
Book Reviews

Emerald City: An Environmental History of Seattle. MATTHEW KLINGLE. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007. Pp. xix+344, maps, photographs, index. \$30.00 cloth. ISBN 978-0-300-11641-0.

Readers of *Historical Geography* will be familiar with discussions during the 1990s about the relationship between historical geography and environmental history. No matter how one feels about those discussions or the current state of either field, historical geographers with a range of interests will find their time well-spent by reading *Emerald City: An Environmental History of Seattle*. Matthew Klinge, assistant professor of history and environmental studies at Bowdoin College, has produced a highly readable, well-argued, and cohesive book, providing insights not only into the story of Seattle, but into environmental history and (for readers' sakes here) its relation to historical geography.

Emerald City, which began as a dissertation at the University of Washington, adds to a growing body of environmental-historical literature on Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia, reflecting the appeal of this region to many historians and geographers at work today. *Emerald City* also contributes to the growing emphasis being placed by environmental historians on urban settings as they continue to move their field into new, non-traditional terrain. The book will rank high among these categories of literature for years to come.

Emerald City explores nature-culture relations in an urban context, but—unlike other works in urban environmental history—Klinge's larger goal is not simply to explore the ways in which nature and culture are related to one another. Rather, he starts from the assumption that these two categories are always inseparable (especially in an urban context) and moves on from there to build a deeper relevance for his book based on the assumption that history has a role to play in "the pursuit of a just and sustainable society" (p. xiii). This ambitious agenda deserves a bit more attention below.

Some claims in *Emerald City*, like Klinge's core assertion that there is a need to think of history as "a process grounded in time and space" (p. 4), may not sound entirely new to historical geographers, for whom the spatiality of history has always been a concern. But the way in which Klinge builds on that claim to craft a larger argument about what he calls an "ethic of place" is something that anyone working in historical fields can learn from. Klinge's ethic of place is designed to get readers thinking about the ways in which nature is implicated not only in the culture of the city, but in the fabric of urban social relations and social justice. Klinge's audience on this point is twofold. On the one hand, he is encouraging general readers to build an ethic of place that leaves room for both nature and culture in the city, for by doing so, we might eventually see that "true citizenship depends on valuing human and non-human alike" (p. 6). On the other hand, and perhaps most importantly, he is encouraging historians to view

this ethic of place as a means for interrogating the historical processes that have led us to erroneously split nature from culture, and in doing so, to understand how we frame relationships between past and present. This line of thinking is meant to enhance the relevance of historical understanding to contemporary concerns, and in this way, it serves as a model to all writers who seek to make their stories relevant beyond a handful of like-minded readers.

Emerald City's substantive chapters combine fine detail, depth of research, and what are often quite enjoyable turns of phrase with a sustained focus on the book's core themes. Among these, many historical geographers will find Klingle's ongoing emphasis on the social consequences of urban landscape change of particular interest. Topics in the book's early chapters include Native American land use and race relations; railroad development, land making, and the meaning of property; physical and social engineering; and urban park design. Later chapters examine the social politics of outdoor recreation: an emerging early twentieth-century awareness of links between environmental and social justice; the confluence of urban, suburban, and racial politics in post-war environmental action; and the complexities inherent in using the plight of salmon to construct an urban identity and to galvanize environmental awareness. *Emerald City* concludes with a strong, thought-provoking chapter expanding on the ethic of place and the role that historical thinking can play in advancing the book's underlying rationale: the creation of a more environmentally sustainable and just society born, in part, from the lessons of Seattle's history.

Emerald City offers readers an impressive model of scholarship: there are multiple lines of argument at work in the book at any time, and Klingle inspires confidence by stitching them together successfully time and again. Yet at the risk of unfairly assessing Klingle's book based on what he did not say rather than what he did, I would add that its engagement with the concept of place may leave some geographers wanting a bit more. Here we return to the relationship between environmental history and historical geography. The book jacket for *Emerald City* states that it combines a focus on environmental history, urban history, and human geography, and to a certain extent this bears out. Klingle makes reference to ideas about place within geography in his preface, and he provides a lengthy citation gesturing to key texts on place written by geographers. Nonetheless, there is little sustained or direct theoretical engagement here with the concept of place, or other concepts within human geography. This is an environmental historian's book, and although there is obviously no cause to fault it for that (and besides, book jackets are written by publishers looking to sell books to diverse audiences) perhaps there is something of a missed opportunity here nonetheless — one that might be instructive for historical geographers to consider. For despite being influenced by ideas about place, *Emerald City* does not necessarily advance or change how geographers might think about place conceptually. Klingle's provocative ethic of place lies at the core of the book, for instance, yet the book does not connect that concept specifically to larger discussions about place occurring within

human geography. In this sense, place is often used in ways that make it feel more akin to a literary device than a theoretical category.

I hasten to add that Klinge did not need to make his book speak directly to ideas of place in human geographic discourse, nor was this his stated intension. It remains a tremendously successful and enjoyable book without this. But I do think it is worth mentioning this absence because it suggests there may be more to say in the wake of *Emerald City* on questions about place and nature-culture relations in an urban, historical context. (Indeed, the book's ability to raise questions as much as its ability to answer them should also be an indication of its strength.) Historical geographers should consider reading this book in part because it is an example of great environmental history, and in part because it can help us think about how human-geographic concepts can potentially shape and be shaped by books yet to come.

– Blake Harrison

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From Rainforest to Cane Field in Cuba: An Environmental History since 1492. REINALDO FUNES MONZOTE, translated by Alex Martin. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. Pp. 384, maps, tables, illustrations, glossary, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$65 cloth. ISBN: 978-0-8078-3128-1. \$24.95 paper. ISBN: 978-0-8078-5858-5.

In travelling the vast stretches of Cuba's Carretera Central, or Central Highway, spanning the island from Havana in the west past Santiago de Cuba in the east, it is easy to peer out into the landscape and imagine that the vistas of sweeping prairies and fields, royal palms, and distant tree-topped mountains are the same as the vistas that Columbus witnessed upon his arrival on the island over five hundred years ago. Indeed, it is precisely the relative lack of an obvious human presence in those lonely stretches of road that gives the passerby such an impression of naturalness. This naturalized and naturalizing landscape, though, is the product of centuries of human actions in place. In the award-winning and newly translated tome, *From Rainforest to Cane Field in Cuba*, University of Havana history professor Reinaldo Funes Monzote recounts the post-Colombian history of landscape change in Cuba, change that he characterizes as "dazzling but unsustainable" (p. 276). Indeed, that change is astounding, from the day Columbus exclaimed that he had arrived in a land "full of tall, cool trees that...was a glory to see" (p. 7), to the early twentieth century, by which time political and economic forces, and the forces of thirty years of war, of globalization, and of international trade, led one newspaper columnist to lament:

Our forests reserves have suffered enormous loss with the considerable increase in fields devoted to the growing of

sugarcane....And we now see, too late, the fatal result of our carelessness and our fever to make all of Cuba into a vast cane field. We have not even been able to obtain the present good at the expense of the future (p. 229).

With what sometimes seems to be excruciating detail, in straightforward and undecorated prose Monzote shows the inextricable link between Cuba's forests and sugarcane, and guides the reader through the gradual transformation of Cuba's land cover from vast tropical and subtropical forests to a landscape dominated at first by many small sugarcane operations, and later by vast, foreign-owned sugar plantations.

For a book whose narrative ends nearly a century ago, what is perhaps most interesting is the spooky familiarity of the debates that Monzote relates surrounding natural resources, private ownership, government regulation, the public good, and environmental degradation. In one example, by 1800 politicians, religious leaders, and academics were already concerned with the implications of "the dominance of cash crops [in] making the colony increasingly vulnerable to the vagaries of the market" (p. 85). Even Alexander von Humboldt weighed in on the ongoing discussion, blaming "the imprudent activity of Europeans, which has turned the order of nature on its head" for the alarming lack of subsistence crops on the island (p. 86). In another eerily familiar example, an 1812 Royal Edict gave landowners "absolute freedom to do in them what suits them best" on their land (p. 120), which instilled in the landowning classes "an attitude toward the environment as a means to individual economic benefit, with no thought of the common good...or of foresighted ecological values" (pp. 133-134). While critics did ask tough questions, such as "what will be done with this vast terrain, which, although it has produced mountains of gold, will become sterile and without forests, and in which will stand out like ancient ruins the remains of the costly mills?" (p. 153), their effect was negligible as "selfishness was the invariable guiding principle, all observations about the ill consequences of the forests' destruction were met with smiles of disdain, and scientific papers were quickly forgotten" (p. 159). In yet another example, the early twentieth century witnessed a renewed concern for increasing "simplification of agroecosystems" (p. 219), this time brought on by increasingly large sugarcane operations and the unprecedented foreign ownership of land and production facilities. High sugar prices in the early twentieth century spurred further industrialization of sugarcane plantations, and by the 1920s, Cuba provided one quarter of the world's sugar supply. In all this, though, U.S. firms owned nearly seventy per cent of the sugar industry, controlling roughly twenty-five per cent of the island's national territory.

Estimates of Cuba's land cover at the time of Columbus's arrival in the New World range from sixty per cent to over ninety per cent. By the time Cuba's political and economic climate was such that meaningful regulation of its forests could happen, deforestation on the island was nearly complete. Announcing the 1926 moratorium of clear cutting forests on both public and private land, Cuban president Gerardo Machado stated:

Cuba's woodlands do not cover even 10 percent of its territory; since the period of high sugar prices and the planting of cane that has resulted from 1922 to the present threaten to finish off the rare woodlands that are left to us, the state must intervene in privately owned forested estates, imposing on them justified limitations, in the public interest (pp. 256-257).

Today, in an age of unparalleled understanding of the vital connections between human health and environmental well-being, yet a time of unprecedented environmental and human problems that range from climate change to global hunger, this story of almost complete forest degradation is an unsettling omen. Even in the face of continuously mounting evidence of the dangers of deforestation, private interests trumped the public good and the transition to an agricultural landscape based on a single cash crop was nearly complete by the early twentieth century.

While this book is particularly well researched, and the story it tells is compelling, there is still much to be desired. A trained historian, Monzote clearly understands the importance of thinking spatially, as evidenced by his use of both historical and contemporary maps. Yet most geographers will be disappointed by the low quality of the cartography. Full-page maps throughout the first chapter are sterile, inconsistent, and do not follow basic principles of cartography, while an impressive collection of historical maps throughout the volume are relegated to just halves or even quarters of pages, rendering them quite useless as communicative or analytical tools (see p. 135 and p. 140 for two particularly egregious examples). Further, as alluded to above, the sheer detail within Monzote's writing is both a blessing and a curse. At its worst, it seems that he has simply dumped every last detail of his investigation into the volume instead of undertaking the much more difficult task of synthesizing his vast research. At points, the reader is so overwhelmed with miniscule details that the larger argument is lost.

All of these issues aside, the biggest problem with this book is what is missing. Monzote makes no attempt to engage any of the ample bodies of theory that exist in environmental history, environmental or historical geography, or human-environment interaction. Throughout, a wide variety of theoretical connections seem logical, if not obvious, but go unmade. Similarly, Monzote makes little attempt to contextualize the story he tells in Cuba in terms of human-induced environmental change around the world. The reader would benefit greatly from this sort of broader contextualization. Yet Monzote sticks strictly to an in-depth and well-sourced description of what exactly went on in Cuba, in terms of the forests and sugar cane, between 1492 and the mid-twentieth century. Then, out of nowhere, long after the end of the book, tucked behind three appendices, over forty pages of endnotes, and a glossary of Spanish terms, appears a "bibliographic essay" in which Monzote sets out to "evaluate the qualitative relevance of some of the sources I used for this book and their interest for the study of Cuban environmental history generally" (p. 333). It is here that Monzote makes an earnest though feeble attempt to engage contemporary

scholarship in environmental and Cuban history. Its location inside the book, though, almost as an afterthought, takes away from its usefulness. As a result, while *From Rainforest to Cane Field in Cuba* is a thorough, if tedious, factual source for the geographer or historian researching landscape change in Cuba, it may be of limited interest to scholars interested in how Cuba's unique situation relates to other places undergoing similar environmental changes.

– John Finn
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The Upper Country: French Enterprise in the Colonial Great Lakes. CLAIBORNE A. SKINNER. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008. Pp. xiv + 202, maps, diagrams, index. \$25.00 paper. ISBN-978-0-8018-8838-0.

For those interested in the establishment, development, and expansion of French colonial activities in North America that were placed away from the St. Lawrence Valley ecumene of *Nouvelle France*, Skinner's new volume will be both informative and interesting, but also occasionally frustrating and incomplete. Organized chronologically to examine events, processes, and people from the hazy beginnings of French involvement with North America in the 1500s to 1756, this modest volume offers the reader a varied, quite detailed, and revealing examination of the expansion of French settlement, economic activities, and political geographic realities for areas to the west, northwest, and southwest of the St. Lawrence Valley.

Two factors have traditionally focused understanding of the French presence in the interior of the continent: their fur trade and the geopolitical competition with the British for resources, wealth, land, and allies. Additionally, the author presents a variety of examinations of French relations with the wide array of native peoples and nations, as they struggled to establish both control over and profits from their colonizing efforts.

Skinner begins with brief discussions about the initial engagement of the French with North America, the basis of their economic foundations of the fur trade, and their early relationships with the natives of this new found land. He correctly identifies useful resources for this exploration and expansion by the French, such as birch trees and bark for canoes, the river and lake systems needed for transportation, and the complex interactions with the vast array of tribal groups throughout what would become Canada, the Midwest, and eventually the south of the continent. Key to these developing relationships were those with the Iroquois of what was to become New York. These areas had clear and useful resources for both commerce and subsistence for the French and their allies. Yet there were liabilities, problems, and setbacks enough to both weaken and deflect French efforts through these vast territories. A lack of settlers for population

growth and labor, endless conflicts with natives and the rival English and English colonials, the huge distances to be traveled, and an endless litany of human foibles (*e.g.*, the less than totally dependable *voyeurs* and the less than totally honest officers and administrators) lessened the potential and actual accomplishments of the French.

In subsequent chapters, Skinner further elaborates on these problems. For example, earlier readings on LaSalle and Frontenac all too often identified their obvious energies and abilities, but downplayed the high-handed, often self-serving, actions of these two leading figures. So were the ups and downs present in markets for the main products of *Nouveau France* (furs) are explained.

Yet this process of European involvement with North America also massively changed the entire lifestyles, economies, and societies of native Americas. While the French fur trade did bring valued commodities such as metal tools and utensils, clothe, and other European goods to the "Indians," it also brought devastating diseases, debilitating alcohol, and a destructive propensity to force natives to take sides; for the French or British, and for or against other native groups. For those who are less aware of the vast, repeated, and destructive intertribal wars of the 1500s to the 1750, these discussions will be an eye-opener. Especially important among these intertribal conflicts (aside from those with the New York Iroquois) were those with the Foxes, the Illini confederacy, the Chickasaws, and the other Iroquoian-speaking peoples of western New York and southern Ontario-to-be. Not a few tribal groups were nearly or completely wiped out during these wars. Much of the fallout from the conflicts, too, created many of the "empty" lands that would entice later settlers (mainly from the English colonies) to cross the Appalachians and re-clear lands in what would become the American Midwest.

An additional point that was emphasized was the proliferation and spread of various trade posts, military bases, and small areas of settlement and development by modest numbers of French people, *métis*, and allied natives throughout the areas that the French "empire" spread. Although these rarely became large in population and cleared amounts of land, these posts and settlement areas usually occupied strategic sites along the riparian and lakeside travel routes that were the lifeblood of this far-flung set of French areas.

One clear difference between French colonial efforts and those of the British became quite clear from these readings. The British colonies, always more populated and more densely developed, slowly but steadily crept away inland from initial settlement edges near salt water. The French efforts at creating an empire were spatially, economically, socially, and politically much more ephemeral and spread out. Only in the St. Lawrence Valley was there a steady "within-sight-of-one's-neighbors" sort of settlement pattern. Once they reached the eastern end of Lake Ontario and traveled into the Great Lakes basin, the French pattern and purpose for development and resource exploitation became much more diffuse, scattered, and (often) temporary. Always distances were great for the French,

and numbers of participants modest. Ultimately, these characteristics would ensure that the French would lose their struggle for North America.

In general, after a modestly effective beginning similar to that of the French empire itself, this slim volume picks up in detail, interest, and understanding. Throughout the volume, Skinner provides many useful and clearly-drawn maps and diagrams that greatly enhance his prose. For this alone, the book is worth reading. But his content and discussions are well worth the reading, too. There are two flaws, however, that deflect from the success of this volume.

The first of these is that there is a lack of a real “ending.” The book just seems to end with a mention of the fight at Fort Necessity with the colonial forces of a young George Washington. There is no attempt to wrap up this story or to create a summary evaluation of the French colonial efforts. The second problem is simply that there is no explanation or evaluation of lasting French influence in North America outside of Quebec. The complex and massive conflicts with and among the native tribes of this region alone beg for such evaluation.

The end result is an informative volume that would be a useful tool for the teaching of early Canadian, American, or North American pasts, but also a book with an odd and somewhat dissatisfying end. The lack of an organized and reasoned ending makes this a good, but not a great, addition to the literature.

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Archive Style: Photographs and Illustrations for U.S. Surveys, 1850-1890. ROBIN KELSEY. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007. Pp. xii + 244, photos, works cited, index. \$49.95 cloth. ISBN 978-0-520-24935-6.

Archive Style interprets the motives and purposes behind three sets of federal government-authorized photographs. With a background in art history, Robin Kelsey has been trained to critique the representational strategies of images. Kelsey chose three sets of photographs that are atypical within their respective federal agencies. For each case study, Kelsey tries to explain the relationship between an individual artist’s style and bureaucratic demands. Each of the three employees receives a brief autobiographical treatment in order to better understand his circumstances. For context, Kelsey gives us a detailed history for a given set of images. This much-needed historical framework can be grouped broadly into three categories: a bureaucracy’s conventions of a given time period, a geological understanding of the scenes and events represented in the images, and the social milieu of a given era.

Archive Style’s case studies are from different parts of the country. Arthur Schott sketched landscapes, cacti, and indigenous peoples for a

report on the United States survey along the southern boundary of the Gadsden Purchase. Working for the Army Corps of Engineers, Timothy H. O'Sullivan photographed the American West for inclusion within federal survey reports in the 1860s and 1870s. O'Sullivan had a wide variety of scenes ranging from civil war camps to ruins to fissure vents. United States Geological Survey employee C. C. Jones took photographs of Charleston, South Carolina, in the aftermath of an 1886 earthquake. This collection features earthquake-borne damage such as numerous cracked buildings and disturbed ground. Particularly important are scenes showing humanity. Kelsey argues that Jones's photographs have been carefully positioned to reveal and reflect social division between whites and blacks in Charleston.

Four theories are central to Kelsey's deconstruction. First, image-makers served their employers, of course, but they also intentionally defied governmental conventions of the time. In this sense, each picture may be viewed as the result of a struggle between employee and employer. For instance, Kelsey suggests that O'Sullivan, "perhaps because he belonged to a class historically oppressed by a colonial power, forged particularly ingenious and sometimes critical representations of an imperial enterprise" (p. 141). Second, some artists scavenged a variety of photographic practices in the course of their work. Third, the survey archive cultivated new techniques in the representation of landscapes. Last, Kelsey's deconstruction acknowledges that photographs, and the archives that preserve and promote them, are rhetorical tools. Kelsey intertwines these four hypotheses to examine each set of images.

In so doing, the book considers the role of the photographer in taking the image and the effect on such elements as angle, lighting, and the positioning of both humans and inanimate objects. Robin Kelsey also examines primary sources about the agencies that allowed for these photographs to be published. This way, Kelsey infers a government agency's priorities based upon the photographs that they allow to be published. Kelsey's interpretations of images are plausible. In deconstructing images, one could utilize different theoretical frameworks and arrive at diverging conclusions from Kelsey's work, but Kelsey's thesis is sufficiently argued. Footnotes and citations appear to be rigorous. Kelsey draws upon manuscripts, government reports, correspondences, field notebooks, maps and journals in analyzing photographs and providing the reader with historical context.

Kelsey tries to be provocative, making a plausible argument regarding his interpretation of artists' and bureaucracies' decision-making processes. *Archive Style* speaks to art historians and archivists alike when he claims that image-makers had to negotiate their own ideologies with the practical concerns of their bosses. Kelsey gives geographers ample background on the power dynamics between image-makers and their employers.

For the most part, Kelsey's writing style is fine. As is common with academic writing, unfortunately, his wording sometimes obfuscates rather than clarifies. Some word choices will likely irk readers who believe that academic writing should strive for clarity to the fullest extent.

Archive Style will be of interest to historical geographers for multiple reasons. Foremost, scholars interested in photographic representation of place may want to see Kelsey's interpretations of work by Schott, O'Sullivan and Jones. Kelsey's background as an art historian serves him well in offering a thorough deconstruction of eighty-nine images presented in the book. Theoretically oriented historical geographers will be pleased to see that Kelsey's frameworks build upon poststructuralist literature, even as other historical geographers are bound to lament a writing style which could have greater clarity. Any of Kelsey's three chapters on a given image maker and his set of images could be useful as a part of a week's reading in a graduate-level qualitative methods course. Historical geographers interested in governmental surveys and the USGS will enjoy the book's thematic content.

In recent decades geographers have made contributions to interpretation of historic landscape imagery. Readers of *Historical Geography* might have found *Archive Style: Photographs and Illustrations for U.S. Surveys, 1850-1890* more useful if Kelsey had a thorough engagement with the scholarly contributions of geographers, but the case studies are interesting for their representation of geographic knowledge of the era.

– Matthew Liesch
University of Wisconsin–Madison



Remedies for a New West: Healing Landscapes, Histories, and Cultures. PATRICIA LIMERICK, ANDREW COWELL, AND SHARON K. COLLINGE, editors. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2009. Pp. x+324, illustrations, diagrams, maps, index. \$35.00 paper. 978-0-8165-2599-7.

It is difficult to look at the American West and not see environmental and cultural illness. The landscape is obviously riddled with the wounds left by extractive industries and suburbanization, while the problems of threatened cultural identities and practices are just as noticeable to careful observers. The editors of *Remedies for a New West* contend that although these lesions are troubling, careful preservation, restoration, and repair can "heal" the ailing region. Restoring the health of a complex region, the editors argue, requires a diverse set of approaches; healing remedies cannot come only from environmental scientists or cultural resource experts, but must also emerge from a variety of healing-minded westerners. A legal scholar, a linguist, an evolutionary biologist, a civil engineer, and an applied ethnomusicologist are among the authors in the *Remedies for a New West's* collection of essays. The volume emerged from a 2002 lecture series sponsored by the University of Colorado's Center of the American West.

The chapters in *Remedies for a New West* are divided into three sections. In the first section, authors address how threatened western cultural and environmental heritages of tribal sovereignty, Native American languages,

and suburban land resources can be saved through dedicated preservation efforts. The second section contains five chapters that explore how westerners can restore “what’s been lost.” In this section, authors examine strategies for recovering habitat, Mexican American literature, ecosystem connectivity, cultural dancing, and also remediating acid mine waste pollution. The third section explores the lessons in healing that we can learn from regional conflicts over the Endangered Species Act, species diversity, and the cleanup of Rocky Flats nuclear arms plant near Denver. While the sections progress logically from preservation to restoration to the lessons learned from these struggles, the section-division strategy adds very little to the overall architecture of the volume. Indeed, the strength of the healing metaphor that governs each essay provides enough of a foundation that the internal sections seem unnecessary to the book’s overarching argument. Perhaps a brief editorial introduction to each section would have helped to situate the sections more effectively.

As I just mentioned, one of the greatest strengths of this collection is the well-conceived healing metaphor. The editorial prologue, introduction, and epilogue establish the goal of regional health nicely, adding nuance and depth to a metaphor that, if used less effectively, could easily become stale. In her prologue and epilogue Patricia Limerick skillfully weaves personal accounts of her health history, her experiences in the academy, and her situation as a concerned westerner are among the highlights of *Remedies for a New West*. Moreover, the book is successful as an edited collection in part because of how each author incorporates the guiding metaphor of healing into his or her work. Authors such as geographer Hannah Gosnell gracefully explore how an increase in wild land connectivity creates more habitable spaces for large carnivores such as wolves whose presence in turn contributes to the creation of a more robust ecosystem. Unfortunately, not all of the authors are as successful in employing the metaphor. In these cases the idea of healing the West seems contrived, adds little to the essays, and threatens the power of the important message of healing that the book promotes.

Whether it is an environmental or cultural crisis, most of the authors agree that only concerned people can heal the West. Even though many of the environmental problems, for instance, are theoretically solvable with current technologies, the politics of the situation are more fraught. Sharon Collinge gives a nod to the technical challenges inherent in ecological restoration but ultimately questions the collective will of westerners to create the legal, financial, and political motivation to enable these healing technologies. In a similar way, other authors propose solutions that challenge conventional thought for western restoration. In his essay about acid mine drainage, environmental engineer Joseph Ryan suggests that western consumers, not mining companies, should “admit our own responsibility for the abandoned-mine problem” and as such should take responsibility for providing funding for mine cleanup (p. 189). “We may have to heal faulty memories of the history and legacy of mining” he suggests, “before attempting to enlist today’s communities in the healing of

the mine-contaminated waters" (p. 192). The novel solutions and challenging new ideas the contributors present all seem to illustrate how environmental and cultural healing inform one another.

One of the key premises of *Remedies for a New West* is that in order to heal the patient, one must have a clear sense of the patient and its problems. The authors and editors of this book have identified and offered useful prescriptions for many of the West's ills. Yet I fear that a key part of the West's overall identity might be ignored in this book—the urban identity. The authors seem determined to heal the wild, the rural, or the disenfranchised while ignoring the regional power centers that are so critical to the regional economy, culture, and environment. An essay by landscape architects Allan Wallis and Gene Bressler on suburban design begins to address the city but still tends to focus as much on the preservation of rural land as the functioning of these crucial urban areas. Just as western urban historians argue that the region was settled first from its cities, perhaps the healing of the West might emerge from its cities as well.

The editors of *Remedies for a New West* will likely succeed in encouraging academics and engaged westerners to talk about strategies for healing the troubled region. The diverse set of essays points the way to vibrant restoration debates. This is a book about healing the contemporary West's wounds from unsustainable and unjust legacies. It is not a book about the production of those legacies. Thus there is little to recommend for readers interested in historical analysis of the West's cultural and environmental wounds. However, as a model for politically engaged interdisciplinary scholarship this book is commendable.

— Jeremy Bryson
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Troubled Waters: Steamboat Disasters, River Improvements, and American Public Policy, 1821-1860. PAUL F. PASKOFF. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2007. Pp. xx+324, maps, plates, figures, index. \$48.00 cloth. ISBN 0-8071-3268-5.

Understanding the historic status of hydrologic systems requires careful and often exhaustive detective work. While there's always the proverbial belief that Ben Franklin or Samuel Pepys actually recorded stages of the Delaware or Thames in one notebook or another, more often than not, one is left with bits and pieces of evidence that have to be pieced together to understand something about the whole. Paul Paskoff has assembled quite the case file, used the evidence to construct some convincing arguments about the interactions between public policy and the rivers themselves, and summarized much of the file in well-organized data tables for the reader's use. *Troubled Waters* will be a resource for researchers for many years to come.

Paskoff divides the book into three sections. Part I lays out the ante-bellum history of river commerce, with particular attention to disasters and the dangers posed by snags. With this history as a backdrop, the remainder of part I is a chronology of the politics driving the appropriation of funding for river improvements, with a particular focus on presidential philosophies. Reading this first section, one is struck at how little things have changed over the last century or two. During my reading, Mark Sanford took his walk on the Appalachian Trail and fell from his perch as a go-to opponent of federal intervention. His pre-Trail rhetoric, played repeatedly for context in media coverage, was strongly echoed in the words of the ante-bellum South Carolina representatives Paskoff quotes. Interestingly, Paskoff suggests that what has become hallowed tradition grew at least partially out of the fact that river navigation in South Carolina was negligible other than that along the Savannah River. As Savannah sits in Georgia, there is little reason, in a strict bare-knuckle sense, for South Carolina to support internal improvements for the rest of the country, particularly as the growth of the nation eroded their political power. This chronology is well-written and quite interesting, nicely summarizing a wild time in United States politics.

Part II focuses on quantitative analysis of questions raised in part I and in the larger literature on riverboats and the effectiveness of ante-bellum federal spending and policy. Chapter 4 details the history of federal spending on river improvements, exploring the tight connection between surplus and river improvement appropriations, the interactions between river improvements and economic development in the western states, and concluding with a description of the snag pulling boats and crews utilized by the Army Corps of Engineers. Chapter 5 examines both trends in river boat destruction, examining the interactions between technological innovations and the potential for snagging and the competition for funding between river improvements and railroad capitalization. River improvements could not compete with railroad capitalization at the federal level given railroad's gamut of boosters ranging from simple technology enthusiasts to speculators and local legislators with fortunes to be gained with the growth of railroad towns. The culmination of this section is an evaluation of the effectiveness of public policy, and a challenge to the conventional wisdom that early "new classical" economic historians had formulated out of river improvement history. Early river improvements were a substantial contributor to the development of river transport and, more important, the policies worked.

The third section of the book, while not necessarily given equal footing by the author, is equally important to the other two. Paskoff has included four appendices, including a description of his river boat disaster database, his methods for apportioning miscellaneous congressional appropriations and deflating these appropriations, and the data filled appendix D. Appendix D is a resource that just about anyone will find something interesting in. Tables include compilations ranging from river boat wrecks and maverick legislators to federal land sales and steam boat engines. I know I will end up referring back to appendix D as I continue

to explore historical hydrology. I can only assume others will find similar utility.

While my review obviously is favorable, the book is not without shortcomings. Perhaps the primary disappointment I have with the book is the scope and the targeting. While I understand the need to correct neo-classicist economic historians, the conclusions, given the data rich environment, are somewhat unsatisfying. Is the only measure of public policy's success how it performs at stated purposes during limited temporal periods? Certainly that formulation of the system makes some sense (*e.g.*, the penchant for cost-benefit analysis), but it can neglect realistic time and space horizons and affect the struggle between ideas. While Paskoff demonstrates that co-variance structures undercut conventional neo-classical interpretations, this clever bit of work is anti-climatic. I wanted more, if for no other reason than the struggles in the first half of the 1800s can tell us a lot about our contemporary struggles.

I would also like to have seen the projection of some of the gathered data onto space. While 53 figures (mostly scatter plots) were prepared for the book, there are only two maps, which are reproductions of historic documents. Some of the sophisticated geo-political points Paskoff makes would be well served with a simple thematic map. Moreover, additional insight is likely to be gained once things such as the spatial distribution of river improvement dollars through time or the cumulative distribution of maverick legislators by state are mapped. Given the significant work necessary to organize the data, these analyses and illustrations would be relatively simple to generate.

Ultimately, *Troubled Waters* is a book that does many interesting things, ranging from a coherent and lively discussion of federal wrangling for river improvement dollars to careful quantitative analysis of a wide range of sometimes abstract data. Moreover, while the subject matter is sometimes confined to fine points about public policy and river safety, the data range far and wide, and are a delight to the curious. I hope Paskoff continues to walk this beat.

– Daniel J. Bain
University of Pittsburgh



Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company. MILES OGBORN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007. Pp. xxiii+318, 22 halftones, index. \$40.00 cloth. ISBN 9780226620411.

Founded in 1600 and dissolved in 1873, the English East India Company's existence spanned the transformation of England from a European kingdom under the Stuarts into a colonialist metropole at the center of a global commercial empire. The long ascendancy of Company power in

India placed it at the forefront of these transformations, and many scholars have looked to the period before the official creation of the British Raj in 1858 as the crucible of modern forms of economic and political governance. With *Indian Ink*, Miles Ogborn offers a new chapter in the large and venerable historiography on the English East India Company. Yet his book departs the traditional story and becomes unique in its focus on the uses of script and print by Company agents, advocates, and detractors as they tried to give sense and shape to the protean world of international finance unfolding around them. But the study of texts, for Ogborn, is not the study of authorship and the representations or cultural meanings that circulated within imperial networks. Here, analyzing the power of print means following the markings of Indian ink back to their spaces of production: the stock-jobbers' coffee houses, the pen of the monarch, the accounting practices of a merchant vessel, and the printing offices of Calcutta. Ogborn's attention is to the material practices of scribes, editors, translators, typesetters, sponsors, and publishers, whose work making and disseminating knowledge can be used to "decipher the entanglements of both a will to power and the many forms of agency that needed to be negotiated for trade and empire to be pursued and realized" (p. 21).

The bulk of *Indian Ink* lays out these entanglements, roughly tracing the Company's expansion from England and its internal change into a modern corporation. Each section deals with a different medium of communication, beginning with the analysis in Chapter 2 of the power connoted in the crafting of Royal Letters intended to broach trade with the Indian sub-continent. Chapter 3 provides an overview of the Company's accounting and management practices, demonstrating their increased reliance on print and written communication to the geographical distances they sought to overcome and exploit. Herein lies Ogborn's most novel claim, that organizational forms of writing and power used by the English East India Company go together with the "logic" of modern exchange. The potency of capitalism as an abstract force "was exactly the effect achieved by the separations, hierarchies, and controls instituted in the factories' writing offices as the sites of local practices of abstraction and standardization performed upon chains and compilations of inscriptions and reinscriptions" (p. 102). Two more sections relate the moral debates over capitalism through printing houses in London (Chapter 4) and how gaining of trustworthy knowledge-at-a-distance for the "making" and usage of stocks moved from the local geography of Exchange Alley and onto the printed page (Chapter 5). When the political economies of these spaces are mapped onto the historical geographies of Asia and Europe, a topography of script and print emerges that is much more than a new chapter in the history of empire and colonialism. Indeed, Ogborn offers a complex argument that because print capitalism enabled geographical rule from a distance, the writing of East and West profoundly shaped the experience of contact during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

A study in the writing and dissemination of documents is not without precedent. Colonial historians studying knowledge once assumed that the British relationship to India was one of enlightened benevolence where rational systems were bestowed upon a backward people. The post-colonial critique has mirrored this optic, but suggests that the increased circulation of knowledge did not lead to the betterment of colonial subjects; rather, it acted to displace local knowing, discipline conduct, and reify colonial subjectivities. Both models privilege Europeans as makers and mappers of knowledge, whereas Ogborn's focus on the way knowledge was materially made suggests an alternative. Aligning to the work of C.A. Bayly and Kapil Raj, *Indian Ink* presents a schema of colonial knowledge that, although penetrated by asymmetrical relationships of power, required the cooperation of English and Indian peoples and practices. Ogborn is therefore keen to point out at every vantage that the encounter of British and Indian epistemologies on the printed page co-contributed to the colonial order of things, an argument best illustrated in his final chapter, "The Work of Empire in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (Chapter 6). Geographies of script and print do more than disturb the easy distinction between colonizer and colonized or the bounded geographies of England and India, they throw light on how new political territories were co-produced through the experience of contact, trade, and empire.

Indian Ink is a book of sound erudition. Ogborn has revisited well-thumbed East India Company collections and the familiar archives of Streyنشam Master and Warren Hastings, but returned with different arguments. His square focus on the quotidian practices of print and script-making opens his work to big questions about the ontology of knowledge, the nature of the written word, the historical geography of science, and the assemblages of power and communication. Ogborn skillfully lays out these debates in Chapter 1, "The Written Word," though he does this at the expense of a sounder discussion on the historical geography and historiography of his subject. Much of the detailed analysis and rich archival research that provide the content of this book speaks to the social history of knowledge – only secondarily is scholarship on empire and post-colonialism considered. While the new directions *Indian Ink* provides in the geographies of knowledge-making will be of interest to all readers of *Historical Geography*, non-specialists of early-modern England and South East Asia, like this reviewer, may find the many "logics" of imperialism--the violence, greed, and oppression--in which this story is situated difficult to discern. No doubt Ogborn is concerned with these things too; his book will be a great asset to all future studies of empire.

– Matt Dyce

University of British Columbia



The Land Has Memory: Indigenous Knowledge, Native Landscapes, and the National Museum of the American Indian. DUANE BLUE SPRUCE and TANYA THRASHER, editors. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. Pp. 1884, illustrations, table, appendices, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth. ISBN: 978-0-8078-3264-6. \$24.95 paper. ISBN: 978-0-8078-3264-6.

On September 21, 2004, thousands of American Indians from nearly 500 native nations of the Americas descended upon the National Mall of Washington, D.C., to celebrate the opening of the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian. The museum and accompanying celebration sent a powerful message that American Indians are a present and thriving part of the American cultural fabric. The museum building and surrounding landscape stand in stark contrast to the classical architecture and manicured lawns of the national mall. The curved stone structure resembles a cliff emerging from the land. The grounds are filled with overlapping native plants, a simulated wetland that attracts local wildlife, and a section of crop lands bearing corn, beans, and squash. The aesthetics of the place provide a sense that American Indians have uniquely claimed their space on the national mall.

Through a series of essays and photographs, the book *The Land Has Memory: Indigenous Knowledge, Native Landscapes, and the National Museum of the American Indian* tells the story behind the process and practices employed in the design of the museum site. The essays, all written by people involved with the museum, catalogue the ways that the museum site has been designed to reflect American Indian ideas about the land. Though authors recognize the complexity and variety in American Indian experiences with the land, they tend to argue for a set of pan-Indian ideas about the land which have been expressed in building and landscaping processes.

The essays describe a design approach that was rooted in acknowledging and respecting the history of the land, focusing, in particular, on the site where the building is situated. In the essay "Allies of the Land," Gabrielle Tayac situates the building site within a more than ten-thousand-year social, geological, and ecological history of the Chesapeake Bay region. A number of building processes served to honor this history. The simulated wetlands acknowledge the marshy past of the D.C. region. The waterfalls and flowing water at the museum site are intended to be reminiscent of the waterways that used to run through the area. In addition, landscape architects were conscious to plant the grounds with indigenous plants to represent the pre-contact ecological diversity of the region.

This book also presents many examples of the way the museum site was designed to honor instead of overcome the landscape. The museum structure itself was created to look organic with few sharp edges, a domed roof that is reminiscent of a smoke hole, and areas where falls of water cascade from the building's façade. Before construction, builders went through processes of speaking to the land in the museum site and expressing their intentions for it. In addition, builders were conscientious about the materials incorporated into the building. They traveled to sites

where the materials originated, such as stone quarries in Quebec, and included local indigenous peoples in ceremonies to honor and bless the materials before they were extracted.

The book shows how the design reflected indigenous ideas of a working landscape. Several essays work to dispel romantic myths of the American Indian as one with nature and describe the complicated ways that American Indians have manipulated and harnessed their surrounding landscapes to achieve important results. The grounds have been designed to reflect this working yet sustainable vision of the landscape. The landscape contains a croplands section with Zuni-style "waffle" gardens, and swaths of corn, bean, and squash plantings. Tobacco, wild rice, medicinal plants, and other harvestable species are grown.

The clunky nature of the book's title does, I think, reflect its difficulty in developing a coherent argument and structure. The essays can seem more gathered together than building toward a final idea and the book lacks a strong conclusion to bring the myriad thoughts together. There is some overlap in material between essays, which makes it feel repetitive at times. In addition, the layout of the book can be difficult to follow. Multiple-page text boxes are dropped into the middle of essays with little warning or delineation from the main text. Also, the book provides little discussion of the way the grounds have been received by native and non-native visitors, which would have provided important insight into the life of the museum site.

Finally, it isn't until the last essay, which describes how invasive plants and over-population of waterfowl have muddied the original intentions for the grounds, that the reader gains any sense of the potential messiness involved in this large undertaking. The glossy pictures and glowing essays present the museum design as if it were the most straightforward and life-affirming process, though I imagine that designers had to grapple with incredibly difficult issues (and it is no secret that the process included several personality clashes: the lead architect left the project mid-construction). Designers would have needed to consider how to present a notion of American Indian uniqueness without perpetuating stereotypes or confining indigenous peoples to a set of expectations. How to create a design that remains coherent without masking the complexity in perspectives and input from such a large and diverse array of communities? For a more complicated look at the processes and impacts associated with the museum, readers may wish to examine *The National Museum of the American Indian: Critical Conversations*, edited by Amy Lonetree and Amanda Cobb (University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

The Land Has Memory is clearly designed for a broader audience--as something that could be picked up in the museum gift shop. The story rarely delves beneath the surface to explore some of the difficult questions inherent in this kind of project and that can make it feel like a bit of a missed opportunity. Still, the work does provide a unique window into the processes behind the design of this landmark building. It details the conscientious ways that American Indian architects, designers, and builders

worked to reclaim and redefine the museum design procedures that have for so long colonized and bound their communities. This is an important story to tell and readers will likely be inspired by writings on the power and uniqueness of this undertaking.

The book could serve as a compelling addition to lower-level undergraduate courses in geography, design, or American Indian studies. Several essays would provide accessible grounds for discussing important academic concepts about landscapes, memory, museums, expectations, voice, and power. By cataloguing the process of designing a museum site that is both largely contemporary and reflective of the deep-seated “memory” of the land and people it serves to represent, the book presents a convincing case for complicated and dynamic understandings of American Indian peoples.

– Laurie Richmond
University of Minnesota



What is a City: Rethinking the Urban After Hurricane Katrina. PHIL STEINBERG and ROB SHIELDS, editors. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2008. Pp viii + 233, illustrations, maps, index. \$19.95 paper. ISBN 0-8203-3094-9.

New Orleans resembles and at the same time persistently defies the urban patterns of many other cities—cities in the United States, delta cities, entrepôts, global tourism hubs, and the list goes on. Most recently, due to hurricane Katrina in 2005 and its aftermath, New Orleans joined the long list (including Mexico City and San Francisco) of cities beset by a kind of massive disaster that is a chain of both nature-driven events and human actions (before and after the storm itself). Of course, this city, like any other one, has encountered calamities before. But as this book shows, Katrina was different. To pick just one measure, over a year after the hurricane, less than half of the residents had returned to the city proper (p. 21), especially those who happen to be African American. In its own complex ways, whatever it is that made and destroyed New Orleans, the city once again seems to elude classification—from the fact that levee failures and evacuation problems were foreseen to the appalling services of George W. Bush’s “heckuva job, Brownie” and the new Department of Homeland Security.

The intellectual puzzle set out, therefore, is how to rebuild for the diaspora, while making the city something else, a place somehow better or more resilient. But the book is no prescription or blueprint. Instead, its thesis is that in order to remake a city, one must relearn what a city is. The question “what is a city” must be constantly present in the minds of developers and politicians, even if they’re not fully aware of it. But the elite city builders and rulers, as the world knows, got it wrong here. Very

wrong. Copying the same mistakes will obviously lead to worse disasters. What can be learned out of this situation about addressing urban social justice, equity, and space-making? Perhaps more importantly, where does one look, given how city building and establishment urban planning let New Orleans drown?

The answers hardly come here on the basis of a monolithic concept. Instead, a plurality of discordant voices throughout the book speaks to us from various disciplines and walks of life. I found this quality useful and thought-provoking, particularly when we are (still) so close to 2005, and particularly when the authors seem to disagree with each other. It seems like the editors strove to combine activist voices, like an early chapter called "New Orleans' Culture of Resistance" by community organizer Jordan Flaherty, with scholarly social theory, and even visionary future scenarios, such as an exciting chapter by the peripatetic writer duo of Geoff Manaugh and Nicola Twilley, who penned a piece called "On Flexible Urbanism" about the design possibilities of floating urbanism.

In other words, if the reader is looking for a cohesive author that can characterize where New Orleans "fits" in the history of cities, or a meta-theory on what generates urban form, this is not the place to find it. Chapter Four (on New Orleans as a delta city, by co-editor Rob Shields) could be a start. But Shields's analysis reveals this city to be an in-between condition (between land and water, to name just one of its defining qualities) that has invited partial-yet-totalizing misreadings of what are in fact its simultaneities and contradictions. Past meta-theories about New Orleans have made the city out to be a fixed, mysterious other (*i.e.*, "creole," unique, marginal). Shields masterfully reveals how these are deciphered out of the elusive liminal condition of the city.

The book's organization helps to put the ideas in some order. It is partitioned into an "introductions" section (which includes the Flaherty essay mentioned above), followed by four more subsets of essays: "Materialities," "Mobilities," "Memories," and "Divisions and Connections." These subsets are explained in the first essay in the book by co-editor Phil Steinberg. He calls these the "main tensions that are present in all cities" (p. 4). These "tensions," propelled either by hegemonic or at times by popular forces, materially produce the uneven landscape of our cities, I deduced. This framework, in any case, matters very little for the many people whom I think will find the usefulness of this book to be in its individual essays, which could easily be assigned separately as part of a course reader. I would, for example, assign the marvelous final essay by Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria, "On Street Life and Urban Disasters: Lessons from a Third World City," alongside Eric Klinenberg's work on Chicago's 1993 heat wave if I wanted to discuss the role of social networks in the resilience of cities.

Finally, if there were one notion that I could point to that seemed to unify all the essays from beginning to end, it would have to be the notion of "failure." Many of the chapters explicitly asserted it and none of them really took apart what this failure means. One often encounters ideas like "faulty engineering" and "poor planning" (p. 22), and later on, the

“abdication of responsibility” (p. 30), or a “problem of landscape design” (p. 66).

As partial exceptions, two essays in the “Mobilities” part (Hugh Bartling’s and Matthew Tiessen’s) explored mobility in the city—or lack thereof when the hurricane struck—and showed that it is not mere happenstance but the product of design. Jacob A. Wagner also writes in one interesting quote: “The image of New Orleans as a clean slate is fundamentally flawed...and reveals *intentions* as well as ignorance” (p. 172, emphasis added).

I would have appreciated at least one chapter that took on the notion of Katrina as failure more explicitly, inquiring into that intention to which Wagner alludes, and explored how the so-called failure is perhaps more guided and encoded into neoliberal planning than what many discourses reflect. Several scholars in recent years have noted the neoliberal transformations (*i.e.*, the shrinking) of the federal and state role (Steinberg’s essay pinpoints this clearly and Bartling’s does so in great detail), the opening up of disaster response to private contractors like the former Blackwater corporation (see Mike Davis’s articles online from after the storm), and the devolution of risk management to the private household and the individual level. (See James S. Fraser’s research, for example). The lack of health-care in the U.S. is also a construction of private accumulation that needs to be brought to bear on the so-called failure of recovery. (How does one recover without proper healthcare?)

In the book, Steinberg and Bartling both note the neoliberal transformation of New Orleans (pre-Katrina) into the “fifth-largest convention destination (even though it ranked twenty-first in population among U.S. cities)” (p. 13). We now need further study on how the more visible structures of the late twentieth-century neoliberal city interact with the less visible—and often more private—spaces of risk that have been created simultaneously. What this book begins to get to is that what we saw on the television and the computer screen, including the media’s participation in constructing that retrospective glance at Katrina, was very likely what racialized neoliberalism at work looks like. Altogether, this volume makes quite a valuable contribution to the study of Katrina, cities, and disasters.

—Javier Arbona
University of California, Berkeley



Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861. RAÚL A. RAMOS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. Pp. xiii+320, map, illustrations, tables, figures, notes, index. \$35.00 cloth. ISBN 978-0-8078-3207-3.

In *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861*, Raúl Ramos traces the history of the contemporary Texas border

region from the period of Mexican independence until the United States annexation of Texas. In contrast to prior scholarly work chronicling this period, which has presented the narrative from the perspective of either the Mexican nationalist or Anglo-Texan perspective, Ramos' efforts provide a voice to Tejanos, a group occupying both physical and social liminal spaces. As frontier residents, Tejano identity evolved within the context of changing political, economic, and social structures. Ramos centers his case study upon the experiences of Bexareños, or the residents B́exar, the area that would ultimately become San Antonio. While contemporarily considered centrally located in the "heart of Texas" and the nexus of the Texas independence movement, a study of B́exar and of Bexareños effectively demonstrates how national conceptualizations of ethnic identity are often not simply "we" and "they" classifications. In the case of B́exar, efforts to preserve the local sense of place and ethnic continuity often took precedence over the national identities that attempted to pull this frontier region between the nation-states to the north and south. The result was that Tejano involvement (or in some cases lack thereof) in the two independence movements may have seemed inconsistent from an outsider's interpretation, but a closer examination of these events from the perspective of Tejanos themselves suggests their decisions were reasonable given the available alternatives.

Ramos explains that his work here is both scholarly and personal as he sought to understand how stories of past heroic efforts in Texas typically failed to describe the activities, contributions, and opinions of people like himself whose hybrid backgrounds were neither purely Anglo or Mexican. *Beyond the Alamo*, then, adds to the body of literature associated with Chicano Studies and follows in the vein of New Western Historians who seek to understand the role that power relations played in the shaping of the American West. After a brief introduction and prologue, the volume is divided into two primary parts. Part 1 is composed of three chapters, each providing the social context of a different ethnic group residing in the borderlands at the time of Mexican and later Texas independence. The first chapter focuses upon the identity of Tejanos with regard to localized social hierarchies influenced by their Mexican heritage as well as their role in the campaign for Mexican independence. The second and third chapters explore the relational identity of Tejanos as they interacted with the indigenous and Anglo populations. In these two chapters, Ramos highlights how Tejanos occupied a border region both physically and socially due to racial mixing and by serving as "cultural brokers" between the various ethnic groups. While the first part of the book focuses upon the social context present at the time of Mexican Independence, Part 2 follows by tracing the impacts of Texas secession and American annexation upon Tejano identity. The four chapters included in this portion of the volume describe how the social and political role of Tejanos changed during this period. With the rise in Anglo immigration, traditional community hierarchies based upon class and interfamilial relationships were displaced by those defined along racial and ethnic lines.

Ramos describes these events at both a broad scale that documents overall trends taking place in the border region as well through a detailed case study of Juan N. Sequín, a prominent Tejano and community leader in Béxar who found himself at times in agreement with Mexican and Anglo interests and at other times at odds with them. The case study of Sequín further supports Ramos's argument that the generalized Tejano political position was often framed within the context of the Mexican federalist/centrist causes that would eventually be used as a means for supporting Texas secession. Ultimately, conceptualizations of Mexican nationalism would recede into the background as a more localized Tejano identity emerged.

Beyond the Alamo synthesizes a broad range of primary and secondary source materials to weave together an intricate tale of ethnic identity shaped by the border experience. The text is rich in historical detail that would aid anyone seeking to understand the political landscape present in the border region during this time period. The ideas Ramos presents have particular relevance to geographers in that they focus upon historically and geographically contingent identity; the author, however, does not integrate any theoretical understanding of such scholarship into the volume. While ideas related to such geographic concepts as sense of place are implied, they are taken for granted. The introduction provides a cursory review of theoretical literature related to identity and nationalism, but goes no further to critically engage with that research nor the work associated with place identity. Ramos does bolster his introduction with a final concluding chapter that introduces the transnational approach to understanding history whereby intricate webs of social relations interwoven across place and time. Transnational histories retreat from methods that emphasize the story of the single nation and recognize that all scales of analysis from global to local are needed to fully describe the past. Such an approach requires that a history of the U.S. borderlands includes political, economic, and social events and outcomes that are geographically distant. Given the significance of this approach, it is unfortunate that the author placed it at the end of the entire book rather than giving it the prominence it deserves in the introduction.

In sum, despite the theoretical deficiencies, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861* makes valuable contributions toward understanding the complex social and political networks at hand in the southern borderlands during the early nineteenth century. Moreover, the work provides important insight into the historical development and reconstruction of Tejano identity.

– Toni Alexander
Auburn University



Transforming Environmentalism: Warren County, PCBs, and the Origins of Environmental Justice. EILEEN MCGURTY. Piscataway, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2007. Pp. xi+189, index. ISBN 0-8135-3966-8.

I remember the local evening news reports and discussions among family and neighbors that surrounded the protests that occurred in North Carolina's Warren County during the early 1980s. Citizens of a predominately poor, African American community were protesting against the state and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The citizens were opposing an attempt to locate a PCB landfill in their community. Ultimately the state and federal agency won out and the landfill project was completed as planned. What was not expected was the national and international awareness these protests inspired. In *Transforming Environmentalism*, Eileen McGurty argues that the environmental justice movement began in this small community, just two counties over from where I sat watching it unfold on my television years earlier. The role of these events in the creation of a national movement is the topic of McGurty's book. Through the examination of federal and state policies, an understanding of the foundational literature in environmental justice, a methodical examination of the events in Warren County, and various interviews, McGurty successfully demonstrates the role of the Warren County protests as triggers for change in the development of the national environmental justice movement's identity and strategy.

In the opening chapter, McGurty positions the Warren County events within the greater environmental justice movement, and she ties this movement to civil rights and modern environmentalism. She offers a brief but well-presented history of how civil rights and modern environmentalism merged to create the social movement of environmental justice, paying particular attention to its construction and the challenges to its diversity. Chapter 2 outlines the progression of federal policy against the backdrop of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*. The evolving relationship between business, the intellectual environment, and an increasing federal presence created conflict between advocates for uninhibited economic growth and the growing awareness of its environmental impacts. The consequence was what McGurty calls the "opening of a new political space" (p. 49). In this context, she begins the narrative of Warren County that continues through Chapters 3 and 4 and discusses how the "Not in My Backyard" and environmental-racism frameworks worked to create this new political space in which Warren County citizens could support their opposition. Chapters 5 and 6 are both forward-looking; Chapter 5 in examining the current status of environmental justice and Chapter 6 as a return to Warren County.

One of the strengths of this book is the well-organized and full-circle discussion, through a compelling narrative, of the role of local activism in the development of national policy. While the initial protests in Warren County did not prevent the placement of the PCB landfill, McGurty's comprehensive analysis of its role in a national paradigmatic shift demonstrates that the campaign was not without success. *Transforming Environmentalism*

illustrates how combining a real-life story with strategic analysis is effective in considering the foundation for larger movements and in providing an opportunity for follow-up. Determining a point-of-origin for large phenomena can be problematic. McGurty, however, asserts the shaping of a social movement is not represented by a point in time but rather by a shift in the understanding of problems that creates an opening for alternative solutions. The result is empowerment to form networks and encourage action. The ability of Warren County residents to take advantage of these solutions in their entirety is part of McGurty's conclusion: "As the second phase of activism in Warren County illustrates, environmental justice, while an enormously powerful organizing principle, can have the unintended consequence of reinforcing the very problem it is attempting to dismantle" (p. 162).

As with her assessment of Warren County, McGurty also considers the entirety of the environmental justice movement outside of any particular place. Students interested in understanding the progression of environmental justice, and how simultaneous movements both encouraged and hindered its progression, would appreciate the history presented here. The introductory chapters provide a concise, organized framework, while the final chapter is a careful reflection on the previous twenty-four years of environmental justice and its current status. Scholars on environmental justice will appreciate McGurty's critique on the realization (or failure to realize) the goals that embody the movement. Finally, geographers will appreciate McGurty's commitment to an analysis that fully incorporates time, place, and scale.

— Ashley Ward

University of North Carolina



The National Mall: Rethinking Washington's Monumental Core. NATHAN GLAZER and CYNTHIA R. FIELD, editors. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008. Pp. viii+220, maps, photographs, index. \$28.00 cloth. ISBN 978-0-8018-8805-2.

In his foreword, James Cooper notes that "the [National] Mall is both a living monument and a work in progress" (p. vii). Its importance is dramatized by the recent controversies over the World War Two Memorial and the National Museum of the American Indian. Here, we find two competing philosophies: respect for the past, and the possibility to serve future generations.

In his Introduction to this collection of ten essays, Nathan Glazer identifies the National Mall in Washington as the "most cherished tract of urban public land in the United States" (p. 1). He describes members of the McMillan Commission, formed in 1901 by Senator James McMillan of Michigan, with Daniel Burnham, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., Charles Follen McKim, and Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Glazer notes that the Mall embodies democracy, originating in the Capitol of the world's greatest

democracy, the unadorned obelisk to Washington as its midpoint, and concluding in a proposed memorial to Abraham Lincoln (p. 3).

The book is organized into three parts. Part One examines the McMillan Commission, also known as the Senate Park Commission. In what Glazer calls the prelude, Michael J. Lewis describes the original intent for the land by Pierre L'Enfant, a contemporary of George Washington. Among Lewis's concerns are the movement of the Mall from an aesthetic venue to a didactic one, with new issues of crowd control, security, and handicapped access. He contends that this added security and the visitors centers will thwart L'Enfant's original concept of openness. Richard Guy Wilson describes the Roman forms that dominated McKim's designs, plans that went far beyond L'Enfant's original vision. We learn of McKim's philosophy of architecture, along with examples of his designs, such as Boston Public Library and Columbia University. As a part of the American Renaissance, he contributed to the rise of eclecticism in late nineteenth-century American architecture.

Daniel Burnham's contributions are enumerated by Cynthia Field. The commission often used the words dignity and beauty: in this case dignity meant order, to achieve a new plateau in urban planning. Field also demonstrates how Burnham's Swedenborgian faith contributed to his idea of interrelationship between the whole and parts of the mall. "Burnham's approach to planning was a spiritual one, embodied in urban form." (p. 45) He governed by what Field calls a "cooperative value structure" that places the goals of the group ahead of any individual. In "A Simple Space of Turf," Witold Rybczynski comments on Olmsted and the idea of simple space, "neither avenue nor park" (p. 2). Andrew Jackson Downing, the nation's leading garden designer was commissioned in 1850 by President Millard Fillmore to plan improvements to the Mall. A pedagogue, Downing reinforced the idea of a didactic National Park. His premature death in 1852 halted this idea. Presenting more than mere biography, Rybczynski relates the connection to the elder Olmsted's plan of Central Park, the younger Olmsted's commission to landscape the Capitol in 1874, and his reentry into the Mall as landscape at the American Institute of Architects convention in 1900.

In Part Two, the "Nation's Gathering Place," anthropologist Edith Turner describes how places become sacred and solemn. Photographs exhibit the sacred nature of people's activities, a performance by Marian Anderson at the Lincoln Memorial (1939), Martin Luther King's famous speech there (1963), and the dedication of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (1982). Turner is quite poetic in her prose as she compares religions and their sacred events to those in the Mall. Symbolically, the Lincoln Memorial "became a lodestone" to the Civil Rights Movement. The Mall has become a site of a variety of expressive freedom — civil rights, Vietnam Vets, AIDS quilts.

Poet Frederick Turner writes of the pilgrimages taken to the Mall. He examines seven elements of pilgrimage, and the degree to which the Mall fulfills these: rest and recreation; reclaiming the past; community; healing; divination — like temples in Jerusalem; orientation — based on all roads lead

to Rome, a place of measurement; and finally, transcendence. These pilgrimages are seen as similar to those associated with the religious sites of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Richard Kurian illustrates the popular uses of the Mall, making several literary references. He examines the Smithsonian Folklife Festivals' influence on the Mall, beginning in 1967. He shows how the 1969 festival changed the Mall from boring to an interesting and active area. These events are particularly challenging to conduct, host, or manage, because the "Mall is among the most heavily regulated spaces in the world" (p. 108). Kurian enumerates several situations and permissions required that one may take for granted.

Part Three addresses the problems of preservation and the monuments for the future. Glazer looks at modernism. When the McMillan Commission designed the Mall only one great monument existed, the obelisk to George Washington. Glazer takes the reader on the voyage to the Jefferson Memorial and the opposition it faced in 1937, a conflict between traditionalism and modernism. He examines Lewis Mumford's far-reaching dictum, "monuments cannot be modern." But the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, a modernist structure, transcends this philosophy—why? Glazer offers three reasons: the artist Maya Lin's personality did not interfere with the design and its concept; putting names in chronological order by date of death was a "stroke of near genius" (p. 131); and its silence—no words on the monument other than names. Judy Feldman looks at those who are building on the Mall today, and identifies three controversial projects: enhanced security at the Washington Monument, using well presented photographs; underground visitor center for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial; and the World War Two Memorial at the axial center. She outlines the failures of the Commemorative Works Clarification and Revision Act of 2003 (P.L. 108-126) in its attempts to impose a moratorium on new mall projects. She finds conflict inherent in the National Park Service mission, "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects" (p. 150). Multiple agencies oversee various aspects of the Mall, making change a complicated process. Patricia Gallagher comments on the future beyond the core. Due to overbuilding on the Mall, the Legacy Plan has adopted a wider project area, with the center axis on the Capitol Building. She exhibits how the Legacy Plan will embrace "diversity while building on the fundamental principles that unite us as a nation" (p. 174).

A bibliography and index complete this fine volume, useful in describing the evolution of thought concerning the National Mall. For those seeking a brief historical view of the Mall, including colored maps of its evolution from a riverbed to its current configuration, see Cliff Tarp's essay, "America's Front Yard (D.C.)," in issue 6 of the 2004 volume of *National Geographic*. Cattle once grazed on the Mall, near the period of the Civil War.

—Ralph Hartsock

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Green Republican: John Saylor and the Preservation of America's Wilderness. THOMAS G. SMITH. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006. Pp. x+404, maps, photos, index. \$40.00 cloth. ISBN 0-8229-4283-6.

Environmentalists might be forgiven for raising an eyebrow at the title of Thomas G. Smith's sojourn across the partisan divide, *Green Republican: John Saylor and the Preservation of America's Wilderness*. This engaging book traces more than two decades of environmental politics in the United States through the actions of a genuine Republican environmentalist, but after eight years of ragged skirmishes against the George W. Bush administration, today's conservationists likely strain to recall a time when Republicans ran on even or better terms than Democrats to protect the environment. If we are truly to enter the period of "post-partisan" politics that many analysts now describe, the actions of Pennsylvania Representative John Saylor can offer insight into how—at least with respect to environmental advocacy—green politics could trump the relatively recent branding of red and blue America. That, at the very least, makes this book an intriguing and useful resource.

As a thirteen-term congressman from western Pennsylvania, John Saylor was not an obvious prospect for the bevy of lifetime achievement honors ultimately bestowed upon him by national environmental groups. Smith's clear-eyed portrait of Saylor's rise to conservation eminence takes care to note that the congressman remained ever-attentive to local issues such as coal mining, steel manufacturing, and organized labor in his heavily industrialized district. In fact, it was Saylor's determined protection of the coal industry that spurred some of his early strokes for environmental protection, namely leading the fight against dam-building in Dinosaur National Monument and the Grand Canyon.

The prospect of federally financed hydroelectric dams inundating scenic western parklands chafed doubly at Saylor, not least because he viewed such projects as "[coal] miner displacement programs" (p. 4). As one disgruntled opponent vented about Saylor, he "is against hydropower dams as much as a man can be. He is against them 24 hours a day, seven days a week, forever and ever. He is against hydropower dams because they ostensibly do violence to pretty canyons. But he is also against them because they allegedly compete with coal-fired electric plants fed by his state's coal diggers who live in his district" (p. 5).

Saylor's role in the successful battles to protect Echo Park in Colorado (part of Dinosaur National Monument), and Marble and Bridge Canyons in Arizona (now included in Grand Canyon National Park), were but pieces of the environmental legacy he helped shape during his tenure in Congress from 1949 to his death in 1973. A tally of bills influenced prominently by Saylor during this period reads something like an honor role of US environmental legislation: the Wilderness Act, Endangered Species Act, National Environmental Policy Act, Clean Water and Clean Air Acts, protection of California's ancient redwoods, regulation of surface mining and reclamation, the creation of a Wild and Scenic Rivers System, and

settlement of land claims in Alaska, among others. On numerous other occasions, such as his impassioned opposition to dams in national parks, Saylor's efforts were marked not by legislation passed but by developments halted.

The breadth of Saylor's efforts to protect the environment—particularly scenic wildlands of the western United States—creates a certain organizational challenge for a book of this scope. Smith opts to organize *Green Republican* primarily fight-by-fight rather than by pure timeline. The result is a book that moves swiftly as the suspense invariably builds over whether and how a particular canyon or forest will be spared; there is, however, also a certain chronological slippage as issues that spanned a number of years overlap and take turns receiving the narrative focus.

The fact that a key player in all this hailed from the coal belt of Pennsylvania and was an environmentalist Republican will no doubt surprise many of today's readers. Even more surprising in many respects is how utterly forgotten Saylor's actions have become in the years since his death. Indeed, a number of contemporaries whom Saylor pushed to take more aggressive stances in favor of environmental protection—brothers Stewart and Morris Udall, for example—have ascended to the pantheon of environmental heroes far more visibly than Saylor himself. The evaporation of Saylor's lasting reputation as environmental champion is one of the few aspects of his story that *Green Republican* fails to satisfactorily address, in part because Smith closes his chronology with the congressman's rather sudden death following heart surgery.

To Smith's credit as a writer and scholar, *Green Republican* manages to elevate the reputation of John Saylor to considerable degree while at the same time highlighting many of the contradictions his actions involved. Saylor supported the damming of the Delaware River at Tocks Island (the dam was never built), even as he pushed hard for the passage of a Wild and Scenic Rivers Act designed to protect such stretches of free-flowing river. He also maintained a keen friendship, routinely cut deals and crafted legislation with Congressman Wayne Aspinall (D-CO), who as the long-time chairman of the House Interior Committee earned a reputation as a pro-development crusader. With growing recognition of the global threat of carbon emissions and climate change, there is also an element of uneasiness in revisiting Saylor's efforts to protect free-flowing rivers and wilderness while aggressively promoting coal-fired power plants.

Whether or not these ought to be considered prohibitive blemishes, Saylor was clearly one of the most important figures in either party to direct environmental legislation that remains heralded to this day. Perhaps green Republicans all operate to some degree in the shadow of their most prominent member, President Theodore Roosevelt—and more pointedly, they suffer from the actions of their less-than-green counterparts—but John Saylor, for one, clearly deserves his day in the sun.

—David Havlick

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