

Reviews

Hotels and Highways: The Construction of Modernization Theory in Cold War Turkey, by Begüm Adalet. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2018. 304 pages. \$90.00, cloth. \$29.95, paper. \$29.95, electronic.

Informed by the Cold War preoccupation with economic and political transformations of the more and less desirable variety, modernization theory posited, broadly, that given certain inputs, countries would follow uniform and unlinear paths towards development. Yet how was that theory produced—by particular actors, and in specific settings?

Begüm Adalet's *Hotels and Highways* is an innovative and archivally rich monograph that demonstrates how Turkey came to be at once a model for modernization theory and the experimental object itself in which modern subjects would be produced. Modernity, Adalet contends, would be produced through the manipulation of space and architecture, and through the creation of urban, mobile, literate subjects, connected through media. Yet this process, Adalet convincingly argues, did not entail a simplistic Turkish adoption of American intellectual models, as is often assumed; rather, it was mediated by the intimate practices and encounters of expert “intermediary figures” in the flow of intellectual frameworks across the Atlantic, and it was shot through with uncertainties, doubt, debates, and critique.

The volume successfully illustrates, through compelling examples, the making of Turkey simultaneously into a model of modernization, an exceptional case, and the laboratory for manufacturing modernity in very evocative settings, which Adalet researched through a rigorous and creative use of fragmented archives across the Atlantic. We follow the work of Dankwart Rustow and other social scientists' fashioning of modernization theory in and out of Turkey, and the skepticism through which colleagues at Ankara University received Rustow's theories of stages of political growth. In what is perhaps the most surprising chapter of the book, Adalet traces the Turkey-wide surveys of college students, citizens, and peasants—an exercise that would both diagnose degrees of tradition and modernity, and simultaneously itself create modern subjects. Adalet finds that respondents engaged with survey questions in creative and subversive ways,

often refuting the premises of the survey categories, and demonstrates how Turkish scholars debated the implications of fashioning Turkey into a laboratory for the benefit of foreign experts.

Modern subjects are supposed to be mobile, and mobility, for Adalet, was produced through instruments like highways and hotels. These sites, Adalet shows, are at once material sites of theory-making, and nexuses of doubt, debate, and discussion. As Turkey transformed from a railway-led, state-owned, industrial economy to one characterized by highway-enabled private capital accumulation, American engineers sought to readjust the work practices and temporal outlook of Turkish counterparts. This project also sought to produce a new kind of farmer and new capital accumulations for absentee landlords. Yet Adalet demonstrates that Turkey did not simply adopt a new engineering modernity with Marshall Plan funds; rather, road-building was a process riven with disagreement about contrasting meanings of economy, urbanization, politics, and national development. The masterful discussion of the construction of the Hilton Hotel in Istanbul brings the book's analytical gaze to bear on one of the most iconic sites of Turkey's "modern" transformation. The "International Style" geometric shapes of the hotel interplay with more Mediterranean motifs, Adalet shows, resulting from stylistic contestation between architects. The hotel came to be a "boundary object," bringing together different groups with contrasting visions of what the hotel would stand for and enable.

On an abstract level, *Hotels and Highways* demonstrates how models and theories travel, the concrete settings in which they are made, the ways in which the work of experts are imbued with anxiety, uncertainty, ambiguity, and the subversion that exists even in processes that appear hegemonic. Social surveys, highways, and hotels are poignant examples of this claim. The conclusion reminds readers to situate the recent return of the "Turkish model" in a longer history of the political envisioning of Turkey as both a model of democracy and modernity, as the laboratory where modernity could be measured, and as the site for producing new modern subjectivities, practices, politics, and infrastructures. At different points, then and now, these models all easily erased authoritarian histories, as well as stories of hierarchy and displacement. In a more concrete sense, and mirroring its own research questions onto itself, *Hotels and Highways* is interspersed with an account of the very materiality, patchiness, and politics of the archives where the research was built. In this, Adalet also provides an inspiring model for practicing historians and a critical evaluation of history and theory-making, as it emerges from material and intimate encounters.

Regional experts of Turkey and the Middle East, undergraduate and graduate students, and scholars of development, modernization theory, and infrastructure will find this book essential reading. The core interventions of the book could be distilled by a capable teacher to students of more introductory classes. It might be particularly helpful in bringing a critical perspective to the often-presumed role of Turkey as a laboratory of democracy for the contemporary Middle East, showing how this role was historically constituted throughout the twentieth century.

Upending the Ivory Tower: Civil Rights, Black Power, and the Ivy League, by Stefan M. Bradley. New York: New York University Press, 2018. 480 pages. \$35.00, cloth. \$35.00, electronic.

In *Upending the Ivory Tower*, Stefan M. Bradley expands the study of the black student movement of the 1960s and 1970s by focusing on the higher educational institutions of the Ivy League. Bradley chronicles black students' efforts to reform admissions and hiring policies to increase the number of black students, faculty, and staff on campus, enrich their schools' curricula with courses on black history and culture, and carve out inclusive spaces for black people within elite institutions steeped in exclusive traditions. Although black students have long been recognized as foot soldiers in the Civil Rights Movement's sit-ins, freedom rides, and voter registration campaigns, scholars have only recently begun to examine black students' efforts to transform college campuses beginning in the late 1960s as the movement for Black Power took root. Joining historians Martha Biondi, Ibram Kendi, Joy Ann Williamson, and others in documenting the black freedom struggle on campus, Bradley demonstrates convincingly that black students worked to upend every realm of higher education, with the elite, private, and predominantly white institutions of the Ivy League proving no exception.

Organized thematically and chronologically with each chapter focusing on one of the eight institutions of the Ivy League, *Upending the Ivory Tower* covers four primary aspects of the black student movement. First, Bradley examines black Ivy Leaguers' quest to increase the number of black students on campus by pressuring university administrators to actively recruit students from predominantly black high schools and lower socioeconomic backgrounds. In 1968, black students at Princeton University took it upon themselves to host prospective black students on campus, offering proof that they had established a place for themselves at the Ivy that most closely resembled strictly segregated Southern institutions. The same year, black students at Brown and Pembroke (Brown's women's college) insisted that their institutions hire a black admissions officer.

Second, Bradley makes clear that black students in the Ivy League were both astute observers of and participants in the larger movement for Black Power. Bringing movement campaigns and strategies to campus, black students at Princeton pressured the university to divest from companies associated with the apartheid regime in South Africa by joining forces with white members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and occupying an administrative building on campus. Students at Pembroke and Brown boycotted classes and camped out in the basement of a nearby Baptist church until administrators agreed to their demands that the percentage of black students admitted should match or exceed the overall percentage of black people in the United States.

Third, Bradley shows how black students of the Ivy League drew attention to their university's role in limiting opportunities for black people living in the vicinity of campus. Coalescing with black residents in neighborhoods adjacent to the university, black students at Columbia provoked a conversation about town and gown as they demonstrated against the institution's physical expansion, which displaced black people of the working and underclass.

Fourth, Bradley illustrates the process by which black students, as they joined the Ivy League in increasing numbers, endeavored to “create a sense of belonging by demanding, requesting, and negotiating spaces that allowed them to be and learn about themselves” (p. 250). Bradley argues that the student-led campaigns to establish Black Studies programs and black cultural centers at Yale, Cornell, Harvard, and elsewhere constituted an integral part of the Black Power movement, no less important than the more visible and militant protests of the Black Panthers. In each of the cases profiled, black student protest resulted in significant achievements that endure today. In response to black student demands, for example, all eight Ivy League institutions had changed their admission policies, and all but one had established a Black Studies program by 1975 (p. 17).

Upending the Ivory Tower seeks to “complicate and complete” the historical narratives of Civil Rights and Black Power by expanding the cast of characters to include black students of various socioeconomic backgrounds who served as change agents in unlikely movement centers—the institutions of the predominantly white Ivy League (p. 9). Bradley also aims to provide historical context for the Movement for Black Lives, offering instruction and inspiration for black youth fighting injustice today. In both of these goals, the author succeeds admirably. The text would be a welcome addition to college courses on the black freedom movement and history of education. Instructors and administrators at all levels will find in Bradley’s work important lessons on the true meaning of inclusion.

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Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan, by Marie Grace Brown. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2017. 222 pages. \$85.00, cloth. \$25.00, paper. \$25.00, electronic.

Beginning in December 2018, demonstrators calling for the end of the nearly thirty-year rule of President Omar al-Bashir peacefully took to the streets in urban spaces across Sudan. While international media paid little attention to these demonstrations, on April 8 in capital Khartoum, Alaa Salah, a university student in white dress, stood atop a car and led surrounding demonstrators in a call-and-response protest chant, with the group shouting “*thawra*” (“revolution”). Another protester, Lana Haroun, took a photo of Salah and the image quickly went viral, bringing the protests to the attention of international media outlets. The next morning, Haroun told CNN that Salah “was representing all Sudanese women and girls and she inspired every woman and girl at the sit-in. She was telling the story of Sudanese women” (as quoted in Jason Burke’s April 9, 2019 article in *The Guardian*). As Marie Grace Brown eloquently demonstrates in *Khartoum at Night*, Alaa Salah used more than words to mobilize the movement—her dress referenced the long history of women’s embodied political action and the symbolic power of dress in the struggle to bring down the President, who was ousted two days later on April 11, 2019.

Salah's dress, a white *tobe*, is connected to women's political activism from the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Brown shows that the history of the *tobe* dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century, when Sudan became part of the British Empire. It was not a formal colony, but a joint—and contested—dominion with Egypt, with British members of the elite Sudan Political Service administering the territory. Through five chapters, each titled with the names of popular tobés from the first six decades of the twentieth century, Brown demonstrates how this imperial project was intimately tied to Sudanese bodies. "Imperialism was immensely personal," she writes, "a visceral reality as much as a political system" that focused on women's bodies, which "translated imperial philosophies into close, physical realities" (p. 6). Yet Brown shows how these bodies, the object of colonizing reforms, also mark its constraints—where "imperial power reached its limit and colonized voices asserted themselves" (p. 7). Brown demonstrates how "the body and its adornments are as much an indicator of where as who we are" and therefore extends her argument to bodies-in-space, their place, and mobility (p. 9). According to Brown, Sudanese women directed "new modes of dressing, washing, birthing, and walking" and, by following them as they enter school, shop in the market, attend to patients, and commute on a bicycle, Brown reconstructs the "worlds of politics and pleasures in which northern Sudanese women lived" (p. 9).

Brown's book is a lively tour of the social worlds of elite and non-elite women in northern Sudan, with astute analyses of the imperial policies meant to shape their bodies and minds, along with their reconfigurations of these projects on their own terms. This book is methodologically innovative: it combines creative analysis of visual culture, photography, and dress with more traditional documentary sources such as newspapers, memoirs, reports, and personal papers of colonial officials. The book is therefore a valuable pedagogical example of how one scholar deals with a rich subject despite a dearth of primary written sources. As a result, Brown is able to place these women's encounters in the context of world history. For example, "The Post Office Pen" *tobe*—referencing the chained writing pen at the new post offices—signifies a woman's new connection to the imperial system, literate culture, and the possibility of sending a letter to a friend or relative, allowing the wearer of this *tobe* to claim "part of this exciting world for herself" (p. 40). Much of the literature on early twentieth-century Sudan relegates women to the harem, as though this space operates outside processes of historical change, but Brown's reconfiguration of historical analysis through bodies allows for a generative account of these spaces in two ways: first, regarding the socially reproductive and economic role of women in the harem; and, second, regarding the work of women in motion—often body workers—such as midwives, hairdressers, and enslaved women who did not adhere to the same enclosure practices of most middle- and upper-class women. The early chapters document the transformation from particular forms of enclosure to women taking on roles outside these systems as government-trained midwives or nurses, students, and teachers—as well as the surrounding debates. The debates focusing on women's new forms of bodies in motion included discussions of the practice of female genital cutting and infibulation, the shape and style of various nursing or school uniforms, and the

utility of new forms of transportation—as exemplified by midwife and instructor Sitt Batul’s early adoption of the bicycle to go about her work, or the question of what class ticket these new government employees should be entitled to while riding the train. Brown ties these groundbreaking professional women’s bodies, and the debates surrounding them, to her analysis of women’s civic participation, state and family violence, and the continued centrality of women’s bodies, desires, and labor in the 1940s, 1950s, and early independence era.

Khartoum at Night is a rare example of thorough scholarship in an accessible format. The first reviews I heard came not from academics, but through enthusiastic endorsements by women of the Sudanese diaspora. For teachers and students, this book does require some prior knowledge of imperialism and colonial encounters, and a background in gender studies or this history of body is helpful, although not necessary. It is suitable for instructors, undergraduates, and advanced high school students in Middle Eastern, African, world, or gender history. For teachers preparing to teach units on gender, decolonization, and nationalism, the final two chapters properly framed can stand on their own, but I encourage adapting *Khartoum at Night* in its entirety. I plan to.

The University of Chicago

Katie J. Hickerson

Citizenship, Inequality, and Difference: Historical Perspectives, by Frederick Cooper. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018. 205 pages. \$29.95, cloth. \$29.95, electronic.

Frederick Cooper’s *Citizenship, Inequality, and Difference* interrogates the history of citizenship on a global scale from antiquity to the present. It is an ambitious, concise, thought-provoking, and timely work. Defining citizenship “as a divisible and flexible bundle of rights and obligations in relation to a political entity,” Cooper’s monograph centers on how distinct types of polities—among them cities, nation-states, and especially empires—have “exercised and contested” access to and rights of citizenship, and how citizenship has functioned as “a framework for debate and struggle” about difference and inequality within and among such polities (pp. 4-5).

In his first chapter, Cooper argues for the importance and legacy of imperial Roman citizenship in the modern world, and of the Edict of Caracalla in 212 C.E. in particular, which extended citizenship to millions of hitherto non-citizen imperial residents. Cooper contends that by broadening access to Roman law for many (though not all) residents and to formal (though unequal) belonging within the polity among citizens, this served as inspiration for future models of imperial citizenship. In his second chapter, Cooper explores how different forms of citizenship arose in early modern European empires and compares their evolutions until the turn of the twentieth century. He contrasts how policymakers and imperial subjects debated, challenged, and transformed access to and the rights

of citizenship in battles over colonialism, anti-monarchal revolution, and industrial capitalism (among others). Cooper's third and final chapter largely examines how imperial models of citizenship were claimed, debated, and often jettisoned in the twentieth century. He emphasizes how early- to-mid-twentieth-century colonial reformers such as Mohandas Gandhi in India and Léopold Sédar Senghor in Senegal often fought for the recognition of full rights of imperial citizenship for marginalized subjects (such as rights of migration, suffrage, and full citizenship status) before turning to campaigns of independence from those empires. Cooper calls upon scholars to recognize "that citizenship in a territorially defined state" only became the global standard in the post-colonial era to better "understand the possibilities and limitations of th[is] framework" so as to more clearly envision inclusive rights of belonging within (increasingly numerous) nation-states and identify challenges posed by inequality in and among such polities (p. 141).

Cooper's exploration of proposed citizenship reforms that were either rejected or (relatively) briefly adopted by imperial metropolises—such as the 1812 Cádiz Constitution of the Spanish Empire and the battles over the citizenship rights of West African subjects of the post-World War II French Union—deftly demonstrate both the breadth of and constant contestation over imperial paradigms of citizenship. Cooper crafts the book by drawing from, synthesizing, and contextualizing vast national and chronological historiographies (and providing detailed commentary in the endnotes about key debates within those fields in English- and French-language scholarship).

With the numerous strengths of *Citizenship, Inequality, and Difference*—its breadth, brevity, and judicious case selection process—come a few trade-offs. It is not possible for Cooper to include every major development in comparative citizenship history (nor would the reader expect him to try). One avenue not pursued—the study of East Asian polities such as China or Japan as case studies—particularly creates curiosity in its absence. While Cooper's text is written in very crisp prose (and admirably takes pains to limit the use of competing legalistic terminology in his text), *Citizenship, Inequality, and Difference* would likely prove a challenging read for undergraduate lecture classes, given the breadth of examples rapidly covered in its pages. Cooper's work, however, will certainly spark lively discussion and is a must-read for graduate and advanced undergraduate history and interdisciplinary seminars dedicated to immigration, citizenship, imperialism, and global history.

Citizenship, Inequality, and Difference is a powerful reflection on how citizenship has functioned to include *and* exclude individuals from political belonging, and to lessen *and* sharpen material inequality within or between polities for millennia. It builds on, adds to, and will no doubt inform numerous scholarly conversations about what citizenship has meant, currently means, and might someday mean. Cooper has written a timely text, and one that will undoubtedly help scholars unpack and articulate the many permutations—and possibilities—of citizenship for years to come.

The History of Childhood: A Very Short Introduction, by James Marten. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. 160 pages. \$11.95, paper. \$7.99, electronic.

At the beginning of *The History of Childhood: A Very Short Introduction*, James Marten notes that “the biological facts of being a child have remained more or less the same” over the length of human history, but “childhood is a constantly shifting concept...shaped by local conditions, beliefs, and needs, as well as time” (p. 1). This mix of both eternal and continually changing elements of childhood makes producing an effective global synthesis on the subject a formidable task. Marten largely accomplishes it, offering insights on the broad historical forces that have shaped children’s lives. *The History of Childhood* will be a valuable resource for teachers and graduate students who are thinking about these large-scale questions or looking for entry points into the vast scholarship within this field.

The publisher’s marketing for the Very Short Introduction series emphasizes the fact-driven nature of these books. *The History of Childhood* has a wealth of facts, including some disheartening ones about contemporary children. For example, Marten notes, “In the last decade of the twentieth century alone, wars killed an estimated 1.5 million children and injured another 4 million” (p. 48) and “Over 90 percent of all children under the age of fourteen who die from gun violence live in the United States” (p. 111). What makes this book useful for teachers and scholars, though, is the analytical framework that Marten establishes to explain how massive economic and political shifts have affected the daily lives of children around the globe.

Marten suggests that the history of childhood divides into three eras: pre-modern, early modern, and modern. He argues that the pre-modern child rearing process was primarily concerned with preserving community traditions, but that the rise of strong central states in Europe and China led to broader discussions about children’s proper roles in society (p. 9). A long, slow transformation of ideas about childhood occurred during the “succession of revolutions” that began with the Protestant Reformation and the Enlightenment in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and culminated in the political transformations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (p. 26). These revolutions caused “the expansion of democratic governments and the concomitant development of public education and social welfare programs” (p. 26). Marten marks the beginning of modern childhood in the 1830s, when white, middle-class, educated Protestant reformers started to create “the most important model for raising children ever created”—though he acknowledges that “most children would never enjoy this version of childhood” (p. 51). Over the next two centuries, political leaders and non-governmental organizations have struggled to fulfill the ideals of this model, which includes a commitment that “childhood and youth would extend through adolescence, that their schooling would extend beyond a basic education (at least through high school or its equivalent, [and] that many of their families’ social and economic resources would be devoted to their happiness and nurturing” (p. 57).

One soft spot in this framework is Marten’s lack of clarity as to why modern ideals of childhood emerged during the 1830s. After making this claim in the

introduction to Chapter 3, he shifts his focus to the lives of enslaved children, and much of the rest of the chapter addresses the experiences of colonized and indigenous children. Through these sections, Marten indicates that the growing intersections between the lives of these children and their white, Protestant, Euro-American peers generated these ideals over the course of the nineteenth century. For example, he claims that “slavery provided whites with opportunities to make notions of childhood into metaphors that supported their racist assumptions” (p. 56). Yet even in this intentionally brief overview, a clearer explanation is needed of how this juxtaposition shaped ideas about childhood. Teachers who use *The History of Childhood* as part of their course preparation will want to fill this gap in the text with other readings; fortunately, Marten’s strong bibliography offers a good starting point for doing so.

The History of Childhood likely will not engage most high school or undergraduate students. Its vast scope prevents Marten from offering narratives of children’s experiences that might appeal to these readers. Indeed, this book focuses more on how adults have treated children than on the lives of global youth (for this reason, the author’s coda about the power of children’s agency feels discordant). Marten correctly notes in his introduction that this subject reveals “important and sometimes uncomfortable truths about civilization” (p. 1). Teachers and scholars who wish to illuminate these truths will want this compact volume on their bookshelves or in their libraries.

High Point University

Paul Ringel

Transforming the Elite: Black Students and the Desegregation of Private Schools, by Michelle A. Purdy. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2018. 258 pages. \$90.00, cloth. \$29.95, paper. \$22.99, electronic.

When thinking about school desegregation in the United States, the first thing that comes to mind is typically the *Brown v. Board* decision in 1954, or possibly resistance such as the Central High School crisis in Little Rock in 1957. One does not often think of the private school sector when looking at the issue of desegregation. Michelle A. Purdy hopes to change that with *Transforming the Elite: Black Students and the Desegregation of Private Schools*.

At the center of her study is Atlanta’s The Westminster Schools, a historically white elite private school founded in the early 1950s. Billed as a leading independent school in the Southeast, both when it was started and now, Westminster provides a unique backdrop for looking at desegregation at the private school level. Throughout the book, Purdy argues that Westminster is the perfect case study for the subject because it is representative of similar schools throughout the region and the nation at large. As the country changed in the 1950s and 1960s, so did Westminster. Adapting to that change is central to the book, and as Purdy contends, “the lines between public and private blurred as

private schools became focal points of policy and spaces to avoid public school desegregation during the mid-twentieth century. Leaders of independent schools also blurred notions of public and private as they responded to multiple historical, political, social, and economic factors” (p. 3). For example, Dr. William Pressly, the founder and first president of the school, was crucial in recognizing the changing landscape of education in the United States and applying those changes to Westminster. But the book is not just about the role of the administration at Westminster. It also focuses on the recruitment of the first black students, as well as their experiences once they got to campus. These factors, along with many others, combine to “more forthrightly position historically white elite schools or independent schools in the racial desegregation narrative, and this narrative contributes to an expanding understanding of black educational experiences in the third quarter of the twentieth century” (p. 3).

There are two themes throughout the book that Purdy points to as keys to success in the desegregation process at Westminster. The first is the leadership of the school, most notably that of Dr. William Pressly. The second is the role of the first black students that attended the institution in the late 1960s. Along with his role at Westminster, Pressly was also prominent within the organizational structure of the National Association of Independent Schools. As such, he had a unique opportunity to direct policy change at the national level for independent schools, while at the same time creating institutional change at Westminster. One of these changes, while gradual, was creating a culture at Westminster that was open to accepting black students. Once this was achieved, the next step was to recruit and admit African American students to Westminster. The first black students to attend Westminster were admitted in the fall of 1967. They came from working- and middle-class families and grew up in a time when the *Brown* decision was first being implemented. Their parents grew up in the shadow of Reconstruction, and knew the value of education for their sons and daughters. Couple this with growing up in the Jim Crow South and it opens a host of questions on how the first generation of African American students navigated their new world at Westminster (p. 84). This is where the book excels, as Purdy weaves together the narrative of administrators like Pressly, the local and national Civil Rights Movement, and the firsthand accounts of the first black students that attended Westminster.

Transforming the Elite is a much-needed addition to the literature on desegregation. By focusing on a historically white elite private institution, Michelle Purdy brings a new dimension to the discussion on race in education. Many of the works on the subject focus on the impact of the *Brown* decision, the massive resistance in its wake, and the public schools affected by this change. The study of private school desegregation is often through works that focus on institutions of higher learning. Purdy has updated the narrative with this book. Any student of the Civil Rights Movement in general and desegregation more specifically would benefit from reading this book.

A People's History of Computing in the United States, by Joy Lisi Rankin. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018. 336 pages. \$29.95, cloth. \$29.95, electronic.

A People's History of Computing in the United States is revisionist history in the best sense of the term. Joy Lisi Rankin's thoroughly researched, closely argued book successfully subverts the mythology that drives the contemporary historiography of American computer networks. We all know the myth. It holds that during the 1960s and 1970s, a handful of brilliant, young, straight, white, cis-gender male innovators created personal computers out of thin air, while a slightly different group of innovators—also exclusively straight white men—created modern computer networking by building the ARPANET. Rankin's book shows that this mythology is not only misleading, but dangerously exclusionary, for it privileges the actions of an already privileged elite, while erasing the vital contributions of a much larger and more diverse community. Like the works of the great populist historian Howard Zinn (to which the title of Rankin's book alludes), *A People's History of Computing* provides a valuable alternative narrative. Rankin's book tells the fascinating and compelling story of the students and teachers who made networked computing a reality in the third quarter of the twentieth century.

Contemporary Americans often view themselves as passive consumers of computer and network technology, but it was not always so. Rankin introduces the important concept of the "computing citizen," and she shows how these citizens created vibrant networking communities that were motivated not by the quest for profit, but by the desire to promote communication, collaboration, and civic engagement. The early time-sharing systems whose history this book paints so vividly were designed by American educators who saw that networked computers could be valuable teaching tools. Students eagerly embraced these new tools. Rankin shows that this interest in educational computing developed much earlier than is generally recognized, that it spread faster and further than most histories acknowledge, and that it extended well beyond the elite universities that are usually assumed to be the birthplace of modern computing. BASIC may have come from Dartmouth, but its creators, John Kemeny and Thomas Kurtz, designed it to be accessible to a wide range of users (p. 67), and thousands of New England high school students accessed Dartmouth's time-sharing network via the Dartmouth Secondary School Project. The Minnesota Educational Computing Consortium (MECC) implemented a statewide time-sharing system that served a staggering eighty-four percent of Minnesota's public school students as early as 1975 (p. 140).

But the greatest unknown success story of computing citizenship is certainly the University of Illinois' Programmed Logic for Automatic Teaching Operations (PLATO), a sophisticated educational time-sharing system that Rankin rightly calls "the other ARPANET" (p. 193). Ironically, PLATO used ARPA funding to create a network that in some ways eclipsed the ARPANET itself. While ARPANET was an experimental network that often struggled to find a purpose,

PLATO always knew what it was: an educational network that leveraged the power of networked computers to promote learning. Its educational emphasis led PLATO to develop friendly user interfaces. PLATO users were employing a touchscreen interface that would eventually become familiar to millions of smartphone users—in 1972. PLATO’s online notes files provide ample evidence of a vibrant online community, as well as a valuable archive that Rankin mines to good effect. PLATO’s Alternative Futures Project “explored the relationship among citizenship, technology, and civic participation” (p. 201). Today’s students know this field as Science, Technology, and Society (STS), and the very existence of STS shows that at least some of the alternative futures that PLATO dreamed of in the 1970s have come to pass.

Rankin deserves special praise for showing that the sexist, heteronormative computing culture that today’s reformers work so hard to overcome was far from inevitable. Rankin uses primary sources from the 1960s and 1970s to show how unexamined assumptions about gender and sexuality shaped the nascent culture of computing. Directories of computing staff listed women by their marital status, while male computer scientists emphasized the ways in which computer technology could help housewives perform their domestic duties. Gender bias and heterosexism, often unconscious, erased the contributions that women made to the early computing culture; one of the great virtues of Rankin’s book is that it foregrounds those contributions.

This book will be immensely useful to anyone who teaches the history of computers, computing, or networks. The book’s sophisticated argument, extensive bibliography, and helpful footnotes make it suitable for use in graduate seminars. Its engaging style makes it accessible to advanced undergraduates. Students at all levels will surely appreciate the desire for a more inclusive culture of computing citizenship that drives the book, as will their teachers.

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This War Ain’t Over: Fighting the Civil War in New Deal America, by Nina Silber. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2018. 248 pages. \$32.95, cloth. \$24.99, electronic.

As Americans faced an economic cataclysm that made them question themselves and their most cherished institutions, they latched on to Civil War memory, as Nina Silber convincingly argues, which “called up the sense of a national crisis...but also addressed certain values and beliefs deemed critical to the American condition” (p. 13). Collective memory, like politics, is a contested territory. In *This War Ain’t Over*, Silber demonstrates that the reconciliation narrative that stitched together sectional harmony in the early twentieth century was reimagined in the ravages of the Great Depression amidst contentious debates over New Deal policies and the menacing rise of European facism. Overall, Silber claims that the Civil War was not just a historic touchstone for individual and collective understanding in

dark times—it was a memory that could confer moral authority, establish political legitimacy, refashion popular aesthetics, generate profit, motivate voters, and inspire a new generation of Americans to make the ultimate sacrifice for “a new birth of freedom.”

This War Ain't Over builds upon Silber's previous work, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (1993), and it is deeply indebted to previous work on Civil War memory, such as David W. Blight's *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (2001) and Karen L. Cox's *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created in American Popular Culture* (2011). Blight emphasized white supremacy as the adhesive for mending regional divides, while Cox stressed that twentieth-century southern identity was defined, in part, by urban, industrial northerners' romantic nostalgia for the pastoral mores of the Old South—not just Lost Cause adherents. Silber makes a unique, valuable contribution to scholarship on Civil War memory by applying these previous insights to popular literature, Hollywood films, federal arts projects, the preservation of historic battlefields, liberal politics, and Popular Front activism in the Roosevelt era. Historians examining the FDR years have often approached these transformative decades from the top-down or the bottom-up. However, Silber's work is neither a study of political statecraft comparable to contributions from Arthur Schlesinger, William Leuchtenburg, Alan Brinkley, or Ira Katznelson, nor a social history mirroring the efforts of Lizabeth Cohen, Patricia Sullivan, or Glenda Gilmore. Silber successfully integrates both the structural assessments of political historians and the cultural analysis of social historians to create an innovative vantage point on ostensibly well-worn historiographic terrain.

There are several reasons why *This War Ain't Over* is a particularly teachable text. First, Silber's book is relatively short compared to most monographs—there's no filler—and Silber's writing is clear and precise in a way that resonates with both older high school students and undergraduates. Although the entire text could be assigned to students at these levels, each chapter is ideally suited to being assigned as part of thematic units from the late nineteenth century through World War II. Second, Silber's wide-ranging research centers on popular culture, which creates an opportunity for instructors to complement her analysis with an engaging, diverse array of primary source materials, including poems, novels, short stories, plays, and films, many of which are well-known, while others she has recovered from the margins of mainstream memory. Third, Silber's work is not only useful to history teachers—in addition to English and political science classes, *This War Ain't Over* is an excellent text for an interdisciplinary course like American Studies.

This War Ain't Over could have a prominent place in upper-level college classes, and it could generate penetrating discussions in graduate-level seminars, but it has a rare potential to make history come alive for high school juniors and seniors, as well as first- or second-year college students, who may perceive the historical discipline as merely the accumulation of objective facts on a static landscape. Silber, who “began this book in the age of Obama and finished it in the time of Trump,” proves that the contest over how we remember, misremember, and mythologize the Civil War is an illuminating window into our past, present, and

future (p. 183). Her work is an excellent catalyst for contextualizing conversations regarding former President Obama, who used Lincoln's inauguration Bible to begin an administration that some hailed a final vindication of Union victory, a post-racial America. Furthermore, *This War Ain't Over* is a valuable resource to frame classroom discussions related to reactionary white nationalism in the Trump era, as evidenced by recent debates over Confederate monuments, especially in Charlottesville. Twenty-first-century politics illustrates that Silber is right—official hostilities may have ended in 1865, but the Civil War is still fiercely fought on the battlefields of American memory and popular culture.

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Feminism's Forgotten Fight: The Unfinished Struggle for Work and Family, by Kirsten Swinth. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018. 352 pages. \$35.00, cloth. \$35.00, electronic.

Kirsten Swinth's important book, *Feminism's Forgotten Fight: The Unfinished Struggle for Work and Family*, emphasizes the centrality of remaking families and workplaces in the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s. These issues, she contends, help to draw together several strands of scholarship in women's history by considering how activists from different backgrounds, with different philosophies, and in different organizations all came to understand the structural problems that produced profound inequality in women's lives. Swinth argues that, in part, this history has been overlooked because the conservative "pro-family" rhetoric of the Reagan era misrepresented the goals of the women's movement. Her contribution is to restore a more complete vision of the women's movement in the latter third of the twentieth century.

Much of the scholarship on the women's movement in the last decade or so has focused on the divisions between activists and the differences in their experiences. In the last decade, any number of significant books on the feminist movement have outlined the divisions between activists and the ways that the movement quite often moved on parallel tracks, failing to unite women across lines of class, race, and sexuality. Without ignoring the important differences dividing activists, Swinth suggests that focusing on key issues—family roles, workplace justice, a desire for self-fulfillment—can provide a fuller, more integrated understanding of the women's movement by highlighting fundamental common ground. Swinth's book offers an important course correction by demonstrating that women and men from diverse backgrounds and in a wide range of organizations nearly all sought to create more equitable domestic roles and to reform workplaces that had been created with the male breadwinner model in mind. While they may not have organized together, activists learned from one another and shared common critiques of women's roles in families and the workplace. *Feminism's Forgotten Fight* represents an attempt to provide greater synthesis to a movement that has increasingly been understood as riven by irreparable differences.

Swinth's chapter on how men joined women's activism is among the best in the field. Here, she describes the men who supported the goals of the women's movement, particularly those that related to housework, child care, and marriage roles. Male allies joined the feminist cause by dismantling myths about masculinity, encouraging new approaches to fatherhood, and supporting anti-sexism in culture, family life, and the workplace. Incorporating this perspective does much to advance her thesis that the goals of the women's movement when it came to remaking families and economic opportunities were shared by a wide variety of Americans in the 1970s. Feminists and their male allies, she finds, challenged the idea that unpaid household work should be the responsibility of women alone *and* argued that this work (whether done by working women, women on welfare assistance, or homemakers) deserved recognition and compensation.

Swinth contends that much of the country began to forget key aspects of the women's movement almost immediately as a conservative "backlash" against feminism emerged in the 1980s. And, as she describes, some of the work to change the workplace (paid family leave, considerations of pregnant workers' needs, flexible work schedules) and the family (truly equal responsibility for child care, household chores, and the like) has yet to be realized. But her book ably demonstrates that activists from many backgrounds—college-educated professionals, domestic workers, homemakers, male allies—all tried to rethink fundamental economic and domestic relationships. It was not the movement that failed, she contends, but our historical memory. While activists' goals were not fully realized, they made enormous strides and instituted changes that Americans take for granted today. These changes included, among others, more equitable Social Security policies, anti-pregnancy discrimination laws, reconceived ideas about motherhood and fatherhood, and more equitable marriage relationships.

Swinth's book would make a worthy addition to undergraduate courses on women's and gender history, social movements/activism, or post-1960s U.S. history. In the classroom, this book would be particularly useful in considering how activists succeed (and fail) to build coalitions around shared struggles. Swinth ably integrates the voices of scores of activists by highlighting activists' diversity in terms of race, age, region, class, and marital status.

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Politics of the Pantry: Housewives, Food, and Consumer Protest in Twentieth-Century America, by Emily E. LB. Twarog. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. 208 pages. \$34.95, cloth. \$23.99, electronic.

In her concise book, *Politics of the Pantry*, Emily E. LB. Twarog reclaims the housewife, positioning her as a central actor in twentieth-century consumer activism. She tells the intertwined stories of many women—through the Great Depression and New Deal, the Cold War, and the consumer movements of the 1960s and 1970s—to reveal the texture of what she terms "domestic politics."

This political engagement embraced women's roles as homemakers to create a foundation from which to bring about systemic change.

One of the central issues that brought the domestic and political spheres together was the price and quality of food. Twarog's first chapter introduces readers to the 1935 meat boycott, in which Michiganander Mary Zuk launched a protest against the high cost of meat, a product that had become central to the American way of life. Higher prices for consumers translated to relatively lower wages for laborers, bringing the issues of consumption and labor into the same sphere. Zuk's organizing led to the formation of the Central Action Committee against the High Cost of Living (CACHCL), one of the many organizations in the alphabet soup of acronyms that Twarog introduces in this book. Although it is not always easy to keep track of or differentiate among these groups, their existence affirms the impact of housewives' actions. Their individual purchasing decisions led to broader networks of activism.

The rise of the labor movement during World War II led to more institutional support for these consumer groups. Twarog details how the wartime Office of Price Administration capitalized upon the newly founded women's auxiliary groups associated with labor organizations like the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The federal government empowered these women's groups to help evaluate food quality and prices in an official capacity. With the war's end and the ensuing Cold War's limitations on the labor movement, the power of the women's auxiliaries also faded.

By the 1960s, housewives found their first official advocate in the White House in the form of Esther Peterson, appointed by Lyndon B. Johnson to the role of Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs. Peterson supported another meat boycott, this time centered in Denver in 1966. She, and many of the housewife protesters, directed some of the blame for high food costs at retailers. Supermarkets became the locus of public protests in the 1960s, with a group of Chicago housewives pressing stores to provide consumers with a more transparent coding system in order to evaluate food freshness and safety.

The dual forces of the rising conservatism and the women's movement of the late 1970s and early 1980s, however, brought an end to the housewife activist. As early as 1971, a leading women's advocate referred to a group of professional home economists as "the enemy" (p. 7). Twarog laments the breakdown of potential allies, as women's groups splintered into different directions, diverting feminists and housewives into opposing camps. This left no room for domestic politics, instead allowing the conservative right to embrace the identity of the housewife for its own political ends.

Twarog's analysis is cogent, but students will benefit from further independent engagement. Her rich source base incorporates oral history interviews, along with literature and song lyrics, and an ambitious educator can create opportunities to bring her characters to life. With their sheer numbers, the many organizations detailed here often blend together, and we likewise see a flood of bold women leaders at the heart of these decades of activism. Understanding more about what drove these women, and who they were, beyond biographical details, would further animate this narrative for readers and students. An expanded focus on the

racial divide within domestic politics, too, would be welcome. Twarog rightly addresses some strands of African American activism, and includes the presence of some black protesters in the striking cover photo, but could have further explored the role played by the whiteness of the leading women in this story.

The relatively short length would recommend this text for high school or college classrooms. Individual case studies drawn from the protests within, replete with colorful anecdotes, could be used to good effect. The monograph incorporates sometimes difficult conceptual frameworks of labor and economic history, and assumes reader familiarity with major moments in American history, which might limit full-text use to more specialized audiences.

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Why Learn History (When It's Already on Your Phone), by Sam Wineburg. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2018. 240 pages. \$60.00, cloth. \$20.00, paper. \$18.00, electronic.

In the last two decades, Sam Wineburg has reshaped the landscape of American history education arguably more than any other individual. Before the 2001 publication of his *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, a coterie of international scholars penned technical studies on cognition in history education read by relatively few. Now, “historical thinking” is widely associated with him, reading primary sources “like a historian” is a standard expectation in history classrooms, and “sourcing”—a verb he coined—is widely used, codified recently in the College Board’s AP history rubrics. So anything Wineburg writes should be required reading for history educators at all levels. *Why Learn History (When It's Already on Your Phone)*, written in crisp, jargon-free prose, offers a series of essays on the current state of history education in the United States. The introduction, reflecting the book’s title, promises to link the distinctive value of the historical discipline to the challenges of the digital age, where an information torrent threatens to drown us all. Most chapters, previously published in some form in the past decade, address beyond this issue, and they offer much to ponder nevertheless.

The chapter that most directly addresses the book’s concern about the digital information deluge, “Why Google Won’t Save Us,” has an ominous tone. Through a series of experiments, Wineburg determined that most Americans—students and adults alike—lack the skills to quickly and accurately assess website legitimacy. Equally distressing, even historians (who are trained in the slow, careful reading of archival sources) fare no better than others at this task. Instructors at all levels, Wineburg maintains, fail to train students to evaluate websites, still relying on guidelines created in 1995 for a very different Internet. In an era of “fake news,” assessing online content is more vital than ever. Having alerted readers to this alarming problem, Wineburg leaves them to figure out exactly how to tackle it.

“Crazy for History” explains why pundits’ century-long laments about American students’ performance on history assessments are farcical. Tests are “rigged,” he says, to make students fail. The testing industry intentionally creates questions with a high “discrimination index,” designed to ensure that many students will not answer correctly. In producing this sorting function, these tests often emphasize the most arcane “factoids,” rather than deep understanding.

“Zinn’s Sins” excoriates *A People’s History of the United States*, the late Howard Zinn’s popular textbook beloved by the left for placing race, class, and gender at the center of its narrative. Wineburg argues that although Zinn’s iconoclasm makes his narrative superficially compelling, cherry-picked facts from a narrow range of secondary sources tell a cynical version of the past just as monolithic as the national narratives the text sought to challenge.

In “Turning Bloom’s Taxonomy on Its Head,” Wineburg makes the case that the famed taxonomy of learning—as employed by teachers, not necessarily as designed by Bloom himself—needs to be reversed. This is less provocative than it first sounds. Wineburg does not claim that analysis, synthesis, and evaluation precede knowledge or represent more basic skills. Instead, he pleads for teachers to reconsider the typical view of knowledge as the humble, entry-level skill they quickly cast aside as they draw students to loftier cognitive heights on the pyramid; the culmination of historical investigation, Wineburg contends, is actually the creation of historical knowledge.

The book’s most optimistic piece, “‘Famous Americans:’ The Changing Pantheon of American Heroes,” reports the results of a study that asked students to name famous Americans who were not presidents. The results reflect a diverse assembly prominently featuring women and black Americans, a remarkable consensus that differs dramatically from a previous generation’s views. This juxtaposes good news in the midst of the overabundance of information described earlier in “Why Google Won’t Save Us,” the fragmentation of news sources, and the rising incidents of hate crimes in the Trump era.

The final chapter, featuring the materials not previously published, is perhaps the most interesting part of the book—and is also the longest. In “Changing History...One Classroom at a Time,” Wineburg offers an autobiography of his professional metamorphosis from arcane academic researcher to leader of public, applied scholarship. Along the way, he provides a collective biography of the movement he helped launch, with sketches of his collaborators, including Daisy Martin, Chauncey Monte-Sano, Abby Reisman, Brad Fogo, Eric Shed, Mark Smith, and Joel Breakstone. In documenting the ways that he and his colleagues have transformed history education and assessment, Wineburg challenges the academy’s rigid definition of scholarship, which often fails to reward this kind of ultimately more consequential work.

Wineburg always writes with verve and passion, provoking many questions and few easy answers. Rather than a single argument, the chapters in *Why Learn History* form a collage of overlapping perspectives that invite reflection and dialogue. With this book, Wineburg, as always, keeps the history education community thinking, talking, and, ultimately, moving forward.

Making History Matter: Kuroita Katsumi and the Construction of Imperial Japan, by Lisa Yoshikawa. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2017. 382 pages. \$49.95, cloth.

In an era in which the liberal arts are routinely “under attack” and many colleges and universities see declining enrollments in traditional humanities and the social sciences in favor of pre-professional programs, it is tempting to think fondly of former days when disciplines like history received greater public support and recognition. It is of course not difficult to find instances in the past when the field of history was held in seemingly higher official regard, but as Lisa Yoshikawa’s book usefully reminds us, such public recognition often came with the expectations that the narratives historians crafted would ultimately be consistent with the aims of the state that supported them. This was particularly the case in modern Japan, and Yoshikawa’s exploration of the life and career of Kuroita Katsumi illustrates how academic elites, much like their peers in the bureaucracy, saw their own personal fortunes and reputations rise and fall with those of the pre-war Japanese nation and empire.

Talented and energetic youth found pathways into institutions of higher learning, and, once there, played instrumental roles in the shaping of modern Japanese intellectual life. Yoshikawa documents how Kuroita, born into a lower-ranking samurai family near the southern Japanese city of Nagasaki, thrived in a new, more meritocratic education system that privileged drive and productivity over traditional inherited status. While Kuroita was born early enough to play a leading role in developing the elements of Japan’s modern, imperial historiography, he was also born late enough to learn the lessons of the generation of modern historians that had preceded him. This first generation, including prominent figures such as Taguchi Ukichi and Kume Kunitake, served as cautionary tales of the dangers of writing histories at odds with the emerging official narratives. Kume, who was dismissed from his professorship at Japan’s premier Tokyo University when he publicly questioned the historicity and uniqueness of Japan’s Shinto religion, became a clear signal to Kuroita and others about what would be expected of them as Japan’s new “official” historians.

Yoshikawa’s portrait of Kuroita takes his identity as a scholar seriously, even as we, with the benefit of hindsight, recognize how the field could be compromised in an environment in which historical scholarship, particularly that touching upon Japan’s foundational myths and emperor system, was so carefully policed. Yoshikawa, in fact, strongly suggests that such concerns over academic autonomy and Kuroita’s perceived complicity with the Japanese state’s ideological apparatus, blind us to the genuine political commitments Kuroita held, and the ways in which the methods he and other pre-war historians developed continue to shape Japanese historiography today. Yoshikawa argues that Kuroita and his fellow “second generation” historians were “as independent and proactive as their predecessors, and equally devoted to the examination of the past,” yet acknowledges that they did so “in tune with the imperial state’s visions” (p. 8). Based on Kuroita’s prodigious scholarly output (nicely documented by Yoshikawa in a lengthy appendix) and his prominent public role, he does in fact

seem fully committed to the ideas he espoused, many of which still ring true today. He led efforts to establish national archives, protect important historical sites, and to promote the use of Esperanto as an international language that would foster “peace, friendship, cooperation, and humanity” (p. 80). The example of Esperanto, however, illustrates the ways in which these ideas often had a double edge; Kuroita came to see it as a means to counter the global dominance of the English language, which he described as “nothing but a conspiracy by...English-speaking nations to gain supremacy over the entire world” (p. 129). In almost everything he did, Kuroita sought to bring historical practice in line with the advancement of a political vision that justified and affirmed Japan’s uniqueness, and the legitimacy of its colonial rule over its Asian neighbors.

Yoshikawa’s detailed and sometimes sympathetic portrait of Kuroita is absolutely necessary for Western audiences to understand more fully the distinctive contours of historical practice as they arose in modern Japan. At the same time, her book may provoke a certain unease as it seeks to balance Kuroita’s contributions to historical research against his ardent support of a regime that rested as much on myths as historical fact, and crumbled as a result. For this reason, Yoshikawa’s work can serve as an excellent resource on the development of non-Western historiography in the modern era, and a provocative point of reference in classroom discussions over the ethical limits of “making history matter.”

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