Reviews (Books)

Anderson, Arthur J. O., and Susan Schroeder, trans. and eds.
Codex Chimalpahin: Society and Politics in Mexico Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco, Texcoco, Culhuacan, and Other Nahua Altepetl in Central Mexico, Volume 2. By Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin.

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2021.
258 pages. Paperback. ISBN: 9780806169187.

Ancient Mexico and its precious history is still a mystery to many. However, around 400 years ago, the Nahua chronicler Chimalpahin (1579-1660)—also known as Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin—recorded the history of his people, dating back long before the arrival of the Europeans, in his native Nahuatl language. Due to his education, Chimalpahin was able to document what was going on around him and investigate on his own. A second volume of his extensive work has now been edited and translated by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Susan Schroeder who both have experience with translating from the Nahuatl language and have written books on Chimalpahin's *Codex* and the Mesoamerican way of life, allowing historians to expand their understanding of what Nahuatl culture was like. Chimalpahin's documentation sheds light on what Nahua rulers were like in times of war; how they reacted to the arrival of the Spaniards; how the calendar of the Mexica worked; what was expected of the people when they were forced to convert to Christianity; and what kind of life the upper class enjoyed.

The portion of the *Codex Chimalpahin* presented here consists of four primary sections featuring different styles of writing. The first, annalistic part reads like a timeline with some scattered stories, some of which are quite funny, while others have a much darker tone. The second part contains various lists and shows examples of the calendar. The third part addresses the question of "how to be a good Christian." And the last section features a letter by Juan de San Antonio of Texcoco.

From the first, annalistic part, we learn how the Mexica—the people who would one day establish Tenochtitlán—became an empire. The text addresses how long the people moved around Mexico and how long they stayed in one place until they either decided to move or were forced out, or until their god of war, Huitzilopochtli, told them to leave their current location. The text also hints at how the Spanish conquistador Hernando Cortes ruthlessly killed rulers even after they had done what they had been ordered to do, because Cortes knew that he would not be challenged. Chimalpahin's text records when rulers died and who succeeded them, and in some cases the author is able to provide details on certain lineages. Gaps in the dynastic information can be explained by the fact that, when the Spaniards came, rulers were dying so quickly—due to disease—they would not have the time to name a replacement or their lineage would become extinct and a new ruler would have to be found from a different family. Such succession

crises occurred repeatedly in different parts of Mesoamerica that came into contact with the Spaniards. They did not just affect the ruling class, as commoners, too, fell victim to imported diseases. For recent scholarship on how the Spaniards defeated the Indigenous, readers may wish to consult *Ancient Mexico and Central America: Archaeology and Culture History*, 3rd edition (2013), by Susan Toby Evans. Evans's work explains in more depth what kind of tactics the Spaniards used to gain the upper hand, even though they were facing a much larger population of Indigenous people. This included using disease and causing disruption among the indigenous people by pitting them against each other.

The second part of the present edition deals with the calendar and dating system, and it is the shortest portion of the text. It is explained here that the calendar consisted of eighteen months, that each month consisted of twenty days, and that each week consisted of thirteen days, each with its own day sign. Eighteen multiplied by twenty equals 360, equal to the number of days we use today. This system enabled parents to foretell their children's future based on their date of birth. The day signs were derived from the animal kingdom and from nature. For example, the sixteenth day of September (in our modern calendar) was "Nine Rain" and the seventeenth day of September was "Ten Flower." There were nineteen rotations of what each date represented, and as the days were counted, their names were recycled with a different number. This almanac represented "the ancient Mexica day count." (119) Readers interested in learning more may wish to turn to *The Art of Mesoamerica: From Olmec to Aztec*, 6th edition (2019), by Mary Ellen Miller, which provides excellent background information on the calendar systems of the Aztec and the Maya and offers more key details. The almanac was important to the Mexica because they were superstitious and held tightly to their beliefs and culture until the Spaniards came. Once the Spaniards were able to control the culture, they were able to control the people.

The third part of the present edition shows readers what was expected of the Mexica when they had to convert from polytheism to monotheism. The respective text is called the *Exercicio quotidiano*, and it is Chimalpahin's translation of a text by the Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún that was given to the Mexicas. At its core, it reads like a manual on how to be a good Christian. It introduces the Ten Commandments, and the entire "manual" is written in the second person ("you") so that it would have a bigger impact on the target audience. The story of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and God is explained in the *Exercicio*, and the original author separates the various sections of the story with daily prayers and indicates what each day should be dedicated to. Monday introduces the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Tuesday relates where Jesus was born and how perfect he is. Wednesday addresses the three wise men who brought frankincense, myrrh, and gold to Jesus. Thursday features an "us versus them" type of text, referring to "idolaters" as "them," and to "us" as "those who believe in God." Thursday moves away from learning about the Trinity and becomes very forceful in tone as it

indicates the punishment for sin. Friday and Saturday reiterate that the Trinity is "one;" therefore, it is not polytheism, and there is still only one God.

The present edition's final section contains different unsigned Nahuatl writings, as well as a letter by Juan de San Antonio of Texcoco. Chimalpahin was able to gather data and compile various accounts; however, the accounts were out of order, and Anderson and Schroeder had to reorganize Juan's notes. The Nahuatl writings address different subjects, such as gossip and even political agendas that led to a ruler's death. One example of gossip pertains to a noble woman who loved to live a life of pleasure and was not tied to any one man. Another text is much darker and details betrayal and killing the betrayed: Hernan Cortes used other Mexica to kill those he did not like or those who did not fall in line, or just because he felt like it. One of the accounts of the Mexica bluntly states that Hernando Cortes truly did not know that he was mistreating the people of the land. (195) Cortes was delusional and stuck in his world, thinking that he was right and was doing no harm.

The letter by Juan de San Antonio of Texcoco provides insight into how the nephew of Cortes spoke about his confusion when he was as a child and questioned his family's love. There are accounts that Juan would get physically abused by his other uncle, Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquititzin, and when Juan was a child, he understood that he was a scapegoat of his uncle's anger. Not only was he abused, but he was ignored to the point that he was not given anything. His cousins, sisters, and brothers would receive gifts from Pedro, and he was given nothing. Juan only received his uncle's rage. After speaking about his abuse, Juan talks about property and how it was distributed among his family. What makes this letter interesting is that Juan explains how property was measured, how it was used, and what was done to the land that either destroyed it or made it flourish.

Since this book is an edited historical primary source that is 400 years old, it is not an easy read. I definitely recommend *Codex Chimalpahin* to those who have experience and background in Mesoamerican history, because this book already expects the reader to be familiar with the region's various civilizations.

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Bevins, Vincent.
The Jakarta Method:
Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program That Shaped Our World.

New York: PublicAffairs, 2020.
320 pages. E-book. ISBN: 9781541724013.

The world we live in has been shaped by the events of the Cold War. Often taught and thought of as simply a great power struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Cold War had profoundly far-reaching effects politically and

economically, and it exacted a monumental human cost. In *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program That Shaped Our World*, journalist Vincent Bevins uncovers the anticommunist extermination program carried out throughout the Third World during the Cold War. Bevins argues that this mass murder program, which targeted anyone who could even vaguely be construed as a communist, leftist, left leaning, or otherwise subversive, reshaped global power and radically altered the world we live in.

The Jakarta Method tells the largely forgotten history of the Indonesian anticommunist massacres which were undertaken with the aid of the United States in 1965-1966. What transpired in Indonesia was subsequently replicated in U.S.-backed Latin American campaigns against leftism throughout Central and South America. To tell this story, Bevins employs a wide range of sources, including declassified CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) and State Department documents, other archival materials, and interviews with historians and survivors of the mass murder programs in Indonesia and Latin America. Drawing from these sources gives his work a detailed and precise, yet personal and intimate quality, making for not only a valuable source of information but also an accessible one. Indeed, Bevin's use of interviews with survivors enhances the book's readability and provides the human connection that is often lost when discussing instances of mass murder.

Throughout *The Jakarta Method*, Bevins is careful to situate the events in the broader context of the Cold War. Thus, even though the historical events chronicled here took place in Indonesia and Latin America, the book is more of a global history of anticommunist violence carried out in collaboration with the U.S. government and the CIA. Indeed, one of the most powerful takeaways from *The Jakarta Method* is the profound extent to which the U.S. government was complicit in and drove this mass murder program. The commitment to anticommunism on the part of the U.S. was not simply fostered by conflict with the Soviet Union, which is commonly offered as a mainstream interpretation of American anticommunism, but rather had deeper roots in American political and economic thought. As Bevins indicates in Chapter 1 ("A New American Age"), the United States already had robust anticommunist sentiments throughout its highest and most powerful offices at the start of the Cold War. Bevins explains the post-1945 stratification of nations into First, Second, and Third-World powers. He also discusses the 1947 establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency which would seek to fight the battle against communism in the Third World.

Chapter 2 ("Independent Indonesia") recounts the story of the Indonesian path to independence from Dutch colonialism. Bevins artfully accomplishes this by telling much of this history through the life of Francisa Pattiphilhoy who was a supporter of Indonesian independence and held leftist political views. Throughout *The Jakarta Method*, Bevins weaves into the narrative the first-hand experiences of those present during the historical events he covers. Also covered in Chapter 2 are the early covert operations of the CIA and the 1955 Bandung Conference.

Beginning in 1953 in Iran with Operation Ajax, the CIA undertook a series of coups by both covert and overt means. This usually included supporting and funding "rebel" groups, providing arms and intelligence, and creating and disseminating propaganda. Following its activities in Iran where the democratically elected National Front and communist Tudeh Party were overthrown, the CIA turned to Guatemala in 1954 with the goal of regime change because of perceived Soviet influence. In Indonesia, President Sukarno's vision of an inclusive and syncretic left-leaning Third World nationalism drew the negative attention of the U.S. following the Bandung Conference. This conference brought together the nations of the Third World and created the Non-Aligned Movement. But such Cold War neutrality would not be tolerated by the United States.

As it became apparent that the U.S. could do little to increase its influence over President Sukarno by diplomatic efforts, more covert methods were employed. Chapter 3 discusses the CIA's activities to either shift Sukarno's stance or facilitate his removal from power, including bombing campaigns, funding rebels from 1957 on, as well as planning and filming, though never releasing, a sex tape made with a Sukarno look-alike in hopes of tarnishing his image. Ultimately, these efforts failed, and Sukarno launched his vision of "Guided Democracy" in 1959. CIA tactics then shifted to building a "state within a state" made up of the Indonesian Armed Forces. (89) Elsewhere in the Third World, the CIA continued its fight against leftism by assisting with the arrest of Nelson Mandela in 1962 and the Iraqi coup of 1963, which led to the rise of the Baath Party and the massacre of thousands of communists. In Brazil, the U.S. government and the CIA worked to undermine the left-leaning president Joao "Jango" Goulart by capitalizing on deeply rooted anticommunist sentiment, as detailed in Chapter 5 ("To Brazil and Back"). Brazil subsequently became a crucial player in the Cold War as it waged its own war against leftists in Latin America.

Chapter 6 ("The September 30th Movement") and Chapter 7 ("Extermination") present the "Jakarta Method" for which the book is named. Years of fostering and empowering a right-leaning Indonesian army corps that would be "friendly" toward the U.S. finally came into play with the formation of the *Gerakan 30 September* or September 30th Movement. This group, composed of Indonesian army officers, staged a night raid, kidnapping and killing six high-ranking generals whom they accused of planning a coup against President Sukarno. Bevins points out that the details of the night raid and how the September 30th Movement was formed remain unclear. Acclaimed scholar Benedict Anderson, who was living in Indonesia at the time, provided evidence in 1987 that the Indonesian communist party was not involved in this plan, which runs counter to the narrative embraced by the current Indonesian government. Nearly immediately after the raid, General Suharto, who had ties to the CIA, rose to power and gained command of all media outlets. The story surrounding the night raid came to accuse the *Gewani*, a leftist feminist political movement, of performing a demonic ritual in which so-called witches who made up the movement killed the generals and ritualistically

removed their genitalia. A wave of mass murders targeting communists, suspected communists, and leftists quickly followed.

In describing the events of the massacres, Bevins slows down the book's pace and provides a clear timeline. He uses the experiences of those who survived these events as a means to illustrate the brutality that ensued. Those suspected of being communists were quickly rounded up and subjected to interrogation, torture, rape, and often extrajudicial execution. Historians believe this was the first time that forced disappearances were used as means of exercising state terror. Those who were not killed were often kept in concentration camps and subjected to further torture, sexual slavery, and reeducation. The estimated death toll of these massacres is between five hundred thousand and one million. As Bevins points out in Chapter 7, while the massacres were being carried out, the White House approved the sale of small arms to Central Java via the Bangkok CIA station. The U.S. also worked to intentionally destabilize Indonesia's economy, thereby aiding Sukarno's eventual removal from power. Following its "success" in Indonesia, this method of Washington and CIA-backed murder and destabilization would be brought to Latin America.

In Chapter 9 ("Jakarta is Coming"), Bevins describes how this process came to be replicated in Latin America, and how the name "Jakarta" came to be synonymous with the mass extermination of leftists. Salvador Allende's rise to political prominence in Chile ignited the next use of the "Jakarta Method." During Allende's presidential campaign, the CIA poured money into propaganda campaigns to undermine the candidate. Nevertheless, Allende gained the nomination in 1970. Soon after, threats were made in the form of graffiti on the homes of Allende supporters and other leftists which promised that "Jakarta is coming." (193) Those responsible for these threats turned out to be Chilean right-wing paramilitaries aided by the Brazilian government, which was revealed by Brazil's Truth Commission. This created a state of terror among Chileans. When Allende was removed from power by a CIA-backed coup and committed suicide on September 11, 1973, General Augusto Pinochet assumed the role of the Washington-aligned dictator. In 1975, the U.S.-supported "Operation Condor" launched a systematic program of murder and kidnapping of leftists throughout South America, creating an "anticommunist killing zone." (215)

Central America was also forced to face the terror and brutality of this mass murder program as Bevins describes in Chapter 10 ("Back Up North"). Guatemalan Indigenous communities, particularly in the Ilom region, were systematically extirpated in a genocide that targeted not only their Indigenous heritage but also their perceived irreligiosity and sympathy for communism. Following the 1979 Nicaraguan Revolution in which the Sandinista government rose to power, the U.S. funded the right-wing reactionary Contra death squads which terrorized the country with U.S. weapons and support. During the Salvadoran Civil War, 900 civilians, many of them women and children, were killed in the 1981 El Mozote Massacre by the Salvadoran army using U.S.-made

assault rifles and having received training at the U.S. School of the Americas. In each of these locations, the U.S. provided aid in some form in an effort to "combat" leftism. The impact of such actions is immeasurable.

Bevins concludes that the mass murder program first put in place in Indonesia and then replicated throughout Latin America helped ensure that the victors of the Cold War would be the U.S. and the First World. This mass extermination program radically shifted the political and economic makeup of the globe by eliminating any left-oriented opposition to Western capitalism. Dreams of a liberal international order in which countries would have the right to self-determination were dashed in pursuit of global political, military, and economic hegemony. In *The Jakarta Method's* final chapter ("Where Are They Now? And Where Are We?"), Bevins again turns the storytelling back to those who experienced the events firsthand.

With its careful consideration of the broad context of the Cold War and its focused attention to the forgotten history of the U.S.-backed Indonesian coup and mass murders, Vincent Bevins's work, *The Jakarta Method*, forces readers to challenge their ideas surrounding the conflict. Because of the author's careful research, journalistic impulses, and moving integration of life stories, *The Jakarta Method* provides an illuminating and highly readable contribution to the existing historiographies of the Cold War, Third World, and CIA.

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Brown, Nancy Marie.
The Real Valkyrie:
The Hidden History of Viking Warrior Women.

New York: St. Martin's Press, 2021.
320 pages. E-book. ISBN: 9781250200839.

What is a myth, if not a combination of legends and facts? Valkyries were elite fighters, respected, feared, and, most importantly, based on real female warriors. *The Real Valkyrie: The Hidden History of Viking Warrior Women* by Nancy Marie Brown explores the fictionalized life of Hervor, a woman whose story is inspired by a variety of medieval primary sources. Hervor's story is used as a framework to discuss and detail the Viking age with an emphasis on the role of women. *The Real Valkyrie* covers numerous topics, all of which are interesting in their own right. Brown has also written several books covering individuals and/or stories from the Viking era, such as *Song of the Vikings: Snorri and the Making of Norse Myths* and *The Saga of Gudrid the Far-Traveler*.

The Real Valkyrie's primary purpose is to challenge the historical notion that Viking society was dominated by men; women were vital participants in all facets of Norse society. The book begins with Brown's inspiration for Hervor, a grave which was long believed to belong to a male Viking, despite objections by

osteologists, before DNA testing proved that it was, in fact, the burial site of a female. This revelation is only the beginning of Brown's attempt to break apart stereotypes. *The Real Valkyrie*'s argument is built on several pieces of evidence. Firstly, scholars tend to dismiss information regarding warrior women, the Valkyries, and typically place them in the fantasy category along with trolls and giant wolves. However, Brown points out that there are numerous medieval Norse accounts which reference Valkyries, along with warrior men, and these accounts are similar in nature (e.g., Valkyries are strong, skilled in combat, etc.). Secondly, with regard to some of these texts, *The Real Valkyrie* explores the change in tone over time when discussing female warriors and leaders. Brown draws attention to the spread of Christianity and later Victorian ideals coinciding with the growing criticism and contempt for the success of women. Lastly, Brown utilizes archaeological discoveries to reinforce her argument. For example, she discusses how certain graves were, once again, considered to be those of male warriors or war leaders due to the belongings buried with them (e.g., weapons, horses, etc.), while other graves found with jewelry were thought to be female. It was only when DNA testing became common and accurate that archaeologists realized that men and women were buried in both types of graves, and scholars could not deny this concrete evidence.

Another focus of *The Real Valkyrie* is the importance of tradition in Viking society, which is shown through various topics. For example, Chapter 7 is primarily centered around the importance of beer and alcohol consumption during feasts. The narrative at this point has a young Hervor as a beer runner during a celebration. Brown includes this event in the story to showcase the role beer and alcohol (e.g., wine or mead) played in showing respect between hosts and their guests. Hosts were expected to provide enough of any drink to allow their guests to become inebriated: "No one goes clearheaded to bed. It's a matter of pride." (88) This was the proper way to honor a guest. On the other hand, if a guest commented or complained about being sober, despite heavy drinking, it would be taken as an insult by the host for serving weak drinks. Furthermore, the order in which drinks were served dictated the status of the guests. Brown cites the *Beowulf* epic to expand on this point. Essentially, the king was served first, in order to show his superiority, and his warriors and companions would subsequently be served in accordance with their perceived status. Accepting the cup and taking a drink symbolically signified their acceptance of their given rank.

The Real Valkyrie also explores the Vikings from the perspective of politics and love, or, rather, a lack of love. Political marriages between Viking leaders were similar to those that typically occurred in Europe during this time. Brown mentions the alliance of Thorfinn Skull-Splitter and Eirik Bloodaxe who agreed to ally with one another on two conditions: firstly, that Thorfinn's brothers would accompany Eirik on raids; and secondly, that Gunnhild, Eirik's wife, would stay with Thorfinn. This agreement was sealed by marrying off Eirik's only daughter to Thorfinn's eldest son. In addition, Brown mentions a scene from *Njal's Saga*

which takes place after the region's conversion to Christianity: in this case, a son agrees to marry whoever his father deems an appropriate match for him. At the time of this agreement, Brown states, "the idea of marriage as a lifelong vow of sexual fidelity would have seemed absurd." (117) Brown uses these examples to make a comparison between Viking Age and Christian Age marriages: both accepted the idea of arranged marriages. This comparison frames Viking society in a way that becomes more relatable since it shares certain aspects with a better known society (i.e., Christian society).

Brown heavily relies on sagas, chronicles, and other written accounts to explain the Viking world, but there are issues with her use of these texts. Firstly, the narrative and time period she describes primarily take place in the tenth century, but some of the referenced sagas were not recorded in writing until the thirteenth century (albeit usually based on much older oral tradition). Brown herself admits this fact: "Snorri wrote both texts [*Egil's Saga* and *Heimskringla*] in the mid-thirteenth century. He does not number the years in either one." (110) Secondly, some of these authors already had an inherently distorted view of what was considered a normal or typical society, especially with regard to women: "By 1200, however, when most accounts of the Viking Age were being written, army training camps had been removed from the domestic sphere—and officially closed to women. A woman's world, in general, had shrunk, thanks to the Christian Church's new focus on defining and enforcing social roles." (145) Although these accounts may be, to a certain extent, anachronistic, Brown acknowledges this weakness and attempts to portray a relatively accurate picture of the time period by using several of these sources, taken together, as a means of verifying one another (i.e., if a person or event is mentioned in more than one source and by more than one author, it is likely that a version of that particular story is true). However, this is not to say there are no direct primary sources.

The Real Valkyrie's protagonist is based on unearthed remains found in modern-day Sweden, and the narrative is influenced by items found inside the grave, such as weapons, game pieces, horse remains, etc. Brown also uses both original and recreated tapestries to tell her story, since tapestries were typically woven with images to express a saga or local history in their fabric. Throughout the book, there are images and references to figurines, coins, and jewelry. These items are all used to determine which regions and societies were in contact with the Viking world, thereby influencing the events of the narrative. One of Brown's most intriguing primary sources is an eleventh-century boat (*Viks Boat*) unearthed in 1898 and reconstructed in 1996, with a replica created soon after (*Talja*). Unlike previous replicas based on different Viking boats, the *Talja* was successfully tested on traditional Viking routes and passageways. Brown uses this unique source to create a chapter dedicated to advancing Hervor's story by including a new route for trade (or raid) and travel, the importance of having a properly built boat to endure such a voyage, and the prestige associated with owning and being buried with a boat.

Brown uses written accounts and archeological findings to the best of her abilities to create a cohesive narrative and well-informed historical account of Viking life. However, the organization of the story may be a bit off-putting to some readers. Throughout the book, the author alternates between the expository narrative she has created and information concerning the individuals, writings, and artifacts. Brown does a phenomenal job of expanding on the historical background of her story, typically explaining which of these specific written accounts or artifacts were used by her to create the narrative. Although this information teaches the reader about the Vikings' way of life and their society, it does detract from the story at times due to the length of the background information, and, as a result, creates gaps between the narrative sections of the book. That said, for some readers, such a plethora of details can be a preferable alternative to receiving limited background information via footnotes or endnotes.

The Real Valkyrie is certainly not what I expected (namely, a captivating work of historical fiction, based on artifacts and writing), but it still makes for an enjoyable read. The story of Hervor is, to an extent, lackluster. It is informative and straightforward, but brief and not particularly exciting. The strength of this book lies in its extensive amount of detailed research. Those who enjoy *The Real Valkyrie* will most likely also appreciate *The Far Traveler: Voyages of a Viking Woman* (2007); it is another of Brown's works and appears to have a similar structure (i.e., a narrative intertwined with historical background). In addition, *The Age of The Vikings* by Anders Winroth covers similar topics to *The Real Valkyrie,* but forgoes the use of a single character, such as Hervor, to connect the material. *The Real Valkyrie* is well assembled, but it is not an easy book to recommend for most readers. It would be best suited for those who are looking to learn more about Viking society, with a focus on women, rather than readers looking for a compelling story. However, Brown excels at using her story as a vehicle to introduce the reader to the Viking world and explore its intricacies. The author's passion for the subject matter comes through in her writing and facilitates an overall enjoyable read.

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Burrough, Bryan, Chris Tomlinson, and Jason Stanford.
Forget The Alamo:
The Rise and Fall of an American Myth.

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416 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9781984880093.

In Texas, there is perhaps no other place as revered and treasured as the Alamo. Its name alone conjures up tales of heroism and a sense of fortitude among Texans. It is these tales and the historiography of the Alamo that authors Bryan Burrough,

Chris Tomlinson, and James Stanford seek to revise. Burrough, Tomlinson, and Stanford intend their book, *Forget The Alamo: The Rise and Fall of An American Myth*, to be a hard look at the Alamo legend. As reporters who love facts (xxiv), the authors introduce the two schools of thought on the Alamo by juxtaposing two rock stars: Ozzy Osborne and Phil Collins. One school of thought (and rock star—hint: the one who is a collector of Alamo artifacts) is "traditionalist" and believes in the enduring Alamo legend and what the authors call the "Heroic Anglo Narrative." (xxv) The second school of thought is "revisionist," and the authors add to it by "highlight[ing] the often-overlooked contributions of Mexican-Americans during Texas's early years, and the awful price they paid for them." (xxv) Arguably even more controversial to Texas and the present-day way in which this state wants to have its history narrated, the authors blatantly state that the Texas Revolt (and therefore the Battle of the Alamo) was not a fight for heroism and democratic ideals but, rather, a fight to preserve slavery.

While there have been many battles in the history of man, there are not many like the 1836 Battle of the Alamo—a battle that captures the mind, spirit, and soul not just of men but of a nation and even the world. Countless books and several films have told and retold the story of the Alamo. In the first half of their book, the authors reconstruct the world of nineteenth-century Texas, the events that led to Americans migrating to Texas, and eventually the Texas Revolt, all while chipping away at the Alamo legend. With regard to the enduring myth that the Mexican government was tyrannical and oppressive toward the freedom-loving Americans, the authors counter, "Santa Anna was not some blood-thirsty tyrant; in fact, he had given the colonists almost everything they wanted short of guaranteeing the sanctity of their slaves." (70) Time and time again, Mexico had turned a blind eye toward the slaves being imported to Texas. Thus, the underlying cause for the Texas Revolt, the authors state, was "Santa Anna's abolition of federalism which became official in October 1835" (71) and the fear that slavery would no longer exist in Texas.

Secondly, the authors turn to the beloved Alamo defenders and martyrs and their way of life. Davy Crockett, William B. Travis, and Jim Bowie have become untouchable vehicles for American values and patriotism. From the moment they fell, their story would be that of the victors, and they emerged as the courageous patriots of the newly independent Republic of Texas. The authors do not shy away from describing the Alamo defenders as flawed people. Jim Bowie is referred to as a "seasoned swindler" (52), a slave trader, and someone who "fled to Texas rather than face the consequences of a series of land frauds attempted in Arkansas and Louisiana." (52-53) Davy Crockett was a "Tennessee congressman" with a "penchant for tall tales," and before the Alamo, he had been considered by the Whigs for a potential presidential run. (89-91) William B. Travis was a lawyer and slave owner who, due to his debts, left his young family (a wife and two children) and went to Texas. (56-57) The authors unravel the Alamo myth by unraveling the legends of its defenders. In reality, Bowie, Crockett, and Travis, were all too

human. However, they were reborn in the story of the Alamo, the one that Sam Houston used to inspire confidence and purpose. (134)

Over time, the gallantry and legend of the Alamo became cemented by various means. The actions of the Alamo defenders were described as valiant, all meeting a glorious death while fighting against Santa Anna's tyranny and his treacherous army. Early publications in newspapers helped spread the legend. The first publication came just a few weeks after the Battle of the Alamo in what the authors describe as "Texians' reliable propaganda arm," (134) the *Telegraph and Texas Register*, and featured accounts from two eyewitnesses, namely, Joe, Travis's slave, and Susanna Dickinson, a widow who survived the battle. However, the stories told by both changed over time and had already been "massaged to inject more heroism" (133) before publication in the *Telegraph*. Countless books were written by countless amateurs in the years after the Battle of the Alamo. The authors emphasize repeatedly that there was no historical research and scholarly writing on the Alamo until the late twentieth century. (182) Amateur writers effectively fictionalized and perpetuated the long-believed legends of the Alamo. One of the definitive works on Texas history, Henderson K. Yoakum's *History of Texas* published in 1855, invokes the Alamo myth. Early attempts to include important Tejano figures present at the Alamo and active during the Texas Revolt failed to take off. The first Tejano historian, Jose Antonio Navarro (1795-1871), would try in vain. (155) The Alamo myth did more than canonize the Alamo defenders: it actively promoted Anglo-centric views. Many amateur writers cited the eventual Texan victory over Mexico as evidence of Anglo dominion and Manifest Destiny. The Alamo became so deeply embedded in Texas history that it is unimaginable without it. The new medium of film would further perpetuate the Alamo myth and catapult it to international fame.

True to their background as reporters, Burrough, Tomlinson, and Stanford prove to be incredible fact checkers. They chronicle the history that led to the Battle of the Alamo, the event's (amateur) historiography, the impact it has had on Texas, and the emergence of the two schools of thought on the Alamo. They effectively utilize accounts from the time and analyze primary documents to dispel the Alamo myth. There is no evidence that before he was captured at the Battle of San Jacinto, Santa Anna was distracted by Emily Morgan, Texas's Yellow Rose, nor is it true that the Battle of the Alamo gave precious time to Sam Houston's army by keeping the Mexican army busy.

Alamo revisionism is not unique to this book. As the authors themselves admit, they stand on the shoulders of Mexican-American writers and oral histories, as well as Anglo-American writers like Carey McWilliams (1905-1980). The second half of their book gives a voice to Alamo revisionism and how it has lived in academic circles but failed to take off in mainstream circles. The remembrance of the Alamo is not just important to Anglos and Latinos in the state of Texas, but it is contested by other people of color. The Spanish mission is a Native American "Coahuiltecan burial ground, a segregated lunch counter," and the site of

"countless other battles." (340) The book argues that leaving out this history is forgetting a past that is just as interesting and "equally important, if not more so," (341) than one battle. Knowing that so much of what has been written about the Alamo and still believed to be true is not based on any historical fact, it is important to revise what one remembers and what one categorizes as history. This is especially important considering the level of control that the state of Texas wants to exert over the teaching of "history" and "critical race theory" in its schools. Considering what George P. Bush is planning to do with the site itself. Infighting among top government officials, city government, and activists, has prolonged the renovations planned to the site. They ask whether renovations should include other cultural and historical perspectives, or remain focused on one solitary battle from 1836. Even as renovations have restarted, these questions remain. New questions arise, as the redevelopment unearthed a burial ground, largely consisting of buried Native American converts. Demands from Native American leaders to tell the entire history of the site, including that of a historically significant cemetery are met with resistance. This book paints a picture of what happens when historiography is filled with aggrandizement and folklore. Those who chant, "Remember the Alamo," should be interested in the ongoing scholarly conversations on how it must be remembered. To reduce the site's history to just one event is unfair when its history is so rich and holds so much potential to include different communities. To reduce the site's history to a mere one-sided traditionalist view is to forget the Alamo. The authors rightfully argue that the young, diverse population of Texas is not eager for such histories. They conclude their book with a sentiment of unity, namely, that we "need to forget what we learned about the Alamo, embrace the truth, and celebrate all Texans." (343) Anyone interested in the historiography of the Alamo, how legends are created, and the way time changes the way history is interpreted can gain much insight from reading this work. This book is not just for Texas; it is a book for all readers interested in a more expansive, inclusive, and transparent history.

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Gladwell, Malcolm.
The Bomber Mafia:
A Dream, a Temptation, and the Longest Night of the Second World War.

New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2021.
256 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9780316296618.

Malcolm Gladwell is not a historian. He has written a history book—well, he has written a history audiobook, but I will return to that later. Suffice it to say that Malcolm Gladwell, journalist and author of such works as *Outliers* (2008) and

David and Goliath (2013), has written a book about the American bomber commands during World War II, calling it *The Bomber Mafia*.

My first impression of *The Bomber Mafia* was that it is short, especially for a book about a subject as contentious and expansive as the bombing campaigns of World War II. The print copy tops out at just over 250 pages, and the amount of text on each page is rather small. The audiobook version is only 5 hours and 14 minutes long, short enough to listen to in an afternoon. This is certainly not an encyclopedic history of World War II in the vein of Allan Millett and Williamson Murray's *A War to be Won* (2001), nor an argument-driven historical analysis like Phillips Payson O'Brien's more recent *How the War was Won: Air-Sea Power and Allied Victory in World War II* (2019). Rather, this is a story that revolves around the intellectual question of how wars are fought, and the human cost that war necessitates.

Gladwell begins his story at the end—not at the Japanese surrender or the dropping of the atomic bombs, but on a small island in the middle of the Pacific on January 6, 1945. The introduction, titled "This isn't working. You're out," recounts a change in the leadership of the United States' 21st Bomber Command based in Guam. Haywood Hansell, a "brilliant young general" and a member of the eponymous Bomber Mafia, was replaced by the intrepid Curtis LeMay. (5) Gladwell comments that this was not a simple swap in the command structure, but a repudiation of all the ideas Hansell had espoused and popularized in the Army Air Corps (which will be addressed later in this review). The important thing to note here is that this moment—not the signing of a peace treaty or any of the infamous bombing attacks during the war— represents the climax of Gladwell's story, because *The Bomber Mafia* is, predominantly, a story about ideas and the people who carried them.

But, for now, let us return to Gladwell's narrative and its first part, "The Dream." The first chapter turns from that small island in the middle of the Pacific to New York City and a quirky Dutch inventor by the name of Carl L. Norden. Carl Norden was an engineer, and his brainchild was the Norden bombsight, an analog computer that could (allegedly) drop a bomb from 30,000 feet into a pickle barrel. To drop a bomb accurately from 20,000-30,000 feet requires calculation of altitude, airspeed, windspeed, temperature, etc.—even the rotation of the earth. But, if an accurate bombsight could be invented, suddenly "precision bombing" would become a viable option. High altitude bombers with massive payloads could fly high above enemy defenses and hit targets that appeared as big as a postage stamp.

In the next chapter, Gladwell moves on from Norden and his bombsight to a small airfield in Montgomery, Alabama, the home of the Army Air Corps Tactical School, where a small number of officers had begun to formulate the principles that would require the use of Norden's bombsight. Prior to World War II, the Air Force was not a separate branch of the military, but rather a combat division of the Army. Military officers and theorists at the time could only envision the primitive

flying machines supporting the operations of the Army. However, the staff of the Army Air Corps Tactical School flew in the face of this intellectual trend. They envisioned heavy bombers that could hit targets with pinpoint accuracy, crippling an opponent's armed forces before they even reached the battlefield. Nations would no longer have to sacrifice millions of young men in the trenches to decide their differences. But, of course, this could only be achieved if the bombers could actually hit their targets. And this theory could only truly be tested in an actual war. Enter: World War II and the Norden bombsight.

Chapter 3 jumps to 1943 and introduces two new figures into Gladwell's narrative: Ira Eaker, commander of the 8th Air Force and a member of the innovative Bomber Mafia, and Marshal Arthur "Bomber" Harris, commander of the Royal Air Force. They are each other's antithesis. Eaker is a firm believer in the doctrine of the Bomber Mafia, but Harris is a proponent of British "area bombing", or "morale bombing." In Gladwell's words, Harris is a "psychopath." Essentially, he believed that if the RAF could bring enough destruction and ruin to German cities, the Germans would lose their stomach for the war. Gladwell remarks that this is quite ironic given the British imperturbability in the face of the German Blitz of London. Nevertheless, the British persisted because of the influence of the eccentric Frederick Lindemann, statistician and advisor to Winston Churchill. Lindemann fervently believed that area bombing could win the war for England, and he had Churchill's ear. So, Harris was put in command of the RAF, and the Americans would have to prove that precision bombing was viable. So, who would Eaker turn to in order to convince Churchill of his cause?

Haywood Hansell was, of course—"The truest of true believers," according to Gladwell. That is the title of Chapter 4 of *The Bomber Mafia*, which draws a much clearer picture of our "brilliant young general," the rising star of the Bomber Mafia. It would be Hansell who planned the operation that revealed the wisdom behind precision bombing. To achieve this goal, the target he chose was a series of ball bearing factories in Schweinfurt, Bavaria, where the great majority of Germany's ball bearings were produced. Ball bearings are crucial components in any mechanical device. Ergo, if the ball bearing factory could be destroyed, German production of planes, tanks, artillery, ships, etc. would be compromised. To accomplish this, Hansell also decided that a second, diversionary raid would take place against an aircraft production facility in Regensburg, a town to the southeast of Schweinfurt. This raid would distract the German air defenses, allowing the second wave of B-17 bombers to level the ball bearing factories with minimal resistance. This raid was going to be so dangerous that it would be led by the best combat commander in the Army Air Corps, Colonel Curtis LeMay.

Chapter 5 of Gladwell's work describes the events and effects of the Schweinfurt and Regensburg raids. The Bomber Mafia's ideas would finally be put into practice. Hansell's B-17s would obliterate the factories, crippling the German war effort and vindicating all of the ideas of the Army Air Force Tactical School. But they did not. The factories were not levelled. Ball bearing production was

delayed, but not halted. The war went on as it had been for years. And Hansell's B-17s were massacred. 24 of LeMay's 125 bombers were shot down. Hansell lost 50 or 60 of his 230 bombers. Those losses were unsustainable. So, Ira Eaker was reassigned, and the Bomber Mafia would have to wait for their victory a little while longer.

Part II, "The Temptation," shifts the focus to the war's Pacific Theater. Chapter 6 describes how Hansell and LeMay were both reassigned to commands in Asia, Hansell to Guam and LeMay to India. Hansell's ideas had failed to deliver in Europe, but he would get a second chance on Guam, a tiny rock outcrop barely within bombing range of Japan's home islands. Meanwhile, LeMay was faced with the challenge of leapfrogging B-29 Superfortresses over the Himalayas before launching raids against Japanese factories in Kyushu. Both were ineffective. LeMay got his bombers to Kyushu, but they could not destroy the factories. Hansell was beset with problems from day one. His bombers could hardly get off the island, and his bombardiers could not hit their targets. Japan would not be brought down by precision bombing.

Chapter 7 of Gladwell's book is all about napalm, a gelatinous substance created by American chemists that burns fiercely upon ignition. It is easily spread, sticks to everything, and, most importantly, is incredibly difficult to extinguish. In other words, it is the perfect ingredient for incendiary bombs, and Japanese cities were considered ideal targets for incendiary bombs. They were densely built and constructed primarily of wood and rice paper. If one house was lit, entire blocks would burn. Napalm was the temptation that gives the book's second part its name. If Haywood Hansell would just use napalm in his attacks on Tokyo, the city would be reduced to ash. However, he refused, so he was replaced by Curtis LeMay.

LeMay takes center stage during the final two chapters of Gladwell's work. He was the ultimate problem solver of the Army Air Corps. He could overcome any challenge and beat out the slimmest odds. When LeMay arrived in Guam, he was open to any option that would help the Americans defeat Japan. After much deliberation, he came to the conclusion that precision bombing just would not work. So, he put napalm in his B-29s and sent them to Tokyo in one of World War II's most ferocious attacks. LeMay's raid burnt down 16 square miles of the imperial city and killed up to 100,000 people. Compared to the ineffectiveness of Hansell's raids, LeMay surpassed all expectations.

LeMay then attacked another Japanese city, and another, and another, and another. Over the course of 1945, LeMay's bomber command burned down 67 Japanese cities using napalm. It was this onslaught, followed by the atomic detonations over Nagasaki and Hiroshima, that brought Japan to its knees. The land invasion of Japan, dreaded by American leaders, never had to be realized, and the war was brought to an end by bombers, although certainly not in the way imagined at the Army Air Corps Tactical School by Haywood Hansell and the Bomber Mafia.

So, is Gladwell's book worth reading? I would say so. Actually, I would say that it is worth listening to. *The Bomber Mafia* was written as an audiobook and then adapted into a print book, and it really does feel like a longform podcast more than anything else. Gladwell's narration and storytelling is magnificent, and he uses recordings and interviews to great effect. One of the most striking moments in the entire work is the personal account of a survivor of the American incendiary raid on Tokyo, which loses something in its print form.

So, *The Bomber Mafia* is a worthwhile "read," but is it good? At its heart, Gladwell's book is a story about ideas and the people who embody them, and it reads like a truly engaging story. The reader encounters memorable characters like a quirky inventor, an eccentric statistician, a British psychopath, and pyromaniacal chemists. Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt make cameo appearances. The narrative builds toward the final showdown of Curtis LeMay and Haywood Hansell on the island of Guam, and the reader cannot help but wait with baited breath (despite already knowing the outcome). It is genuinely fun to read, and on top of that, Gladwell's portrayal of figures such as Hansell and LeMay touches on a simple but essential historical fact. Every historical event is defined by human motivations, beliefs, and actions. It is easy in historical research to overlook the human element in favor of greater societal trends and considerations, but these men left an indelible mark on one of the most cataclysmic events in world history, and to reduce them to footnotes would be folly.

However, the simplicity of Gladwell's narrative comes at the relatively high cost of historical context. The story of the Bomber Mafia is just one of many that must be welded together to begin to understand World War II. Alone, it can be taken to mean almost anything. I think Gladwell's use of religious language is emblematic of my problem with *The Bomber Mafia*. Haywood Hansell is the "truest of true believers" who keeps the faith in the face of temptation. Curtis LeMay gives in to temptation, making a pact with the devil in pursuit of a greater good. Gladwell literally compares their conundrum to Jesus's 40 days of temptation in the desert. Hansell stands firm, but "LeMay would have thought long and hard about going with Satan." (179) Hansell's B-29s are shining angels ushering in a new era of war that does all it can to remove the cost in human lives. The same machines in LeMay's hands are shrieking demons that burn and obliterate all in their path. It is the historian's job to make subjective judgments about the actions of historical figures, but I find this kind of language to be indicative of a misuse of the story of the Bomber Mafia. Subjective judgment is difficult at the best of times, nearly impossible without adequate context, and easily morphs into condemnation. This is what I fear has happened in *The Bomber Mafia*. Haywood Hansell is the tragic visionary whose brilliance came too early to be recognized; Curtis LeMay, the pragmatist who signed a Faustian bargain to win a war, but lost his humanity. It really is a spectacular story, but maybe that is all it has become here: a story.

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Grandin, Greg.
The End of the Myth:
From the Frontier to the Border Wall in the Mind of America.

New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt and Company, 2019.
384 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9781250179821.

At the core of American exceptionalism lies the persistent belief that the United States is uniquely unbound to its history. This detached and unshackled relationship to the past is what has given the impression to Americans that the United States could undertake a path of limitless forward progress both at home and abroad. Greg Grandin, a professor of History at Yale University, makes the case in *The End of the Myth* that it is the frontier that has epitomized and shaped the American worldview of exceptionalism and expansion. Frontier has enabled an American ahistorical mindset which assumes that the past does not matter. Grandin argues that the frontier has also served as a "safety valve" through which built-up societal and economic pressure, particularly racial animus, could be vented. As the United States empire declines and the frontier is closed, the nation will finally have to reckon with centuries of displaced and unprocessed societal issues.

The End of the Myth retells the history of the United States from its colonial origins to the presidency of Donald Trump while tracing the evolution of the concept of the frontier. Grandin centers the frontier as the linchpin of American ideology illustrating its origins first as a physical marker of delineation, subsequently as the abstracted concept of the "Frontier Thesis" proposed by Frederick Jackson Turner at the 1893 Chicago World Fair, and ultimately as an omnipresent militarized, yet fragile border. While it is not uncommon for discussions of American empire to pick up at the close of World War II (and arguably for good reason as this was a pivotal turning point in the scope and reach of U.S. military, political, and economic power), Grandin roots the American world view of expansion—as a societal cure-all and mode of securing capital that has permeated U.S. foreign and domestic policy—early in the country's origins and formative psyche. In a manner similar to Daniel Immerwahr's *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (2019), which explains how the origins of the U.S. empire extend further back into the past, Grandin's work also provides a more comprehensive examination of U.S. imperial history.

Grandin begins with the nation's British colonial past which was grounded in expansion and violence. Chapter 1 ("All That Space") highlights the ideological underpinnings of the early settlement of North America, the "problem" of the Native Americans, and James Madison's political theory of expansion which would become foundational to the idea of the frontier. The North American continent presented promises of boundless opportunity in the minds of many

American settlers and later citizens, particularly after the American Revolution. But, of course, the continent was not empty. The land was at once ready for settlement and development, yet also populated by peoples who the settlers felt could not be assimilated into their growing vision of the country. To solve this issue was to solve the "problem" of the Native Americans. Grandin details some of the extreme violence inflicted on the native populations of North America and how this violence became infused into the concept of the frontier through the example of Frederick Stump (1723-1820). Stump was an American frontiersman who, following the killing of his child and wife by Native Americans after having settled in their territory, went on a rampage of revenge against any and all Indigenous peoples he could find. Stump and his companions were never charged for their crimes, and Stump eventually rose to the rank of captain in a Tennessee militia tasked with clearing tribes from lands desired for settlement. Violence, cruelty, and brutality constitute a line running through the frontier.

In this first chapter, Grandin references Cormac McCarthy's 1985 novel *Blood Meridian (or The Evening Redness in the West)*. At relevant points throughout *The End of the Myth,* Grandin refers back to *Blood Meridian*, which serves as a powerful touchstone for readers familiar with McCarthy's work. *Blood Meridian* is a work of historical fiction centering on the violence and depravity of the American West by following a gang of Indian scalp hunters as they brutalize and terrorize the Indigenous and Mexicans. The "blood meridian" itself is the red line that appears on the horizon at sunset and serves as a powerful metaphor for the both the frontier and the border.

Chapters 2 and 3 of *The End of the Myth* address the ever-moving national border of the United States during the period of continental expansion and the rise and incorporation of Jacksonian ideology. U.S. continental expansion over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries resulted in the sense that there was no limit to both space and opportunity for Americans. Of course, this opportunity was limited to White, natural-born American citizens. White supremacy undergirded much of the vision of expansion and the opportunities it promised as detailed in Chapter 3 ("A Caucasian Democracy"), which examines the person and presidency of Andrew Jackson and the worldview and political ideology that he espoused. In essence, Jacksonianism stands for the prioritization of individual rights above all else, a minimalist federal government, and racial domination by Whites. It was Jackson's Indian Removal Act of 1830 that "cleared" Native tribes from their land in the states of Georgia and Florida, thus driving Native Americans westward and creating a clearer border-frontier zone.

As Grandin carefully explains in Chapter 4 ("The Safety Valve"), expansion is viewed as a means through which stability can be gained. This idea is presented by James Madison in the *Federalist Paper* No. 10, in which he calls to "extend the sphere" as a means by which to ensure the stability of the nation. (29) The extent to which the frontier can be used as a safety valve was called into question by those who recognized the limits to expansion. In Chapter 5 ("Are You Ready for All

These Wars?"), Grandin discusses pushback against the idea of constant expansion, particularly by John Quincy Adams. In a speech to the House of Representatives, Adams expressed his concerns of "recoil" as it pertained to expansion. His concerns largely pertained to Native American retribution for the violence enacted upon them. He concluded that wars and expansion would only result in more war and discontent at home. It could be argued that Adam's concerns of recoil in some ways manifested themselves during the Civil War and Reconstruction which are the subjects of Chapter 6.

The greatest turning point in the evolution of the concept of the frontier came from Frederick Jackson Turner (1861-1932). Chapter 7 provides a deep examination of Turner's 1893 "Frontier Thesis." Replacing the "germ theory," which posits that the exceptional nature of America emanates from the genealogical origins of the Anglo-Saxon race, the Frontier Thesis claims that it is the very nature of the land itself that makes America exceptional. This interpretation changed the frontier from a physical space to an abstraction. The frontier became whatever and wherever it needed it to be for the sake of expediency. This new idea of the frontier became deeply embedded in the American worldview.

Additionally, the frontier became a useful tool for the reintegration of the South through imperial wars in Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Cuba, and Guam. As Grandin describes in Chapter 8, North and South became re-unified by undertaking imperialist wars, during which Confederate flags were proudly displayed, and through the "pacification" of Native Americans. In both cases, North and South were united in causes which allowed them to reestablish a connection with the United States. Additionally, the wars had a reciprocal effect in which the trauma of war was brought back home. This is a pattern that, as Grandin explains, has been replicated time and again. The U.S.-Mexico border became a locus of "racism and brutality" as documented in Chapter 9 ("A Fortress on the Frontier"). In the name of national security, the Texas Rangers had been formed in 1835 and had promptly carried out brutal massacres and mass terror against the Mexican population.

In Chapter 10 ("A Psychological Twist"), Turner's thesis undergoes inversion and sees new, yet short-lived applications. Walter Weyl and Lewis Mumford saw the application of the Frontier Thesis as a source of the issues that the U.S. was experiencing in the 1920s and 1930s. They argued that the expansion called for in Turner's thesis had to end if the U.S. endeavored to be a just and peaceful nation. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his New Deal cabinet also augmented the meaning of Turner's thesis, albeit much less critically. They proposed that a new "social frontier" could be established as a means to deal with society's ills. This application of the frontier to the social sphere ended with the U.S. victory in World War II. The Cold War presented an opportunity for yet a new frontier. Chapter 11 illuminates this new iteration of the frontier as a border between the "civilization" of the West and the "slavery" of the Soviet Union. (186)

Between 1960 and 1990, the concept of the frontier was first regarded critically and then reembraced. Chapter 12 shows that the failure of the Vietnam War presented an uncomfortable break in the vision concerning the overseas frontier. No longer was the U.S. quite so exceptional in the minds of many Americans. Additionally, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. highlighted the reciprocal nature of war. In his "Beyond Vietnam" speech, he warned that the events that took place abroad would inevitably be felt back home. In Chapter 13 ("More, More, More"), Grandin explains how Ronald Reagan's presidency reenergized the promise of the frontier through its promises of plenty, the revival of the Cold War, and the further fetishization of individual rights.

As the United States seemingly ran out of new overseas frontiers at the close of the Cold War, more attention was paid to the U.S.-Mexico border. In Chapter 14, Grandin explains how the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came to be a new manifestation of expansion. While "sold" by proponents as a means to blur border lines through globalization, Grandin explains that NAFTA had an inverse effect. Following its implementation in 1994, NAFTA hardened the divide between the two nations. Not only was there a simultaneous debasement of small-scale agriculture in both countries as a result of the trade agreement, but there was also a revival of nativist rhetoric, draconian immigration laws, and increasing vigilantism, which inflicted terror and violence on Mexican populations throughout the country.

In Chapter 15 ("Crossing the Blood Meridian"), Grandin describes the violence inflicted at the border by state officials as well as so-called militia groups. Often these groups were populated by veterans of American wars, continuing the pattern that Grandin has established: societal pressure is vented through frontier-expanding military missions. Then, those traumatized and alienated by their military services, as well as the lack of resources upon their return, engaged in revanchism. The growing tide of civilian vigilantism slowed with the events of 9/11. Following the attacks, there was a sense of new national purpose, as the" Global War on Terror" opened new frontiers along which the United States could exercise its demons while also enriching its economy through military spending. Grandin argues that the rapid failure of the War on Terror caused the new frontier opportunity to close, drawing attention once again back to the border. Grandin concludes in his epilogue that both the frontier and the border, along with calls to "build the wall," have been means to legitimize cruelty and serve as a societal safety valve.

The End of the Myth tells a clear and unflinching history of American expansionist ideology. It is essential reading for both students of American empire as well as the American population at large as it demands that readers do what generations of Americans have time and again turned away from, namely, confront a painful, unjust, and profoundly violent national past. Whether or not Americans read Grandin's work, they will still be tasked with confronting the past as Grandin's thesis is borne out. Now that all possible frontiers have been

exploited and borders are omnipresent, societal ills once vented will translate into violence, nativism, and cruelty.

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Harkins, Anthony, and Meredith McCarroll, eds.
Appalachian Reckoning:
A Region Responds to Hillbilly Elegy.

Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2019.
432 pages. Paperback. ISBN: 9781946684790.

When I was growing up in small-town Ohio in the 1990s, a favorite playground barb was, "Why don't you go home and f*** your cousin." A lunchtime favorite was, "What's wrong with your sandwich? Oh, I see—it's inbred." I admit these do not carry the same roll-off-the-tongue feel I remember from my youth, now that I am aware just how many "wrong" things are wrapped into these single sentences. Essentially, though, we were accusing each other of being Hillbillies. If you were the child of farmers, you descended from Rednecks; if you lived in town, you were forever a townie; and if you lived in a trailer, you were trailer trash. There was no escaping your label because you, as a child, had no control over it. Universally, none of us wanted to be a Hillbilly.

Hillbillies are considered the blackest White people. A Hillbilly is the White woman who keeps having kids to live off welfare. A Hillbilly has lost all but three teeth. Hillbillies smell, they are stupid, and they are the lowest of the low. The existence of the Hillbilly makes all other White lifestyles bearable. The Hillbilly is the trump card (pun intended) to White privilege, for, how can White privilege be real when all you need to do is look at the Hillbilly to see that there is no privilege there? They are the American untouchables. These are the very sentiments Anthony Harkins, Meredith McCarroll and the 39 other contributors in *Appalachian Reckoning: A Region Responds to Hillbilly Elegy*, are hoping to address. Ultimately, their goal is to offer "ideas through the voices of many who have deep, if varied, lived experiences in and of Appalachia." (1)

The editors of *Appalachian Reckoning*, Anthony Harkins and Meredith McCarroll champion this book as a response "to those who have felt they understand Appalachia 'now that they have read [J. D. Vance's 2016 memoir] *Hillbilly Elegy*'." (1) Harkins, a professor of history at Western Kentucky University has been working to change the public persona of the Appalachia region for over 17 years. His first book, *Hillbilly: A Cultural History of an American Icon* (Oxford University Press, 2004), is an analysis of how the term Hillbilly has survived and evolved in the American social and political landscapes through the lens of popular media. Meredith McCarroll is the director of Writing and Rhetoric at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine. She earned her Ph.D. in English from the University of Tennessee, and her first book, *Unwhite: Appalachia, Race, and Film*

(University of Georgia Press, 2018), analyzes "the intersection of race and regional studies, with a focus on cinematic representations of this intersection." (407) McCarroll and Harkins met while attending the "2017 Appalachian Studies Association conference in Blacksburg." (ix) From there, they reached out to 39 other authors, artists, poets, scholars, and students, to provide a varied and diverse body of work.

I am ashamed I did not even know conferences like this existed. That is not quite the right sentiment: I am ashamed I could not even imagine a conference like this taking place, but I think that also proves how deep the hillbilly bias is ingrained. I am from the area, and I cannot imagine a group like this existing. Honestly, I had to read the line a few times before it lost all sense of being an oxymoron, but at least I started learning something right from the first page.

The book is arranged in two parts, "Considering *Hillbilly Elegy*" and "Beyond *Hillbilly Elegy*." Part 1, "Considering *Hillbilly Elegy*," consists of two sections. The first section, "Interrogating," is a scholarly response to the claims and accusations that J. D. Vance, in the authors'/editors' opinion, passes off as fact without any scholarly or living proof to back his claims. But it is not just a page-after-page onslaught of primary and secondary sources used to discredit Vance's claims about the people of Appalachia. In a poem, titled "Panning For Gold: A Reflection of Life from Appalachia," poet, educator, and Marine veteran Ricardo Nazario y Colón challenges Vance's conclusions that all the people there are of ignorant Scots-Irish descent, writing, "The truth in the story of a boy from a sunken place is that the lives of mountain folk are more than just Scots-Irish. They are a mix of Cherokee defiance and forgotten African voices. Of thin air rich and sea level poor. Of new accents thick as southern humidity, who declare their existence. " (84) Until I read *Appalachian Reckoning*, my idea of an Appalachian poet would not be without a banjo and jug playing along—let alone someone who is not White and a veteran.

The second section, "Responding," is full of articles, poems, and pictures that represent the "personal and autobiographical reflections on the book" [i.e., Vance's *Hillbilly Elegy*] that are meant to "fight against gross simplifications and stereotypes" that plague the Appalachia region. (3) In this section, there is a beautiful poem, titled "He Said/She Said," (169) by Crystal Good, African American poet and activist, exploring what it is means to be "Affrilachian."(170) The most striking article comes from Kelli Hansel Haywood, titled "In Defense of J. D. Vance;" (189) its main point is that Vance's story is true to Vance, and as much as his story has become the unofficial voice of the entire region, Vance, in turn, has become the unofficial voice of all that people dislike about the media. It is not his fault Ron Howard wanted to make a movie demonizing an entire population of Americans. Haywood asks people to stop wasting so much energy on criticizing J. D. Vance and apply that energy to "highlight examples that might educate a national audience about the day-to-day realities of these issues." (195)

In Part 2, "Beyond *Hillbilly Elegy*," the editors use "narratives and images" to construct "a snapshot of a place that is at once progressive, haunted, depressed, beautiful, and culturally and spiritually rich." (4) The most impactful and complete representation of the "snapshot" the editors were cultivating lies in Author Kristin L. Squint's story of her family's origins in Appalachia. Her grandmothers, Grace and Hazel, were child brides who were expected to avoid being a "Jezebel in the eyes of God"(258), to obey their husbands, and to never leave their children, even under constant spousal abuse. Kristin's father dropped out of school and married her mother at 16 because they were already expecting a child. With few prospects and a growing family, the only way to escape "working in a chicken slaughterhouse" (258) was to join the military and make it a career. She became the first in her family to attend college, and while her family wanted to support her, "they didn't always know how to help when it was time to navigate the rapids," especially the women in her life, whose choices mostly consisted of struggling with their own lives. Leaving Appalachia meant disconnecting from her "family and home community," but sometimes breaking the cycle and "leaving might actually be an act of love"(266) and provide a new perspective of the world and, as a result, the ability to look at your family and self differently.

At the time of writing this review, director Ron Howard, "Opie" of *Andy-Griffith-Show* fame, has partnered with the streaming platform Netflix and released a movie rendition of *Hillbilly Elegy*. This movie will surely be popular because it lets everyone outside of Appalachia blame everyone inside Appalachia for the problems of the entire country—along the lines of: "There is no reason to feel bad for them because they choose this life for themselves." It is a full-circle moment for Howard, as the *Andy Griffith Show* was the first major television show to visually portray the Hill people of the Carolinas in the manner we are used to today. Now Howard has solidified for another generation the continuation of awful stereotypes and the oppression of a people for a few more coins in his pocket.

I was given J. D. Vance's *Hillbilly Elegy* in December 2016 by my aunt and uncle who I would describe as members of the aristocratic branch of the Republican Party. Like Vance, they were able to find their way out of poverty and work their way into extremely successful careers. They told me to read it, for then I would understand why this place I love, full of people I have the most respect for, would vote to elect Donald Trump, even though Trump may well be the posterchild for not working hard a day in one's life and falling backwards into money; but according to Vance this is the Appalachian dream. Like the rest of my sphere of influence, I could not understand how people could vote against their own interests. Were their interests not mine? Did I not grow up with the same values these people did?

If *Hillbilly Elegy* is the Rosetta Stone for understanding the Rust Belt, then *Appalachian Reckoning* is the Dead Sea Scrolls for mountain folk. I used to feel ashamed about my origins. I am steeped in imposter syndrome and afraid that, at any moment, people are going to be able to tell. Maybe I will get excited, and my

accent will start to reemerge, maybe they will find out my High School was surrounded on three sides by corn fields. Worst of all, maybe they will find out I am the descendent of Hillbillies. Reading J. D. Vance's book only made me depressed and more ashamed of who I was, but it also helped me to justify to myself to never work toward my goals. If everyone says we are worthless there must be some truth to it. Right? Wrong. *Appalachian Reckoning* should be read as the elegy (literally, a "lament") to J. D. Vance's *Hillbilly Elegy*. This book was intended by the authors to address the naysayer, but I think it is even more important for people like me who grew up thinking the best they could do is survive. *Appalachian Reckoning* is an intellectual treasure chest for people who know better but have never had anywhere to point to prove it. To the authors and editors of *Appalachian Reckoning*: Thank you from the bottom of my heart. This book has restored a sense of pride in me that I was severely lacking.

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Keefe, Patrick Radden.
Empire of Pain:
The Secret History of the Sackler Dynasty.

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In 2018, Stephen Colbert of the *Late Show* quipped that the Hippocratic Oath according to the Sacklers and Purdue Pharma might read something like this: "First, do no harm, unless it's extremely profitable. Then, harm! Harm! Harm!" In the past, the Sacklers have been known as one of the most generous philanthropic families in America. If one walks through Harvard University or the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, one can see the vast galleries of art that the family has donated. However, they are also known as the creators of a painkiller that most Americans are familiar with, namely, OxyContin. Once widely distributed across America as a cure-all for pain patients, it started with the intention of being a "good" medicine. It appears that employees at Purdue Pharma and the Sacklers genuinely believed their product would help others ease their pains. Meanwhile, OxyContin left many patients addicted or, in worst cases, dead from overdosing. Today, most Americans look to the makers of OxyContin, the Sackler family, and Purdue Pharma with disdain. But, one might ask, how did the Sacklers attain their status and wealth? Patrick Keefe seeks to answer this question in a detailed narrative that follows three generations of Sacklers from 1913 to 2020 and beyond.

The author, Patrick Keefe, is currently a staff writer for the *New York Times* and known for his 2019 monograph, *Say Nothing: A True Story of Murder and Memory in Northern Ireland*, which covers the sectarian violence in Ireland between Catholics and Protestants over nearly 40 years. His latest work (reviewed here), *Empire of*

Pain, is the expansion of his 2017 *New Yorker* article, "The Family that Built an Empire of Pain." At first, Keefe believed that it was not possible to write a book about the Sacklers. They were a secretive family who stayed behind the scenes. After the article's publication, Keefe received a wave of emails from people with firsthand knowledge of the opioid crisis. This ultimately pushed him to write this book. While conducting research and interviews, Keefe admits in his Afterword, he faced stiff resistance from the Sackler family. At some point, his wife remarked, someone was stalking both Keefe and his family. (435) While never confirmed, Keefe saw this as an informal confirmation that the Sacklers were watching him. On a more overt note, he was told to cease and desist lest the Sackler family consider "potential litigation" against him. Undeterred, Keefe pushed on to create his book, hoping to help his audience learn about and understand the Sacklers' history.

The book consists of a prologue (Taproot) and three "books," titled "Patriarch," "Dynasty," and "Legacy." However, *Empire of Pain* is written on multiple narrative levels. There are chapters dedicated to different subjects or people, but this is done on purpose as they played a major role in the Sackler family's success. The first book, "Patriarch," in ten chapters covers the history of the Sackler brothers Arthur (1913-1987), Mortimer (1916-2010), and Raymond (1920-2017) and their slow transformation from caring doctors into calculating businessmen. The second book, "Dynasty," in another ten chapters explores how the Sacklers' business thrived by using shady means; this included manipulating the FDA and regulators, offsetting labor to companies who were not equipped for drug making, and finally the rise of their miracle drug OxyContin. The final book, "Legacy," in nine chapters addresses the impact of OxyContin on the American public. The Sacklers did whatever it took to bury the growing number of lawsuits they were facing with money. Even though this worked for a while, by the 2000s, U.S. states and their attorneys became involved as the opioid crisis was spreading almost unchecked.

Keefe's *Empire of Pain* is based on firsthand accounts, memoirs, leaked documents, archival material, and interviews with ex-Purdue Pharma employees. It is a nonfictional narrative, according to Keefe, as there are instances when thoughts or feelings of certain characters were described to the author by the characters themselves or their peers. For the first book, "Patriarch," Keefe relied on a memoir by Arthur's second wife Marietta and on Arthur's own biography. For the second book, "Dynasty," he was able to connect with Richard Kapit, a former roommate of Raymond Sackler's son Richard (b. 1945). He also conducted interviews with ex-employees of Purdue Pharma who had been working there since the 1960s. The third book, "Legacy," was constructed on the basis of many sources that were close to the Sacklers. Keefe found out that those who were "invisible" to the family were often able to provide new insights to him.

The prologue of *Empire of Pain* opens with a legal deposition, where Kathe Sackler (Mortimer's daughter) is being examined for evidence by lawyer Paul

Hanly who works for the New York Attorney General. Here, the reader is provided with some background on the Sackler family's various involvements. Publicly, they were a rich family who generously donated their money to museums and schools while also owning the pharmaceutical company (Purdue Pharma) that makes OxyContin. This product was created as a blanket solution to many types of pain affecting people. However, the drug was too effective. Their product was known to be a highly addictive opioid, but they (the family and the Pharma company) sought to keep this information hidden. Instead, they pushed aggressively to sell this drug to patients through direct contact and incentive offers with doctors. The prologue itself offers a good synopsis for those who are not familiar with the Sackler family's ventures.

Book I, "Patriarch," covers the early history of the three Sackler brothers—Arthur, Mortimer, and Raymond—between the years 1913 and 1986. Starting with Arthur in 1913, he was born into an upper-class family who later lost their fortune to failed business ventures and the Great Depression. Partly because of these misfortunes, Arthur Sackler was pushed by his parents to become a physician, and growing up, he took up many odd jobs to help his family stay out of poverty. He was essentially forced to be a young adult in his years leading up to college. By the 1940s, Arthur achieved his dream of becoming a medical practitioner. We do not know much about the brothers (i.e., Mortimer's and Raymond's) childhoods, but Keefe mentions that, as adults, they also became medical practitioners. During their employment at Creedmoor Hospital in 1944, Arthur along with his brothers were disgusted at the usage of electroshock therapy and lobotomy on medical patients. These two methods were accepted as a viable solution in the medical world for unruly patients at the time, but many did not understand why it worked. Exploring more into electroshock therapy, the Sackler Brothers discovered that histamine was the primary cause of relief in the patients' brain. After administering histamine to forty patients diagnosed with schizophrenia, nearly a third of them improved and were able to return home. This experiment helped pave the way for the Sackler's thirst for a universal cure, one where the cure for insanity could be as simple as taking a pill.

By the 1950s, the Sackler trio was still seeking that universal cure, but they were increasingly becoming more like businessmen than doctors. Starting with their partnership at Pfizer, the eldest brother Arthur was tasked with marketing the antibiotic Terramycin. At the time, medical drugs were difficult to market as they were not appealing to the American public compared to say cigarettes or cars. As a response, Arthur pioneered a marketing campaign where he used splashy graphics and catchy phrases. One such ad involved a common optometrist's vision test where it was ordered downwards with increasing letters and claimed that ocular infections could be treated with terramycin. A majority of these ads were laser-focused on the prescribers. One of Arthur's subordinates, John Kalir, commented that these ads "had a very serious, clinical look … [like] a physician talking to a physician. But it was advertising." (37) To create additional hype for

drugs, "detailed men" (young sales representatives) were tasked with visiting doctors' offices and directly advertising the drug to them through direct mail or bribery of sorts. The same tactic would later be used for OxyContin. For now, the drug itself was not groundbreaking, but the shrewd advertisement made up for this, and the brothers amassed a small fortune that later got them the rights to buy out the pharmaceutical company Purdue Frederick.

Book II, "Dynasty," focuses on how the Sacklers built their dynasty of wealth after Arthur's passing. While Arthur is the "main character" in Book I, Mortimer's and Raymond's part in the business takes center stage in Book II. In addition, readers are introduced to the second generation of Sacklers and their efforts to expand Purdue Frederick. Raymond handled the business affairs for Purdue Frederick in the U.S., and Mortimer was expanding its ventures overseas, focusing on Napp Laboratories in England, where the company produced MS Contin. This drug came in a pill format, with the morphine contents inside slowly released into the patient's system over an extended period. While popular in England, it was tough for the family to bring it over to the United States due to regulations set by the FDA. However, the family was able to bypass this by appealing directly to the Reagan administration. And the Sacklers were not done yet, as they sought to have a successor to MS Contin which, as we know now, would be OxyContin.

Book III, "Legacy," addresses the impact of OxyContin and how the public reacted as more info about the drug's effects became known. Even though the family went through a lawsuit that cost them $600 million, opioid sales soon tripled from $1 billion to $3 billion. The increased attention did not help with the Sacklers' decision-making for their company, though. At this point in time, Purdue Pharma and its higher-ups were divided into two camps: those who were loyal to the Sacklers and those who were newly hired and sought to change the company. The latter lost as the former were more focused on opioid sales than public sentiment. By this point, the family had split up and were at odds with each other. The offspring of Raymond and Mortimer fought for control of Purdue Pharma and what its next product should be. In times of agreement, the Sackler Family would grant themselves bonuses.

Empire of Pain is the perfect title for a family focused more on profits than the lives of others. Despite starting with good intentions, the family has become a name that is inextricably linked to the drug epidemic. Published in 2021, this book is the latest in a series of works looking into OxyContin and the Sackler family. Other books, such as *Pain Killer: An Empire of Deceit and the Origin of America's Opioid Epidemic* by Barry Meier (2018) and *Dream Land: The True Tale of America's Opiate Epidemic* by Sam Quinones (2015), are similar to *Empire of Pain*. The former focuses on OxyContin's effects on Mexico while the latter is a faster read into OxyContin's origins. I highly recommend *Empire of Pain* to those who want to study the history of the opioid crisis in America or who want to learn more about the family behind it.

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Kobes Du Mez, Kristin.
Jesus and John Wayne:
How White Evangelicals Corrupted a Faith and Fractured a Nation.

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One is known as the Good Shepherd and the other as the consummate American warrior. One is known for His overwhelming love of mankind and advocation of forgiveness; the other was known, by his masculine nickname, the "Duke" and gave quotes such as "Never apologize and never explain-it's a sign of weakness." Jesus Christ and John Wayne could not be farther apart in their ideologies, moral compass or message, yet these two men, with differing views on their image, have been used as ideal role models in the world of American Evangelical Christianity. The itinerant preacher who His followers believe to be the Savior of Mankind is described throughout the Bible in loving terms, as a counselor and a Prince of Peace, and as one who sacrificed his life to save the world. John Wayne's name is synonymous with rugged masculinity, the type of guy who is tough as nails, speaks his mind with little regard for others, and shoots first and asks questions later. In her book, *Jesus and John Wayne: How White Evangelicals Corrupted a Faith and Fractured a Nation*, Kristin Kobes Du Mez explores how Evangelical Christianity has been transformed and forever changed by those who advocate for the rise of Christian nationalism, and she analyzes this struggle between the Christian ideal and American Evangelicals today.

Kristin Kobes Du Mez is currently a History, Gender and Urban Studies professor at Calvin University (Michigan) and earned her Ph.D. in Women's and Religious History at Notre Dame University. This book was born out of a class she was teaching on Gender and Religious Studies, and the students recommended that she read *Wild at Heart*, a 2001 book by John Eldredge that encouraged Christian men to become warriors of their families, and she began to be intrigued by the history of gender in the Evangelical Christian church as a whole. This book is written from the perspective of someone who is a person of faith and knows the prominent individuals in American Christianity, and it is a thorough history of masculinity in White Evangelical culture.

Chapter One lays the groundwork to understand the Evangelical movement that grew exponentially in the twentieth century. Early in the century, most Americans had a problem with the feminized Christianity that had taken over in previous decades. White men, most famous among them Theodore Roosevelt, began to assert the need for a new masculinity that would infuse the country with a rugged bravery. This shift in American Christianity also gave Christ a new look—masculine, sword-wielding, and ready for battle, and it gave the ordinary

man a leader to follow in a larger cause. This notion of masculine Christianity continued, bolstered by the militarism that naturally followed with the advent of the First and then the Second World War.

Kobes Du Mez introduces Billy Graham, a young fiery Christian preacher who became the face of modern Evangelical Christianity in the post-World War II era. His combination of Bible preaching and athletic and military metaphors showed that faith does not conflict with athleticism and heroics, which translated into Christian nationalism. His influence created a Christian media network with books being published, radio and eventually television shows being aired, and colleges campuses hosting speakers, all with the goal of winning souls for Christ. At the same time that Billy Graham's star was rising, the nation was generally moving toward the right during the Cold War. Chapter Two details the manner in which President Eisenhower expanded the military complex, the justification being that the only way to preserve the freedom to worship God was to maintain a strong military. Conservative Evangelicals had the support of the White House, but challenges to their authority were beginning to arise as feminism, the Civil Rights movement, and the Vietnam War took center stage in the 1960s began.

Kobes Du Mez continues through the 1960s, and she recounts the rise of Richard Nixon and his appeal to the so-called "Silent Majority." Reverend Graham was instrumental in working with Nixon in his appeal to Evangelicals, encouraging the leader to identify with born-again Christianity and speak the language that had become unique to Evangelicals. Under Nixon's leadership, the militarization of America continued as the war in Vietnam—and the divide it was encouraging among the American population—seemed to be unending. The fears over Communism started to become irrational, driving conservative Americans to support the war without question, while youth on the other side supported Civil Rights legislation and protested the Vietnam War. This war proved to be pivotal for Americans: Evangelical support for the military continued in its growth, but a sizable portion of the American populace began to see the myth of consummate American greatness rattled and challenged.

Kobes Du Mez then discusses the rise and popularity of John Wayne, the American movie actor who embodied the persona of the rugged Western man, unafraid of anything that might come his way, who had become more than a movie star to the public. Many of his films had a political message and charge behind them, such as *The Green Berets* (1968), which continued to perpetuate the myth of American greatness and the need for a strong military. These movies constructed an alternate reality and encouraged young men to dream of "killing a Commie for Jesus Christ and John Wayne." (55)

Chapter Three delves into the roles of women in the Evangelical Christian world and the fight for gender equality and women's rights. Conservative critics felt that women's "libbers" were out to offer free sex and abortion on demand, and Christians were intent on defending the Judeo-Christian traditions upon which America had been founded. In Chapter Four, the topic of public schooling and its

impact on society is analyzed, along with the role of James Dobson, initially a little-known child psychologist whose book *Dare to Discipline* (1970) urged parents to restore authoritarian family structure in order to turn back the tide of youth uprisings and protests that were occurring frequently. Dobson became a trusted voice in Evangelical subculture and his organization, *Focus on the Family*, provided Christians with practical guidance on raising children with strict discipline and rules. The growing economic independence of women, rising divorce rates, the *Roe v. Wade* decision (1973), and the push for the ratification of the *Equal Rights Amendment* (*ERA*) all served to reinforce the notion that there was an assault being waged on traditional, "God-given" gender roles, and Dobson's voice gathered the Religious Right under one umbrella. He initially chose to stay out of the political arena, working with community churches and providing them with resources, books and newsletters. By the mid-1980s, however, *Focus on the Family* had become a media empire with millions of dollars in its budget and a political influence that could not be denied.

Kobes Du Mez covers the power of patriarchal authority and the rise of family value politics in Chapter Five. Authors such as Tim LaHaye, known for the *Left Behind* book series (1995-2007), and Jerry Falwell worked to promote the prevalence of issues that Christians were facing, which in turn gave the American Christian the sense of a looming battle that had become a common theme in churches. This theme of embattlement continued to feed into the narrative that connected strong Christian manhood to a national defense that was powerful and ready. Falwell offered solutions to the problems of the day: patriotism, turning to God instead of government, taking a stand against progressive issues such as the *ERA*, feminism, and the rise of homosexuality. His prime motivating force was the defense of the family, and he argued that Conservatives wanted traditional family roles, while Liberals wanted single parenthood and gay parents to be the norm of society. Ronald Reagan's presidency is introduced in Chapter Six, along with another look at John Wayne and the similarities between the two men. While campaigning, Reagan promised peace through strength, spoke the language of the Religious Right, and fit into the role of the American hero easily. Wayne had given an interview in the 1970s with *Playboy*, revealing his displeasure with the current permissive culture and the method of raising children that implied "anything goes." Both men exuded a strong, silent type of image that recalled an old-school masculinity that appealed to the public. With Reagan's electoral victory, the country took a large step toward the Right, rejecting the politics of Jimmy Carter and embracing the rugged manhood that Reagan offered. Kobes Du Mez introduces Oliver North, a common household name in the late 1980s, as he testified regarding his role in the Iran-Contra weapons scandal (1985-1987) that rocked Reagan's administration. In Chapter Seven, Kobes Du Mez demonstrates the manner in which North mixed church and state constantly during his testimony and viewed his religion, his flag, and his family with the same love and fervor. During this same period, several Evangelical Christian leaders became

embroiled in scandals of their own, usually involving sex and money, and Oliver North, American hero, would be the perfect person to rehabilitate the Christian image following these scandals.

Chapter Eight discusses the dichotomy of the 1980s for Evangelicals: they had their president in office and held power in several key administrative appointments. This, however, left them with nothing to fight against, which hampered recruitment and fundraising efforts tremendously. As Reagan's second term was ending, the power that Evangelicals had wielded for a decade seemed to be slipping away, as there was no clear successor to Reagan who could motivate the voters. George H. W. Bush was supported by Evangelicals, but only just. The election of Bill Clinton then gave the Religious Right the villain they needed once again, an enemy to be used to rally the faithful. Clinton and his wife, hated for her feminism, were everything that the Evangelical community decried, and Clinton's administration ushered in an era of progress. This era also witnessed the rise of talk radio and news that blurred the lines between journalism and entertainment. Communism had disappeared as a common enemy, and Evangelicals now shifted their focus to what they saw as the other side's war on masculinity.

Chapters Nine and Ten delve into the world of Evangelical masculinity and the progression from men as *Promise Keepers*, charged with the care of their families, to warrior-like men who were *Wild at Heart*. *Promise Keepers* became a national movement that encouraged a renewal of Christian manhood, filling stadiums around the country with men who pledged to lead their families in a Godly manner, while justifying traditional roles of men and women in the church and family. Sports analogies were used to encourage men to be champions while maintaining the patriarchal roles, which then led to a rise in the interest in Christian masculinity. Men were now encouraged to be "warriors," and Evangelical leaders warned against the influence of gays, porn, and gender-role confusion, and the image of Jesus as a tender-hearted shepherd faded away. Jesus was now transformed into a sword-wielding warrior, with fire in his eyes, ready for battle. Kobes Du Mez also discusses what became known as "Purity Culture," the movement that upheld strict standards of sexual modesty and propriety for girls, while simultaneously holding girls and women responsible for leading men into temptation, and the negative impact that this viewpoint has had on girls for years. The look at Christian masculinity continues in Chapter Ten, as Kobes Du Mez analyzes the popularity of John Eldredge's book *Wild at Heart* (2001) and the influence it had on men in the church. Eldredge claimed that, for decades, men in the church had displayed a soft, sensitive side that had led to the emasculation of America's men, arguing that this needed to change so that men would once again be seen as heroes and dangerous warriors who protected their families. When terrorists attacked the United States on September 11, 2001, the battle that Evangelicals looked for was on their doorstep. Joining the military to fight the terrorists was the ultimate in manly behavior, and those on the Right continued to support the military without fail. The "War on Terror" brought the anger of White

Christian men to the surface and gave them an outlet to express their anger against culture, society, and anyone who believed differently than they did.

Chapters Eleven through Thirteen discuss the role of increasing masculinity in the church and the change in evangelizing that many groups underwent. Activities such as mixed-martial arts, car chases, and other testosterone-injecting opportunities were given to men to help keep them "warrior ready" and not contribute to the feminization of America, as some saw it. Church leaders were apt to advise their congregation to resist turning the other cheek and to follow the warrior Jesus that they promoted. Patriotism and patriarchy became further entwined as Evangelicals continued to embrace the military and traditional gender roles in the church, and believed that God endorsed the way they lived, with women assuming a submissive role. Kobes Du Mez also covers the role of various megachurch leaders who embraced a theology of denigration and crudeness. One such example is *Mars Hill*, a megachurch in Seattle that imploded after its leader became known for using bullying tactics, vulgarity, and other methods that were contrary to biblical teachings to control his congregation. Such leaders preferred to focus their preaching on a violent, vengeful God instead of the loving, gentle Savior Jesus. Many of these pastors espoused previously fringe views that were now becoming more widely accepted: extreme views on marriage and childrearing, racist views on immigration, denigrating the homosexual lifestyle, and others. Now, with a new view on how men were to act, these views were articulated aloud and acted upon. Some of these views included varying degrees of Islamophobia, which had gained traction in the aftermath of 9/11. The lines were very clearly drawn that there was a battle between good and evil, and American Evangelicals voiced their support for being the good guys loudly. Islam was vilified as being a religion of violence, and various Evangelical members of the George W. Bush administration used their positions of power to advance not just the agenda of their administration, but also the agenda of their churches.

In the early 2000s, Evangelicals identified two enemies to rally their congregants: Islam and Barack Obama. While Evangelicals initially backed different candidates for the 2008 presidential election, the candidacy of Barack Obama caused the bulk of the Right to come together against him. Chapters Fourteen through Sixteen deal with the historical nomination and election of President Obama, the birther campaign, and the rise of the Tea Party movement, which later gave rise to the respective segment of the Republican Party. Although Obama professed to be a Christian, he was depicted as a Muslim, and this issue of a supposed Muslim in the White House fueled the fire of the Religious Right even further. Any issues that could be used to enflame Evangelicals were used, which gave them the sense of battle that many wanted. They expressed fears of Obama's presidency being the end of White, Christian America and thus paved the way for the election of Donald Trump. Evangelicals were not initially drawn to Trump, as there was a slew of candidates who better fit the Evangelical vision of a president, but as the campaign went on, Trump began to speak the language of the

Evangelicals and began to woo them to his side. For many Evangelicals, Trump became the perfect masculine candidate: his anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim, pro-American nationalist agenda appealed to a growing number of Evangelicals. The "Make American Great Again" campaign message gave Americans permission to bring Christian nationalism to the forefront of the political arena and, after a brief period, the encouragement of their pastors to follow Trump. With the endorsement of several prominent Evangelical leaders, the sins of Trump's past, multiple wives, affairs, and questionable business dealings, were swept aside in their embrace of a candidate who promised to protect Christianity. White Evangelical Christians overwhelmingly voted for Trump, with 82% reporting that they had voted for him. During Trump's time in office, mainstream Evangelical support only somewhat waned. Despite various scandals, it seemed that President Trump would maintain the support of his base. Kobes Du Mez concludes her book by reiterating her belief that, while the brand of militant Christianity that has overtaken the Evangelical church over the last decades has been dominant, it is not the only form of Evangelical Christianity that can be followed. She reinforces that it is imperative to look at how these ideologies in American religion formed historically so that those who want to dismantle them have a road map. Ultimately, Kobes Du Mez shares that what was created and distorted can be amended, altered, and made to work once again. Ultimately, she believes that there is a Christian faith that does not look like what the church has become, and that redemption is possible.

Kobes Du Mez' writing style and the book's layout make it easy to read, follow, and comprehend. She cohesively lays out the history of the Evangelical movement, the influential members of the various denominations, and the impact they had on the movement, along with the connections to our current political system and how these factors influenced the election of Donald Trump. She convincingly shows how Christian leaders craved and received power, wielded it to advance their own agendas, and entered into a transactional relationship with Trump to further that agenda.

I recommend this book to anyone who is interested in the history of the Christian church. The Evangelical movement has been a major component of the American Christian church, and one could argue that their influence over social culture, government, and politics over the past 50 years has been underexamined. This book is an important informational text for anyone raised in the Evangelical Christian culture, who is interested in the history of how the church got to where it currently stands: disillusionment with the current model of the church is causing the faithful to leave and not return. According to recent polling, the share of practicing Christians has dropped by nearly half since 2000, and Gallup recently reported that church attendance has fallen below 50% for the first time in eight decades. For someone who grew up in the church culture, learning about how intertwined those who run churches are with those in power in this country is an eye-opening experience.

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Kupperman, Karen Ordahl.
Pocahontas and the English Boys:
Caught Between Cultures in Early Virginia.

New York: New York University Press, 2019.
240 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9781479825820.

The young, beautiful, and intelligent Pocahontas played a vital role in relationship-building between the Powhatans and European colonists arriving in Jamestown in the early seventeenth century. From film biographies and theatrical presentations to Disney's well-known 1995 animated adaptation, Pocahontas remains a historical figure who is even known to children. Cultural representations, including history lessons, teach us about her and her people—the Powhatans of North America's mid-Atlantic region, and how the English colonist John Smith and his men forced themselves upon them in early seventeenth-century Virginia. We are well acquainted with the classic moment when Pocahontas throws herself protectively over John Smith, ultimately saving his life and creating a relationship between the Colonists and the Native tribe. Karen Ordahl Kupperman, author of *Pocahontas and the English Boys* and Silver Professor of History at New York University, retells the story of the young Pocahontas, but in a way that may not seem familiar to most. The "English Boys" in her book's title are Thomas Savage, Henry Spelman, and Robert Poole. While they are from different backgrounds, Kupperman's narrative focuses on the four youths and their growing personal relationships.

Kupperman's first chapter ("Settling In") explains the origins of Jamestown, Virginia, where the Powhatans resided, and the English settled in 1607. When Captain John Smith and his men arrived, they encountered difficulties with poor soil and did not know how to utilize the food sources available to them in the region. Months later, Smith and his men set out to explore, but were met by the Powhatans. Many of Smith's men died, and Smith's death was only averted by Pocahontas's intervention. This was just the beginning of Pocahontas's relationship with the English men, as she later started accompanying them. According to Kupperman, Pocahontas frequently visited Jamestown because she enjoyed the place and having female representation was important to the Natives. Thomas Savage became acquainted with her early on, namely, when Pocahontas approached him with a message from her father. Pocahontas and the other boys established relationships through constant communication between both cultures. As Kupperman points out, these relationships did not remain mere diplomatic exchanges as "both the English and Powhatans characterized them as parent-child relationships." (33) However comfortable these relationships may have been, it

appears that Thomas Savage continued to struggle with adjusting to his new life and a culture utterly alien to him.

The following chapter ("New Realities") introduces Henry Spelman, an unfortunate young man shipped off to Virginia. Kupperman here proceeds to compare the two groups. For instance, she mentions that Thomas Savage and Henry Spelman did men's work just like the Powhatan boys, which meant a variety of tasks. One thing that Thomas and Henry would not have been used to was the power and authority wielded by Powhatan women. Because Indigenous women participated in agricultural activities, they played a crucial role in their tribe's decision-making. The two boys, along with Pocahontas, lived in the Orapax area during the winter of 1609-1610, where they most likely familiarized themselves with each other and their contrasting cultures. Shortly thereafter, Henry actually had the opportunity to temporarily return to London, England, where he shared the cultural values and behaviors of the Powhatans. This became crucial information to European scholars who wanted to learn about the development of human behavior and culture, especially by examining societies considered "primitive." The Powhatans' lives and "primitive" behavior seemed to differ drastically from the lives of Europeans; thus, we can imagine how life in Virginia must have affected Thomas Savage and Henry Spelman. Robert Poole entered this new world a short time later and faced a similarly difficult situation.

In time, Henry, Thomas and Pocahontas resumed their friendship and cultural interaction. As Pocahontas and the boys grow, the process of assimilation became evident. Pocahontas interacted with the Europeans and listened to their Christian beliefs as explained by theologian Alexander Whitaker. Conversion to Christianity appealed to Pocahontas since it allowed for women's participation in worship. To the English, converting Pocahontas was the next big step to having Jamestown recognized and supported. To them, conversion of one person (Pocahontas) would ultimately pave the way to the conversion of all people in their colony.

The chapter ("Pocahontas Becomes Rebecca Rolfe") suggests that Pocahontas viewed the introduction of Europeans into her society not as a threat, but as an opportunity. As a relationship formed between planter John Rolfe and her, she converted to Christianity and changed her name to Rebecca. After her marriage to Rolfe, she visited London where she encountered a wide range of cultural differences, such as the long and elaborate dresses of women, as well as the strange custom of drinking alcohol with every meal and eating white bread as a status of wealth. Indigenous women were accustomed to freedom and power in their society; Pocahontas evidently faced a dramatic status change. Her conversion and visit to London strengthened the colonists as it potentially meant the conversion of all the Indigenous, which would ultimately lead to a successful colony. Though it seems that her integration into a new society was relatively smooth sailing, Kupperman explains that Pocahontas did not consider herself an English gentlewoman. Despite her new marriage, child, and life in London, when speaking with Captain John Smith years later, she did not refer to the English colonists as

"her" countrymen but, rather, as "his." (174) It is noteworthy that Pocahontas adopted a new lifestyle yet knew her identity was not English.

Following Pocahontas's marriage, according to the chapter ("Virginia's Transformation"), the colony seemed to improve with more feasible crops and especially a growing market for tobacco. Kupperman explains tobacco's popularity in Europe as its "first huge consumer craze." (131) While tobacco's popularity is credited to John Rolfe, it was, in fact, Pocahontas who aided in this, based on her role as an Indigenous woman in agriculture. Virginia continued to improve and progress, as the colonists saw it, with the addition of children from London. While Pocahontas was enjoying married life, the three English boys faced difficulties in defining their roles as young adults. As children, they had maintained relationships with the Powhatans. Yet, by the time they reached adulthood, the Indigenous were being pushed out, and the boys were facing tensions between the two groups and struggling to exchange messages and remain on good terms In 1622, the Powhatans set out to attack the plantations and remove the English from their land. In retaliation, the colonists set out to make life impossible for the Indigenous by wiping out their food crops. By 1632, the colonists greatly outnumbered the Indigenous in Virginia, and Thomas Rolfe, the son of Pocahontas and John Rolfe, had lost any ties to his Indigenous background, especially after the death his mother. The struggle of identity when biologically belonging to two cultures is not often considered when discussing the time of Pocahontas. As the colonies became more established, the Indigenous lifestyle practically vanished, leaving some identities changed forever.

Kupperman describes relations between the two cultures and shows how the English intended to change the Indigenous, gathering children from both sides in hopes of creating a new society, one that was dominated by English Christianity. Although some Indigenous converted to Christianity and adopted English customs, like Pocahontas, the allegiance was not entirely there. This phenomenon, as Kupperman states, reflected Nabil Matar's "distinction of inner faith and outer dissimulation." (183) As stated in the chapter "Atlantic Identities," the English also did not anticipate an identity change within the colonists themselves. According to Kupperman, the English "were extremely disturbed as they considered whether Thomas, Henry, and Robert had been so radically changed by their experiences" (189) with the Indigenous. The colonists did not consider that adolescents going through their youth development might be influenced by their surroundings, something modern psychology and sociology now take for granted. The colonists, with their superiority complex, could not imagine an Indigenous people influencing them, however, the three English boys of the Pocahontas narrative did, in fact, spend all their lives between the English and the Indigenous cultures, struggling to keep the peace between both societies and figuring out their own identity.

Pocahontas and the English Boys shares a fresh perspective on Pocahontas and her time. Historians do not much dwell on how children "between cultures" are

affected, though the monograph demonstrates the importance of childhood development and psychology. Kupperman argues that Pocahontas, Thomas, Henry, and Robert formed a bond together, while they were surrounded by people who sought to separate their cultures. Kupperman asks: Who do these English boys become after experiencing a different lifestyle? She explains her answer throughout the 240 pages and also tells the story of their relations. Kupperman does well in creating an accurate and appealing narrative. Readers will find themselves learning new information in every chapter while not being able to put the book down. Those intrigued by Kupperman's writing and *Pocahontas and the English Boys* may want to consider Kupperman's other monographs, namely, *Indians and English* (2000), or—for more depth on Jamestown itself—*The Jamestown Project* (2007).

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Moore, Kate.
The Woman They Could Not Silence:
One Woman, Her Incredible Fight for Freedom,
and the Men Who Tried to Make Her Disappear.

Naperville: Sourcebooks, Inc., 2021.
560 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9781492696722.

A mere century and a half ago, a woman in the United States could be imprisoned against her will and committed to an asylum on the word of her husband (or father) for reasons of insanity. Such was the case for Elizabeth Packard (1816-1897), when her husband Theophilus Packard had her institutionalized in 1860 at the Illinois State Hospital in Jacksonville, Illinois. In her book, *The Woman They Could Not Silence: One Woman, Her Incredible Fight for Freedom, and the Men Who Tried to Make Her Disappear* (2021), American author Kate Moore utilizes the story of Elizabeth Packard as a means of examining the ways in which mental health was weaponized against women and how it was fought against, combated by its very victims. This is not Kate Moore's first foray into the largely unknown story of an injustice committed against women and the subsequent battle to effect lasting change in American society. Her previous book, *The Radium Girls: The Dark Story of America's Shining Women* (2017), relates the true story of the women exposed to radium in factories across the United States in the early twentieth century, who then fought tirelessly to strengthen workers' rights, protecting future generations from the conditions they had faced. In *The Woman They Could Not Silence*, Moore recounts the account of "one woman who fought back against a tyrannical husband, a complicit doctor, and nineteenth century laws that gave men shocking power to silence and confine their wives." (book jacket)

Moore's book is not the first to touch on women's legal status or the commitment of those deemed mentally ill to asylums in the nineteenth century. In her seminal 1972 work, *Women and Madness*, feminist Phyllis Chesler tackles the double standards in the field of women's psychology. Combining patient interviews with a more encompassing analysis of the role women have played in history and society, Chesler seeks to address critical questions surrounding women and mental health. Moore investigates such issues through the case of Elizabeth Packard; however, she is not the first author to put pen to paper about Mrs. Packard and her journey from minister's wife via asylum prisoner to reformer and activist. Three decades ago, Barbara Sapinsley published *The Private War of Mrs. Packard* (1991), the first biography of Elizabeth Packard, who was characterized in the text as a pioneering feminist. Ultimately, Sapinsley's text falls short of examining Packard in the context of the time, preventing the audience from understanding the gravity of her choices. The next biography, *Elizabeth Packard: A Noble Fight* (2010) by Linda V. Carlisle, studies her life more closely within the historical context, providing a far more comprehensive, nuanced depiction. While Kate Moore also takes great care to situate Elizabeth Packard within her time period, she takes her analysis a step further in addressing the larger implications at play, such as psychology and mental hospitals as means of social control to keep women in their prescribed domestic sphere.

The Woman They Could Not Silence consists of six distinct parts with an epilogue and postscript. Each part encapsulates a pivotal period of time during Elizabeth Packard's journey, from her admission to and time imprisoned at the Illinois State Hospital to the winning of her freedom and highly publicized trial. Everything in Moore's monograph is the product of careful historic research, "every line of dialogue comes from a memoir, letter, trial transcript, or some other record made by someone who was present at the time." (xvi) An abundance of primary source evidence forms the book's foundation, much of it stemming from Elizabeth Packard's published writings. (The only unfortunate element is that due to the style of the endnotes, it is at times difficult to track sources and in what year they were written.) Integrating Elizabeth Packard's own words directly into the narrative creates a style that is particularly compelling, smoothly laying out the story as if told by the heroine herself.

Entitled "Brave New World," part one traces the story from the developing conflict between Elizabeth and her husband Theophilus of 21 years to her admission and time at the Illinois State Hospital. The book begins with the ongoing clash between husband and wife: "Elizabeth had a fiercely inquiring mind, and once she began to pull at the threads of their misogynistic society, the whole tapestry of their lives started to unravel [...] Theophilus made it plain he wanted her gone. He could not cope with his newly outspoken wife, with her independent mind and her independent spirit." (12) Unable to suppress his wife's opinions and way of thinking (particularly concerning religion), Theophilus determines that the only way he can exert control is to institutionalize her, having her declared

mentally deranged. He has her physically removed from their home in Manteno, Illinois, and officially admitted to an asylum. It is here that the reader first is introduced to Superintendent Dr. Andrew McFarland, the man responsible for overseeing the treatment of patients as well as the general operation of the Illinois State Hospital. It is he who will determine that Elizabeth is insane and thus needs to be confined in the asylum.

As the reader progresses through part one, Moore periodically pauses to provide further context and information surrounding asylums and the (then) burgeoning field of psychology. These brief asides from the main story continue throughout the text. Upon her arrival, Elizabeth is admitted to the Seventh Ward, where she is surprised to discover the other patients are women very much like herself, "well educated, middle-class, middle-aged, and married." (46) Moore is quick to comment on the composition of the ward, explaining the segregation and racial disparity of patients. Throughout this section, Moore also expounds on how asylums were used to police women (and men) who did not conform to society's standards: "superintendents [...] acted not only as doctors but as society's paternal police, ever ready to step in to dissuade people [...] from deviating from the social standards […] [such as] women who were assertive or ambitious." (74) Elizabeth Packard was the perfect candidate for confinement, an independent thinker who refuses to be silenced by male authority.

Parts two through four, "Dark Before the Dawn," "My Pen Shall Rage," and "Deal with the Devil," examine in exhaustive detail Elizabeth's time at the asylum. Initially, she is granted great privileges, but one misstep results in the complete revocation of any freedoms she may have enjoyed, leading to her relocation from the Seventh to the Eighth Ward. It is while she is in the Eighth Ward, which is characterized as the "maniac ward [...] the abode of the filthy, the suicidal, the raving and the furious," that she makes the decision to expose to the world the inhumanity and injustice of the asylum. (122) For three years, Elizabeth is imprisoned, kept away from her children, and unable to truly contact those outside the hospital walls. As a means of advocating for her freedom and for change within the institution, Elizabeth writes prolifically, which only reinforces McFarland's conviction that she is delusional and insane. She refuses to accept the fate Theophilus has intended for her, which ultimately pays off. Tired of the trouble she causes and determining that her insanity is incurable, Dr. McFarland eventually discharges Elizabeth, allowing her to leave the institution.

Upon her release, Elizabeth is taken to stay with her cousins and barred from seeing her children. And "though no longer resident in the asylum, she found its shadow stitched to her. She was still bound by the ties of her lost reputation, caged by the stigma of her supposedly lost mind." (272) She continued writing, working to publish her manuscripts in hopes that the government would change the laws discriminating against women. Part five, "Turning Points," focuses on Elizabeth's return to Manteno, to her home and children, and to the trial that soon follows. In an effort to control her, Theophilus once more imprisons her, locking her up in

their home while he configures his plan to admit her to a new asylum. However, Elizabeth is prepared this time and readies her own counterplan, namely, to have friends file a writ of *Habeas Corpus* and force a legal trial where she can be declared sane. And she was ultimately "deemed sane [...] innocent of any crime. Yet, regardless, she had been robbed of everything she held most dear. She was now homeless. Penniless. Childless." (339)

To win recognition of her sanity, but lose that which she held dearest, launches Elizabeth from housewife and mother into reformer and activist. Part six, "She Will Rise," follows her political campaigns for changes in legislation concerning women and the mentally ill. Her work to reform asylums, particularly the Illinois State Hospital, brought her to stand before countless assemblies of men, advocating for the rights of the interned. And she was successful, deftly navigating through a society dominated by men and their beliefs. Each triumph only motivated her more to seek reform and change the world around her.

Individuals who are invested in women's history will find *The Woman They Could Not Silence* of particular interest. However, the compelling style in which it is written also lends itself to a broader audience of those intrigued by the stories of heroes who overcome all obstacles in their path. It is a captivating and eye-opening story of why women's rights and the fight for them was and still remains so critical. Elizabeth Packard's story as seen through the eyes of a twenty-first-century audience evokes frustration and anger at the societal rejection of women as individuals deserving of rights. It is easy to see the connections to how women are still dismissed and silenced in modern times, their ideas and opinions discredited by labeling the speaker as crazy. It must be acknowledged, though, that the book is very much meant to be an inspirational story, and thus, it paints Elizabeth Packard in a very flattering light. She is a heroine fighting against the cruel injustices of the world as represented by her husband and Dr. McFarland as well as the laws that empower them. She is portrayed as a savior for her fellow women, a caretaker of those unable to help themselves, a selfless saint. Moore clearly admires Elizabeth Packard, and the strength and perseverance she showed in the face of strong opposition is indeed commendable and inspiring. But there are no real flaws presented in Elizabeth, barely a hint that she is anything but altruistic and compassionate in all her dealings. The cynic in me finds this difficult to believe. But this is a minor criticism. It does not make the story any less intriguing. Thus, I recommend it. Should you choose to pick up a copy, a decision I highly endorse, be prepared to feel exasperated at men who have been dead for over a century.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Rachel Jensen of Buena Park, California, earned her B.A. in History and English at Rider University (2015) in Lawrenceville, New Jersey, where she belonged to the Iota-Epsilon Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society) and the Nu Phi Chapter of Sigma Tau Delta (English Honor Society). She earned her Single Subject Teaching Credentials in Social Science and English at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2017), and is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF.*

Pollack, Kenneth M.
Armies of Sand:
The Past, Present, and Future of Arab Military Effectiveness.

New York: Oxford University Press, 2019.
696 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9780190906962.

On June 10, 1967, the state of Israel signed a ceasefire with Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. Six days earlier, the three Arab nations had launched a combined attack against the Israelis with the intent of wiping their country off the map. At the time of the ceasefire, 776 Israelis had been killed, while 20,000 Arabs lay dead and a further 5,000 had been captured by the Israeli Defense Force. The Israelis had beaten the three nations so decisively that they had not only turned back the Arab offensives but actually captured the Sinai, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights in the face of what should have been overwhelming Arab military superiority.

This was not an isolated event. Since 1945, the military forces of Arab nations (defined by the author as Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, North Sudan, the Palestinians, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, and Yemen) have punched well below their weight time and time again. So, the obvious question is: what is the root of such tremendous and ubiquitous Arab military ineffectiveness? This is the question that scholar Kenneth Pollack attempts to answer in his work, *Armies of Sand: The Past, Present, and Future of Arab Military Effectiveness*. Pollack is currently a senior research fellow at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C., specializing in the Persian Gulf. He has previously served at the Brookings Institute, the National Security Council, and the Central Intelligence Agency, and this book represents over 30 years of experience working in the region.

Pollack introduces this book with an account of the aforementioned Six-Day War, one of the better known and more egregious examples of Arab military ineffectiveness in recent history. Beyond its engaging nature, this choice serves a twofold purpose. First, it allows the author to demonstrate how he is going to treat military conflicts throughout the rest of the book. He begins with a highly detailed account of the sequence of events, which is then followed by an in-depth analysis of why each particular conflict played out the way it did. Each larger section of the work is composed of multiple comparative examples constructed in this same way. The second function of this work is to introduce the existing discussion and underlying questions that frame this topic. The poor performance of the Arab militaries in the Six-Day War was not an isolated event; it reflects a pattern repeated over decades of military history. Naturally, this has sparked a considerable amount of debate in the academic community. Pollack notes that there are, generally speaking, four main theories that seek to explain the ineffectiveness of Arab militaries: Soviet military doctrine, politicization, economic underdevelopment, and cultural patterns of behavior. These four main thrusts serve as the basic structure of this book, as Pollack tackles each in turn before giving his verdict on its impact on Arab military effectiveness.

Before getting into this larger structure, however, Pollack breaks down consistent patterns of Arab military performance since 1945. He notes that these are not hard and fast rules; there are exceptions and variation, but patterns nevertheless do exist. To begin, Arab militaries are generally quite effective at logistics, and their soldiers are often quite brave. In addition to this, the morale of Arab armies can be very good. However, Arab militaries tend to perform quite poorly in terms of maintenance, technical skills and weapons handling, tactical information management, tactical leadership, and tactical air operations. No clear pattern exists for training, strategic leadership, strategic information management, unit cohesion, or strategic air operations. This introductory chapter is particularly crucial for the effectiveness of this book, as it both presents key concepts that are continually referred to throughout the work while also establishing an objective tone when dealing with the region's military history. Any presuppositions or assumptions that the reader might have about Arab militaries are summarily swept aside. In addition, the author very clearly maintains that, despite these definable patterns, the militaries of the region vary constantly in a myriad of ways, and to assume that they can be dealt with as a monolith is foolish.

Following the introduction, Pollack turns to the first of the four theories behind Arab military ineffectiveness: Soviet military doctrine. He starts by laying out several key tenets of Soviet military theory, such as the emphasis on offensive operations, maneuver, operational control of tactical formations, and a "push" system of logistics (a system in which supplies are continuously "pushed" to the operational front without the need for requests from field units, rather than being "pulled" (requested) by those units; it is not perfectly efficient, but does ensure that supplies are readily available when needed). The author acknowledges that he is not convinced that this theory can adequately explain the poor performance of Arab militaries, but he treats it nonetheless because a number of people support this theory, and therefore it should not be dismissed out of hand. To analyze this theory, Pollack studies the performance of several Arab militaries influenced by Soviet doctrine, as well as a comparative example in the form of the Egyptian armed forces in the Gulf War, which were supported by the Americans. Pollack concludes that Arab armed forces performed poorly whether they were influenced by the Soviets or not. The Egyptians were just as ineffective in 1991 as they were in 1967, despite the influence of the Americans. Pollack then discusses the performance of the Cuban military in Angola and Ethiopia and the North Korean military in the Korean War. Both of these nations were also heavily influenced by Soviet doctrine, but performed markedly better than any of their Arab counterparts. Moreover, some of the areas in which the Cuban and North Korean militaries excelled, such as aggressiveness, innovation, tactical flexibility, and maintenance (in the case of the Cubans), were areas in which Arab militaries consistently underperformed. For these reasons, Soviet doctrine cannot be deemed a determining factor in Arab military ineffectiveness.

Pollack then addresses the second theory behind poor Arab military performance: politicization. This term refers to circumstances in which civil-military relations become particularly bad, which then affects the ability of the armed forces to succeed in their prescribed role. Pollack distinguishes between three main forms of politicization: commissarism, praetorianism, and the awkwardly named palace guardism. Essentially, commissarism refers to overt civilian control of the military, often in the form of political commissars; praetorianism refers to a military takeover of civilian responsibilities; and palace guardism refers to a military which is primarily concerned with internal security and control rather than external geopolitical threats. These three forms are distinct from one another but also inevitably connected. Pollack makes the important point that militaries are inevitably politicized from the top down. The greatest symptoms of politicization are seen in lieutenant generals and major generals, while colonels and majors might only exhibit a few effects, and NCOs (non-commissioned officers) and enlisted personnel are effectively immune. This is an important distinction because it reflects the areas of operations that are typically influenced by politicization, namely, strategic operations and strategic information management.

In order to demonstrate the impact of politicization on Arab militaries, Pollack focuses on the *depoliticization* of the Egyptian military after its defeat in the Six-Day War and of the Iraqi military after its disastrous invasion of Iran in 1981/1982. After their respective military debacles, these militaries both installed effective strategic commanders who were able to reform many of the problems in the upper echelons of command. However, they were still unable to find solutions to the tactical problems that continually plague Arab militaries. These problems were so pronounced that the strategic commanders were forced to script operations so that their tactical units would perform even remotely effectively. Yet, once the scripted operations were outrun, both Egyptian and Iraqi tactical formations reverted to incompetence. These militaries are compared to the South Vietnamese army (ARVN) in the Korean War and the Argentine armed forces in the Falklands War of 1982. Both of these armies were heavily politicized but were still able to fight effectively, particularly when effective strategic commanders were put in place. The tactical problems constantly faced by Arab militaries were only evident in the South Korean and Argentine forces when inept strategic commanders were directing operations. Pollack concludes that "politicization has clearly contributed to the poor performance of Arab armed forces over time, but it is not the only factor, and not even the most important factor in their ineffectiveness." (171)

Part III deals with economic underdevelopment, the third theory behind Arab military ineffectiveness. There are multiple reasons why economic development can hinder a nation's military functions, from reduced literacy to physical malnutrition to a lack of education. Pollack notes that Arab nations tend to be economically underdeveloped when compared to similar Western nations by a variety of metrics. To judge the effect of this underdevelopment on military

effectiveness, Pollack focuses on the performance of Syrian armed forces in 1948 and 1982 and Libya's conflict with Chad in the 1980s, the latter of which provides a convenient comparison as Chad was even more underdeveloped than Libya at the time of the war. Pollack also offers China as a comparative example for this particular theory. He concludes that, similar to politicization, underdevelopment contributed to some issues in Arab nations but does not account for the persistent and underlying problems that repeatedly cripple their militaries. Syria did not perform better in 1982 compared to 1948, despite significant economic growth. Chad soundly defeated Libya despite not being nearly as economically developed. China's involvement in Korea was somewhat hamstrung by its severe economic underdevelopment, but it primarily suffered problems in terms of supply and maintenance, not tactical operations and information management.

This leads to the final theory: cultural patterns of behavior. To quote Pollack, "by now you have probably guessed that I believe that the most important problems that the Arab militaries have experienced in battle since 1945 derive from behavioral patterns associated with Arab culture." (343) Pollack goes to great lengths to say that he is not making qualitative judgments about Arab culture, nor is he relying on anecdotal experience and supposition to determine cultural patterns of behavior. Instead, he relies exclusively on sociologists and cultural scholars and only presents the patterns that are universally acknowledged by the academic community. He also notes that these patterns cannot be used to generalize the behavior of every member of a cultural group, only that they mark common behaviors, which often manifest themselves more predominantly in large groups (like armies).

After making these qualifications, Pollack describes the cultural patterns that affect military performance. He identifies conformity, centralization of authority, deference to authority, group loyalty, manipulation of information, atomization of knowledge, personal courage, and ambivalence toward manual labor and technical work as cultural patterns that map almost perfectly onto the military patterns that he has been describing throughout the book. Arab militaries are often tactically inept because authority is heavily centralized, and junior officers are not expected or prepared to make innovative or aggressive decisions. Knowledge about different subjects is seen as unrelated, so information is not shared between different groups. Technical skills are generally looked down upon, so weapons handling is generally poor. This lack of technical ability and aggressive decision-making basically dooms any Arab fighter pilot before he even gets into the cockpit. Education often consists of rote memorization, so military training is frequently heavily scripted and does not encourage creative thinking. All of the consistent problems Pollack points out can be at least partially explained by cultural patterns.

This thesis revolving around culture may seem easy to critique at first, but Pollack's excellent argumentation and logical structure, which is one of the strongest aspects of his writing, defies any simple criticism that may come his way. By the time he reveals his argument, the reader is already nearly convinced that

he is right. By presenting and summarily dismissing every other option, the author makes his case remarkably convincing before he even lays it out.

The book itself is, well, intimidating. The text itself is 524 pages long, not to mention the 90 pages of endnotes and the mammoth bibliography. Accessible, it is not. The book is laden with terminology and argumentation that would be difficult to understand without at least a cursory knowledge of military history and theory, or of the region. However, the research is first class, the writing is engaging and informative, and the scope of the information covered is almost scary. Over the course of the book, Pollack addresses countless conflicts in the Middle East as well as wars in South America, Africa, Vietnam, and Korea with clarity and precision. *Armies of Sand* represents a major step forward in the field of Middle Eastern military history, as most existing works focus on specific conflicts, such as Chaim Herzog's *The Arab-Israeli Wars*, not the region as a whole. Even Pollack's earlier work *Arabs at War* lacks the critical analysis and sociological angle taken by *Armies of Sand*, instead focusing on the histories of specific nations in the region. Overall, it is a landmark work on the subject of Arab military history that offers a deep and thorough understanding to the reader from the knowledge and ability of an experienced professional in the field.

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Winchester, Simon.
Land:
How the Hunger for Ownership Shaped the Modern World.

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The earth we stand on is bought and sold in pieces. In his book, *Land: How the Hunger for Ownership Shaped the Modern World*, journalist Simon Winchester calculates how much of the earth he "owns." He concludes that, out of the planet's total land surface of 36,652,096,000 acres, he owns 123 acres. (4) Yet, he argues that land "cannot possibly be owned, by anyone, ever." (34) Winchester does not deny that the concept of land ownership has shaped society as we know it. People have gone to great lengths for it. So, since land cannot be owned, what do these owners have? They have the rights to the land, writes Winchester. They have the right to possess and control "their" land, the right to exclude anyone from their property, and the right to enjoy their land. (35)

Divided into five parts ("Borderlines," "Annals of Acquisition," "Stewardship," "Battlegrounds," and "Annals of Restoration"), in addition to a prologue and epilogue, Winchester's book investigates how land ownership has shaped the modern world. The concept of ownership emerged with farming. When farmers decided to create furrows on the land, they "informally demarcated" the land. (46) These informal demarcations became border markings

for towns and nations. The desire for expansion led empires to new frontiers. The desire for land led to displacement. The ceaseless need for land, for example, dramatically affected the Indigenous communities of the Americas. Focusing on the British Empire's seizure of North America, Winchester reintroduces us to the horrors of colonialism—from the initial mutual admiration by both parties, in this case the Puritans and the Wampanoag people, to the latter's puzzlement over the issue of land ownership. Winchester is, of course, not the first author to describe the ways in which Indigenous communities in North America handled their land. They did so with care, and it was a community effort. Daniel Richter's *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (2001) also addresses the Indigenous communities' handling of land. Both Richter and Winchester agree that Indigenous communities had no concept of land ownership. Land was to be used for the benefit of everyone, and no one person could claim ownership over it. Then what was the justification of the White man who came to take and own these lands? It was not just belief in his own supremacy or domination. His other justification for land seizure was that it was sanctioned by "international law, by the Bible, and by simple need." (131) The removal of Indigenous communities and the promise of land to Europeans fed the craving for ownership. Winchester observes that, while the world may have forgotten the atrocities committed for land, the Indigenous communities have not, but their anger "just simmers in the far background." (158) Winchester shows that the belief, however ridiculous, that the British Empire and others like it could dominate the peoples and territories of the world has led to the way the world looks today.

Once man became convinced that one could own the land, the problems multiplied. Many of the issues faced by the world today are rooted in the lust for land. Winchester turns to this in the fourth part of his book, astutely titled, "Battlegrounds." For example, the Protestant and Catholic battles in Ireland had more to do with land—and who would control it—than religion. (266) The fight over borders and over ancestral claims of lands, as well as conquests and assassinations, are often based in people's perceived entitlement to land. The solution is also found in the land, namely, by distancing "people from the land." (266) This distance helps to put problems and arguments, such as the Protestant and Catholic argument in Ireland, in the rearview mirror. Winchester tackles Palestine, guiding the reader through the history of the region and the history of the ancient claims over Palestine by Jews and Arabs. In this context, he alludes to the power of land itself. Land has an undeniable appeal to people. They like to control it, possess it, and exclude people from it, and they will do so by any means necessary. The great human suffering in Palestine, which continues today, arose out of the question over the possession of land. There are plenty of examples of displacement, cruelty, and theft of land in the world. Stalin's ethnic cleansing of Ukrainian villagers was intended to amass land. Americans stole the land and homes of Japanese-Americans while the latter were imprisoned in internment camps. All the while the land was a silent witness. As Winchester puts it poetically,

land placidly accepts its role as "an entity to be fought over endlessly, enduring it all because it endures alone." (284)

From the start, Winchester focuses on the environmental and geological beauty of the earth and how careless humans are with it. As with anything that people want to possess and purchase, land is regarded as a commodity. It "belongs" to people who can do with it what they like, thinking that it belongs to us and that we do not belong to it. But we do belong to it: land is what remains after we perish, land is what sustains our descendants, and land is what maintained our ancestors. With climate change, people (at least some) are realizing that land is not immune to humanity's capriciousness. It is changing, and it is at risk of "shrinking away." (398) Because of its impassioned epilogue, in which it alerts readers to climate change, Winchester's book is more than a chronicle of land ownership. Having started with the geological formation of the earth as we know it today and commenting on its formation throughout, Winchester employs geology and archeology in his work on environmental history. What is more, *Land* is a book written out of love for the earth. When reading the epilogue, one senses the grief, and one can picture the shrunken earth of the near future. Ownership of land has led us here and has shaped our modern world.

Winchester's observations and arguments are interspersed by his own thoughts. Each section starts with a personal anecdote, and these are also scattered throughout the chapters. They can be slightly distracting, especially when Winchester is discussing land disputes in Palestine. However, once the reader gets used to these personal anecdotes, they simply become part of the narrative. Winchester also focuses on what people have done and continue to do to one another, as they try to take hold of land in their hope to own permanent and unmovable territory. But, as Winchester mentions, land may not be as permanent or unmovable as previously thought. Land is no longer a neutral agent that bears all atrocities committed on its soil; it is at risk of withering away or of being drowned by the sea. Winchester wonders if shared communal usage of the land would be so difficult. He gives examples of this "kindly, philosophical approach to the world's surface."(402) Indigenous groups in Australia see the earth as "their mother, in constant need of care, admiration and gratitude, and respect." (403) In west Africa, as well as regions of Russia, similar sentiments and treatments of land are found. (403) The Indigenous communities in the United States of America, too, recognize the "true value of land—of its spiritual value, well beyond its mere monetary worth." (403) Time will tell whether humanity will continue on its destructive path or whether people will begin to see the earth as their nurturer who is now in need of nurturing.

The concept of land ownership—what belongs to one and not to another—has been a driving force in history without a doubt. From Manifest Destiny to countless wars, much of the blood absorbed by the earth has been shed over the right to own it. This exemplary work, tying together environmental, economic, and diplomatic history, chronicles it all. Anyone interested in the concept of land

ownership, the modern world, and the present-day environmental condition of the earth will find this book an interesting and informative read.

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