to work well in providing a comprehensive understanding of the site and its Spanish and Taíno inhabitants.

During his first voyage, Columbus lost his flagship off the northern coast of what is today Haiti, close to the principal village of the region's dominant chief, Guacanagarí. Timbers salvaged from the wrecked ship were used to build a fortification adjacent to the village, which was named La Navidad. Assured by a positive rapport with the Taíno leader and confident that the seemingly timorous natives offered no threat to well-armed Spaniards, Columbus left much of the *Santa María*'s crew behind in order to return to Spain and report what he believed to be his successful discovery of a western route to the riches of the Orient. Once back in Spain, a country flush with a victorious and religious fervor brought on by the Moorish expulsion, Columbus had no trouble finding royal favor, private backers, and voluntary participants for an immediate and more substantial colonization enterprise. In 1493 he left with not three but seventeen ships, and over 1,200 men, to found the first *factoría* (a Crown-licensed, long-distance trading settlement, based on Portuguese and earlier Mediterranean models) in the New World.

The venture was beset with problems as soon as landfall was made. Columbus found his entire complement at La Navidad slaughtered and could get no clear answers from his supposed host and ally. Wisely deciding against further provoking Guacanagarí's people, the colonists sought a more protected site elsewhere, enduring sickness, exhaustion, food shortages, and contrary sailing conditions before finally staggering ashore at the site which would become the first intentional Spanish community in the New World, La Isabela, some twenty-eight miles west of Puerto Plata in the present-day Dominican Republic.

Deagan and Cruxent provide a rich contextual overview of the ensuing five years of "Hell in Hispaniola," a phrase unashamedly borrowed from Morrison's *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*. Their outline is accentuated by a well-placed sidebar that provides highlights from seven different eyewitnesses' accounts of the settlement. By 1498, food supplies were catastrophically low, no significant gold had been produced, the Taínos were suffering and perishing in increasing numbers, and the Spanish colonists were in open conflict with each other. The *factoría* model had failed, and only with major restructuring of both the organization and conception of colonization would Spain's hegemony further expand in the Americas.

The authors go on to analyze the patterns of daily life in Isabela and the reasons that Spain's original model of colonization proved ill-suited for the realities of this unprecedented environment, using the "stereoscopic view" of archaeology to bring into focus aspects of the historic record that would otherwise remain fuzzy. Topics of interest include Columbus's approach to spatial organization and the layout of what was essentially a medieval enclave on an alien physical and social landscape; social hierarchy among the settlers

and interaction between Spaniards and Taínos; domestic, religious, and military life in the settlement; and the institution of crafts and industries such as masonry, woodworking, lime and charcoal production, blacksmithing, smelting and assaying, pottery, brick and tile production, and shipbuilding. The archaeological record preserved traces of each of these activities, providing information not easily garnered from historical documentation.

Only one of many notable examples is that of Columbus's arrangement of the settlement in response to local physiography and environmental conditions. Scholars have long believed that one of the primary reasons for Isabela's failure was Columbus's poorly-chosen location for the settlement. The archaeological evidence, however, suggests that the settlement was much larger than previously thought, consisting not only of the main town site (fortified on the "well-situated rock") known to historians, but also an outlying satellite industrial station designed to maximize exploitation of locally available resources such as limestone, clays, fuel, rich agricultural soil, and water power. Columbus's arrangement of fortified buildings, domestic area, and a separate industrial center implies a more sophisticated strategy than he has traditionally been credited with.

Deagan and Cruxent offer an exemplary and unparalleled study, using both documentary and archaeological insights to interpret and present a comprehensive overview of Columbus's Isabeline project. Well-written, profusely illustrated, and easily accessible to a general readership, this book and its counterpart are an important contribution to the understanding of Spain's colonial enterprise that permanently united two worlds and forever changed the course of history.

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Racism: A Short History. GEORGE M. FREDRICKSON. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002. x + 207 pp. (Cloth US$ 35.00, Paper US$ 14.95)

"Racism is a scavenger ideology," notes George M. Fredrickson on page 8 of his compelling new book, *Racism: A Short History*. The no-nonsense

title captures both the style and tone of this comparative history of what Fredrickson calls "overtly racist regimes." Concerned with rather ambiguous definitions of the term racism, Fredrickson does the work to delineate what should and should not be considered racism when exploring the historic and contemporary manifestations of this malicious social practice, particularly as it relates to nation-states.

"My theory or conception of racism," Fredrickson writes, "has two components: *difference* and *power*" (p. 9). He situates these two concepts as the keystone for his very tight and well-executed argument that seeks to preserve the analytical purchase of the term "racism" because it is now "in danger of losing the precision needed to make it an analytical tool for historians and social scientists" (p. 151).

In his carefully crafted introduction, Fredrickson quickly and deftly dispenses with what he obviously views as types of discrimination that blur a precise definition of racism. For example, he distinguishes racism from religious intolerance, xenophobia, tribalism, and other forms of discrimination based on difference. What makes racism unique, he argues, is the idea that racial difference is believed to be innate, indelible, and unchangeable. It is a difference based on what people are, as opposed to how they behave or what they believe. Although he draws a firm distinction between religious intolerance and racism, he admits there is "substantial gray area between racism and 'culturalism'" because "culture can be reified and essentialized to the point where it becomes the functional equivalent of race" (p. 7). His conception of racism could encompass discrimination against Japanese-born Koreans or Tutsi domination over the Hutus, but he adds another important distinction to this concept to justify his "focus on racism in Europe and its colonial extensions since the fifteenth century." "What makes Western racism so autonomous and conspicuous in world history," he explains, "has been that it developed in a context that presumed human equality of some kind" (p. 11). The way that Fredrickson develops this particular theme as an integral component of "overtly racist regimes" makes this an important contribution not only to the history of racism and the state, but also to theories of democracy.

Fredrickson's primary goal is to document the rise and decline of overtly racist regimes. Beginning with the Middle Ages, he argues that the climax of racist regimes occurred in the twentieth century. His principal examples include the southern United States under Jim Crow segregation (1890-1950s), the Jewish Holocaust under Nazi Germany (1933-45), and the system of apartheid under the South African government (1910-50). Drawing on his lifetime of research and writing on race and racism in the United States and South Africa, Fredrickson has creatively synthesized his own work as well that of other historians and theorists to develop a comprehensive and surprisingly detailed survey of how these particular overtly racist regimes emerged,

while explaining how other governments in Central and South America, colonial Africa, and Europe may have been racist, but did not reach a critical threshold that Fredrickson reserves for a very specific type of racial order.

Fredrickson outlines five criteria and then carefully demonstrates how they emerge and converge to establish an ideological, political, and psychological rationale to oppress and repress racial groups in ways that were supported by government, church, and scientific organizations. The "most persistent and malignant manifestations" (p. 99) of these overtly racist regimes were underpinned by white supremacy for Jim Crow, a color-coded culturalism for apartheid, and both a secular and naturalistic form of anti-Semitism (which he takes pains to distinguish from religious intolerance) in the case of Nazi Germany. Briefly, the five criteria Fredrickson deploys to gauge whether or not a regime crossed the line to become an overtly racist regime include the following (p. 101):

(1) when, in "an official ideology that is explicitly racist," differences between the people in authority and the people being subordinated or eliminated are believed to be "permanent and unbridgeable";

(2) when there is an ideal of race purity, and laws forbid intermarriage between groups;

(3) when social segregation is mandated by legislation and "all forms of contact that might imply equality between the segregators and the segregated" are outlawed;

(4) when subordinated groups are denied the franchise and forbidden to hold public office;

(5) when access to resources and economic opportunities is limited to the oppressed group who "are either kept in poverty or deliberately impoverished."

The book is structured brilliantly with three well-argued chapters that cut through a wide swath of time and space. Carefully detailing the role of religion, science, and folklore as constituent elements of racist regimes, Fredrickson is at his best when he grapples with these regimes' philosophical underpinnings. In his discussion of the Enlightenment and Thomas Jefferson, for example, he explains the remarkable paradox that pre-Darwinian racist science flourished in France and the United States. Both countries shared "revolutionary legacies of nation-states premised on the equal rights of all citizens" (p. 68), and both were forced to equate men of color with women and children while maintaining a façade of equality. Similarly, he cogently demonstrates how the work of philosopher Johann von Herder was used to support color-coded culturalism in South Africa while helping to answer the Jewish Question in Germany. Although Fredrickson's analysis eschews any discussion of the way class and gender shapes racism, his straightforward prose and persuasive arguments go a long way to clarify that amorphous term – racism.