standard lecture treatment. One does not doubt the efficacy of this approach, only its dependence on the instructor to find applicable stories and make connections, which may prove time consuming. Storytelling seems like a long-term curriculum revision project when compared to the other strategies in the book.

Chapter 5 discusses the importance of developing visual literacy. George's approach asks for deeper engagement with art, photographs, and material objects, challenging instructors to relinquish their position of authority in the classroom and become co-learners with their students.

Chapter 6 explores the benefits of the Reacting to the Past role-immersion pedagogy that puts students in the middle of complex decisions in history, with games unfolding according to how each person plays their role. Reacting has enjoyed a rising profile, with a library of forty published games, scores more in development, and a lively online community of scholars who share their experiences running games and troubleshoot problems. George includes an overview of the pedagogy, plus a discussion of how one might use a "Reacting mindset" to encourage deep engagement with primary sources and marshaling evidence to make a persuasive argument.

Taken as a whole, George's exploration of different active learning strategies is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the teaching of history, and should prove a valuable asset to high school and college instructors. As George states in her conclusion, "by engaging with the past, not just memorizing a version of it, students experience why historians are passionate about history" (p. 113). Active learning pedagogies hold great promise, both to revitalize the history classroom and to equip a new generation with historical literacy and critical thinking tools to meet the challenges of tomorrow.

The Downtown School, Seattle, WA William Keene Thompson

A Primer For Teaching Digital History: Ten Design Principles, by Jennifer Guiliano. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2022. 254 pages. $102.95, cloth. $27.95, paper. $27.95, electronic.

Professor Guiliano's small and compact book serves as a pleasant introduction to digital history. Her excitement for the field is plain on every page. Each chapter covers a principle and is done so to accommodate a wide spectrum of readers in the field: novices to advanced practitioners. While the book has a diverse audience, each chapter is accessible to each audience, which is no mean feat.

The book at its core is a methods book. Structurally, the principles are broken into three parts: digital history fundamentals, digital history methods, and new forms of scholarship within digital history. The author peppers the book with a wide variety of examples that correlate to the three themes. Some of the examples are more complex, such as when she discusses using various coding languages, while others are more approachable, such as the "unessay." The unessay, popularly promulgated through online history communities, is a recent way to rethink traditional history papers, using creative digital works to showcase student self-selected research. Its focus is on fostering historical thinking in new mediums. Moving away from the straitjacket of the traditional essay reflects a tension in Guiliano's book: the analog versus the digital. This tension appears over and over again. Projects normally done analog, or with non-digital methods, are improved by digital methods: source criticism, archives, exhibits, mapping, among others. Yet Guiliano is careful to not come off as a tech triumphalist: "systems of oppression and trauma that dominate the analog world

have been amplified in the digital sphere, even as many pretend it is exceptional because anyone can use and post to the internet" (p. 5). This is highlighted in her discussion of digital storytelling methods. She cautions teachers to be careful when calling something an "archive" because, often, things labeled "archives" fail to adequately take into account the standards used by archivists (pp. 133-134). Moreover, this again shows the tension of analog and digital. Yes, digital technology allows access to vast data and can help create a variety of exciting projects, but it needs to be nuanced and balanced.

This nuance and balance comes from a place of social justice. Quite often, Guiliano centers and references her commitment to social justice. For example, she discusses the ethics of using uncompensated student labor in various crowdsourcing projects. Uncompensated or free labor downplays the value of the historical profession and disregards historical standards and professionalism. She then further adds to this by showcasing a project she created that works through the ethics of crowdsourcing records between the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) and Ancestry.com (pp. 168-169). The ethical dimension emphasizes the importance of grounding historical work in social justice issues: "Crowdsourcing in the digital history classroom serves to broaden students' appreciation for how the past is made…[by considering] who is writing history, how 'the public' might be collectively imagined, and how they can actively participate in those processes" (pp. 169-170). And this commitment to social justice really is a tool for teachers; the book is primer for teachers, after all.

The book has many asides for teachers to help students metacognitively consider their work. Technology, when used, needs to be thoughtfully applied, she argues. She models this by carefully selecting truly a plethora of projects to consider for using digital history methods. In particular, the glossary and resources section are quite practical for teachers looking to see a list of intriguing and fascinating digital history projects. However, sometimes historical work cannot catch up with current events, and the lack of a specific chapter or an extended section of a chapter dealing with artificial intelligence (AI) feels significant. Many of the issues Guiliano raises are directly antithetical to large language models like ChatGPT, the most infamous of AI tools. Her preference is to empower students to carefully consider how to use technology when creating digital history projects, rather than relying on tech to use students. Hopefully, future editions will include an AI addendum.

Archie Williams High School, San Anselmo, CA David Gutfeld

Higher Education for All: Racial Inequality, Cold War Liberalism, and the California Master Plan, by Andrew Stone Higgins. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2023. 296 pages. $99.00, cloth. $32.95, paper. $25.99, electronic.

In *Higher Education for All: Racial Inequality, Cold War Liberalism, and the California Master Plan*, Andrew Stone Higgins vividly recounts the decade of student protest that followed the passage of California's Master Plan for Higher Education (1960). Born out of a post-Sputnik wave of Cold War hysteria, Higgins argues, the California Master Plan for Higher Education placed a premium on human capital creation, channeling highly rated students to the top tiers of the California University system. The resulting legislation established admissions standards that disproportionately benefited affluent white Californians, and funneled poorer students and students of color into the lowest tiers of the California system of higher education, serving "to replicate and further entrench" racial educational disparities in the state (p. 4).

Higgins provides a compelling account of the architects of the Master Plan, including especially University of California, Berkeley President Clark Kerr, as well as Ronald Reagan, whose rise to prominence as governor of California occurred, in part, due to his opposition to student protests. But the main characters in the work are student activists who fiercely critiqued the results of the Master Plan, which furthered *de facto* educational segregation in California. Higgins' narrative follows student protests including the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley in the early 1960s, as well as Black and Chicano activists later in the decade. The work usefully highlights how these groups interacted with one another to forge interracial student coalitions as they faced intense opposition from university administrators, the California Board of Regents, the police, and even the governor's office. Though Higgins notes that these movements never achieved all of their demands, their struggle produced two tangible results in the form of Equal Opportunity Programs (EOPs), which enabled greater representation for marginalized communities in the upper tiers of Californian higher education, and, secondly, the creation of ethnic studies programs. Higgins concludes that these gains gradually eroded over time, but nevertheless paved the way for thousands of students of color to receive a world-class education, and spurred on new avenues of scholarship about the experience of historically marginalized communities.

Though the book is compellingly written, its overall contribution to the scholarship on student protest and the history of higher education is limited, since most of the key figures and events of Higgins' narrative have been studied by historians in other contexts. Throughout the work, Higgins only intermittently engages with the broader historiography on student protests, which is a shame since it would have helped to contextualize California's place more fully in the wider landscape of U.S. higher education. Throughout the book, the author also provides an overly broad interpretation of activism as a direct response to the California Master Plan for Higher Education. Student protests and activism in the 1960s developed for many reasons, especially as a response to systemic racism experienced by racial minorities. The book covers a fascinating array of activists, but at times strains credulity by insisting on the centrality of the California Master Plan for Higher Education, which played a significant yet peripheral role in a much larger story.

Despite these limitations, the work provides a richly detailed account of California student protest movements in the 1960s, and chapters from this book will be useful for teachers grappling with the long and challenging history of American student protest. This is especially timely given the events of the 2023/2024 academic year, in which the Israeli-Hamas conflict sparked a new wave of student protest across the United States, which were followed quickly by administrative and police crackdowns. Through detailed archival work, chapters in the book (especially 2, 4, 5, and 6) provide rich descriptions of the formation of student movements, their strategies for pursuing change, the response of campus administrators and local authorities, as well as the many ways in which diverse student groups interacted with one another to forge larger coalitions. Assigning the entire work may not be necessary, as individual chapters follow their own story and discuss the ways in which student groups reacted to the California Master Plan for Higher Education. Selections from the work could usefully supplement undergraduate courses on the Civil Rights Movement, African American history, Latinx history, the history of higher education, or broader introductory courses on American history in the twentieth century.

The University of Kansas Stephen Jackson

The Autocratic Academy: Reenvisioning Rule within America's Universities, by Timothy V. Kaufman-Osborn. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2023. 342 pages. $104.95, cloth. $28.95, paper. $28.95 electronic.

Timothy Kaufman-Osborn's *The Autocratic Academy* offers a forceful argument about the nature of governance in American higher education. Kaufman-Osborn asserts that the academy is anti-democratic, and the root cause extends back to decisions at the founding of the first universities in the United States. In making this claim, he marshals evidence from the history of American higher education starting with the establishment of Harvard College and William and Mary, chronicling developments up to the present day. Indeed, the first chapter opens with a description of the recent governance dispute at Texas Southern and restructuring and elimination of academic programs at the University of Tulsa. For individuals working in higher education, the story of draconian cuts to programs, faculty, and staff or elimination altogether is hauntingly familiar.

Throughout the book, Kaufman-Osborn describes the way events in higher education history have contributed to the formation of an unusual governance structure where an outside body such as a Board of Regents or Board of Trustees possesses the power to manage an institution. More curious is that the members of the governing board over time increasingly possess business credentials rather than the advanced academic degrees required of the faculty and administrators within the academy. Kaufman-Osborn asserts that this oppressive authoritarian

governance structure existed long before the term "corporatization" entered faculty members' lexicon.

Thus, an important perspective from *The Autocratic Academy* is that the idea that corporatization has recently taken over the academy is in error (p. 30). To elucidate his argument, Kaufman-Osborn describes the legalistic origins of corporations in the second chapter. In the third chapter, he distinguishes between various forms of corporations, such as civil, lay, eleemosynary, nonprofit, for-profit, and property corporations (p. 48). Understanding assorted types of corporations is central to Kaufman-Osborn's argument that, at their founding, institutions of higher education could have pursued a corporate governance structure that offered democratic alternatives, such as the member corporation.

The second section of the book traces the contests over governance undertaken in early American colleges. Chapters four, five, and six examine governance disputes at William and Mary, Harvard, and Dartmouth. The *Dartmouth* case, according to the author, is pivotal to understanding how the academy became autocratic. John Marshall's decision laid the ground for determining the kind of corporation the academy was to become (pp. 119-120).

In the third section, Kaufman-Osborn describes the resulting maladies of governance that plague universities. He even offers a name for the disease, "Psychasthenia Universitatis," and describes its various ailments. His description is unvarnished, accurate, and even slightly humorous. Considering the anemic power of faculty to govern the institutions where they are employed, he states, "The principal power delegated to the faculty is the power to talk without end… The professoriate's logorrhea explains the spectacles of demoralization known as faculty meetings, which are defined by their 'hesitant, dispirited, nibbling, myopic, lame and wearisome discussions that are a trial to the spirit and flesh" (pp. 151-152). He contends that "shared governance" is really a placebo.

The fourth section argues that contemporary universities are increasingly adopting, but have not fully realized, the "misbegotten shape" of the neoliberal construction of the corporation, although other forms of corporation had been possible (p. 198). The neoliberalization of the university includes the reduction of tenure-eligible professors with a corresponding increase in adjunct faculty who can be hired and fired at will (p. 202). Kaufman-Osborn offers examples from three different universities: the University of Montana, Princeton University, and Purdue University Global. Neoliberalism at these institutions means that curriculum is driven by workforce demands ("eduployment"), academic capitalism (selling scholarly research to speculative ventures), and public-private partnerships (Purdue's purchase of Kaplan). The final chapter demonstrates how universities have become reliant on debt, financiers, and credit rating agencies such as Moody's (p. 242). This dependence erodes autonomy and self-rule. The epilogue offers an alternative vision of the academy; one based upon the member corporation first described in chapter three. If this vision seems utopian, Kaufman-Osborn pleads, "guilty as charged" (p. 272).

The Autocratic Academy provides a carefully articulated argument about the nature of governance in U.S. institutions of higher education. It is thought-provoking and is well suited for use in a graduate-level course in the history of

higher education or a course on contemporary issues in higher education. Because of the historicity and complexity of the material, students without a background in higher education history will need support in distilling central ideas in the text. The author offers a novel explanation about neoliberal influences on the academy and an intriguing solution to change the anti-democratic governance structure. It is important for faculty of higher education to debate the ideas in the text and graduate students should be introduced to them as well.

Georgia State University Chara Haeussler Bohan

Bayard Rustin: A Legacy of Protest and Politics, edited by Michael G. Long. New York: New York University Press, 2023. 244 pages. $27.95, cloth. $27.95, electronic.

Bayard Rustin is best known as the architect of the 1963 March on Washington. However, as the essays in this volume make clear, his long career connected multiple movements and shaped the fight for Black freedom. Overall, the authors in this collection of essays deliver on the promise to highlight "the depth and breadth and complexity" of Rustin's "fight for economic, racial, social, and political justice" (p. 5).

The book is divided into three sections: "Part I: Protest, Politics, and Partners," "Part II: Resistance, Reform, and Reconciliation," and "Part III: What Rustin Means to Me." Part I covers significant relationships in Rustin's life, while Part II deals with Rustin's work on specific issues. Together, they form a composite portrait of a multifaceted activist. On the other hand, Part III, which contains short reflections by contemporary activists on Rustin's legacy, totals fewer than twenty pages, and reads as something of an afterthought.

Essays by Walter Naegle, Rustin's surviving partner, and sociologist Sharon Erickson Nepstad detail his commitment to pacifism, which drew on his grandmother's Quaker values and sent him to prison during World War II as a conscientious objector. Gene Nichol describes the Journey of Reconciliation, an effort organized by Rustin and others in 1947 to test the limits of a Supreme Court decision that struck down state laws segregating interstate bus travel. Justin Bronson Barringer examines how Rustin negotiated better conditions for fellow incarcerated men while serving on a North Carolina chain gang due to his arrest during that effort.

Sarah Azaransky describes how Rustin was influenced by nonviolent political movements in India and Africa, while Jonathan Eig explains how nonviolence shaped the civil rights movement. In 1956, Rustin traveled to Alabama during the early days of the Montgomery Bus Boycott to, in his own words, "bring the Gandhian philosophy and tactic to the masses of Negroes in the South" (p. 77). He would remain a close friend and advisor to King at least through the 1963 March on Washington, which brought a quarter of a million people to the nation's capital. As John D'Emilio makes clear in his essay, that Rustin accomplished as much as he did while also living as an openly gay man is a testament to his energy and organizing acumen.

At the same time, editor Michael G. Long writes in the introduction, Rustin was "a complicated activist who left multiple legacies" (p. 5). He, along with Randolph, sidelined women in the public program for the 1963 March on Washington. The following year, Rustin urged members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to accept an insulting offer of two non-voting seats at the 1964 Democratic National Convention. From there, Rustin diverged from the larger movement, urging activists to work for change within the Democratic Party even as King and others grew increasingly disillusioned with the slow pace of progress and the brutal war in Vietnam. For some, Rustin had become a sellout and a hypocrite, especially as he distanced himself from the anti-war movement.

Religion scholar terrance wiley frames Rustin's turn as a "pragmatic pirouette" in response to the movement's increasing militancy and violent unrest in American cities, as he sought a broad-based coalition to bring about a "social revolution" (p. 169). Historian David Stein similarly sees this as an attempt "to braid the efforts of the socialist movement and the civil rights movement together" (p. 183). However, few of the authors spend much time at all on the final two decades of Rustin's life, even though he remained politically active during that time.

Rustin's thought and example remain relevant in the face of racism, endemic poverty, and militarism. His tenacity reminds young activists of the tremendous possibility that arises from collective action, as well as the fact that movements run on the "quotidian work" of ordinary people. To this point, Stein quotes Rachelle Horowitz, who recalls that Rustin "would sing spirituals and freedom songs" when the work got dull (p. 178). The lesson: social movements wither without joy.

Many of the essays in this volume could be assigned in high school and undergraduate classrooms. Most are short and easy to read and could serve as the starting point for class discussions or as the basis for a jigsaw activity on Rustin's life and work. However, when read together as a collection, they tend to be repetitive. At times, the essays are less in conversation than they are speaking past each other, whereas more editorial intervention might have produced a more cohesive volume.

Florida International University Dan Royles

City of Newsmen: Public Lies and Professional Secrets in Cold War Washington, by Kathryn J. McGarr. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2022. 304 pages. $30.00, cloth. $29.99, electronic.

In 1956, C. Wright Mills described a "power elite" made up of political, business, and military men. In *City of Newsmen*, Kathryn McGarr shows us that journalists, too, moved in these circles. While they were more likely to be public university-educated Midwesterners than Ivy League-educated blue bloods, foreign policy reporters constantly socialized and curried favor with the Cabinet members, government officials, and military leaders who were their most crucial sources for news. *City of Newsmen* tracks the postwar emergence of a consensus between

media and government on the appropriate role for the United States in the world, and then chronicles the first phases of a breakdown between these two parties. McGarr frames the book as a corrective to rose-tinted views of Cold War-era journalism, in which reporters trusted government information and readers trusted their newspapers. But the book can speak to a far broader audience than those already interested in the journalism of this era. Indeed, the book could serve as a central text when teaching the early Cold War. Being about the news, *City of Newsmen* includes all the headline diplomatic events, from Potsdam to the Bay of Pigs. It also offers an intimate portrait of an exclusive Washington social and professional world that wielded enormous global power. It therefore sets the stage for the rights revolutions, the antiwar movement, and the decolonization struggles that followed.

Publishers and bureau chiefs used their news reporting to build public support for an active, interventionist foreign policy. Arthur Sulzberger of the *New York Times*, for example, advocated for the "ruthless" pursuit of world peace (p. 145). McGarr reminds us that these men thought of the United States as the only force capable of preventing World War III. This helps explain their belief that the ends, however violent or undemocratic, justified the means. At times, newspapers functioned more as propaganda machines or branches of government than as independent outlets, and a revolving door between journalism and government ushered news bureau chiefs into the State Department and the CIA.

Politicians and reporters agreed that they needed to maintain the public's faith in government and that, therefore, the public could not be given the whole story. In a 1954 off-the-record meeting, Vice President Richard Nixon warned that Vietnam would be an expensive and potentially endless problem. Reporters kept this to themselves and only printed Nixon's more optimistic statements. In private correspondence, reporters discussed the murder of CBS correspondent George Polk, but they never went public because the truth (that the CIA likely killed Polk) could have imperiled public trust in government. The press routinely obeyed government requests to withhold information and to ask fewer questions. During the 1954 CIA-orchestrated coup in Guatemala, the *New York Times* removed the paper's regular reporter from the country so that he could not cover or investigate the event—just as the State Department had asked it to.

McGarr's fine-grained research reconstructs these reporters' interconnected, interdependent, and exclusive social world in Washington, D.C. These men lived in the same neighborhoods, traveled together, drank together, and did each other endless favors. They then created staggering structural barriers to their own profession. They held crucial "background dinners" in male-only, white-only clubs. They created membership requirements, such as filing daily news stories, that handily cut out women and people of color (in this case, because these groups nearly all wrote for weekly or monthly news outlets.) White male journalists considered only others like themselves to be responsible enough to handle sensitive news.

McGarr's study of this closed professional world offers a methodological lesson. Students are usually eager to spot the racism or sexism in past practices. But what should they do next? The answer, here, is to trace out the consequences of those exclusions. In this case, a homogeneous profession generated homogeneous

reporting that, in a crucial moment, failed to offer meaningful critiques, alternatives, or even basic truths about the U.S.'s overweening global power. The book uses key contrasts with the black press and its reporters to show us the types of questions and critiques that the mainstream press either silenced or ignored.

As she locates her subjects so carefully in space, in class structures, and in professional bodies, McGarr makes a bigger point: historians have too often taken print news as objective fact. Cold War-era journalists paid lip service to "objectivity," but they did not actually maintain an independent, free press. Instead, reporters worked with government to build a culture of security and secrecy, setting the stage for the disillusionments of the 1960s.

University of Cambridge Julia Guarneri

Fit Nation: The Gains and Pains of America's Exercise Obsession, by Natalia Mehlman Petrzela. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2024. 424 pages. $29.00, cloth. $20.00, paper. $19.99, electronic.

Written for popular audiences, Natalia Mehlman Petrzela's *Fit Nation* makes body history accessible. With an impressive historiography—including many mediums from print magazines to newspapers to interviews—and an extensive secondary source reading list, Petrzela distills a complex body of source material into a monograph for everyone. Given her unique position as a history professor and member of the fitness community, the author occupies a relationship with American fitness culture that allows her work to reach a diverse audience and make history more accessible. Additionally, Petrzela's approach to critically analyzing the dichotomy between American cultural ideas of fitness and the realities of how they play out in American history highlights a gap in body history's historiography. Exploring the intersecting ideas of how fitness became fashion, America's investment (or lack thereof) into fitness, and fitness' effects on diverse populations throughout the twentieth century, *Fit Nation* adds to the more significant historical themes of race, gender, sexuality, and class (pp. 2, 5-12).

Beyond histories of the body, this work would serve well as an introductory monograph for lessons on cultural history and how to dissect a work written for popular audiences. The monograph would serve well in upper-level undergraduate seminars to introduce different ways to analyze race, gender, class, and social movements. The work would also serve well in graduate-level history courses exploring the intersecting nature of history across disciplines and the effects and meanings of different American cultural phenomena as the author tows the line between history and sociology. Petrzela's work would be an excellent source for students to analyze alongside other body history sources like John F. Kasson's *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America* (2001). Both works hone in on discussions of race, gender, sexuality, and capitalism's effects on the body throughout the twentieth century, exploring how integrated fitness ideas are within American society and

culture. However, because Petrzela's work highlights the understanding of how fitness affected women and other minorities, her work is a noteworthy expansion of fitness' role within body history. Reading these two sources alongside one another would better underscore Petrzela's argument of the pervasiveness of the dichotomy of American investment and divestment into fitness financially and culturally (pp. 335-336).

Furthermore, Petrzela's work would pair well with discussions around how subcultures utilize dominant cultural effects and meanings for their own purposes, subverting the inherent meanings of control originally placed onto fitness and bodily presentation by the larger white cis-gendered heterosexual male-dominated American culture. This discussion, specifically her focus on the subversion of gyms by gay men and the use of fitness by black liberationists in the 1960s and 1970s, would pair well with Dick Hebdige's classic *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (1979) to explore how subcultures and countercultures use dominant ideas to create their own meanings (pp. 45-49, 143-145).

When considering how teachers may use or present this source to their students, special consideration should be given to the monograph's style and intended audience. We must recognize that when history is presented to non-academics, the structure of the monograph is different from what students typically see in academic settings. Unfortunately, this means that teachers should prepare for their students to find it challenging to dissect the monograph at first glance.

While some of Petrzela's arguments leave room for further explanation—for example, the connections between America's ideas of purity and morality to the idea of fitness throughout history—and her work may be challenging for students to dissect, her additions to the understanding of the relationship between fitness and historical themes of race, gender, sexuality, class, capitalism, and social movements make her work a fantastic addition to an American history or historical sociology course. Petrzela does an excellent job of introducing the ideas of the corporeal to the overall discussion of American history and deserves much praise for making a complicated topic more accessible.

California State University, Long Beach Zach Roethlisberger

States of Incarceration: Rebellion, Reform, and America's Punishment System, by Jarrod Shanahan and Zhandarka Kurti. London, United Kingdom: Reaktion Books, 2022. 240 pages. $20.00, cloth. $20.00, electronic.

States of Incarceration details the 2020 George Floyd Rebellions against police violence. Criminologists Jarrod Shanahan and Zhandarka Kurti argue that this was the largest movement since the 1960s, with over 11,000 protests in 3,000 locations. There were peaceful protests, civil disobedience, destroyed "police and court infrastructure," "widespread looting," and "skirmishing with cops" to

destabilize police forces and demand immediate reform, defunding, and abolition of police and prisons (pp. 8-9). Overall, this book utilizes news media, speeches, interviews, "law and order" and prison reform legislation, and statistics to declare abolition as a pathway toward social justice.

The carceral system is a capitalist project that disproportionately victimizes working-class people of color. It includes jails, prisons, probation, parole, house arrest, mental asylums, drug treatment centers, and community centers for at-risk youth where police, probation officers, and social workers can monitor and maintain control of marginalized groups stereotyped as prone to criminality (pp. 25-26). During the 1960s, deindustrialization, job flight, civil rights protests, white flight, and declining tax bases created financial turmoil. Marxist theory explains the shift from a "welfare state" to an "austere state" through privatized communal resources, labor exploitation, and use of police and prisons to protect property and maintain social order (pp. 74-78). The Safe Streets Act of 1968 and the 1994 Crime Bill defunded social welfare and invested billions in crime prevention programs, fortified police departments, and built prisons (pp. 149-151). Mandatory minimum sentencing and the Three Strikes Law for felony drug offenses during the Crack Epidemic and War on Drugs sent many people to prison. Since the 2000s, the federal government "decarcerated" prisons by reducing non-violent felonies to misdemeanors, resulting in cities and states financing mass incarceration (pp. 122-123). These governments ultimately expropriate money from the working class through cash bail, carceral fines, and fees to balance budgets in what sociologist Katharine Beckett and political scientist Naomi Murakawa call a "shadow carceral state" (pp. 103-107).

Structural racism "from colonial Virginia, through slavery, Reconstruction, Jim Crow, and mass incarceration" (p. 86) is outlined in discussions on slave patrols, convict leasing, and settler colonialism, but antiblackness and xenophobia are never explicitly identified as core reasons for racial violence and labor exploitation. From the 1840s to 1940s, the Irish, Italians, and Jews were exploited and criminalized until they were accepted into the "pact of whiteness." Once these groups developed a "cross-class alliance" and maintained the "color line" as carceral officials who kept non-whites as "surplus populations," they escaped a carceral system that uses race and class domination to uphold capitalism (pp. 83-84). Structural racism, tangible in "underfunded schools, racial segregation in housing and employment, and high rates of joblessness," has stymied many African Americans' access to upward social mobility (p. 21). However, the authors' qualms about prison scholars Angela Davis and Michelle Alexander connecting slavery with incarceration contradict statistics demonstrating how antiblackness "has been inextricably bound up with the punishment system" (pp. 86-87). African Americans are 3.3 times more likely to be murdered by police than white people (p. 20). One in 15 Black men are incarcerated, compared to 1 in 36 Latino men and 1 in 106 white men (p. 70). In 2020, Black Americans comprised 14% of the population, but comprised 27% of individuals killed by police (p. 98).

The conclusion discusses how to address "violence and harm" without police, prisons, coercion, and capitalism (pp. 142-144). "Violent struggle," the removal of police from "schools, subways, and public housing," and the reduction and

demolition of prisons are necessary for liberation. As the Black Panthers, Young Lords, and abolitionists Ruth Wilson Gilmore and Mariame Kaba have demonstrated, replacing capitalism involves creating community-led initiatives that meet the "human needs of all" with programs offering food, housing, employment, protection from violence, and therapeutic treatment for antisocial behaviors that evolve into crime (p. 182).

Shanahan and Kurti see the George Floyd Rebellions as linked to the 2008 Occupy Wall Street Protests and 2014 Black Lives Matter Protests that culminated into a cross-cultural "proletarian" struggle against the bourgeoisie and carceral state (p. 11). However, the rebellion directly inspired people to dismantle white supremacy. Since it also occurred when Asian Americans were violently scapegoated for the COVID-19 pandemic and undocumented Latino immigrants were among the exploited class of essential workers, the rebellion was about fighting racial oppression rather than class domination. Protestors demanded an end to police violence, challenged the existence of colonialist and Confederate monuments, and promoted Indigenous, Black, Latino, Asian, and Queer histories in K-12 education. *States of Incarceration* is not a traditional historical monograph offering new scholarship, but is best suited for graduate history course adoption as a philosophical text, where students can examine divergent solutions to the carceral state that include the defunding, reformation, and abolition of police and prisons.

Morgan State University Menika Dirkson

Radical Prescription: Citizenship and the Politics of Tuberculosis in Twentieth-Century Cuba, by Kelly Urban. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2023. 252 pages. $99.00, cloth. $34.95, paper. $26.99, electronic.

Kelly Urban's *Radical Prescription: Citizenship and the Politics of Tuberculosis in Twentieth-Century Cuba* provides a chronological analysis of tuberculosis control measures from the 1920s to the 1990s. In a concise and readable narrative, Urban argues that anti-tuberculosis initiatives intersected with both elite and popular politics. On the one hand, political leaders, both democratically elected and authoritarian, used anti-tuberculosis campaigns to aid in state formation and generate good will amongst Cubans. On the other hand, a variety of popular groups, including doctors, urban and rural laborers, Black intellectuals, political radicals and reformers, and tuberculars themselves, demanded these programs and supported or criticized the government based on their handling of the disease. Urban's analysis demonstrates what a Cuban tuberculosis specialist called "politicosis"—"the disease was no longer simply a respiratory ailment or a reflection of the social hierarchies of the island; it had become a variable in national politics" (p. 6).

Radical Prescription draws from literature in Cuban history and the history of medicine across Latin America to assess the interplay between tuberculosis, politics, and citizenship in pre- and post-revolutionary Cuba. Due to challenges specific to doing research in Cuba, including archival limitations and political concerns, as well as the general difficulties of unearthing ordinary people's responses to public health policy, the book focuses more on statecraft than popular politics. Nevertheless, Urban makes excellent use of a range of primary sources—including national statistics, physicians' personal records, scientific journals and medical theses, the work of intellectuals, art, literature, civic association records, and the press—to show how elites, doctors, and a range of popular actors politicized tuberculosis treatment for their own agendas. One particularly memorable anecdote opens the book: the reader meets a young soldier who watches his younger brother die a horrible death from tuberculosis, only to find out that the solider is none other than Fulgencio Batista, the dictator later overthrown by Fidel Castro's revolution. Due to his brother's experience, Batista dedicated ample funding to eradicate tuberculosis, which boosted his popularity among the poor and galvanized his political ambitions, but led to harsh criticism when expenditures did not translate into tangible outcomes.

The focus on a single disease facilitates an examination of changes and continuities between the pre- and post-revolutionary period. Chapters 1 through 4 examine pre-revolutionary Cuba, Chapter 5 looks at the early revolutionary period, Chapter 6 focuses on the mid-1960s to the 1990s, and the conclusion invites comparisons between the way the Cuban state handled the COVID-19 pandemic and the various approaches to tuberculosis control outlined throughout the book. As Urban explains, tuberculosis is both a social disease and intractable, meaning that while eradication always seemed possible, due to unchanging social conditions, it was also out of reach. The focus on tuberculosis also allows Urban to demonstrate how different governments fared in providing "health citizenship," the idea that health is a right granted by citizenship, which she contrasts to "hygienic citizenship," an elite discourse that good health, based on individual choices without acknowledging social factors, is a precursor to citizenship. As she elaborates, health citizenship can be either narrow—merely access to health services—or broad—an understanding of how social conditions create health inequities (pp. 10-11). Using these concepts, Urban explains that while Castro's Cuba is rightly celebrated for many advancements in health care, social medicine, and improved health indicators, it fell short of creating full health citizenship. Instead, although "The socialist government implemented a broader health citizenship than the republican state had…it implemented a narrower health citizenship than what had been envisioned by many republican-era health activists," including labor unionists, Black intellectuals, and communists (p. 141). In this way, Urban posits that the 1959 revolution did not create a fundamental break in public health policy.

Radical Prescription is engaging yet academic, and due to the somewhat graphic nature of some descriptions of tuberculosis progression, is probably most suitable for university undergraduate and graduate students interested in Cuban history or the history of medicine. The book is both concise and

affordable, and is also available as an e-book, making it a good addition to syllabi or supplemental reading lists. Individual chapters could be useful for teaching specific aspects of Cuban or tuberculosis history. For instance, Chapter 6 on the politics of tuberculosis care under socialism—which details the overall health gains for Cuba during the period, but also the social, geopolitical, financial, and bureaucratic limitations to achieving broad health citizenship—could be used to teach about the Cuban Revolution's successes and failures. Overall, anyone interested in Cuban history and/or the politics of health care will find *Radical Prescription* to be an informative and enlightening read.

The University of Alabama in Huntsville Nicole Pacino

Even the Women are Leaving: Migrants Making Mexican America, 1890-1965, by Larisa L. Veloz. Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2023. 312 pages. $95.00, cloth. $29.95, paper. $29.95, electronic.

"[W]e are being left without skirts….We must remedy the exodus of women, because a town of only men is like a stew without salt," lamented Mexican newspaper *El Informador* in 1927 (p. 86). Contrary to notions that Mexican-U.S. migration has been historically male and labor-centric, in *Even the Women are Leaving*, Larisa L. Veloz argues that Mexican families have moved back and forth across the border together—motivated by things such as loyalty, love, personal traumas, and feelings of binationalism.

Scholarship including that of Ana Rosas, Miroslava Chávez-García, and Ivón Padilla-Rodríguez has placed the Mexican family more squarely into histories of migration. Veloz builds upon this historiography to show how Mexican women *and* men strategized to keep their families together between 1890 and 1965, despite governmental attempts to privilege capitalist labor schemes and elide migrants' emotional ties. Part One discusses family migration before and during the Mexican Revolution. During the 1890s, more Mexican families migrated northward and built up the U.S. ranching, agriculture, and railroad sectors. In fact, agricultural employers preferred hiring "the family Mexican" to squeeze more labor out of everyone, including children. Though Mexican leaders lamented departures of entire households (which peaked in the 1920s), they could not control the personal decisions of their citizenry. Veloz emphasizes that migration was not something that just *happened* to Mexican people. It was something that families discussed and planned with intention "to chart out binational livelihoods" (p. 9).

Part Two chronicles and complicates the Great Depression and Bracero Program eras. Francisco Balderrama and others have characterized the 1930s deportations of almost 1 million Mexicans and Mexican Americans out of the U.S. as the "Decade of Betrayal." Though countless people were traumatized by these expulsions, Veloz focuses on those who took advantage of them to return home (a photograph of three women in a *repatriado* traincar, smiling and appearing

at ease, is striking and unexpected). Numerous people wrote to both the U.S. and Mexican presidents for help with repatriation. These epistolary sources are fascinating—spousal abandonment, family deaths, and sibling conflict were just some of the intimate disruptions that letter-writers detailed to claim authorities' assistance. I would have liked to see more discursive analysis of president as metaphorical "father" of the national "family" here.

Between 1942 and 1964, the U.S. and Mexican governments tried to create the "ideal migrant as able-bodied, temporary, and male" (p. 18) via the bracero guestworker program, which excluded women and children from applying or accompanying. A resulting informal "bracera" movement emerged as women migrated to the U.S. anyway. Though the Bracero Program could not stop family reunification, it *did* usher in an "expectation and justification of family separation" for the future (p. 214). Immigration policing ramped up in the 1950s, and the Border Patrol and INS took cruel measures to split families apart via different modes of deportation. The title of Veloz's epilogue, which discusses the 1965-1986 period, plays on the combined titles of Natalia Molina's and Ana Minian's books about racialization, immigration policy, and the social lives of migrants. Again, I wished for more explicit theoretical discussion here about this rhetorical decision. Veloz's concluding statement, though, is beautifully clear: "Migration was, and always will be, unpredictably human" (p. 224).

Veloz's mosaical work with U.S. and Mexican sources is admirable and pragmatically executed, but some data seems limited or underutilized. Chapter 1, for instance, analyzes a trove of 1920 passport applications filed in the Mexican state of Jalisco. Veloz argues that Jalisco underwent important shifts in agricultural production, land policy, and labor recruitment, but other states' data would have been useful and illuminating. Similarly, the Guadalajaran newspaper *El Informador* is the only consistently cited Mexican publication. When it comes to amazing biographical data of 577 *repatriados* who returned to Mexico in 1931, it is sadly kept in an appendix table rather than visualized in an imaginative way inside the main text. Doing so could be an interesting teaching and primary source exercise for high school and college classrooms.

Other possible teaching discussions could center around the idea of friends as chosen family—did friends pass as family members, or substitute for them in times of loss? Was migrating as friends used as a strategy to cloak queer relationships? Consuls as people who moved with their families is another provocative contingent to ponder. *Even the Women Are Leaving* should certainly be used alongside complementary works to round out lessons about migrant families' complexities, emotional lives, and strategic thinking.

Stony Brook University (SUNY) Lori A. Flores

The Life and Death of States: Central Europe and the Transformation of Modern Sovereignty, by Natasha Wheatley. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2023. 424 Pages. $45.00, cloth. $45.00, electronic.

The Habsburg Empire in its late iteration has vexed its students for a long time. The post-1867 dualist arrangements (Ausgleich/"Settlement") are a challenge for any history instructor to explain: Was the Austro-Hungarian empire one state, two states, or even three? Who, among the historic kingdoms and provinces and the central government in Vienna that constituted the composite state, possessed sovereignty? Such headaches, contends historian Natasha Wheatley, generated not only confusion and debates for the contemporaries as well as posterity, they also compelled politicians, journalists, and scholars to creatively engage with the basic assumptions of law and political legitimacy, the idea of sovereignty, and the birth and death of states more generally. Habsburg Central Europe's complexities and the attempts to address those legally were an unacknowledged wellspring of influential twentieth-century understandings of law and the state, and an unrecognized harbinger of post-imperial sovereignty discourses after 1945.

The Life and Death of States is an intellectual history of sovereignty, focusing on notions of the state in constitutional law and international law that were developed from the perspectives and experiences of Habsburg Central Europe. This ambitious book has three main threads. The first is tracing the claim making and debates over the nature of and power distribution inside the Habsburg state after 1848, and the bases of the arguments about territories and rights forwarded by the successor states in the aftermath of the dynastic state's demise. Against the backdrop of this broader, decades-long development, the second thread contextualizes the German-speaking Austrian scholars' efforts to legally account for the political complexities they were confronted with, including building daring theories about the state and even a new legal philosophy, the pure theory of law. The third thread is a historical reflection on knowledge making and how knowledge travels. It analyzes the Austrian legal scholars' conscious construction and validation of jurisprudence as a form of rigorous knowledge (a *Wissenschaft*) and the relevance of their favored method of abstraction for later contestation over state sovereignty and world order outside of Europe.

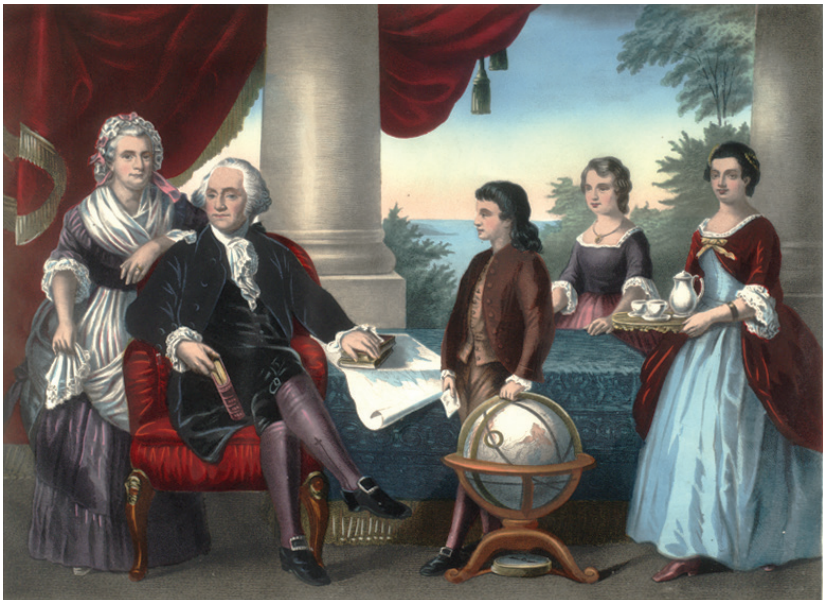
A tour de force like this book is impossible to summarize. I can only suggest a few points of entry for readers of different interests. For historians of Central Europe, Chapter 1 is a much-needed English-language account of the travails of democratically designing what became the Kremsier draft constitution of 1849. Chapters 2 and 3 insightfully examine how Hungarian and Czech nationalists successfully, often through historical narrative-based claim making, converted feudal estates' (class-based) patrimonial privileges into modern, ethnonationally based sovereignty. There is also the nugget of Habsburg Austria being hailed by neutral scholars during WWI, in contrast to the (politically useful) post-1918 image of Habsburg Empire as the "prisons of nationalities." Chapter 5 shows the late Habsburg theorizing about the state and sovereignty were more than consequential in 1919, as the representatives from rump Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia marshalled arguments and assumptions about state continuity/rupture and the sources of political legitimacy developed since 1848 to fight over territories, properties, and liabilities in the Paris Peace Conference.

Parts of Chapter 2, along with Chapters 4 and 6, will probably attract scholars of legal history and legal philosophy, and historians of world order (a

subfield Wheatley has helped to grow). These chapters places Georg Jellinek, Hans Kelsen, and the Kelsen circle in their Habsburg context, explaining their theoretical building and abstract thinking as a response to cut through the composite Habsburg state's messy constitutional and legal tangles. These chapters also establish, sometimes more explicitly and convincingly than others, the connections between late- and post-Habsburg Central European theories about law and the state and the post-1945 developments, where decolonization again opened up the questions about the temporal limits of states, sovereignty, and the European imperial laws' legacy for the modern world order discussed in Chapter 7.

The Life and Death of States is an important contribution to Central European intellectual history and the history of law. Its deep interdisciplinary engagement testifies to Wheatley's forceful, and I think successful, advocacy to bring Habsburg Central Europe into the wider debate over the origins of the modern world order and its legal and institutional underpinning. The demanding subject matter of this book is tempered by the author's formidable wit and eloquence, but it may not be readily accessible to students who do not possess basic knowledge of Central European history and the nineteenth- and twentieth-century European intellectual culture. On the other hand, this rich book will certainly reward the patient expert reader.

Indiana University Bloomington Ke-Chin Hsia



Washington Family. Chromolithograph from the Harry T. Peters "America on Stone" Lithography Collection, 1869. Smithsonian National Museum of American History, Catalog No. 60.2457. Public domain, Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal license (image cropped). <https://www.si.edu/object/washington-family:nmah_324766>. Entry reads: "This is a copy of the family portrait by Edward Savage which was painted 1789-1796 and published from a mezzotint engraving March 10, 1798."