


response, far from his famous *sang froid* retort, was a hasty counterattack to relieve the prince and rescue victory from the jaws of defeat.

The book is well written, with an accessible and informal style that draws the reader into the narrative. The English search for a crossing of the Somme, for example, is told with a breathless pace that reflects their desperation. Livingston's credentials as a professor at The Citadel, the Military College of South Carolina are obvious. They are reflected in his clear and uncomplicated prose, but also in his emphasis on logistics, terrain, and the need to walk the ground of the battlefield to truly understand it. His reinterpretation of the battle is based on this traditional approach to military history. There is less focus on the individual experience of combat, or of the military culture of the protagonists. There is little mention of chivalry and its impact on the engagement. This means that some actions, particularly the impetuous advance of the Prince of Wales, remain hard to understand. There is scope for considering how chivalric culture's emphasis on displaying prowess might have spurred the newly-knighted prince to behave so recklessly, and why the experienced veteran nobles who had been placed by the king to watch over his son failed to rein him in. There is also little discussion of the structure of the English army. This was one of the last field armies to include both indentured retainers—comprising mixed companies of men-at-arms and mounted archers raised under contract by captains—and county levies of archers and spearmen serving on foot, raised by commission of array. This mixture must have affected Edward's deployment and would certainly have had an impact on the speed of the army, a subject central to Livingston's understanding of the battle.

This is an important book, working both as an introductory text for a general audience, as well as offering an important reinterpretation of the for consideration by scholars.

Robert W. Jones 

Franklin and Marshall College /Advanced Studies in England

r.jones@asebath.org

TED McCORMICK. *Human Empire: Mobility and Demographic Thought in the British Atlantic World, 1500–1800*. Ideas in Context. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022. Pp. 300. \$99.99 (cloth).

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Ted McCormick's *Human Empire* is a very good book. It examines demographic thought, the thinking of populations, their mobility, and transformation in Britain and its colonies from Ireland to North America from the early sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century. Although he focusses on the quantitative aspects of populations, McCormick's main argument throughout *Human Empire* is that qualitative ideas about populations underlay the attempts at quantification.

McCormick traces two major developments or changes in the demographic thinking of the period. First, during the Tudor and early Stuart periods, there occurred a major shift in the object of demographic knowledge. Whereas in the sixteenth century the object was what McCormick calls "multitudes" as qualitatively defined groups, by the mid seventeenth century this was replaced by "population" or even "the national population." Underlying this change was, or so McCormick argues, new attitudes to the state and the natural world. The second major change, which took place in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and culminated in T. R. Malthus's work, concerned demographic agency. Whereas in the mid seventeenth century that agency rested on the state, in Malthus's work the individual was supposed to take "the moral responsibility of demographic decision-making" (3). The

pivotal figure here was William Petty, the topic of McCormick's earlier book, *William Petty: And the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic* (2009).

The book is divided into five chapters and a substantial conclusion, which concentrates on Malthus. Chapter one on the early Tudor period investigates the plans and attempts to address the problem of rural depopulation caused by enclosure, the conversion of arable land to pasture. The texts discussed include those of Thomas More, Thomas Starkey, and Thomas Smith, as well as some anonymous tracts. Rather than talking about populations, these sources focused on a local multitude from a qualitative point of view and saw the governance of multitude as "the object of a new and self-conscious politics" (44). Numbers were sometimes mentioned, but they were mere symbols, not demographic data. Concerns about depopulation turned into concerns about overpopulation during the Elizabethan period and its rapid growth of population, as chapter two explains. This prompted a campaign against idleness and vagrancy with local quantification of the poor. But it also led to colonial projects in Ireland, to subject Ireland to an English civil administration by "the mobility, mutability and mixture" of the Irish and the Old English populations (81). In the process, however, as McCormick concludes, "marginal subpopulations came to be treated as national rather than local, and permanent rather than historically specific problems for government" (101).

The focus in chapter three is on the developments and changes during the early seventeenth century. McCormick rightly emphasizes the tradition of reason of state. The translations of Jean Bodin's and Giovanni Botero's treatises played vital roles here. McCormick sees Bodin as a proto mercantilist, who argued for a large population and who discussed environmental factors, above all climate and topography. Botero concurred and stressed the importance of knowledge of land and people and how these resources could be augmented. Botero wrote, after all, *A Treatise, Concerning the Causes of the Magnificencie and Greatnes of Cities*. The rest of chapter three explores colonial plantation projects of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Moving to the mid seventeenth century in chapter four, McCormick shows how demographic governance became an integral part of the plans for improvement. At the heart of the chapter is William Petty's "political arithmetic," especially his "Down Survey" of Ireland. Although quantification became, for the first time, central, McCormick accentuates that Petty was even more preoccupied by qualitative transformation. McCormick argues, just like in his earlier book, that underlying the mid-century innovations was Francis Bacon's (natural) philosophical writings, which he briefly discusses. However, Bacon would have merited a more thorough treatment. He was a significant English exponent of reason-of-state thinking and emphasized the centrality of a large population in his writings on civic greatness. This is noted by McCormick, but he does not mention that Bacon's ideas were mainly critiques of Botero. Moreover, Bacon used these ideas to defend the Anglo-Scottish union against those MPs and others who claimed that the union would make England overpopulated. The whole debate about the union is curiously overlooked (as is Scotland overall), although questions of geography and climate were also explored in it. Nor does McCormick pay attention to Bacon's writings about Ireland, which would have offered an interesting contrast to those treatises he examines. Finally, he could have mentioned that in *De augmentis* (1623) Bacon integrated a large population into the third part of the three-part "civil science" (*scientia civilis*).

Chapter five takes the story to the eighteenth century and shows how the rhetoric of political arithmetic expanded into new areas, including medicine and sermons, and became ubiquitous. Yet, while numbers were increasingly important, they were still meant to help in the qualitative transformation of the population. The substantial conclusion focuses on Malthus and argues that, although there were continuities, on the whole Malthus departed radically from his predecessors. He was mainly interested in population as such, famously arguing that population grew according to a geometric series but food production only according to an arithmetic series. It followed, as McCormick argues, that improvement was "a potentially devastating

nightmare” (245) and that the only manner of “intentional demographic agency” belonged to “rational and propertied individuals” (241).

Well researched, clearly argued, and engagingly written, *Human Empire* provides a multi-faceted account of demographic thinking from the early sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century in the British Atlantic world and deserves a wide readership.

Markku Peltonen

University of Helsinki

markku.peltonen@helsinki.fi

NOÉMIE NDIAYE and LIA MARKEY, eds. *Seeing Race Before Race: Visual Culture and the Racial Matrix in the Premodern World*. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2023. Pp. 274. \$49.95 (paper).
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From automata to maps, pre-modern objects in museums and archives can indicate much about how writers and artists used racial difference to make judgements about religion, politics, society, and beauty. The contributors to *Seeing Race Before Race: Visual Culture and the Racial Matrix in the Premodern World* explore a range of sources through this “racial matrix,” where varied categories of difference and identity become wrapped up in notions of “phenotype” (xvii). Based on the exhibition “Seeing Race Before Race” that opened at Chicago’s Newberry Library in September 2023, this volume serves as both exhibition catalogue and review of the field. Examining how “race and racial thinking are represented in the visual culture of premodern times,” it presents a “starting point for fresh and ambitious conversations” at the intersection of Critical Race and Indigenous studies, art history, performance studies, and book history (xi).

In bringing together historic objects and Critical Race and Indigenous studies, editors and co-curators Noémie Ndiaye and Lia Markey set out to show how early modern symbols and ideas transferred through visual media continue to affect social and political concerns into the twenty-first century. Reading through the book’s case studies and collaborative conversations, I was reminded of the 2016 court case that frames Anna Arabindan-Kesson’s *Black Bodies, White Gold: Art, Cotton and Commerce in the Atlantic World* (2019), where an employee at Yale University was arrested—though charges were ultimately dropped—for shattering a window in the dining hall at Calhoun College. This was a targeted act of protest: Corey Menafee, who had been employed by the university for nearly a decade, could no longer bear working in a dining hall whose window, created in the 1930s, presented a sanitized depiction of two enslaved figures working in a cotton field. In *Seeing Race Before Race*, Ndiaye and Markey in some ways invite readers to think about the keeping and display of medieval and early modern artworks as equally politically-charged, and as equally deserving of critical questioning regarding the terms of their making and the troubling histories they might display or conceal.

The three main sections—“Figuring,” “Mapping,” and “Performing”—examine how various practices and techniques were used to construct ideas about race, with short catalogue entries on everything from costume books to playing cards. High-resolution images help readers participate in the act of decoding these images. In Diego Valadés’ 1579 etching, purportedly depicting the “inhuman sacrifices” performed in Mexico, other details emerge, including scenes of fishing, cultivation, and play. Regional plants and vegetables that were important to Indigenous lifeways and to European conceptions of Central American environments, including maize, cacao, and cactuses, appear oversized and out of scale at the bottom of the image, suggesting their importance to the visual landscape (205).