neur, but he was also unscrupulous. What is more, some of the "navy aristocrats" in fact tried to improve conditions for the indigenous people when they served as Chief Managers, although they did so in a patronizing manner.

The book is based on careful consideration of a wide range of sources including new archival findings and is written in an engaging and accessible style. It provides an important contribution to our knowledge about the Russian-American Company and of the early epoch of Russian America. Above all, it offers new insights into and a fuller understanding of the character and conduct of Aleksandr Baranov and his administration. It is relevant both to historians of Russian America and Global Historians with an interest in comparative experiences of colonization, especially those concerned with the fur-trade business and colonial expansion.

Note

1 G. A. Miller, Kodiak Kreol. Communities of Empire in Early Russian America, Ithaca, N.Y. 2010.

James Alexander Dun: Dangerous Neighbors. Making the Haitian Revolution in Early America, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2016, 352 pp.

Elizabeth Maddock Dillon / Michael J. Drexler (eds.), The Haitian Revolution and the early United States, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2016, 432 S.

Reviewed by
Andy Cabot, Paris

Revolution and the history of the early American republic has been among the most researched topic in the U.S academia, especially since the bicentennial of Haiti's independence in 2004. This growing interest has led to a flurry of collective volumes on the global impact of Haiti during the crucial years of the Age of Revolutions from the early 1790s through to the Congress of Vienna.[1] For some, this has led to considering Haiti as the "final frontier" of historical research. Yet, to account for this repositioning of Haiti and its revolution at the centre of academic debates – one that transcends particular disciplines and fields – a strong suggestion would be the return of a "Haitian" turn – first located by Joseph Celucien in the writings of African American intellectuals in the first half of the twentieth century – in the present U.S academia, but this time with a fiercer postcolonial stance.[2]

The two books under review here originate from this growing pace of publications. The first is James Alexander Dun's exploration of the reception of the Haitian Revolution in Philadelphia – the early republic's capital and main urban centre at the time – from its inception through the end of Thomas Jefferson's presidency. The other is a collective volume edited by Elizabeth Maddock Dillon and Michael Drexler on "The Haitian Revolution and the Early United States" which gathers contributions from established authorities in the field and younger scholars. Indeed, compared to previous volumes on Haiti from U.S scholars, this work has for the main distinction to present essays from emerging voices in the fields who, for the most part, have a background in cultural studies and literature. This fits the editors' ambitions to deliver a truly multidisciplinary approach to the topic.

Drawing on his 2004 dissertation and later works on the links between Philadelphia and French Saint-Domingue during the 1790s and beyond, Dun seeks to demonstrate how the Haitian Revolution was interpreted in the U.S at the time and particularly in Philadelphia, then by far the most industrious locale for the print economy at the time as well as the site of the emerging First Party system. He views news about Saint-Domingue in Philadelphia as undergoing "a process of Americanization" that was "constitutive of American political culture as it developed over the early national period" (Dun, p. 17).

Chapter I focuses on how news of and about Saint-Domingue was received and perceived in Philadelphia before the outbreak of the slave revolt. Then the developing political and racial tensions in the French colony were still conceived as an offshoot of the revolution in the Continent, and interpretations from influential U.S newspapers on the island were divided between an early Federalist/Republican axis, with the former insisting on the dangers of factionalism while the latter emphasized the positive aspects of the radical changes taking place. Contemplating the difficulty of American commentators to escape associations between domestic concerns and foreign events, Dun often goes in details to correct the misinterpretations of contemporaries and admits that, despite the different motives in reporting events in Saint-Domingue "their [Americans] gaze was conditioned by the colony's capacity to tell them about themselves" (Dun, p. 30).

This interpretation goes a long way. Interestingly enough, the author does not refrain from distancing himself from it and finding ways to highlight the shortcomings of this American lens of interpretation, which forms the thesis of his work. This is especially true of how the book covers the issue of slavery and abolition in the early republic. In Chapters II and III, the book devotes more attention to how the antislavery nature of both the slave revolt in Saint-Domingue and French legislation became clearer after 1791 and changed the tone of domestic debates. Even if Dun initially reminds us that observers still often "tended to blunt the implications of the challenge posed to slavery in the colony" (Dun, pp. 58–59), he then extensively covers how important public voices – Connecticut news editor Abraham Bishop, Pennsylvania antislavery activist Warner Mifflin and Kentucky Reverend David Rice are cited-formed "a potent brew, if

only among a certain swath of Americans" (Dun, p. 76) that readily embraced the antislavery message of the revolt.[3]

Most telling in this exploration of the links between American antislavery and foreign revolutions is how Dun treats the famous diplomatic mission of Charles Edmond Genet in 1793. Heralded as the symbol of the French revolution's radicalism and the threats it posed to the U.S, Dun chooses rather to place Genet as the missing link between antislavery, domestic support for foreign revolutions and the emerging republican opinion throughout the country. He considers the principled stand of Genet for French civil commissioners in Saint-Domingue and their immediate emancipation measures as a rallying cry for American commentators such as Benjamin Bache and Philip Fréneau, who seized this opportunity to associate their Francophilia with cosmopolitan support for universal emancipation. As he beautifully evokes it, the emancipation process initiated in Saint-Domingue in June 1793 helped American writers to transcend partisan divisions over the issue of slavery which "created a high point of antislavery expression" (Dun, p. 114).

Chapter IV highlights the efforts of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society and Richard Allen's African Methodist Church at pressing local courts to consider the validity of the French abolition decree of February 1794 and thus to grant freedom to refugee slaves from Saint-Domingue. Certainly, Dun's ultimate position is that American abolitionists in Philadelphia eventually distanced themselves from French emancipation which signalled a further localization of abolition in the country along with "a fraying of the society's sense of its connection to other antislavery struggles" (Dun, p. 133). Yet, his insistence on the impact of St. Domingue migrants – especially slaves and free coloured- and French revolutionary agents in the Caribbean over the actions of the nascent American Convention for Abolition Societies are refreshing. It paints the national political debates on slavery in the early republic as much more positively influenced by revolutionary movements than previous studies would have had it, and thus offer a truly illuminating perspective on the international dimensions of early American abolitionism.

Chapters VI and VII return to a more traditional perspective: the eventual marginalization of Haiti in the U.S public opinion in the aftermath of independence. It takes distance from the "silencing" thesis of Michel-Rolph Trouillot and rather argues for the "simplification" of conversations on Haiti during Jefferson's presidency. It convincingly shows how the rising influence of Republican politicians over the national government created a rift within those who had formerly held "cosmopolitan" support for abolition – mostly public figures related to the Republican press like Benjamin Franklin Bache and Philip Freneau- and those more traditional antislavery critics fed by religious reformism and Enlightenment critics. The Haitian war of independence forced Republicans now in power to take a radical departure from its former stance upon revolutionary cosmopolitanism to emphasize the "dangers of external interference with slavery" (Dun, p. 197). Of great novelty in this argument is the focus on the role played by Pennsylvania Republicans –William Duane, Albert Gallatin – in shaping a rhetoric aimed

at reconciling the manufacturing interests of Northern republicans with the plantation interest of Lower South politicians which led, among other things, to the first trade embargo against Haiti in 1806. Dun's study stops around the term of Jefferson's presidency and gives the reader the opportunity to jump off to the volume by Dillon and Drexler that covers mostly the period from Haitian independence up to the Civil War.

This volume is divided into three parts ("Histories", "Geographies", "Textualities") which offer a wide and complete portrait of current academic research on Haiti in the U.S. As the two editors state in the Introduction, the ambition of this volume is twofold: First, it wants to analyse the process by which the antislavery and universal principles of Haitian independence were "decisively overwritten in the U.S by a quite different narrative – one in which Haitian and U.S histories were not parallel but antithetical" (Dillon Drexler, p. 5–6). Second, it aims at taking distance from this "silencing" of Haiti interpretation to posit the "evidence of alternative narratives (…) to the one that places the United States conceptually, historically, and geographically distant from one another" (Dillon Drexler, p. 15).

In the "Histories" section, the article by Carolyn Fick "Revolutionary Saint-Domingue and the Emerging Atlantic" convincingly exposes how the independent diplomacy carried by Toussaint-Louverture with John Adams' administration and Britain was grounded on what Robin Blackburn coined the "jigsaw puzzle of Atlantic politics".[4] For Fick, supporting Toussaint was more than a mere anti-French Machiavellian move, it also was a tacit recognition of the inherent weakness of the Caribbean plantation economy. The decision to refuse to supply French troops in 1802 was also an indirect recognition of the importance of slave emancipation in the international politics of the era (Fick, p. 41). The second essay by James Alexander Dun reiterates the argument from "Dangerous Neighbours" emphasizing how Americans saw events in Saint-Domingue before the slave revolt through the lens of political developments in revolutionary France, hence evading the more obvious racial component of debates surrounding free coloured's political rights. Duncan Faherty's analysis of rumours about French ships returning from Cap-Français loaded with revolted slaves returning from Haiti demonstrates how Americans started conceiving race, citizenship and nationality as a whole "through the hazy filter of the Caribbean" (Faherty, p. 60). The minute reconstruction of newspapers' reactions and contradictory statements over the ship's origins through the summer of 1802 is arguably the most satisfying part of the article. On the theoretical side, it reformulates the old thesis that Americans started conceiving slavery at home in "national" terms -i.e less troublesome and fundamentally different than in the Caribbean equivalent- at the turn of the century. Ivy G.Wilson's study looks at the shifting meanings of Toussaint Louverture's representations in African-American literature and print culture throughout the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, it sometimes relishes in commonplace post-colonial criticisms. For example, it states the dated assumption that "Louverture

and the Haitian Revolution are subjugated knowledges within the histories of the United States and France" (Wilson, p. 82) a claim which essentially contradicts the avowed aim stated in the introduction that "the archive is replete with evidence of alternative narratives" (Dillon Drexler, p. 15) of Haiti's importance in early U.S history. The last article by Dubois goes over Frederick Douglass' famous tenure as U.S ambassador to Haiti and his relations with then foreign relations minister Anténor Firmin. It mainly casts the ups and downs of a partnership seen as the prelude to the not-so-distant rising political and economic dominance of the U.S over the territory.

The introduction to the "Geographies" correctly states that the "Haitian Revolution was at the centre of a reconfiguration of the geographic imaginary of the post-revolutionary United States" (Dillon-Drexler, p. 114). To demonstrate the workings of this process, David Geggus first reconsiders the diplomatic dispositions of French imperial thinking in its dual decision to abandon the reconquering of Saint-Domingue and the expedition to Louisiana in 1802, eventually according to the renewed threat of war with Britain more primacy than any other factors in this fateful decision. Cristobal Silva turns on to how the development of yellow fever pandemics in Philadelphia spurred debates within the "Republic of Medicine" between "importationists" who castigated Dominguan migrants as the source of the plague and "Republican" physicians who insisted on the immunity acquired by West Indian migrants; these debates obviously finding resonance with contemporary party politics, early national attitudes towards migrants, and racial beliefs. Edlie Wong's piece focuses on the passage of numerous Negro Seamen Acts throughout slave coastal states in the years following the 1822's Denmark Vesey's conspiracy. She reconstructs the efforts from southern lawmakers and representatives in depicting Haiti as a counter-revolutionary and banditti nation while, as a response to this pro-slavery interpretation, free black writers and radical abolitionists decided to challenge this "powerful imaginary" and "adapted into a rallying cry to end slavery and racial injustice." (Wong, p. 188). To end this section, Colleen O. Brien chooses to explore the influential role played by Prince Saunders' Haytian Papers – a collection of the country's constitutional documents and proclamations initially compiled for easing international recognition – on the development of a distinct free-labour ideology among black Americans emphasizing individual land-ownership over wage labour as a way towards economic freedom.

The closing section of this volume titled "Textualities" is devoted to the study of texts and objects of literary culture that helped shape opinions, thoughts and ideas about Haiti in the U.S. Michael J. Drexler and Ed White's analysis of the 1801 Louverturian constitution contends that the document went far beyond being a political statement and that it permeated the literary imaginary of the emerging Caribbean and black American literate class throughout the early nineteenth century. Gretchen J. Woertendyke's essay links the lasting effect of the Haitian Revolution on early American literature and its different genres, particularly romanticism and its main figures (Edgar Allan Poe, Herman Mel-

ville). Siân Silly Roberts situates Leonora Sansay's travel narrative "Secret History; or, the Horrors of Saint-Domingo" (1808) at the centre of the literary repertoire that fuelled writings on or influenced by the Haitian Revolution. Peter Reed locates one of the revolt's earliest form of cultural representation with the 1795 play "The Triumphs of Love, or Happy Reconciliation" which featured mostly French continental exiles and Dominguan refugees as actors. The performance reflected mainly on the terror and fear that the revolt had inspired among Americans. In contrast, it is interesting to note that, in other locales, theatrical performances assumed a more celebratory tone for the changes brought by the revolt.[5] Lastly, the piece by Maureen L. Daunt takes the writings of influential Haitian political personality Baron De Vastey and places them at the heart of emerging conversations in Northern U.S newspapers around the recognition of the country' independence.

There are several flaws in the volume's organization. The content of some essays overlaps, as shown with Edlie Wong and Colleen C. O'Brien's articles which both rely heavily on the influence of Prince Saunders' Haytian Papers over black radical and abolitionist discourses friendly to Haiti. The relations between the articles and sections are sometimes puzzling. For example, as it focuses on the reception of the Haytian Papers, would not O'Brien's article have fitted better in "Textualities"? Same goes for Wilson's article in "Histories" which could have perhaps found more striking resonance in "Textualities". Lastly, however remarkable and comforting for their command of the subject, certain articles by established scholars on Haitian scholarship will draw the informed readers' attention. Dubois' article easily ignores the chronological perspective introduced by the editors while the piece by Geggus revises a previous article of his, albeit with a much different focus.[6] Despite some notable form-related issues and the persistence of conventional post-colonial reasoning over the place of Haiti within Western modernity, this series of article succeeds in presenting the depths of current research by U.S academics on Haiti's long-term impact over America's early national history. It functions neatly in tandem with James Alexander Dun's "Dangerous Neighbours" and the works of others emerging scholars such as Julia Gaffield to prove how much studies tracing connections, comparisons and influences between the first two independent American republics can do to recast traditional historical perspectives on slavery, race and nationhood in the nineteenth century U.S.

Notes

1 D. P. Geggus (ed.), The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World, Columbia 2001; D. P. Geggus / N. Fiering (eds.), The World of the Haitian Revolution, Bloomington 2009; M. J. Clavin (ed.), Toussaint Louverture and the Civil War. The Promise and Peril of a Second Haitian Revolution, Philadelphia, PA 2010; J. Gaffield (ed.), The Haitian Declaration of Independence, Charlottesville 2016.

2 P. R. Girard, The Haitian Revolution. History's New Frontier – State of the Scholarship and Archival Sources, in: Slavery & Abolition (2013), p. 485–507; J. Célucien, "The Haitian Turn". An Appraisal of Recent Literary and Historiographical Works on the Haitian Revolution, in: Journal of Pan African Studies (2012), pp. 37–55.

3 The same individuals had also been spotted as positive interpreters of Haitian liberation in: D. B. Davis, Revolutions. Reflections on American Equality and Foreign Liberations, Cambridge 1990, pp. 49–51.

4 R. Blackburn, Haiti, Slavery and the Age of Democratic Revolutions, in: William & Mary Quarterly (2006), pp. 643–674, 645.
5 B. Gainot, La Révolution des Esclaves, Paris 2017.
6 D. P. Geggus, French Imperialism and the Louisiana Purchase, in: P. Hoffman (ed.), The Louisiana Purchase and its Peoples. Perspectives from the New Orleans Conference, Lafayette 2004, pp. 25–34, 269–273.

Dietmar Hüser (Hrsg.): Populärkultur transnational. Lesen, Hören, Sehen, Erleben im Europa der langen 1960er Jahre, Bielefeld: transcript Verlag 2017, 356 S.

Rezensiert von
Michael G. Esch, Leipzig

Die historiographische Auseinandersetzung mit dem Phänomen Pop / populäre Kultur hat im deutschen akademischen Betrieb nach wie vor mit einigen Barrieren umzugehen: Förderprogramme und professorale Forschung konzentrieren sich nach wie vor lieber auf Aspekte bürgerlicher Hochkultur, Studien zur populärkulturellen Vermittlung der Kulturrevolution der „langen 1960er" finden meist als Qualifikationsarbeiten statt, deren thematischer Umfang notwendig auf bestimmte Genres oder Kulturformen sowie auf einen definierten nationalen Container eingegrenzt ist. Die anhaltende Scheu bildungsbürgerlicher akademischer Eliten und ihres Nachwuchses vor dem massenwirksamen Profanen erklärt der Herausgeber interessanterweise damit, dass die historische Relevanz popkultureller Ausdrucksformen nicht immer hinreichend deutlich gemacht werde. Genau diese Lücke will der hier zu besprechende Sammelband füllen – nicht zuletzt, indem Erkenntnisblockaden nicht nur popgeschichtlicher Herangehensweise durch eine konsequent transnationale Herangehensweise in den einzelnen Beiträgen vermieden werden. Das Ziel besteht dem Herausgeber zufolge vor allem darin, den eigentümlichen Beitrag populärer Kultur, ihrer Rezeption und Aneignung zum Wandel nicht nur kultureller, sondern auch politischer Institutionen und Praktiken nachzuweisen. Diese bestand nicht zuletzt darin, dass insbesondere junge Leute „populäre Künste im Alltag nutzten, um tradierte Institutionen und Autoritäten kritisch zu beleuchten und neue Modi politischer Artikulation und Partizipation zu etablieren" (S. 13) – und damit natürlich ganz maßgeblich zum gesellschaftlichen Wandel beitrugen. Eine zweite Debatte, in die sich der Band einordnet, ist die um „Amerikanisierung" oder „Westernisierung" bzw. „Europäisierung" Europas im Verlauf der langen 1960er. Hier bietet der Band zahlreiche Argumente dafür, dass von einem eindimensionalen Transfer über den Atlantik nicht die Rede sein kann – nicht nur wegen der vom Beitrag Klautkes (allerdings unzureichend) beschriebenen „British Invasion", mit der die US-amerikanische Hegemonie im Bereich populärer Musikstile durch eine britische bzw. englische nachhaltig und mit weitreichenden Folgen ersetzt wurde oder der Akkreditierung des „Krautrock" in der britischen und amerikanischen Musikpresse (Simmeth). Klautkes Beitrag krankt leider an mangelhafter Kenntnis der musikalischen Grundlagen und Entwicklungen: Die be-