

## Reviews

*Invisible Agents: Women and Espionage in Seventeenth-Century Britain*, by Nadine Akkerman. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2020. 264 pages. \$26.95, cloth. \$16.95, paper. \$17.99, electronic.

Nadine Akkerman, in an entertaining and illuminating monograph, explores the oft-overlooked female spies that shaped the decades between the English Civil Wars and the first half of the reign of Charles II in Britain. As the title of the book suggests, *Invisible Agents* details the exploits of “she-intelligencers” and the methods they adopted to exploit the weaknesses of the English patriarchal society, particularly the assumption that women’s “contemporaries, much like modern historians, seemed reluctant to believe a woman could be involved in such nefarious activities,” including spying and intercepting and opening private letters (pp. 1-2). Akkerman, using case studies ranging from Susan Hyde and Elizabeth Murray to Alexandrine of Rye-Varax and the infamous Sealed Knot, weaves a narrative that redirects the historiography to include “the first full-length study of women and espionage in seventeenth-century Britain” (p. 12). Indeed, Akkerman delves into the archives to explore this fascinating subject, shedding light and restoring agency to the women who embraced life in the shadows and capitalized on British gender dynamics to complete their secret and dangerous missions.

Akkerman argues that “women in espionage were not an extraordinary phenomenon in the mid-seventeenth century” (p. 25). The methods and tools women adopted, “the leverage of sexual attraction” and their “relative invisibility,” allowed them to complete their secretive missions (p. 8). Akkerman’s emphasis on both broad spy networks, seen in chapters one and two, and specific case studies of “she-intelligencers,” in chapters three through seven, reveal the different capacities in which women occupied the secret space. As Akkerman explains, the distrust and conflict between Royalists and Parliamentary forces created a dynamic environment for female spies to flourish. Akkerman readily admits that the purpose of “she-intelligencers” was to remain hidden and, as a result, makes historians’ jobs more difficult. In order

to circumvent archival biases, Akkerman adopts two approaches to uncover her elusive subjects: “paying attention to the materiality of documents, and reading texts and archives against the grain” (p. 19). Akkerman details the fascinating technology of letter-locking that made spying in the seventeenth century a true work of art and how these ingenious methods used to secure correspondence from wandering eyes left telltale signs for the scholar to analyze. *Invisible Agents* is certainly a monograph that not only educates, but also entertains the audience in both subject matter and methodology.

*Invisible Agents* has a variety of uses for educators to consider, including supplementary material, directed reading for students, archival methodology, and a tool for teachers and students alike to evaluate how women used patriarchal systems to their advantage. Akkerman’s language and argument are clear and concise, making *Invisible Agents* accessible to undergraduate audiences. Further, the plates included in the monograph bring the subjects and letter-locking technology to life, giving additional insight into the life of “she-intelligencers.” Akkerman also gives educators the opportunity to bring forward archival issues that scholars struggle to solve. The crux of Akkerman’s focus is the apparent invisibility of the subjects she explores. How might these problems be solved and how does archival bias influence the work of historians as a whole? Finally, *Invisible Agents* gives educators the tools to challenge students’ perceptions regarding early modern women. Although women “were generally considered to inhabit the domestic sphere,” Akkerman shows that “she-intelligencers” used the tools at their disposal to work within the system to complete their task (p. 18).

Akkerman succeeds in producing a compelling work of scholarship with *Invisible Agents*. While being informative and meticulously researched, the monograph engages the audience in a way that is rare for works of academic history. Although Akkerman relies on large block quotes that may break the flow of the narrative, the author allows the subjects to speak for themselves. *Invisible Agents* certainly adds to the historiography of European espionage in the early modern era and challenges the audience to reexamine their own conceptions regarding women in seventeenth-century Britain. On the whole, *Invisible Agents* would be a welcome addition for any educator looking to teach archival methodology, British gender dynamics, or simply present entertaining material to challenge students.

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Rick Cozart

*The Secret World: A History of Intelligence*, by Christopher Andrew. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019. 948 pages. \$40.00, cloth. \$26.00, paper. \$40.00, electronic.

From the beginning of his career, Christopher Andrew has called on historians to seriously consider the world of intelligence. Both through his own work and by the work of those influenced by him, he has played a vital role in building

intelligence history as a discipline. His latest book, *The Secret World*, is an ambitious, synthetic work that explores the practice of intelligence from antiquity to the present day. Andrew persuasively demonstrates that intelligence is an inextricable part of world history, particularly—but not exclusively—in the political, diplomatic, and military realms. Though the majority of the work is given to the development of the professional, bureaucratic intelligence agencies that were created in Europe and the United States in the modern era, Andrew includes overviews of intelligence practices in the pre-modern and non-Western world. Throughout, he interweaves two main arguments—that intelligence history fills in critical gaps in the historical record, and that the absence of a robust historical literature on intelligence has had practical, negative effects on intelligence activity both in the past and in the present.

In supporting the first point, Andrew provides numerous examples of intelligence history's ability to clarify historical narratives. One of the most notable cases, for instance, is the role of signals intelligence disclosures in re-evaluating the history of the early Cold War. Post-Cold War revelations of a significant Soviet espionage effort in the United States changed prevailing narratives by revealing some of the accused spies, like Alger Hiss, were in fact Soviet assets. Andrew's nuanced approach, however, can be seen in his differentiation between the actual Soviet intelligence effort and the hysterical fears promoted by cynical politicians like Joseph McCarthy; McCarthy's recklessness and exaggeration made him, Andrew notes, "unconsciously...the KGB's most successful Cold War agent of influence" (p. 673). While not all of Andrew's examples are as dramatic, examining the role of intelligence in the government of the Venetian Republic or in the clashes between Catholics and Protestants fills in gaps in the historical record.

Andrew argues that these gaps are not just a problem for academics. Intelligence lessons that are learned through painful experience are regularly lost and need to be relearned from yet more painful experience. "Twenty-first-century intelligence," Andrew argues, "suffers from long-term historical amnesia" (p. 1). While technology and circumstances change drastically, Andrew demonstrates commonalities that can be found across the historical record; intelligence failures are most often a product of human failings that remain remarkably consistent. Throughout *The Secret World*, there are examples of unchecked assumptions, failures of imagination, and misperceptions of threat regardless of the historical period. The Dutch attack on the British Fleet in Chatham in 1667 and the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor in 1941, for example, offer similar lessons despite their different eras. This amnesia harms not just intelligence professionals, but makes it more difficult for leaders and citizens to grapple productively with intelligence questions.

As a growing number of scholars and institutions have taken on the study of intelligence history, this book will have an increasing audience. It will serve as an essential text for introductory intelligence history courses. It would also be useful in any broadly focused military or diplomatic history courses, and as a starting point for scholars interested in further delving into intelligence history and bringing that work into the classroom.

As a broad and synthetic work, there will inevitably be quibbles with some of Andrew's specific points. For example, in reviewing the fallout of the investigation into the CIA by the U.S. Congress in 1975, Andrew notes that recent work demonstrates the CIA did not actively orchestrate the overthrow of Chile's Salvador Allende. While true, this statement overlooks the substantial efforts that the CIA did make to destabilize the Allende regime and make him vulnerable to the Chilean military junta that that overthrew his government. Such points, however, do not detract from the overall value of the work, and further demonstrate the need for a vigorous historical debate on intelligence subjects.

Ultimately, Andrew has produced an impressive text, underscoring the vital role intelligence has played in world history, and the need for historians and the broader public to better understand the reality of intelligence. This book will be useful to a rising generation of students and scholars interested in making the world of intelligence not quite as secret as it has been to now.

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David P. Hadley

*Alone at the Altar: Single Women and Devotion in Guatemala, 1670-1870*, by Brianna Leavitt-Alcántara. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2018. 297 pages. \$65.00, cloth. \$65.00, electronic.

The lives of Guatemalan women have been historically obscured by a patriarchal and frequently repressive state system that found little value in the economic and social contributions of its female citizens, a silence that is reflected in the current historiography. In a field of study that includes a handful of historical works on Guatemalan women, Leavitt-Alcántara's *Alone at the Altar* is a welcome addition. This monograph tracks the lives of women who numerically dominated Guatemala's capital city through several cataclysmic shifts within Santiago de Guatemala as it is moved following the 1773 earthquake, within the institutional Catholic Church, and within the economy. Moving beyond the traditional focus of Catholicism's physical and spiritual restraints on the bodies and lives of women, Leavitt-Alcántara resurrects the lives of laywomen and their contributions to a global institution from the most intimate of perspectives, with their last wills and testaments effectively demonstrating how Catholicism required the participation of women for its legitimacy.

*Alone at the Altar* is divided into two distinct sections reflective of the history of Guatemala's capital city and its geographic shift in the late 1700s. The first three chapters uncover the lives of laboring women who acted as lay evangelizers, teachers, benefactors, and devotional leaders over two centuries. Adapting to waning fortunes, priests, friars, and archbishops frequently collaborated with single non-elite women, forging alliances outside of the bounds of the convent walls (80% of female will makers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were living outside of marriage, single or widowed, separated, or abandoned). Within a socio-political culture steeped in notions of honor, the author notes

evidence of a degree of social and legal tolerance for female sexual activity outside of marriage. What ties the first section together is its emphasis on how women navigated these tensions and successfully created alternative feminine ideals (p. 7). While each of the early chapters highlight bringing the lives of poor and invisible women into their rightful space, Part II explores the gender and devotion following the political, geographic, and cultural shifts of the nineteenth century, which has been described as the feminization of the church. Placing women's actions within a global Catholicism, Leavitt-Alcántara successfully demonstrates how they exercised power and upheld an institution weakening throughout the nineteenth century.

Leavitt-Alcántara's monograph highlights all the challenges and surprises of archival work in Guatemala. The Central American Archives in Guatemala City does not hold the treasure trove of inquisitional documents found in other regions in Latin America, and the National Catholic Church is frequently closed, making ecclesiastical sources difficult to obtain. Consequently, the author uses wills recorded between 1700 and 1870, creating a quantitative study. The selected years fall within four twenty-year time periods: 1700-1720, 1750-1770, 1800-1820, and 1850-1870. The women under analysis here are predominantly non-elite women living outside of marriage, of mixed race and free black or mulatto ethnicity—although Guatemalan wills did not provide ethnic identity as other regions did. While the majority of scholarly work focuses on the lives of elite nuns, Leavitt-Alcántara demonstrates that lay religious life was a potentially liberating space for women, revealing alternate spaces of power and authority, joining another recent work, *Laywomen and the Making of Colonial Catholicism in New Spain* (2018) by Jessica Delgado. One of the unanswered questions within this work—which is exacerbated by archival destruction—is the cultural, economic, and political impact of changing the geographic location of the capital city. While the author acknowledges this profound shift, its ramifications are unexplored and probably beyond the scope of this work. Nevertheless, it raises fascinating questions for future research.

This work provides significant insights and new directions for further research. First, it crosses the historic divide of colonial and independence periods, charting the continuities for laboring women. Second, one of the most exciting chapters explores the role of laywomen as teachers and administrators in the free grammar schools established for girls during the late colonial era, pioneering educational reform through creative engagement with Bourbon reforms, including the creation of the Teacher's College for indigenous women. The need to expand research beyond the role of education in the rise of feminism and explore educational institutions and the women involved is long overdue in Guatemala and elsewhere in Latin America. Third, affirming the feminization of Guatemala City, this book joins *Labor and Love in Guatemala* (2013) by Catherine Komisaruk as critical reading for non-elite women. *Alone at the Altar* contributes to the fields and classrooms of women's, ecclesiastical, and urban histories.

*The Seedtime, the Work, and the Harvest: New Perspectives on the Black Freedom Struggle in America*, edited by Jeffrey L. Littlejohn, Reginald K. Ellis, and Peter B. Levy. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2019. 262 pages. \$79.95, cloth. \$24.95, paper. \$24.95, electronic.

Like the title's allusion to the cyclical nature of agricultural farming, essays in *The Seedtime, the Work, and the Harvest* illustrate how traditional forms of black protest and resistance against structures of white supremacy grew and evolved in diverse geographic, spatial, economic, political, and social spaces from the early twentieth century into the present to produce unique outcomes. The volume's driving theme is revisionist. The work adds to a growing body of literature refuting historical misconceptions about the bounds and limits of the black freedom struggle in America. Whereas some investigations reduce the magnitude and obscure the outcomes of the mid-century movement by their conceptualization of the period's timing, regionality, or participants, or fail to appropriately contextualize the movement's fluidity within changing circumstances, forces, and spaces, Jeffrey L. Littlejohn, Reginald K. Ellis, and Peter B. Levy present an array of essays curated to establish new horizons.

The first three chapters challenge contemporary understandings of the educational philosophies of leading black thinkers in the mid-nineteenth century, highlight the historically overlooked roles of black women and their contributions and indispensability to movement organizing, and illustrate the interwoven nature of civil rights successes and personal failures in the story of one Virginian civil rights attorney. Chapter four recontextualizes civil disorder in the 1960s and 1970s by considering spaces between well-documented urban metropolises and rejecting narrow periodization, tracing themes across one mid-sized city's unique history. Chapter five introduces food as a political lens and hunger as a political device for evaluating racist persecution of economically disenfranchised, politically suppressed, and structurally disadvantaged rural black communities in Mississippi, and evaluates organizing by groups like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to provide emergency relief. Despite altruistic intentions, SNCC similarly employed the power of commodity to influence Mississippi's rural poor by supplying food in exchange for a commitment to register to vote, illustrating the complexity of deconstructing inequitable systems of power with limited resources. Chapter six considers narrative—its assumptions, constructions, and implications—and how shared authority can entail conflict, collaboration, growth, and reconciliation; public art projects provide one example. Chapter seven extends considerations of memory into the present and highlights the significance of memory in driving some scholars to synthesize research and teaching with activism and advocacy. Conclusively, chapter eight bridges thematic fields to investigate the roles of religion and technology in protests and memorials following the mysterious death of Sandra Bland while in police custody in 2015.

With essays ranging in analytical content and depth that highlight myriad angles, perspectives, and approaches to understanding the Civil Rights Movement across the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries, and that

illustrate transdisciplinary collaboration and the synthesis of methodological considerations, this volume is ideal for a wide range of learners in upper-level high school to graduate courses. Each essay adds new knowledge, a new perspective, and new insight to known and overlooked dimensions of the long Civil Rights Movement; taken together, the analytical breadth and nuance provided by the whole are impressive.

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Alex Tabor

*Enemy Number One: The United States of America in Soviet Ideology and Propaganda, 1945-1959*, by Rósa Magnúsdóttir. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019. 256 pages. \$74.00, cloth. \$72.99, electronic.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the rise of capitalist economies across formerly communist Europe, American politicians were quick to claim the victory of Western democratic ideals over the totalitarian systems of Soviet socialism. As the Cold War ended, so, too, did the nuclear arms race that exemplified Cold War animosity and competition between the superpowers. However, as many historians have noted, the Cold War was just as much a cultural war for hearts and minds as it was a battle for technological and military supremacy. Rósa Magnúsdóttir's *Enemy Number One* provides a look into this cultural Cold War from a heretofore under-explored angle—that of the Soviet government. As Magnúsdóttir claims in her introduction, this work represents the first focused examination of the Soviet state's postwar efforts to shape narratives and representations of the United States within the Soviet Union itself. As such, Magnúsdóttir's *Enemy Number One* is a welcome addition to the literature of the cultural Cold War and offers a dynamic view of Soviet decision-making on the ideological front.

Magnúsdóttir's work is framed by an anecdote she presents immediately in her introduction: the friendly 1945 meeting of Soviet and American soldiers along the Elbe River as the Eastern and Western fronts of World War II finally met in Germany. The sudden souring of American-Soviet relations following the defeat of Nazi Germany and the beginnings of the Cold War establish a central task for Soviet policy makers—presenting the United States, the former ally of the U.S.S.R., as the primary enemy of Soviet ideology.

Magnúsdóttir observes two trends in the propaganda of the period and structures her book accordingly, dividing it into two sections. The first centers around the postwar efforts of Josef Stalin to transform public perceptions of the United States from largely friendly to an adversary that the entire country could rally against. She argues that, in the absence of Nazi aggression, Stalin needed a new enemy to cultivate the adversarial binary his policies relied on. Magnúsdóttir offers examples of how this mission manifested itself, drawing from film, stage productions, and policies meant to counter Voice of America broadcasts. Additionally, Magnúsdóttir discusses the difficulties propagandists

faced in this period. She argues that, as they recognized their methods were ineffective, individuals tasked with producing content regarding the United States were unable to voice their concerns due to heavy state repression and the threat of running afoul of the Communist Party.

Following the death of Stalin in 1953, Magnúsdóttir notes, there was an almost immediate shift in Soviet discussions of the United States as Nikita Khrushchev rose to power and confronted the legacy of Stalin. Rather than the adversarial approach of the Stalin era, Magnúsdóttir argues, the propaganda of the Khrushchev era attempted to promote a peaceful coexistence with the United States and the West at large. To accomplish this, Khrushchev and his propagandists strove to portray the Soviet people as peace loving and willing to engage with the United States to promote mutual understanding and the de-escalation of military tensions.

Pedagogically, *Enemy Number One* may prove to be too niche or focused for direct use by high school students studying the Cold War. However, that is not to say that the contents of this book are not appropriate for inclusion in wider discussions of the Cold War at the secondary level. Educators wishing to branch out from the traditional arms race or Space Race narratives of Cold War competition will find this work to be a useful resource for the development of lessons illuminating the cultural Cold War. Additionally, Magnúsdóttir's succinct, concise writing style and clarity of argument make this work a clear asset to any undergraduate course in Cold War or Soviet history. This work provides a much-needed alternative view of the cultural Cold War from within the Soviet political system, and is ideal for enhancing students' understandings of the ideological battle for hearts and minds.

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*Indians on the Move: Native American Mobility and Urbanization in the Twentieth Century*, by Douglas K. Miller. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019. 257 pages. \$90.00, cloth. \$29.95, paper. \$22.99, electronic.

“Urban Indians” is what Native Americans who lived on Indian reservations categorized those Indians living in the cities. The scholarship of relocation usually involves stories of the tragic diaspora of Native Americans taken off the reservation and abandoned to a wretched life in the cities. *Indians on the Move* includes these tales of woe, citing Cherokee Wilma Mankiller and the victimization narrative, that Indians were “lured from the ancestral homelands into urban traps” (p. 2). However, Miller does not continue with the persecution tale. He chooses to view the urban Indian experience through the lens of spatial mobility. Miller argues that urban relocation was “just as regenerative as degenerative” and that American Indians bent relocation to their own purposes



in unpredictable ways, such as achieving socioeconomic stability and creating viable positions within a global community (p. 4). Since relocation is a relatively marginalized subject even in American Indian Studies, this book is a welcome addition to Native American and Indigenous Studies, Native American history, and federal Indian policy and law.

Before Miller focuses on the U.S. government's relocation policies, he uses the first two chapters to establish the reasons for another shift in federal Indian policy. This included the trauma of confinement on reservations, the trials of reservation life, and the forced enrollment of Indian children in off-reservation boarding schools. Fast-forward to World War II, where Miller covers American Indians' profound patriotism and the migrations to urban war production centers. Miller argues that Native American "social mainstreaming and spatial mobility in the early twentieth century can be appreciated less as historical innovations and more as recoveries of historical practices" (p. 13). He also contends that World War II facilitated Native Americans socio-spatial mobility forward to the Bureau of Indian Affairs' relocation program. The following chapters cover the varied roads of the urban Indian experience. This included life in the cities of Chicago, Salt Lake City, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Jose. Miller includes propaganda in the form of imagery in cartoons (mined from the National Archives) that was supposed to influence Indians living on reservations for relocation to major urban city centers. Nonetheless, cartoons such as "Stuck in Your Teepee? A Way Out Through Relocation Services for Heap-a-lot of living" illuminated the racist stereotypes of the era (p. 97). Not all Native Americans needed to be persuaded for relocation; as Catherine Cloud (Assiniboine) declared, "she didn't care to haul water anymore or build fires in this cold weather" (p. 105). Others found city life unmanageable, and Hine Doublehead (Cherokee) noted, "I know people who used to get lost in Stillwell (Oklahoma). By God, they're up in Chicago now. No wonder they turn into alcoholics" (p. 147). Father Vine Deloria, Sr. (Standing Rock Sioux) charged, "Relocation has degraded Indian people" (p. 159). These chapters give a voice to the active participants of relocation. Miller focuses on Indians in motion, "going to work, breaching cultural boundaries, and seeking social mobility through spatial mobility" (p. 92). The reader must remember that relocation occurred during the 1950s, a period of Cold War consensus, fears of Communism, and the desire for the federal government to get out of the Indian business. For better or worse, Miller illustrates the effects of relocation on the individuals living in the cities.

*Indians on the Move* corresponds well with Philip J. Deloria's *Playing Indian* (1999) and *Indians in Unexpected Places* (2004) and Nicholas G. Rosenthal's *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration and Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (2012). These manuscripts challenge the standard stereotypes of Native Americans and demonstrate the modernity of American Indians on the reservation and in the cities. *Indians on the Move* is a good addition for Native American Studies and American history curriculum at the college level. This book suits a well-developed course of North Native American Studies and therefore would not fit in a standardized high school curriculum.

Miller uses several archival and tribal sources and a treasure trove of collected interviews (oral histories) to convey the many tales of mobility of American Indians in the twentieth century. Miller does not romanticize relocation as the title might suggest. From the many individual stories included in this narrative, *Indians on the Move* establishes how Native Americans seized opportunities, created social networks, and forged new possibilities for good and bad to improve their lives through mobility.

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