

Reviews (Books)

Best, Jeremy.

Heavenly Fatherland:

German Missionary Culture and Globalization in the Age of Empire.

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021.
344 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9781487505639.

Missionaries complicate the narrative of European imperialism. In his recent monograph, *Heavenly Fatherland: German Missionary Culture and Globalization in the Age of Empire*, Jeremy Best explores the role and agency of German missionary work during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and details the diverging commitments of missionaries and the German state. As Best argues in the early pages of his work, “we must recognize that missionaries and their theology led them down a very different path from that of secular colonialists.” (10) *Heavenly Fatherland* offers a unique history of German missionaries, but it also addresses the broader themes of globalization, economic autonomy, the struggle between Christian cosmopolitanism and state-led nationalism, and the religious tensions between Protestants and Catholics on the African “mission field.” Best’s exploration of German missionary culture and imperialism complements works like *Reforming the World: The Creation of America’s Moral Empire* by Ian Tyrrell (2010) and *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South* by Andrew Zimmerman (2010). Missionaries are at the heart of Best’s work. He ultimately demonstrates how “they set aside the German fatherland and directed their desires and energies toward...a heavenly Fatherland.” (13)

Best is a modern European historian. He received his Ph.D. in History from the University of Maryland in 2012 and currently serves as an Assistant Professor in the History Department at Iowa State University. His research interests encompass the themes of race, religion, and culture, which are all richly explored in *Heavenly Fatherland*. His previous publications include a chapter in *The Oxford History of Modern German Theology*, Volume II, titled “Empire and the Development of Missiology,” along with an article appearing in volume 47 of the journal of *Central European History*, titled “Godly, International, and Independent: German Protestant Missionary Loyalties before World War I.” Best was the recipient of the Phi Alpha Theta Best First Book Award for *Heavenly Fatherland* in 2021, and he has further research underway, including a book project, *Toy Soldiering: West German Rearmament, the Holocaust, and the United States*, and an article, “The Kaiser’s Silver: German Nationalism and the 1913 *Nationalsspende* for Christian Mission.”

Heavenly Fatherland is a well-organized book. It includes an insightful introduction, six chapters, and a brief conclusion. The chapters are organized by themes as opposed to chronological ordering, and Best offers dynamic chapter titles that summarize their contents. Chapter 1, “Preach the Gospel to All Creation,” explores how German missionaries envisioned the Great Commission

(Matthew 28:16–20) as an academic and systematic discipline. Chapter 2, “Speaking in Tongues,” unpacks the missionaries’ use of language in German East Africa and offers insights into the fight between mission societies and the state regarding language instruction. Chapter 3, “Give ... to God the Things That Are God’s,” showcases how German missionaries defended autonomous African markets in the face of German imperialism. Chapter 4, “Go In and Take Possession of the Land,” describes the Protestant-Catholic conflict on the mission field and the Protestant defense of missionized lands. Chapter 5, “Tending the Flock,” turns the reader’s attention to missionary work on the German home front. Finally, Chapter 6, “Iron Sharpens Iron,” reveals the extent of global missionary culture and suggests that the beginning of the twentieth century marked both the high point and the demise of German participation in the international missionary community. The chapters offer various perspectives on mission culture, but as Best states in his conclusion, this work “is not meant to elevate the German missionaries to glorious philanthropic heroes.” (217) Each chapter reveals a different side of missionary work—the good, the bad, and the ugly.

Best highlights Gustav Warneck (1834–1910) as a prominent figure in the history of German missionary work. According to Best, “Warneck was the most influential figure during the decades before the First World War.” (24) Warneck created the model for missions, both academically and publicly. As the author points out, Germans envisioned missionary work as an academic and systematic pursuit. This resulted in the creation of *Missionswissenschaft*—the study of missions. Best writes that this entire field was “dominated by one man—Gustav Warneck.” (24) His high esteem in the academy was partially secured by his interaction with the public. Working with other missionaries, Warneck created the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* in 1874, and he served as its main contributor for over three decades. (33) The journal itself is explored extensively in *Heavenly Fatherland*, and for good reason. It provided a forum for missionaries to reach German Christians, but it also served as a platform for Warneck to distinguish missionary work from the perceived threats of imperialism and nationalism. According to Warneck, “mission should not make the peoples into Germans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Russians; [it] should make them into Christians.” (40) As Best argues, Warneck considered missionary work as a commitment to Christian internationalism, which often frustrated national and colonial efforts.

Warneck’s *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* served as a vehicle for emphasizing the distinction between church and state, and this commitment to difference was evidenced by the German-missionary-led school curricula in Africa. According to Best, these missionary schools became a battleground between missionaries and the secular state. Warneck argued that Christianity would remain foreign unless it was presented in the mother tongue of the missionized. (68) Against the aims of the state, German Protestant missionaries instructed students in Swahili instead of German, asserting that it was more beneficial for the students. (79) Consequently, liberal imperialists and conservative nationalists in Germany attacked

missionaries for failing to prioritize the German nation and language. (72–73) According to Best, “missionaries did not build their schools to satisfy German nationalist designs on the colonies.” (83) While this placed missionaries in a unique position of agency, Best says little about their receptiveness to the desires of Africans attending their schools. It was likely a complicated relationship. While missionaries fought off imperial overreach and defended Indigenous languages, Best points out that missionaries “were also the authors of much damage.” (71) As the author writes, “control over the identification and definition of any given African *Volk* rested almost entirely in the hands of the missionaries.” (62) In their efforts to fight against the imperial state, missionaries very much operated under its structure.

Similar to the schools, German colonies emerged as sites of conflict between the German church and state. While German missionaries prioritized Indigenous souls, German imperialists envisioned transforming African labor. Ecumenical aims often collided with state efforts toward economic gain. According to Best, imperialists “wanted to convert the millions living in German colonies into consumers and workers.” (91) Missionaries pushed back against these goals. Best writes that missionaries maintained “an educational program designed to create autonomous (Protestant) Christians living in an economically healthy, self-sustaining community.” (92) Put differently, “mission schools were tools for making Christians, not for making a proletariat.” (103) German missionaries, according to Best, sought to transform Africa by introducing Christianity. They had no desire to convert the continent into another Germany.

Missionaries struggled against the secular efforts of the German state, but German imperialism was only one enemy. German missionaries expressed their fears of a Catholic threat. As Best points out, nineteenth-century German culture was steeped in anti-Catholicism. During this time, Germany witnessed a religious and political *Kulturkampf*, in which the German state “sought to break the power of the Catholic Church in Germany.” (116) These religious and political commitments followed German missionaries as they traveled abroad. They viewed Catholic missionaries as backward (119), illegitimate (120), and part of a Catholic plot “designed to serve the pope and expand the secular and religious power of Rome.” (123) As a result of this deep anti-Catholic skepticism, German Protestant missionaries attempted to safeguard their colonial charges against Catholic influence. According to Best, “territorial competition, real and imagined, became a central concern for Protestants.” (131) Thus, the Protestant fight for Africa was also a religious war against Rome.

The zeal for missionary work abroad was met with an equal fervor for missionary influence on the home front. At the start of the twentieth century, mission societies planned, promoted, and held hundreds of local festivals celebrating missionary work. (154) And they certainly won public interest. Several festivals even included steamship excursions that transported attendees to dinner parties. Upon their arrival, they were met by singing choirs and captivating

speeches from traveling missionaries. (155) In addition to public engagements, societies also instructed local pastors. According to Best, they “supplied preachers with a collection of anecdotes and parables” from the mission field to use in their sermons. (171) These preaching curricula and local events increased Germany’s interest in missionary work, and through them, mission societies found new avenues of monetary support. The Christian work abroad was determined by the faithful support at home.

Mission societies attempted to bridge the gap between laypeople and world travelers, but they also endeavored to close the distance between Germany and Africa. To make the mission field tangible, societies assembled exhibitions of African culture for the German public to view. These presentations, according to Best, demonstrated a missionary commitment to the preservation of Indigenous culture. Rather than essentialized or racialized depictions of African caricatures, “missionaries offered a more sustained and rich depiction of Africans and other colonized subjects of Germany.” (145) For instance, exhibitions curated by mission societies included information on Indigenous homes and tools. The author writes that “planners clearly meant to emphasize the simple, un-mechanized, and artisanal...elements of African culture.” (163) According to Best, these exhibitions offered a perspective of Africa through the lens of missionary work, not the colonial state. These shows of African culture and the colonial empire were “filtered through Christian universalist messages.” (166) Missionaries viewed Africans as contributors to the global Christian community, and they had every intention of respecting African distinctiveness.

In addition to bringing Africa to Germany, mission societies also facilitated the gathering of a global missionary community. This further demonstrated the international commitment of missionaries both in Germany and abroad. The 1910 World Missionary Conference, held in Edinburgh from June 15 to June 23, was a testament to transnational commitments. According to Best, “the collective mood created by over 1,200 missionaries, mission society leaders, and mission theologians felt like the fulfilment of God’s plan for the world.” (198) The multidecade labor for international Christianity was a visible fruit of the Edinburgh conference. But the missionary struggle to maintain agency against the powers of nationalism would quickly falter. The plans for the next missionary conference were interrupted by World War I. According to Best, “the exciting years between 1910 and 1914 were more epilogue than prologue for the German mission movement’s participation in international missionary collaboration.” (210) The war effort and national commitment tore Germany away from the international missionary community. In essence, the German fatherland assumed priority over the heavenly Fatherland.

Jeremy Best’s *Heavenly Fatherland* offers a fresh perspective on German missionary work at home and abroad during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His investigation of missionary activities certainly achieves its goal – it frustrates a simplified view of German imperialism. It demonstrates how

Germans acted as agents working under, but also against state-led imperialism. Amidst its strengths, the work presents its own set of limitations. It offers little insight into African perceptions of German missionaries, but even Best points out this shortcoming. (17) Best also references the defects of German missionaries, but his evidence for their failures is at times minimal. (71) Regardless of these minor qualms, Best's work is an achievement of insightful scholarship. His work is especially relevant for readers of religious history, German Protestantism prior to World War I, and any consumer fascinated by the legacy of missionary work. Beyond the casual reader, Best's work is necessary for scholars engaging religion in the age of imperialism, the history of nationalism in Europe, and the impact of theology on trends of globalization. *Heavenly Fatherland* places the sacred and the secular, the church and the state, even heaven and earth, in conversation, and it dismisses the imagined boundaries that seemingly kept (and keep) them separate.

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Frag, Lois M.

Athanasius of Alexandria:

An Introduction to His Writings and Theology.

Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2020.

171 pages. Hardback. ISBN: 9781498282581.

In this monograph, Lois M. Frag, a professor of History at Luther Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota, gives voice to the theologian Athanasius of Alexandria (295–373). Following Constantine's Edict of Milan (313), which had legalized Christianity, Athanasius rose through the ecclesiastical ranks, participated in the First Council of Nicaea (325), and eventually became bishop of Alexandria (328). His career coincided with the slow disintegration of the Roman empire into Eastern and Western spheres, and this placed him at the theological and political fronts of his time. Frag mainly utilizes Athanasius's *Orations Against the Arians*, which she considers foundational for her protagonist's theology, but she also draws from his other works, such as *On Incarnation*, *Against the Pagans*, and *Festal Letters*. Frag shows how Athanasius's polemical writings relate to his other discourses, and how he proceeded to disprove the contentions of the Arians who, at the Council of Nicaea, had disputed the unbiblical term *homoousios* (i.e., the prevailing orthodox assertion that the individual components of the Trinity are of the same substance as the Godhead). Frag's book also illustrates how Athanasius addressed heresies on a broader scale. (2–9, 20–21, 57, 60–62, 78–87)

Farag begins her work by explaining who Athanasius was, establishes his network and reputation in the imperial and religious spheres, and denotes that he was, for a time, under the supervision of Arius (d. 336), the priest who would proceed to question the Son's full divinity. She then outlines her protagonist's theology of Creation, asserting that he believed that God had formed humankind with a soul (*nous*) that authenticated His existence through revelation or Scripture. Chapter three develops this aspect of Creation in the context of Proverbs 8:22, showing that the Arians' argument lessened the Son's divinity by disputing the sameness of His existence with the Father. (4, 11-13, 16-17, 35, 43, 45, 57-60)

Chapter four discusses how Athanasius's writings addressed heresies such as Gnosticism and Docetism. It expounds on his theological explanation that minimizing the Son also lessens the Holy Spirit and, by implication, diminishes not just God's Creation but the notion of salvation itself. Chapters four and five demonstrate Athanasius's argument that humanity attained salvation through the Son's divinity because His sacrifice was in the flesh, which Farag considers the nucleus of Athanasius's writings and his central argument against heretical thinking. The book closes by reminding the reader that Athanasius was a leader of his Christian community who pointed to the body of the Son and to the essence of the Holy Spirit, and who considered Creation as fundamental to his theology. (79-86, 104-108, 114-115, 119-121, 141-146)

Farag's monograph underscores time and again that Creation was one of Athanasius's key motifs. Using a metaphor, Athanasius argued that the concept of the essence of the Father and the Trinity was like the sun's radiance, which illustrates that the theological school of Alexandria was not strictly literal in its approach. Another Athanasian theme was the *nous*, the notion that God displayed himself through knowledge and the individual soul's capacity to reason. This rationalization of the *nous* corresponded with the school of Plato, and, as Farag establishes, the philosophical aspects of Athanasius's writings entail the idea of the inner self. While the *nous* is a central theme during the book's first half, the second half turns to the Trinity and shows Athanasius's doctrine in opposition to that of the Arians. Athanasius's concept of the Holy Spirit highlights the latter as a means of salvation from the Godhead (27, 33-40, 68-69, 83-85, 99-101, 107), and his teachings emphasize the belief in the Trinity as a key trajectory for Christianity's endurance throughout periods of persecution and martyrdom.

Overall, Farag presents her arguments well and with clarity, but the theoretical and philosophical details and discussions of Athanasius do, at times, feel dense. This book is for theologians, historians, classicists, and scholars in related fields. At present, historians do emphasize the study of the body, which is a recurring theme in this book. The book also demonstrates the philological and linguistic implications of the Arian controversy and of Athanasius's writings in particular. Since Farag's work is intended as an introduction to the Athanasian opus in its historical context, the reader must keep in mind that, while the book does not disregard specific topics of theological debate, engagement with them is limited.

That said, the reader will come to a clear appreciation why Athanasius has been called a “Defender of Orthodoxy.” (24) In sum, Farag’s work is a significant assessment of Athanasius’s contributions to the development of Christian thought.

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Gallagher, Charles R.

Nazis of Copley Square:

The Forgotten Story of the Christian Front.

Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2021.
336 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9780674983717.

“No matter what Hitler may have done in the past...I could kiss him for what he has done...in spite of his mustache,” shouted Francis Moran to a captive audience in 1941. (176) Moran was publicly lauding Hitler for breaking the Russian-German agreement, otherwise known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. But his praise seemed misplaced. Moran was no member of the Nazi party, nor was he German. In fact, he was an American Catholic supporting Hitler from Boston. Charles R. Gallagher’s work, *Nazis of Copley Square: The Forgotten Story of the Christian Front*, revives the memory of Francis Moran and the larger movement Moran inherited and led – the “Christian Front.” The Front first appeared in 1938 with the approval of Father Charles Edward Coughlin and took root in New York. Initially, its members sided with Catholicism, American patriotism, and anti-communism. But, as Gallagher details, the Front eventually promoted and worked in line with Nazi views, publicly voiced antisemitic rhetoric, and “saw the myth of Judeo-Bolshevism as true.” (8) Gallagher’s work engages the personalities that operated in the Front as well as the theology that seemingly justified the movement, and he demonstrates that the Front’s rise and decline was the result of a propaganda war waged between German and British spies on American soil.

Gallagher is a historian at Boston College. Before completing his Ph.D. at Marquette University, he received his Bachelor of Sacred Theology at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium). He has served as a visiting fellow at the Geneva School of Diplomacy and International Relations and held a teaching appointment at the College of the Holy Cross in Massachusetts. Gallagher’s research interests encompass American Catholic history, U.S. diplomacy, and American religious history. Gallagher’s previous publications include a 2018 article, “Decentering American Jesuit Anti-Communism: John LaFarge’s United Front Strategy, 1934–1939,” in *The Journal of Jesuit Studies*, and a chapter, “Adopting the Swastika: George Deatherage and the American Nationalist Confederation, 1937–1942,” in *Religion, Ethnonationalism, and Antisemitism in the Era of the Two World Wars* (2022).

Nazis of Copley Square is an evenly paced work. It consists of an introduction, eleven chapters, a conclusion, and an epilogue. Chapters one through three unveil the history of the Christian Front movement. They detail its early beginnings, its rise in New York, and the court case that decided the Front's breakup. Chapters four and five describe the resurrection of the Christian Front in Boston, offer biographical insights into the new leader, Moran, and chart the movement's increasing public appeal. Chapters six through nine portray the influence of a Nazi spy in Boston, Moran's growing radicalism, and pro-Nazi sentiment throughout Boston prior to the United States' entry into World War II. Chapters ten and eleven, as well as the work's conclusion, comment on the German and British struggle to influence U.S. public opinion through propaganda. Collectively, the chapters bring together the larger themes of American antisemitism, foreign espionage, and the Catholic Church during the 1930s and 1940s.

According to Gallagher, the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) served as the catalyst for the creation of the Christian Front. The emergence of the 1936 Spanish conflict produced a wave of Catholic persecution that was felt internationally. Spain's left-wing Popular Front engaged in efforts to suppress Catholics. General Francisco Franco opposed the Popular Front and, in the process, gained international support from Catholics. Franco's aims won the admiration of Arnold Lunn, a British Catholic and close associate of Father Coughlin. (20) According to Gallagher, Lunn first encouraged the formation of the Christian Front. (8) "It was Lunn's small 1937 book *Spain and the Christian Front*," Gallagher writes, "that put forward the Christian Front as the Popular Front's politico-theological opposite." (22) Lunn believed communism to be the most immediate threat to Catholicism. Coughlin, also a loyal supporter of the Franco regime, interpreted Lunn's perception in a U.S. context, but he mixed in his own dose of antisemitism. Coughlin believed that "communism was an evil nurtured and foisted upon the world by Jews." (20) American Catholics, like Coughlin, perceived Spain's political struggle as a larger battle between Christianity and Judeo-Bolshevism, a myth that the entire Front saw as true. (8)

1930s Catholic theology also helped justify the creation of the Christian Front. Gallagher argues that the Front worked under two principles affirmed by the Catholic Church: the belief in the Mystical Body of Christ and the endorsement of Catholic Action. The Mystical-Body-of-Christ theology claimed that "all Catholics constituted together the incarnation of Christ." (46) This meant that Catholic persecution anywhere was felt by Catholics everywhere. (7) This brand of Christian solidarity had grown out of the October Revolution (1917) that sparked the Russian Civil War of the 1920s. (7) Under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin, the Bolsheviks – who later formed the Soviet Communist Party – targeted Orthodox priests. By the 1930s, Christians viewed communism as a universal threat, and the Catholic Church in particular challenged Russian state terror through its adherence to Mystical-Body theology. But this was only one part of a dual theological commitment that warranted the Christian Front's emergence.

According to Gallagher, Catholic Action served as its practical counterpart. Catholic Action “sacralized laypeople’s social missions.” (46) It gave Christians the right to protest in the public arena. Together, these beliefs not only encouraged the Front’s existence – they safeguarded it.

The Christian Front first emerged as an organized group in 1938. Lunn inspired it, Coughlin approved it, and John F. Cassidy of New York led it. Cassidy firmly aligned himself with Coughlin’s political imagination, and he viewed the forces of fascism and Nazism as appropriate means for stopping communism. (39) According to Gallagher, Cassidy was militant. (39) His Christian Front recruits nicknamed him “the little Führer.” (39) Within two years, Cassidy devised a plan to overthrow the U.S. government. (53) Under his leadership, he trained New York Catholics in the handling of automatic weapons and the manufacturing of bombs. (55–60) But his plan and influence quickly waned. The FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) had been watching the Front’s activities closely. In fact, over the course of the Front’s existence, the FBI amassed a file containing 2,500 pages of information, one of the largest investigations ever pursued by the bureau. (2–3) Cassidy and his collaborators were brought to trial for criminal possession of weapons and sedition. (61) But the leaders of the Christian Front dodged disciplinary action. They went free and were merely tasked with disbanding the Front. (66–75) According to Gallagher, the general public’s historical memory of the Christian Front ceases with the conclusion of the 1940 trial; but he offers an extended narrative.

The Christian Front had seemingly been crucified in New York (71), but it was soon resurrected in Boston. (75) Immediately following the arrests of Front leaders, a Bostonian by the name of Francis Moran assumed leadership of the group. (76) Unlike Cassidy, Moran had initially been nonviolent (93) and had attracted a sizable following. At a 1939 rally, a crowd numbering over 8,000 gathered to hear Moran and other Christian Front leaders. (94) Thus, the Front was “booming” again. (101) “Moran organized groups in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, and Hartford, Connecticut,” Gallagher informs us. (101) In addition to his anti-communism, Moran presented himself as a defender of the poor. He openly addressed economic grievances, but he always included a bent toward antisemitism. He implicitly blamed the Jews for upsetting the market. (102) Anti-communism was essentially code for antisemitism. The public gravitated toward Moran’s rhetoric. His following grew in lockstep with his belief in the Judeo-Bolshevist myth. But his nonviolence soon gave way to outspoken radicalism. According to Gallagher, by July 1940, Moran was publicly “praising Hitler and castigating Jews.” (114)

Moran’s pro-Nazism caught the attention of Herbert Wilhelm Scholz. In 1938, Scholz arrived in Boston as a consul from Germany. (119) Several individuals were suspicious of Scholz, but authorities had little reason to confront him. These suspicions, however, were warranted. According to Gallagher, “Scholz was not a diplomat from a neutral power but rather an agent of a foreign adversary.” (120) Scholz had been born into a well-to-do German family, and he had eventually

pursued higher education. He completed his dissertation at the University of Leipzig under the guidance of Werner Schingnitz, a philosopher and enthusiast of National Socialism. (125) Schingnitz and Scholz shared common interests. In the 1920s, Scholz entered the ranks of the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) of the Nazi party. (124) In 1933, however, he abandoned the SA for the *Schutzstaffel* (SS). He accepted a rank equivalent to that of an army major and was assigned to Berlin to work with the Liaison Staff. (129) This position set Scholz on a unique trajectory. Gallagher writes that, "it was in his role at the SS that Scholz became involved in espionage." (129) He was a spy master and when he arrived in Boston, he was tasked with infiltrating and influencing U.S. culture. Moran welcomed him with open arms.

Moran and Scholz were a match made in Boston. They had confidence in each other, and they both exhibited anticommunist and antisemitic views. But their relations were more than a budding friendship. Moran was useful to Scholz. Following the 1939 Nazi invasion of Poland, Hitler had every intention to keep the United States out of the war. Scholz was under strict orders from the Nazi party to "persuade neutral states to take the German line." (145) Scholz targeted Moran as a suitable mouthpiece. By 1941, America's participation in the war seemed inevitable, and Moran did everything he could to stop it. At Christian Front meetings, Moran raged against Jews and President Roosevelt, calling them traitors for forcing the United States into the war. (167) In June 1941, Moran even provided a public showing of *Sieg im Westen* ("Victory in the West"), a propaganda film that demonstrated German military might. (169) Moran offered commentary to the 600 attendees, suggesting that the United States should avoid fighting Germany at all costs. Moran publicly supported Hitler, privately met with Scholz, and illegally divulged technical military information to a German spy. (153)

The Christian Front was not the only American organization steered by foreign goals. The Irish American Defense Association (IADA) also operated under the direction of overseas intelligence. According to Gallagher, the IADA had been formed by British spies. (183) It served to encourage British support in the United States. Frances Sweeny functioned as the organization's leader, but it is unlikely she knew of its ties to Britain. Sweeny was a liberal Catholic who openly opposed fascism, Nazism, and antisemitism. The creators of the IADA saw Sweeny as the perfect candidate to oppose the Christian Front. (197) Sweeny viewed Moran and his Front as Boston's greatest offense and had every intention of revealing their faults. In 1941, she looked to the press, and the press was on her side. By year's end in 1942, the *Boston Herald-Traveler* published a front-page story detailing Moran's Nazi propaganda. Sweeny's investigative journalism exposed the Christian Front for what it was. Through her partnership with the press, she interrupted the Christian Front's momentum, and Moran was forced underground.

Nazis of Copley Square is an insightful work of American religious history prior to World War II. It offers a unique analysis relevant to the broader scholarship on Christian extremism during the twentieth century. It reads as the American

Catholic counterpart to Doris Bergen's *Twisted Cross: The German Christian Movement in the Third Reich* (1996), which investigates Protestant Nazis in Germany. Gallagher's work is well documented, but at times the larger narrative is muted by extensive biographical details of historical personalities. Rather than a work divided by themes, Gallagher focuses on specific people to move the book along, and he sometimes gives too much credit to individuals like Moran. (244) Regardless of its minimal shortcomings, this work is relevant for readers of American history, consumers of nonfiction espionage, and anyone fascinated with German-American diplomacy. Gallagher's research is critical for scholars investigating far-right religious history in America, the history of antisemitism on the American East coast, and the development of anti-Judaic theology within the Catholic Church. Gallagher's work is more than a forgotten story of the Christian Front. *Nazis of Copley Square* tells the forgotten story of America, a country so divided before the war that it waged a battle against itself, with swastikas and all.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Isaiah Colton Thompson of Cleveland, Ohio, earned two A.A. degrees in Liberal Arts (2018) at Victor Valley College in Victorville, California, a B.A. in Religious Studies and History (2021) and an M.A. in History (2023) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a former member of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship, the McNair Scholars Program, and the Sally Casanova Pre-Doctoral Program, as well as a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He also served as an editor for volume 50 (2023) of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."*

Gibby, Bryan R.

Korean Showdown:

National Policy and Military Strategy in a Limited War, 1951–1952.

Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2021.
408 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9780817320737.

Flying high above the Yalu River on the border between North Korea and China, an American F-86 jet fighter dives down on a Soviet MiG-15, and with a quick burst of the F-86's six 50-caliber machine guns, the MiG bursts into a flaming ball and falls out of the sky toward the ground. Incidents like this occurred many times during the Korean War (1950–1953), and similar scenarios are described in *Korean Showdown: National Policy and Military Strategy in a Limited War, 1951–1952*, a 2021 monograph by Bryan R. Gibby. This work is not Gibby's first on the topic of the Korean War; another volume, *The Will to Win* (2012), deals with the American advisors who supported the South Korean Army before and during the war. Gibby's works belong to a long-standing line of scholarship on the Korean War, including Bruce Cumings's *Origins of the Korean War* (1981), Monica Kim's, *The Interrogation Rooms of the Korean War: The Untold History* (2019), and William Stueck's *The Korean War: An International History* (1995) and *Rethinking the Korean War: A New Diplomatic and Strategic History* (2002). All these deal with the Korean War from different perspectives. What makes Gibby's new work different is that he does not focus on the beginning of the war in as much detail as Cumings but,

instead, addresses the end of the war and the armistice. However, unlike Kim's writings about the issues which evolved from the voluntary repatriation of Prisoners of War (P.O.W.), Gibby looks at the effects of voluntary P.O.W. repatriation as part of the armistice agreement in the military arena. Like Kim and Cumings, Gibby uses American, Korean, and Chinese primary sources as evidence, but his are all pre-translated materials, whereas Kim's are original documents. Like most authors, Gibby uses several significant U.S. archival and library databases. He also employs interviews of major military leaders on both sides and those who saw frontline combat. Still, he does not include oral interviews conducted by himself. This is due to the limited number of veterans still alive who served in the war on either side.

Gibby's first chapter discusses what a limited war is, and how it is different from other, previous wars. Gibby argues that American commanders had to come to terms with ending the war not by means of a victory on the battlefield but by means of a victory codified by an armistice. (1) Chapter 1 covers how the conditions for victory changed, as well as how the United States, and later the United Nations, determined what would constitute a victory in Korea. Gibby, like Cumings and others, stipulates that the United States aimed, first and foremost, to save South Korea from the North Korean invasion and, secondly, to reunify the country under the South Korean banner. Once the Chinese became involved and pushed the U.N. forces south of the South Korean capital of Seoul, these goals changed into stopping the Communists' advancement while limiting American losses until a truce could be reached. After 1952, both sides realized that neither side could achieve total victory by military means, and both sides saw any further increase of resources allocated to fighting or expanding the war as detrimental to their respective national interests. (7) Unlike other authors, Gibby claims that fighting could have ended eighteen months earlier if not for the inclusion of voluntary P.O.W. repatriation in the armistice agreement, which is a bold statement for a historian. (2)

In Chapter 2, Gibby explains why Americans do not remember the Korean War beyond a few newspaper articles. (9) Gibby suggests that the events of 1952 and 1953 left a "bitter" taste for many veterans, as the conflict was becoming more and more a war of attrition, much like the Western Front during World War I. Like Cumings, Gibby offers several reasons for the beginning of the conflict, such as the South Korean army's destruction of a large number of North Korean guerrilla bases operating in the South, as well as the many border clashes between North and South Koreans in 1949. (13) However, unlike Cumings, Gibby places the blame for the start of the war squarely on the shoulders of the North. As the book's war narrative gets underway, Gibby provides a rundown of the capture of Seoul by the North Koreans, the Pusan Perimeter, and the Inchon Landings. Once American forces advanced north of the 38th parallel, the original border of the two nations went back to the partition agreed upon by the United States and the Soviet Union, namely, the zones of occupation after Japan's World-War-II surrender in 1945.

Then the Chinese attacked the U.N. forces as they were moving north, after many warnings by Mao Zedong, the leader of the People's Republic of China. In Gibby's work, this attack is dissected in more detail than in the monographs by Cumings or Stueck, especially with regard to how the Chinese wanted to infiltrate the American lines, attack rear areas, and seek to overwhelm American positions, usually at night, to avoid U.S. air power. Like other writers before him, Gibby talks about General MacArthur's arrogance in splitting his attack down two different valleys (separated by mountains that were not traversable by the vehicle-bound Americans) in the push toward the Yalu River; this allowed the attacking Chinese to move into the rear areas and stop each thrust from being able to cover the other's rear, and when the Chinese did strike with full force, it caused the whole U.N. front to rout until they reached an area south of Seoul. (21) After the death of General Walker, his replacement, General Ridgeway, changed the nature of the Korean War for the United States by having the Americans no longer retreat, thereby preventing the Chinese from filtering through. This included the Americans building better defenses and, when on the counter-attack, making their objective of advancement much shorter distances before stopping and digging in again. (23)

In Chapter 3, Gibby addresses the beginning of the eventual armistice agreement at the city of Kaesong. Kaesong was under the control of the Communists' forces who continuously attempted to frame the U.S. delegation as coming to them and asking for peace. The Chinese viewed the negotiation table as a battlefield as well, which is why the men sent to negotiate on China's behalf were political officers rather than the military ones utilized by the United States. (38) According to Gibby, the negotiations comprised three phases with the first at Kaesong seen by both sides as a false start during which the Americans were pushing an aggressive negotiation. At the same time, the Communist Block sought a more neutral outcome, like moving the border back to the 38th parallel. During the second phase of negotiations, at Panmunjom, the Communists dropped their 38th-parallel demand. The U.S. delegation thereupon became more willing to compromise, leading to a cease-fire truce from November through December and later extended by Washington. According to both Gibby and Cumings, this was a mistake since the Communists used the time to prepare for more offensive operations once the truce would end. Meanwhile, the Truman administration desperately wanted the war in Korea to be over sooner rather than later. (40) The third phase of negotiations began when Truman decided to add voluntary P.O.W. repatriation to the U.S. list of demands, which caused talks to break down since neither side knew what to do next. Gibby explains that both sides had met at the negotiating table in the first place through the outreach of the Soviet Union. He then defines what each side was hoping to get out of the negotiations. As the fighting continued, what was happening on the battlefield shaped the armistice talks, even if it had little effect on the respective military positions. At the end of this chapter, Gibby explains how the Americans changed tactics – henceforth only

small platoons of men would advance to ambush the enemy or to take prisoners – and how tanks were utilized after the end of the mobile phase of the war.

Much like Cumings's and Kim's books, Chapter 4 outlines how the U.S. Air Force attempted to affect the talks at Panmunjom through actions in the air. While the Americans became unwilling to sacrifice large numbers of men to grab land that would be given up in an armistice or to kill enemy combatants, the Air Force could do the same with little risk while also putting pressure on the communist negotiators at Panmunjom. These efforts included targeting railroad bridges, truck convoys, and supply depots to weaken the front lines. This strategy was similar to the tactics later employed during the closing days of the Vietnam War. The Americans enjoyed control of the air since the North Korean Air Force had been destroyed within the first months of the war. Still, despite controlling the air, the air war never benefited from coordination with the ground forces or other branches to capitalize on its successes.

Gibby's *Korean Showdown* is different from other works on the Korean War in its assessment of how the war started and what MacArthur's overconfidence meant as U.S. forces were approaching the Yalu River. In detailing the war's later years until an armistice was signed, *Korean Showdown* distinguishes itself from other works that focus on voluntary P.O.W. repatriation. While Kim's work addresses how this process played itself out, as well as the prisoners themselves, Gibby examines how this consideration affected the Americans fighting on the frontlines and their generals, like Ridgeway or Van Fleet. This book is perfect for anyone already knowledgeable about the Korean War as it takes a grounding in the original sequence of events for granted.

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Holden, Brad. [Foreword by Don Lattin].
*Seattle Mystic Alfred M. Hubbard:
Inventor, Bootlegger, and Psychedelic Pioneer.*

Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2021.
147 pages. E-book. ISBN: 9781439673126.

The life of Alfred M. Hubbard (1901–1982) appears to come straight from a comic-book series or fantasy novel. From working as a rum-running double agent to helping celebrities experience life-altering psychedelic trips on a private island, Hubbard's life is put under the microscope in Brad Holden's new monograph, *Seattle Mystic Alfred M. Hubbard: Inventor, Bootlegger, and Psychedelic Pioneer*. In this biography, Holden starts with what is known about Hubbard's early childhood and ends the book with the protagonist's death. As a final send-off, Holden clarifies some of the mysterious adventures of the Seattle inventor and psychedelic guru in his afterword. This rather short and energetic biography can grab the attention of casual readers as well as those looking to dive further into the world

of Prohibition, the early psychedelic movement, and government projects such as MKUltra. The author's relaxed and narrative-driven writing style complements the life of Hubbard and is a key feature of this text. However, for readers interested in citation tracing, the work's lack of notes quickly becomes frustrating, as quotes and other specific data are not properly documented. That said, Holden does provide a well-crafted section on sources at the end of his book, thus offering more invested readers the chance to explore the sources on their own.

The first chapter starts with the birth of Alfred M. Hubbard on July 24, 1901, in Hardinsburg, Kentucky. Holden walks the reader through Hubbard's somewhat troubled and murky childhood years. As a youngster, Hubbard experienced his family struggling with irregular employment, his father's bouts with alcoholism, and financial difficulties, all of which has led some to believe that Hubbard had no more than an eighth-grade education. By Hubbard's twelfth birthday, his family found themselves in Washington state, which is where he would reside for much of his life. According to Holden (and reflective of his writing style), Hubbard had a "husky build" and the "twinkle of mischief in his eyes." (17) After being introduced to work in the mineshafts and reading Ernst Leimer (a German engineer and pioneer in the conversion of electricity from radioactive compounds into usable energy), Hubbard found a knack for inventing and spent the years of 1919-1921 claiming that he had made an "atmospheric power generator." In 1920, Hubbard married his first wife, May Cunningham, and the following year, he moved to Pittsburgh to work for the Radium Chemical Company. (16-23)

Hubbard's next adventures, which span chapters two and three, focus on his time in Seattle working not only as a radio engineer but also as a double agent in the rum-racketeering business of the Prohibition days. After being introduced to Roy Olmstead, the kingpin of rum-running in the Puget Sound area, Hubbard became involved in the rum-running business, founded the KFQX radio station in 1924, and was eventually caught (in the same year) by Prohibition agents, resulting in the biggest Prohibition trial in history, the "Whispering Wires" case. This section of the biography certainly reads like a novel, especially with Holden describing the tense moments on the rum-running boats. Yet, all was not lost, for Hubbard took a plea deal to serve as an undercover agent in the local rum-running scene but ultimately continued to smuggle rum. It was not until 1927 that the Bureau of Prohibition officially terminated his services when news broke that he was working as a double agent. In the meantime, Hubbard had divorced his first wife and, in 1928, met his second wife, Rita. Hubbard then made his way to California where he worked with what later came to be known as the Bureau of Alcohol. He was eventually caught participating in a local booze-running outfit and, in 1936, sentenced to two years in prison at McNeil Island Penitentiary in Washington state. (24-47)

Chapter four starts with his release from prison and taking a job as a skipper on a luxury yacht in Santa Monica and living well-off in Huntington Park. Hubbard subsequently took command of the *S.S. Machigonne*. In 1941, he was

approached by U.S. intelligence officials to participate in the Lend-Lease Act. This program was a covert way for the U.S. to help supply the Allied war effort. Hubbard piloted ships to Vancouver, British Columbia, where they were outfitted as destroyers for the British Navy and sent off to England. He continued this work until 1945, eventually moved his family to Vancouver, and became a naturalized Canadian citizen. From his years of conning the rum-running business and working with the U.S. government, Hubbard had accumulated a substantial amount of money, allowing him to purchase a private island off the coast of Vancouver: Dayman Island. (47–54)

In his typical narrative fashion, Holden then describes the rest of Hubbard's life as "Act II." In the 1950s, Hubbard was suffering from an existential crisis and, at a loss for his true path in life, decided to make a trip back to the forests of Spokane, Washington. There, Hubbard claimed, an angel came to him and said that he would be a part of something very important. In 1953, Hubbard read an article by Dr. Humphry Osmond discussing the properties of mescaline and resolved to try it for himself. Hubbard described this as a life-changing experience and the beginning of his psychedelic journey. His fascination with psychedelics eventually led him to an article on LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide). Hubbard gave LSD a try and became forever converted to the world of tripping on acid. LSD was legal at this time, and Hubbard imported large amounts of it from Sandoz Labs in Switzerland. Word spread quickly, especially since Hubbard invited influential people to his island for a guided LSD experience. Dr. Osmond and Hubbard kept in contact, and eventually Osmond incorporated Hubbard's guided experience into his own practice of treating alcoholics, astonishingly leading to a 60 percent abstinence rate among his patients. (55–63)

Chapters six and seven depict Hubbard's rise to extreme heights as his name was circulating among the upper echelons of society. Aldous Huxley, American psychologist Betty Grover Eisner, and Myron Stolaroff, a top executive of Ampex, were among those taking a serious interest in Hubbard and his LSD experiences. In 1956, Hubbard was contacted by Dr. J. Ross MacLean to work with him at Hollywood Hospital, a detox facility in New Westminster. Hubbard happily agreed. With high-profile people coming through the doors, MacLean started charging more money per visit, and Hubbard eventually left because of this. However, Hubbard had already left a trail of LSD as he had introduced more than 6,000 people to this new mind-expanding drug. Holden spends the first part of chapter seven detailing the massive influx of LSD and other psychedelic drugs into the United States—addressing Silicon Valley, the Central Intelligence Agency's Project MKUltra, Ken Kesey and the Merry Pranksters, and Timothy Leary—before returning to Hubbard's adventures. Because of the psychedelic craze and the resulting panic and legal pressures, Sandoz officially stopped producing LSD in 1965, and Hubbard ended up working odd jobs until the mid-1970s. (64–90)

In *Seattle Mystic's* final chapter and afterword, Holden wraps up Hubbard's life story. In 1975, he entered retirement and, in the late 1970s, developed heart

disease. He and his wife Rita purchased a manufactured home in Casa Grande, Arizona, where they spent their remaining time together. In 1978, Hubbard made one last effort to legitimize psychedelic therapy by petitioning the Federal Drug Administration to allow LSD treatment for terminal-cancer patients. Ultimately, Hubbard was unable to complete this monumental task, despite his decades' worth of experience. His last public appearance, in 1979, saw Hubbard rejoining the psychedelic gurus for an acid reunion. On August 21, 1982, Alfred M. Hubbard parted ways with the physical world due to heart disease. To provide Hubbard's life with a little more clarity, Holden takes fourteen pages in his afterword to expand upon areas and stories that may be considered dubious or slightly murky.

Those interested in the various contexts of Hubbard's life might wish to consult *Acid Dreams: The Complete Social History of LSD: The CIA, the Sixties, and Beyond* (1985) by Martin A. Lee and Bruce Shlain. *Seattle Mystic* is a head-first plunge into the rabbit hole of Alfred M. Hubbard's life that keeps any reader satisfied throughout. Brad Holden's writing style adds a well-crafted narrative feeling to Hubbard's exhilarating biography in the context of many different aspects of twentieth-century history. The book's lack of citations does not distract from the overall reading pleasure, but it will be deplored by those wishing to trace quotes and other significant data. From rum-running in his twenties to providing guided LSD trips in his sixties, Hubbard led a life that very few could even imagine. Holden's book, though relatively short, is packed full of information on Hubbard's life and is a fun and easy read. For those with an interest in psychedelics, Holden's work features a plethora of studies, locations, and individuals centered around LSD.

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Kishida, Yuka Hiruma.

Kenkoku University and the Experience of Pan-Asianism: Education in the Japanese Empire.

London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021.
288 pages. Hardback. ISBN: 9781350057852.

The land of the rising sun, otherwise known as Japan, is a country built on the efforts of proud, hard-working people. In *Kenkoku University and the Experience of Pan-Asianism: Education in the Japanese Empire*, authored by Yuka Hiruma Kishida, an associate professor at Bridgewater College in Virginia and specialist in the history of modern East Asia, we see a facet of the country's past that is not typically addressed extensively in historical literature. Up until World War II, Japan engaged in colonizing the countries we now know as Korea, Taiwan, and Manchuria, believing that it was its duty to unite Asia as one political power, an ideology labeled "Pan-Asianism." In *Kenkoku University and the Experience of Pan-Asianism*, Kishida compares this idea to the so-called "White man's burden,"

namely, a notion held by many in the western world that it was the “White man’s” duty to colonize and modernize the lands of Africa. Although this is not entirely the same thing, it does make for a suitable analogy: much like their equivalents in the western world, the Japanese were trying to gain and consolidate power. In fact, people in countries like Brazil believed that Japan was the “White man” of Asia, as seen in Jeffrey Lesser’s monograph, *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil* (1999).

As one of Japan’s educational efforts to promote Pan-Asianism, Kenkoku University was established in 1938 in what is today Changchun (in the People’s Republic of China), and it remained operational until 1945. Kishida’s book on this unique institution consists of an introductory chapter, five main chapters (“Dreaming big about Pan-Asianist education;” “Exploring the meaning of Pan-Asia;” “Calling Asia a new home;” “Learning to become ‘Chinese’ at a Japanese school;” and “Building a utopia together”), as well as an epilogue. When the Japanese Major General Ishiwara Kanji (1889–1949) founded the school in 1938, he hoped that it would be a catalyst for a political alliance that would be able to stand against the West, particularly the United States of America. Ishiwara wanted all Asian countries to send young students to the university, speaking in their native tongues to one another after class to promote Pan-Asian unity. The Japanese students who attended Kenkoku University – called *Kenkoku Daigaku* in Japanese and later nicknamed *Kendai* – felt a sense of mission to push their Pan-Asian ideals on the other students, which is evidence that Kishida’s analogy of the “White man’s burden” is indeed appropriate. Yet the difference between western and Japanese imperialism can be seen in their respective foreign-policy attitudes: whereas Europeans did not want to have too much to do with the inhabitants of their colonies, the Japanese were intent on assimilating theirs. Only students who were very well educated were accepted to Kenkoku University. They had to go through a rigorous level of schooling to eliminate all but the very smartest of Japan’s prospective students. Even then, it was difficult to get accepted.

Of the nearly 1400 students who attended Kenkoku University between 1938 and 1945, only eight were Korean and twenty-five Taiwanese. For a school devoted to Pan-Asian ideals, this was not a lot of people from beyond Japan. Like their Japanese counterparts, only exceptional Korean and Taiwanese students were allowed to attend the institution. Koreans who entered *Kendai* did so with a sense of Korean national identity. For example, while at the university, they took advantage of the policy that they were allowed to talk in their native language. It is noteworthy, though, that all of *Kendai*’s Korean students, while not required to do so under Manchukuo’s (i.e., Manchuria’s) laws at the time, decided to voluntarily enlist in the Japanese Army. Meanwhile, the Taiwanese students were instantly seen as “foreign,” which led them to seek refuge in conversing with each other in Taiwanese, ultimately fostering among them a sense of national identity they had not shared before.

In addition to its Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese students, Kenkoku University featured 520 Chinese students. Not all of the latter hailed from Manchukuo; rather, they came from many different locations throughout Manchukuo and Kwantung Leased Territory (Liadong Peninsula). For these Chinese students, there was a difficult entrance exam that would have deterred many from applying. However, to those who eventually enrolled at *Kendai*, this entrance exam was, in fact, an attraction. Once they started attending, though, many of the Chinese students criticized the Japanese instructors and the courses they taught, and despite *Kendai's* end goal to unite all Asian countries, it failed to gain the Chinese students' favor. Based on the accounts of individuals who knew both Mandarin and Japanese, some of the students at *Kendai* actually agreed with the idea of Pan-Asianism. However, there were also students who were not amenable to the idea. Arguably, the notion of a Pan-Asian political power led by Japan was a daunting one; had Japan succeeded in its aims at Kenkoku University, the consequences would have been far-reaching.

Kishida's monograph is an excellent introduction to Pan-Asianism, and her analogy of the "White man's burden" serves as a useful vehicle. However, while Japan was self-motivated by the idea of Pan-Asianism to establish a military force that would be able to rival that of the West, Europeans wanted to exploit and westernize their African colonies, yet viewed them to a much lesser degree as a means to expand their own, already considerable military force.

1400 students between 1938 and 1945 may not sound like a very significant number. However, considering these students' superior intellectual and academic abilities, they could have served as highly impactful disseminators of Pan-Asian ideas. By the same token, with only eight Koreans and twenty-five Taiwanese, next to over 500 Chinese and over 700 Japanese students, Kenkoku University was ultimately not diverse enough to effect any real change across multiple countries. The eight Korean students, for example, remained close-knit; they spoke to each other in their native language, and their sentiments continued to be focused on Korean affairs. The only Koreans who may have been impacted in the process may have been the members of these students' families, and even then it is tentative whether they felt any different toward the Japanese and Pan-Asianism.

Kishida's book illustrates a fascinating and lesser-known venue by which Japan sought to spread Pan-Asianism during World War II. Ultimately, Kenkoku University failed in its Pan-Asian mission, as many of its students left, in fact, with a heightened appreciation for their own respective national identities. Kishida's work is recommended reading for those interested in the history of Japan and East Asia during the first half of the twentieth century.

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López-Ruiz, Carolina.
Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean.

Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2021.
 440 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9780674988187.

I am writing this review in Phoenician and you, by extension, are reading it in Phoenician as well ... well, at least in part. How is it that the civilization that gave us quite a few of our letters, as well as the word “alphabet” itself, is largely absent from our present-day common knowledge? We take phonetics in grade school, however, after that we are taught that the Greeks are the ones we should thank for just about everything. Or so we thought until *Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean*, a 2021 monograph by Carolina López-Ruiz, who was a professor of Classics at the Ohio State University at the time of this work’s publication and who, in 2022, joined the University of Chicago as a professor of the History of Religions, Comparative Mythology, and the Ancient Mediterranean World. López-Ruiz is no stranger to the subject material, as her prior publications include the monograph *Tartessos and the Phoenicians in Iberia* (2016), as well as the co-editorship of *The Oxford Handbook of the Phoenician and Punic Mediterranean* (2019) and *Colonial Encounters in Ancient Iberia: Phoenician, Greek, and Indigenous Relations* (2009). She is, of course, not the first or sole scholar to write about the Phoenicians; other relevant studies include Marc Van De Mieroop’s *A History of the Ancient Near East, ca. 3000–323 BC* (2003). What sets López-Ruiz’s book apart is that she accomplishes the first comprehensive history of the Phoenicians’ cultural impact on the ancient Mediterranean world, especially the Greeks. In an interview about *Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean*, López-Ruiz stressed that it was the goal of her book to restore to the Phoenicians their historical agency and give them credit where it was due. The book is certainly intended for a more academic-minded audience: it consists of 426 pages, and 107 of these are dedicated to the notes and bibliography. While a casual reader might be able to read this work without much difficulty, it is certainly an uphill battle. In 2016, López-Ruiz gave a lecture on the topic of her book at Brown University, and this lecture can be found on *YouTube*. She also has an episode discussing “The Phoenician World” on the podcast titled “The Ancients.” Especially in the second part of *Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean*, there are numerous illustrations and maps, which readers will find particularly helpful.

In addition to an introduction and epilogue, *Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean* consists of nine chapters which are separated into two parts. Part 1 is titled “Beware the Greek” and features three chapters (“Phoenicians Overseas,” “From Classical to Mediterranean Models,” and “The Orientalizing Kit”); Part 2 is titled “Follow the Sphinx” and features the remaining six chapters (“The Far West,” “The Central Mediterranean,” “The Aegean,” “Intangible Legacies,” “Cyprus,” and “The Levant”). In the epilogue, López-Ruiz gives her readers four calls to action on how they can fully integrate the Phoenician element into the scholarship on the ancient Mediterranean. These calls to action are as follows:

firstly, refocus the marginalized “other” (focus scholarship on the Levant and Western Mediterranean); secondly, challenge ethnic stereotypes (move past reducing the Phoenicians to just their art and focus more on their commercial markets); thirdly, look beyond artifacts (we need to study the intangibles of their culture); and finally, move away from strict chronological parceling (we need to produce a more complete historical framework). If these are put in proper action, López-Ruiz believes the Phoenicians can be brought into the limelight they rightly deserve.

López-Ruiz provides a succinct overview of who the Phoenicians were, the extent of their empire and reach, as well as their cultural achievements. The Phoenicians, first recorded by Herodotus in his *Histories*, were migrants from the Red-Sea region, most likely seagoing Canaanites from the Lebanese coast. Their homeland was the Levant, and they emerged during the Late Bronze Age along with the Israelites, Moabites, and other biblical peoples. By the fifth century BCE, they were dominating Carthage. They were an artistic people, and many of their artifacts survive to this day. A major theme in the first part is the “Orientalizing” (almost taking a page from Bernard Cohn’s publications) of the Phoenicians by the Greeks and other ancient Mediterranean cultures, which has continued all the way into modern-day scholarship. López-Ruiz uses a quote from Herodotus—“Bringing Egyptian and Assyrian things by way of merchandise, they [i.e., the Phoenicians] arrived, among other places, to Argos.”—to demonstrate that, while the Phoenicians played a prominent role in Herodotus’s writings, he did not go to the same length and detail when describing them or their history as he did with the Persians. Thus, instead of entering the spotlight, the Phoenicians were largely relegated to footnotes.

In Chapter 1, López-Ruiz argues that the Phoenicians and their colonizing movements need to be “decolonized” from western, Greco-centric views of the Mediterranean, and she ties this to racist trends in western scholarship that started in the mid-twentieth century (25). Chapter 2 describes the different Mediterranean perspectives and the formation of a Pan-Mediterranean framework, while Chapter 3 tackles “Orientalizing,” tracing its origins and showing how the study of northwest Semitic and Greek literature led to a rebranding of Levantine cultures as more “western,” obfuscating true Phoenician art and culture. The book’s second part focuses first on the Phoenician reach to Iberia and then discusses the Phoenicians by analyzing their artifacts, their cosmologies, their landscapes, and their mercantile networks. López-Ruiz’s expertise shines through most when discussing the various artifacts, such as Figure 6.6 on page 221 which depicts the representations of divinities on Sphinx thrones; López-Ruiz discusses how the Sphinx (originally an item belonging to the Canaanites) was given new life by the Phoenicians and used on seals and kingly emblems. Another artifact we have from the Phoenicians is depicted in Figure 5.1 (129), namely, the stone statue of an archer from Sardinia. The following page (130) features Figure 5.2, a Phoenician votive stele from *tophet* precincts in Sardinia and Sicily: the votive, dating from the

third century BCE, contains an inscription to Baal-Hammon with the stele depicting a male priest. These and other artifacts offer a glimpse into the Phoenicians' religion and rituals.

As someone who did not know anything about the Phoenicians prior to reading this book, *Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean* has given me a concise idea of who they were. It has allowed me to learn about a crucial civilization that once brushed shoulders with the ancient Greeks and Persians, and descended from the Canaanites. This is not a book that one should expect to read in a single sitting (nor would one want to). While I acknowledge that this book focuses more on the Phoenicians' impact on their sphere of the world, as opposed to focusing entirely on them, I do wish the author would have said more about their ancient origins. I would recommend this book to anyone who has an interest in ancient Mediterranean history. Even someone leaning more toward the modern era, or even modern nation-states, would benefit from reading this work, as the Phoenicians had a considerable impact on the Greeks who (as we have been so conditioned to believe) then impacted "everyone else." López-Ruiz's discussion of "Orientalizing" is especially poignant in this day and age.

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Lytle Hernández, Kelly.

Bad Mexicans:

Race, Empire, and Revolution in the Borderlands.

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¡Tierra y Libertad! Land and Freedom! The Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) is generally considered a historical event that took place within the territorial confines of the Mexican state. Additionally, the revolution's implications for the United States are typically reduced to a singular event that occurred in January 1916 in Columbus, New Mexico, when Francisco "Pancho" Villa raided this border town, sparking an unsuccessful U.S. military expedition into Chihuahua, Mexico, to capture the revolutionary leader. Few general readers are aware of the impact that Ricardo Flores Magón (1873–1922) and the *magonistas* had in sparking the Mexican Revolution. While Mexican scholars have acknowledged the *magonistas'* significance and legendary status in Mexican history, U.S. scholars have rarely recognized their impact on the Mexican Revolution and the United States' respective economic, political, and military involvement in Mexico's fate. "Rebel historian" Kelly Lytle Hernández captures the transnational dynamics that constituted the *magonista* movement, squarely situating their rise in the context of U.S. history. A professor of History, African American Studies, and Urban

Planning at UCLA, Lytle Hernández goes against the grain as she reframes her readers' understanding of U.S. history in her cross-border narrative of migrant rebels who initiated the Mexican Revolution from U.S. soil.

Bad Mexicans tells the story of a group of Mexican dissidents who rebelled against the dictatorial regime of Mexican President Porfirio Díaz at the beginning of the twentieth century. The book's twenty-five chapters are organized into four parts that serve to signal a particular stage in the rebellion launched by Magón and the *magonistas*. The first part offers readers historical context on Mexico and its struggle for national stability that led to the conditions created by the Díaz regime and the latter's compliance in the invasion of U.S. capital. An infamous war hero of the Mexican Liberal Party, Díaz had been in power since 1876, seizing political control by a coup d'état. During Díaz's rule, the Porfirian regime gradually stamped out all vestiges of democracy in Mexico and opened the country to foreign investors. These investors, mostly from the United States, created new businesses and bought up more than twenty-seven percent of Mexico's arable land, displacing millions of Mexicans in the process. By the turn of the century, nearly all of Mexico's population was either landless, working under terrible conditions for these foreign investors, or forced to migrate.

After this crash course on Mexican history, Lytle Hernández introduces the incipient motley crew of Mexican dissidents. From Magón and his brothers to influential figures such as Juan Sarabia, Juana Belén Gutiérrez de Mendoza, and, later in the book, Praxedis Guerrero, readers receive a historical account of these rebels, rendering them relatable in all their complexities. Given their country's political, social, and economic climate, these dissidents began to organize in Mexico City and elsewhere. One of their most significant initial actions was to circulate their revolutionary ideals in their newspaper, *Regeneración*. Consequently, Porfirio Díaz had them arrested and imprisoned, and he issued a gag rule against these rebel writers. Thus, the *magonistas* became targets of state censure and suppression, leading them to seek other options to set up a base for their rebellion.

The book's second part discusses the efforts by the Porfirian regime to silence the *magonistas*, and it addresses the social climate the rebels were facing as they fled to the borderlands and continued their call for rebellion. By 1904, the *magonistas* had relocated to Texas and elsewhere in the United States. Committed to restarting their social movement, they relaunched *Regeneración*, established a political party, the PLM (*Partido Liberal Mexicano*), and even formed an army – an army composed of the dispossessed. The author illustrates the aspirations to legitimacy of this *magonista* army by including an image of its certification of enlistment, signed by those who had volunteered to join the coordinated uprising. The *magonistas* maintained a large network of militias throughout northern Mexico and the southwestern United States, and, between 1906 and 1908, their army conducted four raids in Mexico. These raids spread fear in both Mexico and the United States. Lytle Hernández reminds her readers that, by the early twentieth

century, prominent U.S. investors had a major stake in Díaz's Mexico, and that these U.S. investments in Mexico were a manifestation of a U.S. American empire. Extending to about a quarter of the Mexican land base and dominating key industries, including railroads and mining, about fifty percent of U.S. foreign investments were made in Mexico by some of the most powerful economic elites, including the Rockefellers and the Guggenheims.

The third part of *Bad Mexicans* sheds light on U.S. private, corporate, and government agencies that participated in a counter-insurgency campaign conducted by the Mexican government. These efforts were designed to extradite the *magonistas* and their supporters into the hands of the Porfirian authorities. As the raids by the *magonista* army were threatening U.S. investments and demonstrating Porfirio Díaz's lack of "order and progress" in Mexico, the U.S. and Mexican governments began to collaborate in earnest through this counter-insurgency campaign, devising ever-new ways to stop the *magonistas*. The U.S. Department of Justice, the Department of War, U.S. Marshals, U.S. police and sheriff's departments across the country, the U.S. Postal Service, and others all collaborated with the Porfirian regime to try to stomp out the rebellion that was being waged from the borderlands. Yet, against all odds, against constant kidnappings, arrests, incarcerations, deportations, and more, the motley crew of Mexican dissidents succeeded in restarting their revolutionary campaign and played a major role in the outbreak of the 1910 Mexican Revolution.

One of the most captivating ways in which Lytle Hernández portrays the struggle of the *magonista* uprising is her use of primary sources to depict the dissidents' strategies of evading and thwarting the efforts of the U.S./Mexican counter-insurgency campaign. For example, from Mexico City's *Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores*, the book features images of a PLM code key and a coded letter written by PLM members, documents seized by agents of the counter-insurgency campaign. In fact, many documents were seized through extralegal means, namely, by private and federal agents working in tandem with the U.S. Postal Service. Yet, these primary sources showcase how the *magonistas* were able to outrun and outsmart even the fledgling Federal Bureau of Investigation. According to the evidence from the archives provided in *Bad Mexicans*, the FBI cut its teeth trying to stop the *magonistas* from starting the Mexican Revolution but evidently failed in this endeavor.

The fourth part highlights the *magonista* uprising's impact on U.S./Mexican relations after the failure of the counter-insurgency campaign to root out the social movement that ultimately triggered the Mexican Revolution. In its heyday, *Regeneración* had between twenty and thirty thousand subscribers north and south of the border. For the Porfirian government, the *magonistas* in Mexico City constituted an annoyance at best until their revolutionary ideals began to be disseminated from *rancho* to *rancho*, eventually ending up in the hands of Emiliano Zapata and being read aloud to the masses of disenfranchised Mexicans. Moreover, the involvement of socialist labor groups and the affinity for the

magonistas shared by radical Black organizations in the United States led to the end of the American involvement in the counter-insurgency campaign, partly as an effort to distance itself from the negative international publicity that Díaz had earned.

Lytle Hernández does not shy away from pointing out Magón's downfall and the *magonista* uprising's failure to take the reins during the Mexican Revolution. Indeed, one of Magón's tragic shortcomings as a leader was his tendency to lash out against his fellow comrades if they refused to bend their political views to his. His failure to personally engage in the armed struggle also prevented his rebellion from taking the lead in the Mexican Revolution. Instead, he chose pen and paper as his weapons of choice to foment a popular revolution. Moreover, it was the women of the movement who held the rebellion together and prevented its premature collapse. From smuggling Magón's letters in and out of prison to carrying weapons across the border, women such as Juana Belén Gutiérrez de Mendoza and María Brousse were essential to the success of the *magonistas*. Yet, for all their complexities and contradictions, this group of Mexican dissidents challenged both the U.S. and Mexican governments, bringing them to their knees and turning the pages of history.

To bring key issues of the Mexican American experience to the forefront of U.S. history, Lytle Hernández posits *Bad Mexicans* as a gateway for all readers to deconstruct a variety of historical moments centered around the narrative of Ricardo Flores Magón and the *magonistas*. The rise of the U.S. empire, which began in Mexico under the reign of Porfirio Díaz, set the stage for the transnational movement that would become the Mexican Revolution. Readers have the opportunity to explore the origins of Mexican mass migration, reframed as a labor migration of the dispossessed as opposed to an individualized account that lacks structural and historical implications. White supremacy is discussed, as is how Mexicans and Mexican Americans experienced its manifestations north and south of the U.S./Mexican border. The rise of policing in the United States is also explained, as well as how Mexicans and Mexican Americans were central to the interwoven dynamics of police activity and white supremacy. Often marginalized in historical analyses, the women of the movement are given their due as central protagonists throughout the narrative, occasionally even clashing with Ricardo Flores Magón. Lastly, Lytle Hernández touches on the importance of support coming from Anglo-American socialist groups and African American radicals, as those relationships served to alienate Díaz from the United States. To all those interested in engaging U.S. history from a fresh perspective, *Bad Mexicans* offers the opportunity to become better acquainted with an often-marginalized Latinx history. For readers interested in continuing on this journey, *Always a Rebel: Ricardo Flores Magón and the Mexican Revolution* by Ward S. Albro (1992), *The Return of Comrade Ricardo Flores Magón* by Claudio Lomnitz-Adler (2014), and *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771–1965*, by Kelly Lytle Hernández (2017) are all worth consulting.

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Schrecker, Ellen.

The Lost Promise:

American Universities in the 1960s.

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616 pages. Hardback. ISBN: 9780226200859.

Ellen Schrecker's claim that "[at] some point around 1965, the bright promise of an expansive and liberating system of mass higher education darkened" (3), is meticulously explored in her new work, *The Lost Promise: American Universities in the 1960s*. Schrecker sets the stage for the tumultuous events of 1960s America by detailing the post-World War II expansion of higher education. This is followed by a thorough examination of university faculty members' and students' increasing involvement in the anti-war movement, student protests, and the changing political landscape in which university members had to address the social issues of the mid-to-late 1960s. Schrecker attempts to create a unified story, one that follows the birth, rise, and eventual decline of the American higher education system during a time when intellectual fortitude was sought after and thought of as the great liberator of the working class. From Berkeley and Stanford via the University of Wisconsin to Cornell, Schrecker highlights an overarching theme, namely, that American universities failed to address the needs and wants of students, faculty members, and the American public. Her monograph, while it can be enjoyed by the casual reader, aims at those who are looking for an immense amount of detail on the topic. For that reason, *The Lost Promise* should be read with a keen eye.

Ellen Schrecker is an American professor emerita of American history at Yeshiva University in New York City. Her previous research has focused mainly on McCarthyism and the American education system, and it includes works like *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities* (1986), and *The Lost Soul of Higher Education: Academic Freedom, Corporatization, and the Assault on the University* (2010). Schrecker is considered a leading expert on McCarthyism with an extensive publication list, as well as first-hand experience of the events during the long 1960s. Her most recent foray into the 1960s can certainly be startling due to its daunting length and sheer amount of information. Yet, while *The Lost Promise* delivers in its ability to string together a cohesive narrative, it does not really explore the social and cultural history of the time. Rock music, recreational drug use, and sexual liberation — all prevalent features of the 1960s — are largely missing

from Schrecker's discussion, which focuses a great deal on college undergraduates, graduates, and young professors.

The Lost Promise consists of seventeen chapters, organized into four parts: I. Expansion and Its Discontents; II. Responding to Vietnam; III. Handling Student Unrest; and IV. The Academic Left and Right Confront the Sixties. Schrecker lays the foundation for the long 1960s by examining the rapid expansion of the American university system due to the era's exponential increase in student enrollment. She then spends the rest of the first four chapters discussing the political restlessness among college faculty members and students. In post-World War II America, universities saw a dramatic influx of students between 1959 and 1969. During this ten-year period, the higher-education system went from 3 million students to around 8 million students. This increase can be credited to the G.I. Bill (i.e., the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944) which provided more than 2 million veterans access to a college education. While this certainly contributed to a vibrant exchange of ideas, beliefs, and political perspectives, most of the early unrest on college campuses involved faculty members and merely a few students. During the mid-1950s, McCarthyism was still in the air, and to come out against university policy or express major differences in political outlook would almost guarantee the suspension or expulsion from any faculty position. It was not until October 1, 1964, when thousands of students at the University of California, Berkeley, sat around and on top of a police car for thirty-two consecutive hours, that the ideals of the American university system became widely challenged. In this public showing of protecting a political activist (former mathematics graduate student Jack Weinberg) from being arrested, Berkeley's students became the shining example of advocating for social issues in the academic milieu. (1-114)

The heart of Schrecker's work are chapters five through ten, in which she discusses the United States' escalating involvement in Vietnam from 1965 onward. It was not until 1965 that college professors spoke out about the Vietnam War by organizing conferences, offering lectures and teach-ins, and placing ads in newspapers pertaining to what was happening in Vietnam and thereby drawing the public's attention to it. Schrecker goes into vivid detail on the teach-ins and how they became the new format of protest or civil disobedience on university campuses. Public demonstrations, such as marches and rallies protesting the war, also started to take shape. Both students and university faculty members were involved in the teach-ins, and public demonstrations as a general consensus of anti-war sentiment hung in the air. It is in these chapters that Schrecker balances the exciting, yet grueling, process of recounting every single major event. For readers who are invested in this topic, the reading is engaging; however, for the casual reader, the details may begin to blend into one another. (115-192)

Civil disobedience reached its peak in 1967 when service-eligible college students began opposing the U.S. draft into the Vietnam War. From burning or simply returning draft cards to outright refusing to be drafted into the U.S.

military, opposing the draft became a form of protest shared by college students and faculty members alike. Interestingly, Schrecker includes a few personal experiences at this point in her book, and it comes as a refreshing twist. While generally refraining from writing about herself, Schrecker does communicate to the reader that she was actively living and experiencing these events in real time. As the Vietnam War continued, civil disobedience expanded to the members of academic communities openly protesting government and military involvement on college campuses. Military institutions like the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC), government contractors, and businesses like the Dow Chemical Company all experienced the boiling anti-war sentiment as ROTC buildings were being vandalized and company recruiters run off college grounds. (193–259)

Chapters eleven through thirteen showcase how these and other sentiments played out in American universities. The Black Power movement, for example, began to make its way onto college campuses, creating yet another issue for university administrators, law enforcement, and politicians. While much rhetoric thus far had been focused on the Vietnam War, it now started to shift to student power. Advocacy for and among Black students, the restructuring of dress codes, and opposition against student censorship became the new foci. Violence followed and included police brutality, bomb threats and explosions, and even extortion as tactics of the student population. While each and every story contributes to Schrecker's ultimate goal of creating a comprehensive narrative, the impact of these events begins to diminish, even for the invested reader. Ironically, she addresses her book's length early on: "Every chapter, sometimes every paragraph, deals with subjects that deserve entire volumes of their own, some of which have already been written." (7) Thus, while it is clear that she has a lot to say about this topic, a wide-ranging narrative of similar events can sometimes take away from a work's intended overall message. (260–340).

Schrecker spends the remaining four chapters (fourteen through seventeen) describing the political situation that ensued from the unruly events of the 1960s. Having devoted the majority of her book to looking at political unrest, Schrecker now dives straight into the splintering of political groups. By this point, there has still been no talk of the era's social and cultural changes, such as rock and psychedelic music or sexual liberation. College students must have been interested in things other than what was happening politically on their campuses, however, Schrecker does not address this in her book. Yet, social and cultural phenomena—knowing what was happening in the younger generations' circles—would facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of their political causes. Schrecker's work concludes with a brief epilogue and a bibliographic essay. The epilogue adds a final touch to the events of the 1960s and how they led to some of the issues prevalent in American universities today, such as the soaring cost of tuition and the hierarchical faculty system. (341–462) The book's final 158 pages feature a well-crafted notes section for readers interested in exploring the sources and pertinent scholarly debates.

The history of American higher education has been the subject of numerous scholarly works. For the broader context, readers may wish to consult Allison L. Palmadessa's *American National Identity, Policy Paradigms, and Higher Education: A History of the Relationship between Higher Education and the United States, 1862–2015* (2017), or Christopher P. Loss's *Between Citizens and the State: The Politics of American Higher Education in the 20th Century* (2012). Recently published research includes monographs on Black activism, such as Eddie Rice Cole's *The Campus Color Line: College Presidents and the Struggle for Black Freedom* (2020), as well as those pertaining to the issues driving current generations of students, such as Jerusha Osberg Conner's *The New Student Activists: The Rise of Neoactivism on College Campuses* (2020).

The Lost Promise delivers on all fronts of what Schrecker aims to accomplish, namely, a comprehensive narrative of how and why the American university system failed its students and faculty members during the 1960s. With its unrelenting attention to detail, Schrecker's book can be both an exciting and arduous task, regardless of the reader's comfort level or prior knowledge of the topic. While her arguments are laid out in such a way that they are easy to follow, there is little to no break in the book's sheer amount of information. However, the use of capturing each relevant event should not be downplayed. Schrecker's book is a great resource for college students, researchers, and potentially casual readers who are looking for more information on specific events. The well-placed headings throughout the book, as well as the notes section, facilitate excellent citation tracing. *The Lost Promise* is a welcome addition to any upper-level undergraduate or graduate-level History course on this topic; however, it may be a challenge for the casual reader.

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Sohn, Amy.

The Man Who Hated Women:

Sex, Censorship, and Civil Liberties in the Gilded Age.

New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2021.

400 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9781250174819.

In an America where colorful condom ads grace the pages of glossy magazines and pamphlets offering sage advice on safe-sex practices can easily be obtained on university campuses, it can be difficult to imagine that a mere 150 years ago people could be arrested and imprisoned for writing about sex, contraception, and other topics deemed obscene by self-appointed morality crusaders. In *The Man Who Hated Women: Sex, Censorship, and Civil Liberties in the Gilded Age* (2021), Amy Sohn recounts the "forgotten history of the women who waged war for the right to control their bodies" and sought to "redefine work, family, marriage, and love for a bold new era." (book jacket) These women, alongside the sexologist Ira C.

Craddock, “included the suffragist, stockbroker, publisher, and presidential candidate Victoria C. Woodhull; her sister, and partner in brokerage and publishing Tennessee Claflin; the free lover and editor Angela Tilton Heywood; the Fifth-Avenue abortionist Ann ‘Madame Restell’ Lohman; the homeopathic physician Dr. Sara B. Chase; the anarchist and labor organizer Emma Goldman; and the birth-control activist Margaret Sanger.” (16) All eight women found themselves the target of Anthony Comstock (1844–1915), the architect of the 1873 Comstock Law which made it a federal offense to send “obscene, lewd, or lascivious” material through the mail and prohibited the production or publication of information related to the procurement of contraception and abortions.

From 1873 until his death in 1915, Comstock worked tirelessly as the “nation’s chief vice hunter,” serving as a United States Post Office “inspector (a federal position with law-enforcement power) and secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice (NYSSV).” (7) He enforced morality as few others had, actively targeting and investigating individuals who he believed were purveyors of the obscene, regardless of their age, race, gender, or class. Ultimately though, his quest disproportionately impacted women, the repercussions rippling across more than a century. Amy Sohn focuses on those who fought against Comstock and his eponymous law as a means of contextualizing the current fight over reproductive rights: “without understanding the sex radicals, we cannot fight the assault on women’s bodies and souls that continues even today.” (20)

The Man Who Hated Women is the first narrative non-fiction work in Amy Sohn’s diverse creative canon that consists of twelve novels, a children’s book, two screenplays, and a myriad of articles for *The New York Times*, *Harper’s Bazaar*, *Elle*, *Playboy*, and many others. In her first foray into narrative non-fiction, Sohn mines the prolific writings of Comstock and the individuals he pursued for violating federal and state obscenity laws. An abundance of primary-source evidence forms the foundation of the book with quotes from letters, newspapers, diaries, and books being directly integrated into the text. Sohn’s extensive experience writing fiction is on display as, stylistically, *The Man Who Hated Women* reads very much like a novel versus a typical historical monograph: the story transitions between eight heroic female protagonists as they battle the nefarious and wicked antagonist.

Anthony Comstock is cast as the villain of this narrative in the vein of a mustache-twirling fiend: “forty-nine years old [...] and rounding out his second decade in power, he had red muttonchops covering a scar inflicted by an irate smut dealer who stabbed him in the face.” (7) cursory biographical information is provided in chapters one and two in an attempt to flesh him out beyond a one-dimensional character, but ultimately Sohn only manages to paint him as a caricature of a man, “a monomaniac whose mission was to keep contraception and abortion from women.” (20) Comstock is portrayed as single minded in his mission to eliminate anything he deems obscene, which spans the gamut from

pornographic postcards via articles that mention sex education to advertisements for contraceptives and abortifacients. His motivations are scarcely explored beyond the idea that he was a “product of his upbringing, religion, and time [...] he was raised to believe in the Victorian ideal of womanhood – a saintly, pure wife and mother whose domain was the home.” (9) For a book that claims to be about *the man who hated women*, Anthony Comstock is frequently relegated to the background, an obsessed nuisance who serves to make life difficult for the targets of his hatred. The real focus of the text are the eight women who were charged by Comstock with the violation of obscenity laws.

Chapters three through five focus on Victoria C. Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin, sisters who were among the first targeted by Comstock. Sohn characterizes them as follows: “hucksters since childhood, they had been born in poverty and knew how to manipulate men [...] determined, brash, and ripe with sexual power [...] they were the embodiment of the pulsing, prurient, new New York.” (35) Their outspoken beliefs, writings, and lifestyle would draw Comstock’s ire as they defied the Victorian ideals of women. As progressive women, they advocated for women’s suffrage and the “free love” movement, creating their own publication – *Woodhull & Claflin’s Weekly* – to espouse such ideas. It was this paper that attracted Comstock’s attention when both Woodhull and Claflin published the sordid details of sexual scandals: Woodhull recounting the alleged adulterous affair between the prominent minister Henry Ward Beecher and suffragist Elizabeth Richards Tilton, and Claflin chronicling a potential gang rape facilitated by businessman Luther Challis. Comstock considered the articles obscene, which resulted in the arrest and subsequent trial of both women. In the end, they were found “not guilty,” an early defeat for Comstock that he would strive not to repeat.

A single chapter—chapter seven—is devoted to Ann “Madame Restell” Lohman, who was declared by her days’ media to be the wickedest woman in New York. The oldest woman to be targeted by Comstock, Madame Restell had a prolific career as an abortion provider in New York City. In 1878, Comstock raided her home for contraband items and arrested her for possession of “articles that caused miscarriage or prevented conception.” (121) When faced with the possibility of being imprisoned for such a crime—she had previously served a single year in prison for an illegally performed surgical abortion—Lohman committed suicide, viewing the sentence she received as one of death. Though her presence is felt in other parts of the book, in later chapters she serves primarily as a reminder of how dastardly Comstock was: “Whether or not he actually bragged about causing suicides, the rumor that he did would dog Comstock the rest of his life. Having caused suicides was bad enough. To boast about it – as a Christian – was unconscionable.” (128) Madame Restell appears as more of a victim of Comstock than an active combatant fighting against a man obsessed with imposing his own strict sense of morality upon others. Her connection to Sohn’s overarching narrative of sex radicals taking on the fearsome censor is ultimately lacking.

Of the eight women, Ira C. Craddock receives the most consideration from Sohn: extensive details are provided about her life, work, and battle against Comstock over the course of chapters ten through fourteen. A keenly intelligent young woman, Craddock was a freethinker and sex reformer with an academic interest in the occult and religious eroticism. Her curiosity about Spiritualism would eventually lead her to make contact with several spirits, including one named Soph, the ghost of her mother's businessman friend who Craddock had once flirted with as a girl. (176) She would later come to "marry" the ghost: "The wedding to Soph was ecstatic for Craddock. Night after night, he lay down beside her and 'made love to [her] more ardently and tenderly than ever.'" (177) Sohn lavishes attention upon the sexual relationship between Craddock and Soph as it formed the basis for her business, namely, sexual counseling for single and married individuals. It would be this business, which offered advice in person and through the mail, that attracted Comstock's attention and led to Craddock's arrest, indictment, and sentence to serve five years in a federal penitentiary.

At times, Sohn seems to delight in the sordid circumstances surrounding the lives of her protagonists; flaws are bypassed quickly in favor of focusing on romantic entanglements and sensationalist details. The inclusion of intimate relationships is at times out of place, detracting and distracting from the women's work and activism. At the end of chapter fourteen, in the final paragraph about Ida C. Craddock, Sohn includes the following passage: "One night in August, a few months before Craddock journeyed to the Borderland to be with Soph forever, the two had an ecstatic wissening [i.e., a coming-together of the minds]. It was the kind of uplifting, mind-boggling sex that makes a person think the world is as it should be." (244) When juxtaposed with the previous passages describing how Craddock had committed suicide on the eve of being sent to a federal penitentiary, this last paragraph feels out of place. The reader's final impression of Craddock is based on her sexual relationship with what amounts to a ghost rather than her efforts to advance sex-education practices. In addition, Sohn fails to critically evaluate the more troubling beliefs of the women. Nearly all of them were advocates of eugenics and hereditarianism. Sohn merely glosses over this, conflating such ideologies with the fight for women to control sex and pleasure: "Woodhull, Claflin, Lohman, Chase, Heywood, Craddock, Goldman, and Sanger placed women's bodies, and pleasure, at the center of the debate over sexuality and obscenity." (297) While she does not blatantly hide the problematic elements of the women she describes as role models, Sohn does not offer any insight or analysis of their complicated beliefs, which is a major shortcoming of this book.

The primary purpose of *The Man Who Hated Women* is to simultaneously entertain and educate a very general audience, particularly one that is interested in women's history in the United States. And in that it succeeds. *The Man Who Hated Women* is timely, given recent attacks on the rights of women to control their bodies, and it provides an accessible introduction to a time period when women were undergoing many of the same struggles. In examining the forgotten history

of women who, in seeking to control their bodily autonomy, fought back against Anthony Comstock and the 1873 law that bears his name, Sohn creates an inspirational tale that is meant to encourage a new wave of young women to fight against such attacks. To someone unfamiliar with this topic, I would offer this book as an entertaining primer on the subject, as its narrative is compelling and vivid. However, I would not go out of my way to recommend this text to individuals who have an advanced knowledge of women's history during the Gilded Age. People familiar with the sex radicals would likely find Sohn's characterization of them unsettling in its simplicity. In her attempt to connect the work of the sex radicals to that of modern feminists, Sohn oversimplifies a complex and nuanced history. For someone interested in a more academic and scholarly approach to the topic of Comstock and the policing of obscenity, Amy Beth Werbel's *Lust on Trial: Censorship and the Rise of American Obscenity in the Age of Anthony Comstock* (2018) is of particular note as it provides fresh insights into his motivations and actions as well as the complicated relationship between culture and law. Readers looking for a more straightforward biography of Comstock would also be interested in Anna Louise Bates's book *Weeder in the Garden of the Lord: Anthony Comstock's Life and Career* (1995), which details his life, connections, influence over anti-obscenity laws, and his encounters with figures such as Margaret Sanger and Victoria C. Woodhull. If you are seeking a light read with a compelling narrative pertaining to the injustices committed against women and their bodies, *The Man Who Hated Women* may be the right book for you. It was not the right book for me.

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Venit-Shelton, Tamara.

Herbs and Roots:

A History of Chinese Doctors in the American Medical Marketplace.

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As much as it is a history of doctors, Tamara Venit-Shelton's *Herbs and Roots: A History of Chinese Doctors in the American Medical Marketplace* is a history of Orientalism. In particular, Venit-Shelton explores how Orientalism defined American approaches to Chinese medicine and Chinese immigrant communities in the American West, and how Chinese medical practitioners navigated changes in American racial and medical politics, rejecting and embracing Orientalist tropes to their own advantage. In so doing, she has written an able companion not only

to studies of Chinese medicine and its role in East-West interaction, including Linda L. Barnes's *Needles, Herbs, Gods, and Ghosts: China, Healing, and the West to 1848* (2007) and Howard Chiang's *After Eunuchs: Science, Medicine, and the Transformation of Sex in Modern China* (2020), but also to studies of immigrant community dynamics and minority-majority relations in the United States, such as Alan M. Kraut's *Silent Travelers: Germs, Genes, and the "Immigrant Menace"* (1994) and Ellen Wu's *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (2014).

Herbs and Roots is not Venit-Shelton's first foray into Orientalism in the United States. Her 2013 monograph, *Squatter's Republic: Land and the Politics of Monopoly in California, 1850–1900*, investigates the politics and rhetoric surrounding land ownership in California in the late nineteenth century, and how these political ideas interacted not just with the rise of the Southern Pacific "Octopus," but with nationwide popular democratic movements, organized labor, and the Grange—as well as with the work of the Public Land Commission—in validating and voiding Mexican land grants, and the settlement, employment, and exclusion of Chinese migrants. She uses this same discursive approach in *Herbs and Roots*, expanding her view from California to all of the American West while narrowing her focus from a disparate array of interrelated, national movements to one particular manifestation of the Progressive movement—the standardization and regulation of medicine along biomedical lines—and its relationship to a particular group of people.

Herbs and Roots is divided into seven chapters, the latter six of which are thematically paired, as well as an introduction and an epilogue. The chapters are arranged roughly chronologically, following Chinese medicine and medical practitioners from as early as 1799, with the story of Dr. John Howard, "lately of Canton" (22), all the way to the rise of acupuncture in the 1970s and its integration into today's Complementary and Alternative Medicine. The core of the text, however, focuses on the "long Progressive Era," from roughly 1870 to 1940.

The first chapter, eponymously-titled "Herbs and Roots," situates the rest in a historical context of East-West relations. Not only have Chinese immigrants existed in the United States virtually since the country's founding, Venit-Shelton argues, but Chinese medicine—and particularly its *materia medica*—has played an important role in facilitating and defining Sino-American relations for just as long. American ginseng, prized in China for its panacean uses and abundant in Appalachia and the Old Northwest, was one of the most profitable commodities in the Old China Trade, as was analgesic opium that American middlemen imported from Turkey. Chinese herbs—like rhubarb, camphor, and cassia—and herbal remedies likewise flowed back, buoyed by the investigative and often deprecatory writings of Anglo-American missionaries and merchants. Importantly for Venit-Shelton's analysis, these writings tended to frame China in strongly Orientalist terms, be it a land of exotic and inscrutable wonder, filled with strange cures and as-of-yet-unknown panaceas, or a backwards land, ruled by

tyrannical barbarians and filled with maltreated poor who knew neither good hygiene nor the Good Word. (21–49)

The second and third chapters, titled “Transplanted” and “Translated,” move forward to the later nineteenth century and cover the social role of Chinese doctors within and beyond their communities. For Chinese immigrants, these doctors provided not only vital healthcare services where American medical practitioners often refused, but also their services as middlemen, international hiring managers, and cultural brokers, as import wholesalers, grocers, patrons and investors, and as owners and managers of recreational centers. Respect both within and beyond Chinese communities also empowered some, like Ing Hay and Lung On in Oregon, to act as trusted witnesses for immigration cases, allowing them to forge entry and relationship documents with relative impunity after the Exclusion Act’s passage in 1882. These ties between White Americans and Chinese herbalists, Venit-Shelton explains, often began with Americans treating apothecaries like Oriental curios to be explored, their “morbid fascination with the Chinese pharmacopeia” (57) abounding in popular travelogues. These modes of inter- and extra-community interaction were reproduced throughout the American West as Chinese immigrants settled further northward and eastward from the California coast. (50–92)

Chinese patients alone were often not enough to keep Chinese apothecaries afloat, however, and thus Chinese medical practitioners turned to White Americans, not just as occasional political allies, but as customers as well. In order to do so, Chinese doctors had to develop a keen sense for what services White clients were looking for, particularly those that they would be unable to find elsewhere, and advertise themselves accordingly. One major sticking point White clients, particularly women, had with biomedical practices was their invasiveness. Chinese doctors, then, emphasized their abilities to protect women’s virtue while diagnosing and curing their gynecological problems by using traditional and exotic Oriental remedies, without the need to resort to much-deplored surgeries or specula. One important note is that while many of these gynecological problems related to fertility, Chinese medical practitioners did, with some regularity, prescribe White women herbal abortifacients. The success of Chinese doctors in courting White women was often met with both Orientalist and misogynist backlash from White men: women were irrational, faddish, and easily susceptible to sweet-smelling perfumes that conniving Chinese doctors concocted; the “doctors,” inscrutable in their work, were just as womanly as those they pretended to practice on. (93–135)

The fourth and fifth chapters, “Chinese Quacks” and “Oriental Healers,” cover the attempts by biomedical associations like the American Medical Association to regulate and curtail – often by promulgating harshly critical Orientalist rhetoric – the practice of Chinese medicine in the United States, and the coordinated efforts by Chinese medical practitioners to sidestep these accusations by appropriating them in positive ways. Practitioners of what was now coming to be known as

“regular medicine” branded Chinese doctors as unscientific and overly reliant on unfalsifiable traditions, lacking in credentials, knowledge, and rigor. Newly-founded state institutions with police power, like the Medical Board of California (founded 1878) and the California State Board of Pharmacy (founded 1891), took quick action where they could. Some Chinese medical practitioners attempted to evade these state agencies by obtaining credentials in alternative medical fields that had been accepted by state boards, like homeopathy and chiropractic. Others worked to obtain diplomas from American or Chinese medical academies whose biomedical practices they often integrated with traditional ones. And some merely accepted the fines and the occasional arrest and bail as part of the “expense of doing business.” (156; 136–161)

While monopolizing medical licensure under the state did help to control and standardize how medicine was practiced in the American West, this did little to assuage those who had had qualms with biomedicine itself. Venit-Shelton describes the process by which Chinese medical practitioners appropriated Orientalist discourse for their own advantage as “self-Orientalizing.” Thus, where regular medical practitioners claimed Chinese medicine as unscientific and steeped in tradition, Chinese practitioners described it as “natural” and rooted in ancient wisdom tried by time. Where they described Chinese medicine as pastoral and unlearned, Chinese practitioners emphasized similarities with American folk medicine. And where they decried it as foreign, Chinese practitioners emphasized its novelty and exoticism, while lambasting American scientists for their uncritical prejudice. Chinese medical practitioners were not universally avoidant of sounding modern and scientific, however. Occasionally a Chinese doctor would emphasize that their ancient remedies were tried not just by time, but by modern laboratory equipment as well. Contemporaneously, the nascent field of nutrition studies, with much support from Chinese-American physician Yamei Kin, added support to these doctors’ claims by emphasizing the diversity of vital nutrients to be found in soybeans. Nevertheless, the practicality of applying biomedical standards to Chinese medical practices was hampered by the two systems having developed largely independently of each other, and in Chinese-language advertisements, Chinese medical practitioners rarely emphasized either science or nature, but instead miraculousness, personal skill, and the quality of ingredients. (162–199)

The sixth and seventh chapters, “Decline” and “Rediscovery,” follow Chinese medical practices into the twentieth century. First-generation Chinese immigrant herbalists in the late 1800s encouraged their children to pursue more honorable and secure professions, including standard American biomedicine. While some practitioners did continue to incorporate Chinese herbal remedies into their practices, the decline in medicinal exports from China during the forty-year period of warfare that followed the collapse of the Qing in 1911 and the rapid advancement in synthetic pharmaceuticals in the aftermath of World War I led to progressively more Chinese medical practitioners abandoning their herbalist

practices. Concurrently, the alliance between the United States and the Republic of China against Imperial Japan and Communist China assuaged anti-Chinese sentiments among White people in the United States, which in turn lessened the Orientalist rhetoric leveled at Chinese traditions. (200–218)

This remained the status quo for about thirty years, until the normalization of relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China in the 1970s. With the opening of China came stories of exotic, inscrutable miracle cures yet again, this time directed not at herbal concoctions but at acupuncture. In the United States, acupuncture joined with other anti-biomedicine trends that had developed since the 1960s. Unlike previous incarnations of this dichotomy, however, Orientalism was often not invoked by White people in opposition to acupuncture but was instead wielded in support of it, in much the same way that Orientalism was contemporaneously bolstering practices like yoga and *Ayurveda*. (219–247)

Venit-Shelton's arguments and narrative are cohesive and well-reasoned from the evidence at hand. There are two notable absences, however. The first is that she relies almost exclusively on English-language primary and secondary sources, and most of the primary sources she investigates are English-language newspaper articles and advertisements, which provide only one part of this multilingual story. The second is that the book lacks discussion of herbalists and herbalist practices in the United States after 1971, choosing to instead focus on acupuncture. While the final chapter does ably connect acupuncture in the United States to the book's broader themes of Orientalism, self-exoticization in advertising, and conflicts between regular and irregular medicine, it ignores the role that Chinese herbalists have played in the suburban immigrant communities that were founded in the San Gabriel Valley (in eastern Los Angeles County) in the wake of the Sino-American immigration reforms in the 1970s, and the relationships between these communities, their doctors, and their White, Hispanic, Black, and Asian neighbors.

These shortcomings notwithstanding, *Herbs and Roots* is well-written, informative, and well-argued. It is written primarily for an Americanist audience and discusses medicine itself very little, so it may not be suited for those interested in evolutions in China and Chinese medicine in the same period. However, the book's clarity and writing style make it well-worth reading, even as an introductory text, for those interested in Orientalism, anti-immigrant discourse, minority-majority relations, East-West interaction, and American medical policy during the Progressive Era and beyond.

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