

thing, this local society grew more unequal, with a growing percentage of landless men and a heavier reliance on slave labor. Maurice Bric explores the very different society of Philadelphia that was increasingly influenced by radical Catholic migrants from Ireland in the 1790s. Shaped by the radical views of exiled United Irishmen, these immigrants joined Jefferson's Republicans and kept high the anti-British feelings in the city. The response of their opponents led to sharp debates about the Alien and Naturalization Acts, but, in destabilizing local politics, these immigrants helped to create a more pluralistic concept of politics. Melvin Yazawa's essay also explores party tensions in the new republic and the threat of disunion within the new union. In a fascinating essay, he argues that while regional animosities made union difficult, disunion was unacceptable to the vast majority of Americans. Leading politicians might employ violent language in their political disputes, but they did not seek violent solutions and ultimately preferred compromise to the dissolution of the union. Marc Harris also shows how political tensions in the new republic could be contained by channeling them into a vigorous, yet stable, associational culture. Many citizens looked to a wide variety of social institutions, not just to their local legislature, to reflect the popular will and to represent their interests. While the Federalists might argue that the constitution was the sole representation of the people's will, many others looked to voluntary associations as the best expression of the community's will. In his complex argument, Robert Calhoun explores religious unity and disunity after the revolution. He shows how independence led to the disestablishment of the Anglican church in America and to the energizing of both this church and its dissenting rivals. Freed from state control, churches responded to market forces and promoted a dynamic religious culture. The vigorous competition for new members exaggerated sectarian differences but made religious controversy more predictable and less dangerous.

The essays in part three look at the impact of the American Revolution on other parts of the Atlantic world. Unfortunately, this is the least cohesive section. Keith Mason argues that the forced migration of between 60,000 and 100,000 American Loyalists played a key role in reconstituting Britain's far-flung empire. He argues that these Loyalists still supported the rule of law and representative government and thus helped to ensure that the British Empire remained an empire of liberty. Mason's case, however, rests primarily on a study of four white, male Loyalists. Their experiences may not have been representative—they were certainly very different to those of the black Loyalists who ended up in Sierra Leone. James Sidbury's essay is as much literary as historical in its approach. He looks at the autobiographies of two former black slaves from the colonies (Ottobah Cugoana and Olaudah Equiano) who ended up in London. To sell their stories they had to "market" themselves (controlling the publication of their accounts and traveling around the country to promote them). They also had to create a racial identity as

"Africans" in order to improve sales and to advance their liberationist ends. In an essay that tells us more about the impact of the French Revolution on the Atlantic world than the American Revolution, Edward Cox shows how the threat of French revolutionary ideas and the huge slave revolt in Haiti forced the alarmed planters in the British West Indian islands to recruit freed and enslaved blacks into their defense forces and to free them thereafter. In probably the most controversial essay in this collection, Trevor Burnard argues that, although the American Revolution helped to entrench slavery in the American South, it left British planters in the West Indies with less support than before in their efforts to retain slave labor. He maintains that the British Empire, although a centralizing imperial state, attacked slavery more effectively than the United States with its more radical rhetoric about human rights. British slave owners in the West Indies were more vulnerable to the pressure applied by the growing abolitionist sentiment and organizations in Britain than were slave owners in the American South, who were able to retain their slaves longer because they could not so easily be pressured in the loose confederation of sovereign states that was the new American republic.

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BARRY RUBIN and JUDITH COLP RUBIN. *Hating America: A History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 307. \$29.95.

The purpose of this book by Barry Rubin and Judith Colp Rubin is to provide a historical background to today's anti-Americanism. It stretches over three centuries and focuses mostly on European views of the United States, with one chapter each on Latin America and the Middle East. The authors define anti-Americanism in a manner broad enough without being amorphous, as criticisms that are systemic, exaggerated, deliberate, and/or "a misperception of American society, policies, or goals" (p. ix). They also exclude American citizens from their observations.

The authors' main argument is that anti-Americanism, in any given period, has been a relatively cogent rejection of a general idea of America as a model of civilization and power, not merely a reaction to slights or aggressions by the United States. Despite the title, anti-Americanism was about more than "hating." It reflected specific constructs about the uniqueness of the United States. The book presents major shifts in what critics have perceived America to be about.

To chart these shifts, the organization of the book is chronological and posits five phases. The first runs through the eighteenth century, when Europeans who criticized America largely used environmental arguments. Many predicted that European Americans would never be able to establish a civilization at all in such a cold and humid climate, while others claimed that settlers' life expectancy was shortened in America or that women stopped bearing children earlier there.

France's Comte de Buffon, among others, claimed that Old World animals actually shrank in the New World. The second phase, up to 1880, reflected a judgment of America's sociopolitical shortcomings, particularly its democracy and equality. This idea of America as a botched civilization spread with the success of the American Revolution and the coming of Jacksonian populism. European conservatives thought Americans were irresponsibly forgoing the fine, class-conscious traditions (and table manners) of the past, while early representatives of the left's anti-Americanism—the Romantics—saw Americans as “too bland, bourgeois, and boring, insufficiently utopian or theoretical” (p. 27).

The third phase, from the 1880s to 1930, reacted to America's obvious success as a global power not only by warning against the nation's internal corruption but by fearing its increasingly global reach. The fourth phase, an undercurrent of the Cold War, now sounded the alarm over what was no longer simply imminent but actually happening: the U.S. takeover of the world and the consequent spread of underdevelopment. The final, present-day phase produced perhaps the most comprehensive anti-Americanism ever, combining a condemnation of U.S. power abroad and of the U.S. model for civilization and warning that the former would inevitably spread the latter through globalization.

The authors have unearthed a remarkably rich cast of anti-American commentators. Almost everyone, it seems, criticized America, from the usual suspects such as Arthur de Gobineau, V. I. Lenin, and Sayyid Qutb to the more surprising likes of Immanuel Kant, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Charles Dickens. Almost all sources from before the mid-twentieth century, however, are well-heeled published authors, and so readers get little sense of what ordinary people thought of America. The authors might have found such views—and probably more positive ones—by mining immigrants' letters home and earlier polls than those they use from the 1990s.

Some might quibble with the authors' tone, which at times approaches defensive nationalism (especially on the Middle East, a surprise considering that it is Barry Rubin's area of specialty). Yet the Rubins, to their credit, do not go the way of several so-called experts on anti-Americanism who pathologize all criticism of America. The authors prefer to explain the key themes of anti-Americanism rather than try to refute them all.

Specialized scholars may not find this broad-brush approach to the history of anti-Americanism particularly insightful or helpful for their region or time period. But it is exactly the achievement of the book that it makes a clear, synthetic argument out of such disparate voices and presents them to a general audience in a readable narrative. Too few historians have taken seriously anti-Americanism as a topic of historical inquiry. As a corrective, the Rubins have given the profession the gift of a book that should prove to be a step

toward the integration of the history of anti-Americanism into textbooks and course lectures.

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DAVID HEMPTON. *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 278. \$30.00.

Methodism has attracted attention from many accomplished scholars, among them David Hempton. His two fine studies of the relationship of Methodism to politics and popular religion reward close reading by all students of evangelical Protestantism. No surprise, then, that his latest book offers an ambitious, wide-ranging analysis of this international religious movement, one that melds the findings of Hempton's life-long archival research with his flair for synthesizing recent scholarship. The book raises and answers many important questions, and it opens up many avenues for future inquiry. About the significance of the Methodists, there can be no doubt: as Hempton suggests, their rise may well be the most important development in Protestantism since the Reformation, especially since the case can be made that they are the forerunners of Pentecostal churches that now spread like wildfire throughout the world.

Hempton's preface is a gem of wit, delightfully unexpected from an historian who has spent so much of his career summoning the shades of early Methodists. But then he settles down to the serious business of addressing big questions. How did Methodism rise from its unpromising origins in England during the 1730s to outstrip competing forms of popular religiosity and to reckon with the challenge of the Enlightenment? What was the heart of the Methodist message as it was heard and experienced by its early adherents? Why did it encounter fierce opposition in some settings and heartfelt acceptance in others? And, finally, where can we look to explain its diminishing number of adherents over the course of the twentieth century?

Hempton is at his best probing Methodism's unexpected debt to the Enlightenment. While the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century is typically viewed as a religious insurgency against the Age of Reason, he draws on a host of recent studies to argue that the extreme inwardness of Methodist piety was rooted in Lockean sensationalism and that its organizing principles owed no small debt to the principle of voluntary association. Equally choice are Hempton's reflections on the distinctive forms of opposition that Methodists encountered from both ordinary people and elites on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. He shrewdly observes that the movement thrived as often as it withered from the resistance mounted by enemies outside its fold. What posed a greater and more enduring threat to Methodism's growth was the frequency of schism, fueled by “the inner contradictions of an egalitarian religious message propagated by an inequalitarian institution” (p. 101). In England, it was class antagonism that

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