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The Origins of the South African War: Joseph Chamberlain and the Diplomaay of Imperialism, 1895-99. By ANDREW N. PORTER. New York: St. Martins Press, 1980. Pp. xiv + 321. Map, notes, select bibliography, index. \$25.00.

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dismantling in 1930 as a shift toward a more manipulative assignment of women in the workforce. Judith Howard shows that many of the educational advances of Italian women after 1861 were created by women who had been political activists in the Risorgimento struggles and who had set up female associations. Lourdes Casal sees the two-million strong Cuban Federation of Women (FMC) as decisive in promoting a more assertive public role for Cuban women.

Another factor in determining the effects of social crisis on women's status is the relative success of democratic trends. Berkin and Lovett attribute failures of women's emancipation to elitist currents. For them, the more democratic the revolution and the more widespread the institutions of popular political participation, the more women's concerns and activities come to the fore. They agree with Levy and Applewhite's suggestion that "the extent of women's political participation and organizational activity should be used as a barometer for measuring the democratic character of the French Revolution" (p. 4).

Most authors included in the anthology attempt to grapple with these issues from the point of view of social classes and overall political power. By showing that women massively affected the outcome of major social conflicts, they demonstrate the relevance of women's studies to mainstream historical concerns. As this type of research emerges, historical studies that fail to examine the social and political role of women will appear more incomplete.

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The Origins of the South African War: Joseph Chamberlain and the Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1895-99. By ANDREW N. PORTER. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980. Pp. xiv + 321. Map, notes, select bibliography, index. \$25.00.

Set against the background of advancing democracy in late nineteenth century Britain, Andrew N. Porter's study of the origins of the Boer War is a fresh reappraisal of the role of Joseph Chamberlain that brings together domestic politics and imperial diplomacy. Based upon a wide selection of primary sources, chiefly the private and official papers of Chamberlain, Alfred Milner, and the Colonial Office, Porter explores the relationship between public opinion and policy making within the context of a changing political climate. While it has been a difficult problem for statesmen, the impact of democratic politics upon diplomacy takes on a special relevance when someone such as Chamberlain, a product of a new era in politics, assumes office with a keen understanding of the importance of public opinion in the policy making process.

From his post as colonial secretary, Chamberlain combined the needs of domestic politics with imperial diplomacy in the hopes of fusing social reform and imperialism to form a new national party. It is Porter's thesis that

Chamberlain, determined to enhance his political position and convinced that Britain's future greatness lay in the Empire, drew from his radical background to formulate a program of educating the public on the benefits of imperialism. Chamberlain believed that for too long British imperial policy had been subject to the erratic, emotional outburst of the public, making a consistent policy impossible. Only through public understanding of empire and its importance could imperial policy achieve consistency. The goal was to preserve the Empire, deter war by the force of a united public opinion and, failing that, enable the people to unite behind the government in defense of British interests. As the author points out, however, this approach to the complicated issues at hand in South Africa served only to restrict the statesmen in the pursuit of a negotiated settlement. By evading the real issues involved in Britain's international position and strategic concerns in an increasingly hostile world, Chamberlain's effort to educate the public oversimplified the problems involved, putting the British government in a situation that traditional diplomacy could not resolve peacefully.

Porter is not so much interested in the actual impact of the educational campaign as in Chamberlain's perceptions and manipulation of public opinion to achieve his desired goals. Going back to Canning and Palmerston, the author argues that with the coming of democratic politics, public opinion had started to play an important part in the formulation and effectiveness of foreign policy. It was soon realized that much could be gained by policy makers in going outside of Westminster for support. And, when Chamberlain became colonial secretary, the effort to involve the public in an educational process became an overriding policy consideration.

To support his thesis, Porter frequently quotes from Chamberlain's papers, speeches, and telegrams. While in no place does Chamberlain actually articulate an educational program to the degree that the author argues, the weight of the evidence Porter presents clearly suggests that this program did play an important role in Chamberlain's policies. In December 1895, the tensions between Kruger's government and the foreign element, Uitlanders as the Boers called them, threatened to erupt into open revolt. It was only after Leander Starr Jameson, an agent of the South Africa Company, entered the Transvaal with a force of armed men to support a planned rising in Johannesburg that Chamberlain had the opportunity to select the proper issue for public education. By adopting the issue of Uitlander grievances, the colonial secretary wanted to attract the attention of the average man on moral grounds. Using an outpouring of speeches, Blue Books, and press reports, Porter carefully selected facts for educational value. Noting the secretary's considerable knowledge of the plans leading to the Jameson raid, Porter asserts that Chamberlain was convinced that the raid would be a success and believed that he could do little to stop it. Only through an acquiescent stand could Britain have any chance of maintaining its tenuous influence in South Africa over Cecil Rhodes and the Uitlanders.

To Porter's credit, he provides more than an analysis of Chamberlain. He also scrutinizes the British cabinet and Alfred Milner. Lord Salisbury and the cabinet agreed that

the British position must be upheld against growing foreign threats. In the belief that open conflict with the Boers was inevitable, Milner did his best to shape public and official opinion. Porter details Milner's approach to public opinion thus contrasting it with Chamberlain's methods and goals.

While the author successfully builds a case for Chamberlain's education campaign, it was only one significant factor in the coming of war. This study shows that Chamberlain's handling of colonial affairs in South Africa contributed to the deterioration of Anglo-Boer relations by confusing the real issues. Yet Porter's suggestion that without the educational campaign the situation could have been resolved in a peaceful settlement ignores the overall situation. The clash of British economic and strategic interests with expanding Boer nationalism was the formula for war. Porter's study is nonetheless well written and documented, and it opens a new path of inquiry. Valuable insights into the role of Chamberlain serve to enlighten the reader on the impact of democratic politics on the policy making process.

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Economic Foundations of British Overseas Expansion 1815-1914. By P. J. CAIN. London: Macmillan, 1980. Pp. 85. Bibliography, index. \$5.25 (paper).

As one of a series in the "Studies in Economic and Social History," P. J. Cain has written an excellent introduction to the motives for Britain's imperial expansion, both in the formal and in the "informal empire." His work is a critical essay on three general and some two hundred specialized books and articles dealing with all aspects of British expansion overseas. Divided into two parts, Cain's book deals first with 1815-1875 preceded by an analysis of the background to that period. It then covers the "scramble for Africa," the expansion of the formal empire, and ends with the events leading to World War I.

John Gallagher and Ronald E. Robinson on the one hand, and later, Desmond C. M. Platt on the other, have, in our era, reproduced the eighteenth century argument between the radical anti-imperialists and free trade imperialists. Writing when an anti-imperialist view of the nineteenth century was prevalent, Gallagher and Robinson asserted that it was insufficient to look at Britain's formal colonies alone; the "informal empire" of economic, political, and cultural influence was far more important. After 1815 Britain's main interest was in extending sufficiently her informal control in order to integrate as many areas of the world as possible into its expanding economy. The British replaced the eighteenth century urge for political possessions with the desire for informal control. They then modified this theory to state that control was extended beyond the area of economic development to include those areas of the world which were