In early August 2020, the field of medieval political history lost one of its most prominent scholars, William Mark Ormrod, following his battle with cancer. In his memory, nine of his former students and colleagues contributed chapters covering topics such as collegiate statutes, the history of emotions, treason, ecclesiastical courts, and chivalry, among others, for *Monarchy, State, and Political Culture in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of W. Mark Ormrod*, edited by Gwilym Dodd and Craig Taylor. The essays in this volume, particularly those by Helen Watt, Anthony Musson, Helen Lacey and Gwilym Dodd, cover events, themes, institutions and individuals that Ormrod’s work focused on from the publication of his first and posthumous monographs in 1985 and 2021.

While Ormrod was primarily an historian of English political and social history, the essays in this volume incorporate methodologies from the fields of the history of emotions, manuscript studies, the histories of women and gender, and legal history, to craft a complete picture of English life and political culture from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. As Sarah Rees Jones makes clear in the dedication to Ormrod in the book’s preface, Ormrod did not wish to be ‘pigeon-holed’ as an historian of political institutions since his published works also covered the histories of immigration and social life (p. xvii). As the scholarship of his former doctoral students attest in this volume, Ormrod’s scholarship and mentorship carried his influence into many fields of medieval English history beyond life at court.

The contributors to this volume, chiefly Joanna Laynesmith and James Bothwell, take their tributes to Ormrod in their chapters to new levels since each of their respective chapters deals with issues of gender, sexuality, emotion and grief that build on Ormrod’s large body of scholarship. In collaboration with the other chapters in this volume, Laynesmith’s and Bothwell’s focus on emotions and gender build on discussions of women in one of Ormrod’s final works, *Women and Parliament in Later Medieval England* (2020). Each of their chapters situates women at the forefront of the Wars of the Roses and the succession crises of the fourteenth century to shift the volume’s focus into new territory.
Laynesmith’s chapter, in particular, raises important questions about the ways in which the intersections of gender and the household complicate the political careers of late medieval England’s aristocratic and royal women. Laynesmith’s focus on the connections between members of Cecily’s household and the ‘political centre’ at the court of London works to centre Cecily’s influence in the political and dynastic struggles of the fifteenth century that occupied the courts of Henry VI, Edward IV and Richard III (p. 165). James Bothwell’s analysis of the death of Philippa of Hainault and its impact on Edward III’s mental state similarly positions gender at the forefront of the ways in which English sovereigns and aristocrats exercised their authority. The high volume of death in Edward III’s own family during his long reign complicated how he constructed his dynasty’s historical memory through elaborate funerary monuments and tributes to Philippa and other family members.

This focus on gender and its reach within the late Plantagenet dynasty raises important questions for scholars of medieval monarchy and political culture that reach beyond the bounds of Ormrod’s scholarship. Particularly, in what ways can a larger focus on the role of emotions and gender in late medieval English political history shape how scholars view figures such as Edward III and Cecily of York? How, finally, can gender and the history of masculinity shape how scholars understand the monarchy, state and political culture of this moment in English history?

In sum, this volume’s focus on political history and its connections to related fields of study pays tribute to the scholarship and mentorship of W. Mark Ormrod through the work of nine of his former pupils. This important edited volume leaves room for future work that will challenge and build on the work of Ormrod in ways that will allow him to live on in the work of his students.

_Binghamton University, State University of New York_  JESSICA L. MINIERI

**PEER REVIEW**

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13233


Few English monarchs have sparked as much scholarly debate as Edward I. He has been praised as one of England’s greatest kings, deplored as a tyrant and a coloniser, and labelled just about everything in between at some stage. He certainly lived a long and event-filled life, and thanks to an abundance of surviving documentation, historians will continue to discuss the life and reign of Edward I for many years hence.

One of the latest additions to Edward I studies is this collection of articles from a range of newer scholars, each of them planting their flag in a field that has recently seen the retirement of several of its titans. The book starts strongly...
with an introduction in which the editors achieve the truly monumental task of clearly summarising a hundred years’ worth of shifting reputation and scholarly debate while laying the foundations for the chapters that follow. This introduction provides a refresher for any reader venturing into this volume without having done all their homework on the vast corpus of research on Edward I and, as a result, turns what could have been a niche work into something that can be of use to a wider range of scholars.

It is no surprise, given the density of existing scholarship on Edward I, that many of the chapters in this book are the result of a deep dialogue with the work of previous historians. Take for example Caroline Burt’s chapter on law and order during Edward I’s reign. This chapter, while also somewhat of an expansion of Burt’s own book on the subject, is fundamentally a piece in discussion with R. W. Kaeuper’s article on the same subject from 1979. Burt frequently references Kaeuper in the text and describes both Kaeuper’s original arguments and how she would amend them based on her own research. Similarly, Andy King’s concluding chapter on the 1297 civil war that never was is a challenge to a widely accepted historical argument, whose proponents have previously included the co-editor of this book. All these chapters provide fascinating insight into their subjects, but it must be said that this book is of more use to historians already deeply engrossed in the study of Edward I. These chapters are written well enough that readers need not be familiar with previous scholars’ work to still gain valuable insight into the subjects they cover, but more experienced students of Edward I will get more out of it than those just entering the fray for the first time.

Another advantage of this book is that it does not try to cover every single aspect of Edward I’s reign. People looking for new interpretations of Edward’s military achievements or his time as a crusader will come away disappointed. However, this means that instead of dipping its toes into a wide range of areas, this book can wade in knee deep on a few subjects and explore them in greater depth. This limited scope allows for multiple chapters covering the areas of law and order and governance at different points in Edward’s life, for example. While none of these chapters directly overlap, together they create a greater picture of both how Edward I governed and how the tools of government changed because of that governance. This gives the book more coherence than it would have if it tried to cover every aspect of Edward’s reign and, overall, it is to the book’s benefit.

All the chapters in this book are worthy of praise, but if I had to single one out as representative of the quality of the work contained in this volume while also being noteworthy in its own right it would have to be Louise J. Wilkinson’s chapter on Edward I’s royal daughters. The last major work on this subject, Wilkinson notes, was published in the mid-nineteenth century, which allows Wilkinson to bring a breath of fresh air to a long-neglected subject. Edward’s difficult relationship with his son, the future King Edward II, tends to draw the most attention in discussions of his role as a father, and Wilkinson’s description of his relationship with his daughters expands our understanding of who the king was, both as a ruler and as a father. She also provides fascinating insights into the lives of the daughters and more general information on what it was like to be a royal daughter at the time, including some brief comparisons with how previous English kings had related to their own daughters. This chapter provides a tantalising sample of the kind of research these scholars are doing, and plants
in the reader the desire to see what these new voices in the study of Edward I will do next. I cannot think of a better endorsement for a book subtitled ‘new perspectives’ than that.

Independent Scholar

STUART ELLIS-GORMAN

PEER REVIEW

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13210


This is the first of two volumes cataloguing the extensive collection of fifteenth-century printed books held primarily in the University of Glasgow Library and in other Glasgow institutions including the Mitchell Library, the Library of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, the Burrell Collection, and the University of Strathclyde Andersonian Library. Volume I features the full catalogue of those incunables held by the University of Glasgow Library alongside a detailed introduction which reveals the development of the collection from the founding of the University of Glasgow in 1451. This volume also includes an exemplary overview of the methodology and the form of entries. Volume II includes extensive indexes of authors, provenance and bindings, as well as the entries of those incunables held in the additional Glasgow libraries and museums which complete the catalogue, taking the final tally to over 1,100 books.

Fifteenth-century printed books, known as incunabula, are subject to particular attention and indeed enthusiasm from book historians, librarians and archivists, and collectors. Largely this is because books from the fifteenth century, from the earliest days of printing, are fewer in surviving numbers than their sixteenth-century counterparts. The condition of early printed books can also suffer from rebindings or ‘cleaning’ attempts. Nevertheless, a significant number of these early printed texts do survive. This catalogue highlights the 1,036 books printed before 1501 held by the University of Glasgow Library. Of these it is noted in the introduction to this volume that, accounting for duplicates, there are 965 discrete editions described. Moreover, there are eleven incunables that are believed to be unique copies and sixty-seven that are editions not found in other British libraries. This is an expansive and rare collection and indeed, as the author reminds us, the University of Glasgow Library incunable collection is ‘one of the richest rare book collections in the United Kingdom’ (p. xxv), supplementing those held at London, Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester.

Jack Baldwin and colleagues at the University of Glasgow Library began work on the catalogue back in 2009 with the Glasgow Incunabula Project, which set out on a full-scale investigation of the library’s pre-1501 books. The initial output
was a web catalogue, completed in 2017, and which continues to complement the printed catalogues (see gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/incunabula). The publication of the printed catalogue has allowed for further revisions. It is certainly true that the printed catalogue benefits enormously from its online counterpart; this volume has no images for example, but substantial images are available online. Images are especially helpful for clarifying the descriptions and will be of particular help to students who are still in the process of developing an ‘eye’ as it were.

The catalogue is ‘essentially a short-title’ (p. ix) one with links to the standard bibliographies of the field, the *Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue* (ISTC) and Goff’s *Incunabula in American Libraries* (Goff) included. The catalogue is alphabetical with entries noting collations, bindings, decoration, provenance and annotations. These are all easily identified in each entry, making this a resource for scholars and students.

It is in the provenance of these books that Baldwin and the team have excelled themselves. Details of each book’s earliest known owner are given wherever possible and follow chronologically to its arrival in the current collections. Provenance is enhanced by details of any manuscript inscriptions (remarkable features in over 90 per cent of the incunables in the catalogue), as well as ‘evidence from bookplates, book labels, armorial bindings, identifiable shelfmarks, mottoes etc.’ (p. xi). The provenance of each entry is enhanced by the introduction to the collection at the University of Glasgow Library where Baldwin traces the collection from its earliest days in 1578, with the donation by George Buchanan of two incunables as part of a larger donation of texts, through bequests from collectors including William Hunter (in 1807) and William Euing (first in 1862, then in 1872 and 1874).

Overall, the printed catalogue illuminates the rare collection of incunabula at the University of Glasgow Library and will attract experts and learners alike with its exemplary scholarship, methodology and accessibility.

*University of Glasgow*  

**JADE SCOTT**

**PEER REVIEW**

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13214


Matthew Hefferan’s *The Household Knights of Edward III* is a major contribution to the study of the *familia regis*, providing a detailed and penetrating look at the royal knightly household during Edward’s reign, tracing its evolution in terms of its nature and function, and examining its contributions to the king in waging war and governing his realm.
The book is divided into four main parts with an introduction, conclusion and appendices. In his introduction Hefferan cites four core questions that his work seeks to answer: ‘How and why were household knights retained? Who was chosen to serve in such a capacity? What functions did they perform? And what rewards did they receive for their service?’ (p. 1).

Part I, ‘The Knightly Household’, addresses the first two questions posed in the introduction and contains two chapters that discuss the methods by which knights were retained and details of how they were recruited. The third question about function is addressed in Part II, ‘Household Knights at War’, and Part III, ‘Household Knights and Politics’. Part II contains three chapters, the first two of which discuss how Edward’s knights prepared for war and how they performed in the field of combat. The third chapter, ‘Diplomacy and Defensive Warfare’, examines the role household knights played in diplomatic missions, which was considerable before 1350 and less so after that, and their utilisation in small numbers through appointments such as the control of castles to defend the peripheral parts of Edward’s realm that were vulnerable to attack – the Scottish border, the southern coast of England and the English lands held abroad. Part III, ‘Household Knights and Politics’, examines a specific group whose ‘domestic and political service to the crown was as important as their military obligations’ (p. 175). This part contains two chapters that focus on the non-military duties assigned to the king’s knights, tracing the evolution of governmental and political service that Edward’s knights performed at the local and national levels. The fourth question posed in the Introduction concerning what the household knights received for their service is analysed in Part IV, ‘The Rewards of Service’, consisting of a single chapter devoted to the subject.

The four core questions that form the framework for this investigation of Edward III’s household knights are those that have been employed in academic studies of the familia Regis of preceding reigns (John, the Minority of Henry III, Edward I and Edward II), and many distinct similarities with these earlier households are clearly evident, such as the primarily military role of the household knights, the expanding nature of the military household in times of war, the diplomatic and other sensitive duties assigned to a select few, administrative service within the domestic household, and the types of rewards of service.

Hefferan, however, goes well beyond answering those four basic questions and deftly uses his findings to discuss aspects not only of Edward’s reign, but of kingship, patronage and political society in general during the later medieval period. Through an examination of the role members of the knightly household played in military matters and their importance in governance and politics, this study seeks to ‘provide a detailed assessment of the household knights’ place within Edward’s reign, and the historiography surrounding it’ (p. 14). Building on a wide range of previous work on these subjects to provide context and discussion, Hefferan succeeds well in this aim.

While this study is essentially a view of Edward’s reign through the ‘lens of the household’, it does not overestimate the importance of the knightly element within it and offers a balanced assessment of the part the knights played in assisting Edward govern during key points over the years 1327–77 (p. 10).

One theme that emerges throughout this work is that of a king who for the most part was sensitive to the current political climate and pragmatic in
assigning what role his knightly household played in managing both his private and public interests so as not to arouse political opposition. Edward’s ‘delicate touch’, argues Hefferan, can be seen in how he involved his knights far less in the formal structures of local government than his successors, thus avoiding the political strife within the wider political community they faced as a result (p. 262). Few of his knights throughout his reign, of whom Hefferan cites one example, were appointed sheriffs, but many of them were made constables of royal castles, administrators of the royal forests and escheators. Likewise, the rewards of service, detailed in the final chapter of the book, were never so great or concentrated in the hands of his knights as to create jealousy among Edward’s other subjects.

Whereas Edward was disinclined to involve his knights in the structure of governance at the local level, this study argues their importance to the king in the political arena at the national level from the outset of his personal rule and throughout his reign. While careful to say that they were not ‘a central element in every aspect of Edward’s reign’, Hefferan traces their involvement and offers a reasoned and nuanced assessment of their influence not only in military matters, but also in their role on the king’s council, their participation in parliament, their role as royal agents assigned to protect the crown’s interests in the shires, their dominance at the royal court and their prominence in the Order of the Garter (p. 260).

From the perspective of household studies, the most important finding to emerge from Hefferan’s work is a detailed look at how there was a fundamental change that ‘clearly marked a monumental shift in royal retaining in the first half of the 1360s’, and what this signified in a military and political context (p. 35). By closely analysing the terminology employed in the royal records referring to members of Edward’s knightly household, a distinct change of reference can be seen to have occurred over the 1360s where the term milites de camera Regis, only sporadically found before this time, came to replace almost completely the term milites de familia Regis that had been commonly used throughout preceding reigns. This was not just the introduction of a new, interchangeable term, but indicative of a fundamental change in the nature and function of the knightly household itself. After the 1360s, the knights and bannerets of the king’s familia, ‘who had been a feature of English kingship since the Norman times, ceased to exist’, and in their place a smaller core of chamber knights emerged, ‘who were by comparison more domestic in their focus’ (p. 261). By the mid-1360s, this transformation was complete.

Following on from the work of Given-Wilson on the subject, Hefferan concurs with his explanation that the decline of the household knight and rise of the chamber knight was due to a ‘lack of war in the 1360s, an absence of royal participation upon its renewal in the 1370s, and the king’s increasing domesticity in his last year [which] left them [the household knights] surplus to requirement’ (p. 39). This decline took place against a background of developments during Edward’s reign that saw the gradual emergence of private military retinues raised through indentures of retainer rather than feudal obligations. Citing the Reims campaign of 1359–60, Hefferan notes how by that time the primary way for the crown to raise an army was through indenture (p. 39). The need to raise household troops, therefore, was no longer necessary.
The chamber knight system was radically different from the predominantly military household it gradually came to replace. No longer were large numbers of *milites Regis* retained. The largest group of chamber knights who served the king at any one time appears to have consisted of only twelve, and more often averaged only five judging from the evidence associated with the award of robes. Although it should be pointed out that evidence of this nature could be problematic, as shown in studies of earlier households, it is unlikely that the number of chamber knights was ever much greater during Edward’s reign than the numbers cited. The important point here is that this small group of knights came to be the what Hefferan, building on the work of Given-Wilson, Tout and Harriss, describes as the ‘single most important group at court’, serving and advising the king closely during the years when he became secluded, and his focus became more domestic (p. 200). Commenting on this transformation of the knightly household, Hefferan is surely right to claim that ‘Edward III’s reign thus occupies a central place in the history of the royal knight in later medieval England’ (p. 46).

One minor criticism is that this study could have done slightly more to show the continuity of the nature and function of the knightly household of earlier reigns and that of Edward’s, thus highlighting the transformation of the chamber knight system and the break with a long tradition in perhaps an even greater context. Evidence from as early as John’s reign and the minority of Henry III, for example, makes it clear that many of the similarities with Edward’s household, some of which are noted above, were well-established features at least from the early thirteenth century.

This, however, does not detract from the significance of this book. It presents a thoughtful, well-researched, and nuanced refinement of how Edward’s reign can be viewed. Readers will find a number of engaging discussions on a range of topics and historical debates relating to later medieval England as Hefferan weaves his evidence and defends his conclusions in the context of previous work on this period. As such, this book not only is a valuable contribution to household studies but will be of interest to a wider academic readership.

*Thomas Edison State University*  
KENNETH W. B. LIGHTFOOT

**PEER REVIEW**

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13228


Studies about women’s literary culture in the early medieval period have produced some intriguing discussions in recent years, particularly concerning women’s literary interests and agency. The scarcity of Old English manuscripts which can be clearly associated with female scribes presents a major issue for researchers.
However, there is evidence of their literary engagement in authors’ addresses to women. Kathryn Maude’s book contributes an important discussion to this area through her study about women and their relationship with Old English religious texts. She approaches early medieval instructional texts, such as sermons, homilies and hagiography, with women in mind as intended audience and addressees. This is an important step towards a better understanding of women and their engagement with literature in this period.

Maude explores laywomen, female religious and their connections to these texts from the tenth to the twelfth century. The specific focuses of each of her chapters on groups of women, namely laywomen, anchorites, holy women, and nuns, draws attention to their different religious experiences. She begins with an overview of literary culture and the scope of scholarship surrounding women’s relationship with texts. Maude uses evidence from instructional texts to show that women had a desire to have manuscripts written for them and which address female issues and advice specifically. This essential discussion encourages the reader to reconsider women’s interest in what was being written about them as well as approaches to female audiences. Maude’s study aims to identify women’s close relationship with texts, especially ones related to religious life, and to present early medieval women as seriously involved in literary culture.

Her book contains an accessible and chronological study of women as addressees in several case studies, beginning with laywomen in Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies in chapter 1, and anchorites Aelred’s De institutione inclusarum and Goscelin’s Liber confortatorius in chapter 2. Afterwards, she turns to texts which concern holy women and nuns and their intimate relationships with hagiography, such as the Lives of Christina of Markyate and Margaret of Scotland in chapter 3, and Goscelin’s hagiographies written for the abbeys of Wilton and Barking in chapter 4. Each of these chapters presents the complex intimacies between men and women, and between different women, as author, audience and subject of the texts. These examples also demonstrate the importance of women as commissioners and patrons of texts, not just readers or listeners. Maude reiterates the argument that women’s engagement with and interest in literary production and culture thrived during this period. The new insight gained from her fresh perspective of religious texts offers evidence of intimate relationships between authors and their female addressees.

She also discusses the precarity of addressing women. For example, if they are included in the overarching direct address (‘you’ or ‘we’), how does the masculine approach of authors such as Goscelin and Aelred affect the representation of women, and thereby show a manipulated view of women? Maude’s discussion concerns the matter of gender representation and its impact on women’s experiences as the audience. She demonstrates that religious texts which provide advice about daily life present evidence of different relationships between women and the texts associated with them. This encompasses the connections between author and addressee, nuns and female saints, and authors and their female subjects. Relationships are gained, maintained and lost in these texts through the decisions of the authors. However, her book highlights the need to consider the impact of women themselves who were also involved to varying degrees in the writing process.

Maude concludes her discussion with a study of the inclusion and exclusion of women in the sermon De natale Domini, which was copied by a nun in the
twelfth century. It is one of a few existing manuscripts written by a woman and has important implications for Maude’s study because of its mixed audience of monastic men and women. This final case study brings together issues touched on earlier in her book about authors’ recognition of women as the audience. She ends her book with a consideration of the nun’s desire to have female lives recognised and included in the text. This idea runs throughout her work. She considers the unique religious experiences of women from the enclosed spaces of the anchorite to the familia communities of abbeys and how ‘address’ alters in their associated texts.

*Addressing Women in Early Medieval Religious Texts* offers students, researchers and non-specialists a glimpse into the religious lives of early medieval women. Her work highlights the importance of sermons as evidence of women’s literary culture and production. She argues that these are texts which have been long overlooked and require further examination to better understand their subjects’ lives as Christian women. Whether authors directly address women to encourage them to conform to specific Christian standards, or whether the address is subtle and presented through women–women connections, Maude’s study presents sermons and other instructional texts as valuable sources about early medieval women’s lives. It is a thought-provoking work that should stimulate many more discussions in the years to come.

*University of Nottingham*  

ABIGAIL WILLIAMS

**PEER REVIEW**

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13248

*Cornwall, Connectivity and Identity in the Fourteenth Century. By S. J. Drake.*  
Boydell & Brewer. 2019. xx + 490pp. £60.00.

Any historian who studies relationships between the crown and the political leaders of Cornwall in the late Middle Ages has to negotiate two interpretative minefields. One concerns the hoary issue of the existence or otherwise of a ‘county community’; the other, potentially more threatening to academic reputations, is the extent to which the county’s distinctiveness sets it apart from the rest of the nation. Drake emerges unscathed from the first of these minefields; the second lures the author into taking too assertive a position: the notion of connectivity between Cornwall and the rest of the world is a leitmotiv used throughout, which occasionally wears thin through overuse. Nonetheless, the case stacks up that the county, despite – and sometimes because of – its distinctiveness, was fully integrated into the wider realm, and from an early date. Drake stands shoulder to shoulder with John Trevisa, the Cornish-born translator of Higden’s *Polychronicon*: ‘Cornewayle is in Engelond’.

The idea of the county community, along with ‘gentry’ or even ‘political’ community, emerged in the 1970s, influenced by the research of historians such
as K. B. Macfarlane on the affinities and networks of mutual interest centred on the late medieval English nobility, as well as county-based studies by students of the early modern period. The concept of community was criticised by some as a symptom of sloppy thinking, but very few who used it saw it in monolithic terms: communities of interests coalesced and dispersed as circumstances changed. But there were some constants and they are illuminating. Gwilym Dodd’s article, ‘County and Community in Medieval England’ published in the same year as *Cornwall, Connectivity and Identity in the Fourteenth Century*, is a useful companion piece. Dodd seeks to rehabilitate the ‘county community’ using the evidence of petitions. Drake provides extremely valuable evidence to show how the county court, even while losing some of its juridical power, gained in popularity as a local forum for formulating demands and requests and also for problem-solving and conflict resolution. Drake also neatly sidesteps the hazard of using the term ‘community’ by adopting the contemporary one of ‘commonalty’.

Insights and graphic pen-sketches abound showing how the many individuals who pass through the pages of this book – office holders, men-at-arms and mounted archers, sailors, shipowners, smugglers and pirates, tanners and general merchants, lawyers and ecclesiastics – reacted to change: trading conditions, war, pestilence and prosperity and, above all, to the reality, sometimes remote, sometimes effective, of the structures of power and justice administered on behalf of the king and the earls (dukes from 1337) of Cornwall. Local government and justice relied overwhelmingly on resident landowners, a group of several hundred that, in economic terms, was of ‘flattish composition’ without massive variations in income. Although at times the earldom-duchy was closely managed (by John of Eltham and the Black Prince, for instance) more often than not ducal authority was remote. Without any resident ‘great lord’, local power appears to have been wielded through this large body of landowners and it is notable that some petitions were directed against the venality of a vast array of petty officials in the ports and hundreds (the earl-duke held 8 1/2 of the nine hundreds). The many minor courts were more often than not vehicles for resolving disputes. This pattern extended into the world of smuggling and piracy: chapter 14 throws valuable light on the limitations of common law in containing maritime violence. Such offences were normally treated as civil suits, the law serving as a sort of juridical bridge between merchants, shipowners, aggressors, local jurisdictions and the state, achieving redress through arbitration.

The second minefield laid across the path of Cornish studies such as this relates to the use of history as a means to justify current political ends, rebuffing 1,000 years of Anglocentric policies and writing calculated to expunge Cornish identity. A genre had emerged in the sixteenth century among writers such as Richard Carew that disparaged difference (especially regarding the Cornish language), but this was more of a literary construct designed to emphasise the authors’ urbanity. There is little evidence in the fourteenth century that Cornwall was (or was seen as) a colonised land. Celtic foundation myths and Arthurian legend, while popular in Cornwall, were part of a pan-European cultural phenomenon. Nor was it a poor and exploited backwater: tin mining fuelled a remarkable economic boom in the decades before the Black Death, one that stimulated agriculture and provided the wherewithal for many local families to prosper and (as recent tree-ring dating discoveries have demonstrated) to build substantial and fashionable new houses. The county was distinctive in many ways, in its...
customs and its language (although the latter by the fourteenth century was restricted to the far west). The earls-dukes of Cornwall were mostly members of the royal family but, unlike the marcher lordships, the principality of Wales, or the palatine counties of Cheshire and Durham, the county did not in legal or administrative terms lie largely outside the realm. It was often brigaded by the crown with Devon for administrative purposes, and formed with that county a single diocese. Contrary to the view sometimes expressed that the whole county fell under the jurisdiction of the stannary courts, their jurisdictional remit was in fact very narrow, exempting tinniers from only a limited range of civil and minor criminal matters. And – a theme persistently but persuasively argued throughout this book – the connectivities were legion and demonstrably two-way. Its economy – Cornwall and Devon were the only viable sources of tin in medieval Europe – was integrated with those of its neighbours. Thousands of Cornishmen fought abroad and Drake estimates that a minimum of 521 ships and over 8,000 sailors served under royal command between 1297 and 1418. Comparable numbers are likely to have served in offices ranging from sheriff to local assessor for the lay subsidies and there are very few instances recorded of requests for exemption from public office. Churchmen and lawyers sought preferment and promotion far afield: some returned, many remembered their countrymen in their wills. Drake, in this engaging book, makes a convincing case that Cornish people in the fourteenth century saw multiple advantages in being part of England while, like John Trevisa, not diminishing their special character and spirit.

Independent Scholar

MARTIN CHERRY

PEER REVIEW

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13245

Early Modern


Interest in mid-seventeenth-century revolutionary republicanism has dominated early modern British historiography. New studies continue to uncover how the civil wars and interregnum significantly affected the religious, political and social lives of people in Britain. What has been missing from the historiography, however, is how the established churches in England, Scotland and Wales fared during these years when archbishops and bishops were ejected from their posts, and the physical and spiritual fabric within the parishes radically altered in a new republican world.

Church and People in Interregnum Britain seeks to remedy this gap in the field by reviving interest in how the established Churches and people experienced changes to religion during and after the civil wars. The aim of the collection is ‘to
shed new light on the still shadowy world of the interregnum Church, primarily the established Church in its 1650s incarnation' (p. 1). The contributors scrutinise how this period directly affected the clergy who served and administered spiritual and pastoral sustenance, and the ramifications that the war and republican periods had for how parish life and administration was conducted and recorded. *Church and People in Interregnum Britain* has a diverse range of contributors, including early career researchers, which reflects the fresh scholarship emerging within the field. In the first chapter of this collection, Andrew Foster reflects on the valuable insights previous historiography has provided for our knowledge of early modern parishes. In a general appeal, he hopes that these essays will trigger further interest and study in the interregnum Church and how contemporaries felt about these changes.

The chapters examine regional variations about the established Churches, which provides a broad perspective about how parish communities accepted, or resisted, changes implemented from London for a godly society. Many of the chapters touch upon how parishes conducted administrations, prosecutions, and bestowed patronage. Alex Craven’s chapter on the surveys of ecclesiastical livings and parochial reforms in the counties of Dorset, Gloucestershire, Lancashire, Middlesex, Norfolk and Wiltshire uncovers how difficult it was for authorities to reform the Church of England. Using detailed maps and tables of the Commonwealth surveys, Craven shows that officials frequently faced hostility from local communities who held long-vested interests, and from parishioners who were opposed to outside change. Similarly, Helen Whittle’s essay discusses the deep-rooted local connections of the Sussex clergy, and how the enforced removal of more than a third of clergymen altered the relationships that parishioners had with their incumbents. Comparatively, Rebecca Warren’s chapter on the ecclesiastical patronage of Oliver Cromwell during his Lord Protectorship argues that Cromwell was an active, but pragmatic, patron of clergy to benefices in the 1650s, revealing that he gave careful consideration to which godly ministers he appointed to ministries in the parishes.

One of the strengths of this collection is the inclusion of essays which focus on how the established Church fared in Scotland and Wales. Alfred Johnson’s chapter explores how John Calvin’s treatise about scandal in sixteenth-century Geneva influenced the Scottish perception of scandal and bad behaviour in the Ayr kirk sessions during the interregnum. Likewise, Sarah Ward Clavier’s essay on the episcopalian clergy in Wales describes how clergymen experienced and resisted change, and argues that Wales offered a refuge for exiled English clergy after the civil wars. Trixie Gadd’s innovative essay on Dorset’s topography shows how the environment had a significant impact on how the clergy prospered and made a living off the land. The essays in *Church and People in Interregnum Britain* are widely varied, though they generally concentrate on the southern counties; future work needs to be done to understand how the established Church fared in the northern counties of England, such as Yorkshire and Lincolnshire which had high Catholic and dissenting populations. Moreover, the Church of Ireland needs to be included in this narrative in future studies, especially in the context of the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland in the 1650s.

Resistance against change in the established Churches and parishes is also covered extensively in the collection. Fiona McCall’s chapter points out that acts of resistance in parish communities, including profanation, fornication and
religious nonconformity, expose the enduring religious divides within the parish communities. Comparatively, Rosalind Johnson’s chapter on loyalist religion in southern England uncovers, through extensive scrutiny of churchwarden accounts, the fragmentation of religious reform at local and parish level, citing resistance from parishes over the Book of Common Prayer, as well as the celebration of communion and religious festivals. Maureen Harris’s chapter details how loyalist clergy experienced, responded to and remembered godly rule at the restoration, and the ways in which they remembered the anger and loss they felt at being ejected from their livings, the violence they experienced, and their loss of status and reputation.

*Church and People in Interregnum Britain* is an important collection which gives readers a window into how the established Churches in England, Wales and Scotland dealt with the challenges of war and republicanism in the parish communities. The essays tackle in dense detail how certain parishes resisted changes to their spiritual lives, and the innovative ways in which the clergy adapted or resisted changes after many were ejected from their livings by using a diverse range of sources. Overall, the collection reflects the importance of studying the established Churches and people in the interregnum, and will be beneficial to those who are interested in regional and local history.

*Royal Historical Society*

EILISH GREGORY

PEER REVIEW

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13208


A *festschrift* that serves as a testament to scholarship is a *festschrift* indeed, and this book readily meets such a standard. No wonder when the guiding archetype is Mark Goldie: ‘Teacher, Scholar, Mentor, Friend’ and, coincidently, Emeritus Professor of Intellectual History at the University of Cambridge (p. v). *Politics, Religion and Ideas in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Britain* succeeds in reflecting both ‘the breadth of Mark’s scholarly endeavours’ and ‘the various generational cohorts he has inspired’ (p. 1). A warm, reflective introduction heads fifteen essays, mostly authored by Goldie’s former doctoral students (as is this review too). What transpires is suitably kaleidoscopic.

Tim Harris bridges the 1660 divide to suggest that ‘a turning point in Anglican royalist thinking’ on absolute monarchy was reached not in 1642 but in 1688 (p. 37). Dmitri Levitin considers the theological pedagogy of Joseph Beaumont, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge (1674–99), to show that evolutions in established ideas on church–state relations remained within a European matrix of magisterial Reformed thought (cf. Goldie, ‘The Political Thought of the Anglican

© 2021 The Author(s). *History* © 2021 The Historical Association and John Wiley & Sons Ltd


John Coffey turns to those Scots Presbyterian ‘saints-in-arms … who not only died for their faith, but were prepared to kill for it’ during the dark days of Restoration episcopacy (p. 118). In the case of the assassination of the archbishop of St Andrews, James Sharp (1618–79), biblical typology gave way to a militant ideology of resistance that cultivated the covenanting assassin-turned-martyr (cf. Goldie, ‘Divergence and Union: Scotland and England, 1660–1707’, in *The British Problem* (1996)). Clare Jackson reconstructs the political thought of George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh (c.1636–91) to demonstrate how Restoration royalism in Scotland ‘differed subtly from the parallel Tory ideology in Restoration England’: bearing suitable allegiance to ‘the Stuart dynasty’s ancient Scottish origins’ while resisting ‘English attempts to assign Scotland a subordinate status’ (p. 139) (cf. Goldie, ‘John Locke and Anglican Royalism’, *Political Studies*, 31 (1983)).

Sami-Juhani Savonius-Wroth contextualises John Locke’s dying wish to prepare *Of the Conduct of the Understanding and Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St Paul* for posthumous publication. Eschewing a commitment to philosophical ‘progress’, Locke held out for the political, moral and spiritual ‘regeneration’ of humankind. Geoff Kemp explains how, ‘in maintaining commitments he had as a censor of moral philosophy in 1664, Locke’s opposition to press licensing in 1693–95 can be aligned with contemporary ideas of censorship as much as being “against censorship”’ (p. 162). John Marshall tackles Locke’s service on the Board of Trade (1696–1700) to illuminate how and why a London-centric crisis of political economy brought Locke into formative conversation with merchants to advocate, simultaneously, coercing the poor to work and reinforcing colonial slavery (cf. Goldie (ed.), *Locke: Political Essays* (1997); Goldie, *John Locke and Empire: The 2021 Carlyle Lectures*). Delphine Soulard explores the early reception of Locke’s politics as construed and appropriated by the French Arminian journalist Jean Le Clerc (1637–1736) and his Huguenot counterpart Henri Basnage de Beauval (1656–1710). Partisan francophone reviews of *Epistola de Tolerantia* (1689) fostered an appreciation of Locke’s wider corpus of political writings in la *République des Lettres* (cf. Goldie (ed.), *The Reception of Locke’s Politics* (6 vols, 1999)).
Hannah Smith investigates Henry Purcell and Charles Sedley’s 1692 birthday ode for Queen Mary II. Godly reform was tempered by a pragmatic approach to gendered religious politics, and yet it also relished a queen rehabilitating a certain man tainted by Restoration court libertinism (cf. Manning, ‘Blasphemy in England, c.1660–1730’ (PhD, 2009)). Warren Johnston elucidates how conflicts with France over the course of the long eighteenth century renewed a formative eschatology that pitted British Protestantism against the forces of Catholicism and then Napoleonic republicanism, despotism and secularism. Gabriel Glickman re-envisages the origins of the Scottish Catholic Enlightenment, elucidating the formative yet ‘combustible … attempts to renegotiate the terms of civil and spiritual allegiance’ that emerged from late Reformation experiences of recusancy, exile and mission (p. 260) (cf. Goldie, ‘Alexander Geddes at the Limits of the Catholic Enlightenment’, Historical Journal (2010)). Sarah Irving-Stonebraker shows how that sense of ‘useful knowledge’ often associated with nineteenth-century secular liberalism actually grew out of our interactions between Baconian natural philosophy and the reforming proclivities of Christian charity, yet then experienced a process of secularisation all the same. Conal Condren entertains select ‘vicissitudes of innovation’ in intellectual culture from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. At the intersection of confessional politics and philosophy, a cooperative spirit among thinkers gradually and inconsistently mitigated a casuist aversion to innovation as the product of idiosyncratic, fallen minds (cf. Manning, ‘That is Best, Which Was First’, Reformation and Renaissance Review (2011); Goldie, ‘Ideology’, in Political Innovation and Conceptual Change (1989)).

Taken altogether, the deftness of the scholarship and the cogency of the historiographical revision on display here will leave fellow specialists purring. That said, there are plenty of finer points that can be pulled apart for questioning and critical discussion. More general subtextual themes and silences are also intriguing. A distinct yet evolving capacity to contextualise ideas in contingent episodes of religio-political experience, which were not obligated to futures that are equally now past, delivers cogent analysis grounded in an empirical recovery of history. Quite how this relates to those more constructivist evaluative paradigms that give cultural history its joie de vivre is something of a mystery. The vitality and import of intellectual biography loom large, yet relevant intersects with the literary imagination escape meaningful attention. In studying the politics of religion across the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the contrasting praxes of Peter Lake and Mark Goldie would be worthy of analysis, if not synthesis. A review of these historicist hermeneutics and methods may find further service in countering a corrosive research culture that now pursues interdisciplinary, instrumentalist approaches to the past with few qualms about the fate of historiography per se. Delving into the historical substance of this festschrift reveals something of an unintentional, tacit motif about accommodation. Cross-confessional varieties of intellectual change, conflict and incongruity are shown to find their place in a perpetually emerging reality unscripted by any chronological future yet beholden unto an authority in Christian theology.

Postscript: In the halcyon glow of a Cambridge summer, an august body of scholars gathered together on 16 July 2019 to honour the career to date of Mark
Goldie; a leading light on that day, and so many others, was Justin Champion – who very sadly lost his life to cancer on 10 June 2020.

University of Leicester

DAVID MANNING

PEER REVIEW

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13232


Rolf Petri’s most recent book is an interesting and sophisticated piece of historical scholarship. It is as stimulating as it is daring. The anglophone reader might be perplexed by the title itself and she or he might be further disquieted by learning, from the first pages, that the book will not consider the differences between the political ideologies arising in the West but, on the contrary, will show that there was a common trait underlying them all. As Petri himself puts it, ‘the general argument of this book is not variety but singularity’ (p. 1). It is a statement that seemingly clashes with the (by now) traditional and widely accepted rejection of all grand narratives. However, Petri does not offer a new metanarrative of some kind or other. His main aim is rather to show the extent to which European and Western political and social thought has been influenced by the belief that history has a purpose and a meaning, howsoever defined, and that such an assumption is shaped by Christian teleology. This is a claim clearly reminiscent of the one made long ago by Karl Löwith in his Meaning in History, first published in English in 1949. However, Petri’s book is not a mere refurbishing of Löwith’s – though, in truth, that alone would have been an achievement. The differences are noteworthy. In particular, while Löwith challenged the secular historical metanarrative of the West, grounded in history itself and promising unending progress, Petri is more interested in showing the extent to which such an idea has pervaded European and Western thought. In line with such an aim, he sets out his time span, from the eighteenth century onwards, when secular(ised) narratives about history became more widespread. Contrary to Löwith, Petri considers the connection between the idea of ‘modernity’, which he rightly sees as a highly problematic notion in itself, and the shaping of Western historical metanarratives. Yet the differences between Petri and Löwith are also mirrored in their different approaches. In fact, while Löwith considered a handful of (allegedly) highly influential thinkers, Petri focuses on a series of notions and concepts to demonstrate their resilience, which, he argues, have changed relatively little from the eighteenth century onwards. The approach is indebted to the Begriffsgeschichte School and, indeed, Reinhart Koselleck’s influence can be felt throughout the book, perhaps more than Petri would admit.

The first chapter, on European identity and European ideas of history, is doubtless the most important, for it clearly shows the extent to which secularised
views of salvation affected how the peoples of Europe have seen themselves and uncovers a series of key aspects of their Othering practices. Crucially, emphasis is (rightly and convincingly) placed upon their secularised messianism as a constituent element of their political thought and a building block of their views about the world. The following three chapters, on freedom and sovereignty, race and global rights, and empire, also rotate around Petri's main assumptions and largely confirm the claims put forward in the introduction and the first chapter. The last chapter, which bears the alluring title ‘Ecology and apocalypse’, is striking for its topicality and highlights the difficulty of escaping, today, tacit assumptions about salvation and historical meaning(fulness).

Of course, such an ambitious book raises issues not easily solved. Seeing different ideologies such as communism, socialism, liberalism, imperialism and nationalism grouped together might be troubling – in fact, even considering all of the above as ‘ideologies’ is perhaps debatable. But it is precisely Petri's aim to show the existence of a secular(ised) common discourse about salvation and shared arguments about historical meaningfulness (whatever the specific meaning might be) underlying them all. As Petri himself points out, his concern is to avoid getting ‘lost in differentiation’ – though one might see the price to be paid as too high (p. 11). In such a subtle piece of scholarship, any reader might have expected to learn more about those views that, while typically European/Western, in that they entwined with or even stemmed from ‘modernity’, denied the possibility itself of salvation and rejected the idea that history had any sense at all. These are marginal in Petri's work, and this seems to suggest that nihilism has affected the course of European history less than, say, communism or nationalism. Whether such was the author's intention (and, if it was, is the suggestion indeed convincing?) is not wholly clear. Be this as it may, these are very minor issues that hardly affect the validity of Petri's overall reasoning – though, perhaps, considering them would have problematised it further. The lucidity of Petri's arguments, his firm grip on the relevant international secondary literature and the breadth of his knowledge all make of this a thought-provoking, well-written and elegantly crafted work. And, indeed, what more could be asked of any book?

University of East Anglia

MATTHEW D’AURIA

PEER REVIEW

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13226


A focus on religion has been de rigueur in Locke studies since the appearance of John Dunn’s The Political Thought of John Locke in 1969. The tendency to associate Locke with later secularism, particularly in the form of a ‘separation between church and state’, had previously encouraged scholars to de-emphasise
or ignore the religious considerations that suffuse his published writings, his literary manuscripts and his correspondence. Thanks, in part, to Dunn’s intervention, the picture today is different. The work of John Marshall and Victor Nuovo, in particular, has drawn attention to the benefits of situating Locke’s religious thought within the overlapping debates that dominated the intellectual life of the later seventeenth century. Diego Lucci’s *John Locke’s Christianity* is a significant contribution to this literature: a crisply expressed, impressively substantiated and comprehensive account of Locke’s idiosyncratic Christianity.

Lucci’s work is divided into six chapters which successively explore Locke’s Biblicism (chapters 1–2), his soteriology (chapter 3), his eschatology (chapter 4), his christology (chapter 5) and his irenic tolerationism (chapter 6). A significant proportion of the study is devoted to the question of whether Locke was a Socinian or an Arminian or the proponent of a Christianity that selectively embraced components of both theologies, but preserved beliefs that Socinians and Arminians neglected or discountenanced. In Lucci’s account, Locke’s Christianity shared with Socinianism and Arminianism a belief that ‘the essence of Christianity lies in a few simple principles that can be deduced unambiguously from the biblical text’ (p. 6). Yet Locke departed from Arminianism in his ‘mortalism, his explicit and unambiguous denial of original sin, and his public silence on the Trinity’ (p. 8). These significant differences characterised his relationship with Socinianism as well. Locke judged ‘some of their doctrines to be at odds with scriptural revelation and natural reason’ (p. 8): he did not deny the Atonement ‘outright’, he ‘hinted’ at Christ’s pre-existence, and he ‘conceived of the Law of Nature as created by God, reaffirmed and contained in the revealed Law of Faith’ (p. 8), whereas Socinians were inclined to argue that God’s ‘Revealed Word contradicted and invalidated some parts of the Law of Nature and, thus, replaced it’ (p. 8).

Lucci amply defends these characterisations and situates them within the wider contexts of seventeenth-century theology. He ranges over several of Locke’s works and writings: the *Reasonableness of Christianity* and *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St Paul* attract understandable attention, but he is also attentive to the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Locke’s responses to Edward Stillingfleet, and a variety of manuscript notes and commentaries, preserved in the Bodleian.

There are difficulties in places with Lucci’s argumentation. Lucci writes that ‘Locke’s reflection [sic] on morality runs throughout his work and, being grounded in theism and combined with a religious, specifically Christian conception of life, unites his thought’ (p. 4). If the intention is to present Locke’s ‘reflection on morality’ as the bond that ‘unites his thought’ then this requires a demonstration that Lucci neglects to provide, in probability because no one could provide it. One wonders whether ‘thought’ is an appropriate label for Locke’s strikingly diverse intellectual output, a fortiori whether we should care to impose ‘unity’ on it. Is there a connection between ‘Locke’s reflection on morality’ and his work on the appropriate monetary policy for England, in his writings on recoinage in 1695–6, or the appropriate clothing for a child, in his *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*? Perhaps there is a connection, but it is surely too attenuated to merit Lucci’s defence of it.

*John Locke’s Christianity* highlights the extraordinary potential furnished by Locke’s archive for a granular study of his intellectual development. Lucci
presents Locke’s Christianity as ‘one of the most thought-provoking elements of his intellectual legacy’ (p. 13). ‘Thought-provoking’ are mots justes: Lucci’s work is an essential guide to the intricate problem of Locke’s religious beliefs.

Christ’s College, Cambridge, UK

FELIX WALDMANN

PEER REVIEW

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13241


Visitors to the Great Hall at Hardwick Hall will find, on prominent display, a handsome table with an engraved surface. This is the Eglantine Table, ‘probably the most interesting English table in existence’, as Percy Macquoid wrote in 1904, and the subject of this impressive collection of essays, edited by Michael Fleming and Christopher Page.

Commissioned to celebrate the marriages of Elizabeth Cavendish and George Talbot, sixth earl of Shrewsbury, in November 1567, and the marriage of two of their children from previous marriages in the following February, the table’s surface provides an encyclopaedic view of elite pastimes. Musical instruments, sheet music, writing accoutrements and gaming boards are shown in friezes either side of a panel inlaid with Cavendish and Talbot heraldic badges, uniting the ill-fated partnership of the two great English houses.

These friezes, along with the table in situ as of 1587 at Hardwick Hall, are presented in sixteen high-quality colour plates in the middle of the book and provide a helpful reference point for the often highly technical detail of some contributions. Concentrating on these friezes, the collection illustrates how the collaboration between musicologists of theory and of practice, and historians of social change and specific material histories, can invite fresh approaches to the relationship between elite and popular musical cultures in Elizabethan England.

The second part of the collection is rich in organological and musicological detail, with contributions dealing with the construction, depiction and meaning of viols and violas, guitars, citterns, lutes and harps, along with printed music. This is complemented by the later contribution of Christopher Marsh on ‘the Musical Lives of the Majority’. Here, Marsh plays on the themes of music and social fluidity in early Elizabethan England with virtuosic talent. Taking the example of a Chichester piper, Marsh highlights the increasing pressure placed on travelling musicians by ‘hotter’ Protestant civic administrators. It was these men, Marsh argues, who forced those trading in the ‘tune traffic’ of Elizabethan England off parish greens, and into the relative protection of elite households of Bess and her contemporaries.

© 2021 The Author(s). History published by The Historical Association and John Wiley & Sons Ltd
Marsh is sensitive to the nuances of Protestant approaches to music, though one feels this might have been explored in more detail elsewhere in the collection, if only to avoid any misapprehension of Protestants as unilaterally opposed to anything other than metric psalmody. Marsh’s chapter, if placed earlier in the collection, might have also helped clarify the dichotomies in the interpretation of instruments and class noted in section two. Christopher Page’s chapter on the guitar identifies the contrast individual instruments could have. The guitar was both positively represented as a royal gift, and negatively represented in the order of the 1572–3 Doncaster court rolls for any man with ‘gytterons’ after 9 p.m. to be imprisoned. As Marsh’s chapter reveals, however, elite and popular musical performances were rarely exclusively ‘elite’ or ‘popular’, and an earlier recognition of this may have helped provide a broader sense of the Elizabethan musical world.

An object laden with icons and images celebrating the variety of elite musical and social life, the Eglantine Table is also examined to reveal more about processes and patterns of elite self-fashioning. This theme is primarily explored in the first section of the collection, which deals with the non-musical aspects of the table’s surface. John Milsom returns to elite self-constructions in chapter 14, providing a musical context in an exploration of royal and elite musical habits.

Parallels in the relationship between elite identity and royal representation are also drawn in the collection. Claire Preston’s excellent exploration of the botanical imagery as conscious evocation of royal eglantine iconography and Milsom’s recognition of the influences of Bess’s attendance at Chapel Royal services and the musicality of court drama on the table are brilliant contributions to this theme. Bess’s self-construction emerges, then, not as the depiction of a single item, but as accretions of habits of life, forming a pointillist image of elite self-fashioning. While this theme is not explored with the same depth as the social fluidity of early modern music, the high quality of the contributions helps to emphasise the importance of material histories in recovering elite identity.

Contributors provide valuable engagement with existing works. Alongside Marsh’s broader approach discussed above, Matthew Spring’s engagement with Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson’s A Day at Home in Early Modern England in his chapter on Elizabethan lutes provides a valuable point of engagement with the world of the Protestant household.

However, these historiographical strengths are not always sustained throughout the collection. A positional historiography in the introduction might have helped emphasise the importance of the space the collection occupies in the existing corpus of literature on material histories, elite communities, and Elizabethan music and religion.

The discussion provided in the collection provides a valuable intersection between musical communities and the materiality of early Elizabethan England. This contributes to the work already conducted on Elizabethan religious communities, both Protestant and Catholic, by scholars such as Christopher Marsh, Emilie Murphy and Jonathan Willis. For an introduction to the theological nuances of religious labels such as ‘Protestant’, one might look to the works of Alexandra Walsham and Alec Ryrie, found in the footnotes of several contributions. The collection nevertheless represents a fruitful springboard from which the theological and social identities of an elite network might be examined alongside art- and material-historical approaches.

© 2021 The Author(s). History published by The Historical Association and John Wiley & Sons Ltd
Read in conjunction with broader historical works, the collection represents a well-evidenced and well-researched series of contributions centred on a fascinating material survival of Elizabethan England. This is a volume of immense utility for students interested in the rich intersections between materiality, musical culture and elite identity in the 1560s. Contributions such as this illustrate the richness and value of musical-historical studies, bridging the disciplines of history and music, and approaches of materiality and aurality, in recovering the religious, social and musical nature of early Elizabethan England.

_Merton College, Oxford, UK_  
H. O. D. PATTON

**PEER REVIEW**

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13239


In this 326th volume of the _Studien zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte_, Saskia Limbach focuses on official printed publications in the Duchy of Württemberg and the Imperial City of Cologne during the sixteenth century. She studies _when_ and _why_ the principality and the imperial city governments used the printing press to reach their subjects. This undertaking finds itself at the intersection of book history, legal history and political culture. While book historians generally search for their sources in libraries, Limbach found herself searching for additional broadsheets/broadside in archives and museums, completing their context and understanding with minutes, account books and invoices.

The choice to study a large, urbanised duchy and a very densely populated Imperial City is fitting, as the author explains, because it provides indications of when governments were keen to adopt the printing press to spread their ideas and regulations. The numerous publications that needed to be spread through the sixty districts of Württemberg would have been a laborious activity, which could be shortened by using the printing press. Moreover, using printed invitations to events – while few recipients would attend – gave the impression of a wealthy, influential duke and could, as such, influence public opinion. The Dukes of Württemberg also had their voluminous _Landesordnungen_ (rules of land) printed in numerous copies and editions. While the Duchy of Württemberg had an almost uncontested line of rulers, Cologne was very different. Here, the government was elected for two years and needed to reaffirm its position each time it came to power. As the city was small and densely populated, the council often decided to communicate measurements orally instead of through print. The city government deemed it unnecessary to boost its image. Many printed official texts were paid by other stakeholders, as the government opted for oral proclamations.
Limbach certainly went to great lengths here, as the archive of Cologne collapsed in 2009, and she faced missing microfilms and surely many lost documents. Luckily, she was able to retrace several documents from other collections throughout Germany, making her research a very valuable contribution to earlier studies in the field of Policeygesetzgebung (police-ordinances, or ‘legislation’). Interesting in this respect is the extensive appendix, which contains information regarding copies and digitised editions of, and references to, the Universal Short Title Catalogue and the Repertorium der Policeyordnungen der Frühen Neuzeit (Karl Härter and Michael Stolleis). In other words, one can easily retrieve copies or other references to the works. For those unfamiliar with these collections, or even with the type of government publications that were common during the sixteenth century, this work is a feast as it is richly illustrated, showing examples of mandates, ordinances and graphs for overview. These additional features make the work easily accessible to those interested in the sixteenth century, Holy Roman Empire and governmental publications, without requiring much prior knowledge.

It should be stressed that this book is very well balanced: it provides much in-depth information through short, engaging, well-written sentences. Moreover, as said, it holds a lot of functional illustrations that inform the reader through visuals. One would, however, have expected to find some maps to illustrate the jurisdictions (‘borders’) of both the Duchy of Württemberg and the Imperial City of Cologne as they differed over time, and which and would have been very useful for the international audience this volume aims to reach.

In short, Government Use of Print should be a must-read for courses that deal with the history of the Holy Roman Empire, as it provides concrete examples to understand how institutions communicated and the role of printers. The work also creates a number of hooks for (small) research projects. To name a few: are Cologne and Württemberg exemplary, or would a study of, for instance, the Duchy of Bavaria and the Imperial City of Regensburg show different patterns? How was such a government–printer relationship organised in other parts of Europe? How did the relationship between printers and government in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries develop? Furthermore, Limbach has shown some examples of female printers who continued in the line of work of their late husbands. While it is extremely challenging to find this kind of material in the archives, it would be interesting to know more about the activities of women and the acceptance of this continuation – and over a more extended time. It is to be hoped that Limbach will continue in this line of research, as that would undoubtedly result in a great deal more insight into the early modern world, and some well-written books.

Huygens Institute for Dutch History, Amsterdam  
C. A. ROMEIN

PEER REVIEW

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13244
Modern


In 1810, Jane Cumming informed her grandmother that she had witnessed two teachers at her Edinburgh boarding school engage in a sexual relationship. This sparked a chain reaction in which several families removed their daughters from the school, causing it to close. The teachers, Jane Pirie and Marianne Woods, brought a defamation of character suit against the grandmother, accusing her of spreading a lie that led to their financial ruin. The case has long offered scholars invaluable insight into early nineteenth-century conceptualisations of romantic love and friendship between women. In this book, Frances B. Singh takes a different approach. Singh focuses on Jane, a biracial teenager who was never fully welcomed into her prominent Scottish family. Singh gives a detailed account of Jane’s life in an effort to discern what prompted her to make accusations that were greatly exaggerated – if not altogether false. By examining Jane through the frameworks of class, race, gender, sexuality and childhood neglect (referred to within the book as ‘keyholes’), Singh offers a complex and sympathetic reflection on a young woman whose behaviour was much maligned, both during her life and posthumously.

Placing Jane in context, Singh sets out a continuum of other biracial children transplanted from India to Britain to demonstrate how some thrived while others struggled in the precarious position that they occupied in both their family and society. This lays the foundation for the contention that Jane’s actions were motivated, at least in part, by the trauma of her relocation and the fact that she felt unwanted. Chapter 1 covers the history of her Scottish family and the decision to send her wayward father to India. Chapters 2 and 3 chronicle a series of rejections by family and teachers that Singh suggests may have turned an already insecure Jane bitter and vengeful. Singh posits that Jane’s story of witnessing a same-sex relationship between her teachers was a cry for attention that had devastating consequences for everyone involved.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the defamation case itself. Jane spent four days on the stand defying the ‘stereotype of the meek, modest, powerless, voiceless female with downcast eyes’ (p. 121), even as key components of her tale were dismantled. Singh offers a fascinating study of how narrators and their narratives are understood through cultural frameworks. Both Jane and her tale were measured against what the judges believed about the (im)possibility of same-sex relationships between women and the allegedly corruptive power of a childhood spent in what was imagined to be the sexually charged atmosphere of India. Some readers might be disappointed by the comparatively minimal attention given to determining the true nature of the relationship between Woods and Pirie (though this is thoughtfully addressed in two appendices). However, as Singh points out in the Author’s Note, this book is focused on revealing Jane’s voice and examining how she became ‘confined within the racially and sexually inflected construct of the wily Indian seductress’ (p. xxvii). In these chapters, Singh skilfully presents the conflict between a defiant Jane and the Orientalist keyhole through which she
was viewed. In keeping with the aim of hearing Jane’s voice, the book extends beyond the conclusion of the defamation case. Chapter 6 covers Jane’s marriage to William Tulloch – an arrangement that seems to have benefited everyone except Jane herself. Here, Singh reveals that neglect and defiance continued to shape Jane’s life as she struggled against the confines of an unhappy marriage until her death in 1844.

One of the most interesting and well-executed aspects of this book is Singh’s unpacking of the myriad ways in which Jane and her actions have been interpreted. The views held by family members, teachers, acquaintances and judges are revealed through letters, testimony and judicial commentary. Continuing this analysis, chapter 7 considers the various guises in which Jane has appeared posthumously. Particular attention is paid to William Roughhead’s 1930 retelling of the case, in which he emphasised earlier racist assessments of Jane while carefully avoiding any discussion of her possible lesbianism. This interpretation is set against Lillian Hellman’s 1934 play *The Children’s Hour*, which strips the case of its racial element by presenting a now white Jane (in the form of the fictional Mary Tilford) as a young woman coming to terms with her burgeoning sexuality. Singh argues that Hellman’s more understanding imagining of Jane is never fully realised because actresses tended to play the role as evil and vindictive, in line with Roughhead’s portrayal.

Singh concludes with her own interpretation, in which Jane’s actions are attributed to ‘race-based prejudice, erotic sensitivity to situational and contextual stimuli, stress and anxiety, and child maltreatment’ (p. 219). Here, Singh chooses to view Jane mostly through a psychoanalytical keyhole. Though aspects of this analysis are unavoidably speculative, it is importantly focused on understanding Jane on her own terms and offers a sympathetic reassessment of her destructive behaviour. As such, this book is invaluable for the depth and complexity it brings to the conceptualisation of Jane and, by extension, the defamation case that resulted from her actions. Moreover, Singh’s research has significant applications beyond this specific case. Although Singh set out to find Jane’s voice, what is compelling about this work is that it finds multiple Janes, each the product of a different observer’s perception – including that of Singh. In doing so, Singh offers a thought-provoking study for scholars interested in the relationship between narrators, their narratives and their audience in the courtroom and beyond.

*Independent scholar*

RIAN SUTTON

**PEER REVIEW**

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13247
In *Sickness in the Workhouse*, Ritch offers a comprehensive glimpse into the Victorian workhouse infirmary. Ritch argues that existing literature failed to demonstrate the complexity of medical relief under the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. In response to his claim that the historiography used the competence of medical staff as a litmus test for overall quality of the institution, Ritch approaches workhouse medicine from a more positive and multifaceted perspective. According to Ritch, workhouse medicine was ‘more important in the lives of sick paupers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries than is generally acknowledged’ (p. 28). He states that ‘many poor law historians have claimed that workhouses did not develop a significant medical role until the late nineteenth century and emerged as the most important institutions for medical care only in the early twentieth centuries’, and thus challenges this claim by offering an overview of workhouse medicine under the Old Poor Law with the book primarily examining the provision of medical care under the New Poor Law from 1834 to 1914 (p. 1).

Ritch provides a valuable contribution to the historiography of Poor Law medicine by researching the workhouse in periods of normal operation. Although he analyses how the workhouse responded to outbreaks of typhoid, diphtheria, smallpox and other contagious diseases, he primarily assesses the accommodation and treatment of various categories of inmates such as the aged and infirm, lunatics, epileptics and venereal patients. Through his extensive use of quantitative evidence, Ritch conducts statistical analysis on the different classes of inmates on given days in both the Birmingham and Wolverhampton workhouses, which elucidates how the sick poor engaged with the workhouse throughout this period.

One of the strengths of the monograph lies in the analysis of the workhouse’s contribution to the West Midlands’ medical landscape and the differences between the selected workhouses. The size discrepancy between the small voluntary hospitals and the workhouse influenced the patient profile, in which the former prioritised acute patients. The workhouse subsequently was forced to admit acute, contagious and chronic patients. Ritch notes how the voluntary hospitals’ restrictive admission policy resulted in the sick being denied admission or transferred to the Birmingham Union when deemed incurable. However, he observes similarities in medical practitioners in the workhouse and voluntary hospitals, in which Birmingham nurses ‘moved between the two types of institutions’ to reiterate that the workhouse was not inferior (p. 217). By comparing the Birmingham and Wolverhampton workhouses, Ritch observes how the size of the workhouse and the needs of the town influenced the types of patients and how the workhouse was able to accommodate them.

*Sickness in the Workhouse* is thematically divided into two sections. Chapters 1–3 focus on the patients with each chapter dedicated to a specific type of patient. Chapter 1 is the most quantitative chapter and examines the proportion of sick inmates to the general workhouse population. Despite the workhouse’s association with incurable inmates, Ritch also analyses acute patients and surgical cases to elaborate on the role of the workhouse infirmary. Chapter 2 focuses on
workhouse fever wards and patients with infectious diseases, with an emphasis on smallpox, childhood diseases, puerperal fever and diarrhoeal diseases. It looks at the role of the workhouse in epidemic management and the relationship between the Board of Guardians and local sanitary authorities. Chapter 3 analyses the treatment and accommodation of patients ‘whose behaviour was challenging or difficult to control within the institution’, such as mental illness, epilepsy and venereal patients who were ‘prone to misbehave’ (p. 94).

With the first section devoted to the patients, chapters 4–6 are dedicated to the medical profession and medical treatment. In chapter 5, Ritch reconstructs workhouse medical therapies based upon contemporary understanding of disease and curative medicine. Chapters 4 and 6 are dedicated to the medical officers and nurses respectively. These chapters examine the daily responsibilities of the medical practitioners and their interactions with the Board of Guardians. Although Ritch acknowledges that it was difficult to find patients’ voices in the records, the second half of the book is stronger as it incorporates both qualitative and quantitative evidence while using individual doctors and nurses as case studies.

*Sickness in the Workhouse* is a valuable contribution to the historiography of both the Poor Law and Victorian medicine. As Ritch was a consulting physician in geriatric medicine, this book should be of interest to medical professionals seeking to learn more about the history of medicine and hospitals, yet is also accessible to historians and those interested in welfare history.

*Trinity College Dublin*

**SHELBY ZIMMERMAN**

**PEER REVIEW**

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13243


The First Aid Nursing Yeomanry (FANY) was the brainchild of Edward Baker. He was a lower middle-class, self-styled, ‘sergeant major’ who formed this British quasi-military organisation in 1907. Experience of Britain’s military struggles, notably during the Boer War in South Africa, spurred Baker to create the organisation. Baker was motivated by an anxiety that a brutalisation of warfare would leave soldiers increasingly vulnerable to slow and painful deaths, coupled with a fear of Britain’s subsequent diminished global status. His vision, then, was to recruit uniformed, elite and – by proxy – ‘respectable’ women, who could train and serve as regimental first aiders in future wars. The vision foresaw the FANY mounted on horseback (hence the ‘Yeomanry’ part of the organisation’s title): able to reach soldiers in precarious positions, attend to them without having to transport them to a hospital and nurse them quickly back into fighting spirit to bolster British military prowess.
Juliette Pattinson frames her impressive book on the FANY, its formation and women’s active service in war as a case study of ‘gender modernity’ at a significant juncture of the gender order in Edwardian Britain. Pattinson’s explanation for studying the Corps is manifold and convincing. The FANY is the longest-serving female military unit in Britain; the first that permitted women to wear khaki; the only female unit to be sworn in as soldiers of the Belgian army; the first to be enlisted as official drivers of ambulances for the British army in the First World War; and the most highly decorated female Corps that served between 1914 and 1918. The book’s main claim is that war provided the FANYs with a space to transgress their gender identities, mediated through elite women’s paradoxical traditional, imperial and conservative ideologies. FANY members pushed the bounds of gender conventions in the military, reconfiguring notions of ‘female masculinity’, while remaining within the limits of normative British femininity (pp. 220–1). In short, class engendered the FANY in ways that their gender could never do pre-suffrage. The book’s five chapters examine how class intersected with gender to mitigate anxieties about the ‘New Woman’ at the turn of the century, demonstrating how elite members of the FANY deflected too much condemnation by the military and government to ensure the Corps’s survival, while unintentionally subverting gender norms of British society and the military by shoehorning themselves into the battlefield. This is the book’s main historiographical intervention.

The Corps depended entirely on volunteers in its early days, and the social demography was dominated by the middle-to-upper classes: daughters of professionals and aristocrats joined the FANY to escape the gentility of the Edwardian drawing room. Horses were a key attraction for these debutantes; Grace Ashley-Smith referred to fellow recruits as ‘prominent hunting women’ (p. 52) with a desire for adventure. Women were expected to pay for FANY membership, to provide their own horse and maintain paddocks for their subsequent training. Women similarly had to purchase their own uniforms and supply first aid equipment, as explored in chapter 1. Pattinson explains how one lower middle-class woman could not afford to join the corps and looked on with envy at training drills. Pattinson argues that, despite turning heads – tapping into popular anxieties about a decline of femininity in England – elite FANYs managed to conjure up fascination rather than overall concern. Women even rode astride, not cross-saddle, but did so in the private not public domain, which the author conceptualises as distinctly ‘modern’. Chapter 2 demonstrates how the FANYs consciously constructed and refashioned their public reputation to prevent criticism along these lines. Revealingly, working-class women, Pattinson argues, would have been regarded as highly politicised in donning military uniforms through membership of the Corps, or even sexually dubious. In service FANYs were confronted with male nudity for the first time; they worked in difficult and distressing contexts, witnessing disembowelled soldiers who suffered from physical and mental trauma; and FANYs undertook traditionally working-class jobs on the front, such as chauffeurs and nurses. Once again, Pattinson shows how the FANY’s respectability, largely premised on her class, precluded her from negative reporting and the ultimate charge of being sexually promiscuous, or even a lesbian. The FANY, then, offered an alternative way of being a woman, which was a main motivator for elite recruits; but membership was solely the preserve of the financially and socially able, who could, in turn, break the rules.

© 2021 The Author(s). History © 2021 The Historical Association and John Wiley & Sons Ltd
Women soon flocked to the battlefields of northern France. Volunteers drew on family capital to procure passports to pay for their Channel crossing, and to sustain themselves upon reaching the Continent. The War Office warned of a ‘nursing fever’, with too many women volunteering to help the war effort, and government circles equally condemned what they regarded as ‘war tourism’. Both the British army and the Red Cross obstructed the FANYs’ attempt to embark on active service. But elite members of the Corps drew on their social networks to bypass these hurdles. A key FANY figure was Ashley-Smith, who outmanoeuvred both attempts by negotiating an enlistment in the Belgian army instead: the first of its kind for a women’s Corps. This was only possible when the FANY was professionalised, which was a consequence of a transformed public image of recruits from ‘hussies’, behaving like men, to ‘lady soldiers’ serving their King and Country, as explored in chapters 2 and 3. An intensification of training, a tightening up of membership, qualifications for admittance and increasing ‘meritocracy’ in recruiting suitable volunteers all occurred when Ashley-Smith ousted Baker, whose financial travails brought the organisation close to being dissolved before the First World War. Of any chapter in the book, chapter 3 on professionalisation demonstrates how female agency was rooted largely in class (as well as personal grit and perseverance). The fact that senior FANY women managed to oust the male founder, Baker, is an evocative demonstration of the ways in which elite recruits transgressed convention in Edwardian Britain.

Efforts by those like Ashley-Smith to professionalise the corps eventually paid off: sixteen FANYs eventually formed unit three under Lilian Franklin, which became the first women’s ambulance convoy to drive formally for British soldiers (p. 248). In total, 400 women served in northern France during the war, as chapters 4 and 5 explore. Former FANY members cherished photographs of their wartime years for decades. One picture stands out: FANY members, clad in khaki, though cloaked in expensive fur coats, stood proudly in front of their ambulances, which Pattinson compares to the imagery of RAF pilots and their planes in the Second World War. ‘A thrilling sense of liberation … results from [the FANY] challenging convention [and] pervades their written and oral accounts’, Pattinson aptly concludes (p. 264). Framing what wartime service meant to these women, Ashley-Smith vocalised this pride when speaking about confronting prisoners of war for the first time: ‘I swanked out through rows of Germans as if the earth was indeed mine, for being the only possessor of khaki, I felt I must live up to it’ (p. 114).

The sense of liberation felt by those 400 women, however, was short-lived. Indeed, FANYs’ wartime service demonstrated the role that women could play in modern warfare, wholly indicative of female agency. But on returning home, with the last FANY leaving for the UK in 1922, women’s personal testimonies revealed a sense of frustration by demobilisation, and a subsequent regression to FANYs’ pre-war lives. Pattinson’s conclusion is depressing, if not an expected one: despite their cropped hairstyles, the wearing of uniforms, a transgression of gender norms, and driving of ambulances, the FANYs’ wartime service constituted a brief time capsule for members. Women did not try to take up arms, for example, or seek to challenge the gendering of war; their motivations differed: patriotism, a sense of being, service and purpose – that freed them from traditional domestic roles – all characterised their experiences of war. The FANY was, as one soldier appropriately described them, ‘the First ANYwhere’ (p. 264), and this book will
appeal to a broad readership (if not dissuaded by Manchester University Press’s extortionate prices). Pattinson’s next volume on how the FANY evolved during the interwar years, and subsequent military service in the Second World War some twenty years on, is much anticipated.

Girton College, University of Cambridge

HARRY J. MACE

PEER REVIEW

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13207


Norway, Sweden and Denmark were lucky enough to avoid involvement in the First World War. The trench warfare of the Western Front and the chaos that tormented eastern Europe on the Russian front passed them by. Nonetheless, they could not fail to be affected by the hostilities that had swept up most of the continent. True neutrality is rarely an option, and any country in any conflict which declares its neutrality will inevitably have its wishes compromised through pressure from the combatant parties. The geographical location of each of the three nations, allied to the fact that these Scandinavian kingdoms had a lot less in common than might be readily supposed, determined that each would practise and interpret its neutrality differently.

It is neutrality that is the primary focus of this book. The diplomatic relations with the warring parties have a natural place in the book, but it is not a chronological narrative of the Scandinavian response to actions by the Allied or Central powers. Instead, we are presented with a series of thematic chapters, based on the notion of neutrality, and covering issues ranging from the royal meetings in wartime to the problem of the ownership of the Åland Islands. The Åland question allows Finland to be drawn into the study, with Finland’s position as a Grand Duchy of the Russian empire proving to be of significance to Finland’s Scandinavian neighbours.

As much as the Scandinavians may have wished to practise strict neutrality, the reality was that each nation had to accommodate the warring powers that bordered it. Norway, with its long coastline and its maritime economy, was always going to be strongly influenced by Great Britain, and, commercially at least, drifted into a de facto connection with the Allies. Since 1864, Denmark had hoped for a territorial revision which would see the territories lost in its 1864 war with Prussia returned. However, Denmark’s geographical proximity to Germany meant that its own neutrality would have to be compromised in the direction of the Central Powers. Sweden, as the largest Scandinavian country, was still smarting from its own territorial loss to Norway early in the twentieth century and remained hopeful that a Russian defeat would lead to the return of the
strategically important Åland Islands. Sweden faced pressure both from German diplomats and from activists within its own society to abandon neutrality and enter the war as an ally of Berlin and Vienna. Comparable activism was never observed in the other two kingdoms. The Danish intellectual Georg Brandes’s disillusion with his former friend Georges Clemenceau was not motivated by any pro-German feeling, despite intellectual disappointment in Allied capitals following his refusal to show uncritical support for their cause, and he certainly could not be compared to high-profile Swedes such as Sven Hedin, an unashamed supporter of the German cause (and later an admirer of Hitler).

Even when not explicit, the spectre of pro-German activism that motivated elements within the Swedish elite underpins much of the book. It can be observed primarily in the chapters which deal with the movement in Sweden itself, and in those that cover the Finnish position within the Russian empire and its consequences for Swedish aspirations and the tussle over the future ownership of the Åland Islands, but its influence can also be felt in the chapters concerning royal relations and intellectual attitudes. By the end of the war any influence that this section of society may have had over Swedish foreign policy had diminished considerably. Swedish historiography has largely ignored this authoritarian aspect to Swedish policy, but its significance to Swedish elite culture is highlighted here and is an illuminating part of the whole study.

Scandinavian neutrality may have been diminished, but it still allowed the three kingdoms to keep out of the armed struggle destroying much of the rest of Europe. There was very little chance of their territorial integrity or independence being wiped out by one or more of the great powers, and the Scandinavian public, while poorer economically, were able to sit out the war in safety, and look for an improvement in conditions when it eventually came to an end. They were not to be so fortunate in 1940.

The place of international law is another major focus of the book. In wartime particularly, international law is often honoured more in the breach than the observance and is frequently referred to only when one belligerent seeks to influence world opinion in its favour, ignoring sometimes its own lapses. The interpretations of international law by the warring parties inevitably affected the Scandinavian kingdoms. Norway’s acquiescence in the British naval blockade of Germany is the best example of this. Sweden, on the other hand, justified its neutrality in purely legal terms, refusing even to condemn German atrocities against the civilian population of Belgium or attacks on merchant and commercial shipping, and was able to transfer this stance to a self-image of moral superiority in the wake of Versailles, a self-image which was to survive for many decades.

The policies of the Scandinavian governments during the First World War and the ways in which they dealt with each other and, importantly, with the belligerent powers are an area of study which has received comparatively little interest in the past. This book fills a large gap in our understanding of the politics and diplomacy of the First World War, and of how small states on the periphery of Europe, both geographically and politically, attempted to navigate their way through the severe problems they faced.
Despina Stratigakos’s book compellingly engages with a lesser-known aspect of Nazi planning and spatial logistics – the occupation of Norway. The author cautions that *Hitler’s Northern Utopia* is not a history of the occupation, but rather a story of illusions, delusions and failures of grand design. With skilful narration Stratigakos propels the reader from Hitler’s 1934 visit to the Norwegian fjords towards the 1940 German invasion. This begins the journey of Norway’s landscape as part of a complicated piece of Hitler’s obsessive wider vision of a Nazi-imagined Aryan-Nordic empire that eventually included invasive infrastructure in northern Europe. Stratigakos unravels the implementation of this imagined ‘new’ territory and provides richly documented insights into the crossroads of architecture and brutal ideology through the case study of Norway under German occupation.

By the end of the text it is clear that the Nazi-imagined utopia of a Nordic brotherhood was planned by NSDAP engineers, designers and architects to reflect their vision of German civilisation, which was of course at the expense of their Norwegian ‘allies’. The book skilfully navigates these tensions reflected in media articulations of togetherness which stood in direct contrast to the realities of an exclusionary building project. For example, the detailed account of the construction of the German soldiers’ homes in Norway leads to a discussion of the centre-periphery approach which reflects how cities like New Trondheim were imagined as ‘German centers’ (p. 195) in the north. As the author emphasises, the reconstruction of Norwegian urban life according to Nazi planning schemes inevitably meant the dominance of German culture. Furthermore, the slowly developing hierarchical structuring of Germany as the ‘centre’ of a northern empire was in direct contradiction to the public sphere discourse rooted in the promotion of parity between Germans and Norwegians along supposed racial lines. Stratigakos develops this dis-parity from the beginning, which in turn allows for a wider understanding of the contradictions concerning notions of German national identity dictated in part by Nazi racial theorists.

The author’s evocative interpretation of ‘ghosts in the landscape’ (p. 223) and the physical removal of the memorials meant to display the suffering of Soviet soldiers reinforces the layered complexity that post-war memory-making and memory-forgetting processes often entailed. It is within this dynamic that landscape matters – both symbolic and material, something which *Hitler’s Northern Utopia* points out not only via ghosts but also in the contemporary context. This context includes the road-building project...
that the Reich Commissariat imposed on vast swathes of the Norwegian landscape, which became a propagandistic representation of an uncompromising Nazi-led ‘New World’. The German-designed, Norway-situated autobahn reflected a taming-the-wild discourse that signified long-term conquest rather than unity. Stratigakos deftly draws this out and builds even more continuity into the text’s sustained analysis. These roads still innocuously shadow Norway’s infrastructure, forming part of an unreconciled past.

The author manages to highlight the difference between Norway as a part of an imagined Nordic-Germanic empire and the better-known examples of planning space envisioned in Germany and, for example, occupied eastern Europe. The wishful, yet self-serving aspect of Nazi planning in Norway is an important point to emphasise, and a key part of this differentiation. As Stratigakos points out, unlike eastern Europe and the blank slate, scorched-earth policy of mass murder that emerged after 1939, Norway was representative of something different, where the future plans for the Thousand Year Reich became palpable and perhaps less nihilistic. This gives the reader a novel insight into National Socialist expansionism and the frenzied wishes of the Nazi elite to preserve their spatial immortality.

These Nazi ‘builders’ mapped social engineering into the ‘nation’s long-term destiny as part of the Greater German Reich’ (p. 41). Even in this context, however, Stratigakos subtly points to the contradiction and ambiguity in the civilising mission attitude. The author also points out that the propagandistic presentation of success in transforming Norway was more contradictory and complex, which is an important juxtaposition. This distinction helps to situate Hitler’s Northern Utopia in a consequential literature that continues to nuance intentionalism. Furthermore, the book is an important addition to preceding intersectional studies with a focus on aesthetics, art, architecture, political history and ideology; namely, Paul Jaskot’s vital The Architecture of Oppression (2000) but also Nikolaus Wachsmann’s KL: A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps (2015). However, perhaps the greatest contribution Hitler’s Northern Utopia provides is its case study specificity, which can only enhance compendiums from different disciplinary perspectives including the work by Joshua Hagen and Robert C. Östergren, Building Nazi Germany (2020).

The analysis is less thorough when the book makes the link between ‘ideological geography’ (p. 59) and the human cost of constructing Hitler’s polar railway. Stratigakos does generate an insight into the murderous capacity that defined Nazi building projects, rooted in discussions of practicality, but ascribes too much agency to ideology in establishing a causal link. Nazism and its self-described ‘visionary’ building projects were linked by a chaotic continuity from 1933, especially in terms of the economic considerations of ‘free labour’. These considerations did also determine the bodies chosen for destruction, often alongside ad hoc ideological framings in the National Socialist decision-making process. Ideology is not a catch-all explanation behind this level of consistent, brutal and fundamentally murderous exploitation. However, ultimately Stratigakos is correct: some ‘bodies’ mattered more than others in the construction of Hitler’s Northern Utopia.

Landscapes gather, especially under the duress of a deadly ideology. In the case of Norway, the spaces that Stratigakos considers in Hitler’s Northern Utopia became lingering memoryscapes of German occupation. The book is
an accessible yet multidimensional assessment of space and ideology, wrapped up in a rich narrative of archival materials. Despina Stratigakos undoubtedly contributes to studies of landscape and memory.

University of Edinburgh  
TEREZA E. VALNY

PEER REVIEW

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13234


This book of new essays is dedicated to Geoffrey Roberts, a notable Soviet specialist who has published extensively on the Stalin-era USSR, including a chapter in this collection. Most of the contributors acknowledge their debt to Roberts, illuminating the importance of Roberts's work in influencing their own research and the book is a fine tribute to his career and influence. Stalin and the political philosophy to which his name has been lent have inspired a vast library of literature over the past seven decades; if not quite Napoleonic in scale, certainly a corpus which could aspire to covering every aspect of his life and rule.

There would be no need for any new books if they ask the same questions, paint the same pictures, rely on the same sources and reinforce what the readership already knows or thinks they know. This new collection has as its objective a revisioning of both Stalin as leader and of Stalinism as a political force, examining the complexities and contradictions that have arisen around Stalin, and is divided into three main parts: issues arising from the study of Stalin’s leadership; the Stalin personality cult and the ways in which it has flourished and been adapted; and the importance of Stalin and Stalinism to the onset, development and propagation of the Cold War. A short fourth section consists of a single essay examining the importance of the topic in hand to present-day Russia.

The first part focuses on different aspects of Stalin’s personal leadership, beginning with an essay by Christopher Read explaining why he felt it necessary to add to the Stalin biographical canon, while highlighting what he sees as myths that have both obscured and dominated the historical record; a new biography was needed to counter myths and to revise those elements of the Vozhd’s rule that are in need of such attention in order to unearth a historical Stalin, an entirely different creature from the ideologised Stalin who has largely been presented by both pro- and anti-Soviet historians. This is, indeed, a valid justification not only for his own recently published book, but for the remainder of the chapters which follow in this volume. The next chapter, by Peter Whitewood, looks at the infamous purge of the Red Army in 1937. While there may have been reasonable grounds for the Soviet leadership to have doubts about the reliability of the Red
Army, doubts which had existed to some degree ever since its formation, the destruction of the officer corps and the execution of many able officers was an extreme reaction by any standards. Whitewood acknowledges the transformation of military power which had been achieved since Stalin’s accession to leadership, while observing the misperception of security threats which did so much to damage and retard what had been created.

Daniel Kowalsky, a leading specialist on the Spanish Civil War and the Soviet involvement in the conflict, contributes an essay on the new historiography which has arisen around Stalin’s approach to this war. For many people, the literary works of Arthur Koestler and, more significantly, George Orwell, have provided the foundations on which their understanding of the war in general, and Soviet influence on it, have been developed and fortified, in much the same way as the First World War poets have conditioned the general public’s view of the reality of that conflict. In both cases, scholarship has shown the literary contributions as falling short of presenting a reliable guide, even though the public has been largely resistant to the historical, as opposed to the literary, approach. The final chapter of this opening section of the book comes from Chris Bellamy and is concerned with Stalin’s role as a war leader. Bellamy argues that Stalin was probably indispensable to the cause of Soviet and Allied victory, despite his many faults, not least his indifference and disregard for human life. His command of detail, his control over his subordinates which was achieved by his ability to charm them while they feared for their lives, his understanding of strategy, operational matters, and even tactics, all combined in a figure who could not have been effectively replaced by any other Soviet politician. His ruthlessness was undoubtedly an essential contribution to the aforementioned qualities.

The second section of the book relates to the cult of personality. All strong leaders, and particularly those of a totalitarian disposition, are, and always have been, aware of the benefits that a personality cult focused upon them can bring. Stalin stands out because of the success he achieved in this regard, utilising the personality cult to bolster his already strong position, but he was certainly not the only member of the club during his time in power. Judith Devlin looks at some of Stalin’s Great Contemporaries (to borrow from Winston Churchill), notably Masaryk, Piłsudski, Hindenburg and Atatürk, and how their manipulation of the public can be compared to the iconographical success that Stalin, and those who laboured on his behalf, achieved. The Vozhd shared many characteristics with the cults that grew around these leaders, but his own cult was exceptional in its extravagance, and most importantly, in its application of the Terror, which guarded against any iconoclastic attempt to challenge its status. This chapter contributes much in its analysis of the creation and maintenance of these different cults in interregnum Europe, and is extremely useful in broadening the context of how Stalin, his leadership and his supporting cult of personality should be understood. The following chapter by Balázs Apor is equally interesting in letting Stalin take a back seat as the author investigates the leadership cult of twentieth-century Hungary and the legacies that it has bequeathed. Hungary’s last king, Emperor Franz Joseph, Miklós Horthy, Mátyás Rákosi and János Kádár, despite their political differences, all utilised a leadership cult which became a recurring feature of their country’s recent history. The chapter examines how the practices employed by these leaders in creating and sustaining veneration have bequeathed a historical legacy to the country, while being mindful of the different historical
circumstances, which proved to be significant in each case. This does not mean that an examination of Stalin is being honoured only in the breach, but rather it is an observation that leadership cults could well be conditioned by a country’s own cultural and historical traditions, while at times being prepared to borrow extensively from the Stalin arsenal, certainly in the case of Rákosi.

The third part of the book is devoted to the Cold War and its significance to understanding the Stalinist system. In the opening chapter of this section, Caroline Kennedy-Pipe revisits her monograph *Stalin’s Cold War*, first published in 1995, in the light of the very different political environment that has arisen during the following half-century. Central to her chapter is the danger, or for optimists the temptation, either to ignore or to play down Stalin’s role on the grounds that the Cold War was a long, drawn-out struggle from which Stalin, for reasons of mortality, was largely absent, and the desirability for future scholars to provide a truthful reassessment of the dictator and his associated movement. While necessarily being influenced and conditioned by the established historiographical schools (traditional, revisionist and neo-revisionist), a new examination and interpretation of Stalin’s words and actions in the post-war era may well make an important contribution to understanding contemporary Russia and its place in the world.

In this book dedicated to him, Geoffrey Roberts contributes a chapter on Stalin and the peace movement. Matters pertaining to the peace movement, which was to a large extent dominated by communist sympathisers, were handled by the same Politburo commission, headed by Molotov, that looked after relations with foreign communist parties. Nothing submitted by the peace movement which Stalin was likely to question was kept from reaching his desk, but the movement’s leaders were in no doubt that Stalin was the key decision-maker. Using Ian Kershaw’s conclusion that Soviet officials did not need to work towards Stalin, as his importance and power were there for all to see, Roberts applies the notion of ‘working towards’ to the peace movement leaders in the post-war environment, assessing that they, being aware of his indispensability as a decision-maker, sought to work through as well as towards the Soviet leader.

In another departure from Stalinism in the USSR and from Stalin himself, Molly Pucci devotes her chapter to the process of interrogations and the psychology behind them in Communist Czechoslovakia. It is a chilling piece, showing how the methods of obtaining confessions were used to Sovietise the Czechoslovak security services and judiciary. The fact that interrogators were judged on their success in obtaining confessions, and that a high placing on the interrogators’ league table would more than likely lead to promotion, could only dehumanise the perpetrators. The ambiguities and complexities that are a feature of most adversarial legal proceedings were suppressed in Czechoslovakia and Pucci lays bare the nightmarish world that both accused and accuser inhabited, with the accused waking from the nightmare only in time for their execution.

The volume’s final section, billed as being ‘in lieu of an epilogue’, consists of a single chapter by James Ryan, a co-editor of the collection. His chapter brings the question of Stalinism up to date, making explicit what was alluded to in the book’s earlier contributions. Acknowledging the efforts of post-war West Germany in confronting the sins of its predecessors, Ryan assesses that a similar process in post-communist Russia has not worked in the same way. Instead, a reckoning with the sins of the past has been much more complicated, with
competing narratives vying for attention. The increase in the Russian public’s approval figures for Stalin and his era is frequently invoked in media accounts, seemingly to suggest that Vladimir Putin can use this support for a totalitarian past to impose an authoritarian present. Frequently missing from these ‘headline figures’ are the statistics, which reveal a distaste for the methods used to impose the Soviet version of order on the people, statistics which would undermine the narrative of a return of the Spirit of Stalin to the Russian lands. Stalin may be receiving a popularity boost in today’s Russia but the depth and strength of his apparent support may be questionable and will not necessarily act as a barrier to a confrontation with the terrifying and brutal aspects of Russia’s past.

This collection adds much to the historical scholarship surrounding Stalin, his era and his politics and also contains a good supply of material that will be used to stimulate debate and inspire further research. A revisioning of Stalin and Stalinism is important for today but will, it is to be hoped, help historians of a future era make their own revisions in the context of the problems and dangers of the world which they will inhabit.

Independent scholar, Liverpool, UK

CRAIG GERRARD

PEER REVIEW

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13240


The publication of the 1957 report of the Departmental Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution (commonly known as the Wolfenden Report) is often heralded as a landmark moment in the history of sexuality in Britain because of the report’s recommendation that the state should not be involved in the policing of sexual behaviour that occurred in private between consenting adults. However, as the authors rightly point out, the report’s significance has mainly been seen in relation to the policing of homosexuality, while its ramifications for the policing of prostitution have been largely overlooked. *Wolfenden’s Women* does an excellent job of correcting this imbalance.

The book begins with a helpfully clear and concise overview of the history of the Wolfenden Committee that was set up in 1954, with John Wolfenden as the chairman, and places the committee within the wider context of the history of prostitution and sexuality in Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The rest of the source book is then broken down according to particular themes, which include: the policing of public space, law and punishment, brothels and third parties, demand for prostitution, the causes of prostitution, and how best to ‘rescue’ women from sex work or to stop them from soliciting in public (the latter having been a major concern for the committee).
Overall, this thematic approach works well and is valuable for highlighting the wide range of differing opinions held by those who gave evidence to the committee. It is especially useful for demonstrating how the evidence from certain groups and individuals, particularly those who were against the introduction of harsher penalties for soliciting, was largely ignored by the committee when the final report was written. This is made most clear in the final chapter on ‘the legacies of Wolfenden’, which shows how the report’s recommendations that penalties for solicitation should be increased resulted in the passing of the 1959 Street Offences Act, which did exactly that. The chosen selection of sources nicely highlights the process whereby the goal of ensuring public order and decency was prioritised over protecting women’s safety and demonstrates how the inappropriate pairing of prostitution and homosexuality resulted in a ‘public private solution’ which meant that ‘the safety of sex workers was written off as necessary collateral’ (p. 13). The main downside of this thematic approach is that the reader is left wanting to know more about the organisations and individuals who gave evidence to the committee. The glossary does include a brief list of the witnesses heard by the committee, but the level of detail is mixed. However, given the word limit constraints, this a fair trade-off for the inclusion of more source material. Reading this book alongside the companion volume Wolfenden’s Witnesses, which focuses on homosexuality and is organised by the category of witness, would help to solve this shortcoming.

For those already familiar with the twentieth-century history of prostitution in Britain some of the themes covered by this book might seem somewhat well-trodden. However, the inclusion of a chapter about the contributions made by people and organisations based in areas outside London is a welcome addition, and the authors rightly emphasise the importance of the evidence given by Scottish contributors in helping the committee draw up its recommendations. The most innovative chapter, however, is chapter 10, which focuses on ‘Wolfenden’s missing women’. By including excerpts from reports made by women’s organisations, such as the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene (AMSH) and the National Vigilance Association (NVA) whose mission was to support the legal and welfare rights of women involved in prostitution, this chapter focuses on prostitution from women’s perspective. This is especially important because, as the book clearly demonstrates, sex workers’ voices were largely absent from the original evidence that was submitted to the committee. While the majority of the sources are from the aforementioned organisations, rather than from the sex workers themselves, there is an attempt to address this limitation by including an excerpt from Marthe Watts’s autobiography, The Men in My life (1960), which details her experiences of sex work during the 1940s and 1950s. Although such a short selection of sources cannot fully live up to the difficult task of accessing the lost voices and experiences of sex workers during this era, this innovative approach does at least provide a taster of what this type of approach could achieve in the future.

Overall, the authors achieve their aim of giving ‘first hand insights into the complex history of commercial sex and its control in post-war Britain’ (p. 20). This book is essential reading for anyone interested in the history of prostitution and sexuality in Britain during the post-Second World War period.
and would provide perfect course material for advanced undergraduate and master’s students wanting to engage with primary source materials.

The University of Helsinki

LOUISE SETTLE

PEER REVIEW

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13206


The Nordic nations all experienced the Second World War differently. Norway and Denmark were both occupied by the Germans, but the Norwegian government chose to flee to London and join forces with the Allied war effort while Denmark never held a belligerent status against the Axis powers; Finland engaged in three separate and costly wars, two against the Soviet Union and one against its erstwhile German ally; Iceland was occupied by the British and Americans; Sweden sat the war out in a state of precarious neutrality. These different experiences have naturally led to different national and cultural memories, which have helped the different countries to forge and bolster national understandings and identities.

This collection brings together contributions from all of the Nordic nations, grouping the essays into four parts. The first of these deals with the relevant historiography, with Juhana Aunesluoma outlining the ways in which Finnish historians have demonstrated an understanding of how Finland’s post-war international stance was founded on achieving an accommodation with the Soviet Union, while simultaneously expressing a sense of pride in what Finland’s soldiers achieved against horrendous odds and two separate enemies. Sofie Lene Bak’s chapter follows the changing paradigms for the understanding of the Danish experience, from the founding narrative that Danes were united against their totalitarian oppressors to more recent portrayals of a society that fell far short of the moral values that characterise the standard story. This discourse is no small matter in a country where the collective memory of a heroic and widespread Danish resistance continues to play an important part in framing Danish national identity and where today’s politicians, ignoring the necessary compromises that Denmark’s wartime leaders had to make, do not hesitate to use the past to legitimise their own current positions. Norway experienced the war as an occupied country but also as a contributing member of the Allied powers, due to the London-based Norwegian government and its significant contributions to military forces and the merchant marine. Tom Kristiansen demonstrates how Norwegian historians have chronicled the wartime trauma and emerge with a feeling close to triumph in adversity. These elements of home front and government-in-exile were able to forge some degree of synthesis, but the most significant heritage is very possibly the sense of Norway
overcoming military defeat and the subjugation of the occupation, through a refusal to allow its culture to be defeated, leading to a national story of Norway as an ‘unconquerable’ nation. Iceland’s concerns have been very different, as Guðmundur Hálfdanarson shows. This north Atlantic nation was occupied by first British and subsequently American forces, a more benign presence than that endured by Denmark and Norway certainly, but an occupation, nonetheless. This wartime experience, unique in Iceland’s history, has endangered the Icelandic national narrative with its heavy emphasis on ‘national freedom’ and it has seemingly been expedient to erase the war from the national narrative because of its irrelevance to the idea of national long-term development. Iceland’s passive experience in the war and its lack of involvement in the great events which were reshaping the world has allowed the war to be regarded as having only cosmetic and passing importance for Icelandic history and culture. Sweden’s wartime narrative has been perhaps the most complex of the Nordic nations. Lucky enough to avoid invasion or occupation, Sweden has, since 1945, portrayed itself as a morally guided nation, but this self-image has come under pressure from the knowledge of Swedish interaction with Nazi Germany in the wartime period. John Gilmour’s chapter outlines the difficult position that Sweden found itself in, the pressures that the government faced, the pragmatic choices that had to be made, and the derision with which some of these choices have been greeted in the Swedish post-war understanding of the wartime narrative.

Part II of the book consists of only three chapters, each dedicated to a canonical author from Sweden, Denmark and Norway. Amanda Doxtater, Marianne Stecher-Hansen and Christine Hamm discuss the relevant experiences and works of Karin Boye, Isak Dinesen and Sigrid Undset respectively. While all of these authors are famous and well-regarded in their home nations, their work is not commonly associated with the Second World War. Nevertheless, their place in the historical memory of the war years is interesting. All three essays focus on one particular work of the author in question, and none of the works chosen are immediately associated with their creators. Karin Boye spent time in Nazi Germany and the newly incorporated Austria in 1938 and recorded her impressions of National Socialism in action (published as Travel Diary in Greece: From Hitler’s Berlin to Apollo’s Olympia to use its English title), impressions that were galvanised and at the same time confused following her viewing of Leni Riefenstahl’s film of the 1936 Berlin Olympics. As befits Boye’s reputation as a modernist poet, her observations and criticisms were not contained in a purely descriptive account or in an emotional response, but in complex approaches which could lead the reader, and indeed the author, into a variety of interpretations, sometimes in conflict with each other. Isak Dinesen, also known as Karen Blixen, travelled from her native and, at that time, neutral Denmark to wartime Berlin in March 1940. A month later Denmark had been occupied by the invading German forces. She had intended to publish a series of essays on her observations but the invasion prevented them being exposed to public scrutiny until 1948, three years after liberation and eight years after they were first penned. The resulting essay Letters from a Land at War delineated and dissected the characteristics of National Socialism, portraying a totalitarian state populated by unimpressive, unidentifiable, interchangeable and rather pathetic bureaucrats in complete thrall and subservience to their master Hitler, rather than one consisting of swaggering and brutal monsters. Stecher-Hansen shows
that even if Dinesen’s words and actions, in other works and at the time of the occupation, did not vociferously denounce Nazism, her artistry in this essay formed a subtle account of the incompatibility of Nazism with artistic work or free thinking. Sigrid Undset, Norway’s first female Nobel Laureate for literature, spent the war in exile in the United States. Like Dinesen, she saw Nazism as devoid of cultural values, but in contrast to the Dane, she engaged in fierce polemics attacking the German regime, its occupation of Norway and its racial policies, while advocating a rebuilding of Europe on democratic ideals, with the cooperation of the United States. Presciently, she included Soviet communism as an equal threat to freedom as Nazism.

Part III consists of five chapters analysing the canonised literary representations of the Nordic nations, mainly focusing on works produced between 1947 and 1971. Mark Mussari in his chapter on H. C. Branner highlights the work of this author in explaining the wartime experience of Denmark through the prism of ‘angst’. Branner concludes that the Danish people have to take some responsibility for the problems engendered by the war and that they should be participants rather than mere bystanders in interpreting their own experiences and placing them in a global context. The wartime occupation novel has always enjoyed a position of prominence in Norwegian literary output. In assessing Sigurd Hoel’s Meeting at the Milestone, Dean Krouk outlines how the literary novel has been so important in creating and sustaining Norway’s wartime memory. Krouk explores how Hoel’s novel was produced with the purpose of undermining what he saw as national self-regard in relation to Norway’s wartime image. Hoel drew attention to the complexities of the wartime experience and the complicity of many Norwegians, not just quislings and collaborators, in what actually transpired during occupation. In a chapter on the Finnish book and film The Unknown Soldier, Julia Paljune looks at how this film became an institution in Finnish society, being broadcast on each and every Independence Day, and how the film is used in the battle to define Finnishness and heroism. The book was an enormous success when first published in 1954 and its popularity led very quickly to a film production. The book had described the experiences of its author, Väinö Linna, as a Finnish soldier between 1941 and 1944 and sparked immediate controversy with its downbeat depiction of the Finnish struggle and its questioning of any attempt to mythologise the wartime disaster. The Unknown Soldier’s importance to the way that the war is commonly remembered, and imagined by those too young to share in any direct involvement, is so significant in Finland that attempts have been made to update its interpretation and presentation through remakes which are the subject of a later chapter of the volume. Jan Krogh Nielsen provides the Swedish contribution to this part of the book with an analysis of Per Olov Enquist’s 1968 novel Legionärrerna, a fictionalised account of a horrendous episode in Swedish history when 146 Baltic soldiers, who had escaped to Sweden, were returned to face almost certain death in the Soviet Union in the aftermath of the war. The novel demanded that modern Swedes confront the contradictions implicit in the post-war Swedish self-image. Undoubtedly, Sweden found itself in an unpromising situation at the conclusion of hostilities, caught between two emerging rival power blocs, but geographically so close to the Soviet Union that it wanted to avoid antagonising its powerful and menacing near neighbour. This, however, came at a great cost to a group of ex-soldiers, numerically small but
symbolically significant. Some thirty years after the arrival of British troops to occupy Iceland, Ingiði Þorsteinsson’s novel *North of War* was published, and it forms the basis for Daisy Neijmann’s chapter. In contrast to what had been the dominant presentation of the period by the Icelandic literary establishment, this novel took a more measured approach, and while regretting the disruption to and dislocation of Icelandic life, particularly in rural areas, Neijmann positions the work as a transitional one that has led to new depictions of the period from a new generation of writers.

The final section of the book concerns representations of the war in film and television productions and how they continue to contribute to the national memories of the conflict. A major Swedish television series from 1973, *Någostans i Sverige*, is the subject of the opening chapter in this part by Erik Hedling. The series was a major success, with critics, the public government and military figures alike. *Någostans i Sverige* covered the major events of the war, with a markedly pro-British bias, which, as the author notes, was possibly due to post-Vietnam anti-Americanism together with a distrust of the communist dictatorship in the Soviet Union. While this Swedish series emphasised the British experience of and contribution to the armed struggle, the chapter on Iceland by Péter Valsson bypasses the initial British occupation and focuses on Icelandic films dealing with the American military presence on the island. This presence existed for decades after the conclusion of the war and became a staple part of Icelandic life. Looking at three different films, Valsson shows how attitudes towards the Americans evolved from distrust and near-hostility in the 1960s to a greater acceptance of American cultural values in the 1990s, an evolution inspired by a growing realisation among younger generations that the foreign presence was a factor in driving social change. Liina-Ly Roos contributes an exploration of Klaus Hårö’s 2005 Finnish melodrama *Mother of Mine*, a film which dealt with an upsetting episode in Finland’s wartime history. Finland suffered more than any other Nordic nation between 1939 and 1945 and the fear that the war would be brought into every household through air raids, artillery bombardments and invasion by Soviet troops led to many Finnish parents involving themselves in a scheme set up by the wife of the Swedish foreign minister to evacuate their children to stay with Swedish families. The film was a massive hit in both Finland and Sweden and led to a greater awareness of the tragedy of family separation and of the rootlessness which was the result of the refugee experience for many participants in the scheme. For Denmark, Marianne Stecher-Hansen looks at two films, *April 9th* and *Land of Mine*, and how they have contributed to the cultural memory of the war, with both carrying anti-war messages.

In contrast, Gunnar Iversen discusses how Norwegian dramas have acted as acts of remembrance and have fortified patriotic memories of Norway’s role and contribution to the Allied success, and how they are accurate examples of how modern Norwegians have embraced the war to an even greater extent than those who lived through it and can use the national memory of the conflict as a means to sustain a Norwegian national identity. To round things off, John Sundholm returns to *The Unknown Soldier*, focusing on the 2017 remake of this Finnish institution, and how its director attempted, and perhaps failed, to undermine the original’s role in creating an emotionally unifying force for the Finnish people.

The Nordic nations all had different and contrasting experiences of the Second World War. Not only did this condition the memories of contemporaries, but it
also led to different ways of portraying the wartime experience that would lead to creating and sustaining both existing and new memories for ensuing generations.

This book contains excellent accounts of how this work of memory was done in the five nations and how it continues to influence their societies today. There is much for cultural historians to value in this volume, but international historians will also find a plentiful amount to add to their understanding of not only the Second World War but of the decades that followed.

Independent Scholar

CRAIG GERRARD

PEER REVIEW

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13249


Firmly grounded in its central metaphor, Josephine Baker’s Cinematic Prism refracts its luminous subject into a wide spectrum of cultural influences and continuing legacies. Author Terri Simone Francis writes with tangible enthusiasm, erudition and, most importantly, affinity for Josephine Baker, the multitalented star who brought African American vernacular performance to Parisian stages and global screens (p. 4). Meticulously sourced, the book covers a range of subtopics, from the banana as a colonial product; to the reception of Baker’s French films in the Black American press; to citations of her performances by Beyoncé, Spike Lee and other contemporary Black entertainers. Prism makes a unique and long overdue contribution to American studies, delving into Baker’s early influences and describing in lively detail the future star’s forays on the American stage as well as her fortuitous move to Paris. Throughout the book, Francis’s astute semiotic analysis reveals how, and for whom, Baker made meaning through performance, especially in her dancing. Acknowledging that musicians and other stage performers have long found ways to credit Baker’s influence, Prism turns its focus towards cinema, tackling her films chapter by chapter to show why Baker merits a more prominent place in the pantheon of early Black American filmmakers.

While Baker’s American bona fides form the crux of the book’s argument, the films’ close readings demand some understanding of the French film industry that framed and projected Baker’s image on the big screen. To be sure, Prism reveals much about these films’ transnational contexts: how early twentieth-century Parisian culture, and Baker’s films in particular, are steeped in imperialism; how Baker’s image builds on a pre-existing system of colonialist entertainment in Europe, such as the exhibition of Saartje Baartman – and these insightful connections make Prism a serendipitous companion to Robin Mitchell’s Vénus Noire (2020). But the sweeping industrial and aesthetic changes that came with synchronised sound, which had barely begun when Baker’s first film La Sirène...
des tropiques (Siren of the Tropics, 1928) hit French screens, and had largely concluded by the time she made Zouzou (1934) and Princess Tam-Tam (1935), are given too cursory a glance to account for their impact on her career.

Looking specifically at French cinema, Francis notes that Baker’s films intersect with an interwar trend now called cinéma colonial (colonial cinema). Less clear, though, is how this erstwhile quasi-genre shaped her characters’ trajectories, and the book’s American perspective sometimes obscures the particulars of this moment in French film history. It is reasonable to bemoan the mediocrity of Baker’s white love interests, even when portrayed by Jean Gabin; it is also true that Baker’s race contributes to the narrative’s refusal to honour the match, although unlike Hollywood, no French production code prohibited interracial romance, and some films of that time featured successful interracial couples. The question, then, ought to be why Baker was never cast in that kind of story. Ultimately, her characters’ unrequited affections in Zouzou and Princess Tam-Tam serve to frame stardom as the more desirable of two possible (if narratively contrived) paths to social acceptance – stardom that, as Francis demonstrates, is a foregone conclusion due to its reflection of Baker’s own career – yet they also associate Baker with romantic loss in a way that sets her up brilliantly for tropes found in French exoticist cinema.

While Prism, in keeping with its US focus, carefully aligns Baker with the aesthetic and attitude of American blues women, Baker’s stage-to-screen trajectory in France also drew on locally inscribed cultural categories, including the realist singer (chanteuse réaliste). Kelley Conway describes the realist singer as a signifier of specifically feminine loss, suffering and wisdom that comes from these; she also traces these singers’ path from the early twentieth-century stage to supporting roles in the cinéma colonial, portraying self-exiled women who lament through diegetically performed song their lost love(s) and irretrievable home. Baker’s association with the Parisian stage and her foreign/exotic persona map well enough onto this template that her 1930s films, especially Zouzou, can be understood as preludes to life as a realist singer, and her role in Fausse Alerte (The French Way, 1945) seems designed expressly to add her name, retroactively, to this category of performer. The American thrust of Prism understandably de-emphasises her films’ Frenchness, yet these details are not irrelevant, as character typing and genre conventions inevitably reflect the place and moment of a film’s production.

In promoting Baker’s stature as an American star, Francis has crafted an impressive and pressingly important book. Personally, I regret not having Prism on hand fifteen years ago when, as a graduate student engrossed in my own study of Baker’s films, some friends invited me to present Princess Tam-Tam to their film group. My excitement for the screening was matched only by my fellow students’ collective shock at its racist stereotypes – a reaction so strong and sustained that it precluded any attempt to appreciate Baker’s talents, let alone to unpack how her performance winks at its own racism. The pressure required to ‘mentally edit out the wider colonialist scenario’ to comprehend a star like Baker can feel insurmountable (p. 13). This book’s great achievement lies precisely in its framework for understanding Baker’s singularity and subversion while neither denying nor downplaying the racism that informed her persona. Refreshingly contemporary in its orientation, the light that Josephine Baker’s Cinematic Prism
opens onto its eponymous star brings its author’s crucial perspective to an essential history of transnational cinema and performance.

Bilkent University

COLLEEN KENNEDY-KARPAT

PEER REVIEW

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13212


In Set the Night on Fire, Mike Davis and Jon Wiener provide an intimate portrait of Los Angeles which chronicles an era of revolutionary activism where the seeds of change were sown not only in the city itself but across the United States. Davis and Wiener, both exceptionally accomplished scholars, write with the authority which comes from having been actors within some of the movements that they examine. Despite its extended length they have produced a volume that is thoroughly readable, at times invigorating, and should be of interest to experienced scholars and students alike.

The Los Angeles that Davis and Wiener forensically detail was a city of contradiction, division and segregation. For some it was the youthful paradise that it was made out to be in television shows like 77 Sunset Strip or in the Beach Boys’ song ‘Surfin’ USA’. But over a million Angelenos were ‘edited out of utopia’ (p. 1). Youths of African, Asian and Hispanic heritage were restricted to only a handful of beaches, otherwise they risked arrest by police or violence enacted by white gangs. Black surfers were ‘almost as rare in L.A. as unicorns’ (p. 1). The 1960s may well have been an era of golden opportunity for some white teenagers, but for their non-white and otherwise marginalised counterparts in South Central and East Los Angeles the prospect of unendurable futures prompted the series of revolts which Set the Night on Fire recounts.

Bringing together the interwoven histories of so many movements by tracing the activism of African Americans, Asian Americans, Latin Americans, LGBT Americans, radical feminists, Communists, students and other groups is a tremendous achievement. Davis and Wiener also make significant contributions to the historiographies of some of those movements. Chief among these is the authors’ repositioning of the origins of the American Gay Rights movement from New York City to Los Angeles. The Stonewall Uprising, according to many textbooks and then-President Obama when he unveiled a memorial to it, was the catalyst for LGBT activism in the United States and beyond. But as Davis and Wiener write, nearly two years prior to Stonewall the LAPD carried out a violent raid during which they arrested patrons at the Black Cat gay bar on charges of ‘lewd conduct’ as they celebrated New Year’s Eve, 1967. This prompted the ‘first gay rally against police violence’ and the ‘earliest gay street demonstration’ in the United States (p. 168). A courageous, concerted movement spread across
the city, aided by the revolutionary gay magazine *Advocate* and the community space provided by the LGBT-founded Metropolitan Community Church. The first officially recognised Pride parade took place on the streets of Los Angeles exactly a year after Stonewall, which remains the catalyst for so much but as the authors demonstrate was not the starting point of the American Gay Rights movement.

Of course, in considering so many movements *Set the Night on Fire* cannot give them each the amount of attention that some are afforded in more narrowly focused monographs. Scholars particularly interested in Mexican American Civil Rights, for instance, are still best served elsewhere. Their struggle is a necessary inclusion in the book but is a narrative with interwar roots which does not fall into the otherwise ‘obvious bookends’ (p. 2) of the 1960s. As the book covers so much ground it is inevitable that some chapters will leave the reader wanting more. One of these is chapter 23, ‘The Children of Malcolm X: Black High School Activists (1968–69)’. Historical discussions of student activism are too often exclusively college-centric whereas school-aged youths, as Davis and Wiener ably demonstrate, are just as capable of political organising. In Los Angeles students in grades seven to twelve played a ‘commanding role’ (p. 397), establishing their own Black Student Union and United Mexican American Students chapters. These children’s demands for change in what they regarded as a racist, failing education system were met with LAPD retaliation as police came onto campuses to ‘beat and arrest kids as young as twelve’ (p. 395). The book is a history of activism and change, but it is also a tale of reactionary resistance and cruelty by those who benefited from the status quo.

*Set the Night on Fire* is what the history from below approach should be. It is a corrective to oversimplified caricatures of a Los Angeles centred only on the glamour of Hollywood, the make-believe world of theme parks and luxurious mansions that is achieved by focusing on those who were excluded from this apparent semi-tropical paradise. Davis and Wiener remedy the past ignorance of historical Black, Brown, Queer and youthful voices by reconstructing their triumphs and defeats as they fought for healthcare, education, housing, and racial and sexual liberation, helping to transform Los Angeles and beyond. *Set the Night on Fire* is vital reading for students and experienced scholars engaged in the post-war history of the United States.

*University of Northumbria*  

**JACK HODGSON**

**PEER REVIEW**

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13230
General


Jamaica might be a small island, but it has a vast, rich and complicated history. There is, however, a popular tendency to view modern Jamaica through one of two lenses: that of the Caribbean paradise which acts as a magnet to tourists from all over the world, or that of the forgotten island stricken by poverty, crime and violence. The editors, Diana Paton and Matthew J. Smith, make clear from the outset that Jamaica is a far more complex country that deserves more than these over-simplistic generalisations. They have collated extracts from a variety of different sources that show how a wide range of historical and cultural experiences have come to shape this small island nation.

The compilation of this volume by both Paton and Smith is an admirable achievement. Careful consideration has been given to each of the extracts that are featured for inclusion. One senses that the editors were all too aware of the need to exhibit the diversity of the Jamaican experience without choosing topics that are so obscure as to make them inaccessible, while simultaneously avoiding previously trodden paths. The result is a fascinating and thought-provoking tour of Jamaica. The editors navigate the reader through some six centuries of Jamaican history with ease and clarity. The book itself is divided into eight distinct parts, the first seven of which follow a chronological framework – from pre-Columbian Jamaican society and early European encounters in part I to a consideration of Jamaica in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries that finishes the tour in part VII. The eighth and final part of the book stands separate from the rest, as this concentrates solely on the issue of Jamaica’s relationship to migration (both to and from the island) – this being a fundamental aspect of the Jamaican experience, note the editors, that requires more focused attention (p. 5).

Over 100 different extracts are featured in the book, and each one is given a concise introduction from the editors that places the piece within its wider historical and/or cultural context. In considering broad topics or significant events, the editors have supplemented selections from the historiography with other source materials. For example, in the section on ‘Apprenticeship’ in Jamaica, the system which briefly succeeded slavery between 1834 and 1838, Diana Paton’s own work (from a separate publication) is combined with the recollections of an ‘apprentice’ from the 1830s (pp. 147–52). Another example from elsewhere is the focus on Jamaica and the First World War, which makes use of newspaper reports first and then complements this with the work of a later historian (pp. 221–7). The nature or format of the source material used throughout the Jamaica Reader, as these examples show, is certainly varied. The editors make use of excerpts from academic monographs and journal articles, as well as contemporary accounts and letters, government reports, poems and songs, newspaper and magazine articles, images such as cartoons, photographs and paintings, and transcripts of speeches,
interviews and radio broadcasts. This combining of academic and contemporary works for any given topic enables the reader to obtain a broader understanding of the issues in question by engaging with – and analysing – a wider scope of sources, and thereby assists them in making more nuanced conclusions.

While the *Jamaica Reader* does follow a clear chronological framework, there are several recurring key themes that are woven throughout the book. In the course of its eight parts, the scholar is drawn into discussions on subjects as varied as colonialism, crime, language and literature, migration, music (notably reggae and dancehall), natural disasters and the environment, political movements and nationalism, race and racism, religion, slavery, and Jamaica in the wider world. Aside from being a comprehensive tour of key issues in Jamaican history and contemporary culture, the interweaving of these themes in the course of the book’s general ‘narrative’ allows for opportunities of comparative analysis. This approach in the *Reader* encourages, for example, an exploration of, and reflection on, the evolving responses to Garveyism and Rastafarianism; or contrasting experiences across an expanded timeline – for instance, the major earthquakes that struck the island in 1694 and 1907.

The *Jamaica Reader* will prove highly useful to students and scholars alike. Indeed, such is the nature and layout of the excerpts that have been included that it appeals simultaneously to those looking for a general introduction to the history, politics and culture of Jamaica, and to those who may be already familiar with the island, but wish to explore further and in greater depth. Additionally, the generally short nature of each of the extracts actually makes the book an ideal teaching resource, whether as an introduction to engaging with the historiography of Jamaica, or as a way of exploring a wider variety of contemporary sources and accounts.

What may appear to be a rather unusual omission from the book is the presence of any overall concluding remarks from the editors. It could be suggested, however, that this omission in fact has something of a symbolic significance with regard to the book’s overall purpose. The *Jamaica Reader* is intended not as a series of conclusions that the audience is simply told; rather, it is an introduction, or gateway, to the stories and experiences of this fascinating island. Those who engage with the extracts selected are encouraged to form those conclusions themselves.

*Independent Scholar*  
BEN MARKHAM

**PEER REVIEW**

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13225
In this book, historian Andrew J. Rotter adds great nuances to how scholars of imperial history typically perceive the imperial encounter and the policies that followed. In a comparison of British India (1857–1947) to the Philippines under American control (1898–1946), Rotter problematizes what constitutes civilisation, and reminds us that there were humans in command of their senses of sight, sound, touch, taste and smell at the heart of the imperial machinery. There are humans whose ‘relationship[s], including imperial ones, are shaped by all five senses; how we understand others, even more how we feel about them and thus how we act toward them, have a good deal to do with how we apprehend them through every sense’ (p.1).

Rotter offers us a more expansive take on a well-known definition of colonialism. Colonialism’s civilising mission extended to the senses, specifically to their control and correction along the lines determined by the British and Americans. On this line of thinking, ‘those lacking respect for the senses lacked self-control; they were uncivilized and thus unfit for self-government’ (p. 2). Thus, Indians and Filipinos would be ready for self-rule only when they fully conformed to Anglo-American notions of ‘civilized’ senses by filling their cities with Western architecture and the sound of the English language, through the suppression of bodily odours and foul city smells emitted from sewage and waterways, by improving their personal hygiene and using soap, and by adopting Western table manners while consuming nutritious food.

The introduction foregrounds important concepts and the historical context of this study. In the first chapter, Rotter extensively discusses the relationship between the senses and civilisation, arguing that civilisation meant ‘rejecting the savage, the primitive, and the animal … it was a racial concept, one that placed Anglo-Americans at the top of a naturalized hierarchy and men and women of color below. A crucial distinguishing feature of allegedly civilized whites was their respect for the five senses, something they claimed “uncivilized” people of color sadly lacked’ (p. 7).

The second chapter focuses on fighting, which not only enabled the Anglo-Americans to gain control of India and the Philippines, but as Rotter argues wars also ‘provoked the direct engagement of Anglo-American and Asian bodies in ways that awakened and heightened the senses on all sides’ (p. 8). Then he moves chapter by chapter through five bodily senses. The chapter on sight explores the Anglo-American uses of visual finding, counting, photographing and their making of ‘visually respectable’ Indian and Filipino subjects, who might assume the responsibilities of self-governance in the future. Chapter 4 explores hearing; how the Anglo-Americans sought to replace noise by sound – that is, ‘noise tamed and civilised’ (p. 9), which includes teaching the English language to their subjects.

On smelling, Rotter links smell, perceptions of odours, and bodies, to the imperial pursuit of public health in these colonies (sewage system included). This is because Westerners regarded bad smells as pathogenic. The next chapter on touch also deals with pathology. Rotter explores how the British and the Americans sought to be in haptic isolation to avoid disease or polluted food and water. They never achieved it fully, however, not only because they would
not resist sexual contact with Indians and Filipinos, but also because they realised that they must touch their Asian counterparts in social functions such as handshakes or dance in receptions. The final chapter deals with taste and the act of consuming food and drink. Rotter explores the relationship between British and Indian curry, spices and rice, and between the Americans and their canned imports and fresh local food. His research is based on comments and complaints in memoirs and reports from the time.

Rotter explores the Western attempts at cultural reformation of the empire without failing to acknowledge the agency of Indians and Filipinos in their willingness to comply or resist. The local agency, alongside the Anglo-Americans’ surprising delight in opening their senses to their new environments and their people, eventually led to compromises and occasional exchanges between these nations’ sensory regimes, according to Rotter. For instance, Indian curry successfully made its way to London, the capital city of the British empire, and enjoyed popularity there. Veeraswamy’s opened its doors in London as early as in 1926, was patronised by Britons who returned from imperial service, and who missed the spices and obsequious service they had come to expect in India (p. 276). At the same time, American apples, American drinking chocolate, Horlicks malted milk drink, Heinz ketchup and Lea & Perrins Worcestershire sauce became ‘a marker of class and refinement’ for elite Manilans (pp. 276–7). Having done this, however, Rotter gets to his analysis without addressing the question of how unequal power in these imperial polities between the Anglo-Americans on the one hand, and Indians and Filipinos on the other hand, had a role to play in limiting the extent to which Indians and Filipinos were able to resist policies imposed on them.

Overall, this is a nuanced narrative which explains that changes in empires were neither purely ideological nor came about in a vacuum, but stemmed from encounters engaged through human senses. This book is particularly valuable for understanding the dynamic and the development of imperial ambition in terms of civilising mission/aspirations. The book suggests a comparison, perhaps to be taken up by other scholars, with French Indochina, where the French efforts to reform had been as extensive. Such a comparative approach could further de-provincialise exceptionalist narratives of France as well as the Anglo-American colonies.

*University College London* PATCHARAVIRAL CHAROENPACHARAPORN

**PEER REVIEW**

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13235

There is a growing idea that Chinese medicine, often misrepresented as a homogeneous, ‘traditional’ theory and practice despite its diversity, exploits animals, even endangered ones. The COVID-19 pandemic and its relevance to pangolins or bats as possible intermediate hosts only strengthens this view. Liz Chee complicates this idea by examining the historical development of the incorporation of animal parts and tissue in both state-sanctioned and more popular forms of Chinese medicine, or ‘faunal medicalisation’. Chee argues that the process of faunal medicalisation, as a modern phenomenon, started in the early People’s Republic of China (PRC) years in the 1950s and continuously intensified throughout the rest of the Maoist era (1949–76) and Deng period (1978–97).

Mao’s Bestiary is structured in chronological order. The first two chapters explore the early and mid-1950s and set the stage for the emergence of faunal medicalisation in the late 1950s. Chapter 1 describes the Chinese Communist Party’s approaches to Chinese medicinal materials (zhongyao) in relation to Chinese medical theory (zhongyi) and its effort to reform the pharmaceutical industry in a socialist fashion. The short second chapter is devoted to the influences of Soviet medicine on Chinese medicine. Chee pays special attention to the Soviet fascination with organotherapy. Organotherapy, often regarded as an unorthodox forerunner of modern endocrinology, consists of therapeutic practices predicated on the idea that some animal secretions can cure human disorders. It was introduced to Maoist China in this period in the guise of tissue therapy (zuzhi liaofa) and would later grant a certain scientific credence to the medical use of, to name a few, deer antlers and bear bile.

Against this backdrop, the remaining three chapters trace the trajectory of full-blown faunal medicalisation. With a focus on the rise of the massive deer farming during the Great Leap Forward (1958–61) and the popularisation of chicken blood therapy during the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), articulated respectively in chapters 3 and 4, Chee demonstrates that not only Western-trained doctors but also grassroots peasants actively collected and experimented with millions of animal parts and tissue which were believed to have healing powers, with or without reliable references. In this way, the range of faunal medicalisation could extend even to raw, mundane materials like chicken blood. This mass engagement with medicinal animals was driven by multilayered, overlapping factors and trends such as the priority that the state placed on self-sufficiency; the Maoist ideological affinity for folk medicines; the lack of access to Western drugs in rural areas; and the widespread desire for a miraculous panacea; the controversy over whether the modern biochemical framework did justice to the efficacy of Chinese animal-based drugs; and the selective mobilisation of the charisma of traditional texts on materia medica as well as biomedicine. The last chapter moves on to the post-Mao era and documents how the promotion of commercialisation, the loosening of state regulations, and the increasing craving of overseas Chinese communities and other East Asian countries for medicinal animals accelerated the process. All other miscellaneous animal-based drugs – rhino horn, goose and duck blood, toads’ heads, lizards, seahorses, starfish, and
the like – now became marketable with limited efforts to verify their efficacy and safety.

*Mao's Bestiary* fills the historiographical gap in rich scholarship on the modernisation of Chinese medicine pioneered by Sean Hsiang-lin Lei, Bridie Andrews and Kim Taylor and supplements the literature on Mao-era science led by Sigrid Schmalzer, Miriam Gross and Xiaoping Fang by expanding the scholarly purview from medical theory to pharmaceutics; from medicinal herbs to animals; and from elite physicians to pharmacists, workers in drug factories and peasants-innovators. One caveat regarding this book, however, is that it utilises few archival or oral historical materials, largely relying on articles published in professional medical and pharmacological journals in the Mao and Deng era. Although such sources are either too state-centric or ignorant about the big picture (pp. 16–17), they could have helped Chee make the voices of non-elite actors more audible. The same issue becomes especially salient when Chee analyses transnational contributions to the medicalisation of animals in China. For example, without referring to Chinese local archives and Russian primary sources, this book treats Soviet influences as a mere background and hardly reveals how the Chinese appropriation of Soviet tissue therapy diverged from its original form (pp. 64–9). When explaining the introduction of North Korean bear bile extraction technologies in China, the dearth of references leads to the misleading conflation of North Korean nationals with early Korean immigrants to Japanese-controlled Manchuria as well as ethnic Koreans living in post-1949 China, or *chaoxianzu* (pp. 148–54). It may also be helpful to identify the parameters of this book. It is not a socio-economic project aiming at, for instance, fleshing out the details of state-owned animal farms and of international animal-based drugs trades. It neither foregrounds animal–human relations nor illuminates diverse meanings or valuations of animals besides their uses as drugs.

*Mao's Bestiary* is the first comprehensive inquiry into the historical position and significance of animal-based drugs in modern Chinese medicine. At a time when the field of modern Chinese history, PRC history in particular, is grappling with limited access to local archives and travel restrictions, this book is an exemplary work that shows how China scholars can produce inspirational work even under unfavourable conditions. Given its scale of production, distribution and consumption, the ways in which Chinese medicine has capitalised on animals will continue to have a decisive impact on our shared ecologies on the planet. As such, *Mao's Bestiary* deserves much attention not only from historians of modern China, medicine and science but also from anyone who is concerned about animal ethics and One Health.

*Harvard University*

**JONGSIK CHRISTIAN YI**

**PEER REVIEW**

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13231

© 2021 The Author(s). *History* © 2021 The Historical Association and John Wiley & Sons Ltd
For many people, 2020 became the (unexpected) year of walking. With restrictions on many of the usual demands, diversions and distractions people began to explore their local environs by foot. This engaging book reflects how wandering as a way of escaping restrictions has a long history. Structured around ten pen portraits, the book considers the ways in which women since the eighteenth century have written about walking. Drawing on texts from authors including Elizabeth Carter, Ellen Weeton and Harriet Martineau it explores how walking shaped their writing, their sense of identity, and their physical and mental well-being.

As Andrews notes in the introduction, many of the earlier volumes on walking have prioritised male writings, with Dorothy Wordsworth (in her role as ‘sister’) being one of the few female voices to appear. However, as Rebecca Solnit has also noted elsewhere, wandering was important to women and their individual and collective selves. Because many women faced restrictions on where they could walk, and with whom, those who were able to enjoy perambulation often reflected on the degree of liberation that it gave them. This was not just a feeling limited to earlier time periods; the chapter on Cheryl Strayed reflects the exclusions, as well as risks, endured by women walking in the 1990s. The ways in which women negotiated these barriers is carefully considered throughout this book.

While the volume primarily focuses on rural and ‘wild’ walking, urban pedestrianism is considered in the chapters on Virginia Woolf and Anaïs Nin. Woolf described city walking as a radical act, and that the sensations experienced by exploring London on foot were very different from those created by walking in Sussex and on the Downs. These experiences directly fed into her writing, and the connections between the published works of these writers and the physical and psychological experience of wandering are a key theme throughout the book. This is especially clear in the chapter on Nan Shepherd, which is the strongest in the book in terms of its engagement with critical ideas and literary texts. Here the intertwining discussions of self, space and literary expression are masterfully handled, and the reader feels as if they are in Aberdeenshire with Shepherd and Andrews.

Although the book has the subtitle ‘a history of women’s walking’, it is not as comprehensive a volume as that would suggest. An ‘author by author’ approach does mean that some key topics are not as thoroughly explored as they might have been with a more thematic structure. Practical issues such as what women wore when walking and how they mapped their routes (if they did) are not systematically considered, as this is not the aim of the book; its focus is on how literary women wrote about their walking. Their wanderings shaped their novels, poetry, life writing, letters and walking guides, and for some writers, such as Linda Cracknall, walking was part of the writing process. In turn, the book also reflects on how these writings inform us about the impact that walking had on the women. It considers friendships and solitude, sickness and wellness, mystery and discovery, and the ways in which walking was often an empathetic activity which enabled women to think about their selves and the worlds that they inhabited.

While Andrews has not structured the book around these themes, they are clear...
and they enable the individual experiences of the different writers to become interconnected.

The biographical approach also means that it is a readable volume which may have a wider appeal than an academic monograph. It is also a very personal book. Andrews’s experiences as a walker shape the book, and at the end of each chapter she includes an autobiographical reflection on the writer, themes or places that she has just examined. This personal tone reflects the intimate nature of walking that Andrews highlights. It reinforces how walking is, in Lévi-Strauss’s phrase, ‘good to think with’ and that it can connect people across time who have explored the same paths and routes. These authorial interventions make the reader feel as if they too are sharing the footpaths with Andrews and the writers she discusses, and so, like the best historical writing, connect the reader with the past.

*University of Derby*

RUTH LARSEN

**PEER REVIEW**

The peer review history for this article is available at https://publons.com/publon/10.1111/1468-229X.13209