

African monopoly company. Her efforts to push this argument back to the advent of colonization, however, are less successful. As a result, the first two chapters (on the early adoption of slavery in Barbados and on the Western Design) are the book's least strong. Whereas many scholars believe that profiting from empire was worked out on the ground over time, Swingen states that, from the start, merchants pursued the goal of slave labour and monoculture. To fit this merchant and slavery led vision of empire, she revises the narrative of the origins and prosecution of Oliver Cromwell's Western Design to argue that leading merchants dictated imperial policy to Cromwell. Swingen under appreciates the discontinuity from republic to protectorate and the fact that many supporters of parliamentary dominance (including key merchants and financiers) abandoned the project when Cromwell came to power and that his expansionist policies failed, in part, because he lacked support from the men who had raised public funds under the government he displaced. The handful of major merchants active under Cromwell, in Swingen's account, emerge as the architects of the Design and England's imperial future.

Leaving this early period, the ground she occupies become somewhat firmer: the Restoration offers more sources, allows for the focus on the Royal African Company and includes evidence of merchants and government officials actively engaged in the relevant debates. Still, the idea that the slave trade served as the engine that created English expansion is asserted rather than defended. This argument is partially sustained by framing the origins and progress of the early English (and later British) empire without adequate reference to the more profitable, more frequently debated and more significant East Indies. Making claims about the origins of empire while only focusing on the Atlantic arena hampers Swingen's efforts. Her book's main strength is in revisiting of the debates around the Royal African Company rather than its broader claims about how a desire to exploit slaves and grow sugar always guided expansion and shaped empire.

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## EUROPE & THE WIDER WORLD

Elizabeth A. Sutton. *Capitalism and Cartography in the Dutch Golden Age*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. 208 pp. ISBN: 9780226254784. \$50.00.

In this volume, Sutton brings an art historical lens to examine how power and visual media combine to underscore the “rationalization and organization of a particular economic system” (14): capitalism. Her argument that maps are objects which can reflect, reproduce and reify power relations (albeit in a specific time and place, Amsterdam, 1600-1650) is not necessarily original. However, her inclusion of the Dutch Atlantic world—particularly Brazil and New Amsterdam—is original. Her choice to highlight the work of Claes Jansz Visscher, rather than his more-famous colleagues the Blaeus, and the West India Company (WIC), rather than its eastern counterpart, the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), adds an element of freshness to the work.

The book is laid out in six chapters, with the first serving as a theoretical foundation for Sutton's analysis of maps as symbolic goods used by those in power to perpetuate their agendas. The idea of symbolic goods come from Bourdieu, while she draws on Weber, Marx, Giddens and others to flesh out her understanding of capitalism as an exploitative and alienating system

cloaked in the rhetoric of rational efficiency that within its mantle hides inherent violence. A crucial part of this rhetoric is cartography, for early modern maps increasingly employed devices like direct observation and grid systems that made them seem as rational as the search for profit. Moreover, maps helped to combine economic power with state power by presenting the search for land and resources as a necessary activity for a united and prospering nation.

From theory, Sutton moves to a contextualization chapter that describes Amsterdam society and its map market. Intellectual foundations for the intertwining of civic virtue and order with capitalism and expansion include philosophers like Lipsius, military strategists like Simon Stevin and legal thinkers like Hugo Grotius. In early modern Amsterdam, capitalism thrived thanks to an overlap between state and company officials which created wealth for the merchants who controlled the reins of power. Whereas there was considerable tension behind closed doors, maps allowed officials to present a coherent message via maps—a message that the Dutch Republic was a unified, strong, expanding and rational state.

Chapters three to five use Visscher's maps as case studies to see how they further the above outlined rhetoric. His prints of Amsterdam reinforced the "Holland merchants' and regents' legal, historical, and moral claims to accumulated private possessions and their corresponding power" (45). In particular, the Beemster planned community exemplified state-commercial cooperation to create a more ordered urban space. Participation in the project, or possessing a picture of it, could enhance one's status. From Amsterdam, Sutton moves to Brazil, where Visscher's maps not only served as news updates but also helped to smooth over possible problems that the WIC wished to keep quiet. Visscher had collaborated with WIC cartographer Hessel Gerritszoon in the past, leading Sutton to argue that it is most likely Visscher, and not Blaeu, to whom the WIC turned first to popularize views of their overseas holdings. His prints helped the WIC seem in control, even when it was not. A similar argument applies to the maps of New Amsterdam, the subject of chapter five. Like the Brazilian maps, Visscher's depictions of New Amsterdam made it seem comparable with flourishing Amsterdam. This effect was achieved particularly via the inclusion of a city profile that allows the reader to compare government and economic institutions in the two places. Sutton argues that not only were Visscher's New Amsterdam maps used to attract colonists but they were also pro-WIC at a time when it was actually quite weak.

Sutton's analytical points are solid, if a bit repetitive, and could be pushed further. Maps, in her analysis, are passive reflections. Visscher's works are reactions: there is little insight into how the mapmaker himself worked or how he might have altered or actively contributed to the discourse about civic capitalism in an Atlantic arena. In addition, the text would benefit from more direct analysis of the map objects themselves, which although present in the text are far from the dominant aspect of her analysis. For example, Sutton mentions in passing that there are indigenous Americans and slaves on the Brazil maps. How does the inclusion of such peoples alter the attempted equivalence of Brazilian cities with Dutch ones? How does the imperial experience tax, as well as complement, existing ideas about the morality of economic expansion? Reading against, as well as with the grain of the map elements would only add to the strong and eloquent critique of exploitative capitalism that Sutton offers in her introduction and conclusion.

While the volume usefully goes beyond the Dutch Republic, one wonders how the story would be altered if the comparisons were even broader. Although it would mean including more on the VOC, the first half of the seventeenth century is precisely the period when maps were censored with regard to the western Pacific. Sutton briefly mentions that the maps under analysis in her book were authorized knowledge and approved media—what of unauthorized

knowledge? What happens when news slips from the closely monitored repositories of the WIC and the VOC? What happens when maps are made that the two companies' do not approve? Both Blaeu and Visscher depended on their relationships with the companies to create maps with the latest information but they were also businessmen who sold to the general public. What are the implications for the form and function of maps when their makers are so tenuously situated between patron and customer? Addressing such questions could augment the nuance of Sutton's engagement with the development of capitalism as part of Amsterdam's global presence in the seventeenth century.

Overall, the book offers readers a kaleidoscopic view of Dutch cartographic representation of the Atlantic world, with a special focus on how maps served as vessels for a prevailing discourse about civic virtue and national pride, as exercised through commercial expansion. However, like a kaleidoscope, such views are often partial and require prior knowledge (especially of Dutch and European history). As such, this book is more suitable for experts looking to augment prior familiarity rather than as a text easily adapted to classroom use.

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Róisín Healy and Enrico Dal Lago, eds. *The Shadow of Colonialism on Europe's Modern Past*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2014. 255 pp. ISBN 9781137450746. \$90.00.

That the luminous shadow of colonialism lurks not only around Asia, Africa, the Americas and other non-European parts of the world but also on Europe itself, is the message of this aptly titled book—*The Shadow of Colonialism on Europe's Modern Past*. Edited by Róisín Healy and Enrico Dal Lago, it contains fourteen different case study essays. The book focuses on the period from the 1860s to the 1960s, marking the heydays of colonialism and nationalism. The authors argue that, during this time, Europe employed colonial ideas and practices on its frontier regions in the east that amounted to internal colonialism. Conventional historiography has viewed this integration as an outcome of nationalisation and Sovietisation, separated from colonialism. This book, however, attempts to break such distinctions and thereby add new dimensions to the colonialism and imperialism debate.

Divided into three parts, the first part of the book, called “Debating Colonialism”, includes three chapters and an introductory essay, “Investigating Colonialism in Europe”, by Healy and Dal Lago. It introduces the basic framework for measuring the degree of any colonial experience. Kristin Kopp's “discursive colonisation”, as “a historically situated process that repositions a specific relationship between self and Other into colonial categories”, forms the core of their analysis (8). Combined with it, is the idea of “Material Colonisation” that establishes four conditions: (i) exclusion of the colonised from decision-making process, (ii) undue cultural privilege for the coloniser, (iii) economic exploitation of indigenous land and labour and (iv) institutionalisation of physical violence by the coloniser (9). Consequently, all seven essays contained in the next section, “Colonialism as Nationalisation?”, as well as four in the third part of the book, “Colonialism under Communism”, use this framework as their base for explaining colonisation within Europe.

In the chapter “Is there a Classical Colonialism?”, Mridu Rai explores the multiple understandings of colonialism. She argues that colonialism could very well be imperialism