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Peter Anderson and Miguel Ángel del Arco Blanco, eds, *Mass Killings and Violence in Spain, 1936–1952: Grappling with the Past*, Routledge: New York, 2014; 234 pp.; 9780415858885, £90.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Daniel Oviedo Silva, *Nottingham University, UK*

The violence unleashed during the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath remains one of the most contested and prolific historiographical domains of recent times. Significantly, as the title of this volume implies, over the last 15 years the focus of specialist literature has shifted gradually away from the question of physical elimination to the study of a wider range of violent practices. The editors have suggestively captured this spirit by assembling a cross-generational group of British and Spanish scholars in a bid to challenge deep-rooted interpretations and contribute to a heated social debate. In their respective original overviews, the participants offer a fine combination of introduction to the field and interrogation of the manifold aspects of the repression through detailed case studies. Though the analyses often go beyond the limits set in order to establish revealing parallels with other places, times and themes, this 10-chapter book is classically arranged in four parts: ‘Rebel Violence’, ‘Violence in the Republican Zone’, ‘Repression and Resistance in the Post-War Period’ and ‘Facing the Past’. The difference in space devoted to Republican and Francoist repression is rightfully explained by noting their asymmetric scale, impact and provenance. Several of the authors also engage actively in these ongoing discussions, disputing both new and long-standing efforts to downplay Francoist repression and to overemphasize the role of the Republican authorities in atrocities.

The introduction is followed by a set of insightful chapters on rebel violence, starting with Paul Preston’s assessment of General Queipo de Llano’s contradictory personal, professional and political life before, during and after the war. The author describes an extremely violent and mendacious character but, most importantly, he provides a revealing portrait of the man in charge of a territory where 45,000 lives were cut short. Francisco Cobo Romero and Teresa María Ortega López examine how Francoist authorities – crucially with the assistance of part of the population – implemented diverse forms of gendered repression. Their chapter demonstrates that imprisonment, public humiliation, social marginalization and killings were aimed at paving the way for the reestablishment of traditional gender relations, which had been severely disrupted during the previous decades.

Peter Anderson offers an innovative approach to the rationale behind the institutionalization of rebel military justice in the Spanish Civil War. He convincingly argues that the rebels' need to present themselves externally as the non-violent alternative has to be factored in to explain the organization of the military prosecutions system. He does this while refuting the suggestion that the introduction of this system meant sufficient legal guarantees or a significant decline in violent practices.

Chapters 5 and 6 address Republican violence, a field that has partly spearheaded the renewal of Civil War studies shedding light on the motivations, authors and changing processes involved. After decades of generalizing and sketchy narratives that are still deep-seated across the political and historiographical board, this emerging literature proves vital. Both chapters discard the idea that anonymous, irrational and uncontrolled 'hordes' were responsible for most of the violence, emphasizing the need to unpick the complex tapestry of social and political actors, motivations and stages present during the conflict. In the case of Málaga, Lucía Prieto Borrego and Encarnación Barranquero Texeira analyze the intricate and non-exclusive relationship between the micro-powers formed after the outbreak of the conflict and the institutions put in place by the state to regain control of the coercive apparatus. Maria Thomas' chapter tackles anticlerical violence and iconoclasm with a particular focus on Madrid and Almería. She identifies and examines the various functions that anticlerical actions fulfilled, including the violent and very visual sanctioning of a new order, the redefinition of community bonds and boundaries and the securing of political spaces in a context of shifting power relations.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 introduce the study of post-war Francoist repression and resistance. Gutmaro Gómez Bravo takes on prison policies, closely scrutinizing the role of the Spanish Church in both providing the theological framework to underpin mass imprisonment and effectively assuming the organization of a system modelled after Catholic doctrine to 'redeem' inmates/sinners. More broadly, he examines long-term control through penal punishment and local networks painstakingly put in place in order to ensure post-penitentiary constraints. Miguel Ángel del Arco Blanco begins by describing the 'victory culture' as a shared set of values and understandings underlying social cohesion and exclusion, values that simultaneously oiled the wheels of violence and rested upon it. Building upon this notion, del Arco then examines everyday grassroots forms of cultural, moral and economic violence and resistance to conclude that 'the struggle continued' well after the end of the war. This was certainly the case with the guerrilla movements – themselves a violence-riddled phenomenon – whose repression-related origins and evolution Jorge Marco ably summarizes. Marco proceeds to explore how common European narratives of the Resistance have eschewed what he calls the Spanish 'neighbours in arms' and 'political guerrilla' experiences to conceal the fact that post-war European states tolerated Franco's regime. He finally advocates inclusive but decentralized research on resistances (lower case and plural) to overthrow monolithic narratives.

The last two chapters address how Spain's traumatic past has been remembered and historicized, paying close attention to underlying methodological and conceptual tools. Michael Richards supports the use of 'social memory' as a category that is well suited to accounting for the complex ways in which the past is thought of and can avoid static and simplistic representations. As a result, he advocates a historical way of understanding memory that brings experience to the fore and highlights the importance of generation, gender, neighbourhood and family as relevant analysis criteria. It is worth mentioning Richards' assessment of intimate violence and its dramatic effects on the memory of communities. Antonio Míguez Macho reflects on the suitability of various conceptual tools for the study of traumatic pasts against the backdrop of their links with post-dictatorship justice and the public uses of history. Míguez attacks a top-down understanding of repression that focuses primarily on state violence and fails to tackle individual culpability as did the reconciliatory narratives and the transition amnesty policies. He proposes applying the term 'genocidal practices' to Francoist violence and comparing it to that unleashed by other dictatorial regimes, arguing that this would allow us to address these shortcomings, thus putting an end to denial and impunity.

All contributors are worthy exponents of renewed trends in the analysis of state repression and social attitudes towards violence and offer innovative themes and approaches. The authors draw on up-to-date Spanish and international literature and a varied set of archival materials that in some cases have only recently been noticed or become available. Significantly, some of the chapters serve to show that this field of study is gradually emerging from the geographical, chronological and disciplinary isolation that has plagued it for decades. In short, and even though it could have benefited from a comprehensive theory-oriented opening chapter, there is little doubt that this book makes a very important contribution to its field.

Nicholas Berg, *The Holocaust and the West German Historians: Historical Interpretation and Autobiographical Memory*, trans. and ed. Joel Golb, University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, WI, 2015; 346 pp., 4 b/w photographs; 9780299300845, \$34.95 (pbk)

Reviewed by: Andrew G. Bonnell, *University of Queensland, Australia*

When Nicolas Berg's study of the relationship between 'autobiographical memory' and the historical interpretation of the Holocaust first appeared in 2003, it generated a wave of controversy and debate, largely on account of its provocative suggestions of links between the historical work of some of post-war West Germany's most prominent contemporary historians and their own personal entanglements as younger men in the Nazi regime. Some of the key texts in this debate can still be located online on the website H-Soz-Kult. The book, itself a revised version of a Freiburg university dissertation, went through three editions in two years, with some further revisions along the way. The new English translation and edition is a notably more compact version of the German edition, which weighed in at over 700 pages.

The English-language edition marks an advance over its German original in a couple of respects: it comes with an introduction that reflects on the reception of the book a decade ago, and it draws together the material on the Jewish historian and compiler of substantial documentary volumes on both the 'Final Solution' and Nazi culture, the Auschwitz survivor Joseph Wulf, into a single chapter.

Specialists in the study of German historiography will still want to consult the German original, but scholars (including maybe graduate students) with a broader interest in the relationship between historiography and the dimensions of memory and biography will be grateful for this edition. Most undergraduate students would struggle, however, with the dense prose encountered in much of the work, which draws on the theoretical work of Paul Ricoeur, among others. The book argues that the post-1945 West German historical establishment defined scholarly objectivity in ways that tended to marginalize Jewish memory and survivor testimony, while tacitly internalizing the subjectivity of the supporters and fellow travellers of the 'Third Reich' as a norm.

The English edition is divided into five chapters. The first two consider the responses of the post-1945 leaders of the West German historical profession, Friedrich Meinecke, Gerhard Ritter and Hans Rothfels, to the experience of the Nazi dictatorship, the Holocaust, and the defeat of Nazi Germany. These chapters cover ground that will largely have been familiar to scholars of German history even in 2003: the attempts at a conservative-nationalist salvage operation of German national history, in which Nazism was carefully excised from the main course of German history and presented as an aberration of modern mass society that just happened to strike Germany in the circumstances of the Great War defeat and the Treaty of Versailles, or as a '*Betriebsunfall*' (works accident), were never going to have much room for the experience or perspectives of Jewish victims and survivors of Nazi persecution. Rothfels, a right-leaning national-conservative, played a special legitimating role in this discourse, lending his moral capital as an exile from Nazism on the grounds of his 'non-Aryan' descent to the apologetic nationalist historical narrative. Another chapter looks at the ways in which notions of historical responsibility were treated by Hermann Heimpel, Reinhard Wittram and Fritz Ernst. The chapter on the early years of Munich's Institut für Zeitgeschichte contains some of Berg's most controversial material.

Berg's construction of the so-called 'structural-functionalist' approach to interpreting Nazism and the Holocaust as a product of the mentality of the generation of supporters and fellow-travellers of Nazism gave rise to many of the criticisms levelled at his book on its first appearance, especially as he drew a link between the fact that Martin Broszat (born 1926) had applied to join the Nazi Party at age 18 and Broszat's structural approach to understanding Hitler's regime. Berg's work is open to a range of objections here. He was criticized for being moralistic and anachronistic in judging earlier writers by the standards of today's greater sensitivity to issues of Holocaust memory, and his perspective on the 'structural-functionalist' school (whom he juxtaposed against Jewish exponents of 'intentionalism' who stressed the planned nature of the genocide and the moral agency of the

perpetrators) was seen by some critics as skewed and reductionist. It did not do justice to the explanatory power of the work of Broszat, Hans Mommsen, and their colleagues.

For Berg's defenders, such criticisms overlooked the focus of Berg's central thesis, which was to explore the links between historical writing and autobiographical memory, and to underline the incommensurability of the survivor perspective and the norms of 'objectivity' defined by Germany's historical *Zunft*, or guild. The last chapter provides a moving account of the life and work of Joseph Wulf (who also worked together with Léon Poliakov), and Wulf's effective marginalization by the *Zunft*. This is the most powerful part of the book, which does not show the mainstream of the West German historical profession in the most flattering light. Readers might look elsewhere for impartial and 'objective' evaluation of the heuristic strengths and weaknesses of different schools of interpretation of contemporary German history, but even in a truncated form the book remains a provocative and stimulating contribution to the process of the 'historicizing of the historians' (16).

Francisco Bethencourt, *Racisms: From the Crusades to the Twentieth Century*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ, 2013; 464 pp.; 73 halftones, 18 maps; 9780691155265, £27.95 (hbk); 9780691169750, £19.95 (pbk)

Reviewed by: Chloe Ireton, *The University of Texas at Austin, USA*

A fruitful wave of scholarship has recently explored whether 'race' and 'racism' serve as useful analytical concepts for the early modern world. These studies reflect larger historiographical debates about the appropriateness of adopting categories of inquiry that either did not exist or carried different meanings to historical actors in specific time periods. For example, sixteenth-century Castilians used *raza* to explain religious difference, purity of blood and lineage, while secular scientific ideas about race in the late eighteenth century equated race to biological and, importantly, heritable traits. Other scholarship highlights how different conceptualizations of the body complicate explorations of race in specific time periods. For example, post-Darwinian scientists visualized bodies as fixed, with permanent, inheritable biological features, whereas in earlier centuries, Europeans regarded bodies as malleable entities that could be altered through contact with certain environmental or spiritual elements. Separately, political historians have suggested the incompatibility of 'racial thinking' with justifications for imperial expansions in the early modern period. European monarchs' temporal power derived from the aim of universal Christian conversion. As such, adopting racist policies would have undermined colonial enterprises. Francisco Bethencourt's magisterial study *Racisms: From the Crusades to the Twentieth Century*, offers an original contribution to this historiographical debate. Bethencourt argues that racism – which he defines as prejudicial thinking regarding ethnic descent, when followed by discriminatory action – existed centuries before the emergence of the secular

scientific category of race. Further, the long legacy of European racisms informed the development of 'race thinking' in the eighteenth century and beyond as natural scientists transformed ideas about descent from religious interpretations to secular scientific arguments.

Bethencourt approaches racism as a fluid, transformative concept. Political projects, economic conditions, and the environment played a key role in determining racism in specific historical contexts. In 'Part I, The Crusades', Bethencourt pinpoints the early seeds of racism in Europe in the transition from Roman understandings of citizenship to the adoption of concepts of universal conversion in the early Christian Church. He analyses how centuries of Christian European crusades fed prejudicial thinking based on ethnic descent and religion, in turn spurring discriminatory action. Spanning the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, 'Part II, Oceanic Exploration' charts the complex forms of discrimination and categorizations that Europeans employed as they came into contact with Asians, Africans, Americans and certain 'outsiders' within Europe. Bethencourt exemplifies the treatment of New Christians (converts from Judaism and Islam) in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Castile as the fermentation of prejudicial ideas and discriminatory actions based on ideas about descent – in other words, racism. Portuguese monarchs' relationships with various African rulers, on the other hand, evidences the contradictory ways that European political elites regarded blackness, descent and nobility in Africa. In 'Part III, Colonial Societies', Bethencourt offers a comparative analysis of racisms in Spanish, Portuguese, English, Dutch and French overseas empires in the Americas, Asia and Africa, from the late fifteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. Wide in scope and scale, Bethencourt convincingly argues that demographics, urbanization patterns and geographical conditions across imperial spheres affected the extent of racist policies. Such a vast field of inquiry unfortunately results in slightly rapid, peripheral glances at variations between European overseas empires, and particularly how these changed over time. In 'Part IV, The Theories of Race', Bethencourt offers a nuanced account of the important developments in secular Western thought about race in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and demonstrates the deep roots of such ideas in earlier European religious doctrines and practices. One quibble with the section pertains to the analytical sparsity of Latin American intellectual thought. Perhaps a greater emphasis on trans-national circulations of ideas about race across the Atlantic world would have yielded a more detailed account of intellectual dialogue on race in Latin America as well as in the United States and Europe. In 'Part V, Nationalism', Bethencourt explores how discriminatory thinking began to encompass citizenship from the nineteenth century onwards, and how the combination of nationalism and racism led to ethnic cleansing and extermination projects within certain nations in the twentieth century. Bethencourt therefore charts the transformations of racisms over time, while exemplifying that racisms shared important commonalities rooted in the history of Christian Europe. For example, he highlights that while ideas about blood and descent were central in the medieval world, such religious antagonisms continue to inform contemporary ethnic and religious divides.

Racisms: From the Crusades to the Twentieth Century is an intellectually ambitious and provocative analysis of discrimination throughout varied European spheres of influence. Scholars will likely debate Bethencourt's broad definition of racism and its applicability to the medieval and early modern periods. Yet, Bethencourt's encyclopaedic research and sensitive and detailed analysis of 73 visual sources that guide each section will indubitably make this study invaluable for framing discussions on the long history of discrimination throughout European cores and peripheries.

Roberto Bizzocchi, *A Lady's Man: The Cicisbei, Private Morals and National Identity in Italy*, Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2014; 320 pp.; 9781137450920, £63.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Benedetta Borello, *Università di Roma, Italy*

In eighteenth-century Italy, a long-time relationship between a married woman and another man would not necessarily have been considered adultery. The two men-one woman triangle was socially acceptable if the 'other man' was her *cavalier servente* or *cicisbeo*. According to a 'recognized and accepted custom' (1), noble women who could not enjoy their husbands' company would ask to be escorted by a young man of their rank. The activity of this 'young nobleman' (*giovini signore*) began in the morning with 'his elaborate toilette'. He spent all day by his 'beloved' friend's side: he would sit by her at lunch, accompany her when out on visits and his would be the arm on which she rested her hand at evening parties or at the theatre.

A Lady's Man is the English translation of Roberto Bizzocchi's extensive research, first published by Laterza in 2008 and introduced to Italian readers in an entertaining article in the journal *Storica* in 1997. Bizzocchi has chosen to focus on the apparently limited matter of the social and sexual behaviour of a small section of a privileged elite in one European country. But this decision does not prevent him from contextualizing the phenomenon in a much more complex perspective. The *cicisbei* thus become an opportunity to reflect upon the political history of Italy, its so-called moral degeneration and also upon the perception of the genius of nations and of the differences between the northern and southern European peoples, from an extremely sophisticated gendered perspective.

Such a challenge could only be undertaken through the study of extensive iconography, literary sources, travel logs, in addition to the accounts left by the protagonists of the social environment investigated. The author approaches eighteenth-century Italy with an anthropologist's gaze, which emerges on the very first page in his references to the marriage customs of the peoples of Ghana. However, this impressive multi-disciplinary approach does not make for heavy reading: we are captured as in a whirlwind and transported to witness the intricate dynamics of male-female relationships, their difficulties and their individual and mutual expectations.

The introductory and the second chapters precisely outline these young escorts' social role and the spread of *cicisbeism* in Italy in the Enlightenment. At this time, the *cicisbei* were an expression of women's need for emancipation and recognition of their active role in society. The fact that they had to be escorted when appearing in public and that the choice of escort was never completely free is further evidence of male control over women.

In the third chapter, we hear the voices of the various actors in this social play, through the careful analysis of their networks and their exchanges, whereas the following chapter is constructed around the repercussions of *cicisbeism* in public life. The social practice of the *cavalier servente* had a strong impact on the portrayal of Italian ruling classes. The fifth chapter considers the risks of a possible erotic dimension of the phenomenon. What happened if the *cicisbeo* went further than offering his arm? Roberto Bizzocchi's answer once again links the phenomenon to its context, and with the sensitive touch of an anthropologist, he paints the richest and fullest picture possible. 'Enlightened marriages' were the gelling agent of the compact and closely-knit social group which also included the *cicisbei*. Everything, including the unexpected, fulfilled the same rigidly endogamous logic.

The last chapter, 'The *Cicisbei* Banned', reports the stigma progressively attached to these 'young noblemen' and explains why they came to be identified as the origin of the moral and political degeneration of Italy. When marriages of interest are replaced by 'modern' couples (where the two partners are affectionate and spend more time together and with their children), the *cicisbei* are shown the door. The northern countries witness the arrival of *affectionate* marriages before the southern ones. The upper classes themselves are very aware of this increasing distance between North and South. Pietro Verri, himself a *cicisbeo* in his youth, in 1775 declared to his brother that he wanted to marry according to 'English customs' and 'to be my wife's friend and lover' (222), a declaration of intent which left very little room for any *cavalier servente* by his young wife's side.

In the last few years, considerations on peoples' diversity, on the construction of the idea of the *genius of nations* and on the various 'emotional performances' pertaining to a specific 'emotional regime' have moved on apace: the only shortcoming in the excellent translation of Bizzocchi's work is not mentioning these researches in the 2014 edition, particularly because his work represents a very important element in the analysis of the perception of European national identities.

Kasper Braskén, *The International Workers' Relief, Communism, and Transnational Solidarity: Willi Münzenberg in Weimar Germany*, Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2015; 300 pp.; 9781137546852, £60.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Mario Kessler, *Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung, Potsdam, Germany*

This book deals with the history of the International Workers' Relief or IWR and the pivotal role that Willi Münzenberg played in it. Its author, Kasper Braskén, is a

post-doctoral researcher at Åbo Academy, in Åbo/Turku, Finland, and the book is derived from his PhD thesis.

Willi Münzenberg founded the IWR in September 1921. Its official German name was *Internationale Arbeiterhilfe*. In the United States the organization was known under the name Friends of Soviet Russia, while its Russian acronym was *Mezhrabpom*. Although the IWR was founded on the initiative of the Comintern, it was more than a classic front organization. The IWR was the largest global solidarity network in the interwar period, as Braskén shows in his introduction. Around 18 million workers from five continents were individual or (through affiliated organizations) collective members.

The IWR was headquartered in Berlin. The founding conference and its aftermath are explained in detail in Chapter 2. Its original purpose was to coordinate international famine relief for Soviet Russia after the end of the civil war. Ultimately, the IWR organized extensive economic aid that went far beyond the supply of food. The IWR helped raise funds for Soviet Russia to purchase agricultural machinery in the West, and to import food. In Russia itself, the IWR assisted in the building of tractor factories, as Chapter 3 explains. During the hyperinflation of 1923, the IWR supported German workers. The organization operated soup kitchens, strike funds and children's homes, which are the subject of Chapters 4 and 5. Here and in other cases Braskén emphasizes that, in contrast to philanthropy, which is 'based on charity and mercy to those who are suffering hardship, solidarity is described as a process or feeling *between* those suffering hardship or oppression, who join forces to protect their common interests' (23).

Willi Münzenberg (1889–1940) was the founder, head and central figure of the IWR. The organization was the backbone of what was called by friends and foes the 'Münzenberg Trust'. Münzenberg established various newspapers, such as *Die Welt am Abend*, *Berlin am Morgen* and the widely distributed *Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung*, a brilliant mixture of avant-garde paper and tabloid. He directed the large publishing house Neuer Deutscher Verlag and founded several multi-national film companies, of which the Soviet Mezhrabpomfilm was considered a 'red dream factory' – leftist propaganda along with Hollywood-style love stories.

The IWR journalists, of which Otto Katz (alias André Simone) was the most famous, knew how to mobilize the masses. The organization achieved international influence by initiating a campaign to save Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, the two Italian-born anarchists who were convicted of murdering two persons during an armed robbery. Protests on their behalf were held in almost every big city in North America and Europe. The IWR's propaganda showed the unfairness of the Sacco and Vanzetti trial. Although the innocent defendants were executed in Boston in August 1927, the IWR campaign earned respect for the organization from a large non-communist public. In countless publications and on mass meetings around the globe, IWR representatives emphasized the significance of solidarity with the victims of colonial oppression. In September 1931, the IWR celebrated its tenth anniversary as an 'International Solidarity Day' in Berlin. Delegates from

40 countries attended the conference, which is described in Chapter 9. A number of mass meetings were held on this occasion in Berlin's proletarian quarters.

From the outset, the IWR warned of the danger of international Fascism, as shown in Chapter 10. More than two thousand delegates from 27 countries attended the IWR-sponsored World Congress against War in Amsterdam 1932. After the congress, Münzenberg established a World Committee against War and Fascism in Berlin that included Henri Barbusse, Theodore Dreiser, Albert Einstein, Maxim Gorki, Heinrich Mann, Romain Rolland and Upton Sinclair. Although many of these activities were financed or co-financed by the Comintern, it was Münzenberg, not the Comintern apparatus, who took control of every action. For this reason, he was regarded with considerable suspicion by narrow-minded functionaries in Moscow. In 1933, within a few days of Hitler taking power, and already operating under illegal conditions, Münzenberg organized the transfer of the whole IWR apparatus from Berlin to Paris. His activities after 1933 are not part of the book.

Braskén discusses simultaneously the history of the organization and the making of a specific communist political culture, which was mainly established through public celebrations of solidarity. Münzenberg's outstanding talent both as organizer and propagandist enabled him to advance the communist cause, as the author emphasizes. He was able to influence liberal and left-leaning intellectuals who were sceptical towards the Comintern's official policy and who otherwise would have kept their distance from communist activities. As the author concludes in Chapter 11, the IWR may be considered as a predecessor of today's non-governmental organizations.

This is a well-written book, based on archival material from Germany, Russia and the Netherlands. It makes use of Comintern and KPD sources and numerous German police reports and related papers. The author also deals with the international literature on the subject. Unfortunately, the author neglects most publications from the GDR, such as Rosemarie Schumann's documentation on the Amsterdam congress and Johannes Zelt's book on the international solidarity campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti. Despite their one-sided ideological interpretation, these and other East German books include important facts and documents, which also give an insight into the political climate of the time. That said, overall Braskén has produced a highly valuable contribution to the history of the international communist movement of the 1920s.

Marc Buggeln, *Slave Labor in Nazi Concentration Camps*, trans. Paul Cohen, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2014; 352 pp.; 9780198707974, £60.00 (hbk)

Martina Steber and Bernhard Gotto, eds, *Visions of Community in Nazi Germany: Social Engineering and Private Lives*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2014; 358 pp.; 9780199689590, £68.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Martijn Lak, *Leiden University, The Netherlands*

The rise of National Socialism, the Nazi seizure of power in 1933, Hitler's (lack of) ideas and the eventual Second World War remain some of the most studied topics of the history of the twentieth century. What was it that made millions of Germans

follow the *Führer* and his party and their repulsive program? Part of the explanation – apart from, for example, the economic crisis of the late 1920s and early 1930s – can be found, at least according to the various authors of *Visions of Community in Nazi Germany: Social Engineering and Private Lives*, in the Nazis' concept of the so-called *Volksgemeinschaft* or 'the people's community'. As the editors Martina Steber and Bernhard Gotto state in their introduction: '[It] was the main concept informing the Nazi social utopia, and it can be thought of as summing up the new order to which the National Socialists aspired' (6).

When the Nazis gained absolute control over Germany in January 1933, they offered the German people a utopian vision of a new, harmonious society, to be led by Hitler. This was embedded in the *Volksgemeinschaft*: a society based on racist, social-Darwinist, anti-democratic and nationalist thought. It was by no means inclusive: those deemed not to be part of the 'people's community' should be removed or worse, they lost their right to live. This not only applied to the Jews, but to homosexuals and people with mental illnesses as well. It was all about inclusion and exclusion. As Birthe Kundrus writes in her contribution: 'All *Volksgenossen* were promised improvements in living standards, though not at the same level for everyone. Exclusion was expressed too... it in turn formed the basis of inclusion – for those who were members of the *Volk*' (169).

Steber and Gotto have brought together a team of esteemed scholars, and most contributions are of high quality. What these make clear above all, is that historians and other researchers should take the concept of *Volksgemeinschaft* seriously when studying Nazi Germany and the policy of the National Socialists. The vision of 'the people's community' was not just propaganda: it steered policy. The book comes with an extensive overview of the current historiography and an impressive bibliography. The topics covered are broad, giving many a new insight into the *Volksgemeinschaft*, which, when German defeat was imminent, was used by the regime to create a so-called *Schicksalsgemeinschaft* – 'a community of fate' (5) – which perhaps partially explains why the German people held out for so long. However, as Richard Bessel correctly and convincingly remarks: 'As the regime came to an end its armed forces often abandoned the display of solidarity with civilian *Volksgenossen*; the idea of the *Volksgemeinschaft* as a *Kampfgemeinschaft* of soldiers and civilians side-by-side had limited resonance in practice' (287).

As Christopher Browning shows in his essay, the *Volksgemeinschaft* also played an important role in the Holocaust: 'The destruction of the Jews was both the necessary means by which the embattled *Volksgemeinschaft* would triumph and the goal, once achieved, that would alter history' (219). Moreover, German soldiers in Poland and the Soviet Union made frequent remarks about hygienic problems, dirt, litter and destitution among the civilian populations and in the Jewish ghettos (86).

For those deemed not to belong to the *Volksgemeinschaft* or seen as a threat to it, the Nazis built a whole series of concentration and extermination camps. Especially in the former, the inmates were forced to do slave labour, not only to make prisoners suffer but also, as Marc Buggeln writes in his *Slave Labor in Nazi*

Concentration Camps, to work for the German economy, although by 1942 'slightly more than 1 percent of the prisoners were directly involved in armaments production' (18).

Contrary to what many have stated, Buggeln does not see labour deployment as the continuation of a programme of genocide within the concentration system. Indeed, he states, 1943 saw 'a drop in the number of fatalities in relative and, in some cases, even absolute terms' (64). In fact, during the first six months of that year the SS 'gave far more serious thought to improving the prisoners' ability to work and reducing the mortality rate in the camps than at any other point in time during the war' (28). The reason was obvious: the concentration camps had to play an important productive role in securing Nazi Germany's victory.

Buggeln makes an interesting division between the main camp and its sometimes dozens of subcamps. By the fall and winter of 1944, between 50 and 80 percent of the prisoners were detained in subcamps. As such the subcamp system was only established in the second half of the war, and only attained significant economic importance as of the spring of 1944. When and if violence against the inmates and the mortality rates decreased, this had mainly to do with the defeats suffered by the *Wehrmacht*: the demand for workers in the armaments industry increased accordingly (280).

The author gives many new insights and figures about the functioning of the Nazi concentration camps and especially the subcamps in the German war economy. It's not an easy book, but it is essential reading. Buggeln regularly engages in debate with other authors, and most of the time holds his own. Survival depended on many things, luck being an important one. Sometimes there was a strange paradox as well: '... their sex [of Jewish female prisoners] turned out to be a more important factor for their survival than their Jewish origins were for their destruction' (136). It is one of the many remarkable findings of Buggeln's fine study.

Andrew Chandler and Charlotte Hansen, eds, *Observing Vatican II: The Confidential Reports of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Representative, Bernard Pawley, 1961–1964*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2013; 426 pp.; 9781107052949, £45.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Oliver Logan, *University of East Anglia, UK*

In April 1961 Bernard Pawley, Canon of Ely, arrived in Rome as the representative of the Anglican Primate to the forthcoming Second Vatican Council. This followed the historic meeting in Rome in December 1960 between Dr Geoffrey Fisher and Pope John XXIII. Pawley's foremost concern was with inter-faith relations between the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church. Among Protestant Churches, this Communion regarded itself as having a unique status in such relations, a position widely accepted in the Vatican, where Fisher enjoyed great respect. Relations between the Papacy and the Roman Catholic episcopate, and indeed also bishops of other rites (e.g. Syriac and Coptic) in communion with

Rome, were regarded as having significant bearing on future relations with the Anglican communion; papal autocracy and claims to papal infallibility were painful issues. So also were the restrictions upon mixed marriage in Canon Law and discrimination against Protestantism in certain Catholic states.

Pawley liaised primarily with the Secretariat for Christian Unity, established by Pope John in 1960 but an object of mistrust on the part of the Secretariat of State and the Holy Office. He had fruitful relations with the Unity Secretariat's President, the German Jesuit Cardinal Augustin Bea, a notable Biblical scholar, and with its Secretary, the Dutch Monsignor Johannes Willibrands, a frequent visitor to England. Relations with the highly traditionalist English Roman Catholic hierarchy, whose members tended to share a ghetto mentality, formed an unhappy contrast. Pawley was bitterly disappointed with John Heenan, who, as Archbishop of Liverpool, had seemed open to dialogue, but then emerged as a hard-liner when, as Archbishop of Westminster and English Catholic primate, he had to speak for the English hierarchy as a whole. Dom Christopher Butler, mitred Abbot of Downside, was indeed an important ecumenical figure, but primarily concerned with dialogue with the Eastern Churches. Pawley's exchanges with the 'jolly' but ailing Pope John were at the level of superficialities. The new Pope, Giovanni Montini, Paul VI, had long been known for his welcoming attitude towards Anglicanism. He and Pawley were friends and the latter had direct access to him as Pope. However, the very warm conversations between them yielded few clues as to the Pontiff's intentions.

Discussions with Willibrands and Bea, together with other Protestant Observers and the poorly-represented Orthodox ones apart, the most valuable aspect of Pawley's reports to Fisher and his successor Michael Ramsey are his summaries of the speeches made in Council by bishops and Vatican officials. These summaries further flesh out the very frank account of divisions within the Council in John W. O'Malley's *What Happened at Vatican II* (2008). Pawley contrasts a bloc of 'conservatives', 'reactionaries' or the 'right-wing' with one of 'liberals' or 'progressives'. His labels, as applied to individuals, do need to be treated with caution; prelates tended to have complex positions. The divisions were over the respective powers of Pope and bishops, the role of the laity, freedom of conscience, the issue of Latin liturgy, mixed marriages, ecumenism and, in short, what Pope John called *aggiornamento*. Those most open to change or to closer relations with other Churches tended to call for a return to Biblical and Patristic as opposed to Scholastic sources. The most self-assertive conservatives among Italian cardinals were the ebullient Alfredo Ottaviani, a Curial official and not a bishop, Prefect of the Holy Office and President of the Council's Theological Preparatory Commission, Ernesto Ruffini, Archbishop of Palermo, and Giuseppe Siri, Archbishop of Genoa. In general, however, Italian bishops were reserved in their statements. The most vocal of the English, Hinsley and Beck of Salford, were notably conservative. The European 'progressives' were primarily drawn from France, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. As we already know from O'Malley, an outstanding role in the debates was played by middle-eastern bishops of non-Latin rites, above all by the

'gigantic' figure of Maximos IV Saigh, Melkite Patriarch of Antioch; these bishops, often men of broad horizons, were very critical of Vatican hegemony and were most insistent on Scriptural criteria. With the notable exception of Cardinal Francis Spellman of New York, US and Canadian bishops tended to be progressive. Among the Spanish bishops, there was a surprisingly wide range of positions, and even more so among the very vocal Latin American ones. African and far-eastern bishops tended to press for change on a variety of fronts. Ottaviani and his allies sought to sabotage publication of the liberal decree on freedom of conscience approved by an overwhelming majority of the Council and Paul VI's prevarication did lead to delay in its ultimate publication. In his final analysis, Pawley considered that the outcome of the Council was as good as could have been expected, given the distance that had to be travelled. Paul VI had undoubtedly hastened slowly, but Pawley recognized that some concessions to the conservatives were essential to the success of a policy of *aggiornamento*.

Trevor J. Dadson and J. H. Elliott, eds, *Britain, Spain and the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713–2013*, Legenda: Oxford, 2014; 202 pp.; 9781909662223, £55.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Juan Eloy Gelabert Gonzalez, *University of Cantabria, Spain*

This collection of essays originates from a conference held at the Spanish Embassy in London in October 2013 to commemorate the 300-year anniversary of the Treaty of Utrecht. A panel of British and Spanish historians and jurists share a set of chapters about 'The Historical Context' (eight contributions) and 'The Legal Context' (four). The book includes an Appendix ('The Treaty') with the text in English, Spanish and Latin, plus a selected bibliography including titles published up to 2013. While the contributions by British historians outnumber the Spanish by five to three as regards the historical profile, in relation to the legal topics the Spanish outnumber the British three to one.

The book starts with an introductory essay by John Elliott, setting the Anglo-Spanish conflict within the context of fears shared by 'the Protestant states of Europe' about Louis XIV's ambitions to 'universal monarchy'. Whereas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Spain and the Dutch Republic had seemed to the English to represent the main danger to the balance of power in Europe, by this time France and Spain presented the main threat. Elliott does not avoid the domestic (Spanish) side of the war, 'in many respects a... civil war'. This aspect of the conflict is the concern of two of the Spanish contributions (those of Professors Palao Gil and Arrieta Alberdi). The first widens the focus to embrace the initial attitude (1700–1705) of the new Bourbon King towards the *foral* constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, the 'Turn' of 1705, 'The *Occasion*' of 1707, and the political decisions eventually taken that same year; that is, the abolition of the particular political constitutions of the Kingdoms of Aragón and Valencia (*fueros*), followed by that of Catalonia in 1714. The author links the first

two cases to changes in the composition of the ministry at Court (increasingly more *afrancesado* and prone to royal absolutism and centralization), and the progress of war (Bourbon victory at Almansa in May, 1707). The author devotes special attention to the Catalan case (just as authorities did at the time). While barely a month elapsed between the fall of Zaragoza and the abolition of Aragonese *fueros*, the same decision-taking process in relation to Catalonia took more than one year. It carried an international dimension which Aragón and Valencia lacked. Austracist representatives had signed the so-called Pact of Genoa in 1705 with the Allies, and even Louis XIV looked at the Catalan case with a political sympathy not shared by his grandson Philip. The outcome of these two attitudes was the preservation of Catalan civil law in those aspects that did not hamper the royal agenda.

While a civil war was being fought on Spanish soil, England and Scotland worked for the Union of the Crowns. In an original essay with even a pinch of counter-factual history, Professor Arrieta compares both processes, looking back as far as 1603–1604, when the composite Spanish Monarchy was being scrutinized as a potential model for the proposed Union.

As a complement to the Spanish essays describing the political situation in Madrid, Professor Hoppit's contribution offers a vision of British court politics from 1688 to 1711 and their influence on what he labels as 'war weariness'. He sketches the factors – political as well as financial – leading to British 'disengagement' from the war, an attitude he detects as early as 1707, but which accelerated from 1709 onwards, along with the increase of the tax burden to an extent capable of attracting the attention of preachers and pamphleteers. This first block of essays includes contributions on the economic aspects of the Treaty, such as that by H. Thomas on the slave trade, and Storrs on the much-debated issue of the 'Revival of Spain' after the war. The social aspect of the story (the Old and New Gibraltarians) deals with the re-population of the colony under the new British rule.

'The Legal Context' opens with a pair of complementary essays – British and Spanish – reviewing the legal status of Gibraltar from 1830 to 2013, while showing the different alternatives attempted so far by Britain, Spain and the UN to reach an 'accommodation' on the case. As the next contributions show, this is not an easy task since Article X of the Treaty, for instance, does not specifically draw the borders between the British and Spanish territories. The conclusion is rather disappointing, and 'accommodation' is thus 'unachievable' (sic). Article X reappears again in the last contribution where the author posits that British initiative in the Gibraltar Constitution of 2006 means an alteration of the mentioned article (since it includes a reference to 'self-government'), and, accordingly, a violation of the third condition specified in Article X that allows Spain to 'redeem' the territory.

To sum up, this is a concise, well-grounded and up-to-date synthesis of a topic in international relations and law, both ancient and contemporary, which will be an indispensable work of reference for further studies on Utrecht, Gibraltar and British–Spanish relations in early modern times.

Jennifer Mara DeSilva, ed., *The Sacralization of Space and Behavior in the Early Modern World: Studies and Sources*, Ashgate: Farnham, 2015; 344 pp., 18 illustrations, 1 map; 9781472418265, £75.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Marco Musillo, *Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence, Max-Planck-Institute, Italy*

This collection of essays deals with crucial aspects of early modern life, namely ‘the behavior and the communal beliefs that space prompt or witness’ (19). The case studies discussed here give readers the possibility of considering the fragments composing acts of devotion, such as, for example, architectural, kinetic, legal, social, material and perceptual elements coming from rules and practices; and also the possibility of standing outside the walls of what is *sacer* – and thus ‘separated’ – in the profane spaces surrounding it. *The Sacralization of Space and Behavior in the Early Modern World* consists of 10 chapters covering a coherent but vast array of research trajectories. In the first chapter, Mara DeSilva examines the problems behind the search for the right practice within the framework of private liturgical patronage. The author enters into a territory where ‘the false dichotomy of interior and exterior spirituality’ is contrasted by an exploration of the ways in which physical and intellectual aspects of devotion merge, influenced by monetary investments and spiritual concerns, within and outside the liturgy (34). Rebecca Constabel turns to funerary sculpture in sixteenth-century France in order to discuss the political use of burial sites within the space of the church. These displays of authority open an interesting research context where architecture, burial monuments and epitaphs recall discourses on funerary iconography and political power, Christian eschatology and dynastic narratives. The following chapter looks at Bernardino Luini’s cycle at San Giorgio al Palazzo, Milan. Here Pamela Steward explores the theme of the Corpus Christi within the context of a confraternal chapel, analysing how the paintings and inscriptions functioned in animating devotional activities. The author sheds light on how the decorative programme not only crowned the physical preservation of the host, but also facilitated a ‘frequent engagement with the body of Christ outside the Mass’ (104). Moving to the Southern Netherlands, Annick Defosse invites readers to consider the ‘spectacular sceneries to celebrate the canonization of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier’. This study confronts one of the most discussed issues: the culture of spectacles fostered by the Jesuits to elicit conversions. Particularly interesting is the case of the festivities in the form of ephemeral decorations for the canonization of Ignatius of Loyola in the Belgian provinces. The central issue of the *sacer horror*, as the expected response from the spectators of the Jesuit apparatus, would indeed deserve further analysis in relation to the complex discussion on the rhetorical functions of images. Outside Italy, there is also the stimulating case discussed by Abel Alves in relation to Marian shrines in Catalonia. It reminds the reader of the importance of expressions of the sacred that traversed epochs and continents by connecting archetypal forms of religiosity, which represented animals as agents of transcendent manifestations, and Nature as metaphor for sacred places.

The example of the Virgen de Guadalupe is particularly enlightening (173–4), although together with the concept of Nature as sacred space, it would benefit from an additional exploration into Franciscan history. Chapter 6 describes the ritual assaults against papal statues located on the Capitoline Hill in Rome, during different periods when the seat of the Holy See was vacant, from 1559 to 1644. As John Hunt argues, such actions underscored the dichotomy inherent in the figure of the pope seen as a prince and as a spiritual leader, visible for example in the description of the ritual degradation of the statue of Pope Paolo IV (186), encouraging readers to consider the connection between sacred civic spaces and spaces of civic protest. Another form of iconoclasm is presented by Eric Nelson in his exploration of the events that in 1562 shook the relic shrine of St Martin in Tours. The Huguenots destroyed the saint's tomb and cremated his remains. As argued by the author, the iconoclastic attacks, during the religious war between Catholics and Huguenots, hint at a confrontation between two different views of sacred landscape: the first saw the landscape as 'punctuated of sacred objects', and the second rejected such a network of physical objects, considering it idolatrous (199). In Chapter 8, Celeste McNamara discusses the conflict between laypeople and their parish clergy over the demarcation of sacred and profane space. The case presented here concerns the bishop of Padua's regulations during the years 1664–1697. The disagreements over the uses and misuses of cemeteries epitomize the challenges encountered by Catholic reformers over matters of lay behaviours in sacred spaces. As vividly presented by Emily Winerock in Chapter 9, the same kind of conflict occurred in England in relation to the use of church and churchyard spaces for dancing. Interestingly, the post-Reformation rules on sacred space complicated the interpretations of a tradition that unified Protestants and Catholics by means of events of a communal nature. The last chapter takes us to the eighteenth century, and it is a pertinent conclusion, but also a possible beginning – as it shows how sacralized spaces could turn into colonial spaces. David Stiles discusses the case of the Jesuit Reductions in the Spanish colony of the Río de la Plata region. The 'horrification' of the Jesuit missions' sacred space actuated by the Spanish crown is a striking example of new early modern conflicts surfacing from the entanglement between different ideas of cultural assimilation and imperial trading policymaking. Together, the studies contained in this volume succeed in presenting a 'collected perspective that compares and contrasts both broad studies that seek accurate regional generalizations and microhistories' (20). The interplay between specific case studies and broader historical views make this collection a valuable contribution, and, in a way, an exemplary hermeneutic circle where knowledge of the whole can only be obtained by looking at its parts, and knowledge of the single parts can only be achieved by an understanding of the whole. It is a fertile circle of interpretation where new findings are not only produced by the interest in texts and objects but by the interest in their relationships, which makes history visible as a space inhabited by complex social liaisons.

Peter F. Dembowski, *Memoirs: Red and White: Poland, the War, and After*, University of Notre Dame Press: Notre Dame, IN, 2015; 197 pp.; 9780268026202, \$25.00 (pbk)

Reviewed by: A. J. Prazmowska, *London School of Economics, UK*

Professor Dembowski is the author of an earlier history book in which he discussed a topic with which he had become familiar during the war when he lived in occupied Poland. *Christians in the Warsaw Ghetto: An Epitaph for the Unremembered* was published by Notre Dame Press in 2005. But his academic reputation rests on his work as a linguist, particularly in French and Provençal. In his later years Dembowski has returned to his roots and the present book is a memoir and an account of his own personal experiences. As he explains in the Preface, the first section of the book, which is entitled 'Red', deals with the painful memoirs of the war, stained as they were with blood. The second, entitled 'White', focuses entirely on his life in Canada and the USA, his marriage, family and professional successes.

Dembowski's book is not unusual. With the passage of time, many war-time survivors have finally decided to explain to their families and to convey to posterity accounts of what they had witnessed. Migration studies have further fuelled the list of publications dealing with uprooted communities and their subsequent fate. The occupation of Poland by Nazi Germany and Soviet–German collaboration meant that the Poles, of all the occupied people, experienced the worst fate. After the war, there was little sense of relief because the defeat of Germany was followed by the continuing trauma of post-war reconstruction. In that picture, Soviet domination of the region defined the future, though it was hardly wholly responsible for the hardship experienced by the civilians.

Dembowski is exceptional for conveying a truthful picture of what he witnessed during the war. He avoids the trap of obviously interpreting his memories through the prism of subsequent accounts. He is impressively balanced and objective even though the account of his war-time experiences are harrowing and in many ways complex. He saw Poland occupied and he observed how society adjusted. He was aware of the distinct fate of the Polish Jews. The presence of the Jewish Ghetto in the middle of Warsaw, the town in which he lived until the end, forms part of his narrative. His ability to observe and to see beyond the horrors is confirmed by his unwillingness to refer to all Germans as Nazis. At times this must have been at times a difficult distinction to maintain.

But the second section of the book is equally interesting, because he admits that once he left Poland he never looked back, instead making the most of the opportunities offered by Canada and then the USA to complete his education and embark on a professional career. If the first half of the book is dominated by recollections of how he and his contemporaries coped with the horrors of occupation, the second part of the book is one where the author indicates that he went forth to a new life and in that chosen path, never looked back. A story of war-time Poland is followed by an account of how as an immigrant he coped in a new environment. Intriguingly, Dembowski appears not to have ever gone back to

Poland after the war. His new life was in North America and that is the subject of the second section of the book.

For all its merits and even though the book is written in a very personal and easy to follow style, it will inevitably mean more to those for whom he wrote it, namely his family. To a wider audience, this is a book that deals with well-known events. Even though Dembowski is an impartial and objective witness, his account adds little that was not known on both subjects: life under occupation, and migration and assimilation into a new world.

Paul Dukes, *A History of the Urals: Russia's Crucible from Early Empire to the Post-Soviet Era*, Bloomsbury: London, 2015; 9781472573780, £65.00 (hbk); 9781472573773, £19.99 (pbk)

Reviewed by: Janet Hartley, *London School of Economics and Political Science, UK*

In 2007, on an excursion during a conference on the 'Fate of Russia' in Ekaterinburg (Soviet Sverdlovsk), Professor Dukes was presented with a diploma by a woman in national dress calling herself the 'Mistress of the Copper Mountain' certifying that he had reached the crossing point between Europe and Asia and warning that a forfeit such as a song or a gift had to be paid were the border to be breached. After this rather bizarre experience he reflected that there was no English-language account of the history of the Urals and he set about rectifying that situation. The result is a clear and comprehensive chronological account of the old industrial heartland of Russia.

The definition of the Ural region is not straightforward; this is illustrated by three maps at the beginning of the book that show how the boundaries changed in the Tsarist, the Soviet and the post-Soviet period. This book concentrates on the industrial heartland of the Urals: 'the middle of the range where the mountains are less in evidence but which has been most significant as a centre for the metallurgical industry from the eighteenth century onwards, as a crucible of the Russian Empire and Soviet Union' (4). There is no coverage of the fringes of the region, such as Orenburg in the south, and the Khanty-Mansi lands in the north, which means in turn there is little discussion of the role of the Cossacks in the southern borderland or of the lifestyle of the several groups of indigenous peoples who inhabit the Ural region or of their relationships with new settlers.

The book is divided into eight chapters, of which four cover the period from 1552 to 1921 and four Soviet and post-Soviet Russia – almost half the book is concerned with developments in the twentieth century. The account draws on a number of significant post-Soviet historical accounts of the Urals.

The industrial development of the central Ural region is the main focus of the book, from the factories established by the Stroganov and the Demidov families in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through the intensification of industrial development in the late nineteenth century and the massive drive to industrialization in the 1930s and the years of the Second World War. The richest sections of the book assess the enormous human cost of the industrial effort in the mid-

twentieth century. The description of the construction and development of the great new steel city of Magnitogorsk in the eastern Ural region are particularly revealing, including accounts by contemporary Soviet citizens and the young American, John Scott, whose *Behind the Urals: An American Worker in Russia's City of Steel*, published in 1942, charts not only the hardships of those years but also the disillusionment of many who felt that they had sacrificed so much not only to modernize the country but also to ensure military success in the war.

The general picture drawn of the Urals is one of almost unrelenting grimness: for most of the Tsarist, Soviet and now in the post-Soviet period, factory and urban workers in the region experienced poorer living standards than in other parts of the country – worse housing, low standards of safety at work, poor health care, pollution, radiation in the modern period – only in part compensated by the establishment of educational establishments (the *zemstvos* of Verkhotur'e and Ekaterinburg were particularly active in the late nineteenth century), cultural outlets and, in the twentieth century, sporting centres and cinemas. The conditions of prisoners (in Soviet Gulags and camps of German POWs) were particularly harsh, but many ordinary Soviet citizens left the Urals when they could. The exception to this hardship in the Soviet period was life in the secret 'closed towns', half of which (five) were set up the Urals in the 1940s to develop atomic and other military weapons and technology. The general living conditions were better in these closed cities than elsewhere, not only in the Urals but in the Soviet Union as a whole, but at a potentially huge price in terms of radiation leaks and accidents, the most notorious of which was the nuclear accident in the closed city of Ozersk, near Cheliabinsk, in 1957 which exposed some 270,000 people to a deadly radioactive cloud.

While the stoicism and suffering of the Russians in this region are well documented in this book, there is less analysis of their self-perception of being '*Russia's crucible*'. Did the inhabitants regard themselves as different from any other workers in factories in European Russia or Siberia? Was there a sense of being special as a borderland between Europe and Asia? Or is the Mistress of the Copper Mountain demanding forfeits in vain?

Dennis Dworkin, ed., *Ireland and Britain, 1798–1922: An Anthology of Sources*, Hackett Publishing: Indianapolis, IN, 2012; 298 pp.; 9781603847421, \$49.00 (hbk); 978603847414, \$18.00 (pbk)

Reviewed by: Emmet O'Connor, *University of Ulster, Northern Ireland*

History has acquired an extraordinary topicality in Ireland at present. After the outbreak of violence in the North in 1969, state agencies shied away from it, blaming the unrest, in part, on the celebrations of the golden jubilee of the 1916 rising. Since the onset of the 'peace process' in 1993, the preferred approach has been to manage the past by making commemoration state-led and inclusive of what the authorities regard as acceptable versions of both nationalism and Unionism. The strategy has become very evident in addressing the centenaries of the formative

events between 1912 and 1922, which saw the creation of what became Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Moreover, the public response to remembrance has been enthusiastic, partly because commemoration itself has become a contested entity in the endless rivalry between nationalists, Unionists and their critics. Arguably all public history tells us as much about the present as it does about the past, and all commemoration is more about politics than history.

Ireland and Britain, 1798–1922 is therefore a timely and very useful teaching tool for students of modern Irish history. Dennis Dworkin offers an introduction synopsisizing the history and placing it in a comparative framework, reproductions of 56 sources on Ireland, a glossary of the main dramatis personae and events, a chronology, and a guide to further reading. The range of sources is impressively imaginative and extensive, and includes extracts from political and social commentaries, speeches, letters, parliamentary debates, newspaper articles, poems, songs, and a short story by James Joyce. Most are illustrated with drawings, photographs, or maps.

The substance of the book is of course the sources, and an anthology stands or falls on the choice and organization of the selection. Dworkin manages both judiciously, grouping his reproductions in four chronological chapters, each of which is subdivided thematically. Chapter 1 is the most political in theme, and deals with the making of the union with Britain in 1800 and the emergence of nationalist demands for its undoing from the 1830s. Chapter 2 takes a more cultural perspective in examining various expressions of nineteenth-century Irish nationalism. Chapter 3, 'new departures', is the most diverse in its range of topics and sources, which vary from Friedrich Engels on 'The agricultural proletariat' to Liberal Unionist Hugh de Fellenberg Montgomery on the Orange Order. The final chapter focuses on the Ulster Covenant, the Easter Rising and feminism, pillars of the current 'decade of centenaries'. As Dworkin admits, some documents have been chosen to reflect changing historiographical fashion, and he has shown some prescience in including sections on women as the public history of events leading to the Easter Rising has become heavily feminized. One of Irish television's flagship drama productions on the rising, *Rebellion*, which attracted 41 per cent of the available audience for its opening episode, is based primarily on the story of three fictional female characters. If only the women had been so central in actuality! Each chapter and each set of documents is prefaced by an introduction from Dworkin, so that the reader is given a history as well as a collection of texts.

The one disappointment is the lack of attention given to labour, industrial and social history, including issues like emigration. Only three documents, from Engels, Karl Marx and James Connolly, address these topics in part, and the last two are primarily about politics. Symptomatically, Jim Larkin's birth year is given as 1876 (173) when scholars have accepted since the mid-1980s that he was born in 1874. Equally revealing is the inclusion of a Connolly text, when Larkin had the greater impact on the Irish Labour movement.

Undoubtedly, Dworkin succeeds in his handling of the central theme, which is essentially about the failure of the Union of 1800 and its replacement with two

states dominated by nationalism and Ulster Unionism. He has an easy facility for writing clearly and concisely, and, despite a sympathy with the nationalist masses, he offers analyses which give fair consideration to all of the main political factions in Ireland. The book may appear too advanced to have much appeal to the general reader – though it presumes no prior knowledge and could be read profitably by anyone – but it certainly will commend itself to the student or academic. And no matter how well versed they are in Irish history, they are sure to find some previously unknown textual treasures accompanied by sharp, insightful commentaries.

Kent Eaton, *Protestant Missionaries in Spain, 1869–1936: 'Shall the Papists Prevail?'*, Lexington Books: Lanham, MD, 2015; 382 pp.; 9780739194096, \$110.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Mary Vincent, *University of Sheffield, UK*

There is, as yet, little scholarly work on Spain's small protestant minority, and this first full-length study of British missionaries is therefore to be welcomed. The book's remit is narrower than the title suggests, as the Protestants under investigation are 'Plymouth' Brethren, the largest and most significant of the British missionaries but not the only ones. Historically, the Brethren were the largest Protestant denomination in Spain and Eaton points out that these were their hardest worked mission fields, albeit for comparatively little reward. Dr Eaton worked at a Spanish Bible college before starting work on the thesis that became this book. His stance is thus that of an 'insider', which allows for valuable reflection around mission tactics and how to evaluate the success – or otherwise – of the missionary enterprise.

The book provides many insights. There is a welcome acknowledgement of Protestantism's association with the working class and the poor in Spain, which the author associates with limiting the missions' impact, given the failure to penetrate the elites. There are also illuminating discussions of the women who were involved in mission work, though the author has disappointingly little to say about missionary families, several of whom stayed in Spain over generations, in the case of the Turralls and the Chestermans, with ministry passing from father to daughter. This absence may reflect Eaton's sources, which are missionary letters published in the Brethren's *Echoes of Service* magazine. As the archives for this period were lost in bombing raids during the Second World War, this reliance is understandable. But it would have been illuminating to supplement them with the voluminous later correspondence, so as to reveal more about the mission families he discusses as well as providing retrospective material on the earlier period.

Instead, Eaton focuses on the missionaries' self-understanding, in particular, on how their reliance on the metaphor of 'sowing' not only helps us to understand their extraordinary resilience but also explains their limited success. The missionaries sowed the seed, leaving the rest up to God. Understandably, Eaton finds such a position frustrating, and his main analytical concern is to account for the lack of return – that is, conversions – the Brethren experienced for their considerable,

sustained effort. Given this investment, the author emphasizes their comparative failure, which he presents in terms of a ‘colonizing’ approach that left local assemblies dependent on British mission structures and the missionaries themselves reluctant to bring on local talent or to hand over to local people. Though there is no doubt these tendencies persisted, Eaton overstates their explanatory force. Other factors were at work, not least the Brethren’s own ecclesiology, which dispensed with institutional structures or overarching administrative hierarchies. Inevitably this impeded church development in Spain and may have also contributed to the rapid contraction of the sect in the second half of the twentieth century.

Other non-conformist groups have experienced similar decline. Eaton rightly points to the Brethren’s remarkable dominance in Spanish Protestantism, but the country was also evangelized by Baptists and Methodists and some comparative discussion of their relative fortunes would have helped make the case for the Brethren’s failure. There were also other southern European mission fields, and it would be interesting to know if the Spanish pattern was repeated in, for example, Italy or Portugal. This though is not the author’s purpose. One of the most attractive, if unconventional, features of the book is a sense of dialogue between the author and his sources, which reflects his insider position. He takes his protagonists seriously, treats their thoughts and feelings with respect, and fully recognizes the extent of their pastoral task. Yet these strengths are in some ways also weaknesses. This sense of dialogue makes the book less sharp in terms of chronological focus; it ranges across the period and beyond, at times as if there were no difference in the treatment of dissenters under the Restoration Monarchy and under the Franco regime. Most of the historical analysis is contained in two substantial central chapters and the discussion of the Second Republic is disappointingly brief and rather muddled. More stringent editing might have removed the many digressive footnotes and encouraged more reflection on the sources. This is, in short, an interesting and thoughtful, but not always scholarly, contribution to the understudied field of Spanish Protestantism.

Anne Fuchs, *After the Dresden Bombing: Pathways of Memory, 1945 to the Present*, Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2012; 296 pp.; 9780230285811, £67.00 (hbk)

Tony Joel, *The Dresden Firebombing: Memory and the Politics of Commemorating Destruction*, I.B. Tauris: London, 2014; 320 pp., 12 illustrations, 2 maps; 9781780763583, £68.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Stefan Goebel, *University of Kent at Canterbury, UK*

Why, of all the cities bombed in the Second World War, is Dresden the one that seems to stand out? Was this possibly ‘The worst pre-atomic war bombing ever’, as the cover of a popular 1983 paperback has suggested? For many, the answer lies in the sheer scale of destruction wrought on the Saxon capital by American and British bombers during the air raid of 13 and 14 February 1945. Inflated figures about the death toll – ranging between 100,000 and 300,000 dead – circulated

widely in the post-war era, despite the fact that the authorities' body count amounted to 25,000 fatalities. In an effort to conclude a long-standing debate, the city of Dresden established an historical commission in 2004, tasked with finding out the actual number of dead. After nearly six years of research, the commission confirmed, in essence, what had been the official figure all along: a maximum of 25,000 dead. If one wants to understand why Dresden matters, one has to look beyond the figures. Dresden's rise to special status among the war-torn cities was not predetermined by the absolute scale of destruction but was a product of the politics of memory: this is the subject of these two new books about the aftermath of the Dresden bombing. Both works explore the post-war repercussions, cultural and political, of an event that has gained iconicity.

Of the two books under review here, Anne Fuchs' *After the Dresden Bombing: Pathways of Memory, 1945 to the Present* is the more ambitious and wide-ranging. Her aim is to dissect what she terms 'the Dresden impact narrative' by exploring four different forms of media – pictures, architecture, literature, and film – that have transmitted this narrative. Fuchs approaches the Dresden bombing as a 'case study' (xiii) that allows her to make a theoretical point about the workings of collective memory, that is 'the role of genre-specific templates and the intermedial exchange' (5). Although she does not use the label, her work performs what Stefan Haas has called the 'media turn' in historical studies. To be sure, Fuchs is a professor of German, but her monograph demonstrates how disciplinary boundaries have become fluid within the booming field of memory studies.

The book opens with a powerful discussion of the representation of Dresden in photography and fine art in the immediate post-war years. Fuchs zooms in on the work of the photographer Richard Peter on the one hand and the graphic artist Wilhelm Rudolph on the other. Between them, Peter and Rudolph produced some of the most recognizable visual images of the devastated city. Both documented the impact of the bombs through a series of images of total ruination. Through their respective media, Peter and Rudolph captured landscapes of destruction devoid of human life. There are no direct references to human suffering, nor to human agency in the catastrophe. The overall impression is, Fuchs stresses, one of apocalyptic excess that transforms history in a 'supra-human force'.

A compulsive stock-taker of the destructiveness of the bombing – and, by extension, of human history – Rudolf produced some 200 drawings, of which he selected 150 for his cycle *Das zerstörte Dresden* (The Destroyed Dresden). Fuchs' analysis of Rudolph's cycle is one of the gems of this book. She demonstrates the importance of studying the cycle in its entirety rather than the individual images. While some of Rudolph's drawings of landmark buildings, such as the destroyed Frauenkirche, have become iconic, the overwhelming majority of pictures in the cycle show ordinary street views. This serialization creates an overpowering sense of destructiveness. Fuchs notes that the first exhibition took place in Dresden in 1950, but that the cycle was later shown in other cities, too, such as Kassel, itself heavily bombed in the war. Yet, one wonders how stable the image was and to what extent it was shaped by the respective exhibition context. Did Rudolph's images convey the same

allegorical sense of destructiveness everywhere they were displayed, or did different exhibition venues impose different meanings on the pictures?

Fuchs argues that visual images more than any other medium have shaped the post-war generation's understanding of the Second World War and that iconic photographs 'exceed the power of language' (16). This echoes a point that historians have made, too: namely, that the Second World War (in contrast to the Great War and its 'war poetry') was a visual war above all else. Yet, this seems a strange admission from a scholar of literature, given that the Dresden bombing has produced an especially dense literary legacy. From Gerhard Hauptmann to Durs Grünbein, that air raid has become a staple of post-war literature and poetry. Moreover, the air raid on Dresden is an episode that features prominently in the literature of other countries, even countries not involved in the bombing. Fuchs revisits the work of Kurt Vonnegut and touches on Michael Morpurgo, but seems to have no space for either Harry Mulisch or Henri Coulonges. Is it really possible to establish a clear hierarchy of memory media? Does it make sense to assert the primacy of the visual? Fuchs' study shows in fact a tendency of different media to overlap and reinforce each other. The topographies of memory in Brigitte Reimann's *Franziska Linkerhand* (1974) and the invocations of photographs of 'The old Dresden' in Uwe Tellkamp's *The Tower* (2008) suggest a blurring between architecture, photography and literature, offering interplay between morphological and imaginary landscapes.

The thematic structure works well for Fuchs' monograph, although from the historian's point of view it has the disadvantage that it does not convey a clear sense of how Dresden's commemorative culture has changed over time. Readers interested in the evolution of commemorative practices should consult Tony Joel's *The Dresden Firebombing: Memory and the Politics of Commemorating Destruction*. This book is a study of the anniversaries, their underlying politics and media representation, especially since the 1980s. The book opens with chapter on the history of the bombing, followed by another on the commemoration between 1946 and the early 1980s, but for Joel the story really begins in 1985, and the bulk of the book explores commemorations between the mid-1980s and 2005. Joel, a historian, aims to show how the city evolved into 'the paradigmatic German *Opferstadt*' (39), a collective victim of the Second World War, during this period. The 13th of February 1985 occupies a central space here as the last 'milestone' day of remembrance before the reunification of Germany. This day saw a mass rally, the reopening of the rebuilt opera house, and various commemorative activities around the ruins of the Frauenkirche. The rally was significant because it acknowledged Dresden's symbolism as 'victim city' from a European or even universal position, while a wreath laid on behalf of the federal president at the ruins indicated an emerging 'hybridisation of German-German memory' (138) even before the fall of the Berlin Wall. Victimhood, cosmopolitanization and hybridization are central themes of the book, which shows that developments commonly seen as post-reunification date to some extent back to the late days of the GDR.

Joel highlights the duality of the image of Dresden in the aftermath of German reunification. On the one hand, Dresden became a (perhaps even *the*) national symbol of German suffering in the war, and on the other hand, a site of reconciliation between former enemies. Much room is given to the international, notably the British dimension. The controversy surrounding the statue to Bomber Harris in 1992, the Queen's state visits to Germany in 1992 and 2004, the work of the Dresden Trust to support the rebuilding of the Frauenkirche provide a rich context to explore the transnational dimension of post-unification identity politics. Reconciliation remained a key theme in 2005, but the 60th anniversary also revealed the nastier side of the German victimhood discourse. Dresden became a 'memory battleground' in which crude calculations such as 'Auschwitz minus Dresden equals zero' (249) achieved notoriety.

Joel relies almost exclusively on newspapers; the rich archives, into which Fuchs has dipped, have not been used. It does not become clear whether this is a pragmatic or conceptual choice, or a combination of both. The archives are vast and, after all, Joel's aim is to show how the bombing of Dresden has been mass mediated. While his analysis of the official commemorations and their press coverage is highly sensitive to nuances and developments, the aims and composition of the group(s) he calls 'socially-based agents' remain vague. The heterogeneity of these social agents – ranging from committed Christians to *Ausreisewillige* – and the internal conflicts within the Protestant church in the 1980s are only alluded to. Neither do we learn much about the Stasi's interventions behind the scene. Thus the focus of this book on the anniversaries and the city centre as the commemorative 'battleground' is, to some extent, a reflection of the type of sources used.

Fuchs' and Joel's books complement each other nicely. The former concentrates on the culture of memory and representations, the latter on the politics of remembrance and signifying practices. Fuchs adopts a thematic approach, whereas Joel charts the chronology of the anniversaries. Both scholars suggest that the Dresden bombing has become a symbol, not just on a local and national but also on a global level; a symbol shaped by commemorative media, ranging from visual images and literary works to political rituals and newspaper coverage.

Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, eds, *Writing Material Culture History*, Bloomsbury: London, 2015; 352 pp., 86 illustrations; 9781472518576, £65.00 (hbk); 9781472518569, £19.99 (pbk)

Reviewed by: Katy Barrett, *Royal Museums Greenwich, UK*

There have been so many 'turns' in the study of history in recent decades that you could be forgiven for thinking that the discipline is in a tailspin. Yet each has clearly brought its rigour and nuance to an increasingly diverse subject. One of the more recent turns has been to the material, as historians have learnt from other disciplines how to use objects as a means of studying the past. Much rich and rewarding work has come out of this vein, not least as historians have looked at the material qualities of texts alongside objects.

Yet, for students steeped in textual analysis and questions of bias, the move to consider material records can be a tricky one. The time is therefore ripe for a work on how and why to write material culture history. This is what Gerritsen and Riello have created in an edited work that brings together 25 contributors, many of whom have themselves shaped and spearheaded the use of material culture. In three themed sections that mix longer conceptual chapters with case studies, the authors consider both how and why material culture history should be studied, and the history of its development and relationship to other disciplines. This book not only ably lays out the field of material culture history, but critiques and questions it.

Introducing the contributions that follow, Gerritsen and Riello consider what objects bring to the study of history. ‘Material culture... consists not merely of “things”, but also of the meanings they hold for people... the affective, social, cultural and economic relationships that form our lives’ (2). Objects are not just the props of history, but tools that shape its course. They are also, of course, only useful in so far as historians ask of them the right questions. Objects have their limitations – material, practical, conceptual – which any historian must appreciate and negotiate. The point of the breadth of contributions is, partly, to make clear that the strength of material culture is in its interdisciplinarity and its range of methodologies.

Opening the collection with a section on ‘Disciplines’ is a clear means of making this point, with scholars from art history, anthropology, archaeology and English literature unpeeling the layers that material studies add to their field. It brings a democratization of elite objects, a route to those who do not leave a textual record, and a cultural richness to political and economic history. It emphasizes understanding the changing values and meanings of different materials, it helps to show how the histories of disciplines themselves have developed. For many the conclusion is, of course, that objects must work with texts to create a deeper understanding of the past. Catherine Richardson makes how clear how important it is to appreciate the language with which people communicated their belongings.

A section on ‘Histories’ then lays out a compelling range of examples of the different histories that can be informed by material culture. In particular, this section shows how objects have brought a renewed interest in the history of senses and emotions. From changing cultures of sleep, to the importance of lustre in a world without electric light, chapters emphasize the aspects of life to which a physical thing can give access. Global histories also emerge strongly, as the networked world of imperial commodities allows the historian to trace changing cultures of exchange, imitation and exploitation. The collection of objects brought together in this book range from carpets to baskets, houses to figureheads, and wills to Lycra leggings. Yet, Ulrich Lehmann raises the crucial question of how far material culture can travel from histories of consumption and shopping, proposing historical materialism as a new means of appreciating a French revolutionary wallpaper design.

Most importantly perhaps, the final section considers ‘Presentations’ of material culture, with contributions from museum curators, conservators, digital archivists and historical film advisors. These all present challenges to the traditional history

profession, bringing a particular emphasis on modes of display. Yet, as Hannah Greig argues, all historical writing requires representation, the film set merely brings a new set of challenges. Likewise, in a world where academia increasingly has to justify its 'impact' and where higher tuition fees mean that students proactively seek clearer career paths, these practical (and fashionable) applications of historical study cannot but be appealing.

The book ends with a list of online resources, mostly museum and library collections, and here we reach the problem that ever plagues publication of visual and material history. This is an impressively well-illustrated volume, with every chapter referencing at least one image, and over eighty in total. The publishers are to be applauded for an achievement well known to be time-consuming and costly. Yet, these images are black and white, two-dimensional representations of three-dimensional objects; things that the texts have compellingly informed us are rich in haptic and sensory meaning. How can a photograph of a handbell really show us the rich soundscape that Flora Dennis uses it to conjure? The material form of the book is clearly no longer adequate to communicate the subtleties that material culture can bring to the historical table. It is here that we must look to the next turn, the digital, to show us the way forward.

Amelia M. Glaser, ed., *Stories of Khmelnytsky: Competing Literary Legacies of the 1648 Ukrainian Cossack Uprising*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, CA, 2015; 320 pp., 2 maps, 9 figures, 1 table; 9780804793827, \$70.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Tomasz Jakub Hen-Konarski, *European University Institute, Florence, Italy*

This exciting volume has its origins in a conference that took place in San Diego in April 2012. It consists of 12 contributions plus an introduction from the editor and an afterword. The book grapples with the questions of how and for what purposes so many disparate images and narratives were constructed around Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the successful uprising of Ukrainian Cossacks he led against Poland-Lithuania in the mid-seventeenth century. While being the key national hero for Ukrainians and one of the arch-villains of the Ashkenazi memory, Khmelnytsky occupies a much less prominent, though recognizable, position in the historical narratives of Poland and Russia. It is the malleability and richness of conflicting meanings that is emphatically addressed by the diverse team of authors, including historians and literary scholars, specializing in four national contexts: Jewish, Polish, Russian and Ukrainian.

The contributions are divided into four sections organized on a chronological basis. The first one, comprised of articles by Adam Teller, Frank Sysyn and Ada Rapoport-Albert, deals with the second half of the seventeenth century. The second one, with texts by George Grabowicz, Taras Koznarsky and Roman Koropeckyj, is devoted to nineteenth-century Romanticism. The third one contains contributions from Amelia Glaser, Israel Bartal and Myroslav Shkandrij, and spans from the 1880s to the 1940s. The closing section with papers authored by

Gennady Estraiikh, Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, Izabela Kalinowska and Marta Kondratyuk is unequivocally twentieth-century. The afterword by Judith Deutsch Kornblatt, a literary scholar whose first book dealt with the Cossacks in an exclusively Russian context, serves as a coda.

It is impossible to do justice to the content of this volume, but the main directions can be outlined. Compilations of this sort are often a bit confused and incoherent, but in this case almost all articles contribute to the same discussion, falling into two main categories. First, there are texts dealing with the stories and images built around Khmelnytsky himself in various times and by various actors. Here, especially captivating are analyses of Teller and Koznarsky. The former recovers the usually overlooked ambiguities in the way in which Natan Hanover presented the Jewish–Ukrainian relationship in his oft-quoted *Yeven Metsulah*. Koznarsky in turn documents the structural intimacy between the early-nineteenth-century Ukrainian and Russian descriptions of hetmans Khmelnytsky and Mazepa (the latter being the arch-villain of Russian Imperial narrative). Puzzling evidence is also brought out by Estraiikh (Jewish perceptions of the Soviet Khmelnytsky Order) and Kalinowska and Kondratyuk (motion pictures devoted to Khmelnytsky in USSR, Poland and the independent Ukraine), though they by no means exhaust their topics. In the second category there are studies devoted not so much to the mythologized Khmelnytsky himself as to the symbolical figure of Ukrainian Cossacks in general: here the most surprising is Bartal's article on the use of Cossack symbols by the activists of the Second Aliyah at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The volume contains a chronology of major events associated with Khmelnytsky's actions and their later depictions, as well as a useful bibliography of primary sources. This would suggest an ambition to cover at least the most important aspects of the Khmelnytsky-related mythologies, which is clearly not the case. Several crucial topics are not addressed here, such as the early modern Polish-Lithuanian, Islamic and Orthodox Rumelian sources and traditions dealing with Khmelnytsky. Others are only touched upon, like the historical memories of the early modern Ukrainian Hetmanate or the erection of Khmelnytsky's monument in Kiev in the 1880s. Those questions are by no means a *terra incognita*, researched among others by Faith Hillis, Zenon Kohut, Serhii Plokyh and Frank Sysyn (whose text on Hrabianka is present here). Perhaps it would have been useful to reprint some older studies in order to make the volume more complete. Another notable issue is that despite the emphatically pluralistic character of the project, the articles themselves show how strong compartmentalizations along national lines still are. Examples of transnational cross-fertilization, evidently at play in the case of Khmelnytsky-related mythologies, do not feature prominently, though they pop up from time to time, only to enhance the impression that something really important is missing. Lastly, it is a pity that this volume has been prepared in line with the misleadingly self-evident logic of East European area studies. Khmelnytsky invites comparisons with figures of charismatic masculine nation builders from other parts of the world: William Tell, Garibaldi or J. M. Rosas are just a few possible examples. As has been rightly noted by

Kornblatt in her afterword, the same can be said of the Cossack myth. Even a more traditional, non-comparative study of Khmelnytsky's presence in the early modern media of other European countries would help to qualify the Eastern European essentialization.

The above remarks are not so much criticisms as rather suggestions for the future. The volume proves that the topic is relevant and stimulating. Though not always fully satisfying, the contributions are never boring. Anybody interested in political mythologies, charismatic leadership and historical memories reaching to the early modern period will find it useful and enjoyable.

Rasmus Glenthøj and Morten Nordhagen Ottosen, *Experiences of War and Nationality in Denmark and Norway, 1807–1815*, Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2014; xv + 327 pp., 5 maps; 9780230302815, £68.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Philip Dwyer, *University of Newcastle, Australia*

Scandinavia has largely been ignored in the literature on Napoleonic Europe, apart from a few episodes during the wars such as the Second League of Armed Neutrality or the bombardment of Copenhagen by the British in 1807. This book, co-authored by Rasmus Glenthøj and Morten Nordhagen Ottosen (both now at the University of Southern Denmark), on the history of Denmark-Norway is therefore a welcome addition that fills a badly neglected gap in the English-language literature. It is also the first book to look at the two countries from a comparative perspective, placing its history within the larger Scandinavian as well as international context. The two questions at the core of this book are how Denmark-Norway got dragged into the wars in the first place, and what influence and consequences they had for the two countries.

With a combined population of only around 2.5 million people, Denmark-Norway was nevertheless an important trading nation, with a total of 3500 merchant vessels sailing under the Danish flag in 1806. Like the Habsburg Empire, the 400-year-old kingdom of Denmark-Norway was a conglomerate of several different regions and ethnicities loyal to the same ruling house, including the predominantly German duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. One could therefore have different identities that Glenthøj and Ottosen argue took place on three levels: a cosmopolitan, a state patriotic and a national patriotic identity. Norwegians could consequently refer to themselves as Danes and call Danes their fellow countrymen. It was also possible for 'Danes' to die for the fatherland (79), an ideal that was widespread among the officer class in particular. The wars, however, were going to completely upset those notions, testing solidarity and loyalty to the Danish-Norwegian state.

Denmark-Norway prospered as a neutral state, until the kingdom got involved in the French Wars, leading first to the British bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807, pushing the kingdom into the arms of the French, and then war with Sweden (instigated by the latter). Morten and Ottosen explain lucidly in the first two

chapters how this occurred. Resentment against the British as a result of the bombardment was deep and long lasting in Denmark-Norway. It encouraged the state to enforce Napoleon's Continental System in a much stricter manner than any of Napoleon's other allies (174). But friendship with Napoleon was a double-edged sword. The fact that the kingdom more or less became chained to Napoleon inevitably meant that its survival was dependent on the continued military successes of the French. After 1812, with Napoleon's defeat in Russia, and the ensuing Russo-Swedish alliance, Denmark-Norway could not hold out alone.

The Swedes were just as detested among the 'Danish' as the British, to the point where 'to make a Swede of oneself' entered the vocabulary in Denmark and Norway alike and came to mean 'cowardice'. Sweden's role, as well as that of the man who would become known as Crown Prince Charles John, namely Napoleon's marshal, Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte, are invariably drawn into the narrative, providing additional insights into international relations during this period. The upshot of the wars was the creation of an independent Norway when, paradoxically, a Danish prince, Christian Frederick, was elected king of Norway in 1814. The separation was not inevitable but largely brought about by international pressure. At one point it looked as though Denmark itself might cease to exist as an independent kingdom.

The title of the book may be a little misleading to some, since it is not so much about the 'experience' of war as a political-cultural history of Denmark-Norway. In fact there is probably more of a focus on the political and military elite than on the people, although they too are included in the analyses on mentalities. The work could have been usefully augmented by an analysis of the visual material from the period, but that is a personal predilection and would have resulted in a longer work. That said, this is an invaluable addition to the collection of works on Napoleonic Europe, one that succeeds in bridging the gap in the literature, bringing to light little known aspects of the French Wars to English readers, as well as questioning the traditional historiographies of these countries. Also, the last chapter takes us beyond 1815, into the nineteenth and even the twentieth centuries for a brief overview of the political developments that led to four separate Scandinavian states, including the legacy that emerged from 1814 – 'Scandinavianism'. Morten and Ottosen are to be thanked for providing English-speaking readers with an accessible history of one of the turning points in Scandinavian history, a period that laid the foundations for the Scandinavia with which we are familiar today.

Jan Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews: Betrayal and Murder in German-Occupied Poland*, Indiana University Press: Bloomington, IN, 2013; 320 pp., 21 illus., 1 map; 9780253010742, £23.99 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Michael Fleming, *Polish University Abroad, London, UK*

Heroic narratives of rescue, of providing sanctuary, of doing all that was possible to aid Jews, who were targeted for annihilation by Nazi Germany during the

Second World War, are common across Europe, including in Britain. *Hunt for the Jews* is part of a growing body of corrective scholarship that is highlighting the participation, complicity and inaction of different populations. Grabowski offers a very detailed case study of how people in a rural county, Dabrowa Tarnowska in southeastern Poland, responded to the German policy of genocide. This book expands and updates the Polish-language edition, which was published in 2011, and is an important contribution to work that analyses wartime Polish–Jewish relations. This scholarship includes Jan Tomasz Gross’ *Neighbours* and a series of studies published by scholars at the Polish Center for Holocaust Research in Warsaw, of which Grabowski is a founding member.

Grabowski’s study mainly makes use of three different types of records: testimony gathered by the Central Committee of Polish Jews in the immediate aftermath of the war, records of Polish Court trials (August trials) from the late 1940s, and documents produced by the West German justice system in the 1960s as a result of the investigation of crimes committed by gendarmes and police during the war. This triangulation of records, together with other material, allows Grabowski to explore in great detail how people in a rural county reacted to the German persecution of their Jewish neighbours.

Grabowski demonstrates that many Poles were active in detecting Jews in hiding, in robbing them and, finally, in killing them. Dabrowa Tarnowska was not an anomaly, but rather an example of a much broader pattern that was repeated across Poland. For those Jews who sought refuge in the countryside (and it is important to differentiate between how the genocide proceeded in rural areas and urban areas), the chances of survival were not good: the ‘number of victims of the *Judenjagd* [hunt for the Jews] could reach 200,000 – and this in Poland *alone*’ (my italics) (3).

Hunt for the Jews shows the depth of complicity of the Polish blue police with the German anti-Jewish policy, and discusses the rationales motivating local villagers to act against Jews. The Germans offered modest rewards for handing over Jews, and instituted the so-called ‘hostage system’ in which a selected group of Poles would be punished if any Jews were found who had not been previously reported to the Germans. From the summer of 1942, the death penalty was a ‘distinct possibility’ for those (and their families) discovered to be sheltering Jews (56). Prior to the war, Polish–Jewish relations were not good in the region, exacerbated by the traditional anti-Jewish teachings of the Catholic Church and anti-Semitic copy featured in a number of Church-sponsored journals (20). Grabowski notes that rigorous assessment of the Church’s actions during the war will have to wait until the Church decides to open its archives (83).

The book provoked an intense debate following its initial publication in Polish in 2011. Claims that Poland’s international image risked being damaged were often little more than attempts to stifle debate and reinstitute the old, discredited heroic narrative of unimpeachable Polish conduct. In excavating the history of Dabrowa Tarnowska, Grabowski clearly demonstrates the courage and admirable heroism of

those who were rescuers. Grabowski notes that helping Jews was the ‘most dangerous of all underground activities’, not least because the risk of denunciation was high (v). *Hunt for the Jews* helps to recalibrate our understanding of helping, saving and, indeed, betraying, Jews during those terrible years. Those who were complicit in genocide were more successful than those who sought to shelter their Jewish co-citizens.

Hunt for the Jews deservedly won the Yad Vashem International Book Prize for Holocaust Research in December 2014. But it is important to bear in mind that reading the book in Britain (or the United States, for that matter) is somewhat different than reading it in Poland. The geography of reading matters. In Poland, the book is extremely important in helping Poles look honestly at their history and at the Holocaust. But here in Britain, readings which reinforce orientalist narratives about ‘Eastern’ Europe and/or fetishize spatial proximity – the idea that *only* those close to Jews subjected to German policy could act in a meaningful way (for good or ill) – are not helpful. Grabowski offers incredible insight into how Poles in rural Poland reacted to and, not infrequently, were complicit with, the German practice of genocide. Grabowski also, implicitly, challenges us to confront our own myths and to rethink how we narrate British (and American) history of responding to the Holocaust.

Carsten Humlebæk, *Spain: Inventing the Nation*, Bloomsbury: London, 2014; 272 pp.; 9781441133557, £70.00 (hbk); 9781441169556, £22.99 (pbk)

Reviewed by: Nagore Calvo Mendizabal, *King's College London, UK*

This is a very well written book about Spanish politics, society, economics and culture, written mainly from a historical perspective. The author manages to develop a clear and very well structured argument linking key events and processes in Spain from the nineteenth century to the present day. The book includes very recent debates about challenges to the 1978 Spanish Constitution, the available options for reforming the system of regional autonomies, and the possibilities for the integration of national projects, such as the Catalan and Basque, within the Spanish national-state.

As the author argues in Chapters 9, 10, 15 and 16, the possibilities for reforming regional statutes have been put to the test on a number of occasions. The scope for change has been limited by a number of factors such as institutional predisposition (e.g. in 2010 the Constitutional court ruled against the reforms to the Catalan statute), political will (e.g. the two nation-wide political parties, PSOE and PP, have diverging views on the future of Spain), regional policy (e.g. tensions around the process of decentralization), identity and regional politics (e.g. the presence of national projects and identities competing with the dominant Spanish national project), and more recently, the economic crisis.

In his thorough discussion of contemporary Spain, the author also addresses key cultural debates and controversies concerning the revision and inclusion of the recent ‘past’ as a mechanism of nation building capable of articulating a common memory

and identity (Chapter 14) as well as the search for common national symbols and practices that could also articulate expressions of collective identity (Chapters 10 and 2). While, as the author vividly demonstrates, such efforts at consensus building have not been straightforward, they marked a sharp contrast to late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Spain. The latter period was characterized by a complete lack of political, economic, social and cultural integration (Chapters 4, 5 and 6), which triggered the conditions for the development and establishment of dictatorial regimes, including that of Primo de Rivera (1923–1930) and Franco's regime (1939–1975) (seven and eight). At the end of the book the author also includes a more focused discussion of current events and offers a reflection on the banking crisis and how one of its consequences was the strengthening of the pro-sovereignty and secessionist tendencies in Catalonia (although not in Basque Country).

As the title and most of the narrative of the book suggests, this is a book about nation building in Spain. However, the engagement with different theoretical traditions on nationalism, apart from some very brief and general points made in Chapter one is minimal. It is also a bit disappointing that more effort was not put into developing a synthesis of the theoretical approaches that have informed debates about nation building in Spain. Specifically, although the analysis of developments in Spain from the nineteenth century onwards suggests the theoretical influence of modernization perspectives (e.g. Alvarez Junco, Sebastian Balfour and Quiroga) this is not explicitly stated. It is also not clear what scholarly tradition informs the author's approach to the topic of nation building more generally. For example, the author considers it important to take into consideration political, institutional and economic processes as intrinsic aspects of nation building in addition to processes involving the selection of cultural elements and symbolic practices, although the latter, he argues, depend on the active interpretative and selecting effort of 'nation-builders' (5). Yet, while the detailed discussion of the process of nation building in Spain demonstrates the dynamic and processual nature of national identity and nation formation, the author seems to take for granted the categories of (national) identity, nation, Spaniards, Catalans, Basques as *necessarily* existing. In doing so, these analytical categories are unproblematically used as building blocks to discuss (Spanish) history. For example, the author suggests that some kind of ethnic perception existed in pre modern times. He argues, 'Undoubtedly, Spain has ancient roots, both understood as a geographical and political entity... [P]robably from the time of the Visigoths, the term *Hispania* began to acquire certain ethnic connotations other than geographic' (2). Overall, the book fails to critically engage with questions of why and when such categories became meaningful and offers little evidence about how ordinary people felt/identified/understood/explained their own sense of (national) identity (particularly for nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Spain). Additionally, the book is narrated following key political, economic and socio-cultural processes (e.g. Liberal Spanish nation, Restoration Regime, Military Dictatorship, The Second Spanish Republic, The Civil War and The Franco Regime, etc.), which although widely used in academic and popular writing may also benefit from some critical assessment and justification.

While the book does not offer much that is new in terms of empirical material or theorization, I believe it is a very good introductory text for undergraduate students of Spanish studies and related disciplines. The style of writing is clear, the argument well-structured and the author offers a vivid, concise and dynamic summary of scholarly research on nation building in Spain. The author draws on useful archival material, legal as well as key policy documents (particularly for the chapters on contemporary Spain), which are well documented in the endnotes of the book. Those new to the field will gain knowledge about cultural claims and disputes but also about key political, institutional and economic transformations in Spain since the nineteenth century. Had the book developed a clearer conceptual framework as well as a synthesis of the theoretical approaches that inform the work, it might have had the potential to engage graduate students and academics in the field.

Jonathan Israel, *Revolutionary Ideas: An Intellectual History of the French Revolution from The Rights of Man to Robespierre*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ, 2014; 888 pp., 15 halftones, 7 line illus.; 9780691151724, £27.95 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Mark Curran, *Queen Mary University of London, UK*

Revolutionary Ideas is a remarkable book that extends aspects of the bold thesis that Jonathan Israel presented in his *Radical Enlightenment* (2001), *Enlightenment Contested* (2006) and *Democratic Enlightenment* (2011) through the tumultuous events of the French Revolution. Weathering a spectacular mauling from his critics, Israel steadfastly maintains that there were two Enlightenments. The first – the mainstream Enlightenment of Voltaire and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, of Montesquieu and John Locke – was fatally compromised and oftentimes counter-productive. It was morally and politically conservative, supportive of absolute monarchy and its prevailing social order. The second – a ‘radical’ Enlightenment of the late-seventeenth-century Dutch pantheist Baruch Spinoza and his eighteenth-century atheist and materialist successors including Claude-Adrien Helvétius and the baron d’Holbach – was an altogether more satisfactory and influential affair. It unflinchingly rejected supernatural agency and promoted reason, true equality, justice, toleration, liberty of expression and, most importantly, democratic republicanism. Israel contends in *Revolutionary Ideas* not only that the philosophies of *both* of these Enlightenments drove the events of 1789–1799, but that the ‘real revolution’ was the child of the latter radical Enlightenment. This authentic revolution, he insists, was forged by a relatively small group of influential and heroic heirs to the heirs of Spinoza, notably Sieyès, Mirabeau, Volney, Brissot, Condorcet and Tom Paine. These democratic heroes punched above their weight and briefly carried the moment. But, alas, they lost the day. The moderate Enlightenment inspired the constitutional monarchists and proto-fascist authoritarian populist villains of Israel’s drama – Marat and Robespierre receive a particularly colourful drubbing – squashed the promise of the radical Enlightenment and set European history on a compromised and unsatisfactory path.

The level of erudition and scholarly grind necessary to plough such a singular thesis through the rococo chronology of the French Revolution is a wonder. Israel's narrative involves such a fundamental rethink of so many of the revolution's actors and events that it never fails to stimulate, to provoke. And that *Revolutionary Ideas* is as richly furnished with valuable new archival evidence as its three predecessors is quite remarkable. Further, for those of us that have long considered something amiss about the way that generations of historians and philosophers have routinely maligned or ignored the eighteenth-century materialists, Israel's project undeniably holds a certain allure. D'Holbach's 1770-published *Système de la nature* (*The System of Nature*) did excite stronger reactions from contemporaries than did the majority of the proclaimed masterworks of the French Enlightenment. And, from as early as the 1760s, high-profile conservative detractors did warn of the revolutionary ambitions of a radical *philosophe* core not all that dissimilar from that presented by Israel. Israel's work, then, is especially intriguing and valuable because it exists within a curious historiographical blind-spot: we need to know more about the materialists and the impact of their writings on the long eighteenth century, including the French Revolution.

Alas, Israel overreaches with *Revolutionary Ideas*. The biggest difficulty that he faces in tracing the impact of his radical Enlightenment through 1789 is that its major actors had all either given up the ghost or put down their pens long before the storming of the Bastille. With the memory of the *Système de la nature* affair faded, with d'Holbach's atheist heirs Naigeon and Volney perennially in the shadows, and with the names of the 'moderates' Voltaire and Rousseau ringing loudest in Paris's coffee houses and assembly halls, drawing a direct causal line between the radical Enlightenment and the French Revolution requires an audacious double switcheroo. First, readers are asked to accept the elevation of a relatively small band of prominent agitators – most notably Mirabeau, Sieyès, Condorcet and Brissot – to the status of clairvoyant oracles of pure democratic republicanism. From 1787 onwards, Israel paints his troop as unwaveringly principled and breathtakingly ahead of the curve. And second, on the basis that *only* the radical Enlightenment was equipped to beget such an uncompromising agenda, readers have to buy into the idea that these men were the intellectual offspring of Spinoza.

Few informed contemporaries would have trusted Brissot and Mirabeau with the silverware, let alone the future of western civilization. From Mirabeau's secretive double dealings with Louis XVI to Brissot's intermittent *Rousseauianism*, the hard evidence too often seems at odds with Israel's reading. Together these men left reams of published and unpublished scribbles, before and after 1789, which contain almost no sign of any serious familiarity with the works of d'Holbach, let alone his intellectual forefathers. And strangely, in its rush to challenge prevailing scholarly narratives of just about every major actor and event of the revolution, *Revolutionary Ideas* too often forgets to help the reader through the basics. Whilst the volume runs to over 700 pages, the Bastille falls in half a paragraph and the flight to Varennes is covered only through the reactions of major figures. The war context is largely conspicuous by its absence. As such, this is not a book

for the uninitiated. But those specialists willing to look beyond the failings of *Revolutionary Ideas* will find an enormously rich and engaging work that invites us to think and to challenge received wisdom.

Lisa A. Kirschenbaum, *International Communism and the Spanish Civil War: Solidarity and Suspicion*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2015; 287 pp., 10 illus.; 9781107106277, £64.99 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Josep Puigsech Farras, *University of Barcelona, Spain*

In the 90s of the last century and the first years of this century, the partial opening of Soviet archives led to the appearance of many works on the international communist movement. The centre–periphery dichotomy – the degree of control and hierarchy of the centre (Moscow) over the periphery (the different national sections) – marked the background to these contributions. Although this debate continues to this day, it has been overtaken in recent years by a new one that centres on the viability of the transnational character and dynamics of the international communist movement.

Lisa A. Kirschenbaum's work can be situated precisely in this second line of debate. Using some quite difficult-to-access primary Soviet sources in the Russian Federation, along with some copies in the USA, and complementing them with diverse primary sources from US and Spanish archives, the author argues for the transnational character of the international communist movement. She reaches this conclusion by looking at the theory and practice of the conduct and behaviour of communist militants during the last decade of the inter-war period, which constituted a solid collective and common entity with a transverse character comprising militants of different nationalities and different cultural backgrounds. To do this she uses a geopolitical and chronological framework, examining first the USSR at the beginning of the 1930s as the neurological centre of design, proselytism and reference point for the conduct and behaviour that should define a good communist; and, secondly, Spain as a practical scenario which tested such conduct and behaviour. In addition the author rightly links the internal dynamics of Spain and the civil war of 1936–1939, with internal soviet dynamics, the beginning of the Stalinist terror in the USSR, and how all this came together in transnational dynamics, which in the case of the communist volunteers in Spain were assumed as their own.

Kirschenbaum opts for an intelligent balance between description and analysis in her work. She shows that the history of communist internationalism is more than just the history of the leading elites. It is the history of a vital base, intimate and individualized, in which personal letters, poems and other series of personal productions during the war became solid primary sources for the reconstruction of another of the trajectories of the communist movement. Despite the solidity and reliability of this book, it should have incorporated the most significant literature which has been produced in the last years in Spanish on the civil war, both by Spanish authors as well as Germans or Russians, along with some contributions in Russian on the conflict. Kirschenbaum should also avoid using the term

'nationalists' and use 'rebels' instead (85 and 195). The former term was not only part of the subjective language which one of the sides in the Spanish Civil War used to call themselves, it was also used in order to present themselves falsely as the sole legitimate representative of the Spanish nation.

The structure of the work allows us to consider different evidence on the transnational character of the communist movement. The first part looks at the scenario in which the theoretical framework of the conduct and behaviour that define a good communist was prepared and spread, and how that implied a series of retroactions between protagonists from different nationalities and different cultural backgrounds who came into contact through the International Lenin School or, in other cases, by means of the first newspaper published in English in the USSR, *Moscow News*. The second part analyses the practice of such conduct and behaviour during the years of the Spanish Civil War. Here the main, but not the only, body of analysis is the US volunteers of the 15th International Brigade. The author states, rightly, that practice generated ambivalence, complexity and contradictions on the standards of behaviour designed in Moscow, due to unforeseeable and uncontrollable dynamics such as falling in love, sexual relations, alcohol abuse or linguistic difficulties, but they also maintained some theoretical elements such as rigour or seriousness. On the other hand, it also generated an imaginary feeling of collective solidarity, in which songs or smoking in group areas were important aspects – a difficult question which is analysed very well. Finally, the third part proposes a reconsideration of the place of the Spanish Civil War in the changing international context after 1939. The symbolism of the antifascist struggle in Spain had to face the difficult scenario of the German–Soviet pact, just as the North American volunteers fell victim to the phobia of the first years of the Cold War and as the volunteers who found themselves in the Eastern Bloc had to reinterpret their participation in Spain.

Robert J. Knecht, *Hero or Tyrant? Henry III, King of France, 1574–89*, Ashgate: Farnham, 2014; 370 pp., 30 illus.; 9781472429308, £80.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Dustin Neighbours, *University of York, UK*

Monarchs within the early modern period walked a fine line between being perceived as an ideal, heroic ruler or a heretical, unjust tyrant. Undeniably, the case of Henry III of France made him an unconventional figure. He has been the recipient of critical analysis by historians of the early modern period and garnered negative scrutiny from contemporary literature and accounts of the time.

Robert J. Knecht's biography, *Hero or Tyrant? Henry III, King of France, 1574–89*, aims to set the record straight about this controversial king. Knecht points out that his goal for the monograph is to 'bring [the king] to the notice of English-speaking readers' and 'fill the void' (xi) by offering a biography of Henry III that has been missing from early modern historiography.

Knecht takes readers through the life of Alexandre-Edourd, as he was christened, or Henry III as he was known when he became king in 1574. Beginning with

Henry's childhood, Knecht recounts the dynamics of his large family and the influence of his mother, Catherine de Medici and brother, Charles IX. Henry was groomed for his role as king in sixteenth-century France, during the forced co-existence between Catholics and Huguenots. From the early years of Henry's education and 'apprenticeship' to his rise as a Catholic hero and the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572, Knecht shares an abundance of information that helped shape Henry's identity and thrust him onto the European stage. Knecht crafts a narrative of intrigue and drama with the tricky transition from being a successful admiral under his brother's, Charles IX, government, to becoming the King of Poland in 1573, through an election among the noblemen.

Continuing with the death of Henry's brother in 1574, and his hasty flight from the Polish royal throne, Henry's return journey to France was filled with a constant bombardment of instruction letters from his imposing mother and meetings with elite noblemen, politicians and royal leaders. Arriving in France, a shift in the king's demeanour was evident and marked the beginning of Henry's new-found power and authority. His approach to his kingship was considered radical and different, as he became more inaccessible, which was outside the norm for the French court and for the royal family. Knecht's climax of Henry's story follows with the problematic coronation and quick wedding to Louise de Vaudémont, which was followed by a civil war that pit brother against brother. The culmination of the monograph highlights the religious and personal reformation of Henry III. This led to the decline of his power and authority, causing him to make catastrophic mistakes, such as ordering the Blois murders that contributed to an uproar and a kingdom torn apart, and ultimately ended in Henry's death.

Knecht artfully forms a chronological biographical sketch of Henry III, with occasional thematic chapters. There is an abundance of information that makes the intriguing history tedious at times. There are also a few issues within the overall presentation of the monograph.

First, the brief introduction and conclusion of the monograph lacks a historical analysis that would have given context to the biography that Knecht has crafted. Secondly, the lack of identification and analysis of the contemporary literature, primary sources and accounts surrounding Henry III leaves academic scholars without historical content to engage with and expound upon. This has led to instances of speculation that are not supported with evidence. For instance, when discussing the marriage negotiations with Elizabeth I of England, Knecht mentions that Elizabeth's 'ministers were prepared to concede the terms' (169) – what is his evidence for this? Thirdly, there are a few themes of the monograph that Knecht identifies early on that are closely associated with Henry III in scholarly works. He points out that 'debauchery' (xii), 'reclusiveness' (xi), and 'love of extravagant display' (xi) are intrinsically identified with Henry III. These points are not clearly explained or adequately addressed. In particular, when discussing the reclusiveness, Knecht could have explicated this when he mentions that Henry made himself less accessible upon becoming king. Finally, there are specific passages throughout the monograph that are hurried and glossed over, rather than explained and analysed to demonstrate how it

contributes to our understanding of Henry and impacts the royal identity that he would later embrace. For example, Knecht talks about Henry's 'love of extravagant display' but when talking about the progresses in the early part of his life, Knecht does not illustrate how this develops our understanding of who Henry was. This 'love of extravagant display' could have been further advanced when Knecht outlines Henry's court in Chapter 11.

Though there are some issues from an academic perspective, this captivating and informational biography of a man who was portrayed as a construct of his mother's influence and meddling, as well as misunderstood and catapulted into a volatile environment full of tension and religious strife, will be of general interest to a variety of audiences and students interested in the topic.

Gyöngy Kovács Kiss, ed., *Studies in the History of Early Modern Transylvania*, trans. Matthew Caples and Thomas Cooper, Social Science Monographs: Boulder, CO, 2011; 500 pp., 6+9 illus.; 9780880336895, £45.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Antal Szántay, *Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary*

This is a very valuable collection of studies on the history of early modern Transylvania. In an introduction, the editor, Gyöngy Kovács Kiss, a specialist on the cultural history of this region, gives a compact overview of the formation and political history of Transylvania in early modern times. She outlines the aims of the collection as presenting 'research that deals with the social, administrative, cultural and daily life of the region and the interpersonal network that formed between the most prominent figures of the period and as such represents part of the study of cultural history' (11).

The book contains 18 essays and a kind of biographical lexicon of 'Key Personalities' of the period. Most of the authors are Transylvanian with Hungarian, Székely, German and Romanian backgrounds, but are from different generations. There are chapters by Zsigmond Jakó (1916–2008) and István Imreh (1919–2003), as well as by the senior and younger generations of historians.

The essays are grouped in three parts: I. Structure and Organization – Society – Interpersonal Relations; II. Scholarship – Culture – Architecture; III. *Claudiopolis – Transylvaniae Civitas Primaria*. Part I is a rich collection raising different social and institutional aspects of Transylvanian history, like the formation and composition of the princely court (A. Jeney-Tóth, 15–41), the county as local administrative unit (V. Dáné, 42–69), and the regulations of villages (I. Imreh, 202–34). The construction of the legends and myths of the origin of the Székely (G.M. Hermann, 83–113), the nobles of Romanian origin (I. Drăgan, 114–50), the Armenians (J. Pál, 151–78), and the social groups of Marosvásárhely (S. Pál-Antal, 179–201), as well as the confusing tragedy of Dénes Bánffy (M. Sebestyén, 70–82) are also presented here with depth and great competence. Part II is dedicated to issues of cultural history with an overview of the Transylvanian Reformation (D. Buzogány, 237–66) and a biographical essay on Johannes Honterus, 'the most important Saxon

humanist and reformer' (G. Nussbächer, 267–78), as well as a study, published earlier in Hungarian, on the scholarly activities of Ignác Batthyány, the founder of the famous library, collections and observatory in Gyulafehérvár (Zs. Jakó, 279–318). Three very interesting essays dedicated to architecture and garden culture (A. Kovács, 319–58; K.P. Kovács, 359–95; A. Fekete, 396–419) extend Part II into interdisciplinary scholarship. Part III focusses on Kolozsvár (Claudiopolis, Klausenburg, today Cluj in Romania) with well-selected issues of social history, like the conflict of nobility and citizenship (L. Pakó, 423–48), the urban elite (Á. Flóra, 449–64), everyday life (Gy. Kovács Kiss, 465–97), and the particular but revealing witchcraft trials in that city (A. Kiss, 498–527).

The translation and presentation of Hungarian historical knowledge in English seems to present some trouble (e.g. not having a standard English vocabulary for institutions, organizations and social groups, though this could have been based upon the official Latin of the era). Moreover, the proof reading is not always attentive, with a few avoidable typographical errors. Despite these problems, this collection of essays gives a very vivid and colourful picture of early modern Transylvanian history in current terms. Most of the essays rely heavily on primary sources from Transylvanian archives, and present the fruits of longer research, which in many cases had been published previously, mainly in Hungarian-language monographs. Consequently, this collection of essays also offers a kind of group portrait of contemporary historians specializing in the social and cultural history of early modern Transylvania.

Katherine Lebow, *Unfinished Utopia: Nowa Huta, Stalinism, and Polish Society, 1949–56*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca, NY, 2013; 256 pp., 16 illus.; 9780801451249, \$45.00 (hbk)

Kinga Pozniak, *Nowa Huta: Generations of Change in a Model Socialist Town*, University of Pittsburgh Press: Pittsburgh, PA, 2014; 240 pp.; 9780822963189, \$27.95 (pbk)

Reviewed by: Nguyen Vu Thuc Linh, *European University Institute, Florence, Italy*

Growing up and living in a post-socialist society in the midst of rapid social and economic changes is far from easy. For foreign visitors and often for Poles themselves, Warsaw is the most visible example of those fascinating and yet troubling shifts. The Polish capital's downtown cityscape with the iconic Palace of Culture and Science, post-modern shopping malls, sky scrapers in the financial district, lively bars and 'communist-style' apartment blocks embodies Poland's post-89 political and cultural identity – an identity that is caught between the country's growing economic ambition and the haunting ghosts of the communist past. This year marks the sixtieth anniversary of the Palace of Culture and Science, with which most Varsovians entertain a love–hate relationship, as the Palace (a 'gift' from Stalin) is a bold reminder of the immediate historic context from which contemporary Poland emerges. As the recurring debates about its demolition underline, for the aspirational and somewhat phantasmatically modern Warsaw it is not easy to cope with such a legacy (be it in the form of angry denial or joyful acceptance).

But that's Warsaw. Consider another site of competing memories and experiences that is overshadowed by the Warsaw-centred public discourse and thus much less well-known – Nowa Huta, the flagship socialist town, now a district of the city of Kraków. On 17 February 1949, after Soviet involvement, it was announced that steelworks would be built in a village to the east of Kraków. Two years later, in 1951, the location was annexed by Kraków as its industrial district. Eventually, on 21 January 1954 the steelworks in Nowa Huta – an immense industrial complex – were opened and named after Vladimir I. Lenin. With its massive scale, top-down style of management and socialist-realist style Nowa Huta (literally: New Steelworks) was meant to be a signature Stalinist investment symbolizing the Six-Year Plan in particular and the socialist model of production as well as its ideology in general. In many ways resembling Stalinstadt (now Eisenhüttenstadt in Germany), and as a newly-founded town offering employment and housing to the population traumatized by World War II, Nowa Huta attracted young people (especially men with a rural background) who sought to escape life in the provinces and start a new life.

With two English-language monographs on Nowa Huta – one by the historian Katherine Lebow and the other by the anthropologist Kinga Pozniak – there is now a chance of renewed interest in one of the most remarkable examples of socialist urban planning. While Lebow offers a multi-layered historical account of how Nowa Huta came into being, both conceptually and practically, Pozniak's contribution is driven by an anthropological focus on the contemporary perception of Nowa Huta's changing reality by its inhabitants.

In her impressively dynamic and well-woven narrative, Lebow leads her readers through the multifaceted story of the emergence of Nowa Huta by sensitively bringing together elements of the history of migration and the history of labour with cultural and social history. With its emphasis on the perspective of ordinary agents, Lebow's book challenges the traditional historiography that prioritizes the experience of elites and the functioning of political institutions. Clearly, the new town functioned as an important political signifier in the authoritative propaganda discourse of the regime but, as Lebow demonstrates, Nowa Huta gradually became a lively urban and social sphere in which chaos and improvisation challenged bureaucratic rules, economic planning and political desires (43). For instance, in the course of building and living in Nowa Huta, Nowohucians encountered a diverse range of problems, most significantly poor labour and housing conditions as well as shortages in supply that resulted in low standards of both working and living.

From today's perspective, such a state of affairs appears to be in contradiction with the political and conceptual premises behind Nowa Huta, which was, after all, meant to be a truly socialist town enabling a collective, committed and moral community of workers organized around transformative labour. Yet, as becomes clear in the course of the book, the creativity of workers allowed them to adapt to the given situation by, for instance, illegally squatting in unfinished buildings. Alongside promises of a better life and attempts to activate members of historically disadvantaged groups such as women and the Roma minority, stood a sense of disappointment with how Nowa Huta was managed. Thus, while carrying with it a

post-war promise of a good life, the newly built town was also experienced by some as blocking opportunities for a better life.

With the Lenin Steelworks as the main workplace, an on-site medical clinic, a newspaper and many other institutions offering different forms of leisure, such as a cinema and a *Świetlica* (essentially a cultural centre), Nowa Huta was indeed intended to be a total socialist city accommodating both the public and the private lives of its residents. For many, the industrial district was not merely a place of employment but became their basic social environment, allowing for their needs for social (self-)recognition as good workers and citizens to be met. Nowa Huta with its job market, welfare state institutions, and in general relatively well-organized life created the conditions for the rural migrants coming from different, often underdeveloped, parts of Poland to become 'modern' people, experiencing, often for the first time in their life, an urban environment. Lebow's book illuminates how the new town became a political and social laboratory for upward class mobility that was (at least as far as intentions are concerned) designed and orchestrated by the state. Despite Nowa Huta's ambivalent position struggling between various shortcomings and sets of opportunities, for generations of Nowohucians the district became a home. It turned into a unique social space with its own distinct workers' culture and identity – a place to which they became emotionally attached and a place worth fighting for.

One of Lebow's most compelling arguments is that it is precisely due to this specific character of Nowa Huta – collective labour, historical exposure to Stalinist mobilizing discourse, promotion of active citizenship through labour – that its inhabitants developed an identity of their own that later on became a crucial breeding ground for social and political protests. More specifically, Nowa Huta's unique scale and infrastructure as well as the social memory of its origins and political importance, the argument goes, became a valuable source of resources and skills for the protest movements of the 1970s and 1980s. For example, in the context of Solidarity, and especially during the period of martial law after Solidarity was banned in December 1981, reproduction machines, paper and transmitters from Nowa Huta were used to spread independent underground news. Before it was delegalized, around 95 per cent of Nowa Huta workers had joined the Solidarity Union. As Lebow puts it, '[i]n this way, Nowa Huta became the information nerve centre for an entire region' (173).

What did Nowa Huta mean to its builders, their children and contemporary Nowohucians? Drawing on extensive interviews with Nowohucians and applying the lens of memory studies, Pozniak's book examines the popular understanding of, and meaning given to, Nowa Huta by its residents. The aftermath of the political transformation of 1989 was marked by a nationwide process of privatization. As a result, the industrial district of Kraków experienced marginalization, underdevelopment, isolation and unemployment among its inhabitants, all of whom were literally in one way or another linked to the steelworks. The key industrial area that used to be considered fundamental to communist modernity suddenly turned into a neglected and stigmatized space.

While the year 2004 is usually associated with Poland joining the European Union, for Nowa Huta it was marked by another important event, namely the selling of the whole conglomerate to ArcelorMittal, a multinational steel manufacturing corporation that is the world's largest steel producer. Unsurprisingly, with the new owner and a new style of management came significant changes – many people lost their jobs and much of the welfare programme has been cut. As bitter as it might sound, the deal still saved the consortium from being shut down completely.

Central to Pozniak's re-evaluation of Nowa Huta's now discredited socialist legacy is her capacity to trace generational changes, allowing us to see how local agents themselves – both individuals and institutions – try to negotiate the still uneasy memory of the socialist past. As Pozniak writes, '[i]t is precisely this polyphony of voices and memories that constitutes Nowa Huta's discursive landscape' (121). As this quote implies, contradictory voices and disagreements with state-sanctioned narratives are an inevitable aspect of active remembrance and of the construction of public memory.

Relying on wide-ranging interviews, Pozniak's book is successful in distancing itself from the predominant tendency in Polish public discourse to one-sidedly emphasize the repressive dimension of the People's Republic of Poland. As the book shows, the agents themselves do not necessarily remember living in Nowa Huta as living under a totally oppressive regime. Creating space for accounts of agents who neither identify themselves as victims of the socialist system nor as heroes of the political opposition, the interviews in the book aptly document how the residents of Nowa Huta try to make sense of past events and their current situation, through dramatic paradigm shifts. As David Ost points out in his blurb, it is noteworthy that the interviews reveal the agents' practical common sense in navigating the past and present post-socialist reality.

Lebow's and Pozniak's books allow their readers – whether they are undergraduates, interested non-specialists or historians of post-1945 Poland – to understand how Nowa Huta came about and what it is becoming today. Caught in the midst of a process that redefines industry as heritage and socialist legacy and negotiates 'turbo-capitalism' in Poland, Nowa Huta came to be many things and to fulfil many different social functions. By skilfully combining historical and sociological research with a distinct sensitivity for the views of the ordinary residents of Nowa Huta, Lebow's and Pozniak's books provide much-needed studies that allow us to see Nowa Huta as a magnifying glass through which we can understand Polish post-war communism as a set of ideals and often contradictory practices.

Dominic Lieven, *Towards the Flame: Empire, War and the End of Tsarist Russia*, Allen Lane: London, 2015; 448 pp.; 9781846143816, £25.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: George Gilbert, *University of Southampton, UK*

This book is the result of a lifetime's work and thought concerning the history of late imperial Russia. Though most obviously a history of how imperial Russia

collapsed, it is, as Dominic Lieven explains early on, actually three books: a history of Russia's descent into the First World War; a novel take on the origins of the First World War, chiefly because it approaches events from a mostly unfamiliar Russian perspective; and, finally, an examination of the origins of the Russian Revolution perceived from an international angle. The first two chapters examine themes from what Lieven calls the 'God's-eye view' – particularly, the rise of nationalism and the struggle for world powers to keep control of their empires in an age of mass politics and emerging local identities (14). The third, longest chapter examines some major personalities within Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs; in contrast to the first two chapters, the author goes into very fine detail here, assessing the key figures that lie at the heart of the work, including Nicholas II and the foreign ministers Aleksandr Izvolsky and his successor Sergey Sazonov. The fourth through seventh chapters examine major events in more detail, including the Balkan Crises and the July Crisis of 1914. The final chapter is an assessment of the impact of Russian domestic politics and the machinations within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the war itself and the momentous events that led to the revolutions of 1917. Covering all of these areas in a single work is an almost overwhelming ask, made trickier by the dual approach adopted of detailed, empirical analysis and broader conceptual comparisons between world empires. Going into detail on all of the issues raised in this work is not possible in the space of a book review, so only a few comments on major themes will be made here. For this reader, Lieven's analysis of the rise of nationalist lobbies inside tsarist Russia and the influence that the growing sphere of 'public opinion' applied on the tsar and his coterie of ministers was particularly intriguing: the bellicose nature of pundits such as Mikhail Men'shikov was increasing evidence of the influence of nationalist journalism in Russian public life. Similarly, the rise of Slavophilism within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs may not, eventually, have been the central cause of war, but was yet another major force that needed containing. Another central theme of the work was the split between ministers that saw Russia's main interests as being located within Europe and those that turned their attention more towards Asia: the latter can be attested, among other things, by the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05. The ideological and personal conflicts within this important sphere of rule impinged on any attempts to build a coherent and workable policy towards preserving the balance of power in Europe that might have made for a lasting peace. In spite of considerable new research, much of which was carried out in the now closed Russian State Military-Historical Archive, the work contains the hallmarks of Lieven's approach to the study of Russian history adopted in his past work. This is a book primarily about people and personalities. In Lieven's view, without the individual actions (and mistakes) made in the run-up to 1914, the trajectory of European and world history in the twentieth century would have been very different indeed, in spite of the dominant ideological and political trends that were the discontents of an emerging European modernity. The work contains many intriguing insights into key figures in the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs and also in the domestic sphere, such as within the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Curiously, it was clever and wholly reactionary ministers such as Petr Durnovo that proved to be both the most far-sighted about the coming cataclysm of European war and also the least dangerous threats to European stability; conversely, it was when Russia's rulers desired to exploit more modern ideas about harnessing public opinion and manipulating the tensions associated with state-building that key mistakes were made in the run up to war. In the final chapter of the book, Lieven discounts the idea that Russia's mobilization meant that the nation was largely to blame for what happened in the middle of 1914, in contrast to other recent scholarship. Outside of the very detailed chapters on the crises of 1914 and the decision makers, the work can feel somewhat fragmentary in its approach as it takes into account a number of very diverse areas; this is not, however, a problem, as the work is overall a very skilful analysis of the final few decades of late imperial Russia. It touches on points of interest for many specialists as well as those interested in European history on a more general level and should appeal to a very wide readership.

James Lyon, *Serbia and the Balkan Front, 1914: The Outbreak of the Great War*, Bloomsbury: London, 2015; 328 pp.; 9781472580030, £65.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Samuel Foster, *University of East Anglia, UK*

The lead up to the centenary of the First World War's outbreak unsurprisingly elicited a prodigious outpouring of historical literature and a revival of the platitudinous debate concerning its cause. Nowhere has this been more acute than the Balkans, as James Lyon, an associate researcher at the University of Graz who has studied the region for over thirty years, notes in this monograph. The commemoration of Gavrilo Princip's assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on 28 June 2014 was itself shaped by the more recent past. Sarajevo's Bosniaks and Croats were treated to displays of music, fireworks, historical re-enactments designed to construct a symbolic narrative of historic victimhood and Serb aggression – all with Austrian sponsorship. Bosnian Serbs held parallel celebrations commemorating Princip as a hero (7–10). Meanwhile, most historic narratives, dominated by diplomacy and the Western Front, simply overlook the subsequent wartime experiences of Serbia and other Balkan territories. Until recently, Andrej Mitrović's *Serbia's Great War*, originally written in 1984, remained the only comprehensive work on this topic in English. Utilizing a range of archival sources from Belgrade, Sarajevo and Vienna, Lyon endeavours to rectify this by placing Serbia at the heart of the unfolding events in the war's Balkan theatre from June to December 1914.

Chapters one to three explain the historic regional context of the assassination. Readers sympathetic to the Dual Monarchy might take issue with Lyon's more measured assessment of Serbia during this period and his conclusion that Austria-Hungarian expansionism was as much to blame as Serb nationalism. Success in the recent Balkan Wars had exhausted the country financially and militarily and left it

surrounded by hostile, and equally expansionist, neighbours. Conflict with Austria-Hungary was thus far from desirable for the government of Prime Minister Nikola Pašić. This situation was aggravated by the influence of the nationalist 'Black Hand' organization under the leadership of Dragutin 'Apis' Dimitrijević to which, Lyon argues, responsibility for the plot should be assigned rather than the government (62). Despite representing a 'parallel structure' of power to the government, the Black Hand was far from an overarching political force. Its convoluted network of nationalist subversion comprised groups whose agendas and aims often clashed with Apis' goal of a Greater Serbia. Princip himself had favoured a southern Slav federation over an expanded Serbia (25).

The book comes into its own from chapters four to eleven however, with Lyon's assessment as to why, in the latter half of 1914, Austria-Hungary failed to defeat Serbia twice. The crux of Lyon's argument lies in his debunking the myth that these had resulted from Austria-Hungarian military's unpreparedness. On paper, its armies outranked Serbia's 'peasant mob' in almost every field, boasting some of the best equipped troops and most advanced artillery of any of the war's fronts. Serbia's soldiers, by contrast, were chronically lacking in ammunition, weaponry, food, transport or uniforms and proper footwear. Its ambassador to Rome did not even know that his country had an air force. Demoralization also led to over 60,000 desertions by the end of the year, with whole divisions suffering from manpower shortages until mid-1915 (80–8). The secret to its military success thus lay in the greater combat experience of its troops and the strategic initiative of its officers. By contrast the Monarchy's poorly managed stratagem incurred heavy casualties culminating in Serb victories at Mount Cer and the Kolubara River that precipitated the collapse of both Austria-Hungarian campaigns. Responsibility ultimately lay with the incompetent leadership of Oskar Potiorek, the pro-war governor of Bosnia-Herzegovina whose political connections out-stripped his military capabilities. Conversely, the Serbs suffered equally high losses and spent much of the conflict in retreat, temporarily abandoning Belgrade in December. A devastating typhus epidemic and a German-led invasion by the Central Powers in October 1915 prompted the bulk of the army to flee into exile, the total number of military and civilian deaths climbing to horrific proportions.

Lyon's monograph is not without its flaws, however. Following a period of recuperation and reconfiguration on Corfu, a substantially smaller Serbian army subsequently served alongside the other Entente forces encamped around the port of Thessaloniki from 1916 to September 1918. Rather than hinting at the political difficulties awaiting the future Yugoslav state, a more in-depth conclusion examining the condition of the Serbian army during this period would have served as a more satisfactory summation and played to the book's strength as a military history. A number of factual inconsistencies are also present. For example, Bulgaria's Tsar Ferdinand I of the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha family is labelled incorrectly as hailing from the previous ruling House of Battenberg that a palace coup had deposed in 1886 (68). A later reference to the country as being ruled by the 'Coburg dynasty' contradicts this statement (150).

Nevertheless, these factual miscues do not detract from the author's core analysis. A century on, *Serbia and the Balkan Front* stands alongside Glenn E. Torrey's research on Romania as a vital and long-overdue contribution to the conflict's historical reassessment.

Orly Meron, *Jewish Entrepreneurship in Salonica, 1912–1940: An Ethnic Economy in Transition*, Sussex Academic Press: Brighton, 2011; 442 pp.; 9781845195793, £40.00 (pbk)

Reviewed by: Méropi Anastassiadou, *The National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations, France*

Since its foundation more than two thousand years ago, Salonica has been a city of commerce. Even nowadays, in the twenty-first century, rare are the visitors who fail to realize that trade is part of the Salonician soul and culture.

This book on Jewish entrepreneurship in Salonica between 1912 (when the city was annexed to the Kingdom of Greece) and 1940 (when Greece entered the Second World War) is a major contribution in many respects. First, it enriches the abundant existing scholarship on the history of the city during the twentieth century, a corpus of work the author has mastered perfectly. It also presents, on the basis of number of archival documents, the process of marginalization of Jewish entrepreneurs within the local economic landscape. Considered and treated as a minority, they gradually found themselves in a situation of 'civil inferiority', which weakened their position and reduced their visibility within the national Greek economy. By the time Greece entered the war against Italy (October 1940) and the Germans occupied Salonica (April 1941), the entrepreneurial Jewish presence in the city was already notably reduced.

Structured in three parts (nine chapters), the book follows a chronological plan. After having presented the Jewish economy of Salonica during the last Ottoman decades (1880–1912), the author examines the period between 1912 (Salonica's annexation to Greece) and the end of the 1920s. Locally, these two decades were marked by the Great War, the flow of Greek refugees from Anatolia and the departure of Muslims (more intensively from 1922 onwards). These major events totally changed the socio-demographic composition of the city. In this second part, Jewish entrepreneurs serve as a kind of case study for the choice faced by the entire Jewish community: either assimilate or leave. The author presents the Hellenization policies, in particular through education; she also refers to the impact on Jewish entrepreneurship by the establishment of Sunday as the weekly rest day. Finally, the third part of the book focuses on the 1930s and its pivotal moments: the anti-Semitic violence in the city, the consequences of the 1929 crash and the Greek bankruptcy of 1932, the rise of fascism and the regime of Metaxas.

Meron defines 'entrepreneurs' broadly, as all 'firm founders or owners who have chosen self-employment over salaried employment'. This means that, in practice, she studies those who were duly registered in the records of the local Chamber of

Commerce. Between 1912 and 1940, most of the economic branches previously controlled by Jewish entrepreneurs (finance and banking, trade in basic staples, large-scale trade...) passed gradually – and despite a short, favourable period during the Great War – into Greek hands. This ‘transfer’ put an end to the Greek–Jewish antagonism, which had been particularly sharp since the last decades of the nineteenth century.

This well-documented study draws on a wide variety of sources: besides an abundant bibliography, Meron has explored the Austrian and British archives, and the Alliance Israélite Universelle’s collections. She has also worked in the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People and the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem, as well as in many private collections both in Israel and the USA. Economic reports and statistical data have also been thoroughly analysed.

Meron’s concern for contextualization is certainly the main strength of her approach. The local, national but also regional contexts are rigorously considered and analysed with finesse. Among many other elements included in this complex and nuanced picture, the presence of Italian Jews (and the impact of their departure) and women’s participation in Salonica’s Jewish business world of the interwar period deserve particular mention.

So far as Salonica’s Jews were concerned, the countdown had started long before the arrival of German occupation forces in the city. More than the rise of fascism, it was the logic of the Greek-Orthodox nation-state which made their marginalization inevitable. Official anti-Semitism had been promoted in Greece by the governments preceding the Metaxas dictatorship. Paradoxically, the regime of August 4th (1936–1941) did not adopt any anti-Jewish measures.

Not all of Salonica’s Jews seemed to have understood in time that their parents’ and grandparents’ world had vanished. Without any territorial claims, and long unresponsive to Zionist appeals, they kept in their hearts a special place for Salonica. When chased out during the Great War, Jews from Thrace and the Dardanelles arrived in mass to this refuge-city, considered the ‘mother of Israel’. Thus, despite a continuous outflow since 1912, there were still more than 55,000 Jews in Salonica on the eve of Holocaust.

Meron’s study confirms also that in a trading city like Salonica the economic marginalization of a significant part of its population leads inevitably to stagnation in the field of arts and letters. How long can a human community which no longer produces wealth, either literally or metaphorically, last?

J. R. Mulryne with Maria Ines Aliverti and Anna Maria Testaverde, eds, *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power*, Ashgate: Farnham, 2015; 412 pp., 45 illustrations; 9781472432032, £85.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Margit Thøfner, *Sainsbury Research Unit, University of East Anglia, UK*

This is the third anthology in a new series entitled *European Festival Studies, 1450–1700*, published in partnership with the Society for Festivals Research. On balance

it is a useful and wide-ranging contribution to the burgeoning scholarship on early modern public ceremony. Yet it is rather uneven.

The problem largely stems from the editorial framing. Mulryne states in his acknowledgements that the 'Iconography of Power' has been 'no more than marginally adapted as the title of this volume' (vii). Even so, much of his introduction is given over to defining this unwieldy term, which quickly morphs into the mealy-mouthed 'language of iconography' (vii). As this suggests, Mulryne sees ceremonial entries as texts to be deciphered rather than as performances, with all the messiness that this entails. Moreover, he understands entries as essentially instrumental, serving the social and political elites of early modern Europe. This is a rather reductive view, given the collaborative as well as ludic, performative and even bibulous aspects of these admittedly enormously complex events. As a whole, this anthology would have been better served by a clear definition of what is meant by 'ceremonial entry', followed by some suggestions about appropriate methodology.

That said, there are some exemplary essays, carefully rooted the available sources and with a fine sense of how ceremonial entries worked in practice. These include Lucinda H. S. Dean's thoughtful and meticulously researched account of queens' entries in Scotland and Margaret M. McGowan's magisterial analysis of Henri IV's entry into Rouen. There is also Lucia Nuti's interesting study of how successive papal 'possessi' into Rome triggered reshaping of the urban fabric; there is also Anna Maria Testaverde's intelligent evaluation of how Florentine public ritual was reworked across time to serve shifting political needs. Although it is not strictly about entry ceremonial, there is also Sara Trevisan's excellent discussion of the motif of the Golden Fleece in Lord Mayors' shows held in London. At the end comes a wide-ranging yet coherent overview of recent research on Renaissance festivals in German by Andrea Sommer-Mathis. She concludes with some helpful suggestions about current methodology, on which could have been built a more effective editorial framework. Thus it is a pity that her work is appended as if an afterthought.

These seven essays set a high standard which some of the other contributors do not quite reach. Iain Fenlon's discussion of music in 'the Italian Renaissance Entry' draws a thoughtful contrast between public and courtly music-making during entry ceremonial. Disappointingly, his title belies a focus on Florence only – rather odd given that Milan, Venice, Mantua and Rome were also important musical centres. Jacek Zukowski's essay on 'Ephemeral Architecture in the Service of Vladislaus IV Vasa' comes with an ambitious attempt to explain the conceptual underpinnings of royal entries but the argument does not quite coalesce. There is a similar problem with Veronica Sandbichler's contribution on Habsburg ceremonial. It gets off to a promising start by drawing on Elias Canetti's *Crowds and Power*, but these early insights are not carried efficiently into the rest of the argument.

Then there are four essays simply seeking to do too much; this is where the lack of firm editorial framing is most keenly felt. Three are on France: Richard Cooper's account of representations of war in sundry entries, Linda Brigg's tracing of

'Perceptions of Royal Power' as articulated in the entries made by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici and Marie-Claude Canova-Green's discussion of entries made by Louis XIII. The fourth is Julia de la Torre Fazio's essay on the entries held for Elizabeth of Valois as she became Queen of Spain. To a greater or lesser extent, these essays tend to flatten the marked cultural and political distinctions between the various cities who hosted the entries.

Finally, there is one essay of considerable intellectual audacity: Margaret Shewring's discussion of waterborne entries into London. At face value, her evidential basis is rather patchy. On the other hand, she gives a striking evocation of the pageant held on the Thames in 2012 for Queen Elizabeth II. Never mind that this is out of the temporal remit given for Ashgate's new series or that it is not really a ceremonial entry. In the volume as a whole, Shewring's is by far the most effective discussion of the many and often improvised roles played by the audience during public ceremonial. She shows clearly that such festivities are not texts but contingent and collaborative events, where the formal performance is only one of many. What matters is the event itself, especially the sheer scale of collaboration. As this shows, to understand ceremonial entries as the 'iconography of power' is to bind them into an ill-fitting interpretative straitjacket.

Jessica Munns, Penny Richards and Jonathan Spangler, eds, *Aspiration, Representation and Memory: The Guise in Europe 1506–1688*, Ashgate: Farnham, 2015; 226 pp., 9 illustrations; 9781472419347, £70.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Elizabeth Tingle, *Plymouth University, UK*

The House of Guise has inspired numerous scholarly books in recent years. Stuart Carroll and Jean-Marie Constant have written on Guise dynastic politics, noble affinities and their roles in the religious Reformations and wars in France; Jonathan Spangler has taken the history of the family into the seventeenth century and Henri Pigaillem has produced a more popular work. The wealth of studies reflects the importance of this aristocratic family and also an on-going fascination with the Great. This collection of essays edited by Munns, Richards and Spangler, adds a welcome cultural dimension to our knowledge of the Guise.

The Guise family was a branch of the extended ducal house of Lorraine, whose power base lay on the eastern borders of France. In the fifteenth century, Lorraine allied with the French royal house through marriage and was closely involved in royal politics thereafter, largely through the maintenance of a cadet branch, the Guise, at the French court. Dukes Claude, François and Henri were prominent in the Italian, Hapsburg and religious wars, and also in the Church, principally as archbishops of Rheims. In the seventeenth century, the Guise supported Marie de Medicis and lost power with her exile, although influence was restored by the fifth duke, a soldier and courtier to Louis XIV. But the ambitions of this family transcended state boundaries. As the editors of this volume state, the Guise were members of a small, elite group of aristocrats who were subject nobility *and* sovereign

princes, known as *princes étrangers*. They inhabited the Holy Roman Empire and France; they fought for and counselled monarchs on both sides; their status brought them privileges at court, including access to the Crown. It also gave them ambitions to regnal authority beyond these territories, such as the marriage of Margaret of Guise to James V, whose heir Mary was Queen of Scotland and (briefly) France.

The collection of essays has a twin focus: representations of the Guise, particularly their use of cultural media – portraits, print, material goods – and their deployment in the realization of their princely ambitions across Europe. There are three themes: exploration of the family's trans-national royal claims; studies of Henri, fifth duke of Guise; and assessments of the family's historic and literary legacy. The first part of the book concentrates on the sixteenth-century Guises. In the first chapter, Robert Sturges explores the family's fascination with the crusades and its claim to the kingdom of Jerusalem, through their ancestor Godfrey de Bouillon and their links to the Sieur de Joinville, chronicler of the crusade of St Louis IX. Sturges argues that crusader 'credentials' contributed to Guise authority and legitimacy throughout the wars of religion, especially during the Catholic League occupation of Paris after 1589, conceived by its adherents as an earthly Jerusalem. The second chapter, by Marjorie Meiss-Evans, examines the Italianate material culture of the Guise in the sixteenth century, following the marriage of duke François with Anna d'Este. Meiss-Evans argues that the conspicuous display of Italian consumption was part of a Guise assertion of their European rather than merely French status.

The central chapters are devoted to the fifth duke, Henry of Guise. Michèle Benaiteau gives an account of the 'deeds' of the duke using contemporary pamphlets, writings and Henri's Memoirs, which created and propagated an image of celebrity across Europe. Silvana D'Alessio analyses the duke's campaigns to take the kingdom of Naples in 1647–48 and 1654 using pamphlets, letters and other political texts, while Charles Gregory evaluates the duke's return to Naples in 1654 in the context of the foreign policy of Cardinal Mazarin. Gregory suggests that the failure of this attempt still allowed the duke to demonstrate his reputation and princely interests. David Taylor provides a close analysis of Anthony Van Dyke's portrait of the duke and its adoption of royal styles. Jonathan Spangler turns to Guise women in his essay, especially the important role of the fifth duke's mother, Henriette-Catherine de Joyeuse, in navigating family fortunes and reputations at the courts of Marie de Medicis (including in exile) and Anne of Austria.

The final two chapters are on literary representations. Penny Richards evaluates Guise representations of themselves in print, marble and paint and how these images were in turn used by later playwrights and novelists. Jessica Munn looks at the impact of their reputation on British drama, moving from Catholic villain in Elizabethan England (Duke Henri and the St Bartholomew's Day massacres) to tragic heroine (Mary Queen of Scots), a favourite of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The collection would have benefited from a conclusion drawing the themes together, for it is mostly a study of the fifth duke of Guise with some additional

essays on earlier/later periods. The common threads would have benefited from discussion. That said, the essays are lively, interesting, well researched and a good read. They underline the internationalism of the great European families and also how the (in)famous Guise continue to fascinate even today.

William R. Nester, *The French and Indian War and the Conquest of New France*, Oklahoma University Press: Norman, OK, 2014; 400 pp., 15 illustrations, 4 maps; 9780806144351, \$34.95 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Denys Delâge, *Université Laval, Québec, Canada*

Previous books on the French and Indian War were written from British and American or from French and French Canadian perspectives, and were limited to the metropole-colony relation. William R. Nester's exceptional work takes into account the perspectives and strategies of all involved in the Seven Years War, a conflict fought in the Americas, Europe, Africa, India and the Philippines. Without this general context, Nester shows, the conquest of New France and the British Empire's extraordinary expansion remain impenetrable phenomena. Nester starts with a consideration of structural factors in France and Britain. He shows, for example, that while France aimed at greater continental power, the United Kingdom was turned toward the seas just when the Atlantic world was taking shape and a worldwide economic system was being defined. France's population, moreover, was more than three times that of United Kingdom, the Roman Catholic Church held a third of the land and wealth, and it practised a traditional agriculture based on fallow. Britain was ahead in the development of capitalism: it had adopted the rotation of fields in agriculture, developed technologies and manufacturing which made possible lower prices and higher quality of goods. At the beginning of the war, then, Britain had three times as many ships as France. Eighty-eight per cent of France's foreign trade was conducted within Europe and only 8 per cent with its colonies. It was the opposite for Britain, which also had adopted a parliamentary system. Nester characterizes as 'catholic and surreal' the French political system in which the royal household consumed one quarter of the government's budget and was overall characterized by a weak king with his factionalist ministers and mistresses who 'wield[ed] powers of flattery, wit and etiquette rather than a hardnosed understanding of French Interests' (24).

In 1756, the French army, consisting of 157,000 troops, was nearly five times greater than Britain's (35,000). If the French were first in ship design, Britain was unsurpassed for seamanship. Obviously the navy was then a precondition for colonial empires but Nester does not take into sufficient account the tremendous implications of the differential demographic investment of both France and Great Britain in their respective colonies. While enclosures and religious dissidence in England had ignited a transplantation to the new continent that snowballed with agriculture and its staples, the exclusion of Protestants in Canada as well as a fur trade economy hindered immigration to that colony. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the white population in colonial North America doubled at every

generation (natural growth mainly and immigration). Canada's colonial population was therefore one twentieth of the British population established in the Thirteen Colonies. Britain made a big investment with a strong demographic outcome while France had the same return for a tiny investment! Most settlers being farmers, the *ecumene* expanded by the same factor. Thus, we understand the alliance of most Amerindian nations with the French and their geopolitical goals that Nester summarizes too rapidly, although his understanding of the tensions between colonialism and alliance is shrewd: 'French and Indians each maintained their own illusions about the relations between them' (102). Were Indians subjects or the French guests on their lands? Besides, explains the author, how could the French succeed as purveyors with higher prices and a British naval blockade? How to avoid glut when beaver pelts were the staple of alliance?

In this unequal balance of power, the die was not cast. Nester examines the diplomacy and tactics that were deployed in Versailles and London, on battlefields, on all seas and continents that determined North America's destiny. He convincingly points to shifting alliances in Europe, especially between France, Prussia and Austria, as consequential; as were threats and interests among other European players such as Denmark's fight for the Duchy of Holstein or Russia's claims on Prussia, Poland and the Ottoman Empire. Nester deftly exposes a diplomacy of secret alliances, subsidies, bribes, corruption, espionage, and treason. In France, 1 million men served during the war. 'Disease, battle and desertion cost the army one of five men every year' (54). While France failed in Hanover, British Prime Minister William Pitt promoted the opposite agenda: subsidizing Versailles's enemies in Europe, while conquering its empire in North America, the West-Indies, Africa and India, at which he succeeded.

The narrative is not limited to trends in the balance of power as if the issue was fatal. Men and women also make history. This leads the author to look at alternatives that could have changed the course of history: 'What if... Had the general... had the king, had not Elisabeth I of Russia died that soon...?' The tight analysis of several battles, pressure groups and mistresses around a king, etc., allows us to imagine alternative issues.

Perplexingly, Nester ends the book with the Treaty of Paris, neglecting the war's colonial character. The French and Indian War was, however, far from over. The Indians kept fighting a war of independence under the leadership of Pontiac, they proclaimed 'English, although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us! We are not your slaves, These lakes, these woods and mountains were left to us by our ancestor' (Alexander Henry, *Travels & Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between the years 1760 and 1776*, New York, 1964, 44). Inspired by the Delaware prophet Neolin and by the Ottawa chief Pontiac, an alliance of Indian nations from Ohio, the Great Lakes, and Mississippi led a war against the British garrisons in former French forts. It is the treaty these nations signed as the King's 'subjects and allies', three years after the Treaty of Paris, on 25 July 1766, that marked the end of the French and Indian War.

Leopoldo Nuti, Frédéric Bozo, Marie-Pierre Rey and Bernd Rother, eds, *The Euromissile Crisis and the End of the Cold War*, Woodrow Wilson Center Press: Washington, DC, 2015; vii + 401pp.; 978080479268, \$65.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Suzanne Doyle, *University of East Anglia, UK*

From 1977 to 1987 the controversy about the deployment of a new generation of nuclear-warhead missile delivery systems near dominated East–West relations. As the two sides confronted one another, anxieties arose over the consequences for bipolar stability. The crisis visually demonstrated the end of détente, but its eventual resolution with the signing of the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, and the eradication of an entire class of nuclear weapons, arguably marked a ‘new’ détente. Indeed, the Euromissile Crisis was the last key confrontation of the Cold War. Despite this historical importance, there are still many questions over the origins of the crisis and its impact, if any, on East–West relations and bipolar stability. *The Euromissile Crisis and the End of the Cold War* is the first substantial scholarly work in many years to address these questions, and through the authors’ utilization of a wide array of newly declassified materials and careful analysis, the edited volume brings us fresh insights into the Euromissile affair and its place within the evolution of the Cold War.

The volume is divided into four parts. In the first, David Holloway provides an excellent general overview of the crisis, which sets the background for the more specific analysis of the later chapters. The second part then focuses on the Soviet perspective, through chapters that analyse the rationale that led to: the Soviet deployment of the SS-20; the reaction of Soviet intelligence to the 1983 ‘war scare’; Mikhail Gorbachev’s thinking on the interlinking between the crisis and his attempts to reform Soviet foreign policy and the Soviet system; the Warsaw Pact’s views on deployment of SS-20s and their US equivalents. The third part of the volume then turns to the Western perspective through chapters that examine the ways in which relations between the United States and its European allies shaped the eventual deployment decision, as well as a number of case studies on the role of individual European governments. Taken together, the eight chapters in the third part illustrate the complexities of transatlantic decision-making during this era, and moves scholarly analysis beyond disagreements over which country was the most influential in the December 1979 dual-track decision – a debate that often dominates the literature on the subject. The final part of the book explores public debate about the deployment of intermediate-range ballistic missiles. This section includes analysis of Western public opinion data, the reactions of Polish intellectuals and dissidents, the response of the German peace movement in the East and West, the divisions that the crisis created within Western European socialist parties, and the impact of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues on the eventual political resolution of the crisis. This final section is the most methodologically innovative of the book as it eludes the traditional disciplinary separation between diplomatic approaches and social ones. The resultant work provides crucial insights on the interplay between

the decision-making process and the emergence of a diverse public protest movement.

The volume's analysis significantly deepens our historical understanding of the crisis and moves scholarly debate forward. Much of the debate throughout the crisis and in its immediate aftermath was highly partisan. In contrast, the book's contributors utilize newly available documentary evidence to analyse the Euromissile affair from a wide range of perspectives. As such the book makes an important and innovative contribution to the expanding literature on this era. Indeed, given the volume's impressive breadth and scholarly contribution, it is frustrating that there has been such a lengthy passage of time between the book's conception and its eventual publication. The volume is the outcome of a conference held in Rome in December 2009. This delay means that not only has the literature on the crisis been without this seminal work for too long, but also that the archival analysis of many of the chapters is not as up-to-date as it could have been.

Notwithstanding this small shortcoming, *The Euromissile Crisis* is an extremely important addition to the canon of literature on the crisis and the end of the Cold War. The volume significantly deepens understanding of the origins and consequences, both political and social, of the Euromissile affair. Moreover, the book successfully places these events within the broader context of the Cold War and the evolution of the international system. As such, this book is essential reading for anyone interested in the diplomatic and social politics of the Cold War during this period.

Linda Palfreeman, *Spain Bleeds: The Development of Battlefield Blood Transfusion during the Civil War*, Sussex Academic Press: Brighton, 2015; 200 pp., 29 illustrations; 9781845197179, £50.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Josep L. Barona, *University of Valencia, Spain*

The Spanish transition to democracy after the death of dictator Francisco Franco did not launch legal initiatives to investigate crimes and human rights' abuses during four decades of dictatorial regime. Neither have the victims nor their descendants received any moral or legal compensation. At the end of the war thousands of civilians were in prison, others suffered banishment, professional disqualification and many others went to exile. The main characters of Linda Palfreeman's story suffered those circumstances. Exceptionally, historiography on the Spanish Civil War and Franco dictatorship – particularly by Spanish scholars – has developed a huge work of research contributing to historical restitution. A wide range of conferences, symposia and publications have returned the Spanish republicans to their important position in the contemporary history of Europe.

Indeed, any rigorous sociological and historical analysis shows a close relationship between scientific, technological and medical developments and social conflicts. War poses an exceptional context that directly prompts the advance of techno-science. The Spanish war was not an exception. In the case of medical

technologies, a wide literature shows the direct connection between wars and surgical innovation. In this context, Palfreeman's book, devoted to a series of innovations in blood transfusion techniques during the Spanish war, represents a valuable contribution to an issue, which has been already recognized in previous historiography.

This latest contribution of Palfreeman's is presented as the third part of an informal trilogy shaped by *¡Salud! British Volunteers in the Republican Medical Service during the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939* and *Aristocrats, Adventurers and Ambulances: British Medical Units in the Spanish Civil War*.

The book presents the original technologies developed in Barcelona by Frederic Duran Jordà and their influence on Norman Bethune's initiatives in Madrid when creating the *Servicio Canadiense de Transfusión de Sangre*, later *Instituto Hispano-Canadiense de Transfusión de Sangre*. It is a valuable description of a blood transfusion network in the republican side, extended to other initiatives such as that promoted by the Briton Reg Saxton through the Spanish Medical Aid Committee (SMAC), integrated in the framework of the Republican Health Service. Challenging the huge demand for blood transfusions on the war front, these collaborative connections, despite conflicts and rivalry, developed an efficient system based on donor recruitment, innovative methods of preservation of the blood, and complex systems of transport to the war front. The Blood Transfusion Service of the Spanish Republic started with the innovations introduced by the young Catalan haematologist Frederic Duran Jordà, exiled in Manchester and premature victim of a fatal outcome in 1951. Norman Bethune saw in operation the Blood Transfusion Service established by Duran Jordà in Barcelona. Blood was collected from civilian donors, preserved and stored and then transported to the front-line hospitals. Afterwards, his techniques were expanded through a truly international effort, with medical volunteers creating a network of transfusion centres in Valencia, Madrid and Barcelona, implicitly connected although not always collaborative. From an international perspective, the blood transfusion innovations in Republican Spain became crucial in the treatment of casualties during the Second World War, shaping the future evolution of blood transfusion medicine.

Palfreeman's book includes interesting testimonies of international brigadists and foreign activists. It also contains an original iconography that illustrates many scenes, places, and characters. The author also handles with ease the daily press as a useful historical source. Her research provides an interesting description of the operation of the Madrid transfusion service, infrastructure, personnel and techniques.

The book presents, however, some weaknesses, which could have been easily remedied. Perhaps the most important one is its ignorance of the abundant Spanish academic historiography on health care during the Spanish Civil War, provided by a long list of Spanish university professors such as Alfons Zarzoso, Josep Bernabeu, Josep Barona, Xavier Garcia, Àlvar Martínez, Rafael Huertas, Isabel Jimenez, Isabel del Cura and Jorge Molero, Enrique Perdiguero, among others. Not one of them appears in the bibliography, that is shockingly biased towards

British scholarship and amateur contributions, which do not always guarantee the level of rigour required. More solid information on the Spanish republican sanitary reforms and their adaptation to war times would have improved this noteworthy research. I am afraid we find here again the traditional lack of communication between Hispanists and Spanish historians.

In addition, both the chapters on 'A Brief History of Blood Transfusion' and 'Techniques and Methods' are superfluous. Not being a specialist in the history of medicine, the author makes some avoidable mistakes. For example, it is Anglo-centric, anachronistic thinking that Landsteiner's investigations were belatedly spread because they were written in German, as this was at a time in which German and French were at least as important international scientific languages, if not more, than English. As a matter of fact, Landsteiner was awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1930. Some criticism should also be made concerning the book's treatment of personages of great importance in Spanish medicine at the time, such as Gustavo Pittaluga, whose contribution is only outlined and the little information offered is mistaken. Pittaluga did not leave Spain 'shortly after the outbreak of the War' (160, n. 4); on the contrary, he had serious problems leaving at the end of the war, as discussed in a speech I presented to the International Conference on the Civil War held in Salamanca in 2006 entitled 'El tortuoso camino hacia el exilio de Gonzalo Pittaluga' which was based on documents held at the Rockefeller Archive Center. Other physicians and surgeons cited in the book, like the surgeon Joaquin D'Harcourt, would merit a contextualizing reference.

Definitely, the main contribution of Palfreeman's book lies in describing the international connexion of the blood transfusion services. It is a pity that the book does not offer the international reader a contextualizing landscape of the huge efforts made by the republican health organization, which indeed won the praise of the experts' commission of the League of Nations in 1937.

Per Anders Rudling, *The Rise and Fall of Belarusian Nationalism, 1906–1931*, University of Pittsburgh Press: Pittsburgh, PA, 2015; 448 pp., 46 illustrations; 9780822963080, \$29.95 (pbk)

Reviewed by: Olena Palko, *University of East Anglia, UK*

In his prize-winning book, Per Anders Rudling discusses the emergence and evolution of modern Belarusian nationalism from its origins in late imperial Russia to the early 1930s. This book, according to the author, is 'a study of the invention of Belarus' (3), which came about as a product of committed nationalist intellectuals, rather than from popular opinion. In the same manner, Belarus as a nation-state is considered an invented tradition or artificial construct enhanced and affirmed by different rival actors of Realpolitik, who in their power struggle had used the aspirations of those national intellectuals to gain hegemony in the region. The approach undertaken by the author places Belarusian nationalism in a regional context, which necessarily requires engagement with the vast bibliography on

German and Russian imperialism, Polish nationalism and early Soviet nationalities policies.

Rudling discusses the rise and fall of Belorussian nationalism in eight chronologically organized chapters covering the period between 1906 and 1931. The first chapter, 'Imagining Belarus', provides a broad theoretical background to the study of Belarusian nationalism. The origins of this intellectual trend, discussed in the second chapter, are traced back to the nineteenth century, when the idea of local territory-based transnational *kraiova* ideology was shaped against the reactionary praxis of assimilation (*sliianie*) of the tsarist imperial government. Chapter 3 examines the turbulent period of 1917–1920, during which two competing foundation myths of Belarusian statehood were created. The author argues that Belarusian nationalism of the period was not only initiated but also instrumentalized by foreign actors (Germany, Poland, Soviet Russia), each of which used local intellectuals and their sentiment in order to weaken its rival. This short revolutionary period is of the greatest importance for the study: the declaration of the Belarusian People's Republic in March 1918, although both short-lived and unknown outside the capital, impelled the Bolshevik leaders, according to the author, to establish a Belarusian Soviet Republic in January 1919.

The main focus of the book is, however, placed on the developments of the 1920s, when the Belarusian lands became divided between the Soviets and Poland by virtue of the Treaty of Riga of 1921. The examination of the nationalities policy in Soviet Belarus (Chapter 4) and the Second Polish Republic (Chapter 5) is of the foremost significance. Although the main focus of the book is on Belarusian nationalism, Rudling makes a major contribution to Sovietology. The 1920s Bolshevik nationalities policy has merited a number of studies, yet Rudling's research is perhaps the first comprehensive account in Western historiography of the implementation of the Soviet national project in Belarus. Notably, the author separates two interlinked national policies with distinctive goals: linguistic Belarusization, accompanied by Yiddishization and Polonization, aimed at forced de-Russification of the population; and *korenizatsia*, or indigenization, aimed at 'rooting' Soviet rule in the republic. In the sixth chapter, Rudling examines how the enforced promotion of the Belarusian language by mere bureaucratic means, along with the enlargement of the republic's territory eastwards in 1924 and 1926, stirred up opposition among the republic's national minorities and Belarusians, who did not acquire an essential self-identification. The so-called War Scare of 1927, discussed in Chapter 8, revealed the weakness of public support for the Soviet regime as it was used by Moscow to initiate the process of suppression of Belarusian nationalism in Soviet Belarus.

It is of note that Rudling puts the implementation of the Soviet nationalities policies into the context of the Soviet foreign policy of the time. The author seconds what Terry Martin called 'the Piedmont principle': the intentional promotion of local irredentism in the Soviet western borderlands as a major factor in undermining Poland. Yet, Rudling in Chapter 7 draws the readers' attention to the Polish understanding of 'the Piedmont principle' and its implementation in the

Second Polish Republic. The success of Belarusization compelled the Polish leadership to change – albeit for a short time – their treatment of national minorities and forced them to introduce a new eastern policy ‘Prometheanism’ in order to weaken the appeal of Soviet socialism. Yet, as proven in the book, the period of an affirmative attitude towards national aspiration, which in turn had never enjoyed a significant popular following, was seen by both sides only as a tactical manoeuvre, dismissed resolutely once local nationalism became a liability for those governments’ foreign goals.

Overall, Rudling’s book is of significant importance. Belarus is one of the most under-researched countries in Eastern Europe. This scholarly work helps to understand how different and sometimes conflicting ideas of ‘Belarusianness’ were created and the influence they have had on shaping the identity of modern Belarus. In addition, Rudling’s study proves the benefit of the regional approach to the history of imperial and later Soviet borderlands. The author’s expertise in Ukrainian history of the period evidently enriched his scholarship on Belarus. More importantly, the present study advocates the necessity of closing the gap between East European studies and Sovietology; the convergence of which allows, as proven by this volume, a more complex and deep understanding of the processes in the Soviet border republics during the interwar period.

Guido Ruggiero, *The Renaissance in Italy: A Social and Cultural History of the Rinascimento*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2015; 648 pp.; 9780521719384, £22.99 (pbk)

Reviewed by: Sean Roberts, *Virginia Commonwealth University, Qatar*

Providing a comprehensive and concise history of approximately three centuries is no small task. Guido Ruggiero’s *The Renaissance in Italy* rises to the challenge, presenting readers with an intellectually ambitious, erudite and engaging narrative of Italy’s social and cultural contours between 1250 and 1575. In the process, Ruggiero touches on the ways that we as scholars and students have excavated, told and re-told our stories of a period both contested and persistently figured as pivotal to the development of European modernity.

The major components expected of such history writ large are all present. The peninsula’s political commitments and ideologies, military struggles and economic fortunes, demographic shifts and landmark events like the Black Death cohabit with and inform discussion of vibrant new traditions within literature, philosophy, religious thought and the visual arts. Not every component of such a variegated culture, of course, can be covered in any survey. Music, architecture and popular devotional practices, for example, are largely absent from Ruggiero’s account.

In organizing this array of material across some six hundred pages, the author has divided his book into 11 chapters developed around broad concepts including ‘Violence’ ‘Self’ and ‘Imagination’ while nonetheless proceeding chronologically. These chapters thus adventurously investigate themes including the inadequacy and inaccuracy of humanism as an organizing principle for literature and

antiquarian scholarship, the production of what Ruggiero calls ‘consensus realities’ through notions of legitimacy and civic responsibility, the continued seductiveness of Jacob Burckhardt’s conception of the discovery of the self, and the period’s disavowal of novelty in favour of notions of return as the very organizing principle of *rinascimento*. This thematic approach is often rewarding and frequently makes for compelling reading, allowing for the intrusion of fascinating vignettes that help to balance broad history with case study. Ruggiero’s consideration of the etiology of the plague and his exploration of the impact of wet nurses upon infant mortality, social mobility and legitimacy are two such genuinely engaging examples.

Occasionally these organizing themes are pushed a bit beyond their usefulness. ‘Discovery’, which focuses on Renaissance hostility to novelty, for example, fixates on the ways in which reactions to the printing press sought to ‘deny the new in all this and demonstrate this it was in fact safely old’ (388). But such an account sidesteps the prevalence of laudatory responses to invention, of which Stradano’s *Nova reperta* is only the best known. While the marriage of thematic and chronological approaches is generally agreeable, it does present occasional difficulties. The *rinascimento* has nearly universally been defined through cultural expression rather than socio-political shift. Yet, art, literature and education make only cameo appearances in Ruggiero’s story until a pivotal chapter on ‘Imagination’ that begins after some two hundred initial pages on political legitimacy, plague and warfare. So too, this hybrid arrangement makes for some strange bedfellows since chronologically significant events in military and political history are sandwiched between material chosen for its thematic relevance. Thus the peninsular invasions of the sixteenth century find themselves in the ‘Discovery’ section, introduced by way of a slightly tortured discussion of whether they – like the printing press – were seen as dangerously ‘new’ or safely placed within long-established categories of experience.

Despite its thematic novelty and revisionist ambition, Ruggiero’s history conforms in other ways to commonplace narrative structures that have long shaped accounts of the period. Most significantly, though he endeavours to provide a vision that embraces the geographical and cultural variety of the peninsula, the author returns frequently to the comfortable environs of Florence. Dante, Machiavelli and the Medici, understandably loom large. Similarly, without resorting to unwieldy historiographic contortions, it is also probably unavoidable that the artists we encounter here are the protagonists of Vasari’s *Vite*. But the decision to devote nearly half of the chapter on ‘Courts’ to consideration of Cosimo il Vecchio’s milieu seems rather to reify the primacy of the city on the Arno than to interrogate assumptions about courtly and republican dichotomies. Were this simply the result of authorial choice, this Tuscan predilection would perhaps be no cause for concern. Instead, Ruggiero’s history suffers from the long-standing over-evaluation of the city that Vincent Illardi dubbed ‘Florentinitis’ nearly forty years ago. Crucial negotiations of centre and periphery, of signorial and civic authority, and of the continuing impact of such choices on canons and disciplinary boundaries – questions which animate, for example, the *Cambridge Companion to the Italian Renaissance* (2015) – find themselves somewhat muted in *The Renaissance in Italy* on account of this rather traditional regional focus.

Any synthetic account of over three hundred years of regional history, especially one that often seamlessly merges the social and cultural dynamics of one of the discipline's most frequently and polemically contested moments, necessarily opens itself to criticism. It is a testament to Ruggiero's intellectual risk-taking and its results that many of the questions raised are themselves so rewarding, compelling and unresolvable. This clear and engagingly written book will find itself in the hands not only of university students and scholars but of many curious readers who want to approach the Renaissance in its broadest possible contours for decades to come.

Sophie De Schaepdrijver, *Bastion: Occupied Bruges in the First World War*, Hannibal: Veurne, 2014; 216 pp.; 9789492081056, €24.50, (hbk)

Reviewed by: Jan Naert, *University of Ghent, Belgium*

International World War One historiography has recently shifted its attention to the local level by studying larger cities in neutral countries or countries at war (as in Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert's edited collection *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914–1919* and Roger Chickering's *The Great War and Urban Life in Germany: Freiburg, 1914–1918*). However, these studies rarely tell the story of the occupied territories where German occupation practices caused the 're-localization' of daily life. Over the past two decades, Sophie De Schaepdrijver has contributed greatly to the study of life under occupation during World War One. Most notably, she paid a great deal of attention to the war experience of Belgian civilians, though never from a local point of view. With this richly illustrated book she offers a narrative for a local exposition on occupied Bruges. De Schaepdrijver hosted this exhibition as a guest curator and wrote this book as a public historian (9).

In line with many other centenary commemoration projects in Belgium, the city council of Bruges opted for a specifically local angle in their exhibition (6–7). The local city scale gives De Schaepdrijver the opportunity to elaborate her sharp and valuable insights on the role and function of public history and public historians in city museums. She already summarized this in a previous paper: 'If you want to write or exhibit the history of a city, you have to demonstrate "urban insight". In other words, you have to be open to complexity, incompleteness, nuance.' Without explicitly mentioning it, this is exactly what De Schaepdrijver tries to do.

Bastion Bruges tells the story of the occupation of Bruges from the invasion to the liberation. Her objective is to 'paint the war experiences of ordinary citizens and describe the expectations of the populations against the background of the First World War overall and the specific situation of the German navy and the *Marinegebiet*' (11).

In the first three chapters she describes the pre-war context as well as the invasion and the taking of Bruges. De Schaepdrijver gives the most attention here to the use of violence against local elites (41–8) and the installation of the specific occupation regime (49–59). Bruges was the capital of the *Marinegebiet*, organized and governed by the *Marinekorps Flandern*. The latter differed from other occupation

regimes in Belgium, such as the strictly military *Etappengebiet* and military-civil *Gouvernement General*. Building on this in the last four chapters, the author gives a chronological overview of how the war changed daily life and evolved for the inhabitants, the German occupier and the specific role of Bruges as a city. The themes of occupation discussed in the book range from the difficult position of local authorities vis-à-vis the German oppressor, the provisioning of food, German requisitioning of industrial goods and workers, to the controlling of prostitution. The author also analyses forms of resistance such as smuggling letters from and to the front, pro-Allied espionage and the German repression. Finally, and rightly so, she does not ignore collaboration, tackling issues such as selling food from the black market to the German occupier, counter-espionage and radical Flemish nationalist activism.

For many of these topics the author leaned on previously published material, including academic work as well as local war chronicles. This proved to be crucial because it allowed De Schaepdrijver to shift her own research focus to the untold story of the German occupier, the *Marinekorps Flandern*. In spite of the fact that we still lack an in-depth analysis of the German occupation policies on the Western Front, De Schaepdrijver manages to integrate a German perspective throughout the book. She not only makes use of *Tätigkeitsberichte* but also quotes from the diaries of a German war volunteer. The radicalization of the German occupation under the Hindenburg Programme is elaborated around the shifting notions and conceptions of Bruges as a ‘bastion’: a bastion as point of defence of the conquered Flemish coast, but also as a vanguard in an unrestricted naval war (15).

One small remark concerns the fact that some occupation research themes are not included. For example, one can ask if there were aspects of cooperation between local authorities, local police forces and the German occupier, as Benoît Majerus demonstrated. Also, the important role of the National Relief and Food Committee and its post-war legacy remain understudied. But these are only minor issues. It is absolutely admirable how the author exposes a complex cross-section of occupied Bruges, a city where social and national tensions rose.

Most important, however, is the fact that the author wrote this in an equally eloquent and comprehensive manner, for a wide audience. The landscape of Belgian memory is currently overwhelmed with all sorts of World War One initiatives, which sometimes simplify historical reality. De Schaepdrijver reproduces a multi-layered war experience in an urban context that can only inspire federal as well as regional and local governments organizing commemorations in dialogue with public historians.

Frederick C. Schneid, ed., *European Armies of the French Revolution 1789–1802*, University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 2015; 296 pp.; 9780806140391, \$34.95 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Mario Draper, *University of Kent, UK*

This collection of essays, edited by Frederick Schneid, Professor at High Point University, NC, makes a useful, though in some ways limited, contribution to

the study of the French revolutionary wars' armies. Bringing together a number of high-profile scholars to outline the organization, composition and effectiveness of familiar forces (France, Prussia, Austria, Russia, Britain and Spain), readers are also treated to examinations of more peripheral forces in Anglophone historiography (the German principalities, the Italian states and the Ottoman Empire).

The contents reveal a period of great change, juxtaposing the old order with the 'nation in arms'. The French army, treated by Schneid, transformed from its Royalist incarnation into 'a truly national army', bringing with it organizational and tactical reforms that outpaced its *Ancien Régime* opponents (14). Lee Eysturliid contends that the Austrian Empire lacked the potential for such radical social changes, which, had they materialized, would have negated the Monarchy itself. Rather, the army remained a pillar for continued Habsburg rule and had to content itself with the resulting pursuit of strategically limited aims (76, 83). Others, such as the Italian states and the Ottoman Empire were constrained by their convoluted systems of administration, whilst the latter also suffered from not having participated in the continent's mid-eighteenth-century wars (249–53).

Indeed, the spectre of the Seven Years' War (and for some the ensuing American War) loomed large over European armies in the prelude to the revolutionary wars. Janet Hartley particularly praises the tactical appreciations of General Aleksandr Suvorov in this period, suggesting that he pre-empted much of what was to grace the battlefield after 1792 (96–9). In particular, though, the successes of Frederician drill and discipline during the Seven Years' War saw the Prussian army become the model for the post-Habsburg Spanish army, and, to an extent, the British. Having rid themselves of the old *terricos* in favour of a modern military system of organization, Charles Esdaile concludes that by 1793, 'Spain possessed an army that was no more old-fashioned than those of most of the other powers of Europe' (151). Similarly, Edward Coss argues that British success in Egypt was a result of an amalgamation of Prussian manoeuvre and firepower with the skirmish tactics learnt in America (131). This was the apogee of a necessary military transformation during the revolutionary wars themselves, after the failed 1795 Flanders campaign had revealed that 'the British army was the least competent and least feared of all the armed forces allied against the French' (116).

Yet, ironically, Frederick William II sought to rejuvenate his uncle's perceptibly waning system. Through the auspices of the enlightenment, he reformed living conditions, discipline and tactics (to incorporate more independently-minded *jaegers* and fusiliers), setting the platform for Prussian successes during the War of the First Coalition (46–7). Historians have viewed the subsequent reverse at Jena as evidence of continued military failings, but as Dennis Showalter's excellent contribution demonstrates, they faced a French army and general at the height of their powers by 1806. 'Defeat at such hands exposes weakness. It is by no means proof of dry rot' (55).

Peter Wilson draws similar conclusions in his nuanced analysis of the armies of the German princes. Despite being wedded to the old order, the German states' eventual defeat must not be seen as inevitable, as this would suggest a 'single route to modernity'. They had, after all, embraced advances in military tactics. Smaller,

highly-trained forces suited their capacities and mutual policy of coalition warfare. Rather, 'failure stemmed from a reluctance to resort to the kind of violent expedients used by the French, and because Austro-Prussian competition over German resources undermined the collective war effort' (187). Ultimately, the German States, like most others in Europe, were not prepared to move towards the totalization of war. Certainly, popular movements in Germany, Britain, Spain and Italy for home defence became increasingly apparent, but they were no *levée en masse*. In such light, Ciro Paoletti's argument that small-scale insurgencies against French occupation in certain Italian states was a clear demonstration of 'popular will' seems somewhat out of kilter (222). Much more reasonable is Esdaile's detailed research into the Spanish 'people's war' of 1793–95, which suggests that the extent of voluntary participation has been wholly exaggerated (167).

Whilst there are interesting points raised in each individual chapter, there is an appreciable disparity in the level of research – evident in the number of secondary sources consulted. Similarly, there is an over-reliance, in some cases, on the existing Anglophone historiography, which undermines the ability of this volume to provide a 'complete' historiographical synthesis. Of greater concern is the lack of overall strategic direction. The introduction fails to set out sufficiently either the aims of the volume or the common themes one might expect to find in the ensuing pages. In the absence of an epilogue or conclusion, such omissions leave one wondering what the sum of its parts is supposed to add up to. Nevertheless, the value in compiling such variety in a single volume is self-evident. Those teaching or following a university course on the revolutionary wars would be well advised to consult its individual contributions as an introduction to the enormous complications of the period, whilst those with but a passing interest will certainly find it an easy and interesting read.

Caroline Sharples and Olaf Jensen, eds, *Britain and the Holocaust: Remembering and Representing War and Genocide*, Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2013; 264 pp.; 9781137350763, £62.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Jennifer Reeve, *University of East Anglia, UK*

The historiography of Britain's relationship with the Holocaust is now an area of significant scholarly interest. Caroline Sharples and Olaf Jensen's edited collection provides an up-to-date review of some of the central debates regarding Holocaust remembrance and representation. Divided into four sections with three chapters in each, the collection covers the following issues: 'Confronting the Holocaust', 'The Holocaust on Screen', 'The Holocaust in Exhibitions' and 'Commemorating the Holocaust'. While the placement of certain chapters in these sections works together more convincingly than others, the collection provides an important interdisciplinary study of how Britain has understood, represented and memorialized the Holocaust in both the past and present.

In Part I, chapters by Duncan Little, Caroline Sharples and Tony Kushner explore issues concerning Britain's earliest engagement with and remembering of

the events of the Holocaust. Little focuses on the stories of POWs who were held at Auschwitz and so witnessed the mass atrocities of the infamous death camp. Utilizing testimony from the POWs, Little discusses not only the witnesses' processes of remembering and forgetting but also the way that Britain has heard (or has not heard) their stories. Sharples turns the reader's attention to the ways in which the British public responded to the Nuremberg Trials of 1945–46. Focusing on press coverage and Mass Observation data, she shows that as well as a distorted understanding of the Holocaust's primary victim group, many in Britain viewed the trial in relation to domestic concerns, such as the cost of war. In the final chapter of the section, Kushner brings together the work of Little and Sharples, as well as adding his own expertise in the area of 'bystanders', arguing that Britain's war memory has complicated and disguised Britain's relationship to the Holocaust.

Part II moves the discussion on by examining the ways in which the Holocaust has been represented on screen. Tim Cole offers an insightful analysis of British reactions to the screening of the 1978 American drama, *Holocaust*. Rather than increasing engagement with the 'historical specificity' of the Holocaust, as the TV series did in the US and West Germany, attention in Britain focused on the presentation and format (as a kind of 'soap opera') of the infamous mini-series (81). Exploring another aspect of the issue, James Jordan examines presentations of the Holocaust on the British version of *This is Your Life* between the 1950s and 1970s, tracing the evolution from a strictly British perspective to the inclusion of a survivor as the focus of the show. Finally, Olaf Jensen's chapter looks at the representation of the Holocaust in British film and television more generally. Citing *The Reader* and *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* as examples, Jensen identifies a tendency to focus on issues such as the German perpetrators, rather than British connections to the Holocaust.

The chapters in Part III broaden the discussion from the Holocaust to other genocides. First, Antoine Capet discusses the changing representation of Holocaust art between 1945 and 2009. In the move from limited displays to wider presentation, Capet identifies the changing place of the Holocaust in British culture. While some images of the artworks under discussion are included within the chapter, a full set of visual references would have complemented Capet's analysis. The second and third chapters in this section, by Rebecca Jinks and Tom Lawson, work well together, discussing the presentation of the Holocaust and other genocides within the Imperial War Museum (IWM). Jinks compares the content and physical space of the IWM's Holocaust and the Crimes Against Humanity exhibitions, observing how signifiers from the Holocaust are used to contextualize the discussion of more recent atrocities for visitors. Lawson discusses these same exhibitions from the perspective of what they do not reference, specifically Britain's imperial past. Unsurprisingly, the placement of these exhibits in Britain's IWM is made much of; however, Lawson's most interesting analysis comes when he argues that Britain's sense of superiority is reinforced by a museum culture which obfuscates British imperial atrocities in the implicit comparison of the 'barbarity' of other countries' genocides (163).

The final section, dealing with commemoration of the Holocaust in Britain, picks up a theme found throughout the collection: the politicization of Holocaust memory and commemoration. Mark Donnelly's chapter assesses how the fiftieth anniversaries of the liberation of Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen were commemorated, identifying key thematic areas. In a discussion of 'The Holocaust and the case for humanitarian intervention', interesting observations are made about Holocaust commemoration and Britain's Muslim population (181). Andy Pearce's chapter places British 'Holocaust consciousness' in a European context, arguing that Britain has followed its own unique path to a 'lesson-centric' model of remembrance. A persuasive and powerful final chapter by Dan Stone rounds out the collection very well. In it, he derides the 'infantilization' of the Holocaust by the 'heritage industry' and raises powerful questions about whether Britain's particular 'remembering' actually facilitates 'forgetting' (215). In Stone's masterly handling of central issues of the collection, readers are offered a thought-provoking conclusion and plenty of areas for further discussion and research.

John Slater, Maríaluz López-Terrada and José Pardo-Tomás, eds, *Medical Cultures of the Early Modern Spanish Empire*, Ashgate: Farnham, 2014; 326 pp., 9 figures, 1 table; 9781472428134, £70.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Linda A. Newson, *Institute of Latin American Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, UK*

It is a commonly held view that scientific advances in the early modern period occurred in Northern Europe while Spain remained an isolated intellectual backwater, where medical practice was held back by the ban on Spaniards studying abroad and the activities of the Inquisition, which censored medical texts and stifled debate. In recent years this negative view of Spain's backwardness has begun to be challenged and this edited volume represents this revisionist position. It argues that the early Spanish empire was in fact an arena where the circulation of peoples of different ethnic backgrounds and medical traditions resulted in an extensive interchange of *materia medica* and ideas about health and sickness resulting in the emergence of geographically distinct medical practices and beliefs. This is demonstrated through case studies of medical thought in New Spain (Mexico), Italy and Germany as well as Spain and the Canaries.

Edited by three eminent historians of medicine, the volume does not seek to provide an overview or generalize about the nature of Spanish medicine in the early colonial period, but rather demonstrates how practices and beliefs related to health and sickness need to be viewed within specific social and historical contexts. In adopting this approach it employs the term 'medical culture', a concept often applied by medical anthropologists to the study of traditional medicine. Such a perspective extends the boundaries of what is conventionally considered by historians of medicine and allows a wider range of sources to be explored. This includes literary and visual materials, which this study argues

embody more flexible expressions of medical beliefs and practices than medical texts themselves.

The book is divided into three main sections that are not based on geography, history or genre, but on rather disparate themes, and as such they exhibit varying degrees of coherence. The first focuses on New Spain (Mexico) on the grounds that it was here that the Spanish had to confront significantly new conditions that served to destabilize existing practices and beliefs. These included the presence of different ethnic groups and healing traditions, the dramatic decline of the indigenous population, and the existence of a new natural world. Morales Sarabia analyses the discourse over *peyote*, a popular hallucinogenic drug that was banned in 1620, showing how it was originally lauded by eminent Spanish observers for its medical qualities but later associated with idolatry. Pardo-Tomás then analyses the well-known *relaciones geográficas* to explore contemporary explanations of the decline in indigenous health consequent on Spanish rule revealing their focus on social conditions rather than disease. Finally, consistent with recent scholarship that has begun to reveal the influence of alchemy on the development of Spanish medical practice, Bauer shows how this tradition is evident in the iconography of Nicolás de Monardes work and specifically in his discussion of Dragon's blood.

The second section, entitled 'Medical Itineraries', examines how medical ideas crossed geographical space. Sánchez-Menchero examines the correspondence between Spaniards resident in Mexico and Spain showing how they experienced and interpreted their health on the Atlantic voyage and in the New World, while Andretta shows how letters from the humanist Juan Páez de Castro, a Spaniard based in Trent, to the secretary to the Inquisition Jerónimo Zurita in Spain reveal how knowledge circulated among intellectuals in Italy and Spain crossing professional and political boundaries. Finally, Katritskay examines how early modern writers, notably the German Eberhard Werner Happel, struggled to explain the condition of hypertrichosis (temporary growth of long hair over the whole body), as exhibited by a Canary islander, Pedro González, and often drew on classical mythology.

The third and most coherent section consists of four papers dealing with the representation of medicine in theatre and literature. Taken together they demonstrate how these media provided arenas for the exploration of conflicting or new ideas. Medical historians are now aware that since concerns about medical treatments were shared by writers and public audiences these literary sources constitute valuable evidence for the nature of medical practice at the time. The issues discussed in these chapters include debates on childbirth and the role of midwives (García Santo-Tomás), on the Galenic interpretation of illness (López-Terrada), on the role of astrological medicine (Lanuza-Navarro), and on the conflict between theology and chemical medicine (Slater).

The volume contains an excellent collection of scholarly papers that reflect new advances in the history of medicine in Spain including the exploration of less traditional sources. The full value of the volume will probably only be wholly appreciated by scholars with some knowledge of the history of medicine. However, John Slater and William Eamon in the introduction and conclusion

respectively draw out the significance of the individual papers and provide some coherence to the volume for the more general reader.

Marina Soroka and Charles A. Ruud, *Becoming a Romanov: Grand Duchess Elena of Russia and her World (1807–1873)*, Ashgate: Farnham, 2015; 352 pp.; 9781472464057, £75.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Peter Waldron, *University of East Anglia, UK*

Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna was one of the nineteenth century's aristocratic women who succeeded in playing a substantive role in politics, despite the exclusion of women everywhere in Europe from formal political life. Her St Petersburg salons of the 1840s and 1850s brought together men in the Russian political elite: ministers and senior civil servants mixed together at the Mikhailovsky Palace, exchanging views that would form the bedrock for the reforms of Alexander II. The Grand Duchess, however, was not simply a passive observer of the political scene, for she played a central part in formulating ideas and in the political manoeuvring over the practical implementation of reform after the death of Nicholas I in 1855. Elena Pavlovna was not Russian by birth. She had been born Princess Charlotte of Württemberg in 1807 and was one of the many German royal women who married into the Romanov family. At the age of 16 she moved to Russia to marry Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, the youngest son of Paul I and, as was the custom, took a Russian name and converted to the Orthodox faith.

Elena Pavlovna spent the rest of her life close to the heart of the Russian ruling dynasty, and Soroka and Ruud's book is the first biography of the Grand Duchess in any language. The book gives a detailed account of Elena Pavlovna's life, tracing the awkward relationship she had with her husband and the difficulties she faced in adjusting to life in St Petersburg. The Grand Duchess's salons began in the 1830s as musical evenings, and Soroka and Ruud suggest that they were initially a means by which Elena Pavlovna could make friends and engage with society. The constricting atmosphere of Nicholas I's reign made open discussion of political and social issues very difficult, but the patronage of a member of the Romanov family provided a secure environment in which select members of the Russian elite could debate issues and form alliances to promote change. Elena Pavlovna's circle included men who would be at the heart of the reformist movement during Alexander II's reign, such as the Miliutin brothers, but it also included people with more conservative views, such as Yuri Samarin and Konstantin Kavelin. She herself did not just facilitate political debate, but also engaged directly with significant social issues, planning the emancipation of serfs on her own estate at Karlovka. Soroka and Ruud demonstrate the breadth of Elena Pavlovna's activities: during the Crimean War she established the Holy Cross community of nurses who played a significant part in caring for the Russian wounded during the war. By the mid-1860s, reform was losing its place on the Russian political agenda and Elena Pavlovna's salons came to an end. She retreated from society and died in 1873.

The book provides a good account of Elena Pavlovna's life, but it would benefit from a better discussion of the broader issues raised by the Grand Duchess's activities. The way in which Elena Pavlovna engaged both with St Petersburg politics and with practical relief work in Crimea should be placed in the wider context of women's political and social activity during the nineteenth century. Aristocratic women elsewhere in Europe, such as the redoubtable Lady Mary Derby in Britain, played significant roles in the informal networks of politics and were treated by their contemporaries as serious political figures. Elena Pavlovna's activities need to be seen as part of more general moves towards direct and open female engagement in political and social debate. Soroka and Ruud's book is based on a useful range of primary materials, although most of Elena Pavlovna's own diaries and correspondence has been destroyed. The book is significantly less sure in its use of secondary materials, and would benefit from a much closer engagement with the scholarship dealing with the reform movement in Russia in the 1850s and 1860s. The book's discussion of the process of emancipating Russia's serfs, for example, is weakened by the lack of reference to most of the major work on this topic in both Russian and English. The picture that Soroka and Ruud provide of the Grand Duchess is of a person who found herself isolated in the unfamiliar environment of St Petersburg, but who was able to build a network of like-minded people and who used her position as part of the imperial family to advance the cause of modernization. This is a useful contribution to the literature on mid-nineteenth century Russia, but the book's rather limited focus restricts its overall value.

Rebecca L. Spang, *Stuff and Money in the Time of the French Revolution*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA, 2015, 360 pp., 26 illustrations; 9780674047037, £25.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: P. M. Jones, *University of Birmingham, UK*

Although there exists a specialized literature on the numismatic history of the French Revolution, researchers will hunt in vain for a broadly conceived account of money which focuses on its social and political attributes. This is what the author has in mind when she says that she intends to investigate the qualitative rather than the quantitative aspects of her subject. The book, however, is also intended as an extended commentary on the current historiography of the French Revolution. As a medium of exchange which was both material and symbolic in the sense that it normally circulated on the basis of shared assumptions and trust, money, we are told, can shed light on the transition from the old order in France to the new. On the whole these twin objectives are achieved, although the author's pronouncements on the contested narratives of the Revolution sometimes appear rather detached from the specifics of her topic.

The chapters proceed in a loose chronological order starting with an overview of state credit-worthiness and borrowing during the *Ancien Régime* followed by the decision taken in 1789–1790 to reimburse past debt and to meet future expenditures with the issue of a form of paper money backed by sales of the assets of the church;

the political difficulties this decision subsequently provoked as the *assignat* became the principal and in due course the only official tender; the production challenges flowing from the demonetization of silver and gold; and the inflationary aftermath of 1795–1796 when political management of the money supply lapsed amid a general failure of state authority leading to the withdrawal of a colossal number of *assignats* from circulation. A final chapter explores the legacy of this experiment with paper money in the first half of the nineteenth century and discusses, somewhat late on in the book, the removal from commerce of the copper and base-metal coins which were probably the ‘stuff’ of most wage and food transactions in the Revolutionary era – even during the short period when the *assignat* ruled supreme.

The initial chapter is particularly illuminating and can be recommended to anyone wanting to know more about how state credit actually functioned in Bourbon France prior to 1789 and how wealthy private individuals financed their expenditures via networks constructed around negotiable bills of exchange. As for *rentes viagères*, a form of loan contract on which the monarchy was depending heavily by the end of the *Ancien Régime*, I have never read a clearer statement of how these ingenious financial products were designed and put onto the market. The determination with which the author lays bare the logistical and production challenges confronting legislators following the switch to the money-*assignat* is to be applauded as well. Most histories dwell solely on the quantitative dimensions of the *assignat* episode and the sharp rise in food prices, which, it is claimed, was the by-product of having too much paper in circulation.

One of the themes of this book is the commodification and merchandizing of money, and Spang draws attention to the emergence of a ‘voluntary money’ in the form of small denomination paper notes (*billets de confiance*) issued by private individuals and corporate bodies (merchants, municipalities, *caisses patriotiques*, etc.). This episode is rarely if ever alluded to in the standard narratives of the Revolution. However, the author weakens her arguments, or rather misses an opportunity to consolidate them further, by failing to devote proper consideration to metallic currency. Contrary to the impression given in the final chapter, the reform and re-coining of copper and base-metal small change did not wait upon an initiative of Louis-Philippe’s government in 1842–1843. It was being discussed and acted upon in the early 1790s, even as the momentous decision to tackle the debt with an emission of paper was being taken. The circulation of unofficial or ‘voluntary money’ included coin, for it was not until August–September 1792 that regalian authority over moneying was reaffirmed and private coinage emission formally prohibited.

In the meantime a dozen and more merchant houses issued *monnaie de confiance*, or what we would call tokens. By far the largest issuers were the Monneron brothers who lubricated the commercial networks of Paris and other great cities with millions of 2 and 5 *sols* pieces known to numismatists as *monnerons*. They were all coined in Birmingham on the steam-powered presses of Matthew Boulton and shipped over to France in 1791 and 1792. A consideration of this and other episodes of token production and distribution would have enabled the author to drive home more effectively her themes of decentralization, trust (the *monnerons*

were minted with the slogan 'la confiance augmente la valeur' on the rim), didacticism (the 5 *sol* piece carried an image of the 'Pacte fédératif'), standardization, and so on. In this regard the title chosen for this study seems rather unhelpful to the reader because it is basically a book which limits the treatment of the monetary policy of the French Revolution to the *assignat*.

Domna C. Stanton, *The Dynamics of Gender in Early Modern France: Women Writ, Women Writing*, Ashgate: Farnham, 2014; 266 pp., 20 illustrations; 9781472442017, £65.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Leanna Bridge Rezvani, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA*

Domna Stanton's erudite work is a recent volume in Ashgate's series on Women and Gender in the Early Modern World. The author analyses a variety of female- and male-authored seventeenth-century French texts with 'readings that focus on the shifting complexities of early-modern gender norms' (23). Stanton explores an impressive array of genres such as theatre, treatises, memoirs, satire, novellas and epistolary works. The volume is very theoretical, with thought-provoking reflections on the concept of 'reading-as-a-feminist' and numerous references to Michel Foucault, Judith Butler and other prominent theorists. In addition, Stanton's literary analysis is enriched by a valuable exploration of the socio-historical context of seventeenth-century France, with enlightening insights into religious, medical, juridical and political discourses. The volume offers an informative introduction, six case studies on individual writers (Chapter 3 focuses primarily on two authors), an afterword, a bibliography, and an index. In addition, there are 20 pertinent illustrations that could be useful for inciting discussion in the university classroom.

The first half of the volume, *Women Writ*, examines the portrayals of women in male-authored texts, while the second half, *Women Writing*, analyses female-authored works, with emphasis on the 'nature and extent of conformity and resistance to normative constructs about *le sexe*' (24). Stanton purports to examine 'the textual conjunctures and negotiations of, and the accommodations and resistances to, unstable and changing contextual gender norms' (4). She also asserts that her 'primary focus remains "women", viewed here not as a unity based on oppression but as a sign where multiple corporeal, cultural and political semes converge, which is definitionally incomplete, temporally unstable, and which remains the site of contested meanings' (6). The introduction is invaluable in that it provides a thorough overview of competing discourses on women in France historically and throughout the *Grand Siècle*. The first chapter examines the anonymous *Les caquets de l'accouchée* (1622) in relation to the 'critical trope of the "classical body"' (26). It focuses on notions of order and 'dis-order' in the text and offers significant insights into socio-political controversy over France's female regencies. Stanton's close reading is enhanced by numerous references to Bakhtin's theories and various misogynistic texts. Chapter 2 explores Racine's *Iphigénie en Aulide* from a socio-historical perspective. The author persuasively argues against more

traditional readings of Racine's theatre as feminine when she asserts that Racine 'dramatizes the need for absolute kingship to abolish dis-order. . . by erecting a paternal order on the sacrifice/suppression of women' (67). In the third chapter, Poullain de la Barre's *De l'éducation des dames* and Fénelon's *De l'éducation des filles* are explored in relation to various competing discourses on women's education in seventeenth-century France. While Stanton highlights Poullain de la Barre's 'radical subversiveness', she departs from conventional views of Fénelon as progressive by arguing that his *femme forte* was more akin to 'a paragon of useful domestic labor' (109). Chapter 4 focuses on La Guette's little-explored memoirs, an "'extraordinary" self-production of her time' with an intriguing analysis of the conflicting discourses on gender, class, hierarchy, and 'monarchic and moralistic discourses' (144). The chapter thoroughly explores intersections between history, gender norms, and literary representation with thoughtful reflections on the Fronde and conflicting views of *la femme forte*. Madame de Sévigné's epistolary works are explored in Chapter 5 with a compelling analysis of the representation of maternal suffering and the mother-daughter emotional bond. In addition, Stanton makes a convincing argument about different forces that 'promote maternalism after 1650' (26). She also asserts that Madame de Sévigné's text represents a 'milestone in the history of emotions' (159). Chapter 6 breaks with critical tradition by presenting an unconventional, namely ironic, reading of *La Princesse de Montpensier*. Stanton offers an original reading that aptly highlights certain ambiguities and challenges of interpretation in La Fayette's lesser-studied novella.

The Dynamics of Gender in Early Modern France offers thoughtful literary analysis alongside a rich theoretical framework. With its strong emphasis on theory, the work could risk being dense, however Stanton's dynamic writing is highly readable and engaging. The work is invaluable in that it examines diverse literary representations of women in seventeenth-century French literature in relation to dominant and transgressive discourses on gender. While one may not agree with all of the author's assertions, Stanton's arguments are enlightening and persuasive. The volume is meticulously researched and detailed in its breadth and depth. Moreover, the author's larger reflections on reading, feminism and the socio-historical context of the *Grand Siècle* are thought-provoking and insightful. Domna Stanton's previous scholarship is ground-breaking and influential; this volume is no exception as it will undoubtedly be an invaluable and informative resource for scholars of seventeenth-century France.

Christoph Strobel, *The Global Atlantic: 1400 to 1900*, Routledge: New York, 2015; 186 pp., 7 illustrations; 9780765639516, £95.00 (hbk); 978076563952 £25.00 (pbk)

Reviewed by: Álvaro Caso-Bello, *The Johns Hopkins University, Maryland, USA*

Christoph Strobel's *The Global Atlantic* invites the reader to consider the interconnected nature of Atlantic and Global histories. Strobel, a historian who has previously explored linkages between North America and Africa in the face of

European colonialism, is an experienced guide for this type of exploration. Both 'Atlantic' and 'Global' are two of the most successful historical subgenres in recent times. The two are revealing of a tendency among historians to concern themselves with wider geographies and longer chronologies. As a work of synthesis, *The Global Atlantic* makes contributions and faces challenges, distinct from those of a research monograph.

The book's contents include an introduction, four chapters, conclusion, and an annex chronology. The author argues that a series of episodes, topics, or processes, which scholars have deemed as specifically 'Atlantic' were 'interlinked with the rest of the globe'. Strobel provides an account 'of the interconnected nature of this system', particularly evident between c. 1500 and 1800, which is the central period explored in the book (6).

Strobel makes a couple of noticeable conceptual interventions. The first one is the use of the expression 'old world' in the plural. In Chapter 1, Strobel explores the Eurasian, African, and American 'old worlds'. Each of these spaces had distinct patterns of long-distance trade, as well as social, political and cultural structures that shaped the way in which each of them integrated into 'Global History'. The author makes of the expression 'Global Atlantic' his second conceptual intervention. This expression has two purposes. It obviously designates the interconnectedness of the Atlantic to the world. Most significantly, it expresses that during the early modern period the interactions between peoples of Africa, Eurasia and the Americas 'were often multi-directional, complicated, contested, and diverse' (6).

The book features a series of case studies that the author deems exemplary of such interactions. For instance, 'old worlds' of Asian, European, and African peoples influenced each other in sugar cultivation in the Americas (65–71). The outpour of Spanish silver coin into the global market, the author says, was also the result of complex interactions. The Spaniards' old world was present in the way that they approached the conquest and settlement of the Indies. The Native-Americans' old worlds were present in the way the Spaniards adapted some of their institutions – such as the Andean *mita* – to create systems of coerced labour and tribute. Specifically, Asian old worlds were fundamental inasmuch as larger economies, such as the Chinese, determined the way in which money and goods flowed (95–6). Strobel shows the limitations of European endeavours in the Indian Ocean as another example of the frailty of European power outside their subcontinent and the persistence of non-European 'old worlds' (119–35).

By the book's conclusion, it is evident that 'the Global Atlantic' is not just its title, but also a conceptual tenet. The 'decline of the Global Atlantic' circa 1800 (155) refers to the gulf created by 'industrialization' that changed an 'old reality'. It is Strobel's claim that in the early modern period 'Europeans often had to temper their interactions' and accommodate to the 'old worlds' of non-European peoples. In the nineteenth century, however, 'power dynamics shifted more decisively in favor of Western nations'. At this point, it becomes clear that the author does not intend to write about the rise of the West. On the contrary, his approach to

‘the Global’ aims at retrieving ‘the trends and dynamics that had shaped earlier interactions’ (163).

Aligned with historians who decentre Europe and peoples of European-descent as the prime-movers of the early-modern period, Strobel destabilizes a certain idea of ‘the Global’ predicated upon integration and intensification. Authors have identified processes of globalization as tied to violent asymmetric integration and the hegemony of ‘Western powers’ (162). Strobel’s treatment of ‘the Global’, instead, is tantamount to more porous forms of integration that allowed for multi-directional interactions.

However, if ‘the Global Atlantic’ experienced a ‘decline’ in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there are some questions worth asking. Was the world, by the nineteenth century, less ‘Global’ and more ‘Western’? Is it possible that the ‘Atlantic world’ was less so after ‘the decline of the Global Atlantic’? How does the author’s conceptualization of sets of interactions ostensibly different between the early modern and the modern world, differ from other historiographical approaches to this transition?

These questions are possible because Strobel takes the extra step of writing beyond the purely synthetic approach. Even when the book is an approachable, clear and concise synthesis, the author introduces thought-provoking concepts to his narrative. Strobel is successful in showing a world of multiple vectors simultaneously acting to shape the early modern world. The question remains whether any of the authors whom Strobel cites would decidedly affirm the opposite.

Sheila Sweetinburgh, ed., *Negotiating the Political in Northern European Urban Society, c. 1400–1600*, ACMRS and Brepols: Turnhout, 2014; 222 pp., 9 illustrations; 9780866984829, \$60.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Fiona Williamson, *National University of Malaysia, Malaysia*

Urban history has experienced many peaks and troughs over the past few decades, yet it has never failed to be popular, thanks in large part to the efforts of H. J. Dyos et al., in the 1970s. The last ten years or so has seen the field enlivened by increasing interdisciplinarity, leading to nuanced urban studies illuminating the multivalent dynamics interlacing urban life. Through a series of case studies, this collection builds on the field, re-examining regional towns from modern historiographical perspectives. As Caroline Barron argues in her afterword, such studies are important as a corrective to the preoccupation with capital cities, which, by benefit of size, wealth and location of royal authority, enjoyed a great deal of power and influence. The contributors employ recent lines of enquiry pertaining to socio-political dynamics, community, identity, the production and reception of text, space and place. The view that ongoing negotiation and, frequently, conflict – whether between civic actors, Crown and town, or town and clergy – was at the heart of urban life, connects the essays.

Karsten Igels’ contribution connects public performance and civic building with the negotiation and assertion of power amongst town citizenry, an interesting

return to work by scholars including Robert Tittler. Igels explores the deliberate reconfiguration of late medieval Osnabrück's town centre from a commercial to a ceremonial space, dominated by the town hall and courthouse. The shift inferred a spatial, iconographic and symbolic representation of power, order and place, reflecting transitions in local governance. That contemporaries recognized the relationship of power and place was also demonstrated by the conscious appropriation of certain public spaces during rebellions; an act which can be seen in many towns of this period.

Recognizing how diversity shaped experiences of religious change, Sheila Sweetinburgh argues it is high time to revisit urban Reformation England. Demanding a reappraisal of civic-clerical relations that have not been explored in this way since the late 1970s, Sweetinburgh re-reads a dispute between the magistrates and clergy of 1530s Sandwich. The Reformation, she concludes, was only one element in the complex socio-political, religious and economic dynamics that necessitated continual negotiation between urban actors. This was also the case in early sixteenth-century Prague, where, as Frederik Felskau argues, changes in the religious landscape interconnected with the political dynamics of power in the city.

The role of religion in small-scale urban politics is evident in Simpson's exploration of an offensive sermon preached in Canterbury during 1593, which attacked the reputation of the diocesan court. The resulting court case says much about the church courts' role in negotiating local politics. Connecting with literature on sacred space and on ritual and symbolism, Simpson demonstrates how the sermon's practitioner – Anthony Kingsmill – consciously attuned his performance for the greatest effect. Kingsmill appropriated the allusions of a classical text that would have found resonance with his educated audience. Such was also the case for the subject of Claire Bartram and Mary Dixon's close study of contemporaneous Dover, John Tooke. Tooke, a jurat closely involved with negotiations concerning the renovation of Dover's harbour with the Crown, employed Ciceronian ideals in his manuscript narrative of the town – part biography, part history, part appeal for monies from the Crown – by elucidating a citizen's active role in the process of governance through the provision of written advice (126). At a time when many English towns were attempting to assert their rights and identities with the Crown, the text represented a meaningful avenue for asserting a civic agenda.

Also considering biography as an expression of agency, Mark Merry's examination of *Jankyn Smyth's Book* is a useful counterpoise to the now somewhat discredited view that saw individuals constructed by community processes, without granting actors the ability of self-agency (18). In the example of John Smyth of Bury St Edmunds, Merry demonstrates though a reconstruction of Smyth's 'living' biography, that force of his character alone was responsible for transforming the political life of his community. Merry's treatment of individual and collective identity considers the soft politics of negotiation between models, ideals and aspirations, and the extent of Smyth's conscious awareness and appropriation of the same.

The inclusion of Serge Ter Braake's short study of several sixteenth-century Dutch towns serves as a stimulating contrast to the predominantly English focus of the collection. As he notes, over 50 per cent of Holland's population lived in urban centres at this time, thus a good relationship between the prince and the civic elite was critical in effective governance. Personal ties, efficient intermediaries, and the successful legitimation of the elite's actions determined the rapport between town and court. In Holland, Ter Braake argues, the gradual estrangement of ties between the Habsburg prince and his citizens over the course of the sixteenth century was a contributing factor to the 1568 Dutch Revolt.

Political relations between Crown and town are also explored by Peter Fleming and Felskau. Thinking about fifteenth-century Bristol, which Fleming argues has been neglected, he reveals that although contemporary socio-political circumstances were markedly different from those of the sixteenth-century English studies in this collection, the same practices of negotiation between complex competing interests are clearly evident. This suggests that the tensions pervading early modern towns were not unique to that time period, nor unprecedented.

In all the towns and cities considered in this collection, political, socio-economic and religious challenges necessitated continued compromise and conciliation. This process of negotiation epitomized civic life and relations between state and city. The collection's strengths lie in highlighting continuities and similarities in the urban experience whilst not downplaying the complexity of competing personal, political and religious allegiances and agendas set within contemporary frameworks of hierarchy, status and expectation. The collection is hindered in a full explication of these themes, however, by its attention to towns from southern England which, arguably, shared structural and cultural similarities, and comparable top-down political constraints. The inclusion of a wider geographical range of essays, such as those on Osnabrück, Holland and Prague, would have enabled a richer analysis. Governance in the Low Countries, for example, was more structurally diverse and dispersed than that of England. Likewise, as Barron points out in her concluding remarks, the political voices of ordinary urban people and the poor are not heard in this collection.

Zlata Blažina Tomić and Vesna Blažina, *Expelling the Plague: The Health Office and Implementation of Quarantine in Dubrovnik, 1377–1533*, McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal & Kingston, London, Ithaca, 2015; 384 pp., 32 illustrations; 9780773545403, £28.99 (pbk)

Reviewed by: Gordan Ravančić, *Croatian Institute of History (Zagreb), Croatia*

Various diseases are the constant companions of mankind. Moreover, one could even state that each epoch of human history has its own characteristic epidemic disease that significantly determined the economic and social development of human societies. Thus, although modern medicine has defeated almost all seriously dangerous communicable diseases we even today encounter numerous problems with AIDS, hepatitis and, in some cases, certain variants of influenza. Similarly, people in ancient Greece or Rome had serious problems with typhoid epidemics,

smallpox and malaria. By the same token, the Middle Ages were marked by leprosy and plague, while people in the early modern period had to struggle with some 'new' diseases like typhus and later – after discovery of the Americas – syphilis. In the same way, the industrial age also had its own 'new' disease, and this was tuberculosis. All in all, we could certainly agree that throughout history mankind has had to struggle with various epidemics, and thus much of the contemporary knowledge and crafts were engaged in conquering diseases.

Thinking about history in this way, one could say that this book by Z. Blažina Tomić and V. Blažina deals with an important aspect of our historical development, since the focus and topic of this study is the organized struggle against plague epidemics. Basically, as the title suggests, the book presents a case study of Dubrovnik's efforts regarding the prevention of plague epidemics during the late Middle Ages and early modern period. Moreover, throughout the book the authors maintain and emphasize the important role of Dubrovnik in the process of the invention of quarantine. This fact was already established some decades ago by Mirko Dražen Grmek, but unfortunately it is still not widely known and accepted within the scholarly community.

The book is divided into nine chapters, supplemented with three appendices and a number of figures, among which one should note three maps and four tables that help the reader to follow and better understand the main text. All the statements and conclusions are augmented by citation of relevant scholarly literature and primary sources, which is supplemented with a long list of references (317–46). In the first three introductory chapters the authors attempt to reveal the chief political, economic and social development processes of pre-modern Dubrovnik. All the information delivered suggests that medieval Dubrovnik's authorities gained significant control over all aspects of public life, including public health and care for the sick. Moreover, in contrast to some Italian (and Dalmatian) cities Dubrovnik's hospitals were not financed by the local confraternities but public state money (70), and health care was basically free for each citizen and often for foreign visitors, too. Consequently, the entire third chapter is dedicated to the physicians and their role in the public health organization. Additionally, the authors emphasize that the physicians hired by the Dubrovnik authorities sometimes acted as special ambassadors of Dubrovnik, especially to the hinterland under the Ottoman rule (94–9). This was of grave importance since – as the authors suggest throughout the entire study – Dubrovnik's economy deeply depended on trade between the Balkans (at that time under Ottoman rule) and the Mediterranean.

Still, during the plague epidemics all the contemporary medical knowledge of the hired physicians often was not of much use. Moreover, as the authors quote from various primary sources, in case of plague physicians usually fled from Dubrovnik. Still, on the basis of daily commerce and travel experience, Dubrovnik's authorities had already in 1377 introduced the first anti-plague measures, which, later – in the 1390s – were transformed into the first Public Health Office in the pre-modern West (a comparative table of similar offices in other European cities is available at page 134).

The following chapters ('Founding and Development of the Health Office, Control of Arrivals in Dubrovnik' and 'The Disastrous Plague Epidemic of 1526–27') form the main part of the book, in which the authors have described and analysed the foundation and functions of Dubrovnik's Health Office. The primary source of information for these chapters – besides the acts of the Dubrovnik authorities – was the *Libro deli Signori Chazamorbi*, a unique source consisting of lists of arrivals in Dubrovnik and the anti-plague activities of Dubrovnik's health officials in the period between 1501 and 1530. Namely, according to contemporary laws and orders, during the epidemics state health officials were empowered to prosecute anyone who would not obey strict anti-epidemic regulations. The authors systematically follow and analyse all available sources comparing Dubrovnik cases with the situation in other contemporary northern Italian cities. This analysis has demonstrated that the Dubrovnik authorities and the Health Office were ahead their time regarding the execution and efficiency of the anti-plague measures. This can be additionally proven by the fact that the major plague epidemics which devastated Italy in the 1570s and 1630s somehow omitted Dubrovnik (181–2), and this was undoubtedly result of the efficient work of the Health Office.

In the closing three chapters ('Plague Survivors as Plague Workers', 'The Health Officials and the Patricians', and 'Concealing Symptoms of Plague, Importing Suspicious Goods and Other Offences') the authors try to reveal the consequences and effects of anti-plague measures to Dubrovnik's economy, social development and daily life in general (though these topics are partly explored in the previous chapters, too). At the end of this volume the reader can find rather interesting *Appendices* consisting of three parts.

Though this book is an extended version of a book published in Croatian in 2007 by the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and written only by Zlata Blažina Tomić, it is a great deal more than an elaborated translation of the Croatian version. Namely, in this English edition the authors have examined the topic of an anti-plague legislative and public health organization in a more comprehensive way, showing to what extent plague epidemics and the struggle against them have determined the economic and social development of pre-modern Dubrovnik, which – because of its unique geographic and political position – became a forebear and innovator in the history of medical practice and public health organization in the pre-modern West.

Marius Turda, ed., *The History of East-Central European Eugenics, 1900–1945: Sources and Commentaries*, Bloomsbury: London, 2015; 656 pp., 20 illustrations; 9781472531759, £95.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Maria Sophia Quine, Norwich, UK

Although this volume avoids engaging with the many controversies around the terms 'Eastern' versus 'Central' Europe, it captures much of the essence of the complexities which lay behind them. It adheres to the nomenclature of

'East-Central Europe' now current in the Anglophone world and restricts its focus to the area of the newly independent successor states to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which were created in the years 1918–1920. Defined collectively by any name, the succession states of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Romania, all covered herein, were countries which, even by the standards of a general Europe-wide crisis of democracy in the inter-war period, were characterized by a high degree of turbulence and instability. It was not so much the ethnic heterogeneity of these nation-states which conspired against them; rather, the amount of rapid social change and the extent of the political upheaval experienced as a result of the peace settlement, which re-drew the map of the entire region, caused intractable problems. The biggest loser, of course, was the much truncated, post-Trianon Hungary, reduced to being a landlocked 'pygmy' country, with only 28 per cent of its former pre-war territory. The biggest winner, Greater Romania, saw its irredentist dreams largely satisfied, as the nation more than doubled in size as a result of the peace treaties. However, it was just as deeply divided and fragile as the rest of the successors. Roughly 30 per cent of the Romanian population was defined as being ethnically non-Romanian in 1920, as opposed to 8 per cent in the pre-war period. Although the official policy lumped together Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins, Macedonians and Serbo-Croatian-speaking Muslims together into one 'Serbo-Croat' ethnic category, as defined by the 1921 census, language, religion and culture divided the 'national' community of the new Yugoslav titular state, where antagonism between Serbs and Croats was rife and separatism rampant, even in areas of 'mixed' population, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this difficult and complicated context, the centrifugal forces of pan-nationalism and the external pressures from fascism in the west and communism to the east threatened to tear nations asunder. Here, Marius Turda explains, eugenics played an extremely important part in the largely unsuccessful nation-building enterprises carried out by the fledgling successor states. In common with varieties of political nationalisms in the region, East-Central European eugenics embarked upon a search for a homogeneous national community. As in eugenics everywhere and anywhere, the obsessions of East-Central European eugenicists were 'the nation', 'race', 'the family', 'marriage' and the 'quality' and the 'quantity' of the population. This volume succeeds admirably at the task outlined in the Introduction. A documentary reader with commentaries on each case study presented, it provides an invaluable new perspective on the transmission and adaptation of eugenic ideas in countries, which, until recently, have not been part of the so-called mainstream. Connections between East-Central European eugenicists and their Western European and North American counterparts are established. The real strength of the book is its illumination of the historical particularities and spectacular originality of East-Central European eugenics through the primary sources themselves. In these overwhelmingly rural nations, with high rates of mortality and morbidity, intellectual traditions focused on human improvement predated Galton. Eugenics, moreover, was bound to be different from the more familiar Western European varieties. So in Slovenia, Ana Cergol Paradž explains,

eugenics fed off local peasant and folkloric cultures, as well as literary naturalism, with the result that a colourful 'folk eugenics' emerged, which extolled the importance of protecting the inheritance of future progeny. Slovene eugenicists completely rejected the notion of 'Slavs' as inferior, as commonly expressed in Western Europe and the United States, and developed a kind of 'anti-Western', pro-Slavist eugenics of 'the oppressed', which was utterly fascinating and entirely unique in the history of eugenics. We learn from this volume that no 'negative' eugenic laws were introduced in any of Yugoslavia's provinces during the interwar period, because of the opposition of largely Orthodox Christian Serbian doctors and authorities to anti-natalist measures. Czech eugenicists shared views which were similar to the Italians, as they saw German-style negative eugenics as 'aristocratic' and 'undemocratic'. Jan Bělehrádek reveals that, though some Czech eugenicists wanted a sterilization law, proposals never became a bill; however, the historical record is sketchy here, so the details are unclear. Indications of where future research is needed are provided, helpfully, as in the case of two decrees governing sterilization which were introduced in Nazi-occupied Yugoslavia 1942 and about which little is known. The volume draws out the importance of concepts of blood purity and 'blood as destiny' in countries so internally divided; sometimes, these ideas were simply imported from Germany by Nazi sympathizers within German minority communities; but, often, they were home-grown versions of race hygiene and racial cleansing, with a large helping of religious belief in God and Faith as the primary pillars of eugenics and the nation. The least 'likable' or 'good' eugenics which emerges from this book is one strain of the Croatian, with its foundation in Aryanism and racism and its avowedly anti-Muslim, anti-Jewish, anti-'Gypsy', anti-Serbian and genocidal nature. But another type of Croatian eugenics is premised upon the proposition that bankers and capitalists (rather than the 'usual suspects' in eugenic scenarios – that is, the working class) comprise the parasitic and degenerate element within the nation-race. It was a delight to read in this book the only eugenic text I have ever encountered that speaks of happiness as a racial and eugenic virtue. The Polish eugenicist, Karol Stojanowski, quite pragmatically, outlined how a people's emotional well-being was essential to any nation seeking greatness. It wasn't all darkness and gloom in this part of Europe after all.

Hester Vaizey, *Born in the GDR: Living in the Shadow of the Wall*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2014; 240 pp., 30 illustrations; 9780198718734, £20.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Jeff Hayton, *Wichita State University, USA*

In the twenty-five years since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of state socialism in East Germany, Hester Vaizey contends that two competing narratives exist uncomfortably side by side in the public understanding and memory of the GDR. On the one hand, there is the 'damningly negative' depiction of the GDR as a 'Stasi-land' oppressed by the SED and secret police, while on the other hand, there is the 'rosily positive' version of socialist utopia which supporters defend

(161). *Born in the GDR* seeks to bridge the gap between these two extreme positions and show how life was lived as a combination of accommodation, restricted choice and acceptance, and to explain why after 1989 Easterners can 'simultaneously feel both freer and frustrated' (12). Attempting to offer a more complex explanation for why many Easterners feel a sense of loss at the passing of the GDR lies at the heart of this investigation.

In her introduction, after a succinct background discussion of post-war German history and the collapse of communist Eastern Europe, the author makes a number of valuable points about the process of transition from communist East to capitalist West that should be kept in mind when examining this subject, and the usefulness of oral testimony. Vaizey focuses on those born after 1961, with the justification that they had not experienced anything other than living under socialism (though she then comments frequently about Easterners watching Western television and receiving Western visitors and packages). Thirty interviews were conducted with individuals who responded to advertisements, and each were asked how they experienced the following: life in the GDR; the fall of the Wall and reunification; and life in reunified Germany. From this material, the author selected eight life stories (supplemented with material from the other interviews) to study how former Easterners have understood their past and present.

The eight lives offer a variety of perspectives on the *Wende* period: Petra, a politically active reformer who would represent the PDS during the 1990s; Carola, a student who fled the GDR while on a tourist visa to the West a few months before the Wall fell; Mario, a homosexual who spent a traumatic period in prison after a failed escape attempt; Katharina, a young woman who experienced discrimination for her religious beliefs; Robert, the son of an FDJ functionary who is upset that East Germany is only remembered for its limitations. In these stories we see what frustrated Easterners about living in the GDR (travel restrictions, censorship) but also aspects of life in the East which help to foster nostalgia for it nowadays (job security, social services). The Stasi do not seem to have played a large role in the lives of many of these individuals. But neither did the West seem particularly appealing: when Peggy finally had a chance to eat some Hanuta chocolate, she was disappointed because it did not taste heavenly (149).

In her conclusion, Vaizey agrees with other commentators in suggesting that while reunited, Easterners and Westerners remain quite divided. Despite the new opportunities that they have gained, the former Easterners under discussion have fond memories of growing up in the GDR. At points in their lives, they bumped up against the restrictions of the state although only Mario and Katharina seem to have been terrorized by the regime, and none of them seem to have been terrorizers (probably on account of their age). And despite the limitations of 'actually living socialism', most seemed satisfied with their lives in East Germany, accepting of the restrictions but also eager to take advantage of those opportunities which did present themselves. And perhaps here is the key to explaining the stability of the GDR and the longing for it since its collapse: that citizens, even if they did not love the GDR, nonetheless appreciated what it did offer them. Indeed, much of the

disappointment with reunited Germany expressed by former Easterners is not only due to the fact that what was promised to them has not materialized, but, as importantly, that union has been such a one-sided affair. As the individuals repeatedly expressed, the GDR – its buildings, its values, and its culture – has been completely erased and denigrated in reunited Germany. As Vaizey points out and is certainly correct, the phenomenon of *Ostalgie* is not about yearning for a return of the political system or consumer products, but concerns the sadness felt for the loss of a whole way of life, and the fears produced by having unknowns replace those certainties which ‘day-to-day routines had been built’ upon for forty years (173).

It is for these reasons that the best audience for this book will be advanced undergraduates, especially those seeking to understand why the transition from socialism to capitalism has been difficult, and how the memory of the GDR has evolved since 1989. The individual stories have enough compelling detail to appeal to readers, while the argumentation is tight if not overly challenging or particularly new. It is for this reason that more advanced students and scholars might not profit as much from this account. The methodological parameters of the study (those born after 1961, 30 interviews, eight biographies) mean that although the stories are different, there is a certain homogeneity to their concerns and experiences (none were older than 30 when the Wall fell and some were teenagers), which limits its broader usefulness, as the author well recognizes. Those who love reunified Germany are moreover less likely to participate in a project focused on the GDR. Further, there is also a certain self-fulfilling aspect to this study: by selecting a number of different if representative stories, how can one fail to highlight the ways in which the past has been experienced differently? Despite these caveats, this is a useful contribution to the period that will add to our knowledge about how the *Wende* has been experienced. More than anything, *Born in the GDR* will help students to see why and how East Germans accommodated themselves to the system, for the most part did not feel oppressed, and at the same time, took advantage of those choices given to them, with the result being that the GDR is not universally despised, even if it is not exactly lauded by its former citizens.

Corrado Vivanti, *Niccolò Machiavelli: An Intellectual Biography*, Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ, 2013; 280 pp.; 9780691151014, £19.95 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Benedetto Fontana, *Baruch College, New York, USA*

The late Corrado Vivanti’s intellectual biography of Machiavelli, a translation of *Niccolò Machiavelli: i tempi della politica* (Rome 2008), is a remarkable contribution to the English-language literature on the thought and life of the Florentine secretary. Vivanti is the editor and annotator of the three volume complete works of Machiavelli, *Opere* (Milan 1997–2005). An outgrowth of this earlier work, it weaves into a seamless narrative the notes, commentary and critical introductions that Vivanti brought to the *Opere*.

The preface establishes the dimensions and direction of what follows. The purpose is clear: 'to examine the ups and downs of Machiavelli's life and to offer information on his most famous writings' – from *The Prince* to *The Mandrake*, from the *Discourses* to *The Art of War* and *The Florentine Histories*, from the *Ordinance* to the *Discourse on Remodelling the Government of Florence*. It locates the works within the political and personal trajectory of Machiavelli's life, as well as within the major historical, cultural, political and diplomatic events that together defined the Italian and the European landscapes of his time. Machiavelli lived, worked and wrote within a Europe in which these events were the product and cause of rapid transformation. As Vivanti notes, '[A] new vision of the world was being outlined and opening up to the consciousness of Europeans', an extended process that undermined the traditional and customary ways of thinking and ways of acting. Scientific and cultural changes interacted with socio-economic and political and institutional changes, which, reciprocally reinforcing one another, exploded the old verities and the old equilibrium.

Vivanti deftly interweaves Machiavelli, his political/diplomatic and historical/intellectual writings, with the objective reality of Italian and European developments, such that the intention announced in the *Discourses* 'to find ways and methods that are new' in order to discover 'seas and lands unknown' simultaneously describes both Machiavelli's enterprise and the new world upon which Italy, and especially Europe, were embarking.

The main body of the biography is divided into three parts. The first, 'The Florentine Secretary', focuses on Machiavelli's political and diplomatic activities under the restored Florentine republic. After a brief chapter in which his intellectual and educational influences are outlined (necessarily brief due to the scarcity of information), Vivanti presents Machiavelli's entry into history, and into Florentine politics, as secretary of the chancery of the republic. In this section we find sketched Machiavelli's attitude and relationship to Savonarola (and hence to religion and to Christianity), his work in the chancery is discussed, and his diplomatic missions and correspondence are delineated, all with the fine precision of a master portraitist. The centre of gravity in this part is Vivanti's discussion of Machiavelli's efforts to revitalize Florentine military institutions. These reforms, spurred by Florentine difficulties in reconquering rebellious Pisa, constituted Machiavelli's major political and literary activity. In words and deeds Machiavelli was the prime motive force that made these changes possible. It was as an engaged and committed actor in the affairs of the republic that Machiavelli linked the political and the military, republican liberty and the people armed, a linkage later emphasized in his major political works. It was his activity as the republic's military innovator that prefigured the later political, historical and theoretical analyses of the institutions necessary for both republic and new principality.

Part I anticipates and parallels Part II, 'Exile in His Homeland', in which Machiavelli develops the political and theoretical anatomy of republics and principalities. Vivanti gives us a finely nuanced, intellectually cogent and sophisticated

discussion of Machiavelli's major writings, *The Prince*, the *Discourses* and *The Art of War*. He delves deeply into the ideas that have fascinated admirers and detractors, and sparked a plethora of interpretative and political controversies among successive generations. Machiavelli exhibits throughout these works a passion for politics that underlies his historical and political inquiries into the rise, decline and fall of both monarchical and republican institutions. Thus there are analyses of the celebrated relationship between *virtu'* and *fortuna*, the political and historical distinction between the hereditary prince and the new prince, the relationship between conflict and liberty, liberty and empire, the antinomy liberty/servitude, the conflict of the humors (*grandi* and *popolo*), as well as the no less important investigation into the nature of political innovation and its role in the maintenance and dissolution of new political orders. Vivanti vividly demonstrates that what connects these seemingly disparate elements is Machiavelli's realization that politics in the new world must forever be based on the emergence of the people as a force in the power equation. It is the people as the foundation of modern politics that enables the organization and deployment of an economy of violence (to use Sheldon Wolin's phrase) in the conduct of domestic and international politics. And it is the emergence of the people as a force in history that links republic to principality, as well as political to military affairs.

Part III, 'Niccolò Machiavelli, Historian, Comic Writer, and Tragic Writer', discusses the history of the Florentine people, their rise, decline and fall, their transformation from a free and *virtuoso* people to one 'scattered, disorganized' and corrupt, culminating with the supremacy of the Medici dynasty. Vivanti integrates Machiavelli the political writer with Machiavelli the dramatist and poet, in the process describing his life and activities by means of pointed quotations from the letters to and from his friends. Vivanti brings together the private and public Machiavelli, in which one informs the other, and in which both delineate a Machiavelli thoroughly familiar with, and open to, the broad range of human passions, vices and virtues, a writer to whom nothing human is alien.

The concluding appendix discusses the various ways Machiavelli uses the term *stato*. It recapitulates and elaborates the Machiavellian themes of public liberty and social equality, principality and republic, the relation between politics and religion, and the social bases of princely government and republican liberty. Machiavelli's differing uses of *stato* are defined by a common theme or strand: the construction of a political sociology that addresses the social and cultural foundations of differing regime types. Vivanti underlines the connection between regime types – such as principalities or republics, hereditary or new principalities, *governo largo* or *governo stretto* – and social types – such as 'gentlemen', *signori di castella*, rich and poor, great and people, corrupt and virtuous – and outlines the manner in which each parallels and informs the other. The appendix resumes and summarizes Machiavelli's project to construct a new political geography in order to discover new political continents, new 'modes and orders' established on the solid foundation of the 'friendship of the people'.

Geraldien Von Frijtag Drabbe Künzel, *Hitler's Brudervolk: The Dutch and the Colonization of Occupied Eastern Europe, 1939–1945*, Routledge: London, 2015; 210 pp.; 9781138803152, £90.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Jennifer L. Foray, *Purdue University, Indiana, USA*

A decade's worth of scholarship has now demonstrated that Hitler's foreign conquests and foreign occupations constituted an imperial project: founded on the principles of racial purity, this new empire would span Europe from East to West, with each group of peoples allotted a particular role to play within this Nazi New Order. According to this schematic, the Slavic peoples of the Easternmost territories were to be exterminated or enslaved, their fertile lands repopulated by intrepid Germanic settlers who would exploit this all-important *Lebensraum*. With this important contribution to the study of Nazi imperialism, Geraldien von Frijtag Drabbe Künzel explores Dutch attempts to stake out a claim in this vast continental empire. Designated a 'Germanic people', the Dutch would be allowed to participate in this wartime venture, and, as von Frijtag Drabbe Künzel clearly demonstrates, Nazi resettlement and agricultural schemes complemented more long-standing efforts to alleviate rural unemployment in the Netherlands. Consequently, over the course of the war, a few thousand Dutch men and women would resettle in German-occupied Ukraine, Belarus and the Baltic territories.

Hitler's Brudervolk examines the recruitment, relocation and activities of these Dutch volunteers, devoting particular attention to the 'Dutch East Company' created by prominent Dutch Nazis to oversee – and monopolize – these resettlement efforts. Von Frijtag Drabbe Künzel locates these wartime projects within multiple histories: the Netherlands' colonial ventures overseas; pan-Germanism and 'Greater German' thinking, as conceptualized in both Germany and the Netherlands; and Dutch agriculture, widely perceived to be in crisis during the first few decades of the twentieth century. However, the central core of the book – and the author's extensive multi-country archival research – rests with those Dutch organizers and recruits who embarked upon this 'great adventure'.

Using an array of materials including ego-documents and court records, von Frijtag Drabbe Künzel examines the ideologies and motivations informing this eastward journey as well as the volunteers' interactions with Dutch supervisors, German administrators and officials, and local residents. These are rich sources, and, in places, the author could mine them for more systematic analyses, especially concerning the rank-and-file volunteers. It would be helpful to know, for instance, the percentage of volunteers citing strictly economic reasons for their involvement versus those who supported the NOC's 'Greater German' worldview, regardless of any formal affiliation with the Dutch Nazi Party. Chapter 3, entitled 'Embarking on a Great Adventure', demonstrates that, for some of its advocates, the Eastern settlement programme represented a continuation of centuries-old Dutch colonialism overseas, particularly after March 1942, when the prized Dutch colony of the East Indies was invaded and occupied by the Japanese. But how did individual Dutch volunteers and officials understand this series of events, other than the most

obvious response: that the Indies were now lost to the Netherlands, so the Dutch would do best to channel their colonial training and ambitions elsewhere? Did they believe that the Netherlands could regain and retain its overseas colonies and yet still remain part of the German-led Nazi New Order? The author briefly discusses these types of questions, but she might draw even bolder conclusions about these Dutch actors.

Ultimately, these Dutch resettlement schemes would collapse in dramatic form, and not simply because Germany lost the larger war. Whether employed in farming or industry, Dutch overseers and recruits lacked the autonomy they believed they would find in the Eastern territories and were instead forced to assume a subordinate role to their German 'brothers'. Nor did they find the rich soil unpopulated and theirs for the taking. Quite the contrary, in fact, since, as von Frijtag Drabbe Künzel demonstrates, the Dutch arrivals both witnessed and participated in the exploitation and ill-treatment of local residents, including the murder of those Jews remaining in the area at this time. In the summer of 1942, the NOC, as created by Dutch Nazi and 'Greater German' radical M. M. Rost van Tonningen, assumed sole control of the various Dutch ventures operating in the German-occupied East, but only for a short period of time. By mid-1944, with the Red Army advancing through Eastern Europe, the eastern outpost of the Nazi New Order disintegrated, and those Dutch pioneers able and willing to leave their positions retreated westward. Some never returned to the Netherlands. Hundreds were killed by local partisans or the Red Army, while others simply disappeared, their fates still unknown. Those who returned to the Netherlands at the war's end could expect to be tried as German collaborators. Yet, as explored in the book's concluding chapters, the post-war tribunals and special courts charged with punishing collaborators occasionally downplayed the political nature of the NOC's resettlement project: willingness to work in the east typically constituted an aggravating circumstance but not the primary charge against Dutch recruits and NOC officials alike.

This is a well-researched book that restores agency to those Dutch organizations, leaders, and recruits who believed themselves to be charting new imperial terrain. Maps of Dutch settlements, both proposed and actual, would have been useful additions, as would an appended list of leading individuals and their respective agencies/positions.

Jessica Wardhaugh, ed., *Politics and the Individual in France, 1930–1950*, Legenda: Oxford, 2015; 184 pp.; 9781909662247, £55.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Rebecca Scales, *Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester, New York, USA*

For historians of France, the years between 1930 and 1950 are synonymous with the rise of mass politics, from the descent of paramilitary squads and striking workers into the streets to the rise of political ideologies such as fascism and communism, which privileged the needs and demands of the collective over the rights of the individual. Yet partisan battles between left and right, the German

Occupation of the Second World War, and post-war struggles to restore the republic also forced French people into new ideological commitments while raising the stakes of their political engagement. How might we conceptualize the relationship between mass politics and the individual during this critical period of French history, in its philosophical, ideological and experiential dimensions? Nine scholars grapple with this problem in a new collection edited by the political historian Jessica Wardhaugh, *Politics and the Individual in France, 1930–1950*. Readers will encounter some familiar content in essays devoted to well-known right-wing political and intellectual figures, but will appreciate the fresh methodological insights offered by this interdisciplinary collection.

The essays in the first section, 'The Individual and History', tackle the recurring tension between collective and individual political agency that defined the mid-1930s. Wardhaugh examines the communist writer Romain Rolland's play cycle about the French Revolution to investigate the 'triangular relationship between the masses, leaders, and politics' (14). If Rolland is known for developing theatrical festivals celebrating the actions of the people, Wardhaugh uncovers a more 'circumspect approach to popular entertainment and agency' in which the people were 'potential agents for revolution' but also malleable and vulnerable to persuasion (19–20). Audience reactions to Rolland's portrayal of Danton also revealed anxieties about the charismatic leader. Jean-François Petit charts the uneven development of Emmanuel Mounier's personalist philosophy, uncovering the diverse intellectual influences that shaped the philosopher's perception of France's state of political, moral and intellectual 'crisis' throughout his largely understudied *Carnets*. While opposed to individualism, Petit argues, Mounier 'drew on the writings of Proudhon and the wider anarchist tradition to attribute important agency to the individual as a source of solutions' to the status quo (30). Finally, Martin O'Shaughnessy reinterprets Jean Renoir's films for their portrayal of the collective. Although Renoir was 'particularly aware of [people's] need to distance themselves from the kind of fusal collective identities associated with fascism', he created on-screen character groupings that were open to reflection and diversity, highlighting the potential for the collective to 'see itself outside of war' (56).

'Memory and Responsibility', the collection's second section, explores the impact of wartime experiences on individual and collective memory of France's 'dark years'. In a fascinating contribution, Liora Israel analyses the diaries of three Jewish lawyers to investigate how the Occupation affected their individual subjectivity, uncovering how Vichy's discriminatory racial legislation forced a Jewish identity onto them that they had not previously claimed. Israel also illustrates how diaries, more than retrospective memoirs, reveal the psychological ruptures created by the 'disappearance of routine, the shattering of political norms, and the transformation of familial networks' (63). In contrast, Julian Blanc uncovers how the 'individual trajectories and former experiences' of the female *résistants* Agnès Humbert and Germaine Tillion produced radically different post-war memoirs (85). While both were involved in the same underground network, Humbert's political militancy 'favored the creation of a highly stylized, static, and restrictive

image of the Resistance' (83), whereas Tillion's ethnographic training allowed her to highlight its 'unifying character... in which former social and ideological divisions might be transcended' (85). Stephanie Hare's 2003 interviews with former Paris police prefect Maurice Papon form the basis for an investigation into the complexities of oral history and the 'behavioral codes and mentalities of the French civil service' that shaped his defence of his wartime activities as a 'duty to obey'. His defence, she concludes, was a combination of 'self-justification and "business as usual" for the state', revealing the shared responsibility of Papon and state bureaucrats (100).

The third section, 'Toeing the Party Line', considers how party membership affected a variety of writers, intellectuals and artists. Angela Kershaw considers the struggles of the *résistant* and writer Edith Thomas to reconcile her commitments to the French Communist Party with its constraints on her activities. Jean-Baptiste Bruneau asks why contemporaries found the political beliefs of the right-wing writer Drieu La Rochelle so hard to pin down, revealing that the 'problems in understanding and recognizing fascism derived from a serious inability to grasp its impact on French politics' (122). Finally, the art historian Sarah Wilson examines how communist party membership affected the political and representational strategies of several painters engaged in anticolonial struggles on the eve of the Algerian War.

This collection offers stimulating insights into mid-twentieth century political life, reminding us of the embodied aspects – physical, verbal, and visual – of political engagement as well as the persistent tensions between individual and collective action that typified the period between 1930 and 1950. More important, the contributions illustrate how the political polarization that preceded and followed the Second World War compelled many people to commit to a party or cause, even when this resulted in disrupted family life and professional life or class and ethnic identities, producing the competing memories of the period that persist today.

Hubert Wolf, *The Nuns of Sant'Ambrogio: The True Story of a Convent in Scandal*, Ruth Martin, trans., Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2015; 496 pp., 20 halftones; 9780198732198, £20.00 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Liise Lehtsalu, *Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, USA*

Hubert Wolf writes at the end of *The Nuns of Sant'Ambrogio*, 'what had sounded like an outrageous fantasy turned out to be a true story of a convent in scandal' (371). The story that Wolf presents to his readers has all the components of a good scandal: a dominating novice mistress, innocent novices, false saints, broken confessionals, violations of monastic enclosure, murders, sexual encounters between nuns, and a priest exchanging French kisses with a nun. When the German princess Katharina von Hohenzollern entered the Regulated Franciscan Third Order convent of St Ambrogio in Rome in 1857, she did not expect having to escape the convent in summer 1859, fearing for her life. What had happened in St Ambrogio during the princess's novitiate and the preceding decades became the subject of a

trial by the Holy Office. The inquisition trial lasted until spring 1862 and concluded with the convictions of the abbess, the novice mistress and both confessors of St Ambrogio, as well as the dissolution of the convent and the suppression of the cult of the convent's founder, Agnese Firrao. Wolf follows the inquisition trial from preliminary investigations through to the verdict and its aftermath. He quotes extensively from the trial records, which are part of the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and have only been accessible to researchers since 1998.

A historian of the Roman Inquisition and the Church in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Wolf provides a detailed overview of the inquisition process and contextualizes the case of St Ambrogio in the history of nineteenth-century German Catholicism and curial politics in Rome. Wolf's analysis focuses on the second confessor of St Ambrogio, the Jesuit theologian and philosopher Joseph Kleutgen, aka padre Giuseppe Peters. Kleutgen played a leading role in the nineteenth-century revival of scholasticism and supported the dogma of papal infallibility. Wolf relates the outcome of the inquisition trial that saw Kleutgen receive minimal punishment, even though he had broken the confessional and his priestly vows, to the favourable position the Jesuits held in the Roman curia in the later-nineteenth century and the political victory of the Ultramondists in German Catholicism.

Wolf's focus on the political and theological contexts surrounding St Ambrogio's trial, and its sentencing in particular, underplay the fascinating history of convent life that emerges from his extensive citations of the trial record. Wolf uncritically adopts the term 'lesbian' to discuss sexual acts between nuns in St Ambrogio and leans on present-day psychology of childhood sexual abuse to interpret these acts. Unintentionally, perhaps, the story of the nuns of St Abrogio acquires a sensationalist tone, which recalls Denis Diderot's famous *La Religieuse* and has also been the focus of the popular press reviews of Wolf's book. Wolf fails to follow his own suggestion that 'gender studies research is especially helpful' for understanding the motivations of the novice mistress and the case of St Ambrogio (440, fn. 76). The tantalizing references in the quoted trial records to gendered practices of piety, mysticism and power are dismissed as feminine 'manipulation' (256) and 'lust for power' (267). Yet, the testimonies from St Ambrogio do reveal that the eighteenth-century feminization of religion and the early-nineteenth century resurgence of Marian devotion in Italy were still current in mid-nineteenth-century Rome. Moreover, the nineteenth-century spaces of female monasticism were not dissimilar from Italian convents before the Napoleonic suppressions. Marina Caffiero, in the introduction to her volume on the Church and modernity in Italy in the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, has stressed a continuity across this period in Italian history. The case of St Ambrogio should not be considered without reference to the history of female monasticism in early modern Italy, or the history of the Italian peninsula in the early-nineteenth century, especially the aftermath of the Napoleonic period and the developments of the Risorgimento. Unfortunately, Wolf presents the story of St Ambrogio as a German story, with limited regard to the physical and temporal context of the

convent in Rome. Nevertheless, and even with these shortcomings, *The Nuns of Sant'Ambrogio* is a pleasurable read that has the character of a crime novel while also providing a detailed overview of the procedures of the Roman inquisition and access to extensive excerpts of a fascinating trial record.

Oliver Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life: German Communities in the Age of the Nation-State*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2013; 416 pp., 24 illustrations; 9780199571208, £38.99 (hbk)

Reviewed by: Xosé-Manoel Núñez, *Ludwig-Maximilians Universität Munich, Germany*

National identities have been approached by historians in the last twenty years from diverse angles, from the local sphere to the global, and from the social perspective to the cultural one. However, a relatively marginalized aspect in most studies on the formation of national identities in nineteenth-century Europe has been the place reserved for local and the regional identities within the new hierarchy of loyalties increasingly imposed by nation-states and/or national movements. While the bulk of historical research on this has focused, particularly in the German-speaking context, on the emergence and variegated meanings ascribed to the term *Heimat* and local cultures, much less space has been devoted to the role of cities and, therefore, the emergence of specifically urban identities and their relation to the nation. A further vacuum was that of the redefinition of daily life brought about by urbanization and social change, along with the impact of nation-building, by applying a bottom-up perspective that emphasized the way in which national worldviews had an impact on ordinary lives, from consumption patterns to local festivities.

This is precisely the field that the Oxford-based historian Oliver Zimmer, himself a well-known specialist on the study of Swiss nationalism, comparative European nationalisms and, more specifically, on the role of national symbols to shape collective identity, attempts to cover in this study. As he explicitly declares, his aim is to shed some light on how ordinary people 'strove to regain a sense of place in a changing world' (1) by inquiring into the way in which urbanization and modernization influenced their 'rhythms and routines'. The perception of time and place by the inhabitants of these towns, as well as the emotional attachment they developed to the new built environment and the rhythms of life which developed within its limits become central categories in the author's analytic lens, which he develops in a multifaceted comparison of three medium-sized and biconfessional South-German towns during the second half of the nineteenth century: Ludwigshafen, Augsburg and Ulm, which experienced different paths of modernization – while Ulm was a traditional artisan and merchant town, Ludwigshafen was characterized by a speedy economic growth, and Augsburg remained fairly stable as a traditional merchant and industrial city.

Resorting to a broad sample of sources, from local archives to the press and personal memoirs, Zimmer approaches the ways in which the 'rhythms of life' changed in all three towns by selecting a number of topics: the evolution of local

economy and the debates on schooling, which was considered to be the key for the future; the evolution of the categories of citizen and resident in the face of increasing inner immigration and social change; the local debates on 'progress' that reflected a 'moral narrative' of national identity, embracing such issues as public health and sanitary infrastructures; as well as the enactment of ceremonies and festivities, in order to grasp the 'hidden rhythms' (173) of public and private life. The author focuses on two examples, the commemoration of the German victory against the French in 1871, the Sedan Day and the Catholic festival of the Corpus Christi, seen as classic fields of local dispute between national-liberals and Catholic conservatives. The author gives the reader a detailed view of this variegated set of dimensions, which are dealt with separately. Although both in the introduction of each section ('Journeys', 'Place-Makers' and 'Rhythms') a comparative outline is sketched, the narrative weight of local dynamics in some parts takes the lead in each chapter, while some of the central arguments and issues raised by the author get lost amidst the abundance of data and examples described. Yet, as Zimmer rightly points out, these 'mundane affairs' that stirred up local debates and caused ordinary people to get engaged in struggles over the rhythms of life made nationalism pertinent, as national identity offered a narrative that encompassed the necessity of change: the local progress was regarded as the national progress.

In his brilliant conclusions (293–306), Zimmer manages not only to sum up his main results and to draw a convincing conclusion, but also to address some central issues for historical research, such as his rejection of modernization theory as a predictable process, as well as his reluctance to observe the process of nation-building from a top-down perspective. Likewise, he clearly gives preference to agency over structure: local actors had, in his view, the ability to improvise and adapt to changing circumstances, by imposing their preferences on the rhythms of life, following different paths: nationalism was not a merely a project imposed or proposed by elites or by the state, but a complex 'dance... a form of social exchange and interaction' (303). The author stresses not only the role of agency, but also the autonomy of the local sphere, and insists on both the performative and flexible quality of collective identity, underpinning the intrinsic diversity of those local spheres, which cannot be reduced to a general pattern. Yet, nationalist arguments were used by actors precisely as a 'moral justification' for those who wanted to delegitimize traditional rhythms and were convinced that progress had to maintain its pace.

Certainly, some of the issues raised in this book have already been suggested by several studies on regional and national identities, both in the German context and elsewhere, from Maiken Umbach to Alon Confino. Yet, Zimmer bridges an innovative and detailed comparative analysis of the relationship between the urban context, the personal and social experience of time and place, and the national idea in nineteenth-century Germany. The book is also rich in suggestions for comparative research on European nationalism. In fact, an open question remains the extent to which this model could be extended to other European *nationalisms*.