

Book Reviews

GENERAL-WORLD

Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*. Oxford and Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006. xii + 409 pp. ISBN: 0-691-12664-X (hbk.). \$39.95.

Jeremy Adelman begins this important and eloquent study of the collapse of the Iberian empires and the emergence of Latin American nations with some reflections on Jorge Luis Borges' famous story, "The Garden of Forking Paths". At the centre of Borges's tale is a tangled, unfinished book, "an endless novel where multiple futures continue to proliferate and fork". The same writer's poem, "The Labyrinth", also provides an epigraph for Adelman's book, underscoring the tangled paths that led from "empire to nationhood" and which "forked in ways that required actors to make choices without knowing the certainty of the outcome". In this fashion, Adelman makes clear from the outset his intention of reinserting contingency into the narrative of Latin American and Atlantic history (1). He also notes that such labyrinthine images are common parables of Latin American history, reflecting the difficulty of providing a narrative for a region "caught between a traumatic past of conquest and oppression, and a future of freedom and democracy".

The problem of relating past and future, Adelman suggests, led protagonists and witnesses of these events such as Simón Bolívar or José da Silva Lisboa to write histories of their times that "sought to give meanings to sovereignty" (2). The meaning of the past was one of colonial subjugation. As Thomas Jefferson noted, history for the new Latin American nations meant the legacy of "passive submission...to their kings and priests" (4), rather than that of the idealised, civic-minded communities peopled with virtuous proto-citizens, of the English North American colonies. Adelman disagrees: "it was not at all inevitable that the people of the Iberian Atlantic considered their Spanish and Portuguese inheritances as anything less than desirable" (5). Nor was the collapse of the Iberian Atlantic empires a shoe-in. Adelman makes a case not for their fragility, but their longevity and ability to adapt to changing political and financial configurations, rethinking ways of being tied to Spain or Portugal as flows of capital began to alter the Atlantic's trading configurations. In contrast to the "creole patriotism" that Benedict Anderson, Anthony Pagden, and others locate as the engine of Latin American independence, Adelman finds evidence of more complex colonial identities, arguing that Spanish Americans desired "to be autonomous *and* to belong to a great empire, to be Americans *and* the subjects of a magnanimous monarchy; to have it as many ways as possible" (9). In Adelman's complex narrative, it was the fall of the old order in Europe rather than colonial revolt that led to the break-up of empire; social revolution was the consequence of imperial collapse, not its cause.

Adelman's guide to this labyrinth is remarkable for its clarity, its range of secondary and primary sources, and its balanced, nuanced prose. On one level, it serves as an excellent

general history of the Latin American empires from the mid-eighteenth-century to the 1820s, and is arranged chronologically. Each chapter is also concerned with analysis of the development of the concept of sovereignty, and its social and economic relationship to commerce, public opinion and the balance between centre and periphery, and is to be read as a sophisticated, extended argument. The first chapter, "Empires That Bleed", provides the structural context for what follows. Iberian Atlantic empires were based on the belief that imperial commerce provided the bedrock for imperial power. Using the metaphor of the body and circulation of the blood, imperial advisors and ministers such as José del Campillo y Cosío feared that in comparison to the French and English empires, the Spanish imperial body was in danger of becoming moribund, stifled by monopolies and restrictive practices; the free-flow of commerce was the required treatment. Adelman follows the consequences of this diagnosis, and although aware of the limits of reform, suggests that the gradual increase in internal competition and fewer restrictions on trade helped to develop and consolidate a network of elites, sharing kinship, capital, contracts, and administrative duties on both sides of the Atlantic and reaching into the colonial heartlands. In return for imperial support, merchants were allowed to make money. By the 1780s, however, these new commercial practices lead to a series of popular uprisings, including the largest Indian insurgency since the conquest. Fiscal reforms were halted. Adelman brings these events to bear on his wider concerns, suggesting that this unrest was not "a precursor to colonial independence" without denying that "creoles expressed nativist, anticolonial reactions to peninsular policies". Rather, it showed the potentially corrosive side of capitalism and the ending of the accommodations of "local political cultures" by the "centripetal drive of imperial reform" (49).

Just as the new imperial bargain led to the extraction of more sugar, dyestuffs, cacao, meats, hides and other colonial products, the new market forces also increased the demand for labour and gave a stimulus to the trade in enslaved Africans. Chapter 2, "Capitalism and Slavery on Imperial Hinterlands", makes a strong case for examining the demands of the "periphery" of empire in the debate on the relationship between slavery, capitalism and empire. Any researcher seeking to refine Seymour Drescher or David Eltis's views on anti-slavery will find much of use in this chapter. As the South American slave trade boomed, it also began to bypass Spain and Portugal, creating a "South Atlantic System" of direct trade between Africa and colonial merchants. The need to share capital in order to lessen the risk also helped to underpin commercial networks.

The 1790s also brought European war, and chapter 3, "Between War and Peace", explores the paths taken by the Spanish and Portuguese empires as they sought to avoid becoming embroiled in the conflict and to profit from the disruption to other nations' commerce. Adelman again draws out the tensions between centre and periphery as states renegotiated "the terms of imperial pacts with merchant capitalists" in order to unlock capital "in the service of imperial warfare" (101). While there was nothing new in this process, the 1790s brought an unprecedented openness to the discussions, bringing new, albeit inchoate, concepts of interests and rights to the colonies, and by 1805, suggesting that the colonies could have legitimate interests separate from those of metropolitan Spain or Portugal. Chapter 4, "The Wealth of Empires", shows the connections between these interests, notably the meaning of property, and new forms of political language, as the colonial elite began to examine the connections between property, virtue and political representation.

The role of public opinion between 1806 and 1812 is examined in Chapter 5, "Spanish Secession", which is full of fascinating material, much of it uncovered from the archives. Here again, Adelman is keen to stress that the voices raised in opposition did not "revoke their loyalty to Spain" but sought to define the new regime after the end of the former. These negotiations were to be the "wedge" that drove the colonies and the metropolis apart (194). Chapter 6, "Brazilian Counterpoints", contrasts the Brazilian experience as the old regime was physically transplanted to South America. Ironically, while the arrival of the Portuguese

court brought an element of stability, by bringing colonial merchants and the monarchy into closer contact, it brought to light the crown's dependence on colonial wealth. The final collapse of the Iberian empires was not inevitable, but Adelman places the blame at the foot of the restored Iberian thrones. After 1814, secessionist colonial voices were fading, only to be roused again by inept attempts to impose pseudo-absolutist regime on the colonies.

Chapter 7 and 8 detail this final, drawn-out collapse of the Spanish and Portuguese American empires. Quarrels over the meaning of sovereignty in the new regime led to outright rebellion, and the geography and logistics of the Spanish American empire led to a "series of concentric rebellions within rebellions" (268), shifting the conflict from urban centres to the rural hinterland and dividing the merchant classes. Spanish defeat in 1824 brought with it a "prolonged conflict over what should fill the void of empire" (307). In contrast, Brazilian independence flowed "into a movement not for a rupture with an aristocratic, monarchical past, but for its redemption through exit from empire".

Chapter 9, "Revolution and Sovereignty", recounts the travails of the newly independent nations, faced with a series of public credit debacles, to create a new economic foundation on which to shore up successful "political economies". Conflicting concepts of sovereignty, particularly those of federalism and unitarian constitutionalism entered into "precarious compromises" (392) and the old dominant elites attempted to adapt to the strength of democratic opinion in "much more levelled societies than anything imagined before the empires imploded" (392). These were societies in which, Adelman notes in an afterword, "no single vision of postcolonial sovereignty filled the vacuum left behind".

This summary can do little justice to the complexity of Adelman's arguments, not least because he seeks to combine economic, intellectual and political forces in a self-reflexive account running to almost 400 pages that demands to be read by anyone interested in nationalism, the Atlantic world, or the history of political thought. It is a lengthy work (although sadly missing a bibliography; a deficit somewhat compensated for by the helpful footnotes), that keeps an eye on the Anglo-American Atlantic world as much as it does on developments in Madrid or Lisbon. Yet there is still much to be said, and Adelman is clearly opening up territory for further work and more volumes. There is more to be said, for example about the connections between the spread of ideas the configurations of political and economic power. The merchant elites are often left to operate as a coherent voice (or set of voices), without a sense of who these people were; some case studies would be fascinating. Labyrinths, after all, are populated by monsters and heroes, rather than the models of political science. Sometimes, particularly in the later chapters, there is a sense that the importance of issues of sovereignty is asserted, rather than shown in detail (this may also result from Adelman's desire to avoid teleological explanations, and simplistic analysis of "causes"). Nonetheless, Adelman leaves us with a convincing path through the labyrinth that leaves open tantalising glimpses of the routes not taken.

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David Armitage, *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History*. London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007. viii + 300 pp. ISBN: 978-0-674-02282-9 (hbk.). \$23.95; £15.95; €22.10.

It is perhaps the most iconic document of the early modern Atlantic world. Just 1,320 words long, and pitched at the height of the language, it comprises a bold statement of principle, an appeal to (nearly) universal rights, and a condemnation of monarchical tyranny. Most of us are able to recite its key phrases: "all men are created equal" or "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness". In the history of the United States of America—the entity that the Declaration called into being—no statement of public purpose has promised and delivered

so much, while at the same time standing as evidence of the slow and still unfinished business of the creation of a republic founded on liberty for all.

David Armitage's new book places the Declaration on Independence in three contexts, with a chapter devoted to each. The first treats the document as the culmination of the constitutional crisis that split the British empire of the Americas. The second considers the after-life of the Declaration: Lincoln thought that it contained truths for all time, while Woodrow Wilson dismissed it as a "mere historical document" (67). A final chapter examines the influence of the Declaration over later movements for independence in Flanders, Haiti, Venezuela, New Zealand, Liberia, Czechoslovakia, Vietnam, Israel, and Rhodesia, all of whose "declarations of independence" are included in an appendix. There is also a table that lists the dates and places of over one hundred similar declarations, from Colombia (1810) to Eritrea (1993). This is, therefore, a study of the transmission and reception of the Declaration's core principles in an Atlantic and, ultimately, global setting.

So much has been written on the Declaration in its initial context that it would be difficult to think of anything new to say about it. Yet Armitage's global approach offers a number of thought-provoking insights. Early on he reminds us of the extent to which the Declaration itself was a product of an Atlantic world: the paper was Dutch, the printer an Irishman, the signatories no strangers to a trans-Atlantic and cosmopolitan community of ideas. The inkwell into which they dipped their pens was also of Irish manufacture, wrought from silver mined in Peru. The political ideas that the document contained were no less eclectic. Scholars have tended to see the Declaration as an essentially Lockean statement; Jefferson's use of the phrase "long train of abuses" to sum up the crimes of George III is a direct quote from §225 of the *Second Treatise of Government*. That work was also the source of the maxim which held that the end of government was the protection of liberty and property; should these "guards and fences" be circumvented or breached, citizens were thereby free to devise new modes of government that guaranteed the safety of the people.

Yet Jefferson was also trapped within a tradition of political ideas and was obliged to speak in that idiom, even as he worked to subvert it; this explains his reference to "our constitution", by which he meant the ancient constitution of England, defined by the immemorial reason of the common law. The planting of colonies tested the ability of the common law—devised in a feudal age—to serve as the political lexicon of a maritime empire with Asian and American flanks. In the battle over taxation, the common law offered a grim stalemate: it both guaranteed the colonists "rights" under the law, and helped to legitimise the actions of parliament in demanding taxation without representation. Here is where the Declaration served the purposes of the colonies: in appealing to an international community of nations, it transformed the colonies into states, and a "civil war within the British Empire into a war between states outside the empire" (34).

Armitage argues that, after independence, the influence of the Declaration seems to have declined. None of its language appears in the Constitution; the *Federalist Papers* mention it only once and Tocqueville not at all. As Federalists and Jeffersonian republicans waged a battle for government, the Declaration smacked of Jacobinism and offered a "how-to" guide in political revolution. However, in those parts of the Atlantic empire that remained loyal to the Crown, the text of the Declaration was subverted or bowdlerised to prevent its central message from inspiring the public to rise against its governors. During the nineteenth century, the text served to alternately buoy and vex the national conscience. Lincoln expressed his admiration for Jefferson's ability to work a statement of profound truth into a revolutionary document; Frederick Douglass and other abolitionists noted the irony that slave-holding Americans would condemn tyranny in Russia and Hungary. Finally, the Declaration abetted the cause of the confederate states, notably South Carolina, which claimed "her separate and equal place among nations" (129). Here again, the good things promised in the original Declaration would only be realised after decades of violence. In 2007, the spectre of the noose still haunts the country.

The final chapter seeks to establish the Declaration as the master text of independence movements, the very engine in the creation of the modern state system. Here the argument tends to become diffuse, and one is less convinced about the connection between the Great Document and the modern world of states purportedly founded on ideals of liberty, independence and sovereignty. For example, one might object that the modern state system is as much the product of war and ethnic division as it is the result of principled and lofty aims for throwing off the mantle of empire. History suggests that quite often brutal conflict follows close on the heels of independence. To take a single example from the many offered here: Rhodesia did indeed declare its independence from Britain, but it did so illegally and then went on to form a government committed to apartheid and the complete marginalisation of the black African population. Armitage avers that the regime of Ian Smith had a circumscribed notion of “rights”, but the legacy of the Rhodesian declaration of independence was the collapse of one of Africa’s most stable and promising states into hyper-inflation and lugubrious totalitarianism. Similar observations apply to the post-independence period of Armitage’s other examples, whether Haiti under Duvalier *père et fils*, or Liberia under Charles Taylor. Armitage writes in conclusion that his story has more to do with the rights of states than the rights of individuals, and so it would seem that the pledge of equality for all is even more elusive for us than it was for them.

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David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*. Oxford and New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2006. xviii + 440 pp. ISBN: 978-0-19-314073-6 (hbk.). \$30.00.

David Brion Davis offers a learned study of the human cost of capitalism’s ascension in his latest book, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*. The author lives up to his reputation as a pre-eminent slavery scholar, ranging far and wide through time and space to explain the origins of the monstrous institution. He treats abolition with the same broad, geographic focus, joining the legacy of the Haitian Revolution to British abolitionism and early-nineteenth-century slave rebellions. This swirling cycle of resistance, in Davis’s view, intensified U.S. sectional conflicts over slavery’s westward expansion. According to Davis, the ensuing Civil War forestalled the progression of slave labour capitalism throughout the western hemisphere precisely at the point when it had reached the apex of its profitability. Although readers will benefit from the author’s encyclopaedic survey of slavery’s New World history, major problems do exist. Davis over-simplifies the origins of slavery in colonial North America and overlooks a more radical abolitionist tradition that went beyond racialised, chattel slavery in its critiques of exploited labour.

Davis’s early chapters provide a valuable discussion of ancient slavery’s links to the rise of “antiblack racism in the new world”. He persuasively argues that Europeans, drawing on classical history and philosophy, regarded slavery as a normative part of the human condition. In the western canon, slavery thus formed part of the natural order, rendering it a matter of course in a world where some were born to serve and others to rule, a view that found parallels in African and Asian societies. Davis illustrates how ancient and medieval legal codes called for the enslavement of prisoners of war, ethnic “others”, and the criminal poor. During the middle ages, the enslaved population eventually came to encompass those whose basic humanity the law left unprotected. This legal process, Davis argues, shaped medieval thinking that associated slavery with racial difference and inferiority. Davis then presents a fascinating case linking the medieval justification for the enslavement of Africans based on the biblical “curse of Ham” to antebellum era defences of racialised slavery’s alleged divine provenance.

Further connecting new world slavery to an intriguing and understudied old world history,

Davis describes how fifteenth-century Italian merchants and bankers began funding Portuguese slaving ventures to Africa while providing capital to Madeiran sugar planters who profited from the work of enslaved Africans. Davis argues that this system gave birth to the Iberian transatlantic slave trade of the sixteenth century and the “general pattern” of life-long, chattel slavery that emerged in the new world. The nascent racism first generated by the Iberian system, Davis contends, also shaped the racial boundaries of bondage that came to dominate the Atlantic slave system. Thus, contrary to much existing scholarship, Davis concludes that New World slavery first developed its racialised and capitalistic features in medieval Europe.

Although this general pattern seems to work for Spain’s and Portugal’s colonies, Davis applies it unsuccessfully to his survey of slavery’s development in the British Empire, particularly in North America. Although Davis remarks that planters bought and sold white and black workers for terms ranging from five to seven years, he fails to explain *how* colonial laws, written by planters, reconfigured white servants as chattel property, an obviously critical step in the formation of new world slavery. He also errs twice in saying that these “servants” were “voluntary immigrants” (99, 132). As contemporary planters, Westminster MPs, London JPs, and subsequent historians have argued, many if not most white servants in the mid-seventeenth century Chesapeake had been “kidnapped” or “spirited away” to work in the region. This illicit traffic in coerced labour captured the English popular imagination, where the colonies became associated with slavery before Davis’s “general pattern” took clear form around Britain’s eighteenth-century empire. The “general pattern” of racialised, chattel slavery, when it did emerge in the British Atlantic and the United States, became as Davis correctly states, “the ultimate form of inhuman bondage”, but its truly inhuman features can only be understood properly by taking into account the other forms of unfree labour from which it emerged.¹

In Chapter 8, Davis confronts the thorny issue of slavery in the American Revolution, furthering a historiographic trend that argues for slavery’s central place in shaping American concepts of liberty. But typical of his earlier work, Davis concentrates on elite views of abolition, ignoring how crowd actions in American port cities before and during the imperial crisis generated their own radical, abolitionist tradition that linked the end of impressment and economic inequality and exploitation with the liberation of chattel slaves. This leads Davis to err in stating that slaves themselves did not comprehend universal abolition before enlightened philosophes pointed the way forward during the age of democratic revolution (144).

Davis examines slavery in the nineteenth-century South in two subsequent chapters, rejecting the argument that slavery created a backwards and inefficient southern economy. New profitability in cotton led to a resurgence of southern slavery, which formed an integral part of America’s market revolution and made the United States the largest slaveholding nation in the western hemisphere. Davis also discusses the effect that slavery’s resurgence had on African-Americans struggling to resist the dehumanising effects of their deepening bondage; the threat of being sold South and the consequent break-up of slave families added a new level of terroristic intensity to slave discipline in the Chesapeake. Conversely, Southern slaveholders enjoying new confidence in the profitability of the slave system moved from defending it as a necessary evil to justifying it as a positive moral good.

Davis explores the abolitionist movement in chapter 11 by tying it to the cycle of slave rebellions and conspiracies that flowed in the wake of the Haitian Revolution. As Davis recounts, the massive uprisings in Barbados, Demerara, and Jamaica resulted in the effusion of remarkably little white blood, in contrast to the carnage Nat Turner’s small band of rebels left in their wake. Davis attributes this to the political savvy of the West Indian rebels who, advised directly by British abolitionist missionaries, realised that doing little harm to whites would brighten the fortunes of their cause in Britain.

Chapter 12 will prove invaluable for graduate students interested in the dense historiographical debates over capitalism’s relationship to slavery and abolition. Davis supports

Seymour Drescher, David Eltis, and Stanley Engerman's challenge to Eric Williams's famous argument (1944) that financial interests guided British abolition, ending an imperial slave system in decline. Drescher's famous quantitative studies in particular revealed that slavery's profitability had never been higher when Britain abolished the institution in 1834. But while the abolition of slavery and the slave trade represents a truly impressive accomplishment, Davis overestimates the morality of the empire, which pursued, as he admits, various solutions to reinvent de facto forms of slavery to resuscitate profit maximisation within the colonial plantation system.

In the book's concluding chapters, the author sets out to explain why the Southern slave-holding faction, the dominant force in American political life from the early Republic through the antebellum period, continued to press for increasing power at the national level. The answer in Davis's view exists in the Southern desire to turn back the combined threat of British abolition and Northern free soil interests. Southerners perceived that Britain, reeling from the economic disaster of its own abolitionist experiment in the West Indies, would draw on Northern abolitionist and free soil sentiment to block slavery's expansion in the American west, Central America, and Cuba. But as Davis recognises, though explores insufficiently, the efforts of African-Americans themselves heightened the threat to Southern slavery by becoming conductors on the "underground railroad", which transported tens of thousands of blacks safely to the North. Davis writes that the American Civil War, although originally a political conflict over sectional power, evolved into a revolutionary event in which only the abolition of slavery could justify the slaughter of over 600,000 human beings.

In the epilogue, Davis laments the persistence of chattel and de facto forms of slavery in our own time. Indeed, slavery's contemporary resurgence begs the question of whether slavery, broadly defined, can truly be abolished within a global economy organised around the principle of unfettered profit-maximisation. As a result, writing the elusive history of slavery's reinvention remains a crucial task in order to reckon with capitalism's on-going perpetuation of diverse forms of unfree labour. Perhaps even more crucially, such a history should help forward the resurgence of abolitionist movements in the twenty-first century. In this light, the combined struggles of slaves, sailors, and commoners that formed abolitionism's radical tradition from below, one that Davis ignores, may still have much to teach us today.

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Note

- 1 Davis himself said much the same in a bitter exchange with Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh over Davis' negative reading of their book, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (New York: Verso, 2000). But contrary to the charge Davis makes in his review, and unlike his work in general, the *Many-Headed Hydra* does stress that slavery can only be understood within the wider spectrum of unfree labor in the Atlantic world. For Davis' review of *The Many-Headed Hydra*, see "Slavery, White, Black, Muslim and Christian", *The New York Review of Books*, July 5, 2001. For the debate between Linebaugh, Rediker, and Davis, see "The Many-Headed Hydra: An Exchange", *The New York Review of Books*, September 20, 2001.

Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge*. Princeton Studies in Muslim Politics. Oxford and Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006. xiv + 328 pp. ISBN: 978-0-691-12721-7 (hbk.). \$29.95; £17.95.

Over the last two decades the scholarship on Western travels to the non-West has increased dramatically. Much of this material investigates, and even celebrates, how the European traveller has influenced and shaped that which is non-European. However, more recently, schol-

ars have redirected their investigation to examine how the West has been profoundly transformed by the non-West or, in the case of this particular book, Islam; and that on closer examination, the direction of influence—be it political, historical, cultural or social—does in fact run both ways and embraces common traits. This, in short, is what *Journeys to the Other Shore* is all about.

Understanding travel as a metaphor for knowledge, as the search for wisdom, *Journeys* is a study of how travellers of all sorts produce knowledge not only about others, but, and perhaps more important, about themselves. More precisely, the book discusses how these journeys and the way their narrations are fashioned illustrates how notions of home and Other are shaped through what Roxanne Euben calls a “shifting sets of nested polarities—Sunni and Shi’ite, West and East, male and female, white and nonwhite, Muslim and Christian, among others” (10). Euben’s primary template throughout the study deals with identifying parallels found in representative Western travel texts—those writings regarded as central to Western political thought in which the association among travel, theory and political wisdom is especially significant—and representative Islamic travel texts of the *rihla* genre—a book recounting travel, and particularly those undertaken in the pursuit of knowledge—and then demonstrating how the two echo one another in elements of travel, theory and knowledge.

Given this pattern, Euben turns first to Herodotus’s *Histories* (fifth century BCE) and the *Rihla* of Ibn Battuta, the fourteenth-century Moroccan traveller, who spent almost thirty years in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Europe, and whose narrative of his search for knowledge was instrumental in defining the very essence of the *rihla* genre. These two works/travellers taken together serve as a gauge or measuring stick for the three facets which are analysed throughout the book.

The three core arguments central to the study are, first, that the association of travel and the pursuit of knowledge is not confined to any particular cultural group or era; second, that knowledge about what is unfamiliar and familiar is produced comparatively by (as already mentioned) way of these “shifting nest of polarities”; and finally, that “the course and consequences of exposures to the unfamiliar are unpredictable, in part because they simultaneously serve to clarify and transform the parameters of the essence of home and the foreign” (16). The primary facet that becomes clear in the discussion of Herodotus and Ibn Battuta is that the way “by which travelers make sense of and domesticate the world” (86) is by no means strictly a Western undertaking. Not surprisingly, travellers from both the West and the Muslim world carry with them a particular psychological, geographical, linguistic, racial and cultural mindset that comes into play in their writings, and, in the end, not only helps to define their notion of Other, but also, serves to characterise the travellers and their cultures. At this juncture Euben also questions various scholars’ insistence that the pre-nineteenth century Muslim world lacked any sense of curiosity or desire for knowledge, thinking that the world beyond had nothing to teach them, and that in fact if the Muslim world had any inkling to know more about the non-Muslim realm at all it was only to encounter the wonders and marvels and not a thirst for knowledge.

Euben then moves on to the nineteenth century, continuing her pattern of selecting particular narrators/travellers who exemplify the various elements of her arguments. In this case we are reminded of Alex de Tocqueville’s journey to America and his two-volume *Democracy in America* (1835-40), who is then juxtaposed with the Egyptian Rifa’a Fafi al-Tahtawi and his work, a *rihla* entitled *Takhlis al-Ibriz ila Talkhis Bariz* (1834), who was sent to Paris on a five-year study by the pasha of Egypt, Muhammad Ali. Although acknowledging some of the more obvious differences between the two texts, Euben goes on to discuss how both texts/travellers share a similar desire to bring practical wisdom home. In al-Tahtawi’s case, he sought scientific knowledge in Paris to take back to Egypt “to stimulate intellectual reawakening and material prosperity” while Tocqueville sought to instruct France “on the risks and rewards of a fully realized democracy” (16). In sum, not only was each traveller questing for different kinds of knowledge for different reasons but the terms of translation governing what

and how they saw and experienced were very different as well. Again, Tocqueville and al-Tahtawi demonstrate that each observer carried his own cultural baggage that helped shape his observations, which of course, cannot help but distort and mistranslate, to some degree, that which is recorded.

The questions of gender and genre are discussed through Charles-Louis Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1721), a novel that tells of fictitious Persian travellers to Paris, and *The Memoirs* (1886) writings of Princess Sayyida Salme bint Sa'id ibn Sulatin, nineteenth-century Arabian princess from East Africa. Both texts throw into question the historical notion that travel and travel writing are primarily heroic and masculine, which leads to a discussion concerning what is and is not considered "proper material" to be found in the travel genres of memoir, novel and *rihla*.

In many ways this portion of the book is the most provocative, as Euben contends that travellers from both the Western and Muslim realms, such as Ibn Battuta, Tocqueville and al-Tahtawi, have measured entire cultures "by the way of women's bodies and behaviour" (150). Using this discussion as a springboard, Euben demonstrates how gender has played—and continues to play—an important role in comprehending and decoding the subtle nuances of European and Muslim travel literature.

Journeys leaves readers with a better of understanding of how European travel literature and Muslim travel texts are of course geographically and linguistically different but quite similar when it comes to "seeking and producing knowledge about others as well as themselves" (18).

Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge is an important book for all—be they scholar or novice—who are interested in travel literature and its impact, sometimes subtle, sometimes not, on other cultures. Roxanne Euben's extensive notes and thirty-page bibliography are added treats that invite readers to investigate for themselves what she in 313 pages has simply touched on. Because so much of her material involves the Muslim or Islamic world, she provides readers with a glossary of Arabic and Greek terms, as well. Most important, Euben introduces readers to the Muslim realm of travel literature, and this in itself is worth the read.

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Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Pathfinders: A Global History of Exploration*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton and Company Ltd., 2006. xviii + 428 pp. ISBN: 978-0-393-06259-5 (hbk.). \$27.95; £25.00.

Felipe Fernández-Armesto has become not only one of the most prolific and well-known world historians of our time but also one of our great synthesisers of world history, able to write in an entertaining style that attracts specialists and non-specialists alike to his work. *Pathfinders: A Global History of Exploration* is an excellent example of the sort of erudite, synthetic works for which he has become known. In this book Fernández-Armesto tells a rousing tale of human exploration from earliest times until the present, peppered as is his wont with interesting and amusing anecdotes and quotes drawn from the many individual letters, journals, and narratives the explorers he highlights penned about their exploits. The hardcover version of the book especially is beautifully illustrated with colourful plates of antique maps. Although the work features numerous maps, many of them are rather sketchy, and several good and more detailed regional and world maps at the opening of the book would have enriched it further, especially given the emphasis on geography and the history of cartography throughout the book.

This book, however, is more than just a compilation of tales, or even a synthetic narrative about exploration. Fernández-Armesto has a clear point to make, a theme that figures in his recent as well, that of the divergence and convergence of humankind. He opens the book in a manner unusual for either world histories or studies of exploration, by focusing on the ways

in which humankind diverged early in human history, so that for thousands of years—the bulk of humanity's existence on earth, in fact—human societies remained far apart, out of contact with each other, and often unaware of the existence of other societies. Changes in climate and environment largely impelled the human wanderings that both peopled the world and led to divergent societies, and cultural divergence only intensified after the wandering bands of humans settled down and peopled an area, largely out of contact with other groups. Settled agriculture in his view was the cause of the greatest divergence, as societies that adopted farming became sedentary, stable and to some degree set in their ways.

Fernandéz-Armesto then traces the footsteps of the earliest pathfinders who began to venture out to explore the seas and continents and begin the long, slow process of convergence, of bringing human societies back into mutual and sustained contact. From the earliest tentative steps toward convergence that began more than five thousand years ago, the urge to trade was the primary motivation for establishing sustained contacts among peoples, far more important as a motivator than missionary zeal, the desire for conquest, or the simple thirst for adventure, although these latter impulses became significant motivators for exploration during the last five hundred years of history in particular. But only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries could explorers find backers to finance ventures that did not hold out the promise, regardless of how illusory or far-fetched, of producing commercial wealth or projecting political power. Fernandéz-Armesto shows that this process of exploring the globe that has led to convergence and ultimately, to our globalised society, mostly has taken place over the last thousand years, although the impulse to explore is by no means unique to modern societies.

Nor is it a characteristic peculiar to Europeans or the West, although Fernandéz-Armesto does show that the accelerated pace of exploration and convergence during the last five centuries has been the product primarily of European and, since the nineteenth century, North and South American explorers. Far more than other works on exploration Fernandéz-Armesto adopts here the same focus on globalisation that is central to his world history text, although the results in this case are mixed due largely to the reality that Europeans were the driving force behind global convergence after 1500. He points out that European explorers were relative latecomers to exploration, driven to explore new territories by the lack of commodities and markets at home, along with Europe's relative weakness and poverty compared to the wealth of China or India. Europeans needed to find routes to Asia and the Indian Ocean trade precisely because the Asians, riding the monsoons of the Indian Ocean, had long before developed burgeoning commercial networks and thus felt little incentive to bring their products to Europeans, who lacked commodities to entice traders from distant shores. Only during what historians often call the "second wave" of European colonisation beginning in the late eighteenth century did Europeans become a dominant force in the world economy. It was also in this period that European explorers began to seek out new lands and peoples for reasons other than the desire to enrich themselves through trade or conquest. Prior to the late fifteenth century, most of the world's explorers were not European and it was Asians—Arabians, Chinese, Indians, and Southeast Asians—who were primarily responsible for the convergences linking together the Afro-Eurasian land masses. The torch passed to Europeans primarily because need—the need to find their way into rich Asian trade routes, the need to figure out the wind systems and currents of the Atlantic due to the location of Europe, the need to learn how to sail out into a following wind and still find a route home, again due to the wind systems Europeans faced off their shores—obliged Europeans to innovate, explore, and discover. Even so, however, Fernandéz-Armesto points out that Europeans were slow starters in this regard and that had Asians, and the Chinese in particular, so desired, they possessed the ships and navigational ability to have explored Africa and the western hemisphere well before Europeans.

Thus Fernandéz-Armesto eschews the European triumphalism that often characterises works on exploration, even though about two-thirds of the book focuses on exploration since

the 1490s and thus on European explorers. In particular he points out that Europeans venturing into unknown territories—unknown to them, that is—relied far more heavily on native pilots and guides and on native assistance for finding food, shelter, and protection, than explorers liked to admit in their narratives of their adventures. Still, this book is primarily about the past five hundred years, when the bulk of global convergence has come into being, and it is, as a result, mostly Eurocentric, in part because Europeans have carried out most of the exploration since the fifteenth century and in part because we lack sources about non-European explorations, for example within Asia or Africa, or among Pacific Islanders. In the end the tale Fernández-Armesto relates is still, for the most part, about Europeans. As a result, this enjoyable and informative book, ideal for undergraduates in particular, may disappoint world historians looking for a narrative not focused on Europeans. Given the state of the sources, however, and the reality of European predominance until recent decades in the convergence of the modern world, this book may be as global an approach to the topic of exploration as we can achieve.

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Gunlög Fur, *Colonialism in the Margins: Cultural Encounters in New Sweden and Lapland*. Series: The Atlantic World 9. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill Academic Publishers, 2006. xii + 300 pp. ISBN: 978-0-9004153-16-5 (hbk.). e103.00; \$139.00.

The colonists of New Sweden, Gunlög Fur writes, have long occupied a privileged place in the history of European colonisation in the Americas. Though seventeenth-century Sweden “boasted an army that rivalled any in continental Europe” (17), their colonial envoys in North America relied on persuasion rather than force in their dealings with indigenous peoples. “[A]ll previous writings on the subject compared Swedish colonial policies with those of other European power” and found that their “relations with Indians had been unusually amicable” (3). Assessing the accuracy of these claims, Fur argues, requires examining Sweden’s North American ventures alongside their “encounters with other indigenous peoples in colonial settings” (3). In this cogent book Fur does just that, comparing seventeenth-century Swedish colonisers’ relations with Delaware River Indians and Lapland Saamis, examining the European colonisation of America as only one part of a larger process of global expansion.

Seventeenth-century Sweden was a military but not an economic power. Military campaigns launched by King Karl XI and his son Gustavus Adolphus extended Sweden’s power southward over the Baltic coast but proved increasingly difficult to sustain. Funding expansion thus meant constantly securing new sources of revenue by conquering additional lands. “Absurdly then”, Fur notes, “war became an end in itself”, making this expansionary impulse the state’s defining characteristic (21). This led to an intensification of the crown’s control over Saami peoples to the north and the establishment of overseas colonies to the west. These colonial projects resembled each other in conception and implementation. For bureaucrats, military men, and missionaries, Saamis and Indians each occupied the “savage slot”, requiring discipline and civilisation to make them fit subjects of the crown. “In this effort, arguments borrowed from encounters with other cultures could be used as tools”, with American missionaries, for example, drawing upon their counterparts’ experiences in Lapland as they preached to the Lenape (31).

Swedish attempts to “civilize” the Saami involved assertions of economic, legal, and religious authority in Lapland. It established half-dozen market places throughout the countryside and declared all trade conducted outside these sites illegal, part of a more general program to force Saamis into Swedish economic orbit. The crown also established a court and a church in each marketplace as part of its larger program to expand its sovereignty and catechise the Saami, respectively. Each marketplace thus became “a bounded physical space constituting the principal point of encounter between Saamis and Swedes” (62).

These efforts met only partial success. Imperial policies integrated Lapland into a greater Swedish economy. Similarly, the Saamis increasingly turned to the Swedish legal system to settle disputes. The missionary effort to extirpate the Saamis' "idolatry" failed miserably; pastors found their authority challenged at every turn. For government officials watching the failure of their civilising project, Furlong argues, "intensified contacts during the second half of the seventeenth century led to an increasing concern with Saamis as an 'other' within the realm" (86).

New Sweden's development proceeded quite differently. At no point during the colony's seventeen-year history (1638-55) did the colonisers possess anything close to a monopoly of force. Settlers thus found themselves unable to dictate the terms guiding imperial-Indian interactions. Natives and newcomers understood land, trade, and alliance in very different ways, causing friction almost immediately. The New Sweden Company insisted from the start that its agents purchase any land they used from Indians, to strengthen their claims to their region against European powers such as the Dutch or the English (117-18). But Native Americans living along the Delaware River believed that a group or tribe could only ever lay claim to use of the land and its resources, never an inalienable claim to the land itself (107). Consequently, Lenape diplomats offered to "donate" but not sell, the use of parcels of land they controlled to Swedish colonists, contingent on continued Swedish occupation of the land and gifts to the Lenape. More than once Lenape warriors destroyed buildings on donated lands that Swedes abandoned (121). Delaware Valley Indians wanting access to European kettles, axes, and firearms welcomed Swedish settlement, but on their terms.

Indian politics complicated the situation, however. Intra- and inter-Indian political conflicts founded Swedish officials. Colonists often negotiated with Indian diplomats who, in presenting themselves as the pre-eminent leaders in their village, donated the use of land they lacked the power to convey. Swedish ignorance of Lenape political structure, which afforded women greater authority than men in matters of land management and distribution, only worsened the situation. Swedish officials, though, proved quick studies of the "deed game", if only out of sheer necessity. Confronted in 1651 by two Lenape sachems who accused the Swedes of occupying land donated to the Dutch, Governor Johan Printz produced a deed signed by a "lineage mother" named Noitke allowing Swedish colonists use of the land; the sachems backed down (127-31).

Ultimately, the residents of New Sweden had no choice but to play by Indian rules. Dependent on Indian farmers for their food (154-60), weaker militarily than Lenape and Susquehannock warriors living in their midst and Dutch and English colonists to the north and south, respectively, and chronically short of trade goods, Swedish diplomats lacked leverage in nearly every negotiation with their Indian counterparts. The crown's orders to treat Indians fairly under Swedish law—equal under but subject to imperial rules—became moot, with conflicts settled according to Indian, not European, customs (178). Even during those brief moments when inter-Indian conflicts between the Susquehannocks and the Lenape afforded New Sweden some bargaining power, colonists proved unable to capitalise. Its best chance to play the power broker came in 1655—the year the colony fell to the Dutch (168-70).

If Sweden's political and economic power was notably weaker in North America than in Lapland, its "civilizing" efforts were equally ineffectual in both regions. Missionaries' failure to learn Indian languages beyond a simplified "trade jargon" incapable of conveying complex religious themes doomed their catechising from the start. Christianity aroused some curiosity among the Lenape, but little zeal (192, 194). Swedish colonists encountered the most success in their day-to-day interactions with local Indians. Living side by side with native peoples, Swedish settlers proved quicker than colonial officials to adapt to Indian mores and less insistent on imposing their own. Indeed, these settlers proved to be colony's most enduring legacy. Lenape, Susquehannock, Dutch, and English leaders all found Swedish go-betweens invaluable in the wake of the Dutch conquest of New Sweden in 1655 and the English seizure

of the New Netherlands in 1664. They were Fur writes, “reliable and indispensable interpreters” (243).

Colonialism in the Margins shows the value of comparative history. Fur’s juxtaposition of these colonial ventures sheds new light on each. If anything, the book suffers from too little explicit comparison; Fur writes far more about New Sweden’s eighteen-year existence than about the much longer effort to incorporate the Saami into the imperial state. This causes her to place a great deal of weight at times on a handful of examples. A single 1645 council between Printz and the Lenape sachem Mattahorn, for example, is referenced no fewer than six times as evidence. This criticism aside, Fur has written an excellent book that will help historians of early modern European imperialism see their field in a new light.

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Jay A. Levenson, ed., *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries*. With contributions by Jack Turner and Diogo Ramada Curto. 386 pp. Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution Press, 2007. ISBN: 978-1-588342454 (hbk.). \$89.99.

Christianity and spices, the two enduring tropes of early European travel to Asia and the Americas. *Encompassing the Globe* presents an art historical perspective on this legacy, focusing upon objects created because of or alongside European foreign trade. As an exhibition, *Encompassing the Globe* features an abundance of lovely things. As a book, *Encompassing* is itself a beautiful object with more than 300 pages of colour images, each a fine photograph in its own right. Yet these images also seek to be, or at least evoke, the cultural complexities of early modern history. Is it possible, this volume implicitly asks, to register this history primarily through objects? If so, what might that history look like?

The tension between historical complexity and stunning visual effect, what Stephen Greenblatt described in his *Marvellous Possessions* (1991) as resonance and wonder, remains unresolved, not only for art historians but across the humanities amongst those who view objects—and not strictly images—as worthy of sustained analysis. How to make sense of slave manacles and royal tapestries is not a question easily answered. The interpretation of material forms thus remains an open site of intellectual reckoning. To my eye, this is the context for reading *Encompassing the Globe*. For its most useful provocations to readers of early modern history are primarily methodological.

We sense this from one of its first images, a lavish picture of a seventeenth-century Japanese screen. The book’s pages have been folded to mimic the closed screen, and its gilded exterior displays couples from around the world. Some wear kimonos, others European-style capes and lace collars; yet other, darker-skinned couples wear feathered headdresses or breechcloths. Unfolding the screen pages, a Japanese painting of the world comes into view. Yet stamped across its face in English, are city and country names, early modern voyage routes and treaty demarcations. No longer a replica of a screen, the image has been transformed: part exquisite artefact, part didactic tool. It tempts the eye even as it nags at our sense of historical propriety. Are all objects from the past open to such reinterpretation (and revision-by-Photoshop), or only some; are there any objects too closed or too precious? It is the implication of this kind of questioning that forms the strength of this book. In terms of historical knowledge, the volume is more stinting. Recent writings on the cultural complexities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries suggest that Chinese and Ottoman rulers, Dutch and Japanese consumers, Jesuits and Buddhists might all surface here. They do, but with little fortitude. Portugal has recently assumed leadership of the European Union and the exhibit *Encompassing*—which is now in Brussels, the seat of the E.U.—celebrates this event. Not surprisingly, the pull of diplomacy and patronage are palpable. *Encompassing* situates Portugal, then and now, in a world crosscut by economic and

political interests that stretch the very notion of national borders. Yet these transnational interests come into focus largely through the prism of national history.

The primary texts of this volume are three, each distinct in tone and scope. Jay A. Leveson offers a basic history of Portugal's role in forging an empire of trade rather than territory (21). He also explains the conceptual underpinnings of the exhibit: works of art remain mute about many things, yet they offer views of the past that written words never can. The second essay is both more academic and political. Diogo Ramada Curto offers a sharp critique of the historiography of Prince Henry and Portuguese discovery narratives. Not all may agree with his assessments—which, among other themes, highlight how racism, Luso-tropicalismo, and neo-nationalist agendas have coloured scholarship on Portuguese history. Yet his footnotes are substantive and his conclusion well argued: nationalist frames of analysis should be laid to rest, they do “not hold up to the widespread application of more reflexive and critical approaches to the writings of history” (43). That this might sit oddly in a book on Portugal's role in world trade remains unacknowledged. The final essay, by Jack Turner, presents a social history of spices. While his emphasis rests with the fifteenth century, he describes Portugal's struggles to dominate the spice trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Turner thus makes the important point that Portugal's endeavours in the East were, in fact, marked by conflict and adversity.

The rest of the volume, the vast majority, is almost exclusively pictorial and the switch in tone dramatic. Black-and-white images suffice to illustrate the book's main texts; but here, all is colour. And *Encompassing* wins high points for its range. Many objects are Christian in theme and function, others circulated primarily in domestic or scientific circles. Still others, including astrolabes and portraits, played starring roles in diplomatic and political exchanges. Rulers and Jesuits figure prominently as patrons, and wealth is everywhere. Most pages display a single object, sometimes with a detail on the opposing page. This makes for excellent viewing of individual works, but few opportunities for comparative contemplation. *Encompassing* thus encourages us to see, and think about, objects from the past as discrete things.

Beyond this, geography structures the presentation: The Age of Discovery/Portugal, Africa, Brazil, Indian Ocean, China, Japan. Each of six chapters opens with a short overview and chronology, and then describes specific themes. In the China chapter, these are Macao, South China, Beijing; in the India chapter, they include The Indian point of view, missions, and Golden Goa and Sri Lanka. Why there is no Chinese point of view or a city under the Mughals worthy of attention remains unclear. It would be misleading to say that *Encompassing* explicitly promotes European exceptionalism, yet the implication lingers—at times in a text or turn of phrase, but also through the very structure of the volume, which devotes so many more pages to the Portugal chapter. It is here, for instance, that cartography and navigation matter most, as do the spice trade and collections of *artificialia* and *naturalia*.

Texts throughout are unexpectedly sparse, notably spare. For example, *Encompassing* offers little on the sources or cultural meanings invested in that gilded Japanese screen with the world's couples, and it provides just three sentences on *fumi-e*—objects bound to the Japanese persecution of Christians, and, by any measure, works poorly understood in the West. In other cases, objects receive more expansive treatment on the Sackler-Freer website (see, <http://www.asia.si.edu/EncompassingtheGlobe/default.htm>, which offers a nice GoogleEarth download). Why this is so, I cannot say. On one hand it seems a missed opportunity to intervene in the interpretive literature. On the other, perhaps this *is* an interpretive intervention.

Does an object need words to become historically potent? *Encompassing* suggests not. This is one of the book's most provocative points. Yet without words, what kind of history can an object evoke? From Albert Eckhout's paintings to wooden crucifixes from West Africa and Chinese porcelains, the objects in this book make clear the diversity of visual cultures in the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While this diversity elicits very real visual pleasure, it feels insufficient. Intellectually, I want more. Leveson, who was also curator of the stunning but historically fraught exhibit, *Circa 1492*, is right: art objects do not often speak articulately of slavery or ephemeral daily practices. Yet inexplicit narratives are hardly the least important. If historians are to reckon with the past, we must account for all the objects we find foreign—only some of which will be visually compelling and beautiful. *Encompassing* is interesting precisely because it invites us to think hard about what is foreign, what familiar, and which of these objects are actually worthy of our histories.

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John C. Weaver, *The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World, 1650-1900*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006. x + 498 pp. ISBN: 978-0-7735-3153-6 (pbk.). \$27.95.

The Great Land Rush is a wide-ranging book that demonstrates the advantages of a transnational approach to history. The integration of the history of the early United States with later events in the Australasian colonies, the Cape Colony and Canada works very well, and the patterns that John C. Weaver identifies in the earlier North American context provide a useful theoretical framework for examination of later frontier and settler societies.

The Great Land Rush refers to the work of Alfred W. Crosby and Weaver demonstrates an awareness of the work of environmental historians, particularly those of the American West. This is an interesting component of the book as in many ways its topic, the imposition of European notions of land ownership and of individual property rights, cuts away at the peculiarities of colonial environments. The transnational patterns Weaver identifies served to reduce colonial land to a particular type of commodity and to remove it from its particular location. The difficulties involved in realising this vision are most clear in this book when dealing with southern Africa and the various endemic diseases that lurk in its lowlands. The book notes the simple inability of settlers to cope with some environmental factors, but does not discuss them in the same depth as it does the many legal fixes applied to land tenure by settlers.

However Weaver uses this book to develop an intriguing idea of land rights as available in incomplete form, in his term a “bundle of rights” with different “sticks” in the bundle giving different degrees of ownership and control to those in possession of them. Weaver argues that when the variety of different rights to land becomes clear,

it makes deep comparisons of frontiers achievable, because campaigns to capture more complete rights figured at the crux of strife and innovation. An absolute property right to land would mean a right to use and manage it; to derive income by letting others use it; to transfer it to another by gift or bequest; to capture the capital value of the land by sale; to claim immunity against expropriation of the property; and to operate without a term limiting the possession of these rights. (49)

Such complete rights were expensive and difficult to obtain, and Weaver disentangles the different types of partial rights available during the development of the various frontiers examined. The claiming of some type of right, even if incomplete, was attractive to settlers—it could be profitable, and there was the possibility that even an incomplete right could, with time, be made more complete and legally compelling.

Frontiers were violent places, and while lawmaking, surveying and theorising about land and land title are on the surface bloodless pursuits Weaver delves down far enough to demonstrate the violence inherent in the available records. The contradiction of opportunity available through a lack of control coupled with a desire for government recognition of ownership pervaded the frontier and is inherent in Weaver's definition:

For our purposes, a frontier is a region pervaded by legal conflicts and assorted forms of intimidation. In our restricted designation, frontiers occurred when migrating Europeans entered a region where a government that claimed sovereignty had scarcely any practical authority. Seeing this fragility, yet having faith in the inevitability of order, some risk-takers—a spectrum of operators ranging from the impoverished to the rich—moved beyond “the limits” (73).

While the frontier in many ways seemed endless the opportunities for profit were uncertain and limited, “Hence, frontiers teemed with defiance, secrecy, and deception” (53).

Thus even incomplete rights were generally violently seized and violently held and, in the first instance at least, taken from First Peoples. Weaver successfully balances the specificity of colonialism as experienced by the indigenous peoples of the areas that he examines with the more general experience of violence and dispossession. Thus First Peoples (a term Weaver uses to describe indigenous people in all regions discussed) experienced violence from European settlers. Yet settlers differentiated between the types of “native” they encountered, and Weaver is alert to the different degrees of title attached to First Peoples depending on the ways in which they conformed to settler prejudice. His description of *Terra Nullius* in Australia is thorough and valid although he does not distinguish between use of the concept the phrase names and the use of the phrase itself. Settler interpretation of Australia’s Aboriginal people, who were hunter-gatherers at the time of settlement, and settler claims to land they had seized, were linked: “Improvement and property rights have had a reciprocal association since the Enlightenment. People who improved land deserved property rights; property rights improved societies” (28). “Improvement” and title were linked in all the areas Weaver examines.

The Great Land Rush deals with a large time period and an immense proportion of the earth’s surface. The regions remain comprehensible and distinct throughout the book, in part through the use of maps and tables in the text. These were useful additions to the book, although further maps might have been useful as the names given to places in the colonial period have shifted since, and the scope of the book reaches beyond the bounds of familiarity for most readers. The book also includes images, which help to balance the distinct and local with the general pattern that forms the basis of this book.

Weaver’s research for this book has been thorough and wide-ranging. Certainly in the areas of environmental history and of the colonial histories of Australia and New Zealand the historiography is covered clearly and fully. In addition, archival research has been used to provide telling examples. However, the scholarship that grounds this book is obscured slightly by the provision of endnotes but no bibliography. As usual with such ambitious transnational historical projects, *The Great Land Rush* has some occasions where local usage is ignored for one more logical to an outsider, but the usefulness of the larger argument cannot be undermined by unhelpful nit-picking. John Weaver is to be congratulated on this significant piece of scholarship.

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Anthony Webster, *The Debate on the Rise of the British Empire*. Issues in Historiography. Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2006. x + 198 pp. ISBN: 978-0-7190-6792-1 (hbk.); 978-0-7190-6793-8 (pbk.). £50.00 (hbk.); £14.99 (pbk.).

In keeping with the series in which it is published, *The Debate on the Rise of the British Empire* is a work of historiography rather than a substantive account of either the British Empire or its “rise” (a distinction never very clearly maintained by the author). The textual object of analysis also shifts gradually in the course of the chapters, which are simultaneous-

ly topical and chronological. Webster begins with an account of “Justifying British Imperialism” by contemporaneous spokesmen for British overseas expansion from roughly the late sixteenth century to the early 1900s. Historians here are more the source of information (especially David Armitage) than the subject under review. A subsequent chapter on “Capitalism’s Critics and Defenders: Early Twentieth-century Economic Explanations of Victorian British Imperial Expansion” deals both with such activist figures as J.A. Hobson, Lenin and Rosa Luxembourgh and more current scholarship about them, particularly Hobson. Only the final five chapters focus upon academic historical writing, although again, each phase of historiography is placed within its own time frame, beginning with Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher on “informal empire”, then moving to postcolonial theory (lumped with a later chapter on “religion, race, gender and class” as “cultural explanations of British imperialism”), then going on to P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins’ “gentlemanly capitalism” and concluding with “The Future of Britain’s Imperial History?” (mainly Niall Ferguson and more Cain and Hopkins).

For what audience is this book intended? In keeping with Webster’s own style of introducing his various historians, one may seek an answer in his own background and credentials. He did his graduate work under Cain and Hopkins at the University of Birmingham and previously published a book and several important articles on colonial/economic history. At the time of writing *The Debate on the Rise of the British Empire* he was “Head of History at Edge Hill College of Higher Education” but is now “Head of the Humanities Department at the University of Central Lancashire”. In many sections of the present volume Webster appears, with his lengthy exposes of not only the authors discussed but also the basic ideas of Karl Marx, to be aiming at a fairly unsophisticated undergraduate audience. However, when discussing the arguments both of and around the work of Robinson and Gallagher, but especially of Cain and Hopkins, he reaches a level of complexity, which can be appreciated by readers of specialised scholarly journals such as *Itinerario*.

The book should be evaluated primarily in its role as a basic survey of imperial historiography. While generally writing well and informatively where he is well-informed, Webster comes up somewhat short here because he does not adequately address what appear, at least to this reviewer, some of the more critical debates in the field. First of all, Webster does not handle what he calls “cultural explanations” very well. His critiques of their inadequacies are reasonable, although repeated too often in the same basic terms without considering the work in question beyond a few exemplary figures (especially the easily assailable Edward Said). A statement like the following displays either gross ignorance of, or just lack of concern for, such scholars as Lata Mani and Lynn Thomas: “...and it is difficult to argue the British efforts to outlaw Sati and infanticide in India, or female circumcision in east [sic] Africa, were anything other than major improvements in the lives of indigenous women” (134). Entirely absent from this section is the very lively controversy about just how significant the colonial empire was for metropolitan British culture, as addressed (but certainly not initiated) by Bernard Porter’s 2004 volume *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*. In fact, Webster evokes British assimilation of colonial culture as an argument against postcolonial theory when it is, in fact, one of that school’s major historical contentions.

One could of course argue that reciprocal cultural influences are not relevant to the *rise* of the British Empire but Webster does not avoid such issues of metropolis-colony reciprocity in his better sections on economic history. Even in the latter, he misses major controversies among modern historians concerning the empire’s rise in the early modern era, including the arguments by Immanuel Wallerstein and later students of post-Westphalia fiscal-militarism to see the connection between the political economy of European (especially British) state forms and the emergence of overseas (as opposed to contiguously territorial) empires. The question of British territorial rule in later eighteenth-century India likewise fails to make much of an appearance although it might well be considered the most crucial (and continuously debated) development in the actual rise of a formal modern British empire, as

opposed to the issue which concerns (quite justifiably) the historians with whom Webster happens to be more familiar.

Thus the scholarly strengths of this book may also be its pedagogical weaknesses. It falls between a true survey of relevant recent debates and a full confrontation with certain issues in the economic historiography of empire. It is perhaps too much to expect any historian to either cover all the elements in such a wide field or to resist the temptation of focusing disproportionately upon his own areas of interests; but that is the claim implied by a title like "the debate" on the British Empire.

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AFRICA

Part Themba Mgodla and Stephen C. Volz, translators and eds., *Words of Batswana: Letters to Mahoko A Bechwana, 1883-1896*. Van Riebeeck Society, Second Series 37. I + 374 pp. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society for the Publication of South African Historical Documents, 2006. ISBN: 0-9585134-1-4 (hbk.). R.250.

One of the main challenges faced by historians of nineteenth-century Africa is to find, in addition to the abundant European sources, the African voices that reveal how Africans understood, explained and debated among themselves the processes of change taking place in their societies under pressure from capitalist economic forces, colonial rule, and westernisation. The past two decades have seen the publication of an increasing number of African sources. *Words of Batswana* is a good addition to the growing list of primary sources of the African past that contributes to our understanding of Tswana Christians' perspectives, viewpoints, and concerns on issues that were important to them.

Words of Batswana is a collection of 150 letters, written in their own language by 107 mission-educated Batswana teachers, preachers, and evangelists living in what is today Northern Cape Province and North West Province, to the editors of the London Missionary Society's newspaper, *Mahoko a Becwana* ("News/Words of Betswana") between 1883 and 1896. The letters are presented in both the original Setswana and in English translation. The introduction provides the historical context for the generation of the letters and the process of their selection, translation and organisation by theme. Each chapter is given an editorial introduction and is followed by letters grouped into sections. To present the context for the letters, the authors have included excellent maps and pictures of some of the letter-writers and missionary editors. The book also contains a list of missionary editors and Tswana correspondents, the location of selected copies of *Mahoko A Becwana*, and an index to the English text.

The letters provide insights into African perspectives on the changes affecting their society in the late nineteenth century. They are grouped into themes that reflect specific African concerns and viewpoints. Chapter 1 deals with the conversations and discussions on the standardisation of written Setswana from different dialects and orthographies. Chapter 2 focuses on letters that discuss mission work in the areas of education and preaching. Letters in this chapter shed light on the ways in which Batswana understood the role of mission schools in the colonial context and the emergence of new ethnic and religious identities. The reader learns about the discussions among the Tswana over the low priority that mission education had in the eyes of many parents during the period of early colonial rule. Other sections of the chapter highlight the preoccupations of Tswana evangelists and their attitudes towards indigenous healing systems, initiation ceremonies to adulthood, and imported European liquor. Letter writers were also worried about the behavior of church members, especially the persistence of unhealthy habits. Of a particular interest is a discussion over the reading of European scientific achievements in the light of biblical interpretation.

Chapter 3 expands on the challenge posed by the spread of Christianity and colonial culture to Tswana social and cultural practices such as male initiation rites, indigenous medicine, and rainmaking. But the majority of letters in this chapter deal with bridewealth, an important topic given its centrality to marriage transactions, witchcraft accusations and witch hunts, agricultural rites, proverbs, and music. Letters in chapter 4 focus on colonial rule, the chiefs' responses to it and their initiatives, Church-state relations, Sir Khama and his government, and African-European relations.

The main objective of the book is to contribute towards studies that focus on "African-centered historical viewpoints and activities" previously overlooked by scholars (xiii). This is an excellent collection of source material that could be used in undergraduate thematic courses not only in history, but also in social and cultural anthropology.

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Jeremy Rich, *A Workman is Worthy of His Meat: Food and Colonialism in the Gabon Estuary*. London and Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2007. France Overseas: Studies in Empire and Decolonization. xxii + 222 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8032-1091-2 (hbk.). \$56.25; £34.50.

Food—its production, processing, transport and distribution, marketing, cooking and consumption—was and is a necessity. Examining food has been a vivid way for historians of Africa to understand social and economic change in colonial Africa. This literature is strongest in Southern Africa, where (for example) Charles van Onselen, Dunbar Moodie, Timothy Burke, and Diana Wylie have explored work, class and social relations constructed around food and consumption on mines and in urban contexts, Megan Vaughan and Elias Mandala have delineated colonial interventions in rural economies and societies, and Tsitsi Dangaremba's novel *Nervous Conditions* has, in discussing food, conveyed both Zimbabwean resilience and the emotional impact of racism and colonial power. Political economy approaches have dominated Anglophone food history in Africa but, influenced by French scholarship, anthropology, and local descriptions of eating, scholars such as Tamara Giles-Vernick (working on Central Africa) and Audrey Richards (in her classic study of Bembaland) have also sought to delineate an aesthetics of food that also looks at taste. Jeremy Rich's study is an effort to bring both approaches together—to look at both the historical political economy of food, and at the ways that colonial and colonised people developed their understandings of food as good and sufficient (or inadequate and demeaning) as they struggled to build a colonial city in Libreville, Gabon. This is an ambitious task, made thinkable only by the study's tight geographic and temporal focus on the colonial (1840-1960) backwater of Libreville and its hinterland. With this focus, Rich delineates an urban culture where city residents sought "to buy rather than grow or catch their own food" (xi), in a context of poor inland marketing connections, chronic labour shortages, and absolute food scarcity.

The colonial Africa portrayed here is radically different from stereotypes of subsistence oriented villages or entrepreneurial market gardeners. Instead, this is a portrayal of underdevelopment. Beginning with the era of the slave trade and the precariousness of early colonialism, Rich describes Libreville in the nineteenth century as dependent for its food on imports from elsewhere in the empire. These imports were unreliable, expensive and far from fresh. Local foods, instead of offering inexpensive and accessible subsistence, could be expensive and scarce as the hinterland suffered chronic violent insecurity and limited economic rewards that reduced ordinary Estuary women's incentives to engage in entrepreneurial farming. Chiefs' plantations, mission stations' farms, and other organised efforts to ensure basic food supplies were unpopular and limited compared to the strong demand for food within

the growing city. Nor was the early colonial state much help: concerned about maintaining supplies of labour for extractive industries such as timber, colonial officials were reluctant to encourage men to help their wives in the fields, or to develop market agriculture that could offer an alternative to wage labour as a source of tax money.

Unsurprisingly, in a context of uncertain and inadequate market linkages, the development of an urban work force removed from subsistence farming produced an extremely volatile food market. Rich emphasises not simply the famines and food shortage experienced by Libreville's people from ordinary peasant to French colonial official, but also how context pushed people to enunciate social and moral standing through the consumptions of various sorts of food. Imported food marked civilised status not simply for French colonisers, but for all those with schooling and aspirations. The free people of Libreville, even those educated in mission schools that emphasised the dignity of work and peasant culture, rejected farming as demeaning and local food as uncivilised.

Within this context, Rich portrays negotiations over food—both its quantity and its type—as an essential part of class formation and patron-client relations. During the World Wars, as French colonialists sought to ration imported food by restricting commodities such as bread to citizens, local townspeople saw themselves as starved, even when indigenous foods such as cassava remained available. Within work relationships, workers assessed employers and respect by the quantity and quality of rations. This portrayal of urban food culture challenges political economy-driven ideas of colonial development that emphasise how local entrepreneurs responded to market opportunities. Instead, Rich argues that even when unable to afford imported food, Libreville's people rejected local products whenever they could, principally on the basis of taste and cultural associations. Thus the city's market for indigenous food remained undeveloped and unable to drive rural development.

As Rich's analysis moves into the twentieth century, it is clear that this is not simply an assessment based on aesthetics: interventions by colonial authorities eager to maintain tax revenues and wage labour supplies, and reluctant to invest in necessary infrastructure like roads, were also at fault. Colonial responses—whether from the state, local chiefs, or even missionaries—tended to be dirigiste, producing awkward surpluses of potatoes headloaded by caravan into town on poor paths and rotted in warehouses, rather than food that urban consumers wanted to buy (118).

Rich's central argument—a challenge to platitudes about the power of informal economies and entrepreneurs to take advantage of the weaknesses of the colonial state—comes through. This portrayal of underdevelopment and dysfunction, though, is curiously bereft of agency and vague on chronology. A more vivid portrayal of actors and chronology would have made his study more accessible. This is a problem in the lack of attention to food marketing and supply networks. Why did Gabonese people fail to respond to the monetary power of urban consumers by developing more effective food supply networks? Rich's taste-based explanation would be more powerful if tested against alternative explanations in the culture of production and marketing. The story of food told in this case study could be dramatically deepened through attention to how food negotiations intersected with conflicts over gender and generation. Instead of exploring, for example, women's refusal to risk violence in insecure farms to grow food for markets apparently dominated by men, or men's rejection of farming for their fathers in favour of labour migration to the city, the study's focus on food leaves unchallenged the colonial categories of Africans, divided by ethnic groups. Similarly, lacking any challenge to colonial categories, Rich (while mentioning the deficiency disease beriberi) is unable to push into more technical questions of nutrition science and knowledge, and what people meant in their complaints of food's insufficiency, spoilage, or lack of nutritional value. This study thus describes a language of crisis, without exploring the politics and sociology of actors who put forth their indictments and initiatives.

Nevertheless, drawing principally on archival sources, Rich's study contributes a distinctive case study to food studies in colonial Africa, offering specific challenges to literature on

British colonies and suggesting caution to anyone who would generalise a history of African food consumption from food studies elsewhere on the continent.

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Andrew Ross, *David Livingstone: Mission and Empire*. London and New York, NY: Hambledon Continuum, 2006. xiv + 274 pp. ISBN: 978-1-85285-565-9 (pbk.). \$21.95.

It might not be fair, but when Andrew Ross's biography *David Livingstone* crossed this reviewer's desk, a question formed: Why? After all, since the famed doctor, explorer and sometime missionary's death in 1873—and even before that date—there have been literally dozens of accounts of his youth, training, early mission in what is now South Africa and subsequent crisscrossing of the African continent and British imperial world. So then, Why? And why now—especially as Yale University Press re-released, in 2001, Tim Jeal's seemingly comprehensive 1973 contribution, entitled simply, *Livingstone?* The “why” nags as the reader finally opens the book and encounters Ross's justification for adding his voice to the cacophony: “it was suggested to me that it was time for a new biography”, he writes (xi). If that were the case, Ross would most likely be on the short list to undertake the project. The author of a well-respected biography of John Phillip, the London Missionary Society agent in Cape Town who helped to fashion both the Cape “liberal” tradition and free-labour ideology in South Africa, Ross's many years of residence in Malawi and demonstrated knowledge of Southern Africa's mission history suggests that he would be able to add something original to the conventional image of the “displaced Gael”.

Unfortunately this is not the case. Ross's biography opens, as did Jeal's, with the image of mourners streaming to Westminster Abbey to mourn a genuine Victorian hero, and the story unfolds from there in a manner remarkably similar to the biography that immediately preceded it. All the familiar elements are there: the childhood in Scotland, the poverty, lack of education and eventual dispatch to Southern Africa; the time spent with Robert Moffat and eventual marriage to Mary Moffat (Ross does add some depth to the Livingstones' relationship); the experiences on the “mission road” and eventual penetration deeper and further into Africa than any European explorer to date (notwithstanding, of course, Livingstone's frequent expressions of regret at the Portuguese slave trade's effects so far into the interior); the encounter with Stanley; and Livingstone's death and the journey of his corpse, borne by his African “faithfuls”, back to the coast and Victorian apotheosis. Here too are the revisions that Jeal initiated: refining our hagiography of this missionary/explorer; considering his failings, both personal and professional; and above all addressing Livingstone's complicity in the advent of imperialism. When Livingstone called for “civilization, Christianity and commerce” to lift benighted Africa from the miasma of the Portuguese and Arab slave trades, biographers must now ask, was he in fact inviting the empire in?

The subtitle's twinned subjects of mission and empire, unfortunately, do not make much of an appearance in the body of the biography. Ross's position in this debate comes out only in the end, on the third-to-last of the book's 244 pages, where he writes not against Jeal—whose own biography, although listed in the bibliography, is never mentioned by name—but against Edward Hume's *David Livingstone* (1910). Ross rejects the latter's “liberal paternalist and colonialist” Livingstone (242) and instead argues that Livingstone had rejected white colonialism and called for Europeans to do nothing more than create conditions favourable to the economic development of Africa. Livingstone's dream, Ross writes, was for the “spontaneous ‘take-off’” of Africa's economies, and he would have been sickened to see how this idea was twisted to the dictates of white, imperial control.

This is an interesting discussion, to be sure, but Ross seems relatively uninterested in it, despite his subtitle, and places it only at the tail end of his discussion (just as, one notes, Jeal

had done). As indicated above, the two-hundred-odd pages preceding this historiographic intervention offer little new to the reader, which is a pity. African history, mission history and travel history have all leapt forward in the decades since Jeal's biography was originally published; with the insights of recent scholarship in mind, Livingstone might still prove a useful historical character, perhaps even an exemplar of the mad swirl of mid-nineteenth century Southern African history. Such a Livingstone would need to be more thoroughly grounded in Africa, however, and Ross does not truly attempt this. He does sound the right, post-colonial notes: the biography opens with an exposition on appropriate regional nomenclature (xiii-xiv) and demands that the reader sees Livingstone's explorations as "African experiences", as they were typically under nominal local control (98). Yet despite these brief notes, Ross's Livingstone moves through a formless Africa; yes, there are plenty of names invoked, local peoples encountered, friendships and rivalries developed, but in general Africa is still the background for the great man's experiences.

A historian of African studies cannot help but be disappointed by this. Ross's bibliography is both scanty and notable for its total lack of literature on African history and his study can thus only go so far. But others might go further: imagine a biography of Livingstone that takes into account recent work by Jean and John Comaroff, Paul Landau and others, for example. Imagine a Livingstone seen through the lens of Johannes Fabian and Ann Stoler's work on travel writing, exploration and the consistent epistemological challenges posed by such intensive intercultural encounters. Imagine a Livingstone constructed like Robert H. Harms's *Diligent* which, though a ship, is nonetheless a "character" that brings together a variety of contexts. Imagine a Livingstone whose famed "convert", the Kwena leader Sechele, is not just grist for debates over the Scot's dedication to mission, but actually a subject, with his own history and his own biography. Well, to be frank, such work exists and if Ross wanted to add something truly new to the volumes of Livingstonia, he would have been well served by bringing this literature into conversation with his subject. Then, perhaps, we would better understand this Scotsman who was and is part of both Africa and Europe's patrimony and who was among the first to inhabit what we are gradually coming to recognise as the unitary imperial world.

Then again, perhaps the sheer number of Livingstone biographies suggests that we should abandon hopes that his character might ever be "redeemed" for history in this way; indeed, only a few months ago the rapturous applause that met Jeal's biography of Stanley suggests that we consumers still want our great men of the past, now especially with their warts. If that is the case, then perhaps those looking for a new perspective on the heyday of the explorer ought to look elsewhere. Ross recounts that Livingstone met a "Mr Baldwin from Natal" during a return visit to Victoria Falls in 1860; the latter explained that he had been inspired by Livingstone's recently published *Missionary Travels* and had set out on his own, with no fanfare, to see Africa's most "astounding sight" for himself (154). Perhaps Baldwin might be our exemplar, our *Diligent*, a character of relatively little renown who, in the right hands, can illuminate a much broader canvas. David Livingstone, as intellectually curious as he was, would undoubtedly have approved.

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AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, AND THE PACIFIC

Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health, and Racial Destiny in Australia*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006. x + 390 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8223-3840-6 (pbk.). \$23.95.

Warwick Anderson's study of the changing terrain of "race" mapped through the efforts of social and natural scientists in nineteenth and twentieth century Australia stands at the confluence of writing on racial science, colonialism and white identities. Starting with the

medical debate about whether Australia's climate was conducive to the health of the white body, Anderson notes a divergence in the way that the degenerative and draining effects of climate were conceptualised, a distinction that remained in various forms until the early 1940s, where the book ends. On one side was the argument that the destiny of Australia as an outpost of white civilisation in the tropics could not be attained without external support (immigration to work in particular places) because the white body was not adapted to such a climate and place. The counter hypothesis held that white bodies could develop and adapt, and that by following strict regimes of behaviour, they could go where no white body had gone and settled before.

In the story of the white Australian body/nation, scientific advances sporadically altered the main lines of argument but not the framework within which it was discussed. Developments in bacteriology meant that by the 1890s it had been established that bacteria, not places per se, caused tuberculosis and diphtheria. It was therefore the urban concentrations of population, with their careless poor, which led to the spread of illness rather than places alone, as had previously been thought. However, even this movement from place-based to germ-based explanations of health issues was easier to maintain in the southeast than in the north, which was still seen as inhospitable to the white man into the twentieth century. Moreover, in the context of tropical Queensland, in the northeast, a double standard emerged. Kanaka workers, brought in because of their putatively innate capacity for exacting manual labour in the tropics, had mortality rates four times higher than that of whites (84).

This was the era of federation and nation-building, when priority was accorded to discourses about the raced and classed boundaries of nationhood. Indeed, the first decade of the twentieth century witnessed the change from an anti-immigrant discourse (which focussed on the threat to wages of whites) to medical arguments about people bringing germs and lower moral standards.

One of the strengths of Anderson's text is its refusal to abandon complexity for a master narrative. It is clear that consensus was rarely reached in these medical debates: there were merely relatively dominant ideas. Against this setting, established in the first three chapters, the second half of the book charts the increasing attention paid by researchers to the intersection of "race" and class. However, it is at this point that a weakness of the book appears. While broadly chronological, the middle chapters overlap, with the effect that the reader is pushed back to an earlier period at the start of each new chapter. This slightly circular effect slightly confuses the timeline. Moreover, I finished chapter six questioning whether there were really three chapters of material in the second section (chapters 4-6), where two would have sufficed.

Indeed, some of the detail could have been replaced by further development of the absorbing discussion about who was viewed as more or less racially threatening because of their culture and (dirty) habits. The distinctions made between Sicilians, on the one hand, and northern Italians and Nordic people, on the other, for example, are significant and pertinent policy debates that might have been afforded more prominence in the narrative.

The final two chapters deal with the relations between white and native Australians. This section is fascinating for its exploration of the various understandings of the latter posited in scientific and political debates: childlike savages, Caucasian throwbacks, people who die out when confronted with civilisation; and finally, people who die out when confronted with disease, especially due to contact with "immunologically incompetent" poor, white males (221). The increasingly Foucauldian surveillance and accumulation of bureaucratic details of interaction with native Australians is embodied in the maps of the "reproductive frontier". From the many anthropometrical efforts made through the 1920s and 1930s, epitomised in the work of the Adelaide Institute, "Aboriginals" emerged as an offshoot of the "Caucasian race". This work framed the project of "breeding out" colour, by civilising through the bloodline and the genetic and cultural whitening of the mixed children of white and native Australians. Given the terms in the book's title, the salience of the institutionalised separation of the

“stolen generations” from their parents and their education as white Australians would appear to have been a candidate for slightly more analysis—especially for readers outside Australia.

The depth and scope of Anderson’s book, the richness of themes thrown up, and the clarity of the overlap of class with “race”, are the work’s strong points. The shifts in the scientific problematisation of “race” also emerge clearly, and although one discourse becomes dominant in a given period, the others live on and are sometimes revitalised. Anderson records no monolithic voice of “Australian science”, but the clamour of Australian scientists. These researchers, working out of government-funded research institutes and public universities, were driven by many things, but paid ultimately by the Australian state, which also deployed the findings in policy discussions. Anderson has thus made a contribution to the nascent field of work focusing on the “racial state”. Previous writings on racial classification have addressed the laws and science of Nazi Germany, as well as the census and political responses to racially-constituted social movements, and the framing of immigration and asylum policies. *The Cultivation of Whiteness* thus takes its place next to Nancy Stepan’s *The Hour of Eugenics* and similar literature on racial hygiene and nation-building, as well as linking in to work on health, class and race such as Matt Wray’s recent American study, *Not Quite White*.

Anderson’s work leads us to conclude that over time, whiteness moves its boundaries, which can be comprised of different shades of white and non-white racialised bodies. “Race” science is not monolithic but has different subjects that are the cause of racial anxiety, and when tied so closely to the state’s agenda for nation-building, it has a role to play in formulating the nation’s destiny, in terms of both public health and immigration policies.

Conceiving of whiteness as a system of domination is the position from which any of this makes any sense. Genocide, land theft, anthropometry and the racialised league tables it helps construct can be represented as normal only if the idea of civilisational superiority is the frame of reference. Warwick Anderson has demonstrated how the relationship between scientists, the objects of their study, and the ideas they generate are neither neutral nor apolitical, but indeed highly racialised and part of the problem for social and human scientists interested in “race” to answer.

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Mark Caprio and Koichiro Matsuda, eds., *Japan and the Pacific, 1540-1920: Threat and Opportunity*. The Pacific World: Lands, Peoples, and History of the Pacific, 1500-1900. Volume X. Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2006. xl + 422 pp. ISBN: 0-7546-3683-6 (hbk.). \$154.95; £80.00.

Japan and the Pacific, 1540-1920 is the tenth volume in the Ashgate Publishing series “The Pacific World—Lands, Peoples, and History of the Pacific, 1500-1900”. The publisher’s blurb announces that the book “seeks to capture the rich array of images that define Japan’s encounters with the Pacific Ocean”. Such an opinion already provides plenty to discuss. First of all, should we go along with K.N. Chaudhuri’s provocative definition of Japan as a “Pacific island archipelago”, or do we need to heed Marcia Yonemoto’s subtle reminder that “Japan has always been in, but not of the Pacific”? Like a number of other world archipelagos, the Japanese have not at all times in their history been pelagic: Yonemoto shows how “national seclusion” was reflected in Tokugawa cartographic practice, which effectively concentrated on mapping the interior, pushing the sea to the margins of their world-view. Then, transcending this discussion of place and belonging, I would hope that the history of this interaction amounts to more than simply images, particularly given the devastating consequences of *nanshin-ron*, the southward advancement theory first advanced at the end of the nineteenth century on the basis that the Japanese needed to emulate western models of colonialism,

and that as a people, they were better suited to hot places rather than cold, culminating in the brutal and protracted conflict across the Pacific region during the Second World War.

There is more irritating and misleading hokum in the promotional literature selected by Ashgate. "The Pacific Ocean", we learn, "also extended Japan's overseas contacts. From antiquity Japanese and their neighbours crossed it to trade ideas and products. From the mid-16th century it carried people from more distant lands." The truth is that the Pacific, or as it was referred to by the Japanese, "the Great Eastern Sea", was a void, too vast to be easily circumnavigated and dogged by contrary winds and currents, consequently abandoned to the unknown until the expanse of the ocean was reduced to manageable proportions by the steamship in the nineteenth century. As Marius Jansen explains, "it was China or nothing. Japan was on the periphery of one cultural sphere, and there was nothing on the other side". Even Michael Mathes, whose contribution to this volume concentrates on relations between New Spain and Japan in the early modern period, concludes that this encounter was "brief and of little consequence". The truth, then, is that Japan historically owes everything to its westerly neighbours, principally China, for which there exists a special word in the Japanese language—*karamono*—to refer to "things from China". Korea should not be left out of the equation: separated from Japan by the Tsushima Strait, which sometimes, if perhaps a little exaggeratedly, is compared to the Strait of Dover, Korea was over history regarded by the Japanese as a horizontal equal, serving primarily as a "vessel for Chinese contents" (Jansen); the Koreans, reciprocally, liked to apply the Confucian doctrine of *kyorin* or "friendly dealings with the neighbour", in their relations with the Japanese. The Ryūkyū kingdom played a role historically rather as intermediary between China and Japan, and which the Japanese preferred to leave independent precisely for this reason, welcoming their congratulatory missions at times of shogunal succession. Only from the 1850s was it conceivable, as one of the articles by Henry Frei is entitled, for Japan to discover Australia. Thus, as with so many of the volumes in this Ashgate series, the time-span is poorly chosen and tries to straddle different periods, which in the exaggerated contortions of Japanese history amounts to little more than an ugly artificiality.

The book does include, however, a useful introduction, and the selection of articles benefits from co-editorship, all the more since the two scholars responsible are representative of both American and Japanese-language academic communities. Furthermore, there is a six-page bibliography on the subject. Some of the articles are classics from the 1950s (Lensen), while others have been carefully selected from very interesting recent, but somewhat obscure, online sources (Ribeiro). Despite the title, many of the contributions to this volume are not oriented towards the Pacific but towards the Russian Far East (Saveliev, Lensen), China (McWilliams, Tashiro), Korea (Agrawal) and Southeast Asia (Nagazumi, Ribeiro). From this eclectic *tour de l'horizon*, we come away with some sound general knowledge relating to the "Japanese world", and its historical sticking points—contests with the Chinese over their alleged superiority and centrality, often over petty issues such as era names on diplomatic records; the periodic surge in the *Seikanron*, or "conquer Korea" thesis which reverberated in Japanese consciousness since the invasion staged by fourth-century Empress Jingū; the changes in form, motive and destination of emigration and population diaspora; the trade-offs between seasonal sojourning and dreams of southern colonisation for the dispossessed poor, crowded out of their homeland but fearful of the draconian Seclusion Edicts pronounced from the 1640s, which stipulated nothing less than death for attempted departure overseas or return from abroad.

Some of the contributions are interesting, without any direct connection to the task at hand: I am thinking here of Arano's essay on the concept of "national seclusion" and Tsunoyama's short contribution on the lost trading city of Sakai. That leaves another nine contributions dedicated to the Pacific, organised in three parts: Japanese views of the Pacific, Diplomatic and Economic Relations, and Expansion and Diaspora. We have an interesting cross-section of Japanese on the move, from prostitutes (*karayuki-san*) and thugs

(*amegoro*) in the American West; Japanese “sea drifters” and castaways (in Katherine Plummer’s words, “the shogun’s reluctant ambassadors”); students such as Tsuda Ume, who today is celebrated by a college of liberal arts in her name; mercenaries in Ayutthaya; petty traders in Papua and New Guinea; fishermen in Russian Primorye; and a cohort of fully-fledged ambassadors who were sent out with instructions to scrutinise the western world for twenty-one months on the Iwakura Embassy of 1871—once described by Jansen as “no ordinary junket”.

This tenth volume in the Ashgate series *The Pacific World* is an interesting addition to the collection and, despite its failings at times both in terms of focus and in terms of chosen time-span, is well presented, comes together with a useful bibliography and introduction written by able scholars in the field, and takes advantage of a thorough index.

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EAST ASIA

Alvyn Austin, *China’s Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905*. Studies in the History of Christian Missions. Cambridge and Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2007. xxxii + 506 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8028-2975-7 (pbk.). \$45.00.

Born in Calcutta to parents active in the Chinese Inland Mission (CIM), Alvyn Austin has been researching, writing and teaching Chinese mission history for at least thirty years. *China’s Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905* is Austin’s hefty but readable summary and analysis of CIM interventions, adaptations and persistence during the decline of the Qing dynasty. *China’s Millions* is the abbreviated title of a CIM periodical published from 1875 to 1952.¹

As competing imperialist powers carved up Asia, the westerly expansion of China’s Qing dynasty (1644-1912) came to a halt. The Manchu (Qing) Empire was vulnerable to foreign naval power on its eastern and southern maritime borders yet too vast and populous to be governed by any outside power. In the end, China capitulated to British opium and military technology, and by 1900, Portugal, Britain, France, Russia, Japan and Germany had acquired colonial possessions. All told, the Great Britain and seventeen other governments imposed extraterritoriality on China: Foreign nationals accused of crimes were processed under the laws of the countries of which they were citizens rather than of the Chinese legal system. The temporary collapse of centralised Chinese political resistance created heady opportunities for Christian missionaries in Britain.

One was James Hudson Taylor, who founded the CIM in 1860 but did not publicise its existence for another four years. Instead of beginning a history of the CIM in 1832 (the year of Taylor’s birth), a firmer editorial hand might have asked that the early chapters be compressed. Breaking from a tradition of hagiography, Austin exposes document tampering and destruction by earlier CIM historians of officially sanctioned biographies of Taylor. *China’s Millions* shows how Taylor’s personal and institutional leadership interacted with networks of co-thinkers and competitors in Europe, North America, China and elsewhere. Austin discusses local and transnational dimensions of Chinese mission history from before the Opium Wars of the 1840s until after the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. Densely documenting this book, Professor Austin draws on five archival collections, other primary sources and scholarly literature. Two Chinese-language sources (and a third in translation) are cited. Enhancing the book’s value are a handy list of abbreviations, three appendixes, four charts, reproductions of almost forty woodcuts, photographs or maps, a bibliography, and a nicely cross-referenced index.

From the outset in the 1860s, the CIM avoided coastal cities. Instead, Taylor and others

crisscrossed China looking for more suitable venues. After initial ventures in Zhejiang, Jiangsu, and Anhui Provinces, Shanxi Province became the focus of major CIM evangelising, as it is the centre of *China's Millions*. At the time, missionaries also were preaching the gospel in Guizhou, Henan, Hubei, Zhili (Hebei which also included the capital Peking during the Qing Dynasty), Sichuan, Mongolia, Xinjiang Provinces, as well as in Tibet. Twenty-eight years after its founding, 332 missionaries were active in China.

The first CIM missionaries were English and Irish. Later, co-thinkers from Canada, the United States and Australia joined. Pedagogically imaginative proselytising techniques included singing the gospel, finger stories, “tea-shop evangelism”, “gossiping the Gospel” and the “wordless book”. The latter used four—later, five—colours to symbolise basic theological lessons. But Austin provocatively wonders if CIM missionaries realised that the “wordless book had a well-established antecedent in Chinese pedagogy”. More controversially, “Jesus opium” (morphine) was used to wean opium addicts from their addiction, but at the risk of addicting them to the replacement drug. Female CIM missionaries usually taught Chinese women while the men sometimes focused on the Chinese literati. Clothing, living arrangements followed Chinese styles. A rigid furlough schedule imposed extra hardships on married couples, and British women were firmly discouraged from marrying Chinese men. By 1886, in-country training of probationary missionaries in China was rigorously impressive. Their course of study included language instruction, Chinese history and culture, geography, local politics, readings from a Chinese translation of the Bible, and CIM history.

Among the strengths of *China's Millions* are its detailed descriptions of individuals, institutions and social networks, cultural exchanges between missionaries and indigenous communities, the sinification of the gospel, and popular religion. Interacting with Buddhism, Daoism and Chinese popular religion, imbedded evangelical Christianity became Sinified in startling ways. In Shanxi, the self-baptised Xi Liaozi (Hsi Liao-chih) assumed the name of Shengmo (“conqueror of demons”). A Confucian scholar and former opium addict, Pastor Hsi (1836-1896) famously exemplified the trade-offs entailed in the CIM policy of encouraging local control of Chinese missions. In spite of the misgivings of Taylor and others in the CIM, their capitulation to the flamboyant Pastor Hsi’s doctrinal deviations is a fascinating tale. Within less than twenty years, Pastor Hsi and his spouse virtually created a new Christian sect with their unorthodox beliefs. Reportedly, these persist in Shanxi Province in the early twenty-first century!

Almost sixty adult CIM missionaries, staff and associates were killed during the Boxer rebellion, together with about two dozen of their children. Austin’s two chapters treat this pivotal event with more nuance than one will encounter in many other histories. In contrast to Taylor’s earlier willingness to accept assistance from colonial authorities, this time he refused to accept reparations from the Chinese government after the Boxer Rebellion was brutally suppressed by foreign military intervention.

Austin sometimes seems to underestimate the extent of signification. He might have challenged translations of *tian* as “heaven”. In classical Chinese, Roger Ames and Henry Rosement tell us, “*Tian* is both *what* our world is and *how* it is”, and it “is not transcendental”.² And Austin might have clarified the limited notion of democracy that evangelists from the United States reportedly brought to the CIM. For this reviewer, “plural governance [did] not necessarily imply equality of access or results”,³ especially for Chinese stakeholders affected by CIM decisions.

Ostensibly not a biography, the book’s conclusion stops with Taylor’s death in 1905. But why then? The Qing dynasty collapsed six and a half years later with the “Double-Ten” uprising and the political revolution of 1911-12, while anecdotes in *China's Millions* extend into the 1920s.

Austin’s richly textured narrative usefully evokes additional questions. For example, in a late nineteenth-century doctrinal shift, the CIM’s militant anti-modernism de-emphasised the social gospel. Did that discourage interest in activities of the Natural Foot Leagues against

“foot-binding” (a euphemism for foot-crushing), even though elsewhere that vibrant feminist movement sometimes received support from Christian laity and missionaries? Also, Chinese reformers and revolutionaries forcefully criticised traditional values, during the short-lived 100 Days Reform (1898) and especially during the New Culture Movement (1915-27). How did CIM missionaries navigate those turbulent intellectual currents during the second and third decades of the twentieth century? Or did they ignore them?

Renamed the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, the China Inland Mission continues today. *China's Millions* adds to our understanding of evangelism from English-speaking countries in China, colonialism, and local Chinese agency. The book belongs on the shelves of research libraries and on reading lists for graduate seminars in British, Canadian, and U.S. evangelical church history, mission history, and China's transnational history and politics during the late Qing dynasty. As Alwyn Austin argues, the challenges and controversies facing missionaries of that period remain very up-to-date.

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Notes

- 1 In 1953 (contra Austin, not in 1950), the periodical *China's Millions and Our Work among Them* was succeeded by *East Asia's Millions*.
- 2 Robert T. Ames and Henry Rosemont, Jr., *The Analects of Confucius: A Philosophical Translation*. Classics of Ancient China. (New York: Ballantine Books, 1998), 46 and 48.
- 3 Vincent Kelly Pollard, *Globalization, Democratization and Asian Leadership: Power Sharing, Foreign Policy and Society in the Philippines and Japan* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 6.

Nam-Lin Hur, *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan: Buddhism, Anti-Christianity, and the Danka System*. Harvard East Asian Monographs 282. London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007. xvi + 562 pp. ISBN: 978-0-674-02503-5 (hbk.). \$55.00; £35.95; 50.70.

Hur's study of the *danka* system—the system that, over the course of the seventeenth century, eventually required all Japanese individuals and households to affiliate with a Buddhist temple in order to demonstrate their non-Christian status—and its social, cultural and political ramifications deserves high praise and a wide readership. It draws on an impressive range of both primary and secondary sources, and it is the most detailed and comprehensive treatment of this topic in English. In this study, Hur explores the following themes:

(1) how and why Buddhist institutions came to serve as an administrative vehicle for the anti-Christian policy of the Tokugawa state, thus resulting in the institutionalization of the *danka* system; (2) how Buddhist institutions subjected the entire population to the *danka* system, thereby imbuing death rituals and ancestral rites with a Buddhist character and so incorporating Buddhism into the modus operandi of Tokugawa Japanese households; and (3) how, under the *danka* system, the paradigm of Buddhist death was imposed, contested, and negotiated among the *danna* households, Buddhist temples and the state—a process that eventually resulted in the backlash of the Shinto funeral movement (28).

Hur divides his study into four parts that deal with the origins and initial development of the *danka* system, the array of rituals that arose in connection with it, the complications that manifested themselves as Buddhist temples exercised their power over their affiliated households, and the attempt (and ultimate failure) of some Shinto activists to replace the Buddhist system with a Shinto alternative in the late Tokugawa and Meiji period (1868-1912).

For readers of *Itinerario*, part 1 is likely to be of the greatest interest, since it is here that

the author takes up the impact of Spanish and Portuguese Christians and traders on military leaders of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as they went about consolidating their power after decades of warfare. Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) emerged at the end of this process, establishing a regime that lasted from 1600 to 1868. Although Ieyasu wanted to establish trade relations with the Spanish and Portuguese and was not entirely anti-Christian, his desire to extend his firm control across Japanese society quickly led him to turn against both European trade and the foreign religion. Christianity had begun to spread in Japan in the mid-sixteenth century and it had attracted some domain leaders as well as commoners. Ieyasu came to fear both foreign missionaries and their converts as subversive elements in Japanese society. In 1612 he issued a nationwide ban against Christianity and in 1613 he ordered the “padres” expelled. There followed years of often harsh persecution of the missionaries and Japanese *Kirishitan*, as the converts were known. Hur carefully chronicles the unfolding of the governments anti-Christian measures, identifying as the first step in the development of the *danka* system the 1614 shogunal order that those *Kirishitan* who had “rolled over” to Buddhism—that is, renounced Christianity—obtain a document from their temple monk certifying that fact. Gradually the religious certification requirement was extended beyond those *Kirishitan* who had given up religion to the entire Japanese population, a process that was more or less complete by the 1660s and that had become a part of the Japanese way of life by the late seventeenth century. As Hur and others have pointed out, by the time the *danka* system was fully instituted, it was clear that Christianity was no longer a threat. However, in reading Hur’s account, one cannot but help be impressed by the paranoia of the Tokugawa regime and the extremes to which it went to suppress the religion. As Hur writes, “The institutionalization of temple certification was slow and extremely brutal” (104).

In part 2, Hur explains the actual working of the *danka* system. In his introductory chapter as well here, he clarifies how the compilation of the registers of households that were submitted to the government were carried out. People had freedom to select the temple with which they would affiliate, though that freedom came to be limited in actual practice. From their *dannadera* or temple of affiliation they would receive annual certification that they were not Christian, a certification without which they could not function as legal citizens. Village or ward heads would then work with the temples to compile a register that would be submitted up through the layers of bureaucracy, ultimately reaching the shogun’s government. While individual temples kept registers of their *danka* (known as *kakochō*), the registers submitted to the government (the *shūmon aratamechō*) were compiled by village and ward officials. Once the affiliation with a temple had been established, the *danna* would incur a range of obligations to the temple—donations, visits to the temple on certain days, the conduct of funerals according to temple custom, and so on. Hur chronicles, again as others have done, the ways in which temples could abuse their authority (with the threat, for example, of moving a person “off register”) and he notes the occasional attempts by the government to limit such abuses. But the system was not one simply of exploitation. In the rich array of funerary rituals that the temples provided, referred to as the *jūsan butsujī* or “thirteen Buddhist rituals”, Buddhism could offer the Japanese a way of dealing with death that neither Shinto nor Confucianism could match. Shinto associated death with pollution and Confucianism in Japan did not give prominence to the funerary rituals that one sees in Chinese and Korean Confucianism. Furthermore, neither religion had the institutional infrastructure that would enable them to reach the entire population in the way that Buddhism did. Hur’s discussion of the ritual system in chapters five and six of this section provides an excellent overview.

In part 3, Hur examines the tensions that existed between the temples, the households and the state in the *danka* system, each both empowered and restrained by the system, and in part 4 he explains why it was that even when the new Meiji state took over in 1868 and attempted to promote Shinto, it could not displace the entrenched *danka* system. Hur begins his conclusion to the volume with a bold statement: “For more than two and a half

centuries leading up to the Meiji period, anti-Christianity was the cornerstone of Tokugawa Japan's statehood" (364). Whether or not it was *the* cornerstone of Japan's statehood for all of the Tokugawa period, one suspects, is likely to be debated. But Hur has made the case for the assertion of the sentence immediately following: "The weapon of anti-Christianity helped the Tokugawa shogunate not only to consolidate its governing structure but also to hold sway over its people and all political entities of the country." Every student of Japanese history, religion, government, and society should read this book.

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Yasuko Suzuki, *Nagasaki-Bugyô no Kenkyû [A Study on Governors in Nagasaki, 1680s-1760s]*. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2007. xxi + 386 pp. ISBN: 978-4-7842-1339-9 (hbk.). ¥6200.

Prof. Dr. Suzuki Yasuko of Hanazono University is a Japanese scholar who has been engaged in research of the trade conducted in Nagasaki during the Tokugawa period. This book is a compilation of Suzuki's previously published articles from 1992 to 2006, with necessary revisions.

This book is her second work, following *Kinsei Nichiran Bôeki no Kenkyû [A Study on the Dutch-Japanese Trade]* published in 2004. The first book described the Dutch-Japanese trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from the Dutch point of view, mostly based on Dutch sources. In contrast with her first book, this book relies primarily on Japanese materials and tries to approach the Nagasaki trade in a different way, namely by analysing the performance of the Nagasaki- *bugyô* (governor(s) of Nagasaki). The study attempts to define this performance in respect to *bakufu* policies on Nagasaki trade.

In the introduction, Suzuki surveys preceding research on governors of Nagasaki, which concentrated on the first few governors. She aims in this book to consider the changing functions of the governors of Nagasaki—the evolution from local official to financial technocrat within the *bakufu* system of the seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century—fully contextualising this analysis.

Chapter 1 focuses on Kawaguchi Munetsune, who served as governor of Nagasaki from 1680 to 1693, and argues that the reformation of the *kanjô-bugyôsho* (financial department) of the *bakufu* influenced Nagasaki trade. Chapter 2 examines the *bakufu*'s policy in the first half of the eighteenth century. Chapter 3 discusses Oomori Tokinaga, who was in office during the 1730s. He was notable for his handling of the Kyôhō famine. He financed rice for the people of Nagasaki by appropriating a fund for copper. As a result, his relief efforts were successful, but at the cost of trade. Chapter 4 considers Ogiwara Yoshimasa's career and the *bakufu*'s policies concerning the problems of Nagasaki trade. Based on these considerations, Suzuki finds that the process of the Nagasaki trade after the Kyôhō famine tended toward more strict control by the *bakufu*'s financial department. Chapter 5 covers two governors, Matura Nobumasa and Ishigaya Kiyomasa, whose administrations span the mid-eighteenth century. Chapter 6 enlarges upon the reforms of the Nagasaki trade by Matura. Chapter 7 examines the background of the disclosure of corruption by Nagasaki officials who assisted his trade reforms. These disclosures happened after Matura left office and declined in influence. In Chapter 8 Ishigaya's trade reform in Nagasaki comes up for discussion.

Focusing on each governor, this book does not lapse into a static explanation of the system but offers a lively narrative of political history. The author found the personal activities of governors to be interesting when reading *Geschiedkundig Overzicht van den Handel der Europezen op Japan* (Historical Overview of the Trade of Europeans in Japan) published in 1833 by German Meijlan, who had served as a chief of the Dutch factory in Nagasaki. This book proves that Japanese documents have great potential to provide the basis of a dynamic and detailed history of the Nagasaki trade. It is ironic that a Dutch viewpoint inspired such

research. This is surely the first such attempt to elucidate the significance of the governors of Nagasaki.

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EUROPE AND THE WIDER WORLD

P.C. Emmer, O. Pétré-Grenouilleau, and J. Roitman, eds., *A Deus ex Machina Revisited: Atlantic Colonial Trade and European Economic Development*. The Atlantic World 8. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill Academic Publishers, 2006. xxx + 362 pp. ISBN: 90-04-15102-8 (hbk.). €103.00; \$139.00.

The subtitle of this useful new volume, based on papers presented at a conference in September 2001, might seem to portend a focus on the scholarly controversy linked most famously to Eric Williams's *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944) and the rejoinders, revisions, and restatements that continue to this day.¹ Most of the fourteen essays do, in fact, attend to that debate in some way, and the editors' introduction devotes several pages to summarising it and providing valuable bibliographical information on recent contributions. Many of the authors also intend, however, to intervene in a broader discussion regarding the relative importance of endogenous and exogenous (*deus ex machina*) determinants of economic growth or, in the context of the book, the significance for Europe's economic advance of internal (typically national) factors as opposed to those derived from participation in international trade and imperialism. Of course, this larger debate subsumes the one about the role of Atlantic commerce—including the slave trade—in European material progress (and, more specifically, in British industrialisation). But it incorporates as well other issues now much pondered, at least by economic historians: the origins of differential world economic performance (sometimes referred to as the contrast between “the West and the rest”), the economic gap between East Asia and Western Europe that opened up after 1750 or 1800 or even later (the “great divergence” question), and why Britain, a minor player through the Middle Ages and even later, rose to economic dominance and experienced the first industrial revolution (“Why was Britain first?”).²

In a characteristically rich essay that opens *A Deus ex Machina Revisited*, Patrick O'Brien rapidly reviews much of this terrain; though packed with ideas, the chapter's brevity and lack of references may reduce its value for the less initiated. The papers that follow are grouped into two parts. In addition to O'Brien's masterly survey, the first (“Global Approaches”) comprises Michel Morineau's less incisive but more Atlantic-centric contribution on colonial trade's effects on European development and Third-World underdevelopment, together with three quantitative overviews of European trade and shipping. Part 2 (“Regional and National Approaches”) has three sections of three papers each. They concern, respectively, the international trade of the Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch—the “first players in the colonial adventure”; the intercontinental (including colonial) trade of the “big two” colonial powers (Britain and France); and the foreign trade of Denmark-Norway and Sweden, and French “northern” (Baltic) trade. In both parts, the seventeenth and particularly the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries receive the bulk of the attention. Understandable in terms of British and French development, this focus privileges a period subsequent to much of what is most interesting in Iberian economic history, both successes and failures.

Many of the papers helpfully assemble a substantial amount of scattered and dissimilar quantitative data on trade (and, to a lesser extent, shipping), and nearly all contain analysis and insights that will prove particularly useful for those not familiar with the specialist scholarship. Several articles point out topics sorely needing research; such attention to unanswered (and sometimes unasked) questions would have been welcome elsewhere, both to stimulate further investigation and to indicate the degree of confidence that some conclusions should be afforded. Some of the substantive essays are quite broad: for example,

Bouda Etemad compiles information on the colonial trade of the five leading European powers between the early eighteenth and early twentieth centuries, and François Crouzet examines trends in British exports and their markets from 1701 to 1913. Others are narrower, focusing on a single century, a single nation, or even a specific conjuncture, as in Guillaume Daudin's study of French intercontinental trade at the end of the eighteenth century. Many rest on deep, mature scholarship, but several have to be provisional. Indeed, Horst Pietschmann and Niels Wiecker's essay, while an excellent review of the current state of scholarship on eighteenth-century Portuguese economic history and its many shortcomings, can contribute little to any of the issues at hand, which is unfortunate given Portugal's early and long participation in Atlantic trade. For all these reasons, not to mention the several agendas at play, readers expecting a comprehensive reconsideration of the debate apparently announced by the subtitle will be disappointed. Nor will they find any dissenters from or alternative perspectives to the currently dominant anti-Williams position; apart from two lines in the introduction, any mention of the arguments put forth by, for example, Joseph Inikori, is notable by its absence.³

Albeit with different degrees of emphasis, all the authors agree that trade within Europe was much more significant for European economic development than trade with the rest of the world, which is presented as typically small in size, often unprofitable, even harmful to the economy as a whole because it absorbed resources that might have been more usefully deployed elsewhere. Intercontinental, colonial, or foreign trade may have benefited specific individuals, industries, localities, or regions, but these had little effect on economic growth overall.

Admittedly, Great Britain formed a partial exception to this generalisation, and several essays make stimulating comparisons between British developments and those in other economies. Even for Britain, however, this volume does not make a compelling case for broad positive effects of foreign trade on industrialisation in particular or even on economic growth more generally. O'Brien does suggest that New World foodstuffs and raw materials were important for sustaining the Industrial Revolution, though not for initiating it. Crouzet implies but does not elaborate on a possible further benefit of Britain's colonial trade: by continuing uninterrupted across the first industrial revolution (1750-1850), it maintained steady demand for British manufactures even when domestic demand turned down, thereby encouraging investment, whereas no such relay effect stimulated other European economies. And Kenneth Morgan has suggested (the editors' introduction reports one iteration) reconceptualising the rising demand that set off British industrialisation as resulting from interacting external and internal factors rather than the outcome of distinct foreign or domestic stimuli. These ideas hint at elements of a new synthesis, but none is outlined in *A Deus ex Machina Revisited*; for a sense of what one might look like, the reader should still look at Morgan's brief *Slavery, Atlantic Trade and the British Economy, 1660-1800*, or several chapters in Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*.⁴

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Notes

- 1 Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944). For a sampling of the many contributions to the "Williams thesis", see Barbara L. Solow and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery: The Legacy of Eric Williams* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); and Heather Cateau and S.H.H. Carrington, eds., *Capitalism and Slavery Fifty Years Later: Eric Eustace Williams—A Reassessment of the Man and His Work* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000).
- 2 To cite only one prominent work from each of these conceptualisations: David S. Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some are so Rich and Some so Poor* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: Europe, China, and the Making of the Modern World*

- Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); and François Crouzet, *Britain Ascendant: Comparative Studies in Franco-British Economic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1990).
- 3 For a summary, see Joseph Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- 4 Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery, Atlantic Trade and the British Economy, 1660-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (London: Verso, 1997), chap. 12 and epilogue.

Peter Jimack, ed., *A History of the Two Indies: A Translated Selection of Writings from Raynal's Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Établissements des Européens dans les Deux Indes*. Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2006. xxix + 287 pp. ISBN: 0-7546-4043-4 (pbk.). \$114.95; €60.00.

This publication is a new English translation of a classic French Enlightenment text. Extremely controversial in its day, the *Histoire des deux Indes* was placed on the Index in 1774 and the Abbé Raynal himself was forced into exile. During the Revolution, the status of Raynal, and this work in particular, reached their peak of popularity among opponents of the *ancien régime*. The *Histoire* was frequently reprinted in many languages, including English, until the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when it was largely forgotten until well into the twentieth century. Considered an impassioned landmark critique of European overseas expansion in all corners of the world, its reappearance now in translation is both timely and welcome for Anglophone specialists and generalists alike.

Jimack's introduction is superbly achieved by establishing the political significance and historical context of the *Histoire* in its day while also summarising the current historiographical debates that surround the work. The eighteen chapters, or "books", follow more or less chronologically and can almost be read in any order. The first five are centred on the "East Indies" with the bulk of the remainder focused on the "West Indies", as the Indian/Pacific and Atlantic Ocean worlds were referred to in the parlance of their day. The editor has translated extracts from each book and focuses on a specific European nation's intervention in a defined area of the globe. The chapters on the East Indies begin with Portuguese expansion in the early sixteenth century and are followed by separate sections on Dutch, English, and French ventures in the Indian Ocean. A fifth chapter combines the exploits of the Danes, Ostenders, Swedes, Prussians, Russians, and Spanish in the region. The section on the West Indies begins with three books on the Spanish conquest, one on Portuguese Brazil, and several books on the multi-national Caribbean. Chapters on European interventions in Africa, French North America, and British North America conclude the section on the Atlantic world. While the complete editions of the *Histoire* include scientific, botanical, and geographical commentaries of the day, Jimack has drawn primarily from sections related to politics and economy, with a very healthy dose of moral and philosophical theory mixed in. Although authorship of the *Histoire* has been credited to Raynal, there were numerous contributors to both the original 1771 edition, as well as the many subsequent printings. The extracts translated here are from the 1780 edition, which was substantially edited and modified from the original by Diderot, with whose intervention the *Histoire* takes on a decidedly more polemical tone. Jimack is thoroughly cautious in identifying these interventions in numerous footnotes (which the publisher has thankfully placed at the bottom of the page). The philosophical differences between the authors are at times vast, greatly adding to the complexity and nuance of the work. For example, when Raynal hedges his anti-clerical stance with substantial praise of the Jesuit missions in South America, Diderot condemns the same for, "intolerance...love of despotism...(and) excessive religious zeal" (128). The dichotomy between the authors is even more pronounced in relation to their attitudes on colonialism and

slavery, creating an ambiguity in the text that at times belies its reputation as an “incendiary attack on European colonization”.¹

For instance, there is an undeniable hint of admiration in Book 1 in the portrayal of Albuquerque and the early Portuguese explorers. Diderot’s intercession reveals the opposite (xxiii). Even Diderot, however, tempers his anti-colonial posture with an entire chapter dedicated to “the true art of founding colonies” (123-24), which offers suggestions on ways to improve upon colonial ventures and administration. The work is similarly ambiguous with regard to slavery. Raynal, for example, speaks of slavery as deriving from “the natural cowardice of Negroes”, and rather than promoting abolition, he devotes an entire chapter to “ways of improving the condition of slaves” (153, 155-58). This section, moreover, is followed by a chapter on recommendations for improving sugar production, complete with back-breaking labour techniques, that elides any mention of the labourers—that is, the slaves. Diderot’s passages are far more damning of both slavery and the slave trade. A similar ambiguity can be found in the treatment of indigenous peoples, which alternates between idealised depictions of the noble savage: the pastoral “Hottentots” (*Khoikhoi*) of South Africa and the nomadic Indian hunters of Canada, for example; and representations of Indians as primitive heathens, like the native Guianese and Caribs, in need of being civilised by their European overlords. These nuances, however, make the *Histoire* a compelling read and should not obscure the overriding anti-colonial tenor of the work.

In addition to identifying the passages written by Raynal’s collaborators, Jimack’s footnotes provide ample factual information regarding exchange rates, historical personages, and clarifications of events described in the text, especially when it is factually inaccurate or misleading. A short but useful bibliography is also included. This edition of the *Histoire* might have benefited from the inclusion of contemporary maps, prints, and illustrations, which would have provided some geographical and cultural context to the massive global scope of Raynal’s project.

It is indeed the global scope that makes the *Histoire des deux Indes* such a compelling work. While at times obscured in the text, the implicit political, economic, social, and cultural linkages between European expansion in the East Indies and West Indies can be drawn from a careful reading. The authors correctly interpreted the global significance of the West Indies in terms of the plantation complex and the slave trade, predicted the Haitian Revolution, and recognised the significance of naval power in the imperial framework, and of free trade in the burgeoning new world order. At the same time, we are consistently reminded of the limits of Enlightenment philosophy and science, especially regarding women, indigenous peoples, Africans, and the environment. As such, this book is highly recommended for undergraduate and graduate courses on colonialism, the Enlightenment, and European intellectual history.

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Note

1 Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (London: Penguin, 1989), 173.

Zoë Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections, 1815-45: Patronage, the Information Revolution and Colonial Government*. Studies in Imperialism. Manchester University Press, 2006. Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2005. xii + 244 pp. ISBN: 978-0-7190-6918-5 (hbk.). £50.00.

How did the British Empire work during the early nineteenth century? What, if anything, held it together? How was it managed? Did the balance of power reside in London at the Colonial Office, or in hands of local officials and men-on-the-spot sprinkled around the imperial periphery? Zoë Laidlaw provides original and well-researched answers to these and other

important questions in her impressive first book, *Colonial Connections, 1815-45: Patronage, the Information Revolution and Colonial Government*.

At the core of this book is Laidlaw's well-substantiated claim that "networks of personal connections were of critical importance to colonial governance in the early nineteenth century" (13). While this might seem obvious—when are personal connections not important?—recent studies of empire, insofar as they have dealt with governance at all, have tended to emphasise the collection and dissemination of information as the primary means by which the empire operated during the nineteenth century. As Laidlaw discusses, the establishment of a modern, bureaucratic, statistically-oriented Colonial Office in the late-1830s under the hyper-organised permanent under-secretary James Stephen (grandfather of Virginia Woolf) transformed colonial governance.

Yet this raises the question of how the empire operated before this bureaucratic revolution, and it is here that *Colonial Connections* really shines. One of the overriding problems facing the British in the administration of their empire was how to control—or at least keep tabs on—all the various colonial officials spread out across the globe. This was an especially difficult task given that it could take six months for a ship to carry a directive from London to Calcutta or Sydney, and an equal amount of time to convey the response back to London. How did imperial officials in London know whether administrators were doing their job? How did colonial officers become informed about new policies or postings?

Laidlaw demonstrates that personal networks were "the mainstay of day-to-day colonial governance, transmitting influence, patronage, and information" (14). In an "atmosphere of uncertainty", networks of patronage and information "sustained the empire" (94). Among the most important of these was the so-called peninsular network, which connected veterans of the campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula, the battle of Waterloo, and those who enjoyed a personal association with the Duke of Wellington. This network, which linked a number of colonial governors and officials to some of the most influential men in Britain, "mediated patronage, transmitted information, influenced policy, and maintained a sense of comradeship" (22). Laidlaw shows how connections formed during army service led to one appointment after another in the colonial service. In fact, eighty-five per cent of governors from 1820 to 1845 had previously served in the army or the navy. In this context, it is interesting—though unremarked upon by the author—that the vast majority of imperial servants came through the army. Given the central importance of the navy to Britain and its empire, this is an observation that merits further exploration.

Other networks also played a role. A humanitarian network, for example, which connected participants in religious movements and the anti-slavery campaign, while not very important in terms of patronage to government offices, had a significant influence on colonial governance by serving as a conduit for information. Thomas Fowell Buxton, for example, who served in Parliament (1818-37), was centrally involved in the Aborigines Protection Society, the African Civilization Society (which promoted the 1841 Niger expedition), and the London Missionary Society, which gave him contacts throughout the Empire. In many instances, the information collected and transmitted through these networks outshone government mechanisms. A scientific network based on the collection of botanical, zoological, and geological information similarly produced both jobs and information. Alexander McLeay, colonial secretary of New South Wales (1826-36), and his successor, Edward Deas Thomson, were both members of the Linnean Society in London. Sir John Franklin, who led one disastrous arctic voyage of exploration after another, nonetheless managed to secure a position as lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Land. In 1841, Franklin was able to appoint his nephew, who had served on John Ross's expedition to Antarctica, to the Hobart observatory. This was not just an empire of networks, but of nepotism.

Focusing on personal networks leads Laidlaw to argue for the centrality of London as a "hub of imperial activity" (17). While many colonial officials hoped to make their fortune in the colonies, they generally intended to return to Britain after a period of service. News

flowed out of and through London, trade was dominated by London merchants, financial transactions were more secure when conducted in London, and even marriages were arranged there. While Laidlaw acknowledges that ideas and personnel flowed in multiple directions, both out to the colonies and back to the metropolis, at least during the early decades of the nineteenth century, London was “the fulcrum of imperial life” (20).

Colonial Connections thus constitutes an important intervention in the historiographical debate over the significance of the metropolis in imperial history. For decades, historians assumed that the empire was governed from London. But in the wake of Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher’s seminal work on Africa, along with important work emanating from area and postcolonial studies, the influence and significance of the so-called periphery could no longer be ignored. In the past decade though, motivated largely by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler’s exhortation to place colony and metropole in the same analytic field, a number of scholars have attempted to chart the bilateral—or even multilateral—flow of people, goods, and information around the empire, even to the point of reconceptualising the empire as a web. Laidlaw certainly succeeds in her simultaneous consideration of both metropole and colony, even as she clearly attempts to restore the primacy of London in imperial affairs.

There are limits to Laidlaw’s claims. First and foremost, she examines the operation of colonial rule exclusively in the settler colonies, principally the Cape Colony and New South Wales. Whether or not the empire operated in a similar fashion in other regions remains to be seen. Secondly, the “information revolution” that Laidlaw describes may not have been as thorough as she implies. Statistical information was often out of date and not always accurately collated. And besides, every colony was different, however much the Colonial Office tried to systematise governance. Finally, whether the empire functioned as a “network”, which according to Laidlaw is a term that “better captures the complex and irregular systems of connection” (14) or a “web” may be only splitting hairs.

These limitations aside, this is an important book that sheds fascinating light on the workings of empire in the early nineteenth century before maps of the empire were coloured red. Laidlaw’s empire is not one in which policies were determined by colonial theorists, Benthamite utilitarians, or free traders. On the contrary, this was “a collection of diverse colonies” (195) held together, in the end, more by personal concerns and networks than any coherent imperial policy. Perhaps here we find the origins of Facebook.

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Louis Sicking, *Frontières d’Outre-Mer: La France et les Pays-Bas dans le Monde Atlantique au XIXe Siècle*. Collection: Mondes Atlantiques. Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2006. 207 pp. ISBN: 2-84654-148-5 (pbk.). €28.00.

Louis Sicking, who currently teaches at the University of Leiden, completed this project while studying at the Université de Provence, where he had access to the copious colonial holdings of the Centre des Archives d’Outre-Mer that form the archival basis for this book. (Some published Dutch sources are cited, but the study disproportionately emphasises French policies and interests.) The book focuses on three instances in which French and Dutch colonies were contiguous in the mid-nineteenth century: the Caribbean island of St. Martin, trading posts along the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana), and the South American colonies of Suriname and French Guiana.

Following French Minister of the Navy Baron Portal’s speech advocating a policy of *points d’appui* (“bases of support” from which to control strategic ports rather than large colonies), Admiral de Moges proposed in 1843 to use St. Martin as a strategic home base for the French Navy. The entire island would have to be in French hands for its bases to be effectively protected, de Moges argued, but the French government concluded that the costs out-

weighed any benefits and never even discussed the possible annexation with its Dutch counterpart (32-33). St. Martin's already small sugar production declined even further following the 1848 French abolition of slavery (28, 50), leading governor of Guadeloupe Tranquille Aubry-Bailleul to resurrect the annexation project in the early 1850s, this time for economic reasons. Hoping to reorient the local economy from sugar to salt production, he proposed to take over the Dutch portion of the island, where the largest salt pond was located. The Dutch, who found it difficult to hold on to their slaves after France had proclaimed emancipation, would most likely have accepted annexation against a reasonable payment, even adding Saba and St. Eustatius into the bargain, but the French government shelved the project as too expensive (47).

The European presence along the Gold Coast had a long history going back to fifteenth-century Portuguese explorers, but it declined in importance after the abolition of the slave trade. By the 1860s, a few European settlers manned small, plague-ridden trading posts thrown pell-mell along the coast. In French posts, what limited trade existed was dominated by foreign merchants (94). Continuous wars with the Ashanti and other local kingdoms added to the cost of holding on to the outposts (68). Admiral Alphonse Fleuriot de Langle, who commanded the local French squadron, thus advocated trading France's Gold Coast holdings for Gambia, a British colony wedged inside French Sénégal (80). In 1867, however, the British signed a treaty exchanging their own posts with Dutch ones to create two coherent colonies along the coast. The treaty put French posts in the Dutch zone, thus undermining Fleuriot de Langle's projected exchange (92). So low was European interest in the region that in 1870 the Dutch proposed to give away their posts to the French, just as the French were planning to give their own posts to the Dutch (94). Dutch posts were eventually ceded to the Great Britain, and France simply abandoned its own when it failed to find a nation willing to take them (100).

An 1836 treaty had selected the Maroni River as the border between Dutch Suriname and French Guyana in northern South America (116). When it was discovered that further upriver the Lawa and the Tapahoni joined to form the Maroni, both countries claimed the territory located between the two tributaries. French interest in Guyana was initially limited to the presence of penitentiaries, but by the 1880s a gold rush swept Guyana and gave some urgency to the border dispute (117, 120). Despite orders from Paris, Governor Gerville Réache issued permits to gold-diggers in the contested area (140). The dispute was further complicated by the presence of semi-independent maroon tribes in the contested areas. France, eager to appease the Netherlands to obtain Dutch support for the Suez Canal convention, agreed with their suggestion that Alexander III of Russia should arbitrate the dispute; in 1891 the tsar ruled in favour of the Dutch claim (149). The Dutch, who had insisted on their territorial claim mainly to defend their status as a colonial power, nevertheless chose to recognise permits issued to French gold-diggers, who at any rate were few given the territory's remoteness (150-52).

These three case studies were selected for their geographical peculiarity—they happened to be the three locations where the French and Dutch empires adjoined—more than for their historical relevance. Since the events under study took place after the demise of the eighteenth-century colonial empires and before the late nineteenth-century colonial scramble, the reader is left to wonder why one should study relatively small colonial outposts in a time of imperial retreat. Seemingly negligible case studies can yield crucial historiographical insights—a classic example is Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's work on the village of Montailou—but only if their relevance is outlined explicitly. Unfortunately, the introduction does little to answer such questions. It merely points out that the topic has not been covered before and that the case studies can help prove the "contiguity" thesis that empires tend to grow out of existing colonial holdings—an unsurprising conclusion given the fact that the book focuses on border rivalries in the first place (13-15). The main body of the book further emphasises the colonies' minor importance, pointing out that the French and the Dutch

showed “little interest” in St. Martin (27), that French commercial interests in the Gold Coast were “insignificant” (94) and that Guyana was of “marginal importance” to France (157). In the first two cases, the French foreign ministry did not even bother to contact the Dutch about possible territorial expansion.

Only in the conclusion does the author finally point out the relevance of these three case studies to larger imperial trends. Historiographical debates on nineteenth-century imperialism have focused on motive—whether imperialism sought to fulfil economic, ideological, or strategic goals; agency—whether imperial policy was decided by actors in the field or by the metropolitan government; and interplay—whether local populations embraced, opposed, or altered imperial expansion. In a few concluding paragraphs that should have been included much earlier in the book, the author finally connects the preceding chapters to these larger debates. In the Dutch case, saving face, rather than any economic calculus, stood foremost as officials feared that any admission of weakness would incite larger powers to seize Dutch territories in Southeast Asia (171). In the French case, support for imperial expansion stemmed from local administrators, officers, and economic lobbying groups, not from Paris, where officials focused primarily on European issues such as the rivalry with Germany (165–66). This conclusion belies the traditional view of French imperialism as centralised and monolithic and confirms recent theories espoused by, among others, James Pritchard in his book *In Search of Empire* (2004).

One last, intriguing factor is the role played by non-European actors. In all three colonies, would-be imperialists operated within the constraints set by slave agency (St. Martin), African polities (Gold Coast), and maroon communities (Suriname); “in none of these regions were Europeans able to simply impose their decisions”, the author concludes (167). Far from being the hapless victims of all-powerful European colonisers, these groups frequently benefited from colonial expansion, for example imposing hefty fees on French gold diggers travelling up the Maroni. This conclusion about the colonised’s remarkable resilience is consistent with recent studies such as Gilles Havard and Cécile Vidal’s *Histoire de l’Amérique française* (2003). One can only lament the fact that the author did not introduce such concepts early and consistently throughout his work, which would have done much to underline the historical relevance of these seemingly minor colonial squabbles.

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Tristram Stuart, *The Bloodless Revolution: Radical Vegetarianism and the Discovery of India*. London: HarperPress, 2006. xxvi + 628 pp. ISBN: 978-0-00-712892-1 (hbk.). £25.00.

It is difficult, really, to know what to make of this book. For a start, the title is misleading: it is much less about the discovery of India and much more about radical vegetarianism. Indeed, it would not be inaccurate to describe Stuart’s magisterial tome as a genealogy of European vegetarian thought and related ideas from the seventeenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. It is certainly not an in-depth study of the nexus between the discovery of India, with its heritage of *ahimsa* (non-harm) and brahmanical vegetarianism, and the development of radical vegetarian movements during the period under review. That is not to say that the issue is not addressed, merely that, for this reader at least, it seemed to appear more as a side dish than the main course. Nor does it seem that the author is a disinterested observer, more of which later.

The book is, nonetheless, a substantial work. Comprised of three parts—Grass Roots, Meatless Medicine, and Romantic Dinners—it has an introduction, twenty-seven chapters, an epilogue, sixty pages of bibliography and over ninety pages of endnotes. It is also richly illustrated, with three sections of colour-plates (some not for the faint-hearted or squeamish) and thirty-six black-and-white illustrations. The text is dense and the research impressive. It is the

radical vegetarians and their antagonists who are the subjects of each chapter, figures such as Francis Bacon, Thomas Tryon, John Evelyn, Isaac Newton, Descartes, Voltaire, Rousseau, George Cheyne, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Thomas Malthus, and a cast of many others, including—in the epilogue—Henry Thoreau, M.K. Gandhi and, Adolf Hitler. At the heart of the work is the ongoing debate, particularly between 1600 and 1830—“the formative period” of vegetarianism (xix), about humans’ relationship with nature and especially their dominion over the animal world, the roots of which are both Biblical and Aristotelian.

As well as tracing the development of vegetarian ideas and philosophies, the author explores the connections between politics, particularly radical politics, religion and the Enlightenment, and the nascent science of ecology. In addition, as he states at the outset, he attempts to show that “the arguments that raged” during the period “helped to shape the values of modern society” (xix). In fact, it appears that the book’s *raison d’être* is to reveal an apparently unbroken line from the prelapsarian ideas of the seventeenth century, through the medical emphases of the eighteenth century and the arguments of the ensuing Romantic movement, and on to the rather unexpected concordance between the ideas propounded by Thoreau, Gandhi and Hitler. And this is why the discussion of the Indian influences seems tangential rather than central.

Even so, there is plenty of material here to interest the student of the transmission of ideas and cross-cultural fertilisation, from the influence of the early travellers’ tales to that of the later Orientalists and the subsequent impact of the Vegetarian Society upon the young Gandhi. Several chapters are devoted to the Indian theme, especially chapter 4, “Pythagoras and the Sages of India” (Pythagoras’s speech in *Metamorphoses* generated many theories about whether he had visited India and learnt about vegetarianism and metempsychosis from the Brahmins, or whether they had learnt it from him), and chapters 19 and 20, “Diet and Diplomacy: Eating Beef in the Land of the Holy Cow” and “John Zephaniah Holwell: Voltaire’s Hindu Prophet”. Primarily, the Indian vegetarians—here the focus is mainly on the Hindu Brahmins—served as an example to be drawn on to support the many theories, be they moral, medical or ecological, that developed in relation to abstention from meat-eating and the adoption of a vegetable diet.

It is not clear, however, who the intended audience for the book is, and it is here that my reservations lie. Although the author presents a vast amount of information, the extensive notes do not indicate that he is covering new scholarly ground (apart from the occasional correction of an interpretation or fact). Indeed, he himself implies that the book is aimed at the general reader:

When studying the ideas that people formulated hundreds of years ago, it is important to understand them on their own terms, irrespective of whether they are “right” or “wrong” according to present-day understanding, because to do so allows them to provide insight into assumptions that still prevail in modern society—of which, in their nature, we are commonly unaware. The remarkable and long under-appreciated lives of early vegetarians are inroads into uncharted areas of history; they simultaneously shed light on why you think about nature the way you do, why you are told to eat fresh vegetables and avoid too much meat, and how Indian philosophy has crucially shaped those thoughts over the past 400 years. (xxvi)

It seems unlikely, though, that the general reader would have the patience or the interest to follow the labyrinthine twists and turns of the intellectual history that the book presents.

Stuart, a freelance writer with a Cambridge double first in English, describes himself as an ecologist and as such he has a point to make, that “all organisms are bound up in a web of mutual dependence; that regardless of the human attribution of ‘rights’ or ‘moral worth’, ecologies must be sustained if we—and any of the other elements of the biosphere—are to avoid severe hardship, or worse” (445). He takes issue with animal liberationists who argue from a moral and thus anthropocentric viewpoint and suggests that “imposing universal

vegetarianism” might not be the “most ecologically sensible” solution to the reduction of animal suffering (445). He concludes, “The equation is simple: if we ate less unsustainably produced meat we would destroy fewer forests, use less water, emit fewer greenhouse gases and conserve the world’s resources for future generations”. We should therefore, “at the very least”, reduce “our consumption of meat” (446). These sentiments, while admirable, undermine the strength of the arguments contained in the preceding 450 or so pages. How can the reader be sure that this attitude has not guided the research so as to achieve the desirable conclusion? And there are certainly points in the text where the connections made do appear to be tenuous. An example can be found on page 171, where a link is made between the theories of Dr. George Cheyne and modern dietary attitudes. It seems to be drawing a long bow to suggest, without any apparent evidence, that Cheyne’s beliefs about meat and alcohol clogging the body’s “hydraulic system” can be seen as somehow foreshadowing theories relating to how meat and alcohol contribute to the blocking of blood vessels with cholesterol. Further, the work’s aforementioned emphases tend to belie the statement that “Indian philosophy has crucially shaped” thinking about meat-eating and vegetarianism. The book itself seems to be suggesting that there were many other forces at play that could well have been as, if not more, influential.

These reservations aside, *The Bloodless Revolution* contains a huge amount of fascinating information. The author has a deft touch and the book contains many amusing anecdotes about the numerous eccentrics (if not lunatics), as well as the great philosophers, who contributed to the development of vegetarian thought. It is nicely produced, with few errors apart from a couple of stray footnotes (436, 439) and, although I hesitate to recommend its scholarship, it still has much to commend it.

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Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776*. Cambridge and New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006. xxvi + 337 pp. ISBN: 0-521-86594-8 (hbk.). £35.00; \$50.00.

The multidirectional interactions generated by European expansion during the fifteenth century represent a critical facet of Atlantic history. Yet, despite this core belief, most Atlantic history focuses only on the areas colonised by Europeans. Therefore, while the Atlantic methodology has revolutionised the way we view the relationships forged in places like Africa, North America, South America, and the Caribbean, there exists precious little work on the experiences and legacies of those individuals who crossed the Atlantic conduit in the opposite direction. Alden Vaughan’s *Transatlantic Encounters* represents a welcome, if somewhat under-developed attempt to correct this omission.

In order to address the issue in as manageable and cogent a fashion as possible, Vaughan focuses his analysis on those Native Americans (about whom we have evidence) who crossed the Atlantic Ocean to visit Britain between 1500 and 1776. Separate chapters outline the experiences of American Indian delegations (both forced and willing) to Britain including the Baffin Islanders brought to England by Martin Frobisher in 1576, the group headed by Pocahontas (arguably the most famous of such transatlantic sojourners), as well as the military and diplomatic missions of the eighteenth century.

Vaughan argues against stereotypical portrayals that present Indians who crossed the Atlantic as “shamelessly exploited—kidnapped, shown as freaks, and struck down by foreign diseases—with no lasting benefit to human society on either side of the Atlantic” (xiv). Instead he proposes to demonstrate the ways in which these individuals exerted tremendous agency in the development of a multiethnic Atlantic world. For attempting to illuminate the crucial roles played not only by Native Americans on the western side of the Atlantic, but also those who took their efforts to the very seat of British power, Vaughan deserves much praise.

At times however, the execution of this thesis falls short of the mark. Vaughan often leaves the analysis of a particular transatlantic encounter before exhausting all avenues for fully developing the native experience of it. For example, the chapter dealing with the various delegations of Creeks and Cherokees from the South which visited England during the first half of the eighteenth century often presents these groups in very simplistic and static terms. At one point, Vaughan foregoes any discussion of the community-specific reasons that each southern Indian group might have had for ending this period of transatlantic encounters in favour of the very Eurocentric and one-dimensional explanation that they were simply reacting to increased imperial warfare. Similarly, Vaughan characterises a 1730 treaty sealed by ritualistic gift-giving as imparting little of value for the Cherokees signatories. Such a statement reflects an ignorance of the tremendous weight such ritualistic trade and promises carried in native societies. Later in the same chapter, Vaughan describes the exchange of gifts that sealed the 1730 treaty as a simple economic exchange saying, "only in the exchange of gifts did the Cherokees come out ahead". He follows this statement by conducting a kind of balance sheet analysis of "wholly symbolic" Indian gifts versus the guns, ammunition and other supplies given the Cherokee delegation by the Board of Trade. Certainly "eagle feathers and human scalps" failed to amount to the same monetary value as finished European goods (146-47). However, if the stated goal of the project is to truly elucidate the ways that each culture contributed to the creation of an Atlantic world, then one would think that the author would take into account the spiritual and cultural value of the goods contributed by the Cherokee delegation. All of these shortcomings, as well as some others, could have been eliminated by consulting the most recent ethnographic scholarship on the various native groups in question. Similarly, Vaughan is willing to take John Smith's account of his "rescue" by Pocahontas at face value. However, to do so reflects a lack of engagement with both the considerable scholarship regarding Smith's literary inventions as well as the many anthropological and ethnohistorical studies which have placed Smith's "captivity" within the proper Algonquian cultural context. Vaughan's reason for this is that he simply cannot believe Smith would have lied to Queen Anne about the matter.

Despite these faults, *Transatlantic Encounters* deserves a place on both the shelf and the syllabi of every Atlantic scholar. In addition to its unique and trailblazing subject matter, this book deserves praise for two additional strengths. Vaughan demonstrates both sides' inability to completely understand the other beautifully. In nearly every one of the cases he examines, the failure of both Indians and Englishmen to fully comprehend the designs of the other shines through. One is left with the very real sense that at the conclusion of these engagements both sides came away truly believing that they had achieved their goals at the expense of the other. Instead of relating to one another, they often talked past one another. Herein lay the origins of much of the tragedy of the colonial encounter.

Vaughan also illuminates many instances in which Native American delegations participated in demonstrations of archery, dances and even adopted certain modes of dress to meet the expectations of early modern London. While Vaughan draws no overall conclusions from these instances, his presentation of them alongside his discussion of the complex goals pursued by the Indians evokes the kind of savvy native engagement with modernity at the centre of much of Philip Deloria's recent work. This is just one of the many possibilities for further research suggested by this study. In short, while *Transatlantic Encounters* is not perfect, it represents an excellent beginning to a very promising line of inquiry that seeks to examine the flow of ideas, people, power and culture across the Atlantic in both directions.

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Jan Luiten van Zanden, Joost Jonker, Stephen Howarth, and Keetie Sluyterman, *A History of Royal Dutch Shell*. Oxford: Oxford University Press with Boom Uitgeverij (Amsterdam), 2007. 4 vols. 1800 pp. ISBN: 978-0-19-929878-5 (hbk.). £125.00; \$250.00; €145.00.

This multi-volume history of Shell was commissioned by the company itself. The four authors are associated with the Research Institute for Culture and History of Utrecht University in the Netherlands. The project was monitored by an editorial committee, consisting of two Shell representatives and two academic members. Shell gave the researchers unrestricted access to its archives—archives that so far have been opened to outside researchers only to a very limited degree. The three main volumes address Shell's history in chronological order, covering the periods 1890-1939, 1939-73, and 1973-2007 respectively. Five main themes are identified in the book: the extent and development of Shell's business operations, its internal organisation, competition and performance, innovation, and the role of politics. A Dutch version of the book was published by Boom Publishers in 2007.

The history of the Anglo-Dutch oil company begins with the birth of its main Dutch predecessor firm (known as "Royal Dutch") in 1890. The main British predecessor firm (originally named "the Tank Syndicate") was established three years later. In 1907, the two organisations merged their assets and became the parent firms of the newly established enterprise, Royal Dutch obtaining sixty per cent of its shares and its British counterpart the remaining 40 per cent. This system of dual nationality continued to exist until 2005, when a new corporate structure was devised and Shell became a fully British entity. Major elements in the history of Shell relate to European expansion history. The two predecessor firms were established with the aim of operating in the formal and informal European empires in Asia. In the early twentieth century Shell rapidly developed into one of the largest direct investors in many parts of the non-Western world, in Asia and elsewhere. After the 1907 merger, because of its dual nationality, Shell obtained political support from both the Dutch and British governments. As such it was able to develop extensive operations in Dutch and British colonies, and in countries where British political influence was strong, such as China, Mexico, and Venezuela. The company benefited from its association with imperial power to obtain oil concessions, protection from foreign competitors, and access to markets. However, from the 1920s onwards Shell increasingly faced difficulties, precisely because of its association with European imperialism. As the influence of the European colonial powers waned, Shell's position in many countries changed from a privileged to a suspect enterprise.

The impact of imperialism and decolonisation on the history of Shell is discussed in the book as a part of one of its five main themes, the role of politics. This is the chief reason why *A History of Royal Dutch Shell* bears relevance for European expansion history. However, the book pays less attention to an important topic that is of great interest to expansion historians and possibly also to many other readers. The narrative focuses on how external developments affected the company and how Shell adapted itself to new situations, but it gives less attention to the question of what the company itself did to influence its environment. Corporate influence on the *political* environment is an especially interesting topic in the case of Shell because the company is often regarded as one of the most powerful multinationals of the twentieth century. The process most relevant to the field of European expansion history is the transition that took place in the non-Western world from the 1920s until the 1970s as countries moved from colonial rule and informal empire to formal and de facto independence.

From the 1910s, Shell had operations in most parts of the world and in many countries it was one of the largest direct investors. The company had access to five main sources of political power: control of strategic oil supplies or distribution networks, financial resources, cutting edge technology, support from the British government (relevant both in the British empire and in many other places), and close collaboration with other major Western oil firms.

All of these elements are mentioned in the book, but their relevance for relations between Shell and local governments are given little significance. For instance, the book concludes that even when it collaborated with the largest United States oil company to try to impose a boycott, “Shell’s power to force issues [with local governments] was closely circumscribed” (3.460) because there were always other oil companies which did not cooperate with Shell and which were willing to take its place. This cannot be taken to mean that Shell did not have a good bargaining position. Shell and the other major oil firms usually could offer benefits (tax advances, specific technologies, larger investments, more secure or greater supplies or purchases of oil, and so on) that could not be matched by smaller independent firms or by rivals from non-Western countries. In many instances Shell and its American counterparts collaborated not only at the local level, but they also coordinated their efforts to enlist political backing from the British and U.S. governments, respectively.

The book does provide some information on how company managers attempted to shape their organisation’s political environment. It notes that in many countries Shell reacted to emerging nationalism by attempting to create a favourable political environment for itself. It did this by sometimes giving in on disputed issues to nationalist movements and governments, and by making new local investments that could not be justified on purely commercial grounds. Interestingly, the book also mentions one instance where Shell worked with a colonial power to resist the rise of nationalism. In Indonesia there was a certain “involvement [by Shell] with the strenuous Dutch efforts to retain power through military force in 1947 and 1948” (2.226). Unfortunately, no information on the nature of this involvement in the Indonesian war of independence is given. The company’s attitude in Indonesia seems at odds with its cooperation with nationalist regimes elsewhere. The authors state that, together with events relating to the USSR in the 1920s, the Indonesian case was an exception and that, on the whole, Shell was accommodating towards national aspirations.

However, the example of China—not included in the book—suggests the possibility that in some countries Shell switched to cooperating with nationalist forces only when it became clear that European colonial power was a lost cause, and that up to that point, Shell actually tried to weaken the nationalist movement. In 1925, Shell and two American oil companies boycotted the part of China where the Chinese Nationalist Party (Guomindang) had its power base. One of Shell’s British managers also lobbied the British government to pressure Chinese nationalists by undertaking a military intervention. Although the immediate issue at stake was a tax dispute, it seems plausible that the oil companies hoped to weaken the Guomindang’s overall position in China. But when Shell sensed that British imperial power was no longer sufficient to protect its local interests, it changed its strategy and regarded the Chinese nationalists much more favourably. In 1929 the oil company gave financial support—through a tax agreement—to the Guomindang, which now controlled the Chinese government. Later, during the 1930s, Shell showed a willingness to cooperate with the Japanese military when it occupied parts of China. A systematic attempt to bring together this kind of data on the various countries where Shell was active remains to be made. There are reasons to think that the political power of Shell was more important than suggested by the limited attention this theme receives in this book. And it was not only Indonesia and the USSR where Shell took a disapproving and interfering attitude towards emerging anti-Western forces. Possibly the leading principle for Shell was to side with the dominant political force, regardless of whether this was foreign or domestic.

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LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Rosanne Marion Adderley, *"New Negroes from Africa": Slave Trade Abolition and Free African Settlement in the Nineteenth-Century Caribbean*. Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007. xvi + 340 pp. ISBN: 978-0-253-34703-9 (hbk.); 978-0-253-21827-8 (pbk.). \$65.00 (hbk.); \$24.95 (pbk.).

Britain's effort to abolish the transatlantic slave trade did not end with the passage of the Slave Trade Act in 1807. In the decades that followed, the British government used the diplomatic and military resources of the empire to enforce its will on both slave traders and slave-holding nations throughout the Atlantic world. Britain's war on the slave trade resulted in the liberation of more than 100,000 African captives from some 500 slave ships. Of the 40,000 freed people that eventually disembarked in the British West Indies, 15,000 settled in the Bahamas and Trinidad. In *New Negroes from Africa: Slave Trade Abolition and Free African Settlement in the Nineteenth-Century Caribbean*, Roseanne Marion Adderley explores the fate of the men and women who as a result of the heroic efforts of the British found themselves free migrants in these two American colonies. The story of liberated Africans, though largely ignored by scholars, provides a unique opportunity to explore the process of African realisation in the Americas in the age of slavery and abolition.

Mining an assortment of official British records, missionary reports, and newspaper and travel accounts, Adderley makes an important contribution to the study of the African diaspora. Writing what amounts to two separate community studies in a cis-Atlantic framework, she notes the distinct experiences of liberated Africans in the two colonies. Those who arrived in the Bahamas came at the invitation of economic and political leaders in order to supplement the local population's contribution to the local subsistence economy. In contrast, those who arrived in Trinidad were expected to take the place of former slaves on one of the colony's vast plantations, which provided sugar for an expanding and lucrative global market. Regardless of these and other differences in the experience of liberated Africans in the Bahamas and Trinidad, immigrants in both colonies experienced many of the same things. Adderley's central thesis zeroes in on one of those common to both groups: "my study posits that a collective identity did exist for liberated Africans and their descendants and that the evolution over time of this community identity and its effects on population can be traced" (12).

Upon liberation from slave ships, freed Africans faced numerous options. While some chose to relocate to Sierra Leone or entered the military, 15,000 signed on as apprentices or indentures in the West Indies. White colonists' reactions to the new arrivals varied. In the Bahamas, many resisted the immigrant experiment, fearful of what effect free Africans would have on the enslaved population. These fears quickly subsided, however, after the abolition of slavery in 1834. In Trinidad, by contrast, white landowners exhibited an almost insatiable demand for liberated Africans. After the abolition of slavery, this demand led to aggressive and at times unseemly recruitment practices. There is consequently good reason to presume that the lot of liberated Africans who settled in Trinidad differed little from that of slaves. Adderley disapproves of such suspicions. For white employers in the British West Indies, the mistreatment of African workers at a time when the British government committed tremendous resources to their unique transatlantic experiment did not go unnoticed. Indeed, British officials' policing of the labour practices of employers of liberated Africans bordered on the paranoid. Though Britain's efforts to stamp out the slave trade and assist those Africans they liberated arguably served the interests of the empire, Adderley underscores the genuine humanitarian impulse that buttressed the anti-slavery movement. As an example, she offers the important role that abolitionists played in both developing and executing the ambitious plan to settle liberated Africans throughout the empire.

Adderley's discussion of assimilation and identity formation considers ethnicity, gender,

and religion. Joining the growing academic conversation on African ethnicity in the Americas, she notes the extent to which African ethnicities survived the middle passage. In the British West Indies, liberated Africans earned a remarkable degree of bureaucratic attention. Consequently, extant registers reveal the names, ages, heights, ethnicities, and physical features of Africans freed by the British. Native languages, tribal scars, and religious practices distinguished free African immigrants from both the creole black population they encountered as well as each other. Naming practices likewise survived the middle passage; though, as Adderley maintains, the adoption of names like Robert African and John Congo reveals both a resilient connection to Africa as well as an acknowledgment of European labels and distinctions. The experience of liberated Africans compared with those of creole Africans is best illuminated in Adderley's discussion of gender, family, and household. In Trinidad, white officials and employers launched a quasi-experiment in social engineering in an effort to maintain a gender balance among liberated Africans. The demand for an equitable male-to-female ratio emboldened women, giving them choice over such important decisions as employment and marriage partner. The authority enjoyed by liberated African women is epitomised in a near mutiny among the British armed forces in the Bahamas in 1816, when African men responding to their wives' demands threatened to burn the town of Nassau. The religious practices of liberated Africans depended largely on location. Those in the Bahamas often embraced evangelical Christianity, while those in Trinidad adopted the more traditional African religious practices of *orisha* and *obeah*. Either way, Adderley points out, the transformation of African religion in the Bahamas in particular and throughout the Americas in general should not be read as a loss of Africanness; rather, the transformation of Christianity in the Americas as a result of African influence is best understood as an amplification of traditional West African religious practices.

Adderley closes with an exploration of the unbreakable bond between liberated Africans and Africa, pointing out that the men and women who settled in the Bahamas and Trinidad, like other immigrant groups throughout history, felt a powerful sense of loss and nostalgia for their former homes and countries. Still, they embraced a Pan-African identity that transcended geographic boundaries as well as divisions of class and status. Liberated Africans who repatriated to Africa are evidence of the firm grip that the continent had on the consciousness of African people and their descendants throughout the diaspora. Adderley concludes, "the experience of these two groups of immigrants in both colonies suggests that creolization should not be viewed as a progression from Africanness to African-Americanness but rather that diasporic Africans and their descendants simultaneously and over long periods of time could and did negotiate a dialectical experience of simultaneously remaining African and becoming African-American" (236).

As this sentence demonstrates, this book is not for everyone. The often dense, circular analysis and thick prose will undoubtedly frustrate students and the general reader. Still, this is an unimpeachably researched book that deserves a place on the shelves of specialists working in the rapidly expanding field of African diaspora studies.

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Lolita Gutiérrez Brockington, *Blacks, Indians and Spaniards in the Eastern Andes: Reclaiming the Forgotten in Colonial Mizque, 1550-1782*. London and Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2007. xvi + 342 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8032-1349-4 (hbk.). \$45.00.

In this book, as the subtitle indicates, Lolita Gutiérrez Brockington's project is "reclaiming the forgotten". The phrase has several senses here. The eastern Andean valleys are the least known of the three regions of the Andes, after the coast and the sierra. (The late French anthropologist Thierry Saignes called his study of the region *Historia de un olvido*, "story of

a forgetting”, and Brockington acknowledges that book as an inspiration for her own.) Moreover, of Spanish America’s three founding peoples—Amerindians, Europeans, and Africans—scholars have paid far more attention to the first two, an imbalance which is even more pronounced in the historiography of the Andes (including Saignes’ work). Finally, very few historians have studied places where and times when all three groups, and their mixed-race descendents, interacted and struggled within a single place, as Brockington does in this rich but frustratingly undersynthesised community study.

Her community is the valley of Mizque, located near Cochabamba in what is today central Bolivia, at 2,000 meters above sea level, part-way down the long slope from the Andean altiplano to the Amazon basin. Lying on the margins of the territory of the Inka Empire, Mizque did not come into its own until the colonial era. A quintessentially colonial community, it was one of the most racially diverse places in the Andes, with intermingled Indian, black, Spanish, and mixed-descent populations. The valley’s name comes from the Quechua word for “honey” and “sweet”, and its fertile soil and temperate climate have sometimes made life sweet for its inhabitants. But these advantages, by creating a propitious environment for commercial agriculture, also meant that many colonial Mizqueños were slaves. For them, the valley’s attractions, like the sweet grapes some of them picked and trampled for wine, were tinged with bitterness.

Within the eastern Andes, itself little known, Mizque has been doubly forgotten. It was an important regional centre in mid-colonial times. But in the eighteenth century malaria became endemic there and largely depopulated the valley. (The geographer Daniel Gade reconstructed the story in a classic article, reprinted in his *Nature and Culture in the Andes* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2000).) Mizque remains thinly inhabited to this day. As a result, although Bolivia has a strong regional historiography, Mizque is barely visible in it. But Bolivian archives, especially the national archive of Sucre and the rich, under-exploited regional archive of Cochabamba, have large holdings of documents for early Mizque, both judicial and notarial, which are virtually unstudied. In this book, Brockington makes full use of that material.

The book begins by setting the scene and then proceeds thematically. (The years given in the subtitle are somewhat misleading, since the majority of the book deals with the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.) The first chapter tells the early history of Spanish colonisation in this region, where parallel paths of exploration from the Pacific and the Río de la Plata met. It provides extensive information about the first Spanish families to settle in the area, people who bore resonant conquistador names such as Paniagua de Loayza and Cazorla Narvaez. The second chapter addresses the early political history of the Spanish villa of Mizque, in a degree of detail that readers will find either rich or excessive: there is, for instance, a full examination of the political, administrative, and engineering aspects of building a bridge across a local river in 1630. The third and fourth chapters focus on the economy and material culture of Mizque’s commercial haciendas. The fifth and sixth chapters focus, respectively, on Afro-Mizqueños and on indigenous people. (Interestingly, the emphasis in chapter 6 is less on the *repartimiento* Indians of Mizque than on the non-Christianised Indians living near the valley but outside the Spanish sphere.) The last chapter offers a series of vignettes of Mizqueño life, with fascinating pen-portraits of rich *hacendados*, labourers, concubines, and gamblers.

The book’s strength is its archival base: a dense tissue of reconstructed lives, enterprises, and conflicts. Its weakness is its lack of argument or synthesis. The chapters often seem haphazardly organised, without a chain of argumentation to carry the reader through. A typical section begins, “Turning to another source of slave-related data...” (158). Although the author’s previous book was a study of hacienda agriculture in colonial Mexico, she offers no comparisons between haciendas in the eastern Andes and those in Mexico. And her discussions of blacks’, Indians’, and Spaniards’ lives seldom place the subject in a theoretical, comparative or historical framework. She cites very little recent scholarship. The book is primari-

ly a report of intensive, painstaking archival research, organised thematically but still largely undigested.

The chapter on Africans and their descendents, perhaps the heart of the book, is a partial exception to this criticism. The author compares her findings with those of earlier scholars such as James Lockhart, Fredrick Bowser, Colin Palmer, Nicholas Cushner, and Alberto Crespo (but not with any scholarship published since the early 1980s). She argues that the existing demographic sources undercount black people. (The argument, though likely correct, is not rigorously formulated: in making the claim she uses the phrase “I am convinced” three times in eleven pages. This sloppiness, in both logic and writing, betrays careless editing.) And she argues, convincingly, that black and Indian societies interpenetrated one another far more than scholars have recognised—a fascinating argument which deserves more elaboration than it receives.

But in spite of this book’s weaknesses, it does, in fact, reclaim the forgotten. It draws together an extremely impressive body of archival research to document the history of one valley in the eastern Andes as a microcosm of Latin America: a mixed society of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans, interacting in work, in love, in trade, and in violence. That is a significant accomplishment.

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Hal Langfur, *The Forbidden Lands: Colonial Identity, Frontier Violence, and the Persistence of Brazil’s Eastern Indians, 1750-1830*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006. xx + 408 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8047-5180-3 (hbk.). \$65.00.

The Brazilian gold rush commencing after 1690 is usually credited with opening up Brazil’s interior for the first time since the beginning of Portugal’s American colony. The newly created mining district of Minas Gerais did indeed create an Afro-European territory in the heart of the continent, but what a peculiar territory it was! The Portuguese crown, faced with the nightmare of fiscal control over a large and decentralised zone of mineral extraction, by decree turned Minas Gerais into an inland island, tethered to the coast—and the Atlantic economy—by three main roads leading to Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Salvador da Bahia. In this project it symbolically enlisted Brazil’s eastern Indians, still thriving as independent tribes in a vast swath of mountains and forest between the coast and the captaincy, from southern Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. This region, the Eastern Sertão, functioned as a new colonial frontier, preventing the establishment of smuggling routes eastward from Minas Gerais to the Atlantic coast. In its project of closing this region to colonial settlement, the crown found new utility in various groups of semi-nomadic and hostile Botocudo, Coroado, Puri, Kamakã, Pataxó, and Panhame, among others. For the first half of the eighteenth century this frontier served its purpose, and both settlement and smuggling through the Eastern Sertão were restrained. Crown policy, at least until 1808, confirmed the region as a no-go zone for non-native people; but in practice, with the decline of the mining economy around 1750, the Eastern Sertão became a major zone of interaction and contestation between independent tribes and Portuguese colonial society.

This is the story that Hal Langfur tells compellingly in *The Forbidden Lands*. The subject has been all but ignored in the existing historiography, but in Langfur’s account the ongoing conflict between indigenous groups and Afro-European society in Brazil becomes one of the central historical events in late-colonial Brazil. As he writes: “frontier conflict constituted a defining feature not only of Brazil’s transition from colony to independent nation but also of its relationship to a wider world” (3). Langfur has applied himself comprehensively to his project. Along with the usual national archives in Brazil and Portugal, he has followed the wave of recent Brazilian historians to regional archives, in this case to those in eastern Minas Gerais state, where he has attempted to uncover the networks of richer and poorer settlers and their interactions—usually violent—with native semi-nomadic groups.

In the first part of the book, titled “Colonization”, Langfur devotes four chapters to both the conceptualisation in maps and contemporary description, and the actual settlement of the eastern frontier of Minas Gerais. As he shows, the latter process took place in implicit contravention of imperial policy. Nevertheless, it was abetted by local and regional administrators, who proved highly selective in their interpretation of dictates coming from Lisbon. Part of the impetus for eastward expansion was the declining fortune in the mining centres as well as hope for new strikes in the eastern mountains. Some settlement represented the spontaneous movement of marginalised colonial groups, including slaves, ex-slaves and poor farmers of various ethnicities. However, colonial administrators tried to impose order on this process, forcibly enlisting groups at the bottom of the colonial hierarchy—especially free people of colour and poor unattached males in general—to extend colonial society at the fringes. Their aim was both to create a buffer zone between the mining centres and areas of indigenous control, and also to bring under control settlers who had escaped the authority of church and state. When early settlements became stable—and they often did not—they were often susceptible to land grabs by richer members of colonial society who manipulated the system of imperial land grants (*sesmarias*) to establish larger, slave-run provisioning farms.

The penetration of Minas society into the Eastern Sertão called forth a response from indigenous groups, which is the subject of the second part of the book, “Confrontation”. Here Langfur shows in four chapters that this response was not monolithic. The independent “nations” of the Eastern Sertão were not unified by language or custom and were in frequent competition among themselves for limited resources. Some groups or individuals adjusted to colonial society and even submitted to settlement in missions or villages (*aldeias*) run by either missionary orders or secular authorities. Others perceived benefits in trade with colonists and participated to some degree in their economic schemes. However, the most common indigenous response to colonial expansion in the period from 1750 to 1830 was resistance and violence. Langfur shows skill and subtlety in discerning cultural meaning from acts of violence. Groups such as the Botocudo and the Puri were able to retain independence and inhibit or even turn back colonial encroachment because of their sophisticated understanding of the specific structures of Portuguese colonial society. They employed violence as terror and selectively destroyed the means of agrarian production—including slaves and farm implements—to handicap new settlements. They also tended to avoid direct confrontation with retaliatory bands of colonists, probably deviating from their usual methods of warfare to fight highly effective guerrilla-style campaigns in the forests. While the odds were stacked against them in the long-term, they successfully held back Afro-European expansion for decades, even after the Portuguese crown abandoned its policy of non-settlement in the Eastern Sertão and declared war on its inhabitants in 1808.

Unfortunately, the indigenous side of the conflict still remains maddeningly elusive in this account. This may result from inadequacies in the archival record that may not be easily overcome, if at all. The breadth of Langfur’s archival work is heroic, and he makes good use of a wide range of sources including parish records, probate inventories and the like. However, his story continues to rest heavily on records left by imperial officials, as well as accounts by richer settlers and travellers. The voices of colonists from marginalised groups remain faint, and in the case of indigenous groups, they are largely mute. I am not sure if traditional archive-based historical research will turn up more evidence in this regard, but I still found myself wondering about the composition and organisation of various indigenous societies in the Eastern Sertão and their specific cultural practices.

Langfur’s analysis will likely convince readers of the necessity of restoring frontier violence to a central place in the story of Brazil’s transition to independence. He also does a good job, especially in the introduction and conclusion, of situating his account in the larger literature of frontier studies in an Atlantic context. His careful reading of cultural meaning in frontier violence will be useful to historians in other contexts. The work has much to recommend it

to historians or graduate students in a Latin American or Atlantic subfield, although it may be a bit too long and specialised to recommend as an assigned reading for undergraduates. Finally, does Langfur also prove his claim that the contested frontier is a defining feature of Brazil's relationship to the wider world? Perhaps, but to this reader his account mostly confirms and deepens an appreciation of the intense ethnic, cultural, historical and regional disparities that have characterised the development of Brazil up to the present day.

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Sabine MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time: Rome, the Incas, Spain, and Peru*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006. xx + 320 pp. ISBN: 978-0-691-12674-6 (hbk.). £19.95; \$35.00.

Every once in a while the publication of a new book provides an opportunity for a reviewer to offer a confession, which, if it doesn't rise to the level of a *mea maxima culpa*, still suggests some clear feeling of guilt or responsibility. *On the Wings of Time* is just such a book for me. So I might as well come clean right away and admit that, over the years, I have grown into an unabashed and enthusiastic admirer of Sabine MacCormack's scholarship. Quite simply, her publications never fail to display the highest standards in the field.

Her work tends to follow a pattern. She starts off by catching the reader's eye with an intrinsically original idea and goes on to develop her arguments with a sophisticated take on difficult source material, before finally driving home her key conclusions in an engaging and thoroughly convincing way. All the while she conveys a genuine joy in new research, new composition, and new findings, and leaves the reader with a refreshing feeling of time well spent. I have long encouraged my graduate students to regard her *Religion in the Andes* (Princeton, 1991) as a model of how the early history of colonial Latin America ought to be written. Now I can happily report the appearance of yet another fine work that they might want to read.

On the Wings of Time identifies one particularly intriguing and malleable expanse of time and space—Andean Peru in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—and describes how European interpretations of Roman literature helped guide the construction of a new society. Rome, MacCormack argues, offered a lens for the Spaniards to better understand the Indians of the newly-discovered land, and, for that matter, the strange flora and fauna they encountered in this dramatic, mountainous environment. Pizarro and the other conquistadores had never previously beheld such a plethora of marvels, and even before they overwhelmed the empire of Atahualpa, they also needed to conquer their own presuppositions in order to understand what was happening. The easiest and most comfortable tool available to them in this respect was the corpus of literature drawn from the ancients, most particularly the Romans. On the surface, it was easy for the Spaniards to presume that, while they had never seen such wonders in the past, surely the classical writers had, and their observations and theories could naturally serve as a guide in interpreting the Andes. Thus, connecting the Roman and Peruvian worlds had a certain inescapable logic for the Spaniards, though the link was perhaps more obvious to observers in the 1500s than it is for us today.

So far, so good. That the heritage of ancient Rome affected the interpretation of New World discoveries and conquests has been recognised for a good many years. MacCormack, however, places a different stress on the phenomenon. Rather than Peru drawing unilaterally from classic propositions on society, statecraft, customs, and religious inclinations, she shows that Peruvian realities also encouraged the reformulation of what it meant to be classical. That is, Peru provided a lens as well. To illustrate the point, she shows how Cieza de León, Garcilaso, and other early commentators defined the pre-Conquest Incan society in political terms not unlike those associated with Rome, whereas the *behetrías* (chiefdoms) of other Indian groups in South America did not merit such an exalted categorisation or status.

The fact that the Incan Empire had had a central authority, a succession of (basically) responsible and legitimate leaders, and an remarkable array of public works simply fed the positive association with Rome. It legitimised the new colonial order as being reflective of two separate strands of social and political virtue. To be sure, not all colonial writers viewed the Incas in so favourable a light, but it is noteworthy that Indian writers themselves (most notably

Guaman Poma) picked up on the analogy and attempted to use it to their advantage. Perhaps the most outstanding contribution in this new study involves the issue of language. MacCormack notes that the ubiquity of the Quechua tongue led the Spanish missionaries to think of the Inca Empire as a divinely-ordained *praeparatio evangelia*, a preparation for evangelisation, that they could naturally build upon—just as the universality of Latin had helped spread the Christian message in the Old World. And there was a secular dimension as well. MacCormack refers to the Spanish humanist Antonio Nebrija, whose fifteenth-century writings on grammar asserted that “language is the companion of empire”. This idea found a natural echo in Peru. Colonial officials could openly celebrate the Incan propagation of Quechua because it helped their own efforts to govern and legitimately exploit a large and diverse territory.

For the record, MacCormack makes no specific mention of Clara Miccinelli’s “Naples Documents”. This is unfortunate because if those very controversial materials turn out to be genuine in any sense of the term, then they potentially have much to reveal on the meaning of language systems (especially *quipus*) and on the character of Indian-white relations in early colonial Peru—which is expressly MacCormack’s area. If they turn out to be forgeries, as most scholars presume, then their appearance in the early 1980s has at least taken us into an exciting cul-de-sac where some serious questions have been asked, if not yet answered. The absence of any reference to the Naples materials does not really amount to a criticism on my part, for MacCormack could make all her very cogent arguments without them. It would have been interesting to know her opinion, however.

To reiterate, this is a first-class study. All students of the early colonial period will want to give it their full attention.

Thomas Whigham, *University of Georgia*

Peter Rivière, ed., *The Guiana Travels of Robert Schomburgk, 1835-1844*. Volume I: *Explorations on Behalf of the Royal Geographic Society 1835-1839*. Hakluyt Society Series III, Volume 16. Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Published by Ashgate for the Hakluyt Society, 2006. xiv + 406 pp. ISBN: 978-0-904180-86-2 (hbk.).

Peter Rivière, ed., *The Guiana Travels of Robert Schomburgk, 1835-1844*. Volume II: *The Boundary Survey 1840-1844*. Hakluyt Society Series III, Volume 17. Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Published by Ashgate for the Hakluyt Society, 2006. xiv + 266 pp. ISBN: 978-0-904180-88-6 (hbk.). \$99.95.

This is the first time that the complete manuscripts of Robert Schomburgk’s travels in the Guianas have been published. Some of the material has never been published before, and a good deal was heavily edited before first being published by the Royal Geographical Society. The volumes are the result of the painstakingly detailed editorial work done by Peter Rivière, a well-known anthropologist who has worked among the Trio Indians in the region. He is also a Schomburgk specialist, and the epilogue to the second volume contains a brief but rare biographical sketch of Schomburgk’s life after his Guiana travels (further invaluable biographical information is contained in the introduction to the first volume). In the second volume there is also a complete bibliography of Schomburgk’s works (most of which are difficult to find nowadays). Appendix 2 in volume 2 contains a list of the vernacular names of plants mentioned in the narratives together with their scientific names (Schomburgk became well-known for his botanical work). It is to be regretted that between them the two volumes have only one map that helps the reader follow Schomburgk’s often convoluted

travels (2.xiv); more maps would have been of great help. The volumes come however with several maps by Schomburgk himself, though these are of little help when trying to trace his footsteps. He was also an accomplished surveyor, besides being a well-known botanist, naturalist and explorer. Though fairly famous in his own time, his name is nowadays far less known than that of his younger brother, Richard, with whom, as Rivière points out, he is often confused. Perhaps one of his most famous accomplishments is the “discovery” of the *Victoria amazonica*, the world’s largest water lily. He named it *Victoria regia*, the name by the Portuguese equivalent of which, *Vitória Régia*, it is still popularly known in Brazil to this day. He requested and received permission from the then young queen Victoria to name the plant after her. In fact, it turned out that the plant had been discovered a couple of years before Schomburgk found it in his travels (1.196, 231).

His only work still in print is *A History of Barbados*.¹ It is also not improbable, as Rivière points out in his biographical epilogue, that Schomburgk is currently better known in the Dominican Republic, where he was British consul between 1848 and 1857, a formative period in that country’s history, than in Britain (2.214). This in spite of having explored on behalf of the Royal Geographical Society in the Guianas, as well as having acted as boundary commissioner for the colonial office in British Guiana. A German, he spent most of his adult life outside of Europe and in the service of Britain—he would eventually be given a knighthood by Queen Victoria. He also was the British Consul for many years in both Santo Domingo and, later, in Bangkok; but, paradoxically, he could never become a British citizen, as was his desire, for all in all he spent only about five years of his life in Britain itself.

Schomburgk was anything but a glamorous, highly controversial figure in the mould, say, of a Stanley in Africa. To call him a dour Lutheran, though unfair, might be somewhat closer to the truth. He was in any case a deeply religious man. In one instance, he fled in disgust as he was confronted by a group of completely naked Indians (1.345, 356). He was a fervent believer that Christianity and civilisation were highly beneficial to the Indians he encountered almost everywhere in his travels (see for instance 1.264-65 and 2.37, 138). His views remind one more than fleetingly of those of his contemporary John Philip, a Scottish missionary in southern Africa. Like Philip, Schomburgk abhorred slavery and colonists’ maltreatment of indigenous peoples, both of which were quite common in the Guianas of his time (see, for instance, 1.137-38). Revealingly, it was his disgust at the maltreatment of Indians that redirected his career from that of a scientist to that of, to use Rivière’s term, an imperialist. Here we come across another important element in Schomburgk’s legacy, namely, the current boundaries of the Republic of Guyana. Just as in southern Africa the colonists’ maltreatment of “Natives” was used as a reason to control territories adjacent to or beyond the colonial borders, in British Guiana too the issue of the colony’s boundaries became intimately connected to extending to indigenous populations British “civilized” protection against the slaving expeditions of Brazilians and the violent attacks of Venezuelans (on the latter, see 2.29).

It was in Brazilian territory that Schomburgk’s aversion to slavery was fully awakened as he watched Indians—including women, children, and old men—being enslaved during the famous *descimentos*, or slave hunting expeditions (1.291-93 and 2.105). As a guest of local authorities in Forte São Joaquim on the Rio Branco, in Brazil, Schomburgk could scarcely prevent Indians from being taken away, often never to be seen again. He however protested to a local authority and managed eventually to have at least some of the Indians he had seen being enslaved set free again. As Rivière rightly points out, the experience of being eyewitness to a *descimento* shifted Schomburgk’s career more towards political concerns than had been the case until then (1.293-94). In hindsight, it ensured that he would eventually end his days embroiled in diplomatic conflict, as British consul in Bangkok, with Siam’s most famous nineteenth-century politician, King Mongkut, a man who, as Rivière stresses, can perhaps rightly be called the creator of modern Thailand (2.215).

To a reader of Schomburgk’s narrative, his deep religiosity and deeply felt abhorrence of

slavery, and the very direct link between these and his work as a boundary commissioner, are quite striking. Schomburgk's legacy, as far as Brazil is concerned, has less to do with his geographical, botanical, and ethnological observations (invaluable as these obviously are), than with the fact that the boundaries he set during his official surveying expedition in British Guiana are basically today's boundaries between Brazil and the Republic of Guyana. In an arbitration carried out by the king of Italy in 1904, the lion's share of the disputed territory between Brazil and Guiana fell to Britain. As Rivière rightly points out, this is felt to have been an unfair ruling to this day, but Brazil never officially protested the king's ruling (see vol. 2, app. 1). In fact, it has gone down in Brazilian history as the only instance in which Brazil's most famous diplomat, Baron Rio Branco, lost an international arbitration related to Brazil's borders; Rio Branco usually ensured that Brazil got the better share of any disputed territory. Moreover, towards the end of the nineteenth century, Britain and the United States almost went to war over the border between British Guiana and Venezuela (2.111, note 2). The matter is however of much more than historical or merely arcane importance in South America: in the second half of 2007 Guyana formally accused the Chávez government in Venezuela of having invaded her territory. The ensuing diplomatic din continues to reverberate as I write this. In fact, Venezuela, having formally rejected in 1962 the so-called Schomburgk line dividing the two countries, officially claims about sixty percent of Guyana's territory as her own, that is, all the land west of the Essequibo River. There are also unresolved territorial disputes between Guyana and Suriname, also linked to Schomburgk's boundary demarcation, related to the fact that he missed (deliberately or not) a river—the Pani or New River—that can be considered either a tributary or else the main upper course of the Corentyne River, the current official boundary between the two republics (2.196). In the latter case, as I learned when I first saw a Surinamese map in Paramaribo in 1998, Suriname would gain a huge portion of land at the expense of Guyana. Not one of the least ironies of the boundary saga initiated by Schomburgk so many years ago is that Brazilian maps invariably show his boundaries, concerning not only Brazil's borders with Guyana, but also the borders between Guyana and Suriname, and between Guyana and Venezuela. No Brazilian map ever shows either Suriname's or Venezuela's claims.

Schomburgk's was at best a life of considerable toil and not inconsiderable suffering, including failing health as he grew old; he would die in Berlin almost immediately on retiring. Many times during his travels in the Guianas he narrowly escaped death by drowning in the region's many rivers; ironically, the famous explorer could not swim (1.131, 160, and 2.132). Starvation also dogged him in the jungle and savannahs (2.201). He was some times too ill and exhausted to travel or work. During almost all of his trips, he was at best under-funded and ill-equipped, when his expeditions were not also under-manned. Official support for his travels was often whimsical, late, inadequate, or simply nonexistent, as when the colonists who controlled the government in Georgetown refused to grant him any money for his boundary survey of the colony (2.3-4). He therefore often resorted to personal resources to undertake his expeditions. Besides, the interior of the country was clearly most of the time controlled by Indians and more than once they managed to foil Schomburgk's plans, as when he first attempted to arrive at the sources of the Corentyne. His companions denied him access to vital information about a route through a series of cataracts he could not otherwise bypass, because they feared that he would try and prevent them from carrying out a slaving expedition against another tribe (1.162-69). He was in any case often entirely dependent on Indians for guides, travel companions, carriers, and, last but not least, as providers of food along the way, either as sellers of local produce or as accomplished hunters and fishermen. If he is a hero, so are several of his Indian associates. It is perhaps a tribute to his character that he often names them and describes their virtues and their invaluable assistance and companionship, as well as his often total dependence on them.

Rivière's accomplished editing of Schomburgk's manuscripts together with his extensive and detailed footnotes and commentary bring to life someone who has been undeservedly

almost forgotten in the very country to which he devoted the greater part of his life and labours, namely, Britain. Intriguingly, not the least of Schomburgk's contributions are his narratives which, though often somewhat dry, show a region whose hallmarks, in spite of many changes, remain more or less the same as when he described it. His descriptions of ruins in the jungle, for instance those of the old capital of Berbice (1.227), remind the reader that the Guianas are a virtual cemetery of attempts at colonisation and failed economic and social projects of various kinds. His narratives therefore also bring to mind the fact the region as a whole remains to this day much as Surinamese sociologist and historian R.A.J. van Lier described it more than half a century ago: a frontier society that is extremely plural, fluid, changing, and more than slightly perplexing to the outsider.²

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Notes

- 1 Originally published as *A History of Barbados comprising a Geographical and Statistical Description of the Island; a Sketch of the Historical Events since the Settlement; and an Account of its Geology and Natural Productions*. London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1848.
- 2 R.A.J. Van Lier. *Frontier Society. A Social Analysis of the History of Surinam*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971 (originally published in Dutch in 1949).

MIDDLE EAST

Dejanirah Couto, Jean Louis Bacqué-Grammont, and Mahmoud Taleghani, *Atlas Historique du Golfe Persique (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)/Historical Atlas of the Persian Gulf (Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)*. Terrarum Orbis: Histoire des Représentations de l'Espace: Textes, Images/History of the Representation of Space in Text and Image 6. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2006. 492 pp. ISBN: 978-2-503-52284-5 (hbk.). €90.00.

After a major academic conference in 2004 organised by the École Pratique des Hautes Études and the University of Tehran, a number of scholars launched a major program to collect and collate the most important early modern European maps of the Persian Gulf. *Historical Atlas of the Persian Gulf (Atlas Historique du Golfe Persique)* is the realisation of these efforts, with colour representation and interpretation of some hundred of the most impressive cartographic depictions from a number of European cartographic traditions—Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, and German. A major outlet for the most substantial oil deposits in the world, and with no less than three major wars being fought in its environs in the last thirty years, the Persian Gulf undoubtedly stands as one of the most contested political and economic spaces in the world. Moreover, ongoing trends in globalisation have seen Gulf states like Bahrain, Qatar, and the U.A.E. emerge as hosts to a wide array of international constituencies: high financiers, shipping magnates, real estate developers, construction firms, public and private administration conglomerates, hotel industries, and so on. This “international” flavour does not necessarily come as a surprise for most historians of pre-modern Asia as the Persian Gulf constituted a regional entrepôt of critical importance from the eleventh and twelfth centuries onwards. With the advent of nautical and navigational technology in the Islamic world and the rise of an assertive Arab maritime mercantile tradition, the Indian Ocean and its extensions linked the regional commerce of East Africa, western India, and eventually the Malaysian Archipelago and the Indonesian Spice Islands. The Persian Gulf was a major component in these trade dynamics with commodities moving up and down the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, as well as caravan trade moving east and west between the Arabian Peninsula and the Persianate world. The arrival of the Portuguese was a profound development as Alfonso de Albuquerque established a permanent fortress on the

island of Hormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf in 1507. Persian Gulf identity was indelibly changed as the Portuguese instituted a rigid control system on all indigenous, local trade. When the English and Dutch arrived in the early seventeenth century and broke the Portuguese hegemonic hold, local trade flourished and the European markets were increasingly dominated by “global” commodities like silk, spices, coffee, porcelain, textiles and other manufactured goods. It is no surprise, then, that early modern European mapmakers and cartographers were keenly interested in representing the spatial parameters of the Persian Gulf. Knowledge, at least cartographic knowledge, is indeed power, and European captains, pilots, and navigators—not to mention the state governments which sponsored them—jealously preserved their charts and maps of this region and others.

This volume stands as a major contribution to the historical geography of the region, and those specialists interested in European expansion into the Islamic world will want to have access to this material. Reflecting the international flavour of the Gulf itself, this is a trilingual publication (English, French, Persian), and the quality of the reproduced maps is nothing short of visually stunning. The editors chose to divide maps along “national” lines, and thus they are grouped accordingly with short expositions on the respective cartographic traditions of the Portuguese, Dutch, French, English, and Germans. Zoltan Beidermann is clearly the major contributor and organiser of this project as four of the chapters are written or co-authored by him, while Patrick Gautier Dalché provides some thoughts in an introductory article on medieval cartographic representation and Elio Brancaforte discusses the German mapmaking tradition. Biedermann and company have done a stupendous job in seeking out the relevant materials, and the hundred plus maps come from a wide array of collections from California to Vienna. The provenance and dimensions of each map are dutifully presented, along with helpful readings of the toponyms which appear in and around the depicted Persian Gulf. For particularly detailed maps, the editors provide representation at various scales, and in some cases—such as Abraham and Jafuda Cresque’s 1375 map of Asia (48-49), the famous 1502 Cantino map stolen from the Portuguese (76-77), the 1563 map of the Indian Ocean by Lázaro Luís (140-41), and some of the anonymous charts produced by the Dutch V.O.C. in the 1640s and 1650s (178-91)—these are breathtaking in their stylistic use of inks, colours, marginalia, and assorted calligraphies; later maps include marginal portraits of Asian “peoples” and miniature vistas of prominent Iranian cities. It is clear that early maps (especially those produced by the Portuguese) were initially operating with a Ptolemaic model (*Sinus Persicus*), but the authors note how “lineages” of maps developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries whereby European mapmakers would perpetuate certain geographic renderings of the Persian Gulf. Perhaps the most famous of these enduring, yet inaccurate, depictions was the Giacomo Gastaldi map of 1561 (132-33) which was copied and printed by Abraham Ortelius in his influential *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. The work is unflinchingly focused on the Persian Gulf itself, and little is said regarding the depictions of Persia (Iran) themselves; historical geographers and historians will likely be attracted to many of these very interesting maps for understanding how Europeans chose to depict a particular geographical space which was so well represented in classical histories and cosmographies. Indeed, Portuguese map-makers initially relied on exclusively Greek toponyms (inherited primarily from Herodotus) to delineate various Persian provinces, and it is not until the afore-maligned 1561 map by Gastaldi do we see any attempt by cartographers to use indigenous Persian terms. In this way, Persis becomes the Province of Farsi (Fars), Susiana becomes the Province of Cusistan (Khuzistan), Carmania becomes the Province of Chirman (Kerman), and so on. In many ways, these maps reflect an epistemological tension as to how to properly identify and classify “Persian” space between those mapmakers who were intent on “accurate” toponyms in transliterated Persian and those cartographers who were exclusively on the classical traditions. In some cases—most notably in 1679 by Cantelli da Vignola and Giacomo di Rossi (258)—we find attempts to provide both sets of toponyms, while we also see antiquarian interests intersecting with cartography with a very interesting historical

map of the Achaemenid kingdom (274) produced by Guillaume Delisle in 1705. *Historical Atlas of the Persian Gulf* will undoubtedly emerge as a major resource tool for historians and historical geographers, and this reviewer was excited to read in the Introduction that plans are in motion by Iranian scholars to soon produce a companion volume which collects and reproduces maps of the Persian Gulf from the Islamic perspective.

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NORTH AMERICA

Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006. xii + 372 pp. ISBN: 978-0-674-02290-4 (hbk.). \$35.00; £22.95; €32.30.

Ask any American or consumer of American popular culture to describe the “Old West” and images of violence will immediately pop to mind: gunfighters, stagecoach robberies, Little Big Horn, perhaps Wounded Knee. And yet these old-time myths are profoundly ahistorical: they depict violence as an unchanging expression of human savagery, a state of nature that was expurgated by the rise of civilisation (the Anglo state) in the west.

Ned Blackhawk seeks to historicise the subject of western violence in *Violence over the Land*, his profoundly important study of the native peoples of the Great Basin (roughly modern-day Nevada, Colorado, Utah, and New Mexico), from pre-contact through the twentieth century. Blackhawk confronts a double challenge in this ambitious project, battling not only mythologised constructions of western violence but also deeply ahistorical understandings of the Great Basin’s native peoples. According to Blackhawk, who is himself a Western Shoshone, the Utes, Paiutes, and Shoshone who have long lived in the Great Basin are mostly absent from historical narratives of the United States. The non-equestrian Shoshone in particular have been treated by ethnographers and other scholars as definitive savages, a people without civilisation and, therefore, without history. In fact, Blackhawk argues, their post-contact history is recoverable, and has been shaped by “shifting relations of violence” (7).

Violence over the Land proceeds both chronologically and regionally, beginning with a chapter on Spanish-Ute relations to 1750, following with chapters on the history of the New Mexican borderlands, and ending with chapters on the United States’ conquest of the region, and the development of the states of Colorado, Utah, and Nevada. Much of this history will be unfamiliar to readers; little has been written on Great Basin native history, in part because the “documentary references are scattered and confusing” (19). Yet Blackhawk does a convincing job reconstructing the history of the region as a whole, demonstrating for example how equestrian Utes “displaced” the violence of Spanish conquest onto the semi- and non-equestrian peoples beyond the New Mexican borderlands in southern Utah, Nevada, and eastern California. Blackhawk argues that violence interconnected the region’s peoples over four centuries, but that the nature of that violence changed over time.

Initially, the violence took the form of outright war, as Utes and allied Comanches resisted Spanish incursions. However, after 1750, as Utes and New Mexican settlers reached accommodations with each other, violence shifted from warfare to a raiding and slaving economy. Here Blackhawk provides an important corrective to an often-sanitised historiography of “encounter”.¹ As Native American history has shifted from totalising narratives of conquest to more sophisticated understandings of negotiated “middle grounds”, the violence of settler-native negotiations is often white-washed from the accounts. Resistance historiography, as in other fields, can give rise to an overly-optimistic assessment of the possibilities that native people had to control their environments. *Violence over the Land* revises that tendency by describing how Utes used violence to resist Spanish incursions, and by

revealing the cost of that violence to the Utes' northern neighbours including the Paiutes and the Shoshone.

Taking part in a recently developing historiography of the Indian slave trade in North America, Blackhawk argues that Utes survived European colonialism by displacing its violence onto their vulnerable non-equestrian northern neighbours.² In the immediate post-contact era, Spanish commanders such as Governor Luis de Rosas led slaving expeditions against the Utes in the northern New Mexico region. The Spanish aimed to put Indian peoples to work in the mines, in the production of marketable commodities, as well as in the domestic sphere. Soon, Utes resisted their enslavement by becoming slave-traders themselves, abducting non-equestrian natives to the north and west, children and young women in particular, and selling them to New Mexicans, Mexicans, and ultimately, Americans. To increase pressure on buyers, Utes often tortured these captives, thus presenting the purchase of slaves as a means to redeem innocent children and women from painful deaths. While Blackhawk repeatedly stresses how successfully the Utes negotiated the pressures of imperialism, his vision of resistance is not romanticising. "Violence characterised Indian relations before Spanish conquest", he argues, and violence expanded throughout the Great Basin region after conquest (22). The raiding and slaving economy preserved Ute autonomy for over a century and a half of Spanish and later Mexican imperialism, but at an extraordinarily high cost to people even more vulnerable than themselves.

Even so, the Utes' aggressive willingness to accommodate to European imperialism failed to service their needs after the Great Basin became incorporated into the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century. The last third of Blackhawk's history deals with the formation of the western United States, which sought extermination and removal of native peoples from the Great Basin, rather than trading partners. Initially, during the Mexican-American War and the Civil War that followed, Great Basin Indians turned to traditional tactics of violence to preserve their independence. However, these tactics lost their efficacy as thousands of Americans flooded the area to get rich through ranching or mining. The book's final chapter describes the ruthless policy of extermination pursued by the Mormon settlers of Utah in the nineteenth century. As borderlands became bordered lands, in the terminology of Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, Great Basin Indians lost the space to manoeuvre, and were dispossessed of their homelands.³ Blackhawk ends his history with an account of the Utes' and the Shoshones' struggles to secure reservations. While the Utes initially won an enormous settlement in the mountains of western Colorado, they were eventually dispossessed of almost all that land. Meanwhile, the Shoshones, whom American invaders and neighbouring native groups had reduced to a state of extreme poverty, never succeeded in winning reservation lands.

Violence over the Land tells an important story that adds greatly to our understandings of western history and the history of American violence at large. In addition, the book tells an important personal tale, as Ned Blackhawk discloses the tragic history of his own Western Shoshone family in the book's introduction and epilogue. The book is not easy going, especially for readers unfamiliar with the historical context, and it would probably work better among graduate students than undergraduates. Nonetheless, by filling in an important regional gap in the historiography, and de-romanticising overarching narratives of Native American accommodation and resistance, Blackhawk has made a significant contribution to the field that will profit anyone who seeks a better understanding of American history.

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Notes

1 Brian Sandberg, "Beyond Encounters: Religion, Ethnicity, and Violence in the Early Modern Atlantic World, 1492-1700", *Journal of World History* 17:1 (2006): 1-25.

- 2 James F. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); and Alan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).
- 3 Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History", *American Historical Review* 104:3 (1999): 814-40.

François Furstenberg, *In The Name of the Father: Washington's Legacy, Slavery, and the Making of a Nation*. The Penguin History of American Life. New York: Penguin Books, 2006. xii + 340 pp. ISBN: 1-59420-092-0 (hbk.); 978-0-14-311193-1 (pbk.). \$16.00 (pbk.).

In its first decade, the new American republic faced significant challenges on several fronts: geographic tensions, diplomatic distress, and monumental partisan squabbling. But, François Furstenberg argues in his provocative *In the Name of the Father*, the most troubling problem was none of these. The central challenge facing the United States was conceptual, stemming from the first three words of the Constitution. The republic rested on a constitutional cornerstone of popular sovereignty but, Furstenberg wonders, "could a nation be constructed on such a foundation" (12)? Thomas Jefferson, for one, believed it could. Jefferson believed that political legitimacy came from freeing the present from the past. The notion that "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living", as he put it to James Madison in 1789, was indeed a radical one. It was also unstable and unworkable—especially for a slave nation. The more practical Madison responded that instead of seeking consent for all Americans present and future, "a tacit assent may be given [and]...this assent may be inferred where no positive dissent appears". For Furstenberg, this exchange cuts to the core of America: it lays bare the tension between freedom and slavery, the problem of defining "an American people", and the relationship between liberalism and nationalism. The tangible presence of slavery and constant worries over slave insurrections forced white Americans to sacrifice Jefferson's insistence that the "dead have neither power nor rights over" the present and instead endorse Madison's tacit assent. When they did that, Furstenberg contends they impoverished the radical concept of consent—and enslaved themselves.

How was this accomplished? According to Furstenberg, through the deft manipulation of George Washington's legacy. The inherent weakness that lay at the heart of consent meant that American nationalism needed vigorous advertisers. Popular "civic texts", therefore, were essential in helping "to produce a nationalism that promoted consent to the constituted political authorities and a sense of mutual political obligation" (21). Building on the arguments of Benedict Anderson and Ernst Gellner that stress the power of print and education to construct affective national bonds, Furstenberg argues that through reading civic texts—from Washington's Farewell Address and Mason Locke Weems's filiopietistic *Life of Washington*, to schoolbooks like the *Columbian Orator* and *English Reader*—Americans "learned the meaning of citizenship, and future generations learned to subscribe to the values of their fathers" (21).

Washington was the key to this nationalism project. When the so-called "indispensable man" died in 1799, his death became an opportunity to calm fears by projecting certain national values onto the fallen hero. According to Furstenberg, widely reprinted eulogies of Washington depicted him as the patriarch for all Americans, present and future. Highlighting not his leadership but his acts of self-negation (voluntarily resigning from both the Continental Army and the presidency) eulogists presented Washington as the embodiment of consent. But, again, the slavery problem reared its head because the modern Cincinnatus was also a master. Furstenberg argues that the Washington image was deftly manipulated in two divergent directions in the years after his death: some venerated him as an abolitionist,

others as a plantation paternalist. The abolitionist version of Washington focused on the Revolution as a fight against slavery and applauded him for emancipating his slaves on his deathbed. The paternalist interpretation of Washington, on the other hand, portrayed him as a benevolent patriarch surrounded by happy slaves who were hardly coerced into bondage. Both of these images, Furstenberg argues, soothed anxiety over potential insurrections. These representations were so widely accepted, he further contends, that it was possible for both North and South to claim Washington as the father of *their* country in 1861. But, of course, the principal manager of Washington's character and symbolic power in the early republic was itinerant minister and book peddler Mason Locke Weems. An "evangelist of nationalism" (111), Weems domesticated Washington in his spectacularly successful biography *Life of Washington*. Weems transformed the master of Mount Vernon into a "backwoods, up-by-his bootstraps" hero who exuded honesty, piety, and republican virtue, all proper values that every good American should venerate and emulate (143).

Furstenberg includes as civic texts popular school readers such as the *Columbian Orator* and *English Reader*. These primers, he argues, "did more than bind Americans together as a nation...they also sought to remake individuals into morally autonomous subjects" (149). Discussing the Protestant roots of individualism, Furstenberg emphasises how the liberal project of celebrating the self as autonomous collided with America's peculiar problems of consent and slavery. Schoolbooks taught free, white American children how to be "industrious, virtuous, thrifty, and religious" citizens who were autonomous individuals and thereby deserved the burden of popular sovereignty (150). But, here again, slavery complicated this construction. Autonomous slaves? In response, a different set of popular texts written by the Charles Colcock Jones and others taught enslaved black children an ethic of self-control, subordination, and obedience, a campaign that further defused white worries about slave unrest.

This all brings Furstenberg around to his main point: that the hazy concept of consent spurred Americans at the turn of the nineteenth century to embark on a campaign to construct a "political religion that worshipped the Founding Fathers and the Revolution" (224). Washington and his fellow white founders were sacralised for their manly, intrepid efforts: recognising tyranny, fighting it with tenacity, and establishing a new Israel. Two powerful, tragic consequences emerged from this interpretation, according to Furstenberg. First, worshipping the dead fathers betrayed the Declaration's radical principle that the republic "derived [its] just power from the consent of the governed" and instead embraced Madison's darker impulse of tacit assent. Second, many white Americans in the nineteenth century began to believe that, because they did not exhibit these increasingly hallowed values of autonomy, resistance, and virtue, African Americans *deserved* slavery.

In the Name of the Father offers a powerful interpretation. The strength of Furstenberg's meditation is its weaving together several disparate strands, including consent, autonomy, freedom, nationalism, identity, and slavery. His juxtaposition of these concepts makes for an exciting essay in intellectual history that demands engagement. It is not without its problems, however, several of them rather significant. First, in his quest for readability and a wider audience Furstenberg sacrifices some precision. Several of his key terms, such as liberalism and autonomy, are never sharply defined. Also, his civic texts seem to enjoy a life and agency all their own, at times without the people that created, read, or made meaning of them.

In tracing the values proffered by civic texts, I was surprised not to read more about Poor Richard. Surely Benjamin Franklin advocated hard work, free will, and republican virtue as America's way to wealth long before Weems and the *English Reader*. Forgetting about Franklin also speaks to the weakness inherent in Furstenberg's framing the story to start with Washington's retirement. If a critical tension existed between Revolutionary consent and American slavery, then why did it suddenly emerge a quarter century after independence? It did not. In its broad strokes, Furstenberg's interpretation is illuminating, but Weems did not create a new mythology of the Revolution out of whole cloth after 1800. The authors of

Furstenberg's civic texts instead amplified an already well-constructed narrative of independence and the role of blacks in the Revolution. Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, and Washington encountered significant slave resistance throughout the Revolutionary War, blamed Britain for stirring up "domestic insurrectionists", and channelled public outrage toward the "common cause" as soon as the shooting started. The Founders themselves were highly involved in the crafting of a mythological narrative about the meaning of independence and who was truly eligible for consent during the Revolution. When Weems cultivated a cult of Washington at the turn of the century, he took that twenty-five-year-old myth to soaring new heights. The authors of civic texts did not erase slaves from "we the people" in the years after Washington's death; Washington himself had never pencilled them in.

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Stephen J. Hornsby and John G. Reid, eds., *New England and the Maritime Provinces: Connections and Comparisons*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007. xii + 412 pp. ISBN: 978-0-7735-2865-9 (hbk.); 978-0-7735-3040-9 (pbk.). \$80.00; £60.00 (hbk.); \$29.95; £18.99 (pbk.).

This volume stems from a conference at Orono, Maine, in April 2000, co-sponsored by the University of Maine's Canadian-American Center and the Grosebrook Research Centre of St. Mary's University in Halifax, Nova Scotia. As the editors note, this work has a number of goals, both as an outgrowth "of a longstanding academic interest...in the particular circumstances of the Maritime-New England area" and as a response "to contemporary changes relating to globalisation and its effects...on international relationships and differentiations" (3). Many of these scholars have been working on issues surrounding the northeastern borderlands of North America for decades; in fact, a number of them contributed to a previous conference on the subject twenty years ago, which also produced a volume—Stephen J. Hornsby, Victor A. Konrad, and James J. Herlan, eds., *The Northeastern Borderlands: Four Centuries of Interaction* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1989) (5).

The editors explain that this volume is not a comprehensive survey of the connections between New England and the Canadian Maritimes. The scholars—twenty-two in all, roughly half from Canadian academic institutions and half from those in the United States—tackle a wide variety of topics in their nineteen chapters. They organise the essays chronologically, from 11,000 years before contact with European voyagers up to the present day, and touch on an equally varied range of topics. Overall, these scholars emphasise the importance of the connections between the region and its peoples (the idea of comparison, though in the subtitle of the book, rarely makes an appearance outside of one essay), seeing the boundaries eventually negotiated by the two nations as porous or minimal in impact.

A number of fine monographic essays focus on social and cultural aspects of the border. David Sanger begins with the archaeology of the Maritime Peninsula, a topic well-situated to highlight the potential arbitrariness and limitations of political borders on historical scholarship. Not surprisingly, he chooses to emphasise a regional approach that highlights the interaction between peoples across the border. Geoffrey Plank analyses New England soldiers encountering the peoples and landscapes of the St. John River Valley during the Seven Years' War, looking particularly at two soldiers' journals as a way to comment on the average soldier's experience. He argues that they understood this region as strange and forbidding, that their experience, dominated by the ocean they travelled to arrive from New England, made them view the land, especially the woods, as desolate and terrifying. Béatrice Craig's interesting essay analyses British and American representations of various French groups, especially the St John River Valley peoples of Madawaska. Though both groups understood the French of the region in numerous ways over the nineteenth century, "Each side, however, shared a common vision: the Madawaska settlers were not some unique blend, but belonged

to their people, and in the case of the Americans, this might mean they had to be remade in the American image" (76). And Scott W. See argues persuasively for a trans-border style of violence in his essay on three violent episodes: the Gavazzi riots of Quebec City and Montreal in 1853; the "Rum Riot" in Portland in 1855; and the Gorlay Shanty riot in Nova Scotia in 1856. Though it is clear that these conflicts were defined and influenced by local issues, they all had similar dynamics and elements, showing themes that transcended borders: nativism, ethnic tensions (especially with Irish migration patterns), and the global contest between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism (125-27).

A number of essayists focus on the economic connections between the regions, hoping to explain the differences between New England and Maritime economic development. Julian Gwyn argues against the idea that New England "externally imposed underdevelopment" on the Maritimes. In fact, Gwyn argues, their relationship between the 1720s and 1860s benefited the Maritime Provinces, as it led to strength in the fishing industry, enabled the province to expand trade connections with the Caribbean, solidified trade connections between the two regions that helped both economies grow, and allowed families and labour to move back and forth, depending on the availability of work and opportunity. Robert H. Babcock continues this economic examination in his essay comparing the growth of Portland, Maine, with that of Saint John, New Brunswick, between 1880 and 1920. Through a comparison of both towns' "heartland-hinterland dynamics", with a focus on metal works as an economic indicator, he sheds light on why the two towns developed so differently despite their apparent similarities. He ultimately concludes that "it may not have been spatial factors, railway freight rates, or tariff policies so much as the different timing and impact of forces generated by the second Industrial Revolution that best explain the remarkably different patterns of economic development these two borderland cities experienced between 1880 and 1920" (200). In another persuasive economic essay, Joshua C. Smith argues that smuggling in the Bay of Fundy during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries "was a regional and traditional response to the centralisation of commercial wealth and power" and, though it was a regional phenomenon, it was part of the larger Atlantic process of "the transition to a market economy" (123).

But the volume also contains a number of synthetic essays that attempt to place the region of New England and the Maritimes within a broader context historically, historiographically, and theoretically. These are some of the more stimulating essays in the volume. Elizabeth Mancke focuses on "spaces of power" in the northeast, a term she borrows from the sociologist Michael Mann and defines as "systems of social power, whether economic, political, cultural, or military, that we can describe functionally and spatially". By understanding this region "in functional and spatial terms, we can identify the shifting balance between different forms of power—for example, economic and political power—or European and native power, that is not always possible to identify from fragmentary manuscript records alone". She hopes this rubric will help "widen out perspectives on the early modern northeast and on European expansion more generally" (34). Reginald C. Stuart and M. Brook Taylor argue for the need for an "epic of greater North America", a term they borrow from borderlands historian Herbert Bolton, as a notion that includes "a series of themes and a periodization that allow us to plot historical parallels and shared themes while still respecting national boundaries, the jurisdictions they enclose and the ways in which the neighbouring societies remain distinct" (280). They hope that this view will also enable them to "synchronize our understandings of twentieth-century developments" (287). They argue for a comparative analytical template which privileges transportation, communication, and the application of technology, all of which, they argue, permitted the convergence of a culture of commodification, consumerism, and mass markets. They would then insert this framework within a new periodisation that distinguishes five eras in the history of the region—from the slow, walkabout world of the late eighteenth century to the electronic age of today. This new periodisation, they argue, would help facilitate a fresh look at topics previously neglected or min-

imised, such as French speakers or blacks in the region. Finally, Graeme Wynn offers a keen summation of the papers and their benefits, but also a comment on what he sees as a troublesome trend: all of the essays, he argues, understand the border as permeable and porous, undermining the power that borders and the nation-state can have, and he insists that scholars need to maintain these terms as viable categories that denote differences between the two countries.

Overall, this work succeeds not only as a focused view of the borderlands of northeastern North America, but as a broader, more historiographical study that indicates the types of questions and scholarship that can come out of any borderlands analysis. It is a welcome and timely addition to a field that has held the interest of only a narrow group of scholars for too long.

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Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project*. London and Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007. x + 380 pp. ISBN: 978-0-674-02474-8 (hbk.). \$29.95; £19.95; €27.70.

The narrative of Jamestown's founding and settlement is a familiar one to historians. The colony very nearly did not survive as disease, hunger, and an inability to maintain friendly relations with the native peoples of the Chesapeake Bay region brought misery and death to the colonial population. Laziness, venality, poor planning, lack of effective governance, and severe demographic problems all contributed to making Jamestown the "slaughterhouse" that Nathaniel Butler so infamously described in 1623. But this is a narrative in need of revision. The quadricentennial of the founding of Jamestown settlement has inspired a wealth of new and exciting scholarship on early colonial Virginia. Much of this work has caused historians to reconsider what they thought they knew about Jamestown. Among these works is Karen Kupperman's *The Jamestown Project*, which seeks to revise the narrative of Jamestown's ill-conceived and disastrous origins. In this task, it succeeds admirably.

Kupperman approaches her project with two related objectives. First, she intends to relocate the planning and execution of the Jamestown settlement in its global context. With this established, Kupperman likewise seeks to prove that Jamestown, as a colonial venture, is far more representative and significant than most scholars realise. Jamestown, she argues, was merely one colonising venture among many for late-Elizabethan and early-Stuart England. Its founding, in 1607, was based upon decades of English experience travelling, thinking about colonisation, and attempting to create other commercial and colonial ventures. Jamestown was highly reflective of English collective experience and wisdom, and it provided the model on which future English colonies would be based.

Nearly two-thirds of Kupperman's book is devoted to her first objective, globalising Jamestown. She offers a meticulous study of English engagement with the world beyond its shores. What emerges is a fascinating narrative of English travellers, captives, and adventurers who, voluntarily or not, gained experience and connections with foreign cultures. Religious, diplomatic, and economic objectives in England combined to create a culture of fascination with the exotic. Kupperman's work makes clear the fact that the sixteenth- and early-seventeenth century English were much more engaged, intellectually and physically, with the rest of the world than previously thought. She offers extensive evidence of these connections. Readers learn, for example, that in the late-sixteenth century England attempted to create an alliance with the Ottoman Empire, and that John Smith travelled extensively, including a stint in Ottoman captivity, before his adventures in Virginia.

The Americas would become a central part of this engagement with the world. Kupperman argues that the English had far greater experience with the Americas than scholars have presumed. Here she builds on new work in Native American history that shows that just as American peoples had extensive experience with Europeans long before the planting of for-

mal colonies, so, too, Europeans had knowledge and experience of the American continent and population. In the sixteenth century the English devoured information about and objects from the Americas. Individuals also bridged the gap between the two worlds. Kupperman's evidence suggests that a long history of shipwreck victims were likely taken in and assimilated into American nations. Likewise American peoples taken captive by Europeans were brought back across the Atlantic. The Americas were not an entirely unknown world in 1607. With this established Kupperman then turns her attention to the founding of Jamestown; her task, to show how the first permanent English colony in the Americas formed the basis for future English colonial activity. In so doing Kupperman does not ignore the terrible deprivations that beset the first generation of Jamestown settlers. Her evidence lucidly illustrates just how miserable life in early Jamestown must have been, and she places firm blame on a lack of effective governance. Kupperman shows how the trials at early Jamestown forced the colonists—and the Virginia Company that funded them—to come to terms with the methods of colonial organisation that worked and those that did not. The Jamestown colonists arrived with detailed instructions from the Virginia Company on where and how to plant a colony, but they were met with misery, not success. It was in this terrible laboratory that the colonists and company learned the lessons that effected a significant transformation which would be essential to Jamestown's survival. The Virginia Company had originally conceived of the colony as a trading-export venture. Investors had presumed that colonists would be able to trade with American peoples by exchanging European manufactured goods for American resources such as furs or minerals. This was precisely what English merchants and adventurers had done in their ventures into Africa, Asia, and the Mediterranean, and that was the experience they brought with them to North America. Kupperman incorporates recently discovered archaeological evidence which shows that the early Jamestown colonists were actively engaged in trying to build just this sort of economy and she notes the remains of artisanal workshops and a port on the waterfront. Colonists and the Virginia Company brought their earlier global experiences to Jamestown. Those earlier global experiences did not work at Jamestown, however, and by the latter 1610s the Company was forced to reconceptualise its project. As a result of their reassessment, they shifted away from a trade-based model and attempted to create a settlement colony that was involved in Christianising Native peoples instead. This was what would ultimately allow for Jamestown's survival.

The English had only one previous experience with settlement colonies, in their ventures into Ireland, and in the misery and deprivation of early Jamestown they learned that Ireland, not Africa or the Mediterranean, would have to be their model. This shift was not immediately successful. The most immediate result of the shift to agriculture and missionary activity was war with Opechancanough and his forces, in the second Anglo-Powhatan War. But Jamestown did survive. Kupperman notes that further archaeological evidence shows that colonists embraced the Virginia Company's calls for diversified agriculture and family formation just as they did earlier efforts at trading manufactures. Most importantly, Kupperman argues, Jamestown taught the English significant lessons about what made colonists, now settlers, successful.

Kupperman offers an important contribution to the history of Atlantic Virginia. She is undeniably successful in her attempt to globalise the founding of Jamestown. She has clearly reshaped the debate over Jamestown's fortunes. Written in an engaging narrative style, the book is suitable for the undergraduate classroom. John Winthrop's study of John Smith's writings on colonisation is often seen as evidence of New England's success and planning, compared to Virginia's disorganisation and failure. But Kupperman encourages us to reconsider this rubric. The terrible laboratory of Jamestown forced the Virginia Company to recognise what did not work, and in the process, understand what did.

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Ann Laura Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*. American Encounters/Global Interactions. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006. xx + 546 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8223-3724-9 (pbk.). \$26.95.

This collection is a wonderfully rich, fascinating, and important group of articles by an impressive group of interdisciplinary scholars, linked loosely around themes from Ann Laura Stoler's provocative 1999 piece, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies". In that essay, reprinted in this volume, Stoler called for United States historians to apply post-colonial thought to a study of the American empire. Her goal, as she explains in the introduction, was twofold: to extend an ongoing scholarly discussion about the relationship of the "intimate" realms (of bedroom, nursery, kitchen, and especially of bodies) to the practices of colonialism and imperialism in a country that rarely acknowledged itself as an empire. Second, she hoped that a close consideration of comparisons between American and European empires—and attention to the historical refusal to make those comparisons—would bring a redefinition of traditional ideas of empire based on a European model (17). If these articles are any indication, Stoler's intervention succeeded, although perhaps not in the ways that she had expected.

All these essays explore the "geographies of intimacy". Although there is no clear consensus on a definition of "intimacy", all show the ways in which the political realm and the realms of bodies and social relations were closely entwined. The diversity of thought on the definitions of intimacy is a real strength of the collection, because it demonstrates the many ways—from sex, to marriage, to cleanliness, and especially to childrearing—that imperial power used supposedly private realms in order to mask its political power. Laura Wexler's stunning interdisciplinary contribution on Kate Chopin and domestic violence is particularly explicit in her interrogations of the "constructions of the intimate" (275), warning her readers that we cannot assume "the content of the fluid category of intimacy" (274).

Linda Colley has recently noted that overland empires rarely are acknowledged as empires, unlike overseas empires. Thus some of the most creative work in this very strong volume struggles to speak to Stoler's second challenge: to redefine empire. In a brilliant analysis of the 1890 United States census, for example, Martha Hodes examines what she calls "domestic colonialism" (242). Linda Gordon offers "internal colonialism" as a way to understand uncomfortably incorporated groups such as Mexican Americans. Kathleen Brown examines how the concerns of household labor contributed to "imperial cultural formations" of the early nineteenth century. Yet as Stoler acknowledges in her introduction, few of the contributors agree on a definition of empire. Indeed, as Nancy Cott writes in her conclusion, "participants sidled away from a direct focus on 'empire' itself—or colonial relations as such" (469).

Rather than "empire", the glue that holds together this collection is the maintenance of racial categories. Nearly every essay in this collection extends and refines our understanding of the practices of racial thinking in challenging and exciting ways. Tiya Miles by moving beyond the usual black/white American racial system, shows how a black Methodist was both caught in and tried to manipulate the common nineteenth-century trope that compared Native Americans to African Americans and excluded them both from the United States. Laura Wexler convincingly suggests that "intra-racial" violence of white men against white women can reveal quite as much as the intra-racial violence on which historians (like most in this volume) have traditionally focused. The relationship between imperialism and the state's interest in racial hierarchies is not always clear, and some of the clearest articulations, like Brown's, are the most indirect.

Haunted by Empire is divided into four sections, each studded with helpful insights and elegant formulations; space constraints only permit discussion of a few of these excellent papers. The first section, "Convergence and Comparison," is the most tightly connected, as almost all the articles look explicitly at the United States empire in tandem with other impe-

rial projects. In a fascinating essay, Warwick Anderson's article comparing "biomedical citizenship" in Australia and the colonial Philippines explains that these "progressive" empires made a doomed attempt to create citizens out of those whose bodies, either because of race or disease (leprosy), disqualified them from a place in the body politic. In a comparison of two cases about "Hindu marriage", Nayah Shah explores how these intimate ties structured citizenship status.

The next section, "Proximities of Power", trains its focus on the workings of the intimate. For some of these essays, these realms are quite corporeal. Kathleen Brown's suggestive essay on "Body Work", for example, explains the meanings of foot odor as well as breastfeeding. Most of the other contributions, however, people the world of the intimate with somewhat more imaginary figures. Martha Hodes uses an imagined encounter between a mixed-race, mixed-nation family and an 1890 census official to show how the project of enumerating subjects by race both cloaked the evidence of sex across a color line and attempted to maintain an all-white nation in the aftermath of emancipation.

As befits a section on "Circuits of Knowledge Production", the definitions for inclusion are rather fluid. In one of the most surprising (if non-historical) essays, Laura Briggs looks at contemporary practices of cross-national adoption from Latin America. The adoption of these children as part of the creation of multi-racial families is often depicted as transgressing the racist practices of the state. Briggs turns this argument on its head, showing us instead the ways that through these adoption practices ordinary Americans depend on and continue the American empire's violent involvement in those regions. But in a startlingly optimistic conclusion, Briggs suggests that the process of *raising* these children "sometimes seems to bring U.S. parents into complex critical relationship with conditions in...U.S. foreign policy" (363).

The three excellent "refraction" essays that conclude the book draw out and extend the potential lines of argument. Linda Gordon excavates multiple sites in the essays in which gender is an important but hidden topic of "intimacies", while Catherine Hall argues for religion as another potential site for intimacy. Nancy Cott's review of the essays, particularly those building on her own work on marriage, makes this and most other reviews nearly superfluous.

To early American historians and historians of the early modern Atlantic, this volume's concern about "absence of empire" from North American history seems somewhat surprising. Indeed, Stoler herself approvingly cites such important studies of imperial intimacy as John Demos' *Unredeemed Captive*, Ann Marie Plane's *Colonial Intimacies*, and Michael Warner's landmark essay, "What is Colonial about Colonial America". The politics of comparison and the circulation of knowledge (as well as people and goods) are the standard building blocks of Atlantic history. Recent scholarship has suggested that these Atlantic empires were not particularly coherent, particularly in their attitudes towards race. By contrast, many of the contributors of *Haunted by Empire* see empire as "strategic", disciplinary, and intentional. Foucault's ghost, at least, haunts these essays. These essays do not explain the disjuncture between these two well-articulated depictions of empire. That small consideration aside, this is a landmark collection of vital essays on the nineteenth-and twentieth-century American empire.

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SOUTH ASIA

Tony Ballantyne, *Between Colonialism and Diaspora: Sikh Cultural Formations in an Imperial World*. London and Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006. xviii + 230 pp. ISBN: 0-8223-3809-2 (hbk.); 0-8223-3824-6 (pbk.). \$74.95 (hbk.); \$21.95 (pbk.).

This is an important volume on a little known and often misrepresented cultural and religious

tradition, namely, Sikhism. The book offers an excellent overview of the dual problematic and intricately connected histories of diaspora and colonialism in the production of Sikh identities over the past two hundred years. Ballantyne analyses Sikhism's encounter with imperial power, modernity and the postcolonial world, positioning Sikhism as a global religion despite its regional rootedness in the state of Punjab, India.

The book begins with a useful introduction to the analytical positions that have dominated Sikh studies, both historically and for contemporary scholars. Ballantyne characterises traditional Sikh accounts as largely "corrective histories" or "internalist scholarship" in which the internal development of Sikh tradition is highlighted, sacred texts are not questioned, and the political struggles of the Sikh community are examined from within, as opposed to including wider regional, political or cultural perspectives from outside the community. Two main themes have emerged from this approach: the establishment of clear boundaries between Sikhs and Hindus, and the inherent danger posed by Hinduism on the minority Sikh tradition. This approach includes the vast historiography of the Singh Sabha reform movement within the colonial milieu (reformers such as Bhai Vir Singh and the British historical intermediary, M.A. Macauliffe) and continues, although with some degrees of professionalisation, in the writings of some contemporary or near-contemporary historians.

With the publication of W.H. McLeod's *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion* in 1968 came the first serious divergence from this trend of corrective historical writing. Acknowledging McLeod's pioneering work and the contributions of others following in his footsteps, Ballantyne is critical of the privileging of the textualist approach to the detriment of other neglected cultural questions, popular culture and what he labels "community memory" throughout Sikh history. The continuance of textual privileging undoubtedly takes its cue from the larger colonial enterprise in its production of knowledge *about* "native" populations.

While recognising the work of Harjot Oberoi's *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition* as making the first epistemological and methodological break from the strict empiricism and textualist tradition, Ballantyne offers a wider-ranging focus on unconventional archives—film, sculpture, art, fiction and Internet sources—those sources not within the realm of authoritative text and thus by and large ignored within Sikh studies. However, Ballantyne convincingly argues that these alternative sources allow for an analysis of a more complex cultural terrain, in essence, a remedying of the traditional "blind spots" of Sikh historiography. In his attempt to uncover a more spacious scholarly terrain, Ballantyne includes an analysis of the politics and polemics surrounding the fate of the last Maharajah of Punjab, Dalip Singh, who was exiled in Britain after Punjab's annexation by the British. Dalip Singh continues to serve as a postcolonial icon for contemporary Sikhs. The volume also offers an extensive focus on *bhangra* music as an important medium for constructing and projecting Punjabi and Sikh identities both historically and within the global cultural economy. Following George Lipsitz, he locates *bhangra* music, Punjabi culture, and the diasporic world as the cultural crossroad where through creative tension and improvisation, Punjabi (and by implication Sikh) identities are in constant flux, particularly with additional fusions demarcated by Ballantyne as "black bhangra", a hybrid form of Punjabi *bhangra* and Afro-Caribbean/reggae. What is fascinating is that while *bhangra* cannot be identified as a "Sikh" identifier per se because it emerged instead from the more specifically Punjabi Jat, peasant performative genre, Ballantyne insists that to understand contemporary Sikh identity (and the majority caste grouping among the Sikhs is the Jat Sikh) the broader context of Punjabi culture, in its South Asian and diasporic forms *must* come under scholarly scrutiny as well. And clearly, as Ballantyne notes, many Sikhs as well as non-Sikhs do make explicit connections between *bhangra* and Sikhism. Moreover, there are concerns that *bhangra* is in need of a purification process, to be freed from what is viewed as extraneous, non-Punjabi trappings and put in its proper position as a central identifier of Punjabi Sikh heritage. Ballantyne makes an important case that it is precisely in understanding social and cultural history, patterns of cultural consumption or cultural anxieties, along-

side studies of family relations for instance, that a more comprehensive and grounded understanding of the “texture” of Punjabi/Sikh culture and religion emerge.

In the process of framing and reframing Sikh histories, Ballantyne also offers a fresh perspective on the fierce polemics that have come to characterise contemporary Sikh studies. Active since the 1980s, a powerful mobilisation effort has taken place, funded and furthered by a small group of professionals who have taken issue with the analytical methodologies of western-trained scholars of Sikhism. This small though highly vocal group of conservative, transnational critics have presented Western scholarly efforts, when applied to the Sikh tradition, as a decidedly Eurocentric attack on Sikhs and Sikhism. These critics advocate the adoption instead of what they label the “Khalsacentric” approach to Sikh history and the study of Sikhism as a whole. The central requirement of this scheme is the complete rejection of the use of European social science methods and a return to what is perceived as holistic, subjective and introspective scholarship, one that examines Sikh realities from a perspective that upholds Khalsa values and ideals. What is fascinating about the concerns and approaches of this North American Sikh elite group of professionals, is that the discourse of Khalsacentrism is based largely on theories of American multiculturalism and ethnic politics against both the Indian state (included within the polemic of the “outsider”, understood to be consciously distorting the Sikh minority tradition in light of the designs of the Hindu right) and Western scholarship (as an instrument of both colonialism and the more “subtle” form of the designs of the Hindu right). Moreover, as Ballantyne points out, the very term “Khalsacentrism” invokes the “Afrocentrism” that has moulded American politics, in particular, with regard to discourses on the politics of representation. Ultimately, however, the end result is a simplistic rejection—in offensive, shrill and biased denunciations—of non-Sikh scholars as well as Sikh scholars who do not work within the confines of Khalsacentric approaches. While Ballantyne must be commended for his highly sympathetic rendering of the approach of this very vocal group of critics, what he does not address is the fact that they appear to lack the wherewithal to effectively produce histories along the lines they are advocating. Their primary aim would seem to be the denunciation of all that is not Khalsacentric, in their haphazard attempt to undo the “damage” already caused by Western-educated scholars of Sikhism. Ballantyne also neglects to adequately examine the repercussions of this fierce polemic on the very study of Sikhism, particularly within the diasporic context. Given their powerful positions within North American society, the mobilisation efforts put in place by these critics has clearly attempted to undermine the very authority of scholars of Sikhism and may well be contributing to a stifling of scholarly analysis by those within the arena of Sikh studies.

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Indrani Chatterjee and Richard M. Eaton, eds., *Slavery and South Asian History*. Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006. xxii + 346 pp. ISBN: 978-0-253-34810-4 (hbk.); 978-0-253-21873-5 (pbk.). \$65.00 (hbk.); \$24.95 (pbk.).

Far from being a “peculiar institution”, slavery has deep roots reaching back at least to the beginnings of historical times in many parts of the world. Despite its pervasive presence, the “world’s oldest trade” has been marginal to the historiography of South Asia except for an occasional collaborative volume such as Utsa Patil and Manjari Dingwaney, eds., *Chains of Servitude* (1985). Recently, however, a slate of studies, often the final product of conference proceedings, has ended the protracted “history of silence” surrounding Indian and Indian Ocean slavery—most notably two works edited by Gwyn Campbell, *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (2004) and *Abolition and its Aftermath in the Indian Ocean, Africa, and Asia* (2005), along with *Slavery and Resistance in Africa and Asia* (2005), edited by Edward Alpers, Gwyn Campbell, and Michael Salman, and *Women*

and *Slavery*. Volume I: *Africa, the Indian Ocean World, and the Medieval North Atlantic* (2007), edited by Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers, and Joseph C. Miller, with several other cooperative works in the publishing pipeline.

Slavery and South Asian History is the result of “a painfully slow and protracted labor of love” originating at the annual Asian Studies Conference of 2001 (xiii). One of the stated aims of this open-ended volume is to document the remarkable range of types of slavery that appeared across a thousand years of history between the ninth and nineteenth centuries. There is, cautions Richard Eaton, no overarching master narrative or single story of slavery, no tidy sequence of evolutionary stages. Each instance of slavery in South Asia was shaped by a unique conjunction of contingent factors and must be placed in its own context (2). The book, therefore, represents “an intermediate stage in the historiography of South Asian slavery” intended to shed new light on a neglected subject and to inspire other scholars to follow suggested leads (14). Similarly, Indrani Chatterjee emphasises the contingent nature of slavery’s “locally specific usages, relationships, terms, institutions, and processes as they shifted in time” (19). She expresses the hope that the volume’s essays will break “the impasse in South Asianist historiography” and end the “amnesia about slave pasts” (22, 25). Recovering some of the intertwined histories and memories will “enable another round of critically engaged interpretative exercises and scholarly exchanges about the past in the Indian Ocean world” (35).

In the absence of an overarching leitmotif, the essays in *Slavery and South Asian History* consist of a series of individual cases arranged in roughly chronological order. Daud Ali explores the lower echelons of domestic servants, mostly women, known as *pentattis*, who were organised into palace establishments or *velams* attached to the imperial Chola (c. 950-1250) household. As institutions of the natively alienated recruited through tribute, capture in war, or some other process, *velams* were ideal reproductive pools for developing a cadre of men loyal to the royal family alone. This fact may explain their ongoing links with *kaikkolars* or hereditary military retainers, who often resided near the palace and formed an integral part of the Chola armies (49, 58).

Peter Jackson discusses the role of Turkish military slaves (Arabic *ghulam*, *mamluk*; Persian *banda*) on Islam’s eastern, Indian frontier between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries. One of the principal virtues of the Turkish *ghulam* was his detachment from family or territorial interest, and his perceived loyalty to his master. The Turkish slave-elite, however, enjoyed a mixed reputation—for greed and turbulence, for martial accomplishments, as well as for steadfastness and orthodoxy in Islam (75).

Sunil Kumar carries the story of the Turkish slaves, most notably the *bandagan-i khass*—a select body of senior, experienced slaves deployed in the central retinue of the army and as governors of strategic territories—into the Delhi sultanate of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The progeny of these slaves or “debris of political dispensations” (106) struggled to entrench themselves in the corridors of sultanate power even as Persian court chroniclers such as Fakhr-i Mudabbir, Minhaj-i Siraj Juzjani, and Ziya al-Din Barani created new terms such as *maulazadgan* or “sons of freed slaves” to define their ambiguous status (85).

Richard Eaton discusses the rise and fall of military slavery, in particular the Ethiopian Habshis, in the western Deccan between 1450 and 1650. Military slavery played an important role in the mixed Deccani culture of the sultanates of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur informed by “loyalty to salt” (122-23). Eaton illustrates the pivotal role of the Habshis through the career of Malik Ambar “Chapu” (1548-1626), kingmaker of the Nizam Shahi court, and the “distinctly African character” of the sultanate under his “rule” (126). By the mid-seventeenth century, however, military slavery as an institution had come to an end in the Deccan due to the fall of the Nizam Shahi state, the absorption of Ethiopian males into local society, and the transition of the Habshis from kinless aliens to native householders (129).

Ramya Sreenivasan investigates the forms of female slavery and servitude among the Rajput ruling clans of Rajasthan between the sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, chal-

lenging in the process the common perception of “Rajput” identity as changeless. The boundaries of lineage, clan, and *jati* asserted in Rajput courtly sources and assumed in the historiography were not absolute, but were interwoven with a history of slavery in Rajput polities. Constructions of lineage, clan, and *jati*, she argues, evolved during this period, as much through the management of slave labour in elite households as through the oft-rehearsed network of marriage alliances among the Rajputs (137).

Inspired by the works of Suzan Miers and Igor Kopytoff (1977) and the “magisterial comparative analysis” of Orlando Patterson (1982), Sumit Guha surveys slavery, society, and the state in eighteenth-century Maratha western India. Based on a variety of Marathi, Sanskrit, and Portuguese sources, Guha’s descriptive narrative covers a wide range of topics—the origins of the region’s slaves, the transaction in slaves, functions and careers, and freedom, slavery, and agency. Transitions out of slavery occurred most often with marriage, with self-redemption, or with death. Despite demands for exemplary devotion made of most slaves, seldom was manumission offered as a reward (182).

Michael H. Fisher examines the changes in the unequal relationship between British masters and Indian servants and slaves as they moved between India and Britain from 1600 to 1857. In the seventeenth century, the relatively few Indian servants and slaves could be valuable symbols of the exotic “Oriental” ornamenting the households of the upper classes. As the numbers of Indians in Britain increased, they became less rare and their presence more contentious—illustrated through the individual narratives of two Bengali slaves, Nabob (b. 1770) and Munnoo (b. c. 1795). Especially by the early nineteenth century, for the East India Company’s directors, these increasingly numerous Indians in Britain appeared to pose both progressively more moral and “financial” problems (205-206).

Sylvia Vatuk uses the 1828 Madras legal case against a Muslim noblewoman and close relative of the *nawab* of Karnataka, Fakhr al-Nissa Begam, accused of having beaten to death one of her slaves, named Bharattee, to reveal the on-the-ground realities of domestic slavery in India in the early nineteenth century (211). Everyday life of slaves was not nearly as benign as many colonial authorities believed and the “patriarchal” authority exercised by slave owners over their slaves was practically unlimited. Domestic slaves in India were neither universally accepting of their situation nor entirely helpless to resist abuse. Failures to enforce the law, as in this case, were part of a broader pattern of collusion by the British establishment with males of the elite classes (226).

Timothy Walker shows how the Portuguese colonial reaction to the Indian “Mutiny” of 1857 was bound up with the question of illegal slave trafficking into Portuguese India from Africa. In Goa, Governor António Cesar de Vascelos Correia (1855-64) and the colonial administration’s intended use of conscripted troops from Mozambique as a counter to Indian-born regulars and sepoys suspected of disloyalty was hindered by existing restrictions on the slave trade in the Indian Ocean—most notably the Anglo-Portuguese Accord of 1842 (234).

Avril Powell explores the distinct responses of a triumvirate of Indian Muslim modernists—Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Saiyid Ameer Ali, and Maulawi Chiragh ‘Ali—to criticisms from Western abolitionist circles in London and conservative Muslims in North India regarding the practice of Indian slavery in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. European critics of Islam, including Sir William Muir, identified slavery as one of the religion’s “radical evils” (together with polygamy and divorce). Traditionalist members of a group of Sunni *ulama* concentrated in the *doab* region around Muzaffarnagar and Saharanpur north of Delhi were concerned about the Quranic legitimacy of slavery (272). The ensuing “culture wars”, narrowly “textually” based, was never revived with the same intensity in India’s history (281).

Indrani Chatterjee analyses imperial censorship of local terms for slavery in the Indo-Burmese borderlands of the Lushai Hills around 1900. A round of semantic manipulations by colonial administrators aimed at silencing the very human beings engaged in the struggle to name themselves. Familiar with these “semantic feints” themselves, local people too

engaged in cultural translations and symbolic reappropriations. Their ultimate failure, however, left them vulnerable to multiple projects of control and “invisibilization” (288).

Slavery and South Asian History is, as the editors readily acknowledge, “in no way an exhaustive inventory” and “but a first stroke on an enormous canvas” (14). The quality of the individual essays, however, is invariably high and the level of overall scholarship impressive—a few problems with readability in a single essay or two notwithstanding. This volume certainly whets the appetite and one can only hope for a number of future slavery studies to fill in the unfinished sections in time, space, and type in order to fully recapture the region’s “multiplicity of slave voices” (31). Regarding chronology, they should examine the indigenous roots of “slavery” in pre-Chola (and pre-Islamic) South Asia and expose its continued existence in modern disguised versions in the face of the “semantic feints” and projects of “invisibilization” pointed at in this work. Similarly, future studies should “help release South Asian scholarship from the grip of ‘area studies’” (11) and “rethink the fixedness” of contingent categories of space (25) by more fully integrating the region’s history into that of the surrounding Central Asian and Indian Ocean worlds—including the various intra-Asian slave trades. Finally, besides the qualitative importance of military, domestic, agrestic, and other forms of slavery in the history of South Asia, more needs to be known about their respective quantitative aspects, most notably in the region’s pre-modern past. In sum, *Slavery and South Asian History* represents a major step forward in our still incomplete understanding of the numerous chronological, geographical, and typological variations of the “world’s oldest trade”. It is mandatory reading for any student in the fields of South Asia, comparative slavery studies, and world history.

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William Dalrymple, *The Last Mughal: The Fall of a Dynasty: Delhi, 1857*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007. xxiv + 536 pp. ISBN: 978-1-4000-4301-1 (hbk.). \$30.00.

This is in many ways a splendid book. It can be praised, but it can also be criticised, much like his earlier *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India* (London: HarperCollins, 2002), and I must admit that I reviewed that book in much the same way that I now review this one.

First, the splendid aspects of the book: it has an eye-catching cover, a painting of the Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar II, and many other wonderful illustrations. It includes many compelling stories about the experiences of both ordinary and extraordinary people caught up in the 1857 Mutiny or Uprising against the East India Company in India. Dalrymple’s style is engaging and accessible, and, with the help of collaborators who read Persian and Urdu (most notably Mahmood Farooqui, who is preparing his own scholarly edition of the Mutiny Papers in Delhi, and Bruce Wannell), Dalrymple has found new sources for this very significant historical event. He has spent years on the research and writing, consulting scholars of history and literature in the process. The book is reaching a wide readership and stimulating interest in the history of India and particularly in Britain’s role in it. These are all very good things and I commend Dalrymple for them.

It is a big book. The title indicates that the central story is that of Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal Emperor, and his problematic leadership role in 1857 and his death in exile in Burma (now Myanmar) do frame the long narrative. But the subtitle more accurately indicates that the focus is on Delhi in the year of the Uprising, as Dalrymple has elected to label the events of 1857. Dalrymple gives us fascinating and detailed accounts of the changing relationship of the East India Company and the Mughal Emperor in the decades before 1857, of the daily routines of the British and Indian inhabitants of Delhi in those days, and of the increasing aggressiveness of British Christians, both officials and non-officials, in the city and region. Dalrymple traces the fortunes of the Court and the city as mutineers turn upon the British and drive them from Delhi, then turn to the Mughal Emperor for at least symbolic

leadership and thus put him in a dilemma. But the British return to besiege Delhi from the ridge and successfully recapture the city, taking terrible revenge upon its inhabitants and the leaders of the rebels there. We get vivid pictures of leading actors, from the Emperor's senior wife Zinat Mahal, the Emperor's fifth son Mirza Mughal, and the great Urdu poet Ghalib to the British administrators and military men Charles and Thomas Metcalfe, Thomas Metcalfe's son Theo Metcalfe, Edward Campbell, and General John Nicholson. Dalrymple is attentive to the splits within the Mughal royal family and to class differences in the city and the key roles of leading bankers. He highlights religious issues and the attempts of Bahadur Shah Zafar and others to hold Hindus and Muslims together against the British. It is a very good read.

Yet one should also review the book as a work of history. One quibble involves Dalrymple's claims to originality and authenticity. Because he, Farooqui, and Wannell were working with the "virtually unused" Mutiny Papers in the National Archives of India, Dalrymple makes a strong claim (14): "These allow 1857 in Delhi to be seen for the first time from a properly Indian perspective, and not just from the British sources through which to date it has usually been viewed." However, Dalrymple is not the first to use the Mutiny Papers, as Aslam Parvez published a long, 378-page book in Urdu about Bahadur Shah Zafar based on them in 1986, and of course Indian perspectives on the Mutiny can be written, and have been written, based on the British sources.

A second concern involves the ways in which Dalrymple deals with significant historical issues in this book. Perhaps he imagines himself as head artist in a Mughal workshop, with others mixing the paints, preparing the easel and the brushes, or, in this case, translating the sources, while he designs and produces the masterwork. Yet this image does not quite work, because historians generally have some basic competence in the languages of their major sources and write their interpretations in conversation with other interpretations of the same events. Yet most often, when Dalrymple invokes, for example, "Indian nationalist accounts" and "imperial British historians" (203) or "Some historians" (205), no references are given, no conversations are held. Furthermore, it is in the broad brush strokes, the treatment of major historical issues in South Asia, that Dalrymple falters. His ambitions go well beyond this volume, as he states (10) that this is one of what will be a four-volume history of the Mughal dynasty. By opening with a volume about Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal Emperor, he has written the last of the four volumes first. Yet he has already taken strong positions on earlier Mughal rulers. "Shah Jahan's son Aurangzeb was a ruler as bigoted as the best of his predecessors had been tolerant", he writes (5), and "The religious wounds Aurangzeb opened literally tore the country in two. On his death in 1707, the Empire fragmented". These statements show Dalrymple's tendency to sensational overstatement. Comparisons among the? Mughal rulers are not nearly as simple as he implies, and, although the Empire was indeed fragmenting in the eighteenth century, by saying the country was torn "in two" he implies that Hindu-Muslim communalism and the inevitability of Partition in 1947 can be traced back to Aurangzeb. What historian would make such generalisations about extremely complex and contentious issues before doing the research? These are the statements of a journalist or a populariser, a writer for the general public, and of course of a very successful such writer.

Other major assertions come in the concluding chapter, where Dalrymple's love of Delhi and of the Indo-Muslim (he terms it Indo-Islamic) composite civilisation Delhi epitomises for him lead him to questionable generalisations. He sees Bahadur Shah Zafar as presiding over "the great collapse of Indo-Islamic civilization (446)"; he writes "With his [Zafar's] death, followed seven years later by that of Ghalib, the self-esteem and confidence of an entire civilization also passed away, so discredited it could never hope to be revived" (442). And again: "The beating heart of Indo-Islamic civilization had been ripped out, and could not be replaced" (428-29). He asserts that in 1947 "the Indian Muslim elite emigrated en masse to Pakistan" (447), and on the final page (448) he writes that "the British swept away and root-

ed out the late Mughals' pluralistic and philosophically composite civilization". Those of us who study Lucknow and Hyderabad and other post-Mughal centres of Indo-Muslim culture in South Asia have different interpretations. Even more questionable is Dalrymple's attempt to link the "lessons" of 1857 to contemporary international politics. He has highlighted, earlier in the book, the role of Islamic or jihads elements in the rebellion, and in the final two pages of the book (447-48) he links these elements to the Deoband madrasa founded in north India in 1866-67 to the twentieth-century Deobandi madrasas in Pakistan and Afghanistan to the Taliban and finally to al-Qaeda, ending his book with the banal quotation "those who fail to learn from history are always destined to repeat it". To this reader at least, the abrupt imposition of the theme of aggressive Western imperialisms interacting with aggressive Islamic fundamentalisms distorts and diminishes the meanings of the diverse and complex interactions Dalrymple has traced with such skill in the chapters focused on Delhi and its people in the crucible of 1857.

It should be clear that this is an important book, one that presents a rich tapestry of life in the city before and during the 1857 Uprising and one that succeeds in fully capturing the impact of this devastating event on Delhi. The reservations expressed above should lead to further work on the important questions still unanswered about the role of the Mughals in India's history.

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Stanley Wolpert, *Shameful Flight: The Last Years of the British Empire in India*. Oxford and New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2006. xiv + 238 pp. ISBN: 978-0-19-515198-5 (hbk.). \$28.00.

In *Shameful Flight*, Professor Stanley Wolpert assesses the last few years of the British Indian Empire in a very frank, honest and critical manner. Even though numerous scholars have written volumes on this period, Wolpert's new work is a great addition to Indian historiography in that he utilises both published and unpublished primary sources to weave a compelling behind-the-scenes narrative focusing on the key players.

The title of this book comes from a speech by Sir Winston Churchill in the House of Commons during the Indian Independence Bill debate in which he called the grant of independence to India in August 1947 Britain's "shameful flight, by a premature hurried scuttle" (9). Wolpert also very early puts the blame for the bloodbath that followed partition squarely on the shoulders of Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India, whose "hyperactive frenzy in accelerating the initially tight withdrawal schedule...left South Asia vulnerable to hatred and terror, compounded by ignorant fears and ugly rumours, multiplied by hundreds of millions" (9).

Wolpert begins with the Cripps Mission in early 1942. His particular emphasis on the role of individuals makes the sundry details of a failed mission a gripping read. The internal divisions in the British cabinet where the viceroy and the prime minister were weary of giving into Indian demands, and the unfortunate optimism of Sir Stafford Cripps, is clearly shown through the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow, who made every effort to undercut the Cripps mission. Wolpert then goes into great detail about the appointment of Lord Wavell, Commander in Chief of India, as the new viceroy. Wavell's appointment was supposed to refocus attention from a constitutional settlement towards the war effort, but Wavell soon tampered with politics, much to the chagrin of Churchill. Trekking through the lengthy discussions that followed with the Indian Congress and the Muslim League, Wolpert carefully teases apart the different approaches of Gandhi and Jinnah, the idealistic attitude of Jawaharlal Nehru, and the conciliatory proposals of C. Rajagopalachari.

A large portion of chapters 4 and 5 focuses on the "Pakistan" scheme. Wolpert agrees with Wavell that Pakistan was an impractical scheme, and seems to imply that by 1944 Jinnah was quite clear about the demand for Pakistan. He notes about Jinnah: "The firmness of his

will and his tenacious desire to win a sovereign independent state of Pakistan for his Muslim League followers were keeping him alive" (73). This view of Jinnah, which he has expressed in previous works, sits uneasily with the thesis of scholars like Ayesha Jalal whose *The Sole Spokesman* argues that Jinnah was using the Pakistan option as a bargaining tool right up to the last moment.

Where Wolpert goes beyond traditional treatments of the last years of British rule in India is in his reference to characters beyond the main players—politicians and civil servants in England and India who had their own plans for a constitutional settlement of the Indian problem. In addition to Rajagopalachari's plan to end the deadlock, Wolpert also notes the attitude of the governor of Bengal, Richard Casey, who simply advised Wavell to call Jinnah's bluff and make him realise the absurdity of his proposals. Wolpert's praise is however preserved for Carl Heath, the chairman of the India Conciliation Group of Quakers, whose proposal to give autonomy to the provinces Wolpert calls "...a singularly creative, sympathetic scheme, never tried". Wolpert goes on to note, "Had Heath been India's last Viceroy, he could have negotiated wisely with its political leaders, of every faith and party, and would have taken a decade or more to reach final agreement, yet this plan might well have saved a million lives and could perhaps have established an enduring solution to South Asia's most intractable problems" (98-99).

The failure of the interim government to work is one of the major reasons cited by Wolpert for the ultimate partition of India. He directly blames the leaders for the breakdown of the interim government at a time when Wavell had promised he would allow the interim government to function more or less like a dominion government. He comments, "If Nehru and Jinnah could have risen above their mutual distrust at this eleventh hour there might still have been time to patch together an interim government that might have emerged a few years later as united India's cabinet" (112). With respect to the interim government, Wolpert criticises Nehru much more than Jinnah for his intransigence in agreeing to a clean deal with the Muslim League.

Wolpert's harshest criticism is reserved for Lord Mountbatten, the last viceroy of India. Wolpert asserts that Mountbatten: "...understood little about Indian politics and nothing of the weaknesses or the strengths of India's major leaders" (140). He blames Nehru for prejudicing Mountbatten against Jinnah, noting that "Nehru's negative assessment of Jinnah would never be erased from Mountbatten's mind and probably did more damage to Pakistan, influencing Mountbatten's decisions on the drawing of Partition's border lines in India's favour, than has been realized" (135). Wolpert continues his scathing attack on the way Mountbatten knowingly led India into chaos by arguing that had Mountbatten given a chance to either Gandhi's plan of making Jinnah the future Prime Minister (139), or to Suhrawardy's plan for an independent Bengal (142), a lot of bloodshed could have been averted. He blames Mountbatten's "frenzied rush" to a solution as the main culprit leading to the carnage of the summer of 1947.

The last few chapters of the book tell the sad tale of the speed with which Mountbatten wrapped up an empire which took centuries to build. Wolpert clearly shows that both Gandhi and Jinnah had foreseen the destruction that would result from such a hurried exit, but by the summer of 1947 Mountbatten would not listen to them, to his advisers and governors, or to London. He had set a deadline of 15 August 1947 for the end of the empire, and nothing could alter it. Even though Wolpert consistently blames Nehru for misguiding Mountbatten and for agreeing to partition, he does show that very soon after partition Nehru did realise the fallacy in rushing to independence and how costly it had been for the people of the Indian subcontinent.

Wolpert's book makes for fascinating reading. His in-depth knowledge of Indian history as well as his skilful use of sources allows him to pinpoint the exact instances of mistakes and errors of judgement. Of course some of his criticisms emanate from his particular understanding of Indian history and the benefit of hindsight; yet the precision with which he traces

the critical moments in a rapidly changing environment and the effects of various decisions is masterful. He also situates well the role of American opinion and pressure in both London and New Delhi on the Indian question, something which a number of historians have overlooked. Unfortunately, Wolpert does not pay much attention to the “other India,” the princely states whose ultimate end also had a lot to do with the rash decisions and unconstitutional actions of Mountbatten. On the whole, however, *Shameful Flight* will remain as one of the best and most accessible narratives of the partition of India for sometime to come.

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SOUTHEAST ASIA

Marieke Bloembergen, *Colonial Spectacles: The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies at the World Exhibitions, 1880-1931*. Beverly Jackson Translator. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006. xviii + 478 pp. ISBN: 9971-69-330-5 (hbk.). \$36.00.

“I have seen too many of them; quite a surfeit of them in fact”, stated one observer in the 1880s, quoted in this book, about international exhibitions. It might be an apt comment on the large number of recent academic studies of the same phenomenon. But Marieke Bloembergen offers us something rather different and her book makes an important contribution to this rich field of study.

Colonial Spectacles plugs a gap in its coverage of the Dutch contributions to world exhibitions. Bloembergen focuses on five exhibitions, devoting a detailed chapter to each. Only one took place in The Netherlands itself (Amsterdam in 1883), the others being in Paris (1889, 1900 and 1931) and Brussels (1910). She examines the displays about the Dutch East Indies at each event, including detailed accounts of the background, organisational politics and problems, the actual exhibits shown and—a particularly welcome element often missing in such studies—the responses of visitors. As the second largest colonial power in the late nineteenth century, the Dutch representation of its Asian territories forms an important addition to our knowledge about world fairs.

A great strength of the study is the context it provides of the shifting nature of Dutch colonial policy and the role that empire played in the forging of Dutch national identity between the 1880s and the 1930s. Bloembergen shows how each of the selected exhibitions marked a distinctive representation of the East Indies, although not always as clearly as its organisers had planned. This shifted from the ethnographic reconstruction of an imported Javanese village in 1883 and the display of indigenous peoples in 1889, to a more scholastic focus on archaeology in 1900, the economic and aesthetic questions surrounding indigenous arts and crafts in 1910 and, by 1931, an engagement with issues of colonialism and modernity. Bloembergen locates each of these in the debates surrounding Dutch colonial policy, from the early shift away from the cultivation system to the new ethical policy in the aftermath of bitter colonial conflict and conquest, and, finally, the more conservative reaction by the 1930s against the early stirrings of colonial nationalism.

Bloembergen argues that these exhibitions were “ultimately a form of self-reflection”—not in itself a new insight—but perhaps more interestingly that they “did not present a single narrative but rather a quest” (317). In this she seeks to challenge some of the more determinist approaches of writers influenced by Saidian ideas. She also tilts occasionally at Benedict Anderson and that doyen of exhibition and museum historical studies, Tony Bennett. However her claims of conceptual novelty are not quite as justifiable as the case for the new empirical content of this book. The critique is not strongly sustained and sometimes appears to act as an obligatory thesis-style addition rather than a fundamental focus.

The book is sometimes rather repetitive and an editorial hand could have been heavier in

the transition from doctoral thesis to monograph. This would have given space for more comparative comment, which would have greatly extended the value of the study. The focus on the East Indies provides an interesting alternative to European displays from colonies in Africa and the Pacific about which ideas of "civilization" and race in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were very different. It would be interesting to explore further just how the representations of the Dutch East Indies described here fitted into, or challenged, such ideas. The book is well-produced although one carp is the small size of the reproductions of exhibition ground maps, which makes the details illegible. Overall, this is certainly a key addition to the library and the reading list, but I suspect that the material it contains could go much further and I hope that Bloembergen will continue to publish in this field.

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Nordin Hussin, *Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka: Dutch Melaka and English Penang, 1780-1830*. NIAS Monographs 100. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies; Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2007. xxviii + 388 pp. ISBN: 978-87-91114-47-2 (NIAS hbk.); 978-87-91114-88-5 (NIAS pbk.); 978-9971-69-354-1 (NUS pbk.). £50.00; \$67.00 (hbk.); £15.99; \$29.00 (pbk.)

Nordin Hussin provides a very extensive study of the colonial port-towns of Melaka and Penang from 1780 to 1830. Nordin concurs with renowned scholar of Southeast Asia Anthony Reid who argues that the eighteenth century witnessed the end of an age of commerce in the Malay Archipelago and a period of transition to the age of imperialism dominated by the Dutch and British. Nordin picks up the story in 1780, a century later than the year Reid denotes as the end of the age of commerce. The intervening period saw a sharp decline in commerce amongst indigenous residents of the archipelago but an increase in Chinese trade in the region. During this period there was also a marked increase in Chinese migration to the Malay Archipelago as a whole, and especially to the port-towns in the region such as Melaka and Penang.

Nordin's work is a remarkable contribution to the field because in addition to British East India Company records and the Straits Settlements factory sources, Nordin refers to Dutch East India Company (VOC) sources in Melaka. Scholars of Malaya rarely use Dutch sources to elucidate the history of the Malay Peninsula, as very few are familiar with the language. Consequently, scholarship tends to be one-sided, viewed mainly or even solely from the British perspective despite the fact that the two colonial spheres frequently overlapped and that information from both sources would create a far more complete picture of the history of the Straits of Malacca as a whole.

The scope of Nordin's work is impressive. His work is both an urban history of two colonial port-towns and a synthesis of a trade system in the Straits of Malacca. Nordin begins his account by attempting to situate Penang and Melaka in the field of urban historiography, which has thus far not permeated the historiography of Southeast Asia. He successfully engages the theories of Anthony D. King and Ronald J. Horvath to demonstrate that both Penang and Melaka were indeed viable colonial port-towns. He then proceeds to analyse both from the perspective of overall trends of policy, geographical position, direction of trade, morphology and society, and he studies how these last two factors were influenced by British and Dutch trade and policies (xix).

The story of the Malay population who are not part of the royal elite has not yet been the focus of scholarship on the cosmopolitan world of port-cities, which concentrates more on newer immigrant populations. Nordin challenges the notion that Malays occupied a peripheral position in a location dominated by a powerful European minority during the age of commerce as the Chinese migrants arrive in droves and started to dominate trade.

Although Nordin alludes to the pluralistic nature of the multicultural society that emerged in these colonial port-towns several times, historical evidence suggests a limited interaction between the various ethnic groups. A major exception to the supposed phenomenon of pluralism that supposedly thrived in these port-towns is the Portuguese-Eurasian community, which adopted Malay habits of betel-chewing (286). Among his many interesting observations is that Eurasian women sometimes had greater opportunities for social mobility than their male counterparts as they were sometimes able to marry Dutch burghers. Marriage strongly subverts the notion of a neatly pluralistic society in Melaka from 1780 to 1830. Indeed, the story of marriages and liaisons between British men and women in the Malay world is most fascinating, especially since not much work has been done on it at all. This is all the more curious since the concept of concubinage in Indonesia has recently been the subject of scholarly study. Although Nordin maintains that Melaka was by and large both pluralistic and integrated, apart from planned sites of residence allocated to various ethnic groups, the lines of division were almost always blurred in everyday life.

The weakness of the book lies in Nordin's conceptualisation of the various agents at work in the colonial port-towns. Who exactly are the "British" and the "Dutch" Nordin writes about? Are they agents of the British government and the Dutch government, agents of the East India Company and VOC, or private traders? Rather than taking ruling elites as unified, undifferentiated monolithic blocs, scholars should strive to elucidate a more nuanced identity of their subject. Surely there must have been competing interests amongst the various British and Dutch residents in Penang and Melaka. What were their individual concerns as revealed through archival documents? A closer study of archival sources would definitely enrich historical accounts of colonial port-towns.

Nordin places a lot of importance on the hold of the European trading companies—the East India Company and the Dutch VOC. By consulting purely European sources, Nordin views the port towns solely from the perspective of the European imperialist while neglecting the viewpoint of the majority subject populations. How exactly did the non-European residents of these port-towns operate under European domination? This omission, due perhaps to a lack of historical sources produced by natives and migrants, seriously undermined the quality of his book. But what about writers such as Munshi Abdullah, whom Nordin mentions? His writings could prove valuable for scholars trying to discern local opinion in the port-towns.

The lack of historical sources produced by non-Europeans leads Nordin to assume that they were indeed amenable to Dutch and British colonial rule. Nordin's claim that the European way of life was cherished and adopted by the local society is rather suspect as practice does not necessarily indicate acceptance. Rather, the Europeans who were in a dominant position would have understandably been able to enforce these administrative measures for their own convenience. Nordin does not provide evidence that Asian ethnic groups "seem to have been happy to follow them" (290). Even the fact that the British kept the Dutch system of administration intact in Melaka after 1824 merely indicates that the British reacted positively to Dutch measures there, or the residents' acquiescence and desire to accommodate; but the lack of documents indicating dissent hardly constitutes complete compliance and ease with existing structures.

The lack of non-European sources creates another problem arising from Nordin's heavy dependence on European sources, for we do not know what happened before the European observers arrived and recorded what they saw. What were the underlying structures of continuity prior to significant migration of other communities to these port-towns? Was the arrival of the European colonials followed by the rise of the colonial port-towns the main factor which brought about the breakdown in pluralistic society such as the intermingling of races and cross-cultural contact? It is highly probable that intermarriages and cross-ethnic adoptions have been an ongoing social phenomenon in Penang and Malacca just as elsewhere in the Malay world. Thus it is not fair to assume that the arrival of the Europeans caused signif-

icant changes across the board in social and economic structures since the book is bound to Dutch and British sources.

Nordin Hussin's book is an excellent resource for the study of a system of trade in the Malay Archipelago as it provides an excellent overview of the importance of the Straits of Malacca towards the end of the eighteenth century from the perspective of the two most important ports prior to the founding of Singapore. It illuminates the personal relationships that residents of the port-towns cultivated during this period of fifty years. This is problematic however because Nordin does this without really linking it to the history of the port-towns or surrounding region before 1780, as if elements of the colonial port entity could not have appeared independent of European colonial efforts. He addresses this issue only in the concluding chapter.

In concluding that the Dutch certainly saw more promise in Melaka than the British ever did in Penang, Nordin however stops short of explaining the significance of British and Dutch trade policies in this respect. Analysing a trade system is indeed a challenge for it forces the scholar to consider all the ports involved in the trade, regardless of whether they occupied a central or peripheral position in the trade system. By focusing mainly on the ports of Melaka and Penang, Nordin runs the risk of giving undue attention to these two ports, which were undoubtedly important but which were nonetheless part of a trade system that included other ports and traders not necessarily tied to these two ports. The port of Aceh, for example, was crucial in providing pepper, but since it is not the focus of this study, its role is severely downplayed. Perhaps a more Braudelian approach such as that of Anthony Reid is more suitable in the study of a trade system.

Nordin concludes that the success of Penang had to be at the expense of Melaka, the decline of which was exacerbated by the founding of Singapore at the tip of the Malay Peninsula. A major drawback of this book is that the time period includes the first decade of Singapore after the city's founding by Stamford Raffles in 1819, but whose story was curiously not incorporated as the new East India Company base as part of the trade and society in the Straits of Malacca. Thus the story of trade and society in the Straits of Malacca seems strangely truncated and therefore incomplete.

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Bhawan Ruangsilp, *Dutch East India Company Merchants at the Court of Ayutthaya: Dutch Perceptions of the Thai Kingdom, 1604-1765*. TANAP Monographs on the History of Asian-European Interaction 8. xviii + 284 pp. ISBN: 978-90-04-15600-5 (hbk.). \$99.00; €73.00.

Bhawan's study of the relations between the merchants of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the court of Ayutthaya from c. 1604 to the invasion of the Burmese army in 1765 is a major contribution to Thai studies. Bhawan emphasises "the co-existence of 'partnership'—conditional rather than born of authentic mutual respect—and 'sense of differences'" in exploring how the "cross-cultural interactions" of the two parties "managed, tried, or failed to work in partnership and to balance their differences" (1). The introduction places the text in a wide context of source materials, previous studies, and the interregional positions of the VOC and the Court of Ayutthaya in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Chapters one and two cover the early years of the relationship and lay out its general characteristics. The VOC was primarily interested in its trade with Ayutthaya as a way to obtain goods, such as sandalwood and deer hides, to exchange for Japanese bullion to purchase textiles from China and India. For its part, Ayutthaya needed Dutch permission and, in some cases, assistance, to conduct its own trade with other Asian countries and to convey its embassies to Europe or to Ceylon (Sri Lanka).

Chapters three, four, five, and six, cover the reigns of the kings Prasatthong (1629-56),

Narai (1656-88), and Phetracha (1688-1703). Relations between the Dutch and Prasatthong are described in great detail. During his reign, the Dutch were able to observe and interact with the Ayutthayan court more freely than during succeeding reigns. Despite Narai's great interest in the material objects and technology of the West, the Dutch relationship with the court weakened as Narai preferred to isolate himself in Lopburi while a wide range of foreigners, particularly the French, competed for his attention. Relations between the two peoples become even more complicated during Phetracha's reign, a result of its internal tensions. The final chapter, number seven, presents the dilemma of the Dutch—to stay in the hope of retaining their property and privileges, or to depart as continued fragmentation of the court into groups headed by different members of the royal family reduced the prospects for trade and, also, opened the way for the Burmese. Lacking the security considered essential for their continued presence in the Ayutthaya, the Dutch fled as the Burmese moved in.

It is interesting to compare this monograph with the main Thai-language sources, "The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya". These are readily available in the synoptic translation (one comparing the texts of the eight known accounts) by Richard D. Cushman (David K. Wyatt, ed., *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*. Bangkok: The Siam Society, 2000). The detailed table of contents and index of Cushman's work make comparisons easy, a proceeding that renders the "language of ritual" immediately intelligible. Bhawan's great value, however, is moving beyond straight narrative to not only identify the dominant issues in Siamese court life and in the relations within the royal family and between the royal family and the nobility, but to see and describe patterns that can be used to formulate hypotheses that reach into Siamese history over a longer period of time. Such an exercise greatly clarifies the salient features of Thai society and political-economic life that carry over or change from Ayutthaya to the Thonburi and early Chakri periods.

Throughout the volume, the interest of this reviewer was captured by the many comparisons the text made possible between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and that of the nineteenth century in the history of the relations between the Western powers and the Thai. At Ayutthaya, for example, the Dutch and the Siamese were much more co-equal. Ayutthaya's strength was based on its home territories, wealth, and regional power, while the VOC acted as a sovereign power in Southeast Asia with the court of the governor-general at Batavia and its superior naval capabilities. Both shared a common concept of trade as a legitimate monopoly of government or of the company; the Dutch were looking for a share of the Ayutthayan monopolies, not a free, open, and competitive market. The Dutch were willing to work within the Ayutthayan judicial, political, economic, and social systems. They fully accepted the presence of the king, court, and nobility. Although they were concerned about the poor quality and lack of fairness in the legal system, and did seek rights equivalent to extraterritoriality to protect themselves, they did not try to encourage change in the way that the court of Ayutthaya handled its affairs. They were not seeking to promote any particular religion, to encourage mission work, or to improve the status of bondsmen and labourers. The court of Ayutthaya was well-matched with the Dutch, who were dependent on it for the protection of their facilities in the capital. Differences had to be negotiated, and there were times that the Dutch found themselves at a disadvantage in these negotiations, either with the court, or with other foreigners at court.

There were also significant continuities in Thai history. Both Ayutthaya and Bangkok were centres of tributary relations with surrounding principalities and kingdoms that were not fully terminated until 1899. They were familiar with the role of ambassadors and embassies. Direct contacts with powerful foreign rulers—the emperor of China, the monarchs of Europe, and, in the nineteenth century, the president of the United States, were considered of great importance with special attention given to royal correspondence. There has been major continuity in the basic traditions of diplomacy and in the hospitality granted to foreign visitors. Foreigners, except for periods of internal political tension, have been welcome, frequently employed in the court or administration, and sought out for information about the outside

world and other cultures. King Narai's interest in the West foreshadowed that of the nineteenth century Chakri kings, Rama IV, Rama V, and Rama VI. These continuities have helped to hold the society together across time; the differences reveal the numerous changes that have taken place as the country moved into more recent periods of history.

It would be of interest if the position of the Dutch as "one of the most important arms suppliers" (155) had been discussed as well as the possible influence that this most likely had on Dutch-Siamese trade. But this is only a small quibble. Bhawan's informative text is accompanied by extensive notes, appendices, and a bibliography, which is especially recommended for its accounting of earlier publications based on the VOC archives with reference to Thai history.

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