

## Book Reviews

pricing on energy transition. If the rise in the price of carbon energy is compensated by the rise in efficiency gains, the same level of production will be achieved despite the rise in price. This effect was manifest in recent U.S. energy policy, in which change led to tremendous technological improvement in the battery industry and innovation in the automobile sector, moving them towards alternative and cheaper non-carbon energy sources.

*Green Capital* is well-written, making it easily accessible to general readers. It also provides a valuable introduction to environmental economics and policy, while delivering comprehensive details regarding numerous fundamental and historical concepts. Overall, the book makes a great contribution to the discussion. However, it falls a bit short in the final chapters and, perhaps due to the lack of flow, may disappoint readers who develop high expectations for those final chapters. Despite this, it offers a fair combination of theory and statistics, and, due to the book's subject matter, it is fascinating to read, especially for students interested in the field of environmental economics and policy.

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### WORKS CITED

Stern, Nicholas Herbert. *The Economics of Climate Change: the Stern Review*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Reamer, Norton and Jesse Downing, *Investment: A History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016. 436 Pp.

At first glance, the cover of this book, bearing the word "INVESTMENT" in large type, might lead a prospective reader to think that this is a college level finance textbook. In fact, though, as the subtitle states, this is "A History" of investment, and a substantive one at that. The

scope of the book is impressive, capably covering centuries of financial history.

Authors Norton Reamer and Jesse Downing contend that this book fills a void, citing a dearth of scholarly studies of investment in world history, despite its critical role through the ages. They deem this “curious” (p. 2), but it may not be considering the daunting challenge of composing such a history, particularly when one appreciates (as the authors do) the multi-faceted nature of investment. Reamer and Downing initially define investment as simply “the commitment of resources with the goal of achieving a return,” but quickly emphasize that investment is “more than its purely monetary manifestations. It is also intertwined inextricably with social ends...” (p. 2). Therefore, the book’s scope is wider than one might expect, covering not only a great time span but also a broad range of activities related to investment. The authors generally follow a chronological approach, but digress from this in places to highlight certain themes.

One of the major themes is the “democratization of investment,” which Reamer and Downing define as “the extension of access to investment activities to the population at large” (p. 3). They tap the growing literature on the democratization of the stock market in the United States and elsewhere. They broaden this discussion, however, from the expansion of public involvement in the securities markets to participation in investment writ large. The authors are careful to qualify their use of the term “democratization,” noting that they do not mean that “everyone’s access to or sharing of the rewards is equal” (p. 3). Nevertheless, they make a compelling case that there has been a profound shift over centuries towards broader involvement in investment activities once limited to a privileged few.

The first two chapters cover very early investment history, first explaining the rise of basic investment structures in ancient civilizations, and then subsequent developments such as joint stock companies, the rise of public markets, and the Industrial Revolution. Chapter three provides a concise history of how the goal of saving for retirement evolved, discussing early pension funds, Social Security, and many other milestones. As the authors explain, the idea that retirement was a major goal of investment eventually led to such innovations as defined

contribution plans. Chapter four analyzes basic investment vehicles, such as life insurance, savings accounts, and mutual funds. With regard to mutual funds, the authors detail the effect of the Investment Act of 1940 on revitalizing trust in the industry. While the overview is good, perhaps the authors could have devoted even more attention to the mutual fund, given its extreme importance in the democratization of investment. Chapter eight focuses on more sophisticated investment vehicles. Consistent with their emphasis on democratization, the authors nicely juxtapose those investment vehicles embraced by a mass audience (such as exchange traded funds and low-cost index funds) with those that catered to a more elite clientele (such as hedge funds, private equity and venture capital).

In relating the history of investment, Reamer and Downing do not neglect the darker side: frauds, swindles, and various efforts to manipulate the market. Chapter five presents an interesting array of fraud perpetrators, such as Bernie Madoff, Allen Stanford, Charles Ponzi, Ferdinand Ward, Ivar Kreuger, Albert Wiggins, and Richard Whitney. The authors correctly note that current regulatory structures arose in large part to prevent a repetition of such malfeasances. They contend "...examples of malfeasance actually play only a small role in the history of investment" (p. 9). Yet they actually seem to argue the opposite—that scandals played a *large* role in the history of investment, indirectly fueling the democratization process by propelling the passage of protective regulations that deepened public trust and hence willingness to invest in the markets.

Economic business historians will appreciate the exploration of the core contributions of leading economists in chapter six. Highlighting the works of John Maynard Keynes, Milton Friedman, Ben Bernanke, and others, the authors argue that key economists essentially helped facilitate a better understanding of the economy, leading to "progress in managing cyclical crises" (p. 196). To prove that thesis, they compare and contrast the policy responses to the Great Depression and the recent Great Recession. Chapter seven discusses various core investment principles, the underlying theoretical frameworks, and how these affected the propensity of people to invest. The authors provide a cogent synopsis of the major contributions of key figures such as Louis Bachelier, Irving Fisher, Franco

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Modigliani and Merton Miller, Paul Samuelson, Myron Scholes, Harry Markowitz, William Sharpe and John Lingner, Alfred Cowles, Eugene Fama, and others.

Chapter nine brings the history of investment up to date, discussing, among other topics, the recent growth of independent investment managers who own equity in their own firms—a group of entrepreneurs the authors label the “new elite” (pp. 290-291). Reamer and Downing suggest that the story of investment has in a sense come full circle: “... the institutions this elite serves are largely engaged in the management of the assets of the general population—a reversal of the situation we saw in ancient times, when lower-class managers invested money for the benefit of only the elite” (p. 10).

At various points throughout the book, Reamer and Downing remind the reader, “The democratization of investment is not a finished product” (p. 63). Yet while incomplete, the phenomenon of wider participation in the world of investment is indeed “a radical history transformation” (p. 63). As they emphasize, the transformation brings with it privileges but also responsibilities. They close with this powerful conclusion: “...study, understanding, and courage regarding investment are the duty of all of us who want to create the best, most comfortable, and most secure economic lives for ourselves and our families” (p. 334). This thoughtful and comprehensive history of investment is a stellar contribution to business and economic history, providing keen insights into the democratization of investment, with its underlying factors, effects, and ongoing challenges.

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