

on Olmsted's Central Park has a paragraph (206) which summarizes the book's main points, arguing how Olmsted's thinking about the greening of public space that was threatened by commercialization was heavily influenced by previous works on American landscape. This point comes rather suddenly and should have been discussed in more detail earlier. Having said this, Luccarelli does succeed in pointing out crucial connections between commercial development and its impact on American thinking about nature, although some conclusive arguments about, for example, the fate of urbanism could have been discussed in more depth.

Thirdly, the book lacks a clear focus. The analysis would have benefited from a solid main argument spelled out in the Introduction. Instead, Luccarelli provides a multifaceted statement about environmental discourse and spatial analysis in regard to public space. The book is also demanding for a reader, because it is based on a reassessment of major American authors. Thus, it is not particularly accessible to those unfamiliar with the writings of Emerson, Thoreau and Olmsted, although Luccarelli does help the reader out with a clever use of captions throughout the text. Despite these shortcomings, Luccarelli's book makes an important contribution both to environmental and to urban studies.

Matti O. Hannikainen

University of Helsinki

**Nicole Hemmer, *Messengers of the Right: Conservative Media and the Transformation of American Politics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016. 320 pages. ISBN: 978-08-12248395.**

Conservative media was widely hailed as the winner of the 2016 election. Steve Bannon, the former executive of *Breitbart News*, served on Donald Trump's campaign and was subsequently appointed chief strategist to the president. Bannon might represent the nationalist far-right media that gained legitimacy with the political success of Donald Trump, but the celebrity-turned-candidate was also buoyed by the more traditional, and influential, conservative media. These more mainstream conservative media powerbrokers, like Roger Ailes, Sean Hannity, and Rush Limbaugh, were vital to the success of Trump. Indeed, Trump not only drew his support but also cultivated his right-wing bona fides primarily through conservative media. In *Messengers of the Right*, Nicole Hemmer gives us a comprehen-

sive and insightful book on the origins of the conservative media. Hemmer's study explores the emergence of the conservative media environment by looking not only at the modern giants of the genre, such as Limbaugh, Bill O'Reilly, and Ailes, but also at the generation that laid the groundwork for these figures. As such Hemmer tracks three pivotal figures, William Rusher, Henry Regnery, and Clarence Manion, who introduced and established a conservative media environment, moving from the America First movement of the 1940s to the Reagan Revolution.

Since Alan Brinkley famously called conservatism the "orphan within American historical scholarship," in a 1994 issue of *The American Historical Review*, the historiography of conservatism has grown substantially (Brinkley 410). Still, in a comprehensive article on the state of the field in 2011, Kim Phillips-Fein rightly called for more work on the relationship between conservatism and media. "The role of mass media in the creation of the Right also has not yet received full attention from historians," Phillips-Fein noted (Phillips-Fein 735). Increasingly, historians are heeding her call. There is considerable work done on William F. Buckley and the conservatism of *National Review*, including recent monographs like Heather Hendershot's *Open to Debate* and the critically acclaimed documentary film *Best of Enemies*. More broadly, the political history of news and the media is given attention in the recent *Media Nation*, an anthology edited by Bruce Schulman and Julian Zelizer. Hemmer's work is a defining contribution to a growing field of study of the media in political history.

By focusing on Rusher, Regnery, and Manion, Hemmer is able to tell a broader story about the crucial years when the very idea of a conservative media was developed. The different fields, and personalities, of these three main characters give Hemmer the opportunity to explore numerous angles of conservative media. Rusher is best known as the longtime publisher of *National Review*, but was also the force behind both Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential run and the unfruitful conservative primary challenge to incumbent president Richard Nixon in 1972. Making a name for himself as an alternative to the big liberal publishing houses, Henry Regnery established conservative publishing with Regnery Publishing and books like Russell Kirk's *The Conservative Mind* and William F. Buckley's *God and Man at Yale*. The least renowned of the trio is Clarence Manion who made his name and impact as one of the earlier conservative radio talk show hosts. In her focus on these three different characters Hemmer moves from ideological debates to political and legislative skirmishes, pairing grass-

roots organizing with corporate fundraising, while never losing the focus on how conservative media transformed American politics, in a way that encapsulates the strengths of modern political history.

Neither the rise nor the fall of the first generation of conservative media can be separated from the larger history of American conservatism, and in *Messengers of the Right* Hemmer is able to capture a much larger story than simply a triple biography of some of the early leading figures. Ironically, the larger success of the conservative movement in the end heralded the downfall of the efforts of Rusher, Regnery, and Manion. All three built their enterprises on conservative listeners and readers eager to find an outspoken conservative point of view, and were bankrolled by wealthy conservatives willing to endure losses to guarantee that such a point of view existed. By the 1970s, their hard work had resulted in a broader selection of conservative viewpoints and as a result it was no longer enough to hold up ideologically. The first generation gave way to the “more authentic-seeming populism” of the second generation stars like Limbaugh, Glenn Beck, and Hannity. In stark contrast with the subjects of Hemmer’s book, and due to a more crowded marketplace, the “second generation of media activists were entertainers first, conservatives second (264).”

Nicole Hemmer has written an astute and exhaustively researched book on how conservative media emerged, gained power, and ultimately was forced to yield to a new generation of more populist right-wing media voices. “[The] habit of conservative media consumption [is] part of what it now means to be a conservative in America,” Hemmer argues convincingly, making her book a much needed addition to the study of modern conservatism (xiii). With her perceptive and disciplined reading of the origins of a post-war conservative media establishment, Hemmer has given us a book exemplifying the strengths of modern political history. *Messengers of the Right* is required reading not only in American media history or the history of conservatism but also in modern political history.

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Oscar Winberg

Åbo Akademi University

**Vincenzo Bavaro, Gianna Fusco, Serena Fusco, and Donatella Izzo, eds., *Harbors, Flows, and Migrations. The USA in/and the World*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017. 592 pages. ISBN: 978-1-4438-7318-5.**

*Harbors, Flows, and Migrations* is a response to the unprecedented mass migrations of the present century. These are often by sea and prompted by a variety of causes, including wars, climate change and economic crises. The harbor has thus become a central feature of life today, both culturally and politically, and has prompted concern about internal security and the consequences of financial capitalism.

The harbor is an entrance and an exit at both the collective and individual level. It is, however, much more than this because through it important exchanges take place not only of wealth but also of “thought, knowledge and art” (1). The thirty two essays that comprise *Harbors, Flows, and Migrations* are clearly linked. While they are written by scholars from four continents and eleven different countries, all working within a wide variety of academic fields, there are strong historical and conceptual connections between the different chapters.

The volume is divided into ten parts: “Arrivals and departures: Local and Global”; “The Nineteenth Century: Re-readings and Re-writings from Off-shore”; “Across the Atlantic and Back”; “Transatlantic Views: The Euro-American Circulation of Ideas”; “Topographies of Slavery and Colonialism”; “Tropes of Migration and Harboring”; “Trans-Pacific Encounters”; “Inflections of the Italian American Experience”; “Italian Americans between Fact and Fiction”; and “Representing Muslim American after 9/11.”

The authors argue that the harbor is a particularly powerful trope in the American imagination as it is central to the early discovery of the continent, the slave trade, the tales of adventure of the early immigrants, and the story of the transatlantic and transpacific immigration that is so important in understanding American society today. The thirty two essays investigate the people, cultures and ideas that came to as well as from the USA.