

## Reviews

*The Great Agrarian Conquest: The Colonial Reshaping of a Rural World*, by Neeladri Bhattacharya. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2020. 522 pages. \$105.00, cloth. \$39.95, paper. \$39.95, electronic.

Up through the 1980s, agrarian history constituted a central subject matter in the study of colonial South Asia. Assuming that virtually everyone in the Indian countryside had always been settled agriculturalists who lived in villages, agrarian history was often informed by Marxist approaches focusing on class formation and rural immiseration and it regarded the institution of colonial property and the workings of capitalism as the main driving forces of change. Agrarian history lost ground during the 1990s as scholarship shifted to examining the role of the colonial state in cultural processes and to exploring urban history. Environmental history, which devoted its attention to the impact of change on non-agrarian spaces like forests and on non-peasants like hunter-gatherers, shifting cultivators, and pastoralists, also began to thrive.

In this study, Neeladri Bhattacharya returns to agrarian history, but with a totally novel approach that is informed in part by the insights of environmental history and even more strongly by the literature on colonial discourse and ethnographic knowledge. Based upon impressive research in colonial archives, Bhattacharya focuses on the Punjab after the mid-nineteenth century, exploring the history of a landscape that previously had been characterized by extensive shrublands, common lands, and pastoral tracts. Agrarian society in Bhattacharya's rendering was *created* by colonialism instead of having existed in some ready-made form that was then subjected to colonial influences. The main driving force in Bhattacharya's narrative is not capitalism per se, but the workings of the British state. He particularly discusses the effects of the colonial rulers' concerns with refashioning the countryside in light of their understandings of what would create productive rural spaces and of what constituted "customary practice." The book thus convincingly portrays the agrarian conquest of the Punjab as a highly disruptive, even violent process, but in a very different way from older Marxist approaches.

Bhattacharya's study shifts agrarian history from its largely material-economic foundations to an approach that takes discourse seriously into account. Colonialism's ambition was to refashion the spatial landscape of the Punjab, creating orderly villages clearly delineated on maps, demarcating property relations and tenures on the basis of ethnographic principles that set out those peoples who should be entitled to land and those who should not, codifying supposed customary and historical practices as the basis for property rules and seeking to consolidate lands that it feared would otherwise be splintered into fragmentary, unproductive holdings. Spurred by the desire to advance the promise of modernity to the countryside, the British introduced large-scale perennial canals and divided the newly watered lands among peasants, often depriving pastoralists of access to grazing grounds.

Yet despite its title, this book's account is not one of a straightforward, unrelenting "conquest" of rural Punjab. Much of the study highlights the ways that peasants, pastoralists, and others resisted and confounded the imposition of the colonial agenda. For instance, women were in some cases able to manipulate the courts to prevent their dispossession, despite laws that formally insisted on an exclusively male property regime. Despite British worries about landownership rights being broken into tiny fragments, local peasant families deployed a variety of strategies to create holdings that were manageable to cultivate in practice. The development of agrarian society in the canal colonies did not emerge in some smooth fashion associated with colonial intentions, but was accompanied by violent conflicts between pastoralists and the peasant-immigrants who tried to settle in the new territories. In these various discussions, Bhattacharya gives us a taste of developments that were apparently widespread, opening up a vast ground for future historians to consider.

Because Punjab before British rule was an unevenly settled region, with large areas under shrub and grass, yet marked by rivers carrying vast waters from the Himalayas, it provided an especially fertile ground for a vast colonial experiment with reordering Indian social and physical landscapes. No doubt, Bhattacharya's findings would have to be adapted considerably if they were to be applied to more thickly peopled parts of India with more limited potential water resources. *The Great Agrarian Conquest* nonetheless reflects a major shift in the approach historians can bring to the subject of agrarian change. While its length and level of intellectual complexity would make it difficult to assign in the classroom, it would be of great value to advanced students with special interests in South Asian history and it should have a strong lasting impact on how the rural history of the subcontinent is taught and studied by historians.

Dartmouth College

Douglas E. Haynes

*Building Pedagogues: White Practicing Teachers and the Struggle for Antiracist Work in Schools*, by Zachary A. Casey and Shannon K.

McManimon. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2021. 246 pages. \$95.00, cloth. \$32.95, paper. \$32.95, electronic.

*Building Pedagogues: White Practicing Teachers and the Struggle for Antiracist Work in Schools* is a wonderfully crafted book that chronicles a fascinating, relevant, and critically useful example of social justice-oriented teacher development, called “RaceWork.” Zachary Casey and Shannon McManimon tell the story, in a refreshing narrative fashion, of their work with a cohort of white teachers to develop—or build—their own antiracist knowledge and practice as teachers—their pedagogy—while also leading antiracist change in their school buildings as informal, but intentional, “building pedagogues.” The conceptual weight of the title is representative of the richness throughout this book.

The authors begin by exploring the experiences, beliefs, and intentions that brought them together as co-facilitators of a two-year teacher development series focused on antiracist pedagogy and teacher leadership. The book reads like a narrative account of RaceWork, with reflections woven throughout that make visible the author-facilitators’ theoretical foundations and evolving thinking. Casey and McManimon’s curriculum developed in response to the needs of the teachers, but it began with a starting set of readings in two areas: critical whiteness studies and reflexive practice. In order to disrupt the binary between inward-looking antiracist work and outward-facing antiracist action, the authors designed what they term a “tripartite model,” comprised of personal, local, and structural exploration and reflection. This kind of intentionality was also apparent in Casey and McManimon’s transparent modeling of the teacher-learner relationship in their own pedagogy when facilitating the group. They took an asset-minded approach to white educators, prioritized personal relationships, and preemptively disclosed the logic of the curriculum, relinquishing the traditional authoritarian position of the teacher (and professional development leader) in favor of a more collaborative leadership role. As a reader, I could feel the authors expressing these same values in their relationship with me, as they seemed to take me along through the process, planning, working, and reflecting. Ultimately, RaceWork aimed at empowering white practicing teachers by developing the skills to engage in productive conversations about white supremacy and antiracism amongst themselves and with others in their individual schools.

Most of the book’s chapters are organized according to the “tripartite model” Casey and McManimon introduce early on, and this organizational structure serves as a kind of analytical device, as it presents teachers’ praxis, their practical application of their learning, within the theoretical framework that the authors present. Within these chapters, the book examines teachers’ experiences closely. The analysis comes primarily in the form of a reflective narrative that runs alongside the teachers’ individual and collective stories. In this way, the authors create the sense that we, as readers, are learning along with them in the work, a concept strongly aligned with the approach of their antiracist teacher development project. Another important concept the authors emphasize is that antiracist pedagogy is more about being than doing. This idea is reflected in the ways we

see the teachers enact their learning and develop new learning in action. Most stories focus on teachers' personal development and interpersonal experiences within their schools and other contexts, including their families. Given the authors' framing of the teacher-participants as developing "building pedagogues," it is interesting to note that their stories of school-based work centered on staff grappling with antiracism and its meaning, along with broader school-wide issues like discipline policies. I found myself yearning for more insight into how the teacher-participants' classroom practice was impacted by RaceWork. The book touched upon student-teacher and parent-teacher relationships, but did not focus on the nature of the content or the manner of instruction. I also wondered how others, besides the participants, would reflect upon the impact of RaceWork, which the authors analyzed based upon the participants' reflections.

*Building Pedagogues* should be of interest to teachers, school and district leaders, and teacher development professionals, as well as to people working for school change in the field and scholars of education. It contributes mightily by tackling a question the authors refer to multiple times: what comes after "White Privilege 101"? But that is just a start. *Building Pedagogues* is a strong model for both thoughtful teacher development and antiracist change work in a multitude of ways (and with potential application beyond K-12 schools). History professors, many of whom will foster the development of to-be K-12 teachers—and all of whom are teachers themselves—will find important insights for their work. And history teachers in K-12 schools will be inspired to consider the development of their own antiracist pedagogies as classroom teachers and members of their school communities.

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Brenda Santos

*The Haitians: A Decolonial History*, by Jean Casimir, translated by Laurent Dubois. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020. 452 pages. \$95.00, cloth. \$34.95, paper. \$26.99, electronic.

In recent years, the "Haitian turn" in Atlantic history is being increasingly reflected in the classroom, with the Haitian Revolution being included in courses on the Age of Revolutions, slavery and emancipation, and American colonialism. At times, however, it can be easy to fall into the trap of teaching Haitian history as top-down political history, adopting categories of analysis created by colonial elites and perpetuated by Haitian oligarchs. In this important work, Jean Casimir, one of the preeminent scholars of Haitian history, asks us to reorient our perspective from that of the "caravels"—the colonial elite and their Haitian successors—and onto the "beach" (pp. 26-27). Drawing on the work of theorists such as Anibal Quijano and Walter Mignolo, Casimir examines the development of the Haitian state and government from the colonial period to the U.S. invasion of 1915 from this decolonial perspective. In doing so, he

challenges misconceived stereotypes of the Haitian people as “backwards” or “failed,” demonstrating how the rural majority created and maintained new ways of life in the face of exploitation and hostility.

Casimir is particularly interested in the relationship between the state and what he identifies as the “sovereign people”—the rural majority who created the institutions which organized Haitian society in the long nineteenth century. Beginning in the colonial period, the state was run by a landowning elite who were preoccupied with extracting labor from a captive African majority in order to maximize profits on the plantations. Casimir argues that this exploitative relationship was enforced by a minority of “freed slaves”—people who had been born into colonial society and had adopted its perspectives on the importance of the state and European modes of governance. After independence, this minority inherited and largely maintained the colonial state structure, attempting to continue the plantation regime and gain international acceptance as a new state. However, Casimir argues that the new oligarchs lacked the power to enforce this system on a majority who had constructed new ways of life in direct opposition to their commodification under the colonial state. While a weak Haitian elite maintained its hold over the state, in part due to reliance on international connections, national life was “controlled by the decisions of the sovereign people”; oriented around family and community, and based in institutions like the *lakou*, rural markets, garden-towns, Vodou, and Kreyòl language (pp. 303-304). Ultimately, the oligarchy and the majority maintained a disjointed relationship, with the state limited to controlling export markets and international relations while the people organized material production and private life on their own terms (p. 259).

Sweeping and philosophical, *The Haitians* is not a traditional narrative guide, but a re-evaluation of the frameworks we typically use to understand Haitian history. The writing style is dense and sometimes elliptical, making this a challenging read for those below an advanced undergraduate level. As such, it is perhaps best assigned either for advanced students who have prior knowledge of Haitian history, or for graduate students focused on Haitian history and decolonialism more broadly. In particular, the introduction will be a thought-provoking assignment for students who may be daunted by the full text. Given that Casimir discusses the work of some of the most prominent chroniclers of Haitian history, including Moreau de Saint-Méry, Beaubrun Arduin, and Le Baron de Vastey, it may be especially productive to assign and discuss *The Haitians* alongside some of these authors. As a resource for teachers, this text provides an excellent decolonial framework for discussing the events of Haitian history, slavery, and colonialism, and the importance of historiographical perspective. In this latter aspect, it also offers a useful counterpart to other works on historiography and power, including Michel-Rolph Trouillot’s classic, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (1995). Teachers at undergraduate and graduate levels in particular would benefit from consulting *The Haitians* when constructing courses on the above topics.

*The Sacred and the Sinister: Studies in Medieval Religion and Magic*, edited by David J. Collins, S.J. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021. 304 pages. \$74.95, cloth. \$39.95, paper. \$31.99, electronic.

This provocative book of ten essays pays tribute to the scholarship of Richard Kieckhefer, a preeminent historian of the Middle Ages who has been exploring the porous boundary between premodern European magic, religion, and science for more than thirty years. Kieckhefer rejects the mutually exclusive definitions of magic and religion imposed upon history by nineteenth- and twentieth-century anthropologists, instead studying them as overlapping knowledges and practices. All the chapters in this book critique the boundaries between religion and magic, but their major shared theme remains admiration for Kieckhefer's scholarship. Most of the chapters will prove difficult for high school students and even undergraduates. Many of the authors write in dialogue with earlier scholarship and a couple of chapters include extended texts in Latin.

After David Collins' near-hagiographical account of Kieckhefer's publications, the chapters are grouped into four sections. The first two chapters deal with "Traditional Holiness." Claire Fanger argues that the story of Christina Mirabilis—a late twelfth-century holy woman who apparently levitated, spent time in flaming ovens, and returned twice from the dead—can be understood as a sermon about the soul gradually discarding its body in order to attain union with God. Sean Field treats the work of a female hagiographer named Stefania, who wrote a vita of Margherita Colonna, another "unquiet soul" of the fourteenth century. Stefania mixed texts borrowed from more famous authors with her own personal memories of Margherita in order to frame her subject as a saint.

The second section, "Conflicts over the Holy," contains two of the most accessible chapters in the book. Kristi Woodward Bain, inspired by Kieckhefer's study of church architecture in *Theology in Stone* (2004), examines the legacy of a fight between Benedictine monks in fifteenth-century Norfolk and local parishioners, which came down to the problem of church bells—where to hang them and who could ring them. Elizabeth Casteen analyzes the peculiar medieval usage of *raptus*, with its primary legal meaning of rape, to mean the religious ecstasy of female visionaries. Finally, Maeve Callan's chapter deals with religious partnerships between vowed men and women, and the sinister gossip such relationships inspired.

The third section of the book focuses on "Identifying and Grappling with the Unholy." Michael Bailey's chapter asks us to think with Herbert Grundmann and approach the practice of magic as we do other religious movements of the twelfth and later centuries, subject to all the same social, religious, and political dynamics as reforming or heretical groups. Katelyn Mesler observes the magic-religion boundary through the eyes of the fourteenth-century Aragonian inquisitor, Nicholas Eymeric, who was flummoxed by the case of a Jewish magician and whether the Church could try him for heresy. In the section's third chapter, Anne Koenig studies late medieval madness, asking how civic leaders and intellectuals

distinguished it from magically caused bewitchment, and how both leaders and healers treated actual patients and victims.

The fourth and last part, “Magic and the Cosmos,” takes readers to outer space. Sophie Page examines Christian scientific views of the universe based on Aristotle’s theories. If angels commanded the movements of stars and planets, what happened when demons invaded heavenly spheres and began pushing planets around? Theologians, popular writers, and astrologers disagreed, but demons increasingly took the blame for personal disaster and misfortune. The last essay in the volume belongs to David Collins, the editor, who tracks medieval debates about the wandering star of the Magi in the nativity story (Matthew 2). Scholastics such as Albertus Magnus demanded rigorously logical interpretation of Scripture, for instance, on the question of whether the quest for the star was inspired by astrology. Yet Albertus also innovated by using natural science to understand the movements of the star in question.

Although students may struggle with this volume, medievalists across disciplines should read it, because the future study of medieval thought lies in the developing methods of its authors. Together, they have produced arguments that will entice scholars to reconsider their assumptions about magic and religion, and might even inspire the brightest students to become medievalists and figure it out for themselves.

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Lisa M. Bitel

*The Untold Story of Shields Green: The Life and Death of a Harper’s Ferry Raider*, by Louis A. DeCaro, Jr. New York: New York University Press, 2022. 248 pages. \$28.00, cloth. \$16.95, paper. \$28.00, electronic.

Within Civil War-era history, John Brown remains a towering figure for his infamous October 1859 raid upon Harper’s Ferry (officially renamed as “Harpers Ferry” in 1891). Historians and amateurs alike have debated his motives and made (at times anachronistic) analogies comparing John Brown to modern-day Islamic extremist groups such as Al-Qaeda. Yet there has not been much focus upon Brown’s accomplices and those who followed him into both martyrdom and history. Who were some of the other lesser-known figures who participated in his raid? Why are they important? Also, why must they be recognized?

This is where Louis A. DeCaro, Jr. steps in with *The Untold Story of Shields Green: The Life and Death of a Harper’s Ferry Raider*. DeCaro brings to light an obscure figure in the John Brown epoch. He writes about Shields (“Emperor”) Green, a black former slave who escaped the South and joined the infamous white abolitionist in his ill-fated attempt at Harper’s Ferry. Green, in DeCaro’s view, is a historical actor that is noteworthy due to being “deeply embedded in the narrative of the Harper’s Ferry raid because he is uniquely connected to and dependent upon both Frederick Douglass and John Brown” (p. xix). It was Douglass who introduced Green to John Brown, as DeCaro describes in vivid detail.

Furthermore, Green's past as an escaped slave enabled him to understand the flight to freedom, and, as DeCaro notes, it is his (Green's) story that is very symbolic. This black member of Brown's party was executed alongside Brown and had his body stolen both literally and figuratively by the same slaveholders who attempted to take his freedom, humanity, and physical remains (p. xx). Thus, DeCaro takes the reader on a journey through time and helps us to better understand this man who gave up his life and freedom for the cause of emancipation at the U.S. Armory at Harper's Ferry. Green's early life in Charleston, South Carolina, to his final moments inside the fire engine house is still a bit mysterious. However, Shields Green is brought to life as best as DeCaro can accomplish since he is very straightforward in his preface that there is a lack of primary source material to paint this portrait of this lesser-known figure in John Brown's army.

DeCaro acknowledges this limitation, but masterfully creates his narrative about this obscure persona who (like Brown) became almost lost to history in terms of the truth behind them. While there have been works dedicated to John Brown's raid by historians such as W. E. B. Du Bois and Tony Horwitz (author of 2011's *Midnight Rising: John Brown and the Raid That Sparked the Civil War*), DeCaro places his focus on just how instrumental Green was to the party, and his contributions to the efforts led by the infamous radical abolitionist.

DeCaro mentions that there still is no consensus among Civil War scholars as to who the true protagonist of Harper's Ferry was. He provides criticism of Horwitz's book on the raid and disagrees with the notion that the raid was just led by a madman (pp. 75-77). In addition, the author goes further and writes that Horwitz was in line with earlier historians "who were inclined to belittle Brown and overlook [the narrative from Osborne P. Anderson, the only sole black raider who survived]" (p. 79).

DeCaro describes the historical silences that make it difficult to write this study, such as the lack of primary sources pertaining to Green himself, including his age and real name (p. 3). Yet despite this, high school teachers and even history college professors can make good use of this monograph. The lessons DeCaro offers for historical silences are reminiscent of *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (1995) by the late Michel-Rolph Trouillot. The tale of Shields Green now finally comes to the forefront.

During this current period in our nation's history considering recent unrest and political divisiveness, this book can aid in its pages. The final chapter offers a solemn ending, as Green's skull was later on display in a macabre presentation in a Georgia drug store in the 1890s (p. 165). In many ways, DeCaro illustrates how the "Unreconstructed Rebel" remained triumphant in defeat by still asserting control of African Americans in a post-Civil War America. Despite the shortcomings of being unable to portray a full-sized portrait of Shields Green, it still is worthy of attention for many scholars and students of the Civil War Era.

*Understanding and Teaching the Modern Middle East*, edited by Omnia El Shakry. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2020. 384 pages. \$39.95, cloth.

This effective, rigorous, and critical volume is an excellent contribution to help rethink and reframe teaching and understanding the modern Middle East. As part of the Harvey Goldberg Series for Understanding and Teaching History published by the University of Wisconsin, this collection of twenty-one essays by leading scholars in the field (both established and up-and-coming, as well as diverse) is a welcome and ambitious intervention that doesn't shy away from addressing difficult topics. It anticipates many of the problems and questions that often emerge in classrooms and proposes novel ideas on how to address them. The essays cover a range of topics, including how to think and present on sensitive topics such as Israel and Palestine and the Global War on Terror, while also offering a range of practical advice in terms of pedagogy. Though most of the essays are written by historians, there are also contributions by literary and religion scholars, anthropologists, and sociologists showcasing how an interdisciplinary and transregional approach to the Middle East looks like. Appropriately and compellingly, the authors situate events in the Middle East within a modern context of larger global history. These connections to more general trends will be useful for teachers involved primarily with other parts of the globe who are thinking about ways to bring examples from the Middle East into their teaching. Some of the essays have appeared elsewhere before, but are helpful to have alongside original scholarship.

The book starts with a short introduction by historian and editor Omnia El Shakry. Though parsimonious and more an elaborate table of contents, El Shakry provides an apt overview of this project. From there, the volume is divided into four parts. The first essay by historian Michael Gasper, "Why Can't You Find the Middle East on a Map?" may seem counterintuitive since it problematizes the very notion that there is something called "The Middle East," which is ostensibly the geographic focal point of the book. Gasper highlights how this term lacks analytical coherence and is rooted in an outdated, Eurocentric view of the world. In applying this term, Gasper points out, scholars may be accepting and promoting ideological assumptions of the past. Nevertheless, he proposes an "ethical response" (p. 27) and argues, for the time being, to continue using the term with the hope of imagining and developing new categories and relationships in the future.

Part 2 includes Sherene Seikaly's smart, stand-out essay on the history of Palestine and Israel. Seikaly introduces several guiding principles as framing devices. In many ways, Seikaly de-escalates the topic and demonstrates how to approach it in a serene and nuanced way. Seikaly structures her discussion around the notion of objectivity and the impact of nationalism. She helpfully demonstrates how to decenter the prevailing notions of "conflict" (p. 101) by thinking about this history through the lens of "nationalism's exclusionary force" (p. 114).

The third part offers compelling essays about issues of the here and now, such as refugees, oil, and the aftermath of the Arab Spring. All of the essays are firmly grounded in historiography and research. Yet instead of overwhelming the reader with the complexity of these issues, they offer succinct overviews. Darryl Li, for example, provides helpful suggestions about how to think about terminology when teaching about the War on Terror (e.g., “Jihad” and “Jihadism”) (pp. 185–186) and Rochelle Davis offers a valuable analysis and synopsis of migration and displacement.

The final part of the book offers strong and diverse contributions on topics such as gender, film, and the Armenian Genocide that highlight some of the unique ways to introduce difficult and controversial topics.

This superb volume is highly recommended for any teacher or student who seeks to understand some of the prevalent pedagogical issues related to the Middle East. It respects the reader with intellectually stimulating contributions, while also being aware of the practical dimensions of teaching. This is not an ivory-tower approach, but seeks connections with the day-to-day realities in the classroom. El Shakry and her fellow contributors should be commended for this valuable and non-polemical resource that displays some of the best thinking in terms of how to contextualize historical events. While this outstanding book does great service in pointing out what to avoid and how to move beyond essentialist and orientalist tropes and frameworks, it is also a sad commentary of our zeitgeist that we still need volumes like this to prompt us about what needs to done and how much work there remains to approach any form of comprehension of the Middle East. This work, however, should inspire each reader to keep at it and to think about new ways to approach the teaching of the Middle East.

Williams College

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*Transforming History: A Guide to Effective, Inclusive, and Evidence-Based Teaching*, by Mary Jo Festle. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2020. 304 pages. \$34.95, cloth.

In the course of human events, lecturers often find themselves well equipped to make trained, highly critical, and relevant historical arguments about a given set of years, events, or geographic areas. Yet many lecturers struggle to know and implement practical pedagogical knowledge to imbue these ideas into the minds of our students. Mary Jo Festle’s *Transforming History: A Guide to Effective, Inclusive, and Evidence-Based Teaching* provides a comprehensive guide to teaching an effective and meaningful class. *Transforming History* does not necessarily push the field of pedagogy forward—however, it synthesizes much of the findings from educational studies and findings by the American Historical Association into five chapters that break down the essential parts of “intentional and effective teaching” (p. 11). These five chapters are of varied

use to the audience—"history faculty who are committed to the vocation of teaching" (p. 4)—depending on where they are at in their teaching career.

The division of the book into five chapters makes it easy to find the content most relevant for the instructors. As a whole, Chapter 1, "What We Teach," provides helpful information for any instructor at any level. Whether a tyro or a veteran, this chapter offers critical insights about overall course design and the value of choosing discreet and few student learning objectives (SLOs). New lecturers with little to no developed lessons may find the overarching theme of backward design overwhelming news. Festle presents backward design (designing the course around the SLOs) as a running theme in her work and supports its implementation with full transparency for the students to promote effective learning. While an experienced lecturer will benefit immensely from this advice, new lecturers may have trouble implementing it the first time around since they do not have much material developed yet. However, Chapter 3's "How We Teach" and Chapter 4's "How We Assess" offer advice beneficial for new lecturers through comprehensive guides of different teaching strategies, activities, rubrics, formative feedback, and how to outline any assignment's expectations fully. Even experienced lecturers would benefit from reading these chapters to learn about new exercises and improve ones already in place. Discussion activities often serve as the prime mode of learning in a history course outside of lecturing. Festle presents several suggestions and insights to make them as successful as we all hope (pp. 123-127). She even draws out the benefits of small-group discussion before a whole-class discussion for minorities to feel more comfortable with their ideas moving forward, as they are less prone to speak up in whole-class discussions (p. 125). This idea of inclusivity makes frequent appearances in Chapter 2's "Who We Teach." This chapter focuses on the students themselves and our responsibility to create a safe and comfortable classroom environment. This predictable environment allows the class to feel non-threatening and inclusive. Generally, this chapter aids lecturers in understanding their students' views and may be of great use to educators who struggle to connect to their students. Festle's final chapter, "Who We Are," focuses on remembering to be a genuine version of ourselves and how to further our success in our career at work. Striking a balance between your persona as a formal professor and your personality presents one of the critical points in this chapter. However, Festle warns that disorganization will never come across as professional, no matter the personality. Additionally, Festle surfaces less obvious considerations for furthering a lecturer's career and involvement in the department for newer and part-time lecturers—no doubt, a valuable chapter in such a competitive market. Therefore, this book's thoughtful organization makes it very easy to grab off the shelf as a reference guide.

While Festle clearly and continually addresses effective and evidence-based teaching, one does hold some reservations about Festle's claim of inclusivity in the classroom. While her attention to the benefits of a safe classroom environment, assignment transparency, and small-group activities (not to mention a sizable consideration of stereotypes) present serious solutions to inclusivity issues, they remain the only ones clearly outlined. Differentiation and considerations for students

who meet the American Disability Act criteria remain outside of this work, and some further additions to the monograph regarding inclusivity for these areas may have better justified the title of the book, which hooks interested and caring educators. Nevertheless, the numerous benefits of reading *Transforming History* outweigh these limitations. While a lecturer with at least a semester's worth of teaching experience remains the ideal audience, future educators, experienced lecturers, and even secondary education teachers will benefit from many of the ideas in this work.

Concordia University Irvine

Bradley A. Smith

*Napoleon and de Gaulle: Heroes and History*, by Patrice Gueniffey, translated by Steven Rendall. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020. 416 pages. \$36.00, cloth.

There are few historical figures who have been written about more in French history than Napoleon Bonaparte and Charles de Gaulle. Moreover, few figures, separated by more than a century, have been so often directly compared. That Patrice Gueniffey is wading into such a crowded field is already remarkable, but what makes this book interesting is precisely how challenging it is—in ways that succeed, and ways that don't.

Despite the names on the cover, it is actually the subtitle that more accurately reflects the book—"heroes and history." Instead of a simple, chronological comparison of two lives, *Napoleon and de Gaulle* is more than anything a rumination on Gueniffey's thoughts on the nature of "great men," heroes, and the creation of history in France. The book is organized not by time, but by theme, as Gueniffey looks at both figures as literary figures, as "comeback" politicians, as saviors and leaders in national revitalization, and at the myths created following their deaths. He is more interested in exploring Napoleon and de Gaulle as archetypes than through biography. What they mean, rather than what they did. Doing so allows Gueniffey to discuss the whole scope of French history, up to and including his thoughts on the state of French republicanism today. It is ultimately impossible to separate *Napoleon and de Gaulle* from Gueniffey's personal thoughts on how history should be written, his politics, and French politics in 2020. To give but one early example, "we must recognize that we owe to heroes the principal changes that have altered, for better or worse, the course of world history...Collective action is a myth invented in the nineteenth century, a myth that the tragic events of the twentieth century definitively refuted" (p. 3).

This is what makes *Napoleon and de Gaulle* challenging. Concerned as it is with exploring the creation of national myths, narratives of "great men," and the nature of democracy, this book is just as relevant to a class on political science or sociology as it is to one on French history—possibly more so. It practically begs to be read alongside works like Michel-Rolph Trouillot's *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (1995). This is made even clearer in the preface for the English version, as Gueniffey succinctly states that which is

subtext within the book itself. Gueniffey chafes at the globalization of history, arguing, “Global history reduces the diversity of experiences by depriving them of their richness and meaning” (p. xii). Instead, historians should return to heroic, strongman figures, whether good or not, as a lens of analysis, given their rise in today’s political climate. In a world with Donald Trump, Silvio Berlusconi, and Vladimir Putin, Gueniffey argues that today resembles the world of yesterday, and that it is time to examine what we imagined to have left behind in the twentieth century. The Fifth Republic is moribund, Gueniffey writes, and the French nation is once again returning to what he agrees with François Mitterand and Madame Germaine de Staël wrote is a natural state for the French people; an obsessive need for a unifying hero.

Given how inextricable Gueniffey’s historical arguments are from his own personal beliefs, critique of one becomes inseparable from the other. The book’s usefulness as a course reading depends entirely on how the instructor decides to engage with these beliefs; support or critique? There is a truly deep theoretical dive into the place of heroes in national histories. The chapter on both Napoleon and de Gaulle as literary figures and their relationship with the literati is particularly insightful. However, in centering so exclusively on the “great men”—and their relationship to France specifically—Gueniffey does obliquely make the case for the “global turn.”

Napoleon’s 1798 invasion of Egypt and Palestine is widely considered the opening chapter on nineteenth-century orientalism. He imprisoned Toussaint Louverture, and viciously fought to re-impose slavery in Saint-Domingue. Charles de Gaulle’s history with decolonization and the French empire is long and tempestuous, to say the least. Yet race and post-colonial theory hardly figure into this comparison, and strong reactions are sure to follow any reading of Gueniffey’s interpretations of the “Algerian affair” (p. 10) and de Gaulle’s “abandoning the French of Algeria to their fate and...abandoning the disarmed Harkis to their executioners” (p. 63). Much like most other comparisons of the two, Gueniffey only examines what Napoleon and de Gaulle mean to the metropole French nation, and conspicuously avoids discussing the fact that they were “great men” in the history of other nations as well. This does not invalidate Gueniffey’s work, but it does unnecessarily limit itself.

*Florida State University*

Daniel Arenas

*Seapower States: Maritime Culture, Continental Empires and the Conflict That Made the Modern World*, by Andrew Lambert. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020. 399 pages. \$30.00, cloth. \$18.00, paper. \$18.00, electronic.

The sea, wrote Alfred Thayer Mahan in *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History 1660-1783* (1890), can be thought of as “a great highway...over which men may pass in all directions, but on which some well-worn paths show that controlling

reasons have led them to choose certain lines of travel rather than others.” The well-worn path of sea power scholarship is familiar to all naval historians. Andrew Lambert’s book takes a different line of travel, navigating this path in a refreshing new way. Lambert begins by reclaiming the term “seapower”—as opposed to “sea power.” Seapower, according to Lambert, dates back to ancient Greek thought as embodied in the term “thalassocracy.” *Seapower* states are cultures whose identities are bound to maritime pursuits. *Sea power*, by contrast, came about when Mahan separated the ancient idea into two words. Rather than being an embodiment of culture, sea power refers simply to the use of military force at sea, and can be practiced by any nation. Having redefined the very nature of the field, Lambert goes on to demonstrate what set seapower states apart from nations who merely use sea power. Concepts of identity and cultural choice lie at the heart of this distinction.

A key claim of *Seapower States* is that seapower has always been a cultural choice. In contrast to the geographical determinism of Mahan, Lambert emphasizes the conscious decision to become a seapower. Navies require vast investments of capital and time. No nation became a seapower by accident; all who did so chose to make the investment in ships, personnel, infrastructure, and training. More importantly, a maritime identity had to be established and nurtured over time. Thus, Classical Athens emphasized its leadership in the naval victory at Salamis, while modern Britain venerated naval heroes such as Nelson. Continental powers, by contrast, might employ the trappings of seapower, but never acquired the identity. The best example of this is Russia under Peter I. The Russian ruler went so far as to build a network of canals in St. Petersburg in emulation of Amsterdam and Venice. However, it was not to last: after Peter’s death, the maritime elements that Peter had attempted to instill soon passed from Russian culture.

Because seapower was a cultural choice, maritime motifs became woven into the symbolic culture of seapower states. Maritime symbolism served to reinforce the concept of the navy as the prime military force and to imbue the sea into the minds of the population. This concept was not lost on their enemies, who sought to destroy the maritime symbolism of defeated seapower states. This explains why Rome burned the Carthaginian fleet instead of simply taking captured Carthaginian ships into its own navy. The fiery sacrifice symbolized the destruction of Carthage’s seapower identity.

Lambert’s most interesting claim is that nations turn to seapower due to weakness. It is easy to think of naval power as decisive, especially for maritime scholars shaped by the first generation of seapower writers, who penned their works at a time when Britannia ruled the waves. Lambert turns the concept on its head. Seapower, claims Lambert, has always been a weapon of the weak. Ancient Athens could not compete with Spartan superiority on land, and so turned to the sea. Carthage, although descended from the preeminent Iron Age seafarers, the Phoenicians, lacked the territory and population to compete on land with the emerging might of Rome. Lambert traces the concept down through time to Britain, whose strategy always relied on allying with continental powers. The assertion that seapower is employed by the weak rather than the strong is the key revelation of this book.

While the claims made in *Seapower States* sometimes go against common understandings of naval power, there is no denying that Lambert provides ample evidence for his conception of seapower. As such, the book is a worthy addition to the literature on naval scholarship and is well worth using in naval history courses. It would be best utilized in conjunction with a more traditional text, however, as Lambert does not go into areas such as naval strategy and tactics in detail, nor does he provide detailed descriptions of sea battles. Instead, the strength of *Seapower States* is its elucidation of the cultural, political, and symbolic issues involved with creating seapower identity. In this, it succeeds greatly. Lambert's ideas are thought-provoking and should provide the next generation of naval scholars with numerous starting points for future research.

*East Carolina University*

David J. Stewart

*Teaching History for Justice: Centering Activism in Students' Study of the Past*, by Christopher C. Martell and Kaylene M. Stevens. New York: Teachers College Press, 2021. 166 pages. \$105.00, cloth. \$34.95, paper. \$34.95, electronic.

*Teaching History for Justice* is a clearly written guide to designing and teaching history courses that rely on diverse voices and sources, emphasize social movements, and empower students to see themselves as activists capable of changing the society in which they live. The book consists of two main parts. Chapters 1 through 5 lay out Christopher C. Martell and Kaylene M. Stevens' theoretical and pedagogical framework for activist-centered history teaching. The work especially relies on, and adapts, the work of Gloria Ladson-Billings and Bill Moyer et al. Although primarily theoretical, these chapters also include short glimpses of potential classroom applications of the authors' central concepts. Chapters 6 through 9 provide more in-depth, on-the-ground descriptions of their framework in action.

Martell and Stevens propose framing history classes around the concept of justice. They argue that teachers should encourage students not only to think like activists when analyzing the past, but to also perform their own activism against present injustice. History for justice contains three parts: (1) social inquiry, (2) critical multiculturalism, and (3) transformative democratic citizenship. Social inquiry requires gathering evidence related to social structures and using that evidence to formulate and support one's claims. Martell and Stevens make clear that in teaching history for justice, this evidence must come from people with social identities that are traditionally underrepresented in source material and should especially examine questions of collective action. Critical multiculturalism emphasizes structural and institutional inequity, the agency of groups (rather than individuals), and diverse social identities. The final—and, I would argue, most crucial—component of teaching history for justice is transformative democratic citizenship. The concept emphasizes that

democratic citizenship is not about rote participation in a toothless, feel-good political system. Rather, “the power of democracy is that people can change their societies” (p. 57). This is key. Without a thorough enough emphasis on change as *real* and *possible*, framing history around structural inequality and oppression risks unintentionally reifying such structures by portraying them as unshakeable. History teachers must make clear the power and potential of democracy and activism by emphasizing past social movements, by prompting students to ask whether and why certain movements succeeded in changing society in the ways they hoped to, and by encouraging students to incorporate the methods of previous successful movements into their own activism.

The case study chapters are extremely helpful demonstrations of how these somewhat broad, theoretical categories can be implemented in classrooms. They are imagined syntheses that draw on the practices of real history teachers, and cover high school U.S. history, high school world history, middle school ancient world history, and elementary school state and local history. An especially important element of these vignettes are the teachers’ regular use of field trips (real and virtual) and guest speakers to fill gaps in their own knowledge and experience.

A short concluding chapter, “Overcoming Barriers,” recognizes that teachers’ social identities and the attitudes of students, administrators, and community members could make the curricular transformations they suggest difficult to implement. Although the book was published recently, just the last recent months have created new legal uncertainty around the teaching methods the authors propose. Many of the principles that these authors take for granted, such that structural inequality *exists*, have become fraught—and potentially illegal to teach—in states across the country. Teachers must weigh how they can incorporate these recommendations in ways that don’t put their credentials or jobs in jeopardy, or else decide that teaching for justice is worth such potential sacrifices.

The narration relies heavily on the historical example of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement. Although it is a convenient, familiar touchstone, this means the book may feel more immediately relevant and helpful for modern U.S. history teachers than for others. As a disability historian, I was somewhat disappointed to see disability appear so rarely in the authors’ examples of marginalized identities and activist groups. This points to the problem with defining a curriculum’s inclusiveness by its incorporation of all social identities: the list of marginalized social identities is large and historically contingent. Giving each group the attention they deserve without falsely defining past actors by modern categories in a broad survey course is difficult to execute, especially if, as Martell and Stevens suggest, one must include multiple voices from every identity so as to avoid essentializing any one group. Despite these shortcomings, K-12 teachers in history and social studies will find useful concepts and practical recommendations for helping their students recognize and fight against injustice in the past and present.

*The Imperial Church: Catholic Founding Fathers and United States Empire*, by Katherine D. Moran. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020. 311 pages. \$48.95, cloth. \$31.99, electronic.

American Catholic historiography favors a rise-and-fall narrative of anti-Catholicism, but Katherine Moran's *The Imperial Church* demonstrates the inaccuracy of such a simplified interpretation. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Americans adopted Catholicism into their understanding of national imperialism. Moran demonstrates how aspects of Catholic history were utilized by Protestant and Catholic Americans to explore broader cultural concerns, such as the country's growing empire. The book explores the history and legacy of Father Jacques Marquette, S.J., Spanish colonial missions in California, and the anti-friar culture of the Philippines. It is divided into three sections based on those narratives. The first chapter provides historical context, while the second chapter examines the commemoration and imperial use of the subject. Americans created a celebratory past for those individuals and spaces that affirmed their national imperial ambitions.

The first section, "Jacques Marquette in the Upper Midwest," examines the region from 1870 to 1910 by explaining how Marquette's role as a regional founder became linked to commercial growth (p. 18). Marquette is recast as a civilized white man by Protestants who want to link the region to the national imperial legacy, erasing the cultural and religious diversity of the Upper Midwest region. Marquette's ability to create peaceful relationships with Native American communities lent his image an air of hospitality and warmth. As the region experienced industrial and economic growth, businesses and organizations utilized the name and image of Marquette to soften those societal changes (p. 51). Marquette's exemplified "peaceful conquest" and "provided an ideal of empire built on benevolence and consent" (p. 56). However, Protestants softened Marquette's Catholicism by recasting his Marian devotion into a relationship with his earthly mother (pp. 63-64). Marquette becomes a symbol of docile, peaceful community.

Part II, "Franciscans in Southern California," examines the history and tourism of Californian missions. Between 1880 and the First World War, local boosters celebrated the work of Catholic missionaries and tied them to the region's founding narrative, especially Father Junípero Serra. Like Marquette, Serra and the missions became docile communities in their commemoration. Serra created congenial communities that educated Native Americans and instilled the value of work. Mission boosters celebrated the region's tourism industry while critiquing ongoing military affairs in Mexico (p. 86). The missions harkened back to a better, more peaceful past. Moreover, boosters framed Mexico as potential destroyers of missions, whereas America allowed these communities to grow. What this narrative produced, as chapter four explains, is a paternalistic origin story for the region's tourism industry. Like missionaries, boosters' hotels were generous and welcoming, economically productive, and supported educational initiatives (pp. 110-111). This narrative made capitalism palatable while connecting the American hospitality industry to a medieval monastic tradition (p. 118). These

stories reinforced a paternalistic narrative that Catholic missions aided the Native Americans, taught them to be industrious workers, and continued to educate them by using booster profits to support local schools. It affirmed imperial expansion.

The final section, “Friars in the Philippines,” examines how the Spanish colonial past in the Philippines allowed Americans to contemplate their colonial rule of the region (p. 19). Americans wrestled with the anti-friar sentiment common in the region: on the one hand, the friars represented a form of colonial control that might be emulated, but their corruption meant clearly distinguishing the past from the present. Americans transitioned the friar narrative into one about European Christian imperial heroism (p. 169). Filipinos worried about Protestantism overtaking Catholicism, even if they detested friars’ corruption. American Catholicism would encourage the right to religious freedom and still spread national values throughout the Philippines. Still, unlike the outright celebration of Marquette and Serra, the American approach to Catholicism in the Philippines recognized the failures of corrupt friars while still encouraging the emulation of such imperial projects.

*The Imperial Church* is a fantastic book for a graduate course on imperialism, Catholicism, or memory. Undergraduate students might be better served by assigning the introduction and one of Moran’s topical sections. Moran’s historiography within the introduction is a prime example for teaching undergraduates how to write their own. Readers of Moran’s book will be challenged to consider the past’s ongoing implications, and the way nations make use of it to support agendas. It will become a staple in teaching American Catholicism.

*Belmont Abbey College*

Emily Davis

*The Story of the Bayeux Tapestry: Unraveling the Norman Conquest*, by David Musgrave and Michael Lewis. New York: Thames & Hudson, 2021. 352 pages. \$34.95, cloth. \$29.73, electronic.

The Bayeux Tapestry is a marvelous teaching resource. Depending on the audience and the goals of a class, it can be used in numerous ways: to provide an illustrated framework with which to narrate the Norman Conquest; to discuss military practices, shipbuilding techniques, or other aspects of eleventh-century culture; to introduce visual imagery as a historical source; or to address problems of historical evidence such as the use of propaganda, the dangers of incomplete information, or the confusion of competing narratives. However, even for specialists like me, the amount of literature on the Tapestry is daunting: over a thousand books and articles according to the authors of this work. What can be particularly challenging for a scholar or teacher who is new to the Tapestry are the number of problems and debates associated with it. Fortunately, for those who would like to use this rich resource for teaching, David Musgrave and Michael Lewis provide an excellent and concise guide to this narrative artwork.

After a very brief chapter on the nature and history of the Tapestry (which in fact is an embroidery), Musgrove and Lewis start with a first chapter on the historical background to the Norman Conquest and, thus, to the story depicted on this work. In my view, they do a good job of clearly summarizing the complex background for a broader readership. They also note crucial events missing in the Tapestry, most notably the invasion of King Harald Hardrada of Norway, which forced Anglo-Saxon King Harold Godwinson to travel north, thus allowing Duke William of Normandy to land in southern England without any immediate resistance (this omission not only streamlined a complex narrative, but also avoided undermining William's glory). The next chapter is probably the most crucial. There are fierce arguments about the patron and purpose of the Bayeux Tapestry, where it was made, and what it was designed for. After a physical description of the work and a discussion of the techniques used to create it, they address these debates. Here and elsewhere, they generally give their own opinions, which are also often the consensus ones, but then discuss alternative theories concisely yet, in my judgment, fairly. The next nine chapters consist of a detailed description and discussion of the Tapestry from beginning to end, accompanied by large illustrations of the scenes and other relevant images. Musgrove and Lewis discuss not only the main frame, but also the animals and scenes in the top and bottom borders, which may at times comment on the main narrative—though about this, as so much else, there is intense debate. During this journey through the story, they periodically pause to discuss important issues raised by particular scenes, such as the likely depiction of stories from fables in the borders or the arms and armor that appear in the climactic battle scene. Throughout, they provide a detailed commentary on all aspects on the Tapestry, and, even as someone who has spent a lot of time looking at its images and read much of the literature, I learned some fascinating tidbits. The last chapter provides a brief recapitulation of the authors' views on the Tapestry, a history of its reception, a discussion of reproductions and imitations, and references to various attempts to politically appropriate the work—not least by the Nazis. After the text comes a complete photographic reproduction of the Tapestry, which unfortunately is too small to be much use, though perhaps gives some sense of the flow. Fortunately, there are plenty of online versions to peruse and the larger illustrations scattered through the text make this last extended reproduction unnecessary. There follows a list of notable dates and a useful summary of further reading.

Inevitably, one could quibble about what Musgrove and Lewis include and leave out. Equally inevitably, one could differ on interpretations or judge that certain theories might have gotten more attention. Overall, however, I found the editors to be both thoughtful and judicious in their treatment of the many controversies surrounding the Tapestry. Any teacher thinking about making use of this rich and fascinating work in the classroom will find this book an excellent tool for preparing to teach the Bayeux Tapestry.

*Pacifist Prophet: Papunhank and the Quest for Peace in Early America*, by Richard W. Pointer. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2020. 424 pages. \$36.95, cloth. \$36.95, electronic.

Papunhank was a Munsee Delaware religious and political leader in mid-eighteenth-century Pennsylvania. One of the few people in colonial America who struggled to create a lasting peace between its many different contending peoples, he spent the last two and a half decades of his life fighting to survive along the Pennsylvania frontier, which had been remarkably peaceful until 1755, when it became the flashpoint of a border war between the British and French empires. Many Delaware, outraged by the loss of their lands to unscrupulous colonists, joined with the French to devastate the farms pushing the British frontier westwards. Pennsylvanians responded with a murderous hatred of all Native Americans that persisted even after peace was made. The inability of Pennsylvania's government to keep its people in check, as well as the Iroquois Confederacy's persistent claims of authority in the region, meant that Native Americans had to either move further west or get very creative if they were to survive.

Papunhank was a creative survivor. Born around 1705 where the borders of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania meet, he died in what is now Ohio in May 1775. Until he received a special religious vision sometime around 1750, he lived a life indistinguishable from that of his neighbors, and we know little about it. Thereafter, he emerges through the colonial records as one of the most distinctive Indigenous leaders of his time. First, he became a nativist prophet, encouraging his people to strengthen themselves by strengthening their attachment to their traditional ways and rejecting the pernicious influences of the colonists (especially alcohol). Unlike other Indigenous prophets, however, he insisted his people also embrace the arts of peace.

Papunhank's interest in peace soon created a bond with Pennsylvania's Quakers, who treated him as a key figure in their Indigenous diplomacy. This relationship expanded Papunhank's knowledge of Christianity, but it was the Moravians, a small pietistic sect based in Germany that also preached pacifism, who ultimately claimed his religious allegiance. That relationship made this book possible, for Moravians prolifically documented their efforts, providing just enough insight on his life to allow Pointer to write this study. For the final decade or so of his life, Papunhank effectively led a few hundred Indigenous Moravian converts, working alongside the Moravian missionaries presiding over their spiritual life. Drawing on their records, Pointer does a nice job of conveying Papunhank's distinctive personality and personal struggles, as well as his public actions.

Given the lack of sources, writing a biography of almost any Native American figure before the twentieth century is a real challenge. To fill in the gaps between what he has scrounged together from the archives, Pointer recounts relevant aspects of the broader history of Indigenous experience in these years and then speculates on Papunhank's decision making process as he guided his followers through one crisis after another. His wish to survive as a pacifist in an increasingly aggressive environment meant moving his community several times—first to the upper Susquehanna River, then to Philadelphia, then back to the Susquehanna, and

finally west to today's Ohio. Each time, his talents as a hunter, builder, diplomat, and community leader helped his community prosper against the odds. Alas, seven years after he died, most of the Indigenous Moravians were massacred by American militiamen. Pointer puts a bold face on this tragic history by concluding that "the wonder is not that so many of his people were brutally murdered but that largely through his courage, perseverance, wisdom, and vision so many of them had managed to survive as long as they did" (p. 301).

Piecing this biography together is a real contribution to our understanding of Indigenous and colonial Pennsylvanian history, both of which have tended to marginalize Papunhank and his community. Given how well Pointer did his job, it feels petty to suggest that the book's one flaw from a teaching perspective is that it is a bit too long. A slimmer, more tightly focused book with fewer departures into the broader context and more restraint in speculating about Papunhank's motives would be a great text to assign to students in college and maybe even seniors in high school. It is an important, well-told story showing us that early America had even more lost possibilities than we realized.

*Texas A&M University*

Evan Haefeli

*The Great Kosher Meat War of 1902: Immigrant Housewives and the Riots that Shook New York City*, by Scott D. Seligman. Lincoln, NE: Potomac Books (University of Nebraska Press), 2020. 312 pages. \$32.95, cloth. \$32.95, electronic.

In early 1902, the price of beef—a staple of the American diet—rose precipitously. This was especially a problem for consumers of kosher meat, not only since many of them were poor recent immigrants from Eastern Europe, but also because, for a variety of technical reasons, kosher meat was more expensive to begin with. That May, Jewish immigrant housewives responded with a boycott that lasted for weeks and led to violent clashes between the female "strikers" (as they were often called) and the kosher butchers, as well as between the women and the police. The boycott movement began on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, but soon spread to other parts of New York and even to other cities. In *The Great Kosher Meat War of 1902*, Scott Seligman tells this remarkable story of women's grassroots social activism in a highly accessible and readable way.

The biggest strengths of the book lie in its vivid descriptions of the workings of the meat industry and of the strike itself, along with the way it weaves together what might have appeared to be separate stories into one multi-level narrative. On the streets of New York, the fight was between the housewives and the butchers. But Seligman does not tell that story in isolation. Rather, he connects it to the larger issue of the powerful Meat Trust that manipulated the price of beef nationally and put tremendous pressure on other points along the supply chain. Ultimately, the consumer paid the price. Although these national dynamics may not have been completely visible to the boycotters, Seligman is able to link their

struggle to the broader efforts of the federal and New York State governments to rein in the Trust through court cases and regulation. He also integrates into his narrative the struggle to maintain standards of kashrut, and the tragic story of Rabbi Jacob Joseph, brought from Europe to help maintain those standards. The tale is thus one of both internecine Jewish communal strife and an issue that roiled the entire country.

If there is a weakness in the book, it is in its more general depictions of Jewish immigrant life, community, and culture. Although the movement was eventually hijacked by men, its original leaders were women. Seligman aims to give them a voice, but there are obstacles to doing so. One is simply that the women who stepped forward to lead the boycott in May 1902 receded from the public eye after the movement died down. But another is that their voice is in Yiddish, and Seligman does not know his subjects' language. He cites a couple dozen articles from the Yiddish press, which were apparently translated for him, but mostly relies on the English-language press. His descriptions of Jewish life in Eastern Europe and the Lower East Side sometimes read like translations of translations, a problem his discussions of the trusts and the larger political issues don't have.

Ultimately, Seligman argues, the events of 1902 had lasting significance. Not only did they provide a model for subsequent fights over the cost of food, but they also helped inspire campaigns for union organizing, tenant rights, and women's suffrage. The prominent careers of labor leaders like Pauline Newman and radical activists like Clara Lemlich Shavelson in some part can be attributed to the long-term influence of the 1902 movement. As Seligman writes, "The women of the 1902 strikes ushered in a new spirit of activism and an awakening among their sisters in the Jewish community. This applied not only to community movements like food and rent strikes; it also applied to labor actions, and was an important factor in the central role that Jewish American women played in the American labor movement well into the twentieth century" (p. 244).

*The Great Kosher Meat War of 1902* is a useful addition to the literature, picking up where an oft-cited 1980 article by the late Paula Hyman left off (Seligman references the article at the beginning and end of the book). A good read, accompanied by amazing images from the time of the boycott, it would certainly be suitable for classroom or research use by college students, and perhaps advanced high school students as well. Although instructors focusing on Jewish immigration history might want to supplement it with other material, it would make a good addition to courses or units on American social, women's, consumer, and political history, or the history of the Progressive Era.

*Fordham University*

Daniel Soyer

*The Chisholm Trail: Joseph McCoy's Great Gamble*, by James E. Sherow. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018. 360 pages. \$29.95, cloth. \$26.95, electronic.

James E. Sherow takes us off the beaten path in *The Chisholm Trail*, and his work is the stronger for it. His central argument is that the legendary cattle trail from Texas to Kansas bridged the transition from a grasslands ecosystem shaped by Native Americans to one shaped by Euro-American farming, but he does not stay on that trail for long. Rather than strictly offer an ecological history of the trail to Abilene, Kansas that was used from 1867 to 1885, Sherow follows other trails as well. In addition to the ecological historical analysis of the Southern Great Plains, he includes a business biography of cattleman Joseph McCoy—the great gambler from the book's title—as well as a historical analysis of the role played by Texas cattle in the rise of the Great Beef Trust created by Armor, Swift, Wilson, et al. The result is a rich and deep journey through a relatively brief yet historically significant transitory period in American history.

Sherow's work joins the minor renaissance happening in the history of cattle and beef in the United States, in which historians have begun showing the central importance of beef as an industrial food item in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He contributes a book to this literature that not only draws on a variety of important and new primary sources, but also offers new interpretive frameworks for understanding the history by stressing the ecological history of the trail. His narrative begins in New York City as its demand for meat outstripped the city's ability to safely produce it for the city's main market. This created an opportunity for McCoy, who, along with his brothers, set out to find a way to ship Texas beef to the city, which was the largest meat market in the country. McCoy picks Abilene in Kansas as the solution, deciding to establish a railhead for shipping cattle to Chicago and New York for slaughter. From there, Sherow explores the ecological transition that humans cause by driving cattle through the southern plains, focusing on how this disrupted Native Americans as they themselves struggled to replace nomadic bison hunting. After that, McCoy's attempts to chase the meat industry's trend toward cold storage shipping takes center stage. Finally, Sherow concludes with an exploration of the no-win situation Native Americans found themselves in as, first, Texas cattle denuded their lands of grass and, second, they faced allotments that stripped them of their ability to ranch and farm autonomously.

*The Chisholm Trail* offers a dense and complex history of the trail from Texas to Kansas that is fit for more advanced students, particularly for university classes on environmental or western U.S. history. The first chapter, which covers New York City, would make for a good single source for the messy nature of meat production and consumption in an urban environment in the 1860s. It is a vivid chapter that should spark interesting, if stomach churning, discussions of food history and the problems of urban living after the industrial revolution. Two other chapters might serve a similar purpose. One chapter on cattle drives and weather conveys life of the trail as a cowboy in a way that will dispel myths and half-truths common in media. Finally, the chapter on Native Americans in Indian Territory and their relationship to cattle offers an important overview of the rough transition that the tribes went through as they adopted to the post-Civil War period of enclosing Euro-American farming.

As a teaching resource, Sherow's work offers two benefits, but should still be used with some caution. The book bursts with excellent maps, figures, and images that can be adopted for lectures or used in classroom activities. Particularly, there are a set of maps of the main paths cattle took from Texas to Chicago and New York that show the geography of the beef industry as it began to span the continent. The forty-two pictures are also a good resource for illustrating the events covered in the book. The other benefit as a teaching resource is to provide a good example of the economic transformation of the United States after the Civil War that ties cattle, the environment, the shifting political realities of Indian Territory, and meat to larger historical contexts. The caution comes from this work making a specific historical intervention—with a complex argument—in the history of the beef industry of the late-1800s that may not be important to the classroom. Nevertheless, Sherow offers a lot worth chewing on.

*University of Missouri-Columbia*

Chris Deutsch

*Long Journey to Justice: El Salvador, the United States, and Struggles against Empire*, by Molly Todd. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2021. 278 pages. \$79.95, cloth.

Can ordinary people make change locally and globally? Can they dismantle global systemic structures that create and uphold inequalities? These are questions Molly Todd seeks to answer in *Long Journey to Justice*. Todd traces the emergence of U.S.-El Salvador sister cities and how they challenged U.S. intervention in El Salvador to examine how ordinary citizens in both countries imagined and co-constructed “viable alternatives to exclusionary systems and imperial relations” (p. 7). Ordinary U.S. citizens became involved in the Central American solidarity movement during the 1970s and 1980s after learning about the U.S. government’s involvement in fueling counterinsurgencies throughout the region. While solidarity took many forms, Todd focuses on what she calls “grassroots sistering,” which sought to create a horizontal and mutually beneficial relationship between communities in El Salvador and the United States that included political and human rights work.

Sistering is not new in the United States, and Todd’s case study highlights the negotiation between imperial projects and transnational activism. While sistering during the Alliance for Progress years was used for developmentalism and modernization of so-called Third World countries, Todd argues that grassroots sistering opposed such goals and instead, as the title suggests, was a long journey to justice. In the first two chapters, Todd focuses on the war years and considers how individuals challenge imperial practices of solidarity. Instead of solidarity that sidelined Salvadoran actors fighting for their right to live in a repopulated zone, for example, Todd highlights how Salvadorans took charge in educating the U.S. public about the atrocities of the war. She also explains the limits of solidarity. Despite sister activists’ desires to oppose north-south power dynamics, tensions

arose. However, Salvadorans defined their own terms and “pushed against any US-formulated procedures they deemed too constrictive” (p. 98), and U.S. sister cities happily agreed to their terms. The last two chapters move beyond the war era to demonstrate the continued need for solidarity despite El Salvador’s transition to democracy. From a grassroots perspective, Todd argues, the 1992 Peace Accords did not bring peace, but instead more obstacles for Salvadorans in repopulated areas. Focusing on the fight for voting rights, social services, and land and agrarian issues, these chapters highlight how neoliberal models clashed with alternative development models created during the war, also demonstrating the extent to which grassroots sistering aided and supported Salvadorans’ goal of building a just society. Ultimately, this book demonstrates how the U.S.-El Salvador Sister City Network inverted traditional power relations and created a circular movement of solidarity, one that moves north to south, but also south to north.

As the first book-length study of the Sister City movement, *Long Journey to Justice* can be incredibly useful for courses on Latin America, Central American revolutions, solidarity, and U.S.-Latin American relations. College-level students will find the book accessible and engaging, as it is filled with stories of ordinary people doing extraordinary things. Of particular interest for students and educators of U.S.-Latin American relations would be Chapter 2, which juxtaposes the government and the people of both countries. While the U.S. government was funneling one million dollars a day in military aid to El Salvador, U.S. advocates challenged their country’s imperial power and aided Salvadorans seeking a life of dignity and basic rights. Students can also gain valuable insight on the power and challenges of the archive. With unprecedented access to personal archives of sister city members, Todd gives us a glimpse of “‘hidden archives’ of the late cold war era” (p. 19). While Todd recognizes the asymmetries in the historical record of sistering where the north dominates and the lack of comparable collections in El Salvador due in part to security reasons, the reader may long for a deeper discussion about the role of archiving in grassroots sistering. What can the soon-to-be-accessible archive of the U.S.-El Salvador sistering network and their Historic Memory Working Group reveal about researchers’ responsibility to communities they study? What are the consequences in sharing personal archives that detail the very real struggle of Salvadorans when they cannot access it because of the language barrier? Is there an effort to translate them? What is the researcher’s role in making information accessible to communities they study? I imagine these questions could not have been answered fully at the time of publication, but it does allow for fruitful conversation about our moral responsibility as scholars of all levels.

In her prologue, Todd argues that “historical thinking can—and should— influence our understanding of and response to contemporary issues” (p. xiii). In the midst of a pandemic, of global social unrest, including in El Salvador, these words should be taken seriously. A close examination of how U.S.-El Salvador sister cities have created and maintained a mutually beneficial relationship actively engaging in creating a more just world can help us tackle present-day issues.

*The Black Civil War Soldier: A Visual History of Conflict and Citizenship*, by Deborah Willis. New York: New York University Press, 2021. 256 pages. \$35.00, cloth. \$35.00, electronic.

During the Civil War era, civilians and soldiers wrote scores of letters to maintain familial bonds, petition government officials, and report on the events of the day. Nineteenth-century Americans, seeking to immortalize their role in the conflict, sat before photographers and projected their ideas of self. Civil War America's remarkable record of words and images compelled Dr. Deborah Willis to write her engaging book, *The Black Civil War Soldier: A Visual History of Conflict and Citizenship*. Willis artfully entwines letters and photographs to focus on "iconic moments of the war and the role black Americans played in shaping the visual narrative of freedom" (p. viii). She works to expand the public memory of the Civil War and, by so doing, contributes to a growing body of scholarship that focuses on the experiences of black refugees, soldiers, and citizens and their contributions to the United States war effort.

Chronologically driven, the book's five chapters primarily cover the period from 1860 to 1866. Each chapter includes a nicely curated series of transcribed letters quoted in their entirety, thereby exposing readers to the texture and tone of writing from the Civil War era. Willis deliberately draws upon a diverse range of white United States military officers and black soldiers, though not to the exclusion of women. A host of images, primarily studio portraits, accompany the textual sources. The book maintains a brisk pace that will engage readers by illuminating rich visual documentation and incorporating remarkable letters.

*The Black Civil War Soldier* would be a highly useful addition to classes on United States history, especially at the high school or college levels. Teachers working at the levels of fourth through eighth grade could curate assignments around elements of the book. For example, teachers might pair a letter from and image of a black soldier to pose questions about manliness, presentations of self, and concepts of nation. Additionally, the author makes arguments that lend themselves to in-class discussions. Willis' charge, "To the soldiers, the very act of sitting for portraits represented freedom," might provoke a fascinating debate about concepts such as freedom and representations of self (p. 138).

Willis' thoughtful approach creates a work that mimics a curated museum exhibit. Accordingly, the book is highly utilitarian and suggests a variety of uses in classroom settings. Given the extensive number of primary sources, Willis' book provides teachers with a treasure trove of materials. The words and images will compel students to consider how we construct and reconstruct memory, write history, and expand the American narrative. Indeed, in Willis' words, "Rediscovered voices and photographs help us grapple with a history that has often excluded stories about the bravery of black soldiers and the uncelebrated work of black women teachers and nurses" (p. 210).

I applaud Willis' scholarly perspective and admire the resulting book greatly. At points, though, the study would have benefited from deeper engagement with the existing secondary sources, especially the recent proliferation of works. Confederate soldier Andrew M. Chandler and his enslaved manservant, Silas, for

example, are featured at the conclusion of Chapter 1 (pp. 44-48). Therein, the text rehearses a wartime record and postwar stories that Kevin Levin has disputed, finding little evidence for claims likely crafted by white Chandlers to advance Lost Cause mythology (see Levin's *Searching for Black Confederates: The Civil War's Most Persistent Myth*, pp. 37-38 and 121-122). In other instances, familiar voices (Benjamin Butler and Robert Gould Shaw) and famous events (Fort Wagner and Petersburg) drive key parts of the narrative, thereby retreading worn ground. With that said, classroom assignments could juxtapose a traditional textbook with Willis' telling, or further investigate the stories of Andrew and Silas Chandler.

Willis makes incredible use of the archive and has consulted many of the foundational texts, thus offering an accessible, smart study. The book's application in the classroom is undeniable and will do much to broaden students' perspectives and cause them to rethink old narratives. Ultimately, Willis succeeds admirably in a desire for readers "to see and hear the world of the black soldiers and the wives and mothers of the Civil War" (p. x). *The Black Civil War Soldier* is a remarkable achievement and a book highly recommended to students and teachers.

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*Island on Fire: The Revolt That Ended Slavery in the British Empire*, by Tom Zoellner. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2022. 363 pages. \$29.95, cloth. \$18.95, paper. \$29.95, electronic.

Samuel Sharpe's uprising of northwestern Jamaica's enslaved population between December 1831 and January 1832 stands as a landmark in African diasporic history. Led by Sharpe, an enslaved man and a Baptist deacon, the uprising remains central to scholarship on the causes of abolishing the British system of slavery in 1833. Though Sharpe and his confidants had planned an assault to abolish slavery and colonialism in Jamaica immediately, the slave owners did not relinquish slavery immediately. The British abolition came into effect in 1834. In Jamaica and most other colonies, enslaved people six years and older faced several more years of forced labor in an apprenticeship system that continued until 1838.

In his captivating book, Tom Zoellner discusses the Samuel Sharpe uprising in enviable detail, though occasionally his anecdotes about white characters seem indulgent and do not necessarily increase critical knowledge of the most consequential revolt against slavery in the British Empire. Regardless, educators in high schools and upward will likely find Zoellner's account of the uprising illuminating and will perhaps see tremendous value in discussing the similarities between the circumstances that shaped resistance to slavery and racism around the Americas. Included are reflections on connections between Sharpe's uprising and the uprising led by Nat Turner in Southampton County, Virginia. Both uprisings, occurring five months apart, highlighted the enslaved people's sense of solidarity and the importance of Christianity and English literacy to their resistance. Sharpe read the Bible to his followers to inspire them to resist and

convinced them that British monarch William IV granted them freedom, but the slave owners withheld this.

Knowledge of such propaganda or rumors of freedom spread by enslaved people points educators towards themes and perspectives connecting Black resistance in the Caribbean and North America. These connections remain critical to the Black freedom struggle that continues to shape human rights movements to widen and fulfill the claims to democracy in the Atlantic world. The solidarity that enslaved people used in organizing resistance developed around their shared exploitation and built on their African identity and Christianization. Zoellner observes that Sharpe read the Bible to denounce slavery, racism, sexual exploitation, and gender discrimination and was drawn to Galatians 3:28: “for ye are all one in Christ” (p. 80). The Black struggle of the twentieth century and later, prefigured by the agency of the enslaved, illustrates the connection through the use of scripture as part of resisting racial injustice and many other social, political, and economic disparities.

Zoellner gives the uprising a broader and more detailed treatment. Even though his thesis that Sharpe’s uprising was central to the abolition of Britain’s slavery repeats a principal argument of prior scholarship, he uses researchers such as Jamaican Marxist Richard Hart to significant effect. Hart’s 1980 book was aptly titled *Slaves Who Abolished Slavery*. Zoellner provides a refreshing discussion of the origins of the uprising using overlooked testimony from Sharpe’s confidants, such as Robert Gardiner, Thomas Dove, and George Taylor. In addition, Zoellner successfully shows how Sharpe’s struggle energized abolitionists to not only overthrow slavery in the British Empire, but also extend the effort to the antebellum United States. Sharpe’s uprising is also known as the “Baptist War” and “Christmas Uprising” (p. 272). Previous scholarship limited the uprising’s contextualization to Black Christianity’s rise in the late eighteenth century and the Enlightenment period. Zoellner incorporates sixteenth-century figures, such as Queen Elizabeth I, whose decaying teeth appeared to epitomize England’s appetite for sugar, arguably the *raison d’être* for most of its plantation slavery and attendant atrocities in the Americas.

Forced testimony from the enslaved people uncovers critical objectives that include Sharpe’s vision for the transformation of colonial Jamaica into a Black republic. This objective resonates with the plans to remove “the white and free people” and elect Black governors (p. 85). For a good reason, Sharpe and his compatriots’ plans for bloodshed or hopes that whites would abandon the island in fright remained ambiguous. The enslaved people gave confusing testimony about their battle strategies that kept this aspect of their plans obscure. As Zoellner records, while some of the enslaved people “stubbornly held to the idea that the intent was to shed no blood,” others declared plans for acts of violence (p. 157). Nevertheless, using the enslaved people’s testimony allows Zoellner to probe objectives anticipating state violence to thwart a nationalist struggle that reminded many slave owners of the Haitian Revolution of 1791-1804.