

Reviews

Liner Notes for the Revolution: The Intellectual Life of Black Feminist Sound, by Daphne A. Brooks. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2023. 598 pages. \$41.00, cloth. \$24.95, paper. \$24.95, electronic.

Can we imagine “pop (culture) life with Black women at its full-stop center rather than as the opening act, the accompanying act, or the afterthought?” (p. 27). This is the question that Daphne Brooks, Professor of African American Studies, American Studies, Women’s Gender and Sexuality Studies, and Music at Yale University asks and answers with her dazzling *Liner Notes for the Revolution*, in which she excavates and produces a new archive of black female sound. As Brooks charts the “magnitude of this dazzling and gripping work” (p. 435), she illuminates how black women artists—from Mamie Smith and Nicki Minaj to those who have never received recognition—produced modernity and resisted dominant representations of black womanhood, refusing their own marginalization. Brooks reads black women performers as both producing archives and as archives themselves, “as the innovators of performances and recordings that stood in *for* and *as* the memory of a people” (p. 4). *Liner Notes* also makes music criticism central—from celebrated white music critics like Ellen Willis and Greil Marcus to women who you might never have heard of like blues and jazz historian Rosetta Reitz. Brooks’ method is to “*listen to the listeners listening*” (p. 13, emphasis in original), who “documented and produced divergent knowledges about Black women artists” (p. 35). Brooks thus does more than “simply” recover and recuperate black women singers as critical to U.S. culture and modernity. She does more than explain how black women singers have been heralded and erased at the same time. And she does more than recover a remarkable archive of music criticism about black women performers.

Liner Notes for the Revolution has two main subsections. In “Side A,” Brooks focuses more on black women performers whose work tends to be known (Janelle Monae, Mary Lou Williams, Bessie Smith, and Abbey Lincoln, to name just a few), and on both famous and obscure collectors and critics whose work illuminates a “trajectory of insurgent feminist music writing” (p. 47). “Side B,” as its name

suggests, focuses more on those whose artistry most readers may not know (Elvie Thomas, for example), and on absences in the archives. In dialogue with this recuperation work, Brooks foregrounds critics, writers, and fans who have sought to recover and remember “forgotten” traditions and sonic practices; here, her “cast” ranges from Toni Morrison and Lorraine Hansberry, to Brooks’ mother Juanita Watson Brooks, to contemporary black women performers like Rhiannon Giddens, Cecile McLorin Salvant, and Carrie Mae Weems—all of whom engage with memory, history, and loss. Building on the landmark work of Hazel Carby, Brooks reads all of the black women she writes about as intellectuals and as significant, not just because of their popularity. Beyoncé—perhaps the most popular and iconic of performers—and Geeshie Wiley—a long-overlooked blues singer from the 1930s—both matter to the history of black women’s intellectual labor.

These and other women “capture the attention of our cultural imaginaries” as they “constitute our modern sonic lives” (p. 434). The book’s organization and content thus challenge divides that many people use to make sense of popular culture, as well as divides between musical genres and academic subdisciplines. Indeed, in this generous book, Brooks theorizes and analyzes, riffs and chats, and does all with a seeming effortlessness as she shares insights into everything from Frankfurt School theorists and Afrofuturism to *Lemonade*. Brooks is as generous to scholars and music critics as she is to her readers; the notes alone include gems, and are a tribute to criticism and scholarship as collaborative forms of activism.

Liner Notes for the Revolution is not an easy book. The ambitious ways in which it pulls so many conversations, disciplines, and approaches together and its nonlinear approach might make it harder to incorporate into a syllabus. Each reader is likely to have their favorite section or chapter. But whether or not one assigns *Liner Notes for the Revolution* in its entirety, this book is generative and inviting. That Brooks draws on music critics across eras, “ordinary” fans, collectors, and contemporary theorists and scholars alongside performers; that she puts them in conversation and finds points of convergence and divergence; that she does so with grace, creativity, and flashes of brilliance on just about every page—this is what makes *Liner Notes* inspired and inspiring, a rare work whose insights reverberate well beyond the academy and well after you read the last page. It is a book that requires re-reading and re-thinking... and, of course, listening to the women whose sounds Brooks brings to life so vividly.

Rutgers University–Newark

Ruth Feldstein

White War, Black Soldiers: Two African Accounts of World War I, by Bakary Diallo and Lamine Senghor, edited by George Robb, translated by Nancy Erber and William Peniston. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2021. 189 pages. \$49.00, cloth. \$17.00, paper. \$9.99, electronic.

Despite the First World War’s unprecedented suffering and destruction, far-ranging consequences, and worldwide scope, it is remembered almost exclusively through European eyes. Although millions of Africans and Asians who fought and died

during this conflict, among the 6,000 wartime memoirs eventually published, only one—Bakary Diallo's *Force-Bonté (Strength and Goodness)*—provides an alternative perspective.

The editor and translators of *White War, Black Soldiers* seek to redress this Eurocentric emphasis by making Diallo's 1926 memoir accessible to English-speaking readers and combining it with a political essay by another early Senegalese author, Lamine Senghor. This choice is interesting and fortuitous. Both Diallo and Senghor served in the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais* on the western front, both were severely wounded during the fighting, and both confronted European racism by asserting African equality. Yet their accounts of their wartime experiences were radically different and illustrate the range of interpretations among African veterans.

These compelling selections are complemented by an insightful forty-page introduction placing both men, as well as hundreds of thousands of their silent comrades, within their particular historical context. The introduction highlights important themes, including colonial rule in French West Africa, the role of the Colonial Army, the impact of the First World War in Africa, the unprecedented mobilization of thousands of Africans as combatants to Europe, the popular image of these soldiers in France, racial politics during the postwar era, and the vogue of things African and books about the war.

Bakary Diallo's memoir is indeed unique, providing a fascinating glimpse into the religions and ethics of old Africa. Though nominally a Muslim, as a Fulbe transhumant pastoralist and a shepherd, he embraced many religious and social precepts of his ancestors, including an animist belief in universal life forces; the Fulbe code of honor, shame, and restraint (*pulaaku*); and a faith in the natural goodness of people (*molsdiéré*). Severely wounded in 1914, he spent much of the remainder of the conflict convalescing among French civilians, who, because he became fluent in their language and was a decorated veteran of the Battle of the Marne, reciprocated his admiration. He also identified with the universalism of French republican ideology—especially the concepts of equality and fraternity, with which he countered prevailing European pseudo-scientific racist precepts—and called upon the French to honor their revolutionary tradition. In so doing, he adopted a reformist political position similar to Blaise Diagne, the Deputy from Senegal, that African citizenship—and with it liberty and equality—were achievable within a French colonial context. Initially lauded by the French press, this viewpoint eventually discredited *Force-Bonté* in the eyes of later critics, who accused Diallo of naiveté at best and collaboration with the colonial regime at worst.

Lamine Senghor's brief historical allegory, *The Rape of a Country* (1927), places him at the opposite end of this political spectrum. A Serer from the coastal enclave of Joal and a pre-war clerk for the French commercial firm *Maurel et Prom*, Senghor was coerced into military service, severely wounded by gas on the Aisne in 1917, and, remaining in France after the war where he married his French *marraine de guerre*, became one of the first anti-colonial African political activists. Aligned with other French leftists and ex-patriot Communists (including Ho Chi Minh), he contributed to their journal, *Le Paria*, and denounced false egalitarian wartime promises of the French government and Diagne while calling for overthrow of the imperial system. Senghor tells a simple story: generous but

naïve Africans welcome European merchants who, in turn, conquer them with the aid of African traitors seeking wealth. Thereafter, war breaks out between French and German *bourgeoisie*, with French republicans promising Africans citizenship in exchange for military service (and reneging once the war was won). Senghor's story concludes with both European and African "slaves" making common cause against the exploitative system, leading to revolutionary liberation and the death knell of colonialism.

Although Diallo was an autodidact and Senghor received only an elementary education, both men were differentiated from the vast majority of African soldiers who were much more isolated from the French. In this respect, their experiences, while fundamentally similar to those of other African combatants, are also likely unrepresentative in significant ways. This, however, is a minor concern. *White War, Black Soldiers* is readily accessible to a general audience, as well as students in secondary schools and university. Through their efforts to provide African vantage points about the impact of the First World War on their lives, the authors have put us deeply in their debt.

University of Michigan-Dearborn

Joe Lunn

Bulldozed and Betrayed: Louisiana and the Stolen Elections of 1876, by Adam Fairclough. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2021. 320 pages. \$45.00, cloth. \$45.00, electronic.

While Adam Fairclough discusses the disputed election of 1876, the primary focus of *Bulldozed and Betrayed* is the Potter Committee convened by the House of Representatives in 1878. This committee, brought forward by the House's Democratic majority, was supposed to investigate just what happened in the 1876 presidential election. Briefly, Democrats hoped to characterize how the Republicans fraudulently won the election, while the Republicans planned to demonstrate how the Democrats plotted to steal the election.

The book is a part of Reconstruction History, albeit, the very end of Reconstruction. Fairclough does not rehash Reconstruction history, but instead focuses on the 1876 presidential election and, specifically, the elections in Louisiana. Overall, while there is not much new about the 1876 election, this certainly adds great details to the events in Louisiana. Additionally, in Louisiana, it is not only about the presidential election, but also the gubernatorial and congressional races. A continuing question for many of the Republicans was how Republican Rutherford B. Hayes could win Louisiana while the same vote "allowed" the Democratic candidate for governor to "win" and the Democrats to "capture" the state legislature.

Fairclough's concern is the Potter Committee, including how it came about, who its members were, and who testified. This concerns a very distinct time period rather than spanning the Reconstruction period. For courses focused on a more thorough account of Reconstruction or even that of the 1876 presidential election,

this book might not be applicable. As a whole, the book may be too detailed for secondary and college survey courses, but would work better with upper-division or graduate classes. Keeping track of all the characters, their election antics, and the following testimony can be challenging. It certainly reveals a number of character flaws in many participants, some of whom are famous nineteenth-century politicians. Nevertheless, the author has done an excellent job in going to the sources. During a pandemic, it is remarkable Fairclough could finish his book. Overall, the research is first-rate. The Potter Committee published over 3,000 pages of testimony, and the numerous newspapers that Fairclough read is mind-boggling. Charting who was involved, what their political party was (at any particular time), and whether or not they were lying, performing, or telling the truth had to be difficult for Fairclough.

Fairclough's first three chapters cover the Democrats stealing the 1876 election, the visiting Republicans (called "visiting statesmen" by the author) stealing the election back, and then the bipartisan rage against Hayes. It is hard to believe that the 1876 election could have been any worse than what it was. For many in the Republican Party, loyalty to party was not necessarily primary. And there were those like Benjamin Butler, who was disgusted with Hayes' abandonment of the Louisiana Republicans. Democrats were so corrupt and violent in Louisiana that it is hard to believe that President Ulysses S. Grant would not have done more to protect Louisiana Republicans, black and white. The author concludes that it was politically inexpedient for Grant to send soldiers back to Louisiana. Demonstrating the violence in Louisiana, one witness to the Potter Committee testified that "no white man was ever convicted of murdering a Black man" (p. 164).

The primary players are James Anderson, a lowly and lying Republican; John Sherman of Ohio, a major Republican in the Potter Committee investigation; and Benjamin Butler, another Republican and the star inquisitor, according to Fairclough. My favorite participant was Agnes Jenks, who gave Butler all he could handle by testifying that she had forged the so-called important Sherman letter. Jenks may have made Butler sorry he had ever insulted New Orleans women during the Civil War. The author does a good job in handling the Democrats' political faux pax when Butler received Western Union telegrams sent by Democrats to Oregon in an apparent attempt to buy one Oregon elector for Samuel Tilden. The Democrats almost escaped embarrassment. Several thousand telegrams had been returned to Western Union and burned, but over 700 remained. The big surprise was the numerous coded messages in the telegrams, and Butler and the Republicans jumped on them. While the telegrams were sent directly to Democratic candidate Tilden's home in New York City, Tilden largely remained silent and claimed he knew nothing of the ciphers or the contents of the telegrams.

Bulldozed and Betrayed is a good and well-written addition to Reconstruction history that holds your attention, even if you are amazed that Reconstruction could come to an end in such a sordid way. Many readers may remain convinced that the 1876 presidential election is still our worst!

Upsetting Food: Three Eras of Food Protest in the United States, by Jeffrey Haydu. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2021. 224 pages. \$104.50, cloth. \$34.95, paper. \$34.95, electronic.

In *Upsetting Food*, sociologist Jeffrey Haydu draws upon the work of sociologists of social movements (a group to which he also belongs) as well as historians and other food studies scholars to tell a sweeping story about food reform efforts in the United States from the nineteenth century to the present. He begins with an examination of the organizing work of whole-grain bread advocate Sylvester Graham in the 1830s and 1840s (Chapter 2). Graham famously argued that bland and homemade food produced moral and virtuous citizens. From there, Haydu overviews the efforts of Progressive Era reformers to draw on government oversight to ensure food purity and upon science to offer advice about nutritious and economical ways to eat (Chapter 3). Haydu ends his historical case studies with an examination of the organic food movement between 1960-1990, a wide-ranging network that drew upon the efforts of both reformers seeking “natural” foods as a means of disassociating themselves from modern consumerism and technology, as well as the food producers—both big and small—who stepped in to satisfy a growing interest in foods marketed as healthy (Chapter 4). Finally, he concludes his chronological overview with a short examination of contemporary food politics (Chapter 5), demonstrating that although activists today differ in their emphasis on a variety of interlinked political issues, ranging from environmentalism to community health, enthusiasm for “sustainable” or “local” food is a common trope in food movement rhetoric (p. 136).

Haydu’s bibliography is a testament to his reliance on the work of food studies stalwarts such as Warren Belasco, Laura Shapiro, and Harvey Levenstein. However, Haydu’s work goes beyond synthesis. Rather than treating the reform movements he discusses as separate and discrete historical moments, he argues that together they comprise “a single, recurring movement” (p. 7). Haydu identifies significant differences among activist perspectives during each time period, acknowledging, for example, that while Graham believed that a proper diet could produce middle-class respectability, some organic food activists saw dietary choice as a way to escape from and critique middle-class conformity. Yet Haydu also identifies meaningful commonalities between the three historical periods he studies. These observations demonstrate continuity and help make his case for a contiguous long movement, which arose as a set of responses to various changes in production in a capitalist food system. He shows that consumer anxiety has been a constant throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as activists agitated for greater access to what they regarded as safe and nutritious food. At each moment, Haydu argues, reformers charged women with playing a key role in improving the food supply. Another common thread he identifies in the food movement from Graham up through the present is an emphasis on the “functional constituents of food” and its nutritive value, rather than on culinary traditions (p. 126). Although he does not fully mine that observation, he has laid the groundwork to enter the scholarly conversation about the nature of “American” food.

Given the breadth of chronological scope, the excellent synthesis of existing scholarship, and the care with which he describes both his approach and his argument, *Upsetting Food* would have great utility in the food history classroom. Disaggregated, each of the core chapters covers a short, readable overview of a significant moment in food history; in combination, the book would enable students to identify continuities and disruptions across time, while also making productive comparisons with current food activism.

Food studies scholars will not find much information that is unfamiliar here, though the book's novel structure helps shed new light on widely known histories. Haydu is the clearest about the insights he wants the book to yield to scholars in his own subfield of the sociology of social movements, hoping they will find value in tracing "single genres of movement over extended periods of time," an approach that will demonstrate that "diffusion [of cultural scripts] happens over... longer periods of time" (p. 132). Haydu's emphasis on the interpretive value of analyzing social movements across time may not be as novel to historians as it might be to some readers, but his concluding point that food is not only a necessity, but also a form of "pleasure" that invites "fellowship across social boundaries," highlights the importance of work like this (p. 142). Food can transcend boundaries—including academic disciplines, which Haydu crosses with great ease and with a successful result.

University of North Texas

Jennifer Jensen Wallach

Unfree Markets: The Slaves' Economy and the Rise of Capitalism in South Carolina, by Justine Hill Edwards. New York: Columbia University Press, 2021. 228 pages. \$145.00, cloth. \$35.00, paper. \$34.99, electronic.

Justine Hill Edwards' *Unfree Markets* is a remarkable combination of social and business history that documents how enslaved people in South Carolina routinely participated in commerce. Historians have long known that enslaved people engaged in independent production and could buy and sell commodities, but historians have sometimes treated such activity as exceptional. Hill Edwards creatively uses a variety of sources—including court records, account books, newspaper articles, legislative petitions, and slave narratives—to highlight the ubiquity of buying and selling among the enslaved. Using funds from self-hire, overwork, or the sale of independent production, enslaved people in South Carolina made their own commercial activity a central feature of enslavement. While enslaved people engaged in commercial activity in the colonial and revolutionary period, Hill Edwards argues that such activity became even more important with the growth of capitalism and cotton production. Charleston was the epicenter of slave commerce, but slave commerce also became increasingly common in plantation districts. Hill Edwards, for example, provides several examples of country stores that advanced credit to enslaved customers so that they could purchase items such as food, clothes, tobacco, coffee, and liquor.

Hill Edwards not only documents the presence of slave commerce, but she incisively analyzes its contradictory meanings. Enslaved families often embraced commercial activities as way of supplementing meager rations, establishing a limited degree of autonomy, or acquiring small luxuries. In a few cases, enslaved workers could use their earnings to buy themselves out of servitude. While acknowledging the positive elements of slave commerce, Hill Edwards never romanticizes these market activities. As South Carolina slavery grew increasingly capitalistic in the decades before the Civil War, enslavers often found the commercial pursuits of the enslaved a profitable means of control and manipulation. By providing opportunities for the enslaved to earn money through overwork or the sale of their own production, enslavers could force slaves to buy more of their own food and clothing. In some case, plantations became company stores in which slaves could only buy and sell from their enslavers. Merchants generally supported the commercial activities of the enslaved, as they could secure an inexpensive supply of produce and sometimes sell goods at inflated prices. Particularly daring or desperate slaves sometimes sold storekeepers and merchants stolen goods, which connected slave commerce with a shadowy illegal trade.

Its connection to illicit and unregulated trade became one of the many reasons some white South Carolinians opposed commerce among enslaved peoples. In many cases, the opposition had a significant class component. In Charleston, for example, white artisans and mechanics resented enslaved workers who hired out their own time and became a source of competition. These workers—and many yeoman farmers as well—believed that slave commerce threatened the racial order that was the foundation of slavery. If enslaved people could freely sell their labor and buy their own goods, then what became of white supremacy? A related concern was that slave commerce presented a threat to social order, especially in the aftermath of Denmark Vesey's alleged 1822 conspiracy to lead a Charleston slave revolt. Vesey, after all, was an enslaved artisan who used his earnings from self-hire to buy a winning lottery ticket, which then allowed him to purchase his freedom and then plan his revolt. Even some prominent enslavers opposed slave commerce because it represented a loss of control and authority. Organizations such as the Savannah River Anti-Slave Traffick Association and the Monticello Planter's Society actively called for tighter regulation of slave commerce. Yet no matter how many petitions and pleas it received, the South Carolina legislature remained ambivalent about interfering with the prerogatives and profits of enslavers who supported slave commerce. The controversy over slave commerce added to the divisions and anxieties within South Carolina, which helped fuel the secessionist movement. The radical secessionist Robert Barnwell Rhett, in fact, believed that illicit trafficking of enslaved people and abolitionism were the two great evils facing slaveholding states. In different ways, slave commerce and abolitionism demonstrated the potential agency of enslaved people.

Hill Edwards provides an impeccably researched and intellectually satisfying account of slave commerce that clearly exposes the contradictions of slavery. It is probably too specialized for introductory college courses, but its clear prose and compelling evidence make it an excellent choice for more specialized upper-

division classes on slavery and the Civil War. It gives teachers and students an excellent example of a deeply researched and persuasively argued monograph that deepens our understanding of slavery.

University of California, Santa Barbara

John Majewski

The American Presidency: An Institutional Approach to Executive Politics, by William G. Howell. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2023. 664 pages. \$99.95, cloth. \$45.00, paper. \$45.00, electronic.

The most important decision that any instructor of a college-level survey of the American Presidency must make is their organizational theme. One choice is to structure the course around Article III of the Constitution and the relevant executive amendments to focus the student's attention on how the presidency has evolved within the structures of the nation's most fundamental body of law. A second choice is to emphasize the personal and psychological behavior of each individual president, studying how that makeup may have affected decisions and attitudes toward political power. A third option is to study the growth of the presidency as a part of the organization of American government, and study how presidents have both affected and been affected by the growth of that organization. (If you are starting your career in the classroom—take a piece of advice and don't try to structure the survey course by trying to emphasize all three.)

William G. Howell, Professor of Political Science at The University of Chicago, has written a textbook that follows the third school of thought. In *The American Presidency: An Institutional Approach to Executive Politics*, Howell argues that "The most striking features of executive politics...are *institutional*" and are "deeply embedded in a massive administrative apparatus" (p. xx, emphasis in original). Howell "looks skeptically upon arguments rooted in psychology and evidence based in anecdotes" (p. xx) and instead tells the reader, "Rather than scrutinizing the *president*, this textbook analyzes the *presidency*" (p. 1, emphasis in original).

The Institutional argument is not original to Howell, and he gives fair credit in his prodigious notes to scholars who preceded him. Where Howell breaks new ground is to base an entire textbook around this belief. Some of the most frequently adopted texts are unabashedly behaviorist or constitutional in their moorings. Now there is a text for those who wish to teach that the American Presidency is, by its very definition, an institution and cannot be either taught or studied by looking at the law or a president's background alone. To be sure, Howell structures his text in a manner common to virtually every text on the presidency (chapters on the constitutional structure of the office; electoral politics; transitions; relations with Congress, the bureaucracy, and the judiciary; unilateral presidency; influence of the media, public opinion, and policy), yet hews closely to his theme—that college students must familiarize themselves with the intricacies of the executive office. Thus, the usual short, canned biographical sidebars on the presidents that grace most textbooks are absent. In their place are well-crafted analyses of the

structure and inner workings of the executive branch and its relationship to both government and society (my favorite, which I have not seen in any text, is the eminently useful section on the rise of Scientific Management and the streamlining of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era presidencies). The arguments are written in a style and level of language that is well suited for the college undergraduate and supported with all the necessary evidentiary support that one would expect from a good text—in other words, it isn't just a "thought piece." Howell's strong choice of charts, graphs, and photos add to the undergraduate appeal.

One might think that such a text is thus meant to serve students of political science or government, rather than those of us who teach history. But Howell includes a unique and student-centered set of inserts, titled "Historical Transformations," in his chapters that place these institutional developments into a thoughtful historical context. He also has appendixed the entirety of the relevant *Federalist Papers* on the executive (nos. 69-73). I would have liked the entire Constitution, not just Articles I-III, appendixed—after all, there were a few amendments that we all teach that had to do with the executive.

For almost five decades, I have been one of those historians who has taught his students that the best way to approach the presidency is as an institution, not as a list of men about whom we should learn an immense amount of personal (read, useless) trivia, so that the student might do well in the "American Presidents" category on *Jeopardy*. I am pleased to find that there is now a textbook that helps me to teach my point. For that, Howell's text comes highly recommended.

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John Robert Greene

Doing Women's History in Public: A Handbook for Interpretation at Museums and Historic Sites, by Heather A. Huyck. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020. 266 pages. \$87.00, cloth. \$41.00, paper. \$39.00, electronic.

Heather Huyck's *Doing Women's History in Public* calls for a paradigm shift that reimagines women in *all* historical museums and sites. Huyck's central argument is that these historical spaces must consider women's history, because women participated in all aspects of the past. Although "Historic sites and museums vary," Huyck demonstrates that "Every historic site and museum has women's history, although some ignore it or render it nearly invisible" (p. 5, emphasis in original). Even the most seemingly male spaces—such as the prison at Alcatraz Island—included women. How do you get to these hidden stories? *Doing Women's History in Public* offers a roadmap for finding such lost female spaces. The work isn't easy, and requires deep digging and innovative approaches that are thoroughly detailed in this book.

The first part of the book lays out Huyck's larger vision: deep conversations between historians, museums, and publics benefit from the incorporation of decades of work in women's history. Huyck identifies this step as the recognition

of “significance.” Understanding the importance of women’s presence in the past requires attention to every detail of museum work, from ideas to completion, and the second part of the book illustrates how to find examples of women’s history in primary, secondary, and tertiary sources (written histories, oral histories, pictures, government documents, and more). Huyck calls this developing a deep “knowledge base,” and her step-by-step approach also includes best practices in public history. For example, Huyck illustrates how organizations create “tertiary literature” (unpublished research collected at specific sites) to provide in-depth analysis of “tangible resources and the people who once lived there” (p. 29).

The third part of the book examines these “tangible resources”—the places, buildings, and objects that are foundational to museums and historic sites. Using the U.S. National Parks Service’s classification for different varieties of landscapes (designed, vernacular, historic, and ethnographic), Huyck shows how asking new questions allows female history to emerge in a multiplicity of ways. When the American Society of Landscape Architects held a contest to identify “designed” landscapes created by and for women, they uncovered a multitude of mansions, gardens, camps, and university campuses, including Wiawaka on Lake George—an affordable vacation spot intended for working women. Middle-class women who maintained enclosed homes and gardens created “vernacular” landscapes in the nineteenth century exemplifying the “Cult of True Womanhood.” Women also helped shape male-dominated “historic” landscapes, including battlefields, and fought their own battles, such as when hundreds of suffrage supporters marched down Pennsylvania Avenue as a “protest landscape” readily visible in old photographs. “Ethnographic” landscapes that draw on archaeological work can also reshape sites. For example, at Big Hole National Battlefield, archaeologists uncovered the bones of a mother, newborn, and midwife tragically killed in a maternity tipi (p. 96). In addition to asking new questions, changing the name of sites—such as the James Otis House that became the Otis Family House (p. 197)—encourages both professionals and publics to imagine spaces anew.

The fourth part of the book discusses interpretive practices. Huyck emphasizes authenticity, complexity, and inclusion, for example, using father-daughter dances to engage men in conversations about women’s history. Because Huyck’s approach is so detailed and comprehensive, some might find the information repetitive. Others might question Huyck’s “integrationist approach,” centered in U.S. history. Huyck, of course, includes case studies of sites that are primarily female or intersectional spaces, such as the Pauli Murray Family House. Even at such sites, Huyck’s main point about public history is that, “Instead of segregating the history of women, every museum should fully interpret women in American history” (p. 208).

Doing Women’s History in Public belongs on the reference shelf of any organization that seeks to participate in “identifying and developing new” locations that include women (pp. 198-199). It would also prove valuable for teachers who are interested in doing public history projects in their classrooms. Moreover, if public historians learn by including women’s history, all historians can gain new perspectives by reimagining physical spaces as both female and male. For example, U.S. historians will be familiar with *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, in which Scott sued for his freedom because his owner voluntarily brought him

into free territories and states. At Fort Snelling, on the Dakota homelands in Minnesota, public historians tell the lesser-known story of Scott's wife: Harriet Robinson Scott also sued for her freedom and participated in the series of lawsuits that affected Robinson Scott and her daughters' legal status and led to the infamous Supreme Court decision in 1858. As Huyck notes, "When we fully recognize women's roles in all aspect of life, it changes American history" (p. 6).

Georgia Institute of Technology

Carla Gerona

Land of Milk and Money: The Creation of the Southern Dairy Industry, by Alan I Marcus. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2021. 416 pages. \$50.00, cloth. \$19.95, electronic.

Given its historical—not to say, nutritional—importance, it is surprising how little most Americans know about our country's dairy industry. In his important book, *Land of Milk and Money*, Alan I Marcus helps to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge about the history of the U.S. dairy industry, particularly its hitherto hazy history in the American South.

Rudimentary dairy farming goes back to the early Neolithic Period, when crop cultivation and animal domestication first emerged as strategies for gaining access to food. The principal sources of milk and milk products historically have been cows, water buffalo, and goats. Although milk is an excellent source of protein, vitamins, and other nutrients, it is highly perishable and for most of its history was consumed on site or very close to the site where it was accessed. For millennia, humans worked to develop better means to preserve milk, thereby allowing it to be transported over greater distances. Until the second half of the nineteenth century, however, most such attempts amounted to little, meaning that dairy farming and milk production sites had to be located very close to population centers if urban dwellers were to gain access to milk and milk products. By the end of that century, a variety of technological improvements and innovations—better roads, the advent of railroad networks, refrigeration, gains in canning technology, processes to better preserve and extend the shelf life of milk, etc.—transformed the dairy industry both in the U.S. and in other parts of the world.

Taken together, these developments led to the spatial reorganization of the dairy industry, facilitating the decentralization of production and enabling milk and other dairy products to be transported over great distances to consumers. In the United States, one of the key figures in said transformation was New York entrepreneur Gail Borden, who in the 1850s developed (and patented) a process for condensing milk. Borden soon after co-founded the iconic dairy products company later known as the Borden Company, which in time became the market leader in many segments of the dairy industry, including both fluid and condensed milk. In *Land of Milk and Money*, Marcus offers an excellent sketch of the process Borden invented, the company he co-founded, and the resulting forces unleashed in the American South in the decades after World War I.

Logistical questions of many kinds rose to a head during the Great War, none more important than how to transport perishable food overseas in order to supply both soldiers and civilian populations. Some of the most important logistical lessons learned pertained to milk. During the war, for example, it was found that this product in condensed or evaporated form could travel a long way and last a long time without spoilage. Just as importantly, it was found that there was a lot of money to be made by those producing and shipping milk in such forms (Chapters 1-2).

In the aftermath of war, these lessons were repurposed for domestic markets, with the production of dairy products in the U.S. increasingly dispersed from the early centers of New York City and Chicago. This was true of both fluid milk and condensed and evaporated milk, and in *Land of Milk and Money*, Marcus focuses on the introduction in the mid- and late 1920s of so-called “milk condenseries” in the South. The spread of condenseries (and other dairy facilities) in the South was led by Borden, with other companies such as Carnation and Pet quickly following suit (Chapter 3). Whether as a matter of luck or savvy research design, the first condenser in the South, operated by Borden, opened in 1926 in Starkville, Mississippi, home of Mississippi State University where Marcus teaches (Chapter 4). Condenseries, creameries, and fluid milk plants soon spread throughout the region, which spread Marcus documents in rich detail (Chapters 5-8). The rapid expansion of such facilities was propelled by avid, often desperate efforts of declining small towns to stave off further decline or even extinction by attracting industry of some sort, the hope being that a dairy or other type of industrial plant would generate new sources of growth in the bleak economic landscape characteristic of the South in the interwar years. Although some such towns enjoyed a modicum of success following this strategy, Starkville among them, many did not, which helps to explain both the collapse during the 1930s of the retrograde economic order constructed after the Civil War and the beginnings of a *new* New South (Chapter 9).

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Imperial Bodies: Empire and Death in Alexandria, Egypt, by Shana Minkin. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2020. 224 pages. \$60.00, cloth. \$60.00, electronic.

Modern Egypt has been exhaustively researched, much more than any other Arab country. This is not just because it is the most populous country and still a cultural leader of the Arab world, but also because the donor agency, the American Research Center in Egypt, has poured its ample financial resources into the research into all periods and facets of Egyptian history. Can there be anything that has not been combed over and then revised or still remains inadequately studied? Shana Minkin has indeed found such a unique field in her study of dying, death, and the great variety of ritual practices associated with death in Egypt.

In *Imperial Bodies*, Shana Minkin confines her treatment to foreigners living in Egypt, largely because she was unable to get into the city of Alexandria municipality archive, which later on was burned to the ground. She used the Egyptian National Archives and supplemented it with extensive forays into the British National Archives and the Center of the French Diplomatic Archives at Nantes. Minkin divides her book into an introduction, four substantive chapters, and a brief conclusion, which is more an epilogue, spelling out the radical transformation of the foreign presence in the country that followed the military coup d'état of July 1952. Nasser and his military coup planners not only seized control of the government, but also nationalized many foreign-run business firms and expelled the Britons, French, Belgians and Egyptian Jews. Over the course of two decades, the Egyptian Jewish population was erased as a religious minority in Egypt, and the Greeks, who were the largest foreign community in Egypt, saw their numbers and influence dwindle.

Of the substantive chapters, the first two are the best. Chapter 1, "Foreign Hospitals, Local Institutions," discusses the three major foreign hospitals in Alexandria and is an outstanding inquiry on the care given to foreigners and Egyptians despite that the hospitals were mainly supported by European funds. In all, the European Hospital, the Greek Hospital, and the Deaconess Hospital accounted for 42% of the hospitalized in 1870, destined to treat close to 7,500 by 1911, Egyptians and foreigners alike. The author indeed makes clear that these hospitals took in more Egyptian nationals than foreigners, contrasting other scholars who have asserted that they were there exclusively for wealthy foreign business owners rather than the Egyptian and foreign poor. What is less clear, and what I was extremely interested in, was the nationalities of the doctors and nurses and their medical qualifications. We know that the Mixed Tribunals had foreign and Egyptian judges, but, apparently, most of the foreign judges had seen better days and accepted the postings to Egypt in the last stages of their careers as a final way to make money and enjoy the climate of Egypt. Was that the case of the doctors and nurses?

The second excellent chapter, "Mourning the Dead, Connecting the Living," deals with the Alexandrian consulates and their responsibility to look after foreign burials, whether the deceased were poor or wealthy and famous. The poor received decent burials, much more decent than they would have received in most European countries. The wealthy and famous included the Latin archbishop of Alexandria, Father Gaudenzio Bonfigli, who died on March 29, 1904. Father Bonfigli was born in Italy, but had deep French connections as a Franciscan and Apostolic Vicar of Egypt and Arabia. His funeral came only a few weeks after the signing of the Entente Cordiale between France and Egypt, which entailed a French recognition of the British political predominance in Egypt in return for a British promise to erect no barriers to France when it seized control of Morocco. In spite of Bonfigli's Italian roots, the funeral was celebrated in a way that allowed the French to enunciate their continuing cultural influence in Egypt in the face of the Entente Cordiale.

The brief final chapter, "Dying to be French, Dying to be British," catalogs the decline of the foreign presence in Egypt to the point that the British Treasury declined to provide financial support to the Alexandria Consulate in the 1930s to

ensure that the graves in the British cemetery were properly attended to. In addition, the Nasser government, when called upon to produce a list of physicians that could be circulated to foreigners, created a list with only Egyptian-born physicians.

The book is a reworked Ph.D. dissertation and is likely to be of interest to high school teachers with an interest in the way foreign populations dealt with life and death in other countries, and may appeal to instructors of undergraduate and graduate courses seeking novel approaches for exploring modern Egypt.

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The Muslim World in Modern South Asia: Power, Authority, Knowledge, by Francis Robinson. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2021. \$99.00, cloth. \$37.95, paper. \$37.95, electronic.

This illuminating collection brings together essays written over the past decade or so by the great scholar of South Asian Islam, Francis Robinson. A testament to Robinson's deep learning and sensitivity, the volume is full of stimulating reflections on the heterogeneity of Muslim modernities. Most productively, the work highlights the obstacles and opportunities involved when historians attempt to write Muslim/Islamic history as global history. In a book featuring many profound reflections on Islamic traditions of knowledge transmission, it is welcome to find Robinson reserve so much space in his introduction to discussing the scholarship of his many graduate students. Their inclusion is a reminder that the academic study of Islam often mirrors those venerable chains of scholarly transmission prevalent in Muslim societies, and further underscores Robinson's contributions to the field as both teacher and writer.

Of further inspiration is a thread running throughout this volume and Robinson's scholarship more generally: his careful disaggregation of actors who have sought to authoritatively "speak for Islam." As Robinson elucidates, the sheer panoply of constituencies laying claim to this mantle are most numerous in South Asia, where the debate among Muslims on the nature of modern political power and Islamic authority has been richly polyphonic. Robinson is at his best when he charts those who have entered into the fray: lay interpreters, Islamic modernists, women's rights activists, Islamists, and the *ulama*. Often harboring irreconcilable visions of Islam, their competing claims and subjectivities deserve to be taken seriously, and never reduced to a singular ethic. They also serve as a reminder that South Asian Muslims have never been passive consumers of Islamic traditions, but at the forefront of their elaboration.

There are some things with which one can quibble. One of the great advantages of Robinson's work is that he does not shy away from big narratives. As he acknowledges, there has been a certain reticence among scholars to speak in terms of civilizational units, a reluctance born out of a fear of trading in essentialisms. This point is well taken, and a case can be made, with qualifications to be sure, for viewing pre-modern Islamic societies as possessed of a common institutional

core. After all, this was the approach taken by the celebrated scholar of medieval Islam, Marshall Hodgson, rightfully referred to by Robinson in glowing terms. As Robinson would undoubtedly admit, viewing pre-modern Islamic societies as part of a historical continuum in no way preempts an emphasis on connections across regions and time periods. Indeed, his excellent essay on Iranian influences in South Asia drives home the world making linkages between Safavid Iran and Mughal India that a civilizational lens would likely overlook. Still, one must be careful to not make overly general statements that militate against an appreciation of context and connections. For example, it is hard to agree with broad-brush declarations such as one to the effect that Islamic piety in the modern period shifted to a “this-worldly” rather than “other-worldly” emphasis that had supposedly been regnant since the fourteenth century (p. 39). These portrayals are hard to substantiate, let alone falsify, and work against Robinson’s accent elsewhere on the multiplicity of Islamic intellectual traditions.

Finally, one might also urge more caution when speaking of the West (or the age of Western domination) in the rigid terms Robinson frequently does. Such formulations only strengthen outmoded challenge-response paradigms in the study of Muslim modernities, an approach that Robinson’s other essays caution against, albeit implicitly. To be sure, Western colonialism did pose significant challenges to many Islamic institutions and conventions, but rarely have Muslims experienced processes like capitalism or secularism as megaliths that stand in conflict with Islam, nor have their effects been evenly felt across Muslim constituencies. Certainly, the totalizing narrative of Western domination is how Islamists from the second half of the twentieth century prefer to paint matters, but their intellectual posturing is mere axe-grinding, not actually existing history.

Notwithstanding these remarks, Robinson deserves to be congratulated for yet another rich assortment of essays, which instructors can select from to incorporate for various topics as applicable. It is particularly delightful to read his moving portrait of another distinguished scholar of South Asia, Ralph Russell, whose love for the region and its history is palpable from Robinson’s essay. Just as Russell’s work on South Asian Islam charmed Robinson, in the same way, the present reviewer has been captivated by Robinson’s work over the years and can only hope other readers may share in that gratification by reading the volume reviewed here.

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