

BOOK REVIEWS

Desert Cities: The Environmental History of Phoenix and Tucson. MICHAEL F. LOGAN. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006. Pp. ix+228, maps, illustrations, tables, index. \$29.95 cloth. ISBN 0-8229-4294-1.

The world abounds in tales of rival cities that share a common nationality but declare distinct identities. São Paulo is the engine of growth in Brazil while Rio de Janeiro is where people know how to live. Montreal is the city of culture, architecture, and fine food while Toronto celebrates TGIM (Thank God it's Monday). San Franciscans turn their noses up at the glitz and glare of Los Angeles. These are, of course, caricatures that make for interesting conversations in airport lounges, but Michael Logan argues that the cultures of Phoenix and Tucson, Arizona are different enough to merit a scholarly investigation. By asking the question of why and how Tucson is different from Phoenix, Logan has written an engaging and informative volume on the history of these cities and the region. Residents of arid climates as much as students of urban history would be wise to read this book.

The author grew up in Tucson and is now a professor of history at Oklahoma State University. From this healthy distance, he sets out to explain the distinct identities of Tucson and Phoenix, but he is careful enough to recognize that they share many common traits—there is plenty of suburban sprawl in Tucson, and not all of Phoenix is populated by over-watering homeowners with mesic landscapes. Still, he is not splitting hairs by recognizing that the cities are in fact different places. Nor as a native Tucsonan does he adopt a holier-than-thou attitude about his city's more progressive policies compared to its bigger, more conservative brother up the road.

A major argument concerning the different growth trajectories of the cities is related to water; the Santa Cruz River that flows through Tucson has less than one-quarter of the flow of Phoenix's Salt River. This permitted more agricultural development in Phoenix than in Tucson and instilled different senses of water scarcity (Tucson is a national leader in water conservation efforts). Logan also argues that the cultural and ethnic makeup of the cities early on made a difference in their identities and growth patterns. Tucson began as an old Spanish settlement while Phoenix was always pitched as an American city. Although both cities had their share of pro-growth boosterism, Phoenix

was able to sell itself as an open-shop American city. Tucson sold itself, in part, on a romantic vision of its Spanish past. As such, Tucson embraced its heritage and desert landscape while Phoenix promoted its American virtues and worked hard to eliminate the desert. Both cities fared better than most parts of the country during the Depression, but by the 1930s Phoenix had secured its position as the major metropolis of Arizona. Lucrative contracts during the Second World War and the influx of defense-related industries afterwards assured Phoenix's ascendancy.

The book starts with a traditional historical approach of describing the physical settings of the two cities. Thankfully, the physical landscape does not remain in the first chapter and is carried through the volume, but the environment is not as prominent as one might expect in an environmental history. The author's focus on water and climate is understandable, but he could make better use of research on ecosystem change in the two cities over the last hundred, or even thousand years. The book emphasizes land-use change, perhaps the most significant environmental transformation in the region over the last century, but treats it in a relatively generic way by measuring only the transition from an agricultural to urban land cover. A finer-grained analysis of land-use decisions would help to highlight the different experiences and environments of people living in Phoenix and Tucson. Logan makes the point that Phoenix welcomed Motorola as a clean, smokeless industry, and yet one of the Motorola plants is now a superfund site. Urban environmental historians can contribute much-needed historical perspective to the growing literature on environmental justice and thereby illuminate the environmental histories of urban residents.

Logan shows that high-tech industries in the region, especially in Phoenix, benefited from increased federal money for defense contracts. Its location far from the coasts, which were supposedly vulnerable to enemy attack, plus the preponderance of dry air and sunshine, was a boon for the air force and defense-related firms, particularly the electronics industry. Technological innovation, especially air conditioning, made the cities livable year round. Winter tourism has always been vital to the region, and boosters were effective at promoting the virtues of Arizona to sniffing easterners, but both cities saw the growth potential of attracting permanent residents. But, then as now, employers had to convince potential employees that air-conditioning could solve the problem of extreme summer heat, one of the few environmental characteristics that keeps even more people from moving to the region.

Although the widespread adoption of air-conditioning was an important precursor for growth (and one that ironically increased the urban heat-island effect), it was the extensive water infrastructure that supplied farmers and now developers with the critical investment of the rapidly growing Southwest. Logan deftly carries the reader through the intricacies of delivering, stor-

ing, and treating water in the region. Even with substantial federal subsidies, though, Tucson was reaching a water supply crisis by the 1970s. The attempt to raise rates failed and still remains a “no-go” for water managers, so city leaders were forced to develop a water-conservation education plan, one that eventually became a model for the nation. Hitting the limits of water supply also strengthened the slow-growth movement in Tucson, while in Phoenix “such voices remained marginal” (p. 182).

The differences between Tucson and Phoenix will be tested as the region continues to expand. Growth models suggest that the two cities will sprawl into a single megapolitan “Sun Corridor” in a decade and double their populations by 2040. For a region undergoing rapid change and filling with newcomers, this book provides an important historical anchor. Readers will come to know that previous generations struggled with the same limitations that face modern urban dwellers, and at times lived under very trying and harsh conditions. But boosterism has a long and successful history in the region, and current promotions of the Sun Corridor are simply part of a long continuum of growth built on the idea of selling place with little regard for natural limits.

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Improved Earth: Prairie Space as Modern Artifact, 1869-1944. ROD BANTJES. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005, Pp. xi+204, maps, diagrams, index. \$45.00 hardback. ISBN 0-8020-8782-5.

For over two decades, scholars in the social sciences and humanities have drawn attention to the relations of knowledge, power, and the production of space. In *Improved Earth*, sociologist Rod Bantjes explores the spatial strategies of governance, class formation, and the transformation of nature on the rural Canadian prairies during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He presents the book as a Foucauldian history of the “abstract spaces of modernity” (p. 3), focusing particularly on the spatial politics of inscribing the grid of the Dominion Land Survey upon the prairie landscape. In this respect, it contributes to the ongoing debate over the politics of calculation, the ordering of geographical space, and the governance of populations.

While he describes his approach as “anti-foundationalist” (p. 4), Bantjes rejects what he views as the epistemological relativism of postmodernist thought and instead takes his point of departure from the work of Michel Foucault, Anthony Giddens, Marshall Berman, and the Marxian tradition more generally. Several themes recur throughout the text, such as the notions of gov-

ernance-at-a-distance, panopticism, time-space compression, and the abstract space of the survey grid as a technology of power.

In the Introduction, Bantjes briefly outlines the chief aims of the project as well as his theoretical approach and historiographic method of “counterfactual history” (p. 4). By the latter, Bantjes refers to history “written not only by documenting actors’ ‘here and now’ (and certainly not by working back from what came to be) but also through uncovering what, for actors, *might have been*” (p. 4, italics in original). He affirms the utopianism of such an approach to history and suggests that it opens up a whole new “counterfactual world of the possible” (p. 4), which may even shed light on the social and environmental struggles of the present. Bantjes explains the book’s title by noting that the term “improved earth” has its origins as “a now obsolete road classification” but maintains that it can also be seen as a “metonym for the whole range of modernist spatial projects on the prairies” (p. 5). Viewed in such a manner, the gridded network of rural roads was a concrete abstraction that provided the spatial framework for constructing a “legal grid” of property boundaries that structured face-to-face interactions as well as trans-local governance practices.

In Chapter Two, Bantjes offers an overview of the Dominion Land Survey of Canada, and he argues that “[t]he grid provided a convenient template, a sort of artist’s frame, through which narrative could be ordered in ‘objective’ space abstracted from particular observers or natural landmarks” (p. 15-16). Echoing recent Foucauldian commentators, Bantjes contends that “the practice of survey rendered the landscape visible for those at a distance” (p. 16). Yet he also highlights various forms of local resistance to the Cartesian spaces of the grid. For instance, Bantjes discusses a number of cases in which survey markers were destroyed or removed by local inhabitants as well as obliterated by prairie fires. He even speculates that the destruction of survey posts may in some cases be interpreted as “a kind of guerrilla resistance to the land claims of the Canadian government” by the local Métis population, which consisted of individuals of mixed indigenous and European ancestry (p. 20).

It was only with the permanent settlement of the prairies that local property owners had a vested interest in maintaining the boundary lines and spatial inscriptions of the grid. However, some settlers, particularly those from Eastern Europe, favored the establishment of more communal village settlements over the isolation of the individual homestead. Within the context of debates over immigration in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the grid was perceived by many Anglo settlers as the spatial embodiment of their own racial superiority. To the extent that the grid became discursively “racialized,” Bantjes argues that those “who resisted the grid resisted ‘whiteness’ along with the ethic of Crusoean self-reliance and bourgeois accumulation” (p. 34). He further suggests that the grid represented a gendered landscape of “rectilinear

masculinity” (p. 34). Without providing caveats or qualifications, however, such an interpretation runs the risk of essentializing the grid—not to mention the very constructs of masculinity and femininity—as a discursive-material formation.

The spatial restructuring of the prairies via the survey grid was directly connected with the project to reconfigure time through the “disembedding” (p. 41) of local spaces, which Bantjes explores in greater detail in the remaining chapters. The infrastructure necessary to engage in the production, marketing, and distribution of wheat was part of the “trans-local machinery” (p. 47) that Bantjes views as fundamental to the numerous attempts of “modernizing” the countryside. Far from mere passive recipients of modern technologies and innovations, he depicts wheat farmers themselves as active modernists who “came to love their uniform square fields” (p. 62) and learned how to negotiate with the sovereign state over the spatial practices of self-governance.

The specter that haunts the pages of *Improved Earth* more than any other is that of nineteenth-century Benthamism, or rather the limits of panoptic surveillance techniques in rural Canada. The irony of the grid in the countryside was that while it theoretically constructed an abstract space of administrative calculation, low population densities that resulted from the individualistic dispersal of the population over vast tracks of land made it difficult for state officials to actually inspect each locale. Bantjes points out that local farmers exploited this limitation of the state’s authority by developing cooperative networks of exchange and self-governance that, at times, directly challenged the state’s ability to define the *de facto* jurisdictions that constituted the “local” scale itself. The infrastructure of panoptic inspection, in other words, was a two-way street. “In some ways,” Bantjes argues, “it may have been easier for the public to see ‘in’ than for officials to see ‘out’ or gain a clear picture of goings on in their far-flung territories” (p. 121). Similar arguments have been made before by contemporary writers such as Patrick Joyce and Matthew Hannah, yet Bantjes places greater emphasis on the role of class formation in the resistance to state governance.

Bantjes’ own argument could have been considerably strengthened if he had engaged more thoroughly with recent scholarship that covers much the same ground, albeit not within the Canadian context. Nevertheless, *Improved Earth* is a welcome contribution to the spatial history of modernity and could productively be read in a graduate seminar exploring the different theoretical lenses through which to pursue historical geography.

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Asbury Park's Glory Days: The Story of an American Resort. HELEN-CHANTAL PIKE. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 2005. Pp. xvi+208, color plates, photographs, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth. ISBN 0-8135-3547-6.

Helen-Chantal Pike, a freelance writer and photographer, employs the classic methods of our discipline in this study of a famous Jersey Shore community. Combining over two hundred photographs with extensive interviewing and diligent work in local archives, she has assembled a visually impressive account of the city's rise, fall, and possible revival. Appreciating the potential herein, Rutgers University Press promoted it via publication in oversized format (8½" x 9¼") and arrangement of a twenty-one-stop speaking and book-signing tour for Pike. Historical geography sells!

The book begins and ends with personal statements from the author, where she reveals frequent visits to the resort as a child and employment there as a young reporter. The core material is presented in seven chapters, each tracing community history from a particular perspective. The first is a quick overview. Then come ones on physical expansion and ethnicity, the beach and boardwalk, commercial entertainment, resort hotels, the downtown, and relationships between seasonal and permanent residents. Each chapter is richly illustrated. Photographs occur on virtually every page, and half-page recollections from fifty-six residents, former residents, and visitors appear as sidebars. At midbook is a self-contained "album" of color plates.

An attentive reader can learn much from *Glory Days*, for Asbury Park's story focuses on the traumatic national transition from Victorian to modern life. The town founder, James Bradley, was a New York industrialist who wanted to promote a family-oriented retreat where Christians could take contemplative strolls in the oceanside air. To that end, he named his 1870 creation after the nation's first Methodist bishop (Francis Asbury), banned alcohol, and kept noisy carousels a considerate distance from his cottages and beach. Fittingly, Asbury Park's signature attraction became an annual baby parade.

Bradley's initial vision remained intact for about fifty years. It was epitomized by a series of rambling, shingled hotels, each with turrets and wide verandas. These were full-service establishments with billiard rooms, saltwater baths, and separate meal hours for children and nannies. None were heated, however, since the resort essentially closed after Labor Day. Change came when the wealthy families of New York and Philadelphia began to perceive vacation options more remote than New Jersey. The shore communities responded by advertising to the urban middle class. They constructed convention centers to accommodate large groups and added nightclubs and elaborate movie houses to appeal to short-term visitors.

A gaudier Asbury Park remained prosperous through the 1960s, but

then declined precipitously. Pike dates this transition to 1956, the year the Garden State Parkway opened the entire coastline to easy automobile access. Now visitors had their choice of many beach alternatives. When the mammoth Disney World theme park opened in 1971 and similar creations followed suit, Asbury Park's more modest entertainments suddenly looked dated. People and businesses exited fast, leaving a scene so bleak that, by 1991, it was dubbed "Beirut on the Jersey Shore" (p. xi).

Pike also provides intriguing information about the internal geography of a resort town and the competition for business among different shore communities. Early on, as it became obvious that workers needed places to live, a new "west side" sprang up beyond the tracks of the New York and Long Branch Railroad. Here, in a somewhat hidden world, houses were smaller, but a person could find real stores for groceries and other basic goods. African Americans and Italian immigrants predominated. Asbury Park's two halves were politically joined only when east-side officials needed west-side votes to approve the sale of liquor.

Pike does not develop the concept of rivalry among beach communities, but offers interesting tidbits. Ocean Grove, Asbury Park's nearest neighbor, was originally a strait-laced campground for serious Methodists. Long Branch, six miles north, was a much more worldly place known for gambling and horse racing. Bradley neatly slipped Asbury Park into a middle social ground. His community grew, in part, because of a decline at Long Branch after the death there of President James Garfield. Pike also writes that Asbury Park initiated a "Mrs. America" competition in the 1930s because of the proven success of the Miss America Pageant in Atlantic City.

Glory Days is an ambitious book in several ways and obviously a work of love for its author. The list of acknowledgements goes on for two pages, the bibliography is solid, and countless hours went into interviews and the selection of photographs. As I suggested at the outset, it had the potential to be that rarest of monographs—one colorful and appealing to a general audience yet solidly grounded in scholarship.

Two things mar *Glory Days*. A thematic approach to chapters leads to chronological repetition, but a more serious failing is the book's narrowness. Helen-Chantal Pike, with her insider background, has assumed that her audience already knows the town. She itemizes vast numbers of people and businesses, and a reader eventually suffers glazed eyes and loss of the bigger picture. We are told, for example, that in 1955 Zimel Resnick and Edward Lange "bought the adjacent Newark Hotel on Cookman Avenue and the old Turner's Grill and Ocean Spray Hotel over on Lake Avenue. They had the structures removed, along with the remains of the Kingsley Street funhouse" (pp. 72-73). Not only do readers never hear these names again, but no good maps exist to locate them or any of the other pavilions, lounges, and streets under discus-

sion. The same criticism applies to the personal vignettes. A few would be colorful additions to the narrative, but fifty-six of them impede flow and understanding. Pike needed an out-of-state editor.

Asbury Park's Glory Days is a useful book for historical geographers. It is a model for how to assemble old photographs, newspaper archives, and interviews into a unified whole. Its details suggest several important studies as well, especially comparisons of various niche strategies adopted by competing resort communities and how leaders there perceived and adapted to changing social conditions. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the book serves as a caution on the difficulties of balancing an insider's local knowledge with an outsider's wider perspective.

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The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic: Architecture, Landscape, and Regional Identity. GABRIELLE M. LANIER. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005. Pp. xviii+250, maps, figures, appendix, index. \$46.95 cloth. ISBN 0-8018-7966-3.

Historian Gabrielle M. Lanier's *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic* provides a welcome interdisciplinary study of the material culture and historic landscapes of the often overlooked "region" of the Delaware Valley in the early national period. Lanier draws from many perspectives including history, cultural geography, material culture studies, anthropology, and archaeology, and she does a thorough job of integrating these perspectives into her research. Through case studies of Warwick Township, Pennsylvania; North West Fork Hundred, Delaware; and Mannington Township, New Jersey (each treated in its own chapter), Lanier argues that the Delaware Valley is not a mere convergence zone between New England and the South and, by being a distinct region, the Delaware Valley deserves its own scholarly investigation. Furthermore, she argues that the Delaware Valley consists of many diverse sub-regions and that one could label it a "region of regions." This assertion forms the basis for some of the problems with the book and also as a source of confusion for the reader.

Lanier's first chapter provides a worthwhile interdisciplinary literature review on the problematic concept of "region" in an attempt to define the Delaware Valley. She makes the compelling point that one reason the Delaware Valley may not have received much attention from scholars could simply be because it is not as easily discernable as New England or the Upland South.

Although specialists in these regions may take issue with her observation, Lanier must be given credit for making this bold point and for her attempt to give the Delaware Valley (and the greater Middle Atlantic) serious examination.

Fans of more traditional cultural geography will be pleased to see how Lanier begins to explore the characteristics of the region in her case study on Warwick Township in southeastern Pennsylvania. In this chapter, Lanier utilizes diagrams of house types, floor plans, and photographs (reminiscent of the work of Henry Glassie and Fred Kniffen) to examine the built environment of Warwick Township and its reflection of the ethnic diversity in this sub-region. It is important to point out, however, that Lanier does assume some knowledge on behalf of the reader in her discussion of the vernacular architecture and other forms of material culture in this chapter. This is evident from the points she makes about the distinctiveness of certain features in the sub-region's material culture that may not be as noticeable to the untrained eye or to novices in material culture studies. Some additional photographs or enhanced detail on the illustrated figures would have helped both to exemplify and differentiate the characteristics she addresses.

Chapter Two also sets some misleading expectations for the remainder of the book. Lanier switches gears in the third chapter to demonstrate how legend and folklore play a role in shaping the material landscape of "marginal" Sussex County, Delaware. The case study and its presentation do not follow clearly from the previous chapter, especially since Lanier mentions that many of the buildings and other indicators of North West Fork Hundred's historical landscape did not survive, which results in few figures or other visuals for the reader—a stark contrast to the figure-rich Chapter Two. Although I do not doubt that folklore impacts the cultural landscapes of a particular region, this chapter is not as convincing because Lanier fails to provide visual evidence of *how* the local folklore impacted the landscape. Perhaps she could have chosen a better case study to illustrate her point.

Lanier shifts again in Chapter Four, a case study of Mannington Township, New Jersey. Here, Lanier argues that the old brick houses of the elites of southwestern New Jersey function as "ancestral maps" that link artifacts, location, and history. The writings of late nineteenth-century local historians on the significance of the brick houses provide an uneven presentation of the historical and cultural landscape of Mannington Township since the brick buildings outlasted the dwellings of other groups in the area. The fourth chapter is similar to the second in that Lanier once again uses many figures, though they are placed inconveniently at the *end* of the chapter and not within the text. This is perhaps indicative of the confusing organization and presentation of the book.

In Chapter Five, Lanier compares her findings from the previous

chapters and some additional communities in the region to reiterate her argument about the uniqueness of the Delaware Valley. Although I do not question the distinct qualities of the region, her contention that it is a “region of regions” does not effectively hold up when one considers her avenues for making the argument. The lack of consistency in the case studies makes it difficult to see how her comparisons are valid when she examines different topics in different ways at different places and at different times. How is it fair to draw comparisons with this method? Even though the book covers the period from roughly 1780 to 1830, Lanier seems to take this span of time as unproblematic, which I find ironic for a historian. Making comparisons from non-parallel case studies makes it difficult for the reader to grasp her argument. Of course, this may be Lanier’s point: the Delaware Valley is not really homogeneous at all and consists of a great variety of sub-regions. But as I read this book from the perspective of a geographer, I think it should go without question that all “regions,” no matter how seemingly constant, are variable and diverse. Thus, her point about the Delaware Valley as a “region of regions” comes off as a bit banal.

By examining multiple aspects of each sub-region, the book reads as if Lanier is perhaps trying to do too much for such a thin volume; a consistent, comparative study of one or a few topics in each sub-region would have been more effective than the many topics she tries to cover in each chapter. On the positive side, Lanier engages with a number of scholars and disciplines, and geographers should be pleased to see a historian give their discipline worthy attention. The book reads quickly and it reaffirms the necessity and viability of material culture studies. Perhaps most importantly, it provides a timely contribution to an under-researched area of the United States. For better or worse, however, its compacted and incoherent presentation leaves the reader asking for more.

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City Trees: A Historical Geography from the Renaissance through the Nineteenth Century. HENRY W. LAWRENCE. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006. Pp. xvi+336, maps, photographs, diagrams, index. \$75.00 cloth. ISBN 0-8139-2533-9.

Some of my most beloved urban places—Philadelphia’s Rittenhouse Square, my favorite taco stand in Los Angeles, the University of Oklahoma campus and surrounding neighborhoods in the college town of Norman—are

special in part because of their trees. Rittenhouse Square, simultaneously verdant and cosmopolitan, is the quintessential urban park and the trees that seem to rise as high as the surrounding buildings are one reason I am charmed by it. When I lived in Los Angeles, I awoke early every Saturday morning to eat *huevos rancheros* at Tacos Delta, because if I did not get there by seven, someone else would beat me to my favorite outdoor table beneath a tree. There I had a satisfying panorama of Sunset Boulevard and distant hills, and fed pieces of tortillas to dozens of small birds that flocked to it. The Oklahoma campus and the residential areas of Norman nearby are tree-covered and idyllic, the antithesis of the state's image, and convinced me more than anything the faculty said to enroll at OU. It was there that I began to write about the important role tree planting played in the making of place in Norman and other towns on the Great Plains.

My love for trees and their role in the urban environment made me look forward to reading this book. The author is an emeritus professor of geography at Edinboro University in Pennsylvania and I sense that this project was a labor of love he worked on for years during summers and when he found time amid the heavy teaching schedule of a regional state university. He began it as a graduate student at the University of Oregon more than two decades ago as a respite from his dissertation research (a study on the geography of the US nursery industry). Photographs taken by the author over a twenty-five year period in France, England, Italy, Spain, the United States, and Cuba not only show that the author spent time in the libraries of the countries he studied, but also that he visited many of the leafy landscapes he writes about. No doubt he spent his own money to travel to those places and carry out his research. For all these reasons and more, I wanted to like this book. Alas, it was a disappointment.

Lawrence states in the preface that his book is meant to be "quasi encyclopedic," and that choice is part of its fault. The book is organized chronologically and geographically. We learn, decade-by-decade and country-by-country, how trees came to occupy a more conspicuous place in cities around the world. The narrative becomes repetitious as a result since few cities—Paris, Vienna, London, Amsterdam, Florence—were pioneers in the incorporation of trees into the urban landscape. Most cities were followers. We learn that ideas first developed in France or England were copied elsewhere. As the examples of imitation pile up, the mind wanders and the book becomes tedious. Lawrence chose breadth over depth and undermines the quality of the book in the process. We do not learn enough about the most important places or innovations, and read too much about cities that were comparatively inconsequential. The survey approach also leaves too many questions unanswered or unexplored. The question that most often gets short shrift is "why?" Why did attitudes about trees change? Why did urban planners and landscape

designers increase their planting of trees? Why did particular ideas about integrating trees in the urban landscape originate where they did?

In the notes, the author declares that he is “leaving out the deeper meaning of trees in this work.” Although I appreciate his reluctance to delve into philosophy, psychology, and other knowledge beyond his expertise, I cannot comprehend how it is possible to study the history of urban trees without grappling more than he does with questions of meaning. The meaning of trees in general shaped why and where particular trees were planted, how they were used, and the ways in which urban dwellers responded to them. Most trees in cities exist because of human action, so it is essential to understand what humans were thinking in order to understand why they did what they did. Part of the problem may be the limitations of the author’s research. The book relies on secondary sources such as local histories, scholarly studies of cities, and books on landscape design and park planning. Trees are not the focus of most of these works, so it is unlikely they considered their meanings in depth. Lawrence acknowledges he did little archival research. Yet it is in archives and primary sources that he would have found information that shed light on the meaning of city trees—in correspondence, dairies, memoirs, speeches, government documents, and periodical accounts. Given the scale of his study, he could not have conducted primary research in many places, but if he delved more deeply into his subject in a few key locales, I think he would have added much to our understanding of the subject.

Lawrence tells us what happened when and where, but what this leaves out is what I most wanted to know. The book needs more stories, anecdotes, first-hand accounts, and reflection about what it all means. He talks too little about informal tree planting, giving preference instead to projects that were planned and documented, if only because sources exist about them. But informal tree planting, undertaken by unknown individuals in front of homes and elsewhere, has been integral to the making of the urban forest. The book ends with the rise of industrial cities in the nineteenth century, but so much has happened since then that he could have enlivened the study and made it more compelling to planners, urban dwellers, and tree lovers today. Lawrence is also guilty of the all-too-common scholarly crime of feigning objectivity and distance when, I suspect, he has none. It is inconceivable that the author would have spent decades working on this book unless he had a strong fascination with the subject and it would have benefited from his perspective.

Does this book have value? Yes. It provides a useful synthesis of city tree planting around the world, and so would be a good place for any future scholar to begin trying to understand the evolution of urban arboriculture as well as trends in the use of trees in particular portions of the westernized world (his focus). Like any first work on a neglected topic, *City Trees* also expands our knowledge merely by bringing together in a single volume scholarship about a

particular topic from a wide variety of sources. Lawrence's writing is straightforward and jargon free and his prose generally easy to understand, if dry. The book is well-illustrated, though there is little effort to integrate text and image, so the maps and photographs end up being little more than pleasant pauses without much purpose. The book does suggest what it could have been, such as when Lawrence tells of how elms planted by "former tyrants" in France were cut down after the French Revolution and "liberty trees" were planted as symbols of popular power, or when he writes about citizens in Philadelphia who successfully blocked a drive by the insurance industry to force removal of all street trees because they presented a fire hazard. I only wish there was more of this sort of narrative.

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Design with Culture: Claiming America's Landscape Heritage. CHARLES A. BIRNBAUM and MARY V. HUGHES, editors. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005. Pp. viii+215, illustrations, index. \$22.50 paper. ISBN 0-8139-2330-1.

While the title of this volume is an obvious reference to *Design with Nature*, Ian McHarg's 1969 manifesto for the nascent field of ecological planning, it is not a parallel study that would serve to perpetuate the conceptual split between nature and culture. Nor does it propose a comprehensive approach to cultural landscape preservation. Rather, this collection of nine essays recalls a time in the profession of landscape architecture well before twentieth-century modernism and the environmental movement when landscape design was an act of both creation and conservation firmly grounded in the cultural landscape.

When Carl Sauer first introduced the term "cultural landscape" into the United States in his 1925 essay "The Morphology of Landscape," his stated interest was in how such landscapes were formed by humans expressing their place in nature as an agent of change. While human geographers debated the merits and methods of interpreting cultural landscapes for much of the twentieth century, other groups outside of the discipline latched onto the concept. J.B. Jackson's *Landscape* magazine was an important point of diffusion from the 1950s through the 1970s, serving as a platform for writers who questioned the impact of postwar modernist design and planning on the quality of the American built environment. Many of the contributing scholars, designers, and public intellectuals were early and influential advocates in the late twen-

tieth-century movement to reconnect design and planning with an understanding of regional culture and history.

Over the last twenty-five years, a multidisciplinary group of scholars has begun to consider everything from urban tenement housing to suburban shopping malls as cultural landscapes. Many organizations outside of academia, however, employ a more limited and less critical definition. By the 1980s, land conservation and historic preservation organizations began using the term to expand their traditional focus to include issues of cultural landscape heritage. In conjunction with the National Parks Service, the American Society of Landscape Architects now works to preserve and interpret publicly accessible historic (including modernist) landscapes under the category of cultural landscapes. Today's professionalized preservation bureaucracy is distinct from the mainstream of landscape architecture. Modernism and the cultural authority accorded to the avant-garde may be to blame for expunging history from design curriculums, but the environmental movement also erred in magnifying a view of nature as devoid of human presence.

Design with Culture makes clear that prior to these mid-twentieth-century movements, preservation was understood as a "process that involve[d] an imaginative *transformation* as much as a *conservation* of material culture" (p. 2). The essays in this volume illustrate an earlier ethic where the conservation and preservation of natural and historic landscapes went hand in hand with a profound belief in the power of design and planning to address human problems. The editors and contributors alike insist that this earlier professional orientation should provide a model for the future of landscape architecture and historic preservation.

Rather than McHarg's late sixties polemic, this volume has more in common with Max Page and Randall Mason's collection of essays, *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States* (Routledge, 2004; see the review by William Mulligan in this volume). In the introductory essay, the editors of that volume bemoaned the fact that many practitioners of historic preservation do not know the history of their own profession, and what they do know lacks critical perspective. Similarly, *Design with Culture* attempts to broaden the history of landscape preservation beyond the late twentieth-century efforts of the National Park Service. Worth noting is that David Lowenthal, the eminent geographer and historian of the heritage impulse, provides the first essay to Page and Mason's book and is quoted at length in the introductory essay by Birnbaum and Hughes: "Every trace of the past is a testament not only to its initiators but to its inheritors, not only to the spirit of the past, but to the perspectives of the present" (p. 16).

Those "perspectives of the present" are, for the most part, consciously on display in these essays. In terms of providing a perspective on the present, the most relevant contributions are those that take a critical look at issues of

myth, memory, and identity by investigating which pasts are chosen for preservation and which narratives are privileged in the process. Catherine Howett, for example, expands the literature on women in the early preservation movement to include the work of Southern garden clubs. In her essay “Grounding Memory and Identity,” she argues that garden preservation was one of the few areas women—considered to have a “natural” tendency toward caretaking—could maintain a semblance of domesticity while pursuing careers that carried significant power and responsibility. In “Californio Culture and Landscapes,” David C. Streatfield provides a contemporary discussion of myth and authenticity when he describes how a popular work of fiction, Helen Hunt Jackson’s 1894 novel *Romona*, became an important factor in the movement to preserve California’s Spanish missions.

Other essays illustrate the one-time inseparability of design and preservation. In “The Noblest Landscape Problem,” Ethan Carr argues that the early National Park Service (NPS) under the influence of the landscape architect Thomas Vint worked to make the parks accessible to all through ambitious design and planning projects, this in a time when the public was less reflexively guarded against “improved landscapes” in a preservation setting. Sometimes the design work of landscape architects became the backbone of a larger preservation strategy. In “The Blue Ridge Parkway: Road to the Modern Preservation Movement,” Ian Firth states that the parkway “marks the entry of the NPS, which had hitherto focused on the preservation of spectacular natural scenery, into the field of rural preservation and utilitarian conservation” (p. 197).

Finally, some of the essays are useful historical accounts of people, organizations, and events that more fully illuminate the details of how preservation was done before professionalization of the craft. Taken together, this collection of essays is an important first step toward documenting the histories of historic landscape preservation. The editors make no claim to a comprehensive treatment; this work is a call for additional scholarship.

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Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States. MAX PAGE and RANDALL MASON, editors. New York and London: Routledge, 2004. Pp. viii+344, illustrations, index. \$24.95 paper. ISBN 0-415-93445-5.

Collections of essays and anthologies are notoriously difficult to re-

view because of the wide variety of topics, approaches, and viewpoints they generally offer. Max Page and Randall Mason have avoided nearly all of these pitfalls in *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States* and for that, as well as for the important contribution the book makes to our understanding of the development of historic preservation in the United States, they are to be congratulated. This is a well-conceived and ably coordinated collection of essays that individually and collectively raise important questions about preservation. Everyone working in the field, as well as students preparing for careers in preservation, should read *Giving Preservation a History* carefully.

There has long been an “accepted” history of historic preservation in the United States covered in the books used as texts in historic preservation courses. It is a story of heroes and heroines working outside government to preserve important buildings and sites. Ultimately, it is story of triumph, one marked perhaps most notably by the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, which ended the devastation of historic buildings and sites by interstate highway construction and urban renewal projects run amok. It is an inspirational story and I know first-hand how well students respond to it. Indeed, the people and organizational movements in the classic story play well with students—Ann Pamela Cunningham and the Ladies Mount Vernon Association of the Union; the Ladies’ Hermitage Association that saved Andrew Jackson’s home; William Sumner Appleton and the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities; the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. It is a useful history for beginning preservationists and one that retains a great deal of value. *Giving Preservation a History* reopens the question of how historic preservation started in the United States. The essays here show that there is much more to the story than has been included in the standard account, that some of that account is selective if not wrong, and that the parts not to have received much attention to date are at least as important for preservationists and others to understand as the standard account. This fuller story is well worth knowing.

Page (University of Pennsylvania) and Mason (University of Massachusetts-Amherst), both of whom teach in historic preservation programs, have assembled an impressive group of contributors whose names and previous work readers are sure to recognize. Several of the essays—David Lowenthal’s “The Heritage Crusade and Its Contradictions” and James M. Lindgren’s “A Spirit that Fires the Imagination’: Historic Preservation and Cultural Regeneration in Virginia and New England, 1850-1950” to cite two examples—return to previously published work, but in so doing do not simply restate what has already been published. Rather, each author synthesizes the previous work and incorporates new information and insights.

The editors provide a useful introduction that sets out the purpose of

the book, ties it to recent preservation controversies, and then raises key questions about preservation today. Whose history is important? Does the bureaucratic structure of the National Register process allow appropriate assessment of properties related to non-elite histories? How heavily should architectural integrity be weighted, especially for districts like the Lower East Side in Manhattan that have had a dynamic history of welcoming new immigrant groups for a long period of time? These are important contemporary questions for the historic preservation community and represent only a few of the important questions effectively raised and discussed here.

The collection also includes an essay by Rudy J. Koshar, "On Cults and Cultists," which provides a comparative dimension by discussing historic preservation in Germany during the twentieth century. Few of the standard works on historic preservation in the United States offer such a perspective. The editors gave Koshar ample space to develop his ideas and the result is quite constructive. This is a central part of the book, not a nod toward comparison. Most of the remaining essays address urban preservation efforts and issues in the context of a specific city, typically a specific program or campaign in that city. Some of these preservation efforts are widely known, such as Charleston, South Carolina's extraordinarily successful program. Robert R. Wyneth does a good job in his essay on the early preservation movement in Charleston by going beyond what is already known to develop new information and insights. Other cities have received less attention in the standard accounts of the development of preservation in the United States. Briann Greenfield's essay on Providence, Rhode Island and the preservation of historic properties there on Benefit Street effectively explores the relationships between preservation, gentrification, and race. Essays by Daniel Bluestone on Chicago's Mecca Flat, Chris Wilson on Santa Fe, and Judy Mattivi Morley on Denver all discuss local preservation efforts with due attention to both the local context and the larger issues and implications involved. Finally, Ned Kaufman's conclusion effectively makes a compelling case for new approaches to preservation.

Max Page and Randall Mason have assembled an unusually rich collection of essays that should be read by everyone involved in preservation, from graduate students preparing to embark on their careers to seasoned professionals and those in between—all stand to learn a great deal and will find much to think about in this collection.

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The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War. ROBERT BEVAN. London: Reaktion Books, 2006. Pp. 240, illustrations, index. \$29.95 cloth. ISBN 186189 205 5

In analyzing the attacks of September 11, 2001 (9/11), scholars and the media alike were quick to point out the symbolic meaning of the World Trade Center's role as a target for the terrorist attacks on American soil. In his book, *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*, Robert Bevan takes this same argument and applies it to several examples of violence and unmitigated urban destruction from twentieth-century world conflict. The author accomplishes this with intense detail and solid analysis. His sincerest intent, however, is for the book to be a call for social justice and greater respect for the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. The book starts with a general introduction over the use of material culture—architecture, as Bevan refers to it—as a target for violence. He couches his narrative in the ideas of David Lowenthal, Henri Lefebvre, and Aldo Rossi. To Bevan, the destruction of both vernacular and political architecture stands as a dehumanizing and “proto-genocidal” act that occurs via four different themes (each one comprises its own chapter): Cultural Cleansing, Terror, Conquest and Revolution, and Fences and Neighbors.

Destroying architecture as a means of cultural cleansing provides the keystone to Bevan's argument. It is through this motivation that culture is erased both physically and as an archive. Bevan uses the Bosnian War, Kristallnacht and the Holocaust, and the Armenian Genocide to illustrate this point. A number of events illustrate the use of terror as an erasure of collective and cultural memory such as 9/11, Northern Ireland, Allied actions in Italy and Germany, and Hitler in France. Here, more than in any other chapter, Bevan illustrates the critical role of the modern media in disseminating this terror, with examples that include the fall of the Mostar Bridge in Bosnia.

Perhaps Bevan's most effective chapter is the one concerning conquest and revolution as a trigger for the destruction of material culture, and by extension a total cultural system. In contrast to other social revolutions, Bevan states that “destruction for destruction's sake has, in the late twentieth century, been far more rare in democratic states than under Stalinism, Maoism, or Nazism” (p. 95). An enduring theme in these locations, particularly in Chinese controlled Tibet, is the replacement of local architecture by “crude concrete boxes” (p. 101). Fences and borders in Cold War Berlin, Belfast, and the West Bank are the next focus. These cities have witnessed a continuous rewriting of the cultural landscape due to the proximal sectionalism of their regions.

The final two chapters support Bevan's specific goal for discussing all of these atrocities. The penultimate chapter concentrates on rebuilding efforts in many of these places and what to do about the loss of such culture-rich ar-

chitecture. Mostar, Bosnia is still splintered despite its rectification. Polish leaders secretly hid documents about the architecture of their country during the Nazi occupation. The debate over the fate of the World Trade Center is also discussed. The final chapter is Bevan's call for attention to the 1954 Hague Convention and the protection of architecture. Both the United States and Great Britain did not sign the original treaty. According to Bevan, this issues from the ideology that "freedom of action in war takes priority over world heritage" (p. 202). All of the other chapters culminate in this one: a crescendo of violence and destructive tactics that forces the reader to consider what can be done in these circumstances. Bevan suggests that US and British ratification of the 1954 Hague Convention is the first critical step in seeing these "proto-genocidal" acts minimized.

Bevan is a journalist and this position raises some issues in the text. Although Bevan should be applauded for providing theoretical context for his analysis, a more comprehensive understanding of these landscapes fails to materialize. For example, Edward Said's work on the Other is identified but not given adequate context (p. 173). The entire chapter on rebuilding implicates Kenneth Foote's analysis of rectification (in *Shadowed Ground*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), but this work is not mentioned. Perhaps Bevan piled on the geographic couching early on to avoid it in his narrative. This is neither a novel nor an overtly bad approach. Yet by merely dropping loaded concepts and ideas into the narrative, he fails to achieve a more robust analysis. One other piece of criticism concerns the flow of the narrative, which is steadfastly third person throughout much of the book. Then, suddenly, the narrative shifts into first person when Bevan relates his own professional experiences. This inconsistency makes the narrative choppy in places, and sometimes outright confusing. I welcome the author's telling of his journalistic experiences, but perhaps they deserved a separate chapter or section within the introduction. Finally, geographers are often forgotten in minds of journalists, and again a key participant is mislabeled: in describing David Lowenthal's work, Bevan refers to him as an historian. Though Lowenthal's Ph.D. is in history, he has always worked professionally as a geographer in both his publications and departmental affiliation.

The Destruction of Memory is, in the end, an essential read for any scholar interested in the meaning of cultural and historical landscapes, the role of architecture in conflict and peacetime, and the possibility of social justice in the time of war. Though some potholes do exist in analysis and narrative, exquisite detail can be found in the presentation. From this, plenty of stimulating questions arise and the possibility for further research opportunities become critical for a better understanding of this pressing geographic and social issue.

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The Borderlands of the American and Canadian Wests: Essays on Regional History of the Forty-ninth Parallel. STERLING EVANS, editor. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006. Pp. xxxv+386, illustrations, maps, tables, bibliographies, notes, index. \$49.95 cloth. ISBN 0-8032-1862-5.

What happens when “borderlands” are bordered? What happens when they are bisected and rendered legible by the arbitrary, abstracted pen of diplomacy and its administrative colleague, bureaucracy? How does the ham-fisted making of the nation-state shape and unsettle connections between peoples, their environments, and their cultural transactions across national boundaries in the North American West? Here are some of the myriad and complex problems that contributors to *The Borderlands of the American and Canadian Wests* are asked to grapple with. Editor Sterling Evans, Canada Research Chair in History at Brandon University, has assembled an impressive and engaged group of scholars from a wide range of disciplines to unpack the multiple meanings at work in transboundary spaces and the vigorous debates active in transnational scholarship. This is the history of a contested terrain. Through the diversity of organizing themes and topics broached, the contributors show us that the West is both a material and discursive space where resources, history, and landscape are subject to contingencies of politics, economics, culture, and epistemology. Evans is a skilful guide, pointing the reader in useful directions and offering context when needed.

The book is organized into six loosely connected sections. After a provocative foreword by John Herd Thompson, Part One attempts the daunting task of defining both the idea of borderlands and the particular borderlands region under consideration. Perhaps unsurprisingly (and felicitously), these provisional definitions do not come to consensus: aided by diverse methodological approaches in the following sections, the reader is left to consider the borderlands as bioregion, as frontier, as competing political entity, and as circumscribed imagined space. Part Two follows briskly on discussions of the colonial moment, taking up issues of violence, surveillance and mobility. Of particular note here is the inclusion of an excerpt from the germinal borderlands work of Paul Sharp (Chapter Four) from a half-century past. Sharp’s evocative portrait of life on the Whoop-Up Trail from Fort Benton to Fort McLeod casts an interesting shadow across the book, acting as a historiographical rudder for many of the essays but betraying some of the dangers of repetition and awkwardness that complicate such an interdisciplinary collection. Part Three contemplates the notion of sanctuary to interrogate episodes of migration (both forced and voluntary) as a means of escape and refuge from the long arm of the state. Indigenous peoples and religious minorities used the

border—and the competing geopolitical spaces it made—as a way of reformulating identity and ideology in the wake of persecution in their homelands.

Agriculture occupies a central place in the development of the West. Part Four uses the practices of farming, itinerant labor, and industrial expertise to integrate a wide-ranging discussion that draws on masculinity, empire, technology, industriousness, and mobility. Contributors try to show how production and consumption were interrelated and how these forces influenced social processes far outside the farm gate. Part Five returns to the concept of sanctuary, where the “medicine line” acts as an enticement for those whose “entertainment” proclivities, odious ideologies, or political commitments run contra to accepted social and juridical norms. Respectively, tourists, racists, and conscientious objectors moved across the invisible line to flee the very real judgements that actions and beliefs provoked. In this book, “sanctuary” operates on a south-to-north trajectory: further study awaits the corresponding movements in the opposing direction. A final section deals more explicitly with the environmental issues that underpin many of the essays and many of the contemporary debates that must reckon with the border as a political and institutional reality determining policy and often undermining cooperation. Resources are shown to be the most tangible examples of contest over terrain and what lies underneath and on top of it. A useful afterword from the editor asks what lessons and inspirations we might take from comparative borderlands literatures and points to some fault lines and possibilities for future borderlands research.

As the first collection to deal explicitly with borderlands in the North American West, this volume will certainly be of interest to scholars working in history, geography, indigenous studies, and environmental studies, and various articles should cast a wider net to reach readers in law, criminology, and anthropology. This undoubtedly betrays my own academic sympathies, but it seems that there is a certain unevenness to the volume, as several of the articles would have benefited from a greater engagement with critical literatures and a more reflexive understanding of the border as a contingent, negotiated space. There are, however, several standout contributions deserving of special mention. Catriona Mortimer-Sandilands (Chapter 18) sees the border between Waterton Lakes National Park in Alberta and Glacier National Park in Montana as a liminal, hybrid space that “indicates ‘in-between-ness’ rather than difference” (p. 311). Lissa Wadewitz (Chapter 17) shows how people involved in the Pacific fishery used the actual and imagined marine boundary in a fluid process that maximized their own economic and territorial advantage. And Sheila McManus (Chapter 7) shows how whiteness and maleness operated to define and control landscape during process of colonization.

Sterling Evans offers an invaluable contribution as editor. Each section is introduced with a short narrative that places important context in front

of the reader. More impressively, each section is accompanied by a bibliography designed for cross-referencing and further reading. Evans's goal of stimulating further borderlands scholarship is surely helped by this significant inclusion. Each essay has appeared in some permutation (as conference paper or journal article) in other forums: Evans has obviously executed his role as editor judiciously. He has put together a very good starting point to transplant borderlands scholarship to the American and Canadian Wests, and to reinvigorate western historical in general. The reader will be challenged to think of borders as agents of historical change in their own right.

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Inventing Los Alamos: The Growth of an Atomic Community. JON HUNNER. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004 [paperback 2007]. Pp. xi + 288, maps, photos, index. \$19.95 paper. ISBN 978-0-8061-3891-6.

On November 16, 1942, physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer, General Leslie Groves, and a handful of military officials arrived atop New Mexico's remote Pajarito Plateau—in what today is known as Los Alamos—and agreed it would suit their needs for a top-secret site to develop the world's first nuclear weapons. Just one day later, the federal government began acquiring land, and within five months hundreds of scientists and military workers were moving into brand-new labs and homes. *Inventing Los Alamos* is historian Jon Hunner's account of the abrupt creation and lasting impacts of an "Atomic Community" on the Pajarito Plateau.

For those for whom the story of Los Alamos is not already familiar, *Inventing Los Alamos* provides an accessible and interesting account of how a nuclear weapons lab was built from scratch in a matter of months. Hunner's most substantive contribution, however, to understanding Los Alamos and the age of nuclear weapons it promoted is to integrate an ethnographic study of community into this rather well-known history. What emerges from *Inventing Los Alamos* is an intimate portrait of how an unusual community was forged around the core of America's nuclear ambitions and, later, steadied itself amid weapons programs and Cold War politics as a prototypical American town.

Hunner presents his story chronologically and the opening chapter deals primarily with the initial period of development and rapid change at Los Alamos—what at the time was known simply as "Site Y." Chapter Two covers what for many Manhattan Project histories is their climax: the atomic detonations at New Mexico's Trinity test site and, just weeks later, at Hiroshima

and Nagasaki in Japan. Hunner concentrates instead on postwar Los Alamos and devotes his final five chapters to the challenges its residents faced through the development of potent hydrogen bombs, conflicts between the military and civilian scientists for control of atomic research, the acceleration of the Cold War, and finally suburbanization and the opening of Los Alamos as a public community in 1957. The book concentrates on the period from 1943-1957, which limits its scope but allows for more depth in exploring how Los Alamos matured as a community.

One of Hunner's key achievements in this book is that he offers insights into the daily routine of Los Alamos residents while also considering the scientific and military work they pursued. In this, he challenges the reader to consider how residents managed to lead "ordinary" lives while simultaneously creating a new class of extraordinarily destructive weapons. Hunner offers a means by which to reconcile this incongruity: code-switching. Borrowing from linguistics, he describes a code-switcher as someone "who changes within a sentence from speaking his or her dominant language to another" (p. 14). Applied to the context of Los Alamos, code-switching thus may have enabled community members to move "from a culture of war and military housing to a culture of suburban living" (p. 108).

One problem with this explanation is that it grants a certain degree of moral escape—code-switching enables nuclear scientists to step away from the world of atomic weapons research and into the comfort of their own homes without negotiating how their efforts would obliterate some distant "enemy" family. In truth, a number of Los Alamos scientists were deeply troubled by this kind of recognition. Oppenheimer, the lab's war-time director, gave a farewell speech shortly after V-J Day and cautioned, "If atomic bombs are to be added as new weapons to the arsenals of a warring world...then the time will come when mankind will curse the name of Los Alamos...." (p. 94). It simply is not clear that code-switching succeeded as a means by which scientists or their families truly came to terms with their work and their lives. Many of Los Alamos's civilian scientists left the lab and weapons research within months after the bombing of Hiroshima.

Indeed, even as Hunner seeks to present some consilience between the scientific project of weapons development and the domestic project of building community, he often reveals these to be in deep conflict. As he points out, "At the core of the Manhattan Project's success lay a vacuum of secrecy, in opposition to a democratic government that is accountable to its citizens" (p. 45). There is also the confounding character of Los Alamos itself, which remained a gated and guarded community until 1957. The product of Los Alamos's researchers abolished traditional geographies of security—nuclear weapons rendered every place on Earth a potential target or fallout zone—yet sheltered behind their fences and gates, Los Alamos residents were spared the

mundane threat of “outsiders” entering their neighborhoods.

At times, Hunner’s detailed attention to daily life in Los Alamos exposes the horror of nuclear weapons research permeating the fabric of community. Some scientists allowed radiation tests to be performed on their children, and to this day the Pajarito Plateau’s soil and water suffers from radioactive contamination.

Conversely, the women of Los Alamos in particular found ways to confront institutionalized secrecy and resist military rules. The government improved schools and built churches and synagogues only after vocal residents insisted on it. Similarly, civilian scientists at Los Alamos adamantly opposed military control of atomic research at the lab. While many Americans may take for granted that atomic reactors operate as a civilian enterprise, the early debate at Los Alamos highlights atomic energy’s military origins and its essential role in military applications—a fact made clear when reactors are found in, say, North Korea or Iran.

The question that *Inventing Los Alamos* implicitly challenges us to consider is the impact this atomic community made upon society, not only in terms of creating a daunting stockpile of nuclear weapons, but also in making it seem possible to live side-by-side with these new tools of mass destruction. In this, Hunner’s book is not just an account of Los Alamos so much as a primer to the role security concerns now play across a range of scales from the household to the global. As we confront trends toward more exclusive or gated communities, the push to accommodate a new generation of “clean energy” reactors, and the continued distrust of countries who threaten to join the club of nuclear nations, we will do well to reflect back to the experience of Los Alamos and the lessons, for better or for worse, that we might have learned there.

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The Landscape of Stalinism: The Art and Ideology of Soviet Space (Studies in Modernity and National Identity). EVGENY DOBRENKO and ERIC NAIMAN, editors. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2003. Pp. xvii+315, notes, index, illustrations, photographs. \$50.00 cloth. ISBN 0-295-98333-7.

The title of the book *The Landscape of Stalinism: The Art and Ideology of Soviet Space* is somewhat misleading: arguably this book does not consider all the varieties of Stalinist landscapes nor the dimensions of Soviet space.

Instead, this is a collection of essays focused on the geographic imagination of Stalinism. Concentrating on the representational world of such art forms as cinema, architecture, painting, musicals, advertising, and postage stamps, the book's twelve essays from specialists in philosophy, history, art history, and literary studies explore the "saturation" of space with meaning in the 1930s, the peak period of Stalinist totalitarianism. The fact that no geographer contributed to the project narrows its scope; nevertheless, this volume is a valuable addition to the limited body of geographical work on Soviet and Stalinist cultural landscapes.

The book is divided into three parts. The first examines "the spatial dynamics of ideology in architecture, painting, cinema, song, and aesthetic criticism" (p. xiv) and is essentially about the Stalinist system's intentions in the sphere of arts and architecture. Yet if the "spatial dynamics of ideology" are expressed primarily in the form of binary opposites (center/periphery, high/low, old/new, sacred/profane) and characterize only the limited period of the 1930s, such an approach is too static and lacks nuanced explanation. The often overlapping essays tend to deliver once again the familiar message that in totalitarian societies, space is over-centralized and rigidly structured (for a more dynamic application of the binary structuralist methodology, see *Architecture in the Age of Stalin: Culture Two* by Vladimir Paperny, Cambridge University Press, 2002). Of particular note is Oksana Bulgakowa's essay, which is less rigidly structuralist than the others and considers paradigmatic shifts in spatial representations in the films of several leading Russian directors (Kuleshov, Vertov, Eisenstein, Medvedkin). Some of the films discussed in this essay (e.g., parts of *The New Moscow*) could be useful for teaching geography classes on urban utopias. Another highlight is Hans Gunther's piece, which uses Jungian theory of the archetype to combine psychology and mythology while elucidating certain aspects of the profound structure of Soviet culture, specifically the references to the motherland in the Soviet mass song. He finds that "[t]he spatial model of the mass song repeats in general terms the structure of the myth of Soviet space" (p.83), but that structure does not look as rigid as those discussed in other essays in this section—it has its own specific expressions (lyric manner, maternal principles, motherland as "an enormous female body"). The essay by Boris Groys does focus on a specific landscape, the Moscow metro, but it is wrapped in arbitrary statements such as, for example, that the metro played "a central role in the total project of Stalinist architecture" representing "the opposition of the greatest ideological importance—that of heaven and versus hell" because "Stalinist culture constructed heaven underground, that is, in mythological terms, in hell" (p. 117). There were other places and spaces that were no less central to the Stalinist landscape. According to many other essays in the volume, in fact, the Palace of the Soviets played the central role in the total project of Stalinist architecture: one of the metro

stations was part of the Palace, not vice versa.

Part Two might be more appealing to geographers, as it offers more nuanced readings of the Stalinist landscape. The essays focus not on the state's manifestations in landscape, but rather on how the populace negotiated the state itself through the representational space of Stalinism. Two essays stand out in this section as particularly relevant for geographers. Randi Cox examines the social construction of space in Soviet commercial advertising. Cox's analysis questions some of the clichés about Soviet space, such that "...the opposite of the city in Stalinist ads was not the village—it was the park, the resort, the sentimentalized orchard" (p. 152). The broader chronological scope of this essay (1928-1956) also helps the author to provide a more dynamic and balanced explanation than found elsewhere. Evgeny Dobrenko, one of the book's two editors, uses the term "topographic space" to analyze Soviet landscape representations in such different cultural products as postage stamps, tourist journals, and popular geography. The essay also discusses hiking, a highly popular movement in the USSR (almost one million hikers in 1938; see p. 179). Soviet hiking provides a paradox, however: if the country was a totalitarian society, then how was it possible that so many people were mobile and presumably able to escape omnipresent state control and surveillance? Dobrenko observes that the hikers' magazine, *By Land and by Sea*, gives an impression of a "decentralized country" and openly discusses the ambiguity of the hiker as a person who has "fallen out" of the regime and passport system (p. 181).

The contributors to the book's third part focus on the utopian dimension of "the imaginary geography of the 1930s" (p. xiv). Emma Widdis discusses a new cinematic genre, the "film expedition," as a way of showing how cinema was used both to reveal and create the new imaginary map of the country. Challenging the "high" Stalinist vision of a centralized space tightly organized around Moscow, she suggests an alternative framework of Soviet exploration in which the Union was portrayed as "a decentered and dynamic space" in film (p. 222). John McCannon highlights the Soviet fascination with Arctic exploration in the 1930s to reveal the cultural myths attached to the Arctic, most notably its positioning vis-à-vis Moscow, "the *axis mundi* around which the USSR turned" (p.242). The Arctic, by contrast, was "the ultimate battleground in the Soviets' great struggle against the elements" (p.243) and therefore provided a mythic "land of heroes" (p.254). The collection concludes with a general essay by Mikhail Epstein on the spatiality of Soviet civilization. Written in the early 1980s, it reads like an eclectic set of sketches attempting to conceptualize observations on some elements of the late Soviet landscape.

Stalinist space is often presented in this book as essentially one homogeneous chronotope (the phrase is Mikhail Bakhtin's), or as a particular constellation of time and space. Some of the essays in this diverse collection,

however, begin to show that the reality was more complex: there were perhaps several such chronotopes in the period when Stalin was in power. The book's limitations are in its chronological and thematic scope. By attending mostly to the 1930s, the book almost completely ignores the period of the Second World War, thereby minimizing the late Stalin years. To fully embrace these understudied periods, the book would have needed to relax its Cold War, totalitarian theme somewhat and open a discussion of Stalinism in the broader terms of nationalism and patriotism. Examining the various projects of the war memorials, for instance, would have allowed for a more balanced presentation of Stalinism and its imaginary landscapes. Other omissions include a lack of sustained discussions on regional planning, political administrative divisions, and Stalin's plans for the transformation of nature.

Stalinist landscapes deserve greater attention from geographers. While this book is limited in scope and period, it nonetheless provides a stimulating starting point for this subject. For all the book's references to the Palace of the Soviets, the structure was never built, and the essays, taken as a whole, tend to ignore the entourage of *vysotkas* that did form the city's postwar skyline. For many Russians, these pseudo-gothic "wedding-cake" high-rises are the most immediate reminders that the Stalinist landscape is not all about unrealized utopias and imaginary landscapes.

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Plazas and Barrios: Heritage Tourism and Globalization in the Latin American Centro Histórico. JOSEPH SCARPACI. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2004. Pp. xix+267, maps, diagrams, illustrations, photographs, tables, notes, references, index. \$24.95 paper. ISBN 978-0-8165-2602-4.

Readers interested in understanding the complex global processes that have impacted the cultural landscapes of urban Latin America should find Joseph Scarpaci's *Plazas and Barrios* quite useful, if for no other reason than the book strives for the utmost clarity in its prose and in its definitions of specialized terminology. This exceptional readability is, in part, a result of the book's ambitious reach for wide readership. But the author also provides unique insight into the ongoing conflicts concerning the representation, assessment, and material manifestation of heritage in several Latin American *centros históricos* (historical centers). Through field observations and *in situ* group discussions, Scarpaci illustrates how global forces and tensions have consequences on both the material and discursive aspects of a number of present-day *centros históricos*. By coupling this research with a thorough historical study, readers are given a grasp of important landscape changes beginning with their

origin in the colonial era. Not only does Scarpaci explore the impact of multinational corporations and the tourist industry on heritage, he also explains the role of political policies, city planning practices, and modernity in changing the material structure, representation, and heritage ideals of the *centros históricos*. The author focuses on nine cities for his case studies; all are places in which he has conducted field research. Most of these cities are in South America, but sites from Cuba and Mexico are also included.

A writing endeavor intended for geographers and non-geographers alike, *Plazas and Barrios* is a well-written book that ultimately succeeds in engaging both audiences. Books that aim to accommodate broad audiences often raise concerns for professional geographers, however. Does the author sacrifice a significant amount of geographical perspective for the sake of capturing a wider audience? Are the discussions and analysis of research recognizable as distinctively “geographic”? If so, how does the author ensure that the book does not forfeit its intended audience by becoming too specialized for non-geographers?

Fortunately, and despite its minor quirks, *Plazas and Barrios* does very well in avoiding these potential pitfalls. Scarpaci explicitly establishes his role as a geographer in the introductory chapter by explaining that his research resides in the framework of “new” cultural geography. His description of the “new” approach and its differences from traditional cultural geography is summed up in one short paragraph, though, which leaves little room for non-geographers to understand the conceptual background that grounds his research. The author also maintains a focus on the interaction of the local and the global, and he discusses buildings strictly within a spatial context, adding a temporal perspective only when necessary. At all scales of analysis, whether Scarpaci is discussing the perceptions of an individual, local group, or international corporation, this unwavering focus on the spatial aspects of the *centros históricos* is maintained. The book’s 102 figures and 14 tables consist of observation and analysis charts derived from the author’s field research, selected government policy listings, historical and present-day maps, sketch drawings, photographs, and advertisements. These copious illustrations help to ground the reader in a spatial context while providing much-needed accessibility for non-geographers.

Several other factors contribute to the success of *Plazas and Barrios* in reaching a wide audience. The clarity with which Scarpaci describes the issues impacting historic parts of Latin America is first-rate, including the language used to describe the geographical jargon, debates, and issues that arise both within the discipline and the region covered in the book. Terms that some readers may find ambiguous, such as “globalization” and “heritage,” are clearly defined without any inclination towards esotericism. Throughout the book, readers encounter a wide variety of local and global forces that are actively

shaping the *centros históricos* of the case-study cities—these include international corporations, government planning agencies, local residents, and tourists. The book does an outstanding job of simplifying the complexities associated with the interactions of these forces. In addition, in bringing his own field observation notes directly into the text as illustrative examples, *Plazas and Barrios* serves well as an accessible introduction to how geographers approach and analyze cultural landscapes.

This book possesses superb organization. On first glance, the exceptional length of the second chapter may seem to outflank the others; at sixty pages, it is essentially twice as long as its counterparts. But this length is necessary, for the second chapter serves as the foundation of the book's subsequent analysis by illustrating the historical transformations of the *centros históricos* within each city. Certainly the author needed this length to reveal each *centro histórico* as a complex, global, and ever-changing historical process. But following this historical account, Scarpaci then provides a summarization of the present-day circumstances for each of the nine case studies. It may appear that placing these present-day synopses in a separate chapter would have been a better way to organize the material while curtailing a disproportionately long chapter. In my opinion, however, readers not particularly familiar with the geography of those cities probably benefit more by seeing the immediate contrast of the past and present.

In sum, Scarpaci's *Plazas and Barrios* is a superbly written book that demonstrates the interaction of tourism and globalization on the material and discursive aspects of *centros históricos*. A book that stays true to its stated purpose, I recommend the title to both professional geographers and non-geographers alike. I would also consider this book an ideal read for advanced undergraduate and graduate students who are interested either in the region or the topics covered. A book written in this accessible manner has much potential to attract interest from those who have not previously considered researching or learning about Latin America's *centros históricos* and their ongoing transformations.

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Devastation and Renewal: An Environmental History of Pittsburgh and Its Region. JOEL TARR, editor. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003. Pp. viii+281, maps, diagrams, index, bibliography. \$24.95 cloth. ISBN 0-8229-4156-2.

In *Devastation and Renewal: An Environmental History of Pittsburgh and its Region*, Joel A. Tarr offers readers a sweeping and detailed examination of the complex and often contradictory relationship between industrial development and the natural environment in that city. The picture of Pittsburgh's environmental history that emerges from *Devastation and Renewal's* ten chapters is bleak; it is a story of failure, compromise, and missed opportunities both in the past and unfortunately, the present. Nonetheless, the story is fascinating and compelling.

The discussion is prefaced by two chapters, "The Interaction of Natural and Built Environments in Pittsburgh" and "River City," which together describe first how the city's unique topography and location influenced its emergence as a commercial and then industrial city and second, how the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers and their steep valleys influenced not only the location and expansion of industry through their roles as transportation routes, sewers, and sources of process water, but also the nature and intensity of the resultant pollution. In their detailed descriptions of water and air pollution and the destruction of the landscape by slag dumping, the remaining chapters explore the environmental devastation created by Pittsburgh's industries and the attempts to mitigate that damage through, for instance, pollution-control ordinances. Each chapter provides a thorough overview of each form of pollution and the damage done. More importantly, they highlight the problems encountered by proponents of pollution control as they sought to remedy the acid drainage from mines, waste from household consumption, and the byproducts of coal-burning locomotives, steel mills, and coke ovens. Despite the sweeping scope of the book, by the conclusion the reader has obtained an overall understanding of Pittsburgh's environmental history and the types of pollution that have plagued the city.

While the book is interesting and readable, it does have some limitations. Unlike the detailed accounts of the emergence of Pittsburgh as an industrial center and the pollution that this created, the discussions of the changes in Pittsburgh's natural environment following the Second World War are far too brief. The exception is a chapter by Sherie R. Mershon and Joel Tarr on smoke-control efforts in the period from 1940 to 1960 and a brief discussion of an urban-renewal program from the 1950s known as "Pittsburgh's Renaissance." Along with the two earlier chapters on smoke control ("How, When, and for Whom was Smoke a Problem in Pittsburgh?" and "Revisiting Donora, Pennsylvania's 1948 Air Pollution Disaster"), the Mershon and Tarr chapter nicely rounds out the discussion of air pollution and leaves the reader with a clear historical understanding of how air pollution was eventually controlled. The adoption of a similar approach to the ever-changing role of Pittsburgh's rivers would have strengthened the book by providing a more holistic understanding of what appears to be an unresolved issue—water pollution. This pol-

lution, particularly the dumping of untreated sewage, remains a significant problem in Pittsburgh, and yet few details are given about recent efforts at its control and mitigation. This omission is particularly significant given the earlier detailed examination of how the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers facilitated Pittsburgh's development as a commercial and industrial city, and how they then became nothing more than elements in the production process, harnessed as water sources, transportation routes, and sewers.

The failure to discuss the postwar era in detail means that little focus is given to the timing and nature of deindustrialization in Pittsburgh and the effects that this had on pollution levels and the city's urban landscape. Such an examination would have built upon and complemented the earlier discussion of Pittsburgh's emergence as an industrial city. This discussion would also have provided an opportunity to examine to degree to which the power of local industry, the tradition of decentralized decision-making, and the disorganized local environmental movement hampered efforts to deal with the new problems of the postindustrial era, just as they had impeded earlier smoke-control efforts, the adoption of water and sewage treatment methods, and the attempts to prevent the devastation of the landscape.

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To Love the Wind and the Rain: African Americans and Environmental History. DIANNE D. GLAVE and MARK STOLL, editors. Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006. Pp. vii+271, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 paper. ISBN 0-8229-4275-5.

The impact of Hurricane Katrina on African Americans in New Orleans neighborhoods brought into relief the difficult relationship of race and environment in the United States. After Katrina, the media portrayed African Americans as helpless in the wake of nature's fury, subject to a "white" society that transforms the landscape according to its own design. Moving beyond this environmental stereotype, historians Dianne Glave and Mark Stoll have brought together a volume of fourteen essays dedicated to providing a nuanced picture of African American environmental history.

Dianne D. Glave is an Aron Senior Environmental Fellow with the Center for Bioenvironmental Research at Tulane and Xavier Universities in New Orleans. She is a specialist in African American environmental history. Her presentations and publications have addressed topics of African American environmental history, environmental justice, and conservation with a re-

gional focus on the US South. Mark Stoll is a cultural and environmental historian at Texas Tech University. He has presented and published extensively on the role of religion within environmental history. In addition to the editors, twelve contributors prepared material for this volume. Most are historians, but one can find social scientists, anthropologists, and environmental scientists among them. All contributors have backgrounds appropriate for engaging in environmental history.

This book explores the relationship between African Americans and the US environment. Its purpose is to elucidate the role of African Americans in relation to a variety of environmental issues through a series of thematic essays focusing on environmental justice and rural, urban, and suburban landscapes. The conceptual framework of race, ethnicity, gender, and class is crucial to the proposed historiography—these are the fundamental categories used “to understand the control, uses, and abuses of the environment in agriculture, industry, urban parks, homes, and gardens” (p. 4). What makes this volume stand out is that it reveals how African Americans have defied these categories by establishing their own environmental agency in a legacy that runs from the slave hunting-and-fishing strategies in the plantation South to the “progressive” gardening demonstrations done by African American women in the early twentieth century and the contemporary environmental activism of the late twentieth century.

Carolyn Merchant provides a foreword to the book that suggests its importance within environmental historiography. In the first chapter, the editors establish the relationship between African American and environmental historiography by pointing out the previous publications to have crossed this disciplinary boundary. Of particular note are Mart Stewart’s *What Nature Suffers to Groe: Life, Labor, and Landscape on the Georgia Coast, 1680-1920* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1996) and *Bathed in Blood: Hunting and Mastery in the Old South* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002). Historical geographers who have read Carney’s *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001) or Rehder’s *Delta Sugar: Louisiana’s Vanishing Plantation Landscape* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999) should feel an affinity for Stewart’s and Proctor’s work.

Beyond the first chapter, however, the book’s organization lacks a firm intellectual trajectory. The chapters would have benefited from a thematic division of the essays into sections (e.g., rural environments, urban/suburban environments, environmental justice) that would serve to guide the reader through time and topic. Chapters two through five focus on rural environments with contributions from Stewart, Giltner, Glave, and Johnson and McDaniel. Glave’s essay, “Rural African American Women, Gardening, and Progressive Reform in the South,” should be of interest to geographers because

it explores African American garden landscapes through intimate local descriptions and national representations. Chapters six through thirteen focus on the themes of urban/suburban landscapes and environmental justice with essays by Fisher, Blum, Sellers, Melosi, McGurty, Stoll, Bush, and Glave. Social geographers interested in urban and suburban space should read Sellers's chapter, "Nature and Blackness in Suburban Passage," which focuses on the difficulties Civil Rights activist Eugene Burnett and his wife had in finding a place to live in middle-class Long Island neighborhoods. It reminded me of geographer David Delaney's *Race, Place, and the Law, 1836-1948* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998). In both of these texts, race is used to justify the manipulation of social space. Sellers, however, discusses not only the difficulties the Burnetts had in finding a property to call their own, but also the racial divide that was expressed in the environmental quality of the places they occupied. The life of Eugene Burnett illustrates the historical lack of interest in environmental issues by civil rights activists who were more focused on socioeconomic and political issues. Sellers points out that oral histories can bring the environment into African American history by exposing diachronic environmental injustices in Black neighborhoods.

To Love the Wind and the Rain contributes to the project of finding race in environmental history while at the same time connecting present environmental injustices to those of the past. In the final chapter, "Reflections on the Purposes and Meanings of African American Environmental History," architect Carl Anthony recalls an episode from a Berkeley City Council meeting in which an African American gentleman was booed from the podium for speaking out in support of jobs over open space and the environment. This anecdote brings the volume together by showing how contemporary environmental thought diverges along racial lines that stem from different historical experiences. The authors successfully define an African American environmental historiography and provide a vision for a future in which the racial framework of the past will give way to a shared narrative defined by "a common language about urban spaces, rural spaces, and environmental justice" (p. 209).

This book would be an excellent choice for undergraduate classes in historical geography, environmental history, African American studies, environmental justice, or topical classes on race. Readers would be hard pressed to find a comparable book on African Americans and the environment. Navigating the relationships of race, place, and the environment is a contemporary challenge. It is for this reason I recommend it as reading for high school and college students, not just for its historical value but also for its insight into environmental justice and race-relation issues that continue to plague our society in the twenty-first century.

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Wounds of Returning: Race, Memory and Property on the Postslavery Plantation. JESSICA ADAMS. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007. Pp. xi+226, maps, illustration, index. \$22.50 paper. ISBN 978-0-8078-5891-1.

Writing in 2004, Hoelscher and Alderman noted that memory is critical to the production of modern identities and also to the “often-rigorous contestation of those identities” (see their article “Memory and Place” in volume five of *Social & Cultural Geography*, p. 348). Increasingly, the production of memory has become a focus for scholars interested in the intersection of race, nationalism, and gender. In her book *Wounds of Returning: Race, Memory and Property on the Postslavery Plantation*, Jessica Adams focuses on how the post-slavery plantation reveals the ongoing violence of slavery in twenty-first century US society. Adams argues that far from being a site of past suffering, the postslavery plantation landscape still produces and informs the construction of black bodies as objects owned and commodified for the entertainment of consumers and the edification of normative visions of race and racism. For Adams, the contemporary plantation landscape is the “epicenter and emblem of slavery in the Americas” (p. 10) and continues to “exert a force difficult to escape” (p. 4). The plantation, in short, remains essential to the production of racial difference through the art and practice of consumption.

Adams begins her book by arguing that the post-plantation landscape is a memorial space informed by representations of black women in particular. As Adams points out, female sexuality was “critical to the exercise of power” during the rise of segregation culture in the South, thus the “reinvention of the plantation system [defined by Adams as the imposition of Jim Crow segregation] necessarily involved women’s bodies” (p. 22). Adams uses a combination of fiction, historical records, and popular accounts of plantation tours to document how the plantation landscape is situated in a web of social relations and sexual mores. She centers her first substantive chapter on New Orleans by documenting the intricate construction of sexual relationships that characterized the city in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Adams argues that white society, specifically white men, had a fascination with women of color that fueled the broader consumption of the female body in general.

The second and third chapters explore the development of the post-slavery plantation as a site in twentieth and twenty-first century popular culture. Adams again uses popular accounts and her own experiences to document the powerful hold plantation landscapes have on the collective American memory. Adams writes that the postslavery plantation landscape is a site of identity production that connects “antebellum racial hierarchies with postbellum

society” (p. 54). Thus, the postslavery plantation landscape brings powerful ideas about race, nation, and gender together to produce a very particular kind of memory experience. Importantly, the modern plantation landscape embodies a dichotomy that at once obfuscates slavery as a legacy in the present day, but also reveals that “slavery’s physical and psychic violence is always active” in the collective consciousness (p. 17). This contradiction informs a tension that marks the postslavery landscape, making it an important medium for understanding race, racism, and the production of difference. She writes, for example, that our modern understanding of slavery is filtered through the “architecture, and romance [of the memorialized plantation house] and perhaps may not seem so disturbing any more” (p. 55). Yet the postslavery plantation is also a site of violence in the commodification of both black and white bodies, a process that is hidden in the landscape itself. Thus the postslavery plantation becomes a site of “remembering through forgetting” and is a product of “dominant culture’s ability to hide things in plain site” (p. 68).

Chapter Three begins with a short discussion of lynching before presenting the case of “Graceland too,” a historic home turned into an Elvis shrine. She writes that “the national circulation of ceramic mummies [purchased in plantation gift shops today] paralleled the circulation of black corpses [through spectacle lynching of the past]” precisely by objectifying the black body in popular material culture. In the final chapters, Adams concentrates on what she refers to as “Southern Frontiers”—attempts to equate historic ideas about the South with myths about the West. Adams argues that by the first part of the twentieth century, popular culture was invested in the plantation image to such an extent that it exerted an influence on popular representations of the West. In perhaps her strongest chapter, “Stars and Stripes,” Adams traces the history of using prison labor in Angola to organize and perform annual rodeos. Prisoners made and sold trinkets and other small souvenirs to the general public which came every year to participate in a spectacle that essentially legitimized racial difference through a cottage industry.

Wounds of Returning is an ambitious project that uses a vast array of resources to argue that the postbellum plantation landscape continues to transform black bodies into property. Adams offers a richly detailed argument focused on the ways the postslavery plantation is an archetype for our modern consumer landscape. Yet in her attempt to weave together so many disparate parts of the US cultural landscape, the book appears disjointed at times. The postslavery plantation is critically important for understanding the American cultural landscape, but the narrative lacks the nuance needed to interpret that very medium. In Chapter Three, “Roadside Attractions,” Adams begins with a very powerful discussion of lynching, the consumption of black bodies, and the connections to memory. It is one of the most riveting sections of the book, but the narrative transitions too quickly to a discussion of the Elvis memorial.

Some have argued that Elvis represents a kind of cultural genocide for African Americans because he used “African American” songs and culture to launch and sustain his career, yet the juxtaposition of the lynching and the selling and ritual displays of black flesh against Elvis and the landscape of “Graceland Too” seemed out of place and lacked a clear connection. This is simply one example of the way Adams jumps around from literature to landscape, from lynching to Elvis, without drawing out more focused theoretical and empirical connections. In this way, *Wounds of Returning* left me frustrated. In short, I wanted to find more substantive connections between the postslavery plantation and the growth of consumer society.

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Angels on the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature, and English Community, 1000-1534. KATHY LAVEZZO. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006. Pp. xiv+191, illustrations, color plates, notes, index. \$65.00 cloth. ISBN 978-0-8014-4429-6.

In this groundbreaking work, Kathy Lavezzo explores in depth the paradoxical power of geographic location to medieval English national identity. Drawing upon intertextual blends of literary methodologies, an array of similarly themed canonical texts, historical maps, and comparative cartographies provides a chronological scrutiny of thematic discourse of English self-identity. Using postcolonial and postmodern theories of mapping the spatiality of nationhood and national identity, Lavezzo investigates how interrelated identities of location question the importance of why place matters. Predicated on being marginalized from the epicenter of Latin Christendom, English self-peripheralization is examined against a background of dominant religious hermeneutics that range from the tenth to fifteenth century. An interpretive selection is used to illustrate and reconcile how England manipulated its peripheral location to veto its marginal status vis-à-vis Rome, and in the end sanction its own national identity.

Lavezzo sets the historical stage with the Benedictine Abbot Ælfric’s idealization of peripheral England. His recitation of the cultural exploitation and racial profiling of young slave boys by Catholic Pope Gregory in sixth-century Rome supports what Lavezzo describes as the “ethnic alterity” (p. 28) of England’s exotic inhabitants as “privileged missionary objects” (p. 35). Lavezzo then highlights the contrast against other socio-historical legacies, such as when the Welsh monk Gerald of Wales (Gerald de Barri) similarly described

the Irish as originating from an island matched “nowhere else on earth” (p. 52). The author then examines how the English Christian conquest of the so-called “barbaric Irish” was a “means of imagining the English as alternately allied with, comparable, and even superior to the Romans” (p. 54). Lavezzo argues that this dangerous concept infused the cartographic works of the fourteenth-century monk, Ranulphi Higden (Ranulf Higden), who sought to appease an emerging English nationalism in his domestically focused *Polychronicon* map. Marking a transition in English national identity, Lavezzo challenges long-held medieval trends of English peripheral importance remaining a cartographic limitation within the Latin West. Further analysis through the poetic medium of the English chronicler Geoffrey Chaucer’s fifth allegorical tale of the Man of Law illustrates the emergence of a late-medieval English communal self-identity, as seen in Chaucer’s literate use of geographic descriptors such as *oure wilde see* (“our wild sea”) (p. 95). Finally rehabilitating England’s marginality through cross-examination of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey’s delusions of grandeur in defiance of Rome, Lavezzo’s argument culminates with the assertion that England’s self-identity morphed itself into the catalyst for England’s later imperial pursuits.

Encompassing traditional schematic divisions of European history during the medieval period, the book resonates with contemporary Christian theology in the Reformed tradition in Protestantism—indeed the very title of the book is taken from the Westminster Confession of Faith. Dominated by historical artifacts and chronicles, English national identity is examined through the eyes of prominent individuals and the lens of privileged social engagements. While the importance of the religious elite to medieval intellectual society is acknowledged, the deep effect of monastic scholarship on medieval English geographic knowledge receives only a vague allusion. Although Lavezzo does acknowledge the historical limitations of the sources she used, including the problem of known lost maps and those “rediscovered” such as the fourteenth-century Evesham Map, the work relies heavily on distinctive English national consciousness duplicated within discriminatory cartographic and literary imagery. Without the contrast provided by other geographic etymologies such as Classical Western Antiquity or references from other cartographic centers in the Islamic world or China, Lavezzo’s contention that Christianity prevailed over the political and economical Gordian knot that was Europe is a bold statement (see p. 9).

Her acceptance of a universal Christian history assumes geographical continuities of an English periphery that was sustained by Christian mediatorial dominion. Both assumptions are condensed into the theoretical form of a neocritical geographic discourse interwoven throughout the work. Lavezzo touches upon but does not engage with this perception—geomorphologic and other influences (contemporaneous travel literatures, for instance) are briefly

surveyed within the confines of pre-Reformation Anglocentric peripheral identity but are not fully explained. The author also fortuitously unmask a common geographic confusion: the rhetorical interchangeability of English national identity and British nation-state ideology. Some Latin mistranslations provide a reminder of the ever present specter of presentism, such as Wolsey's use of the third person objective of "we are from the very ends of the earth" (p. 136), which alludes more to his personal ego of grandeur rather than serving as a representative example of English nationalism. Whether portraying England as a peripheral subordinate, world margin, or global limitation, Lavezzo's cross-temporal dialogues do adopt concessionary political ideals imbued with geographic license. In so doing, analyzing the cultural significance of the "benefits of England's relative proximity to the world" (p. 65) against a background of modern ascetic rationalism, Lavezzo succinctly uncovers what may well be the historical crux of Anglo-Irish rivalry. A point of contention driven home as Lavezzo's discipline-based definition of geography regulates England's marginality, more so as a constitutive subject of geography rather than any actual representation of English self-identity.

As a specialist publication, this is an original, relatively straightforward exploratory work arranged in a systematic fashion. While knowledge of Middle English is not required, the extensive endnotes, bibliographical references, and concise index would have benefited from a Latin glossary. Although more of a contemporary slant on premodern cosmopolitanism, this is an important starting point to engage medieval spatial idealisation in broader temporal terms. A unique, scholarly work of interest to scholars working across a wide variety of fields, it is also an important and insightful introductory investigation into idealised constructions of origin-dependent viewpoints of self-identity.

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Crow's Range: An Environmental History of the Sierra Nevada. DAVID BEESLEY. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2004. Pp. xx+390, photographs, maps, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth. ISBN 0-87417-562-3.

The challenge of writing an environmental history of the Sierra Nevada is to craft language that does not wither under the prose of John Muir. As David Beesley notes in the preface of *Crow's Range*, Muir called the Sierra Nevada the "Range of Light, the most divinely beautiful of all the mountain chains . . ." For Beesley and other writers following in the Scottish-born natu-

ralist's footsteps, the task is to "come up with a descriptive work or phrase of our own that carries the same power and economy as his."

A greater challenge for Beesley, however, was creating a comprehensive look at how humans have altered the Sierra Nevada over the last 10,000 years. And the author did an admirable job of meeting this challenge. After a brief description of the geologic forces at work and the various ecological communities within the range, the author begins this history with the native inhabitants, an important reminder that humans have been altering the landscape of the Sierra Nevada for a very long time. The title of the book, for example, is based on a Yokuts creation story. In this story from the people who once lived near Yosemite, "Crow triumphs over Falcon in a contest to see who could build the highest mountains in California. Crow won because he had more dirt than Falcon."

From these first human interactions with the environment the author takes us through the major periods of upheaval and change in the Sierra Nevada. In the first three chapters these periods include the invasion by Hispanic and other European Americans, the heavy environmental impact of the gold rush years and associated increase in logging, water use, and urbanization, and the resultant rise of the early conservation movement. In chapters four and five the reader learns of the flooding of Muir's beloved Hetch Hetchy Valley by San Francisco and the loss of Owens Lake to the thirst of Los Angeles; and then of the population boom following the Second World War, which increased demand for natural resources. Finally, in chapters six and seven, a new environmental movement awakens to win support for the designation of Wilderness and Wild and Scenic rivers, and the concept of ecosystem management is finally adopted in an attempt to find a sustainable future for the Sierra Nevada in the midst of increasing public demands for resources.

Crow's Range is the result of twenty-five years of researching the Sierra Nevada and teaching California history to college undergraduates, and this experience is evident in the depth and tone of this book. *Crow's Range* was written with the general public in mind—for those who want to learn more about this incredible place. In fact, the author makes it a point to stress that despite his years in the classroom, "this is not a textbook." Beesley chose instead to write a "bioregional history," which as described by historian Dan Flores, analyzes "deep time in a single place." Yet repeatedly while reading *Crow's Range*, I thought of the potential for this book as the text for any course that explores conservation issues or public lands policy. Although set in California, Beesley's account of human interaction with the environment has repeated itself over and over again across the United States. While reading I was often reminded of similar patterns of conflict and change involving other public lands.

There are two closely intertwined themes explored by Beesley within *Crow's Range* that will be of particular interest to geographers researching en-

vironmental issues. The first is the role of fire within natural ecosystems, a topic that has become increasingly controversial in the arid West. The native people of the Sierra Nevada used fire as a tool to make the areas they inhabited more useful and productive. Beesley argues that this should serve as an example of a sustainable relationship with the land, "one that left all of its natural systems basically intact even though modified by human occupation. It is the only period in the Sierra Nevada's environmental history when such a relationship of humans with the range has existed" (p. 16). The second important theme carried throughout *Crow's Range* is the evolution of public-land policy, from the years when forest science was narrowly focused on "getting out the cut" and suppressing all fire to the begrudging acceptance of ecosystems management. The author also reconstructs the evolution of national-park management from the development-heavy years of Mission 66 to the ground-breaking report of Park Service scientist A. Starker Leopold, which eventually helped force the agency to recognize the "enormous complexity of ecological communities" in national parks.

The author takes an even-handed approach throughout *Crow's Range* and does not castigate those responsible for some of more significant environmental impacts to his beloved Sierra Nevada. Instead, in the final pages Beesley reminds the reader that both past and future human interaction with natural areas involves choices. One possible choice in the near future, he suggests, is to remove the dam flooding the Hetch Hetchy Valley. "It would take a long time for Hetch Hetchy to heal. But things could be learned from such a huge endeavor at working with natural processes in the Sierra," Beesley writes. "I suspect John Muir might also be pleased at such a prospect, however long a shot it might be."

Langdon Smith

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Pioneering Conservation in Alaska, KEN ROSS. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2006. Pp. vi+540, maps, photographs, index. \$34.95 cloth. ISBN 978-0-87081-852-3.

In *Pioneering Conservation*, Ken Ross explores the impact Euro-American contact with the Alaskan wilderness had on wildlife; "Alaska," Ross argues, "served as a testing ground for natural resource policy." The history of this encounter also demonstrates "an evolution of environmental values from all-out exploitation to utilitarian conservation and examples of preservation." Crucially, Alaska "also shaped conservation values both in Alaska and on a na-

tional scale" (p. 427). Therefore, this book is essentially an expansion on Roderick Nash's chapter on Alaska in *Wilderness and the American Mind* (Yale University Press, 2001)—a welcome expansion, and one of particular relevance to the literatures on animal geographies and histories of field science.

In the first section of his book, Ross begins with the effect of eighteenth-century Russian exploitation of the whale, fur seal, and sea otter populations of coastal Alaska. Next, Ross discusses the US purchase of Alaska from the Russians in 1867, and pays particular attention to the impact of American settlers on individual species that ranged from small furbearers to big game, as well as on the biographical histories of the naturalists and wildlife biologists who studied them. Most notably, Ross contributes to this environmental history an attention to the materiality of Alaskan wildlife. For example, he writes that "sea otters' characteristics abetted their collapse" (p. 15)—since the Bering Sea is so cold, otter pelt is always prime, and thus always "in season" to hunters engaged in the global fur trade. But geographers who examine nature-society relations will be dissatisfied with the way that Ross seems to implicitly define "nature" as being absent of the human. He often suggests that the utilitarian use (that is, the hunting) of wildlife is merely a necessary means to achieve the conservation of species.

Indigenous peoples will also be dissatisfied with Ross's depiction of, as he describes it, the "ruination" of Natives. Despite his use of anthropological works that counter the notion, Ross recounts the trope of the "vanishing Indian"—a culture he argues is disappearing from the effects of disease, Christianity, and television. Even though ethnohistorians and contemporary Native tribes have thoroughly critiqued this trope, Ross nonetheless relies on it to argue that "the Natives became aggressively exploitative; in effect, they declared war on wildlife" (p. 199). This take on indigenous history culminates in the chapter entitled "Alaska Natives and Conservation," in which he asks, "Did they believe in sustainability or practice prudent use of resources?" (p. 193). Unfortunately, Ross does not seem to recognize that definitions of "sustainability" and "prudence" depend on one's cultural context; instead, these definitions remain both universal and implicit in the narrative.

Ross also ignores postcolonial histories. He does examine how colonization impacted Natives' traditional uses of wildlife, but consistently places Natives at fault for either not maintaining their traditions or not adapting to the changes brought about by the new settlers, governments, and patterns of land tenure. For example, Ross writes uncritically that reindeer translocation from Siberia to Northwest Alaska aimed to "civilize" the hunter-gatherers into herders, and that "Alaska Natives have behaved much the same as non-Natives in their treatment of natural resources since statehood" (p. 207).

Not only does Ross use the experience of coastal tribes to characterize all Alaska Natives, but he also relies on secondary sources written in an era

when assimilationist policies were promoted to “civilize” the “savage” Indian. These sources take the perspectives of white settlers, game wardens, and politicians, but they do not adequately represent the Native point of view. If Ross had not relied almost exclusively on written documents he might have found a very different sense of conservation among Alaska Natives. There are innumerable oral history accounts of subsistence lifestyles recorded by Natives, but Ross ignores these sources of indigenous knowledges and histories, opting instead to mine Alaskan libraries for numerous photographic illustrations scattered throughout the text.

Other flaws in Ross’s book are minor compared to his depiction of Natives. Maps of the places referred to in the text would have been immensely helpful, since most readers are relatively unfamiliar with Alaska. The maps of Alaska at the head of every chapter are too small and decorative to be of much use. Yet there are a number of strengths in Ross’s account. He ably discusses the debates over predator control, popular among Alaskans who wanted to subsist on the same game meat that wolves and bears hunted. Yet naturalists like John Muir and Olaus Murie claimed that predators should not be wiped out, and that in fact they had a critical role to play in ecological systems. Ross also describes in excellent detail the landscape degradation from development initiatives such as oil exploitation on the Kenai Peninsula and hydraulic mining during the Gold Rush.

Ross also exhibits great skill in depicting the controversies and conflicts in Washington over resource development—the Ballinger-Pinchot Affair regarding shady deals that resulted in coal claims, for example, or the litany of local and national politicians bankrolled by oil, salmon, and other extractive companies. These politics exacerbated territory-federal conflicts, especially with regard to fisheries and oil production. Although oil companies were proponents of Alaskan statehood because it would favor their interests, cannery companies were staunchly against statehood in the effort to maintain their influence via the continued federal management of fisheries. Ross is alluding to the multiple scales of environmental politics, debates that essentially asked, which scale of management is best for promoting conservation? The struggles for “local” control over wildlife and eco-regions have been numerous throughout Alaska history. But more than this, Ross shows how Alaska played a pivotal role in the history of the nation as a whole by, for example, contributing to the split within the Republican Party over philosophies of conservationism. Shunning the pro-monopoly stance of President Taft, Theodore Roosevelt created his Bull Moose Party to remind the public how monopolies abused Alaskan resources; the subsequent split in the Republican vote ensured the success of Woodrow Wilson. Alaskan conservationism affected the outcome of the presidential election and pressured Taft into signing the bill establishing a territorial government in Alaska.

Ross's narrative ends before the implementation of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971) and the Alaska National Interest Land Claims Act (1980), but it does recount the politics that eventually created the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, which was essentially an attempt to balance the interests of the federal government, environmentalists, and Alaskan boosters. Overall, the text is a good source for grasping Alaska's complicated history of wildlife administration, but not as a source for understanding subsistence values and practices.

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Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin: A Cartographic History. RICHARD V. FRANCAVIGLIA. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2005. Pp. xviii+231, maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 paper. ISBN 0-87417-617-4.

Richard Francaviglia's latest work provides readers with a history of the representations of environmental knowledge through European and Euroamerican mappings of the Great Basin in the western United States. As one might anticipate, Francaviglia's book demonstrates that mapping accuracy has improved dramatically since 1540 when a blank space on maps represented the broad area now known as the Interior West. Over the years, that empty space on the map grew smaller as cartographic and environmental knowledge accreted. Given its historical orientation to the Great Basin, the book is organized chronologically. From seventeenth-century Spaniards to airline passengers, travelers have experienced the Great Basin in vastly different ways; Francaviglia's book effectively ties representative samples of these experiences into the broader literature of cartographic history.

Francaviglia intends for his book to reach a fairly broad audience, as he gives background information on the Great Basin's physiography, hydrography, and rurality for those unfamiliar with the region. Readers broadly interested in the American West will be intrigued by the book's treatment of ideas about watershed boundaries and purported river paths. Historians of science will enjoy the book's treatment of scientific claims and its overview of mapping technology and scientific data. For readers without experience in deconstructing maps, Francaviglia analyzes his own cartographic representation, a standard reference map of the region. This is a thought-provoking way to start the book by inviting the reader to think about the taken-for-granted practices of map reading.

Maps of the Great Basin often ignored important regional features such as the Sierra Nevada and showed non-existent features like rivers. Francaviglia demonstrates that mapping did not always become more spatially accurate over time; indeed, some maps reverted to outdated knowledge by including grossly incorrect river or mountain formations. In general, mapping accuracy improved in short bursts of new knowledge followed by a lag time of cartographic dependence upon previous maps—this was no steady, linear progress.

The book includes a much-needed treatment of transportation advances and the spatial representations that accompanied them. Whether on foot, horseback, train, car, or airplane, each transportation method allowed for different ways to experience and represent the place. Consider the automobile trip. The road maps we use to navigate across the region are divided by states. Francaviglia claims that the taken-for-granted boundaries portrayed on state road maps have divided the Great Basin, thereby making it less likely that travelers will conceive of it as a single region. Trains and planes have their own styles of maps that also serve both to inform and deceive the traveler.

The role of geographic imagination is woven throughout the book, since imagination impacts cartographic representation. Francaviglia puts the Great Basin into perspective by examining the relationship between imagination and the spatial processes of European exploration. This effort is bolstered by fine descriptions of past perceptions of the place. For instance, Francaviglia analyzes the representations of a mythical river once thought to extend from the Great Salt Lake to the Pacific Ocean. We read about how certain travelers perceived the region; a mid nineteenth-century traveler is quoted as saying, “this is the poorest and most worthless country that man ever saw” (p. 5). The Great Basin is not alone in receiving this derision, of course—other regions of the United States have also elicited similarly nasty comments. Given the book’s emphasis on western cartography and imaginings, I was glad to see a discussion of American Indian mental maps and epistemologies.

Francaviglia does a solid job of tying his selection of Great Basin maps to discussions of cartographic methodology and representation. In the 450 years covered by the book, cartographic plagiarism has varied in severity, and Francaviglia does well in bringing this concept to his Great Basin case study. While analyzing cartographic errors and historical-geographic myths, he generally casts a sympathetic tone toward the historical characters in this book; it is altogether too easy to criticize maps with gross spatial inaccuracies retrospectively when we now have access to twenty-first century geospatial technologies. The book ends by discussing the spatial representations of current mapping technologies, and briefly explores broader issues such as the democratization of GIS and the fact that despite advances in geospatial technology, maps cannot fully capture the Great Basin’s sense of place. Increasingly detailed

maps are being produced to document the region's material aspects with ever-greater precision. Francaviglia suggests, however, that this high-tech mapping may be fragmenting the concept of the Great Basin as a vernacular region into a set of disconnected subregions. This is an intriguing idea that could have been situated more firmly in the literature on regional constructs.

The maps appear to be well-selected from the past four-and-a-half centuries, and they are all displayed in grayscale. The page size, however, is a constraint on the display of several of the book's historic maps. Given the challenge of reprinting large maps onto a standard-size paperback page, editorial decisions resulted in an entire map on one page with an enlarged detailed portion of the map displayed across the book crease on the following page. For the most part, this setup works satisfactorily, but several maps would have benefitted from larger display, if for no other reason than many toponyms are difficult to read at the chosen scale. In so doing, the reader could more easily examine these tantalizing yet frustrating representations that are at the heart of this book. Fortunately, the majority of the book's maps are displayed at an adequate size. Francaviglia's sources are complimented by thoughtful and detailed endnotes, and his photographs supplement the text well.

Richard Francaviglia's work connects the Great Basin to broader issues of cartographic history, regional constructs, and North American historical geography. He makes a meaningful contribution to the literature, writes in an engaging style, and introduces his topic to readers unfamiliar with the Great Basin and the deconstruction of maps. For these reasons, *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin: A Cartographic History* will engage cartographic historians, historical geographers, historians of science, and that portion of the general public interested in maps and the American West.

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Two Vermonts: Geography and Identity, 1865-1910. PAUL M. SEARS. Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2006. Pp. x+256, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$65.00 cloth. ISBN: 1-58465-559-3.

In *Two Vermonts*, Paul Sears provides an engaging look at the state from the period immediately after the Civil War to 1910 by exploring its relationship to modernity: the burgeoning impact of industrial development, the evolution of American ideology, and the loss of an agricultural heritage. The state represents a microcosm of the broader cultural conflicts that unfolded in the United States as the nation developed into a robust capitalist society. In

the search for meaning in a modernizing world, the Vermont label may give the impression of a state unified around a cluster of core values, a splendidly coherent community of “Vermonters.” While this description comes from state Senator Justin Morrill, a key player in Vermont history, the quote hides the cultural difficulties the state had to face as its population urbanized and came into conflict with a predominately rural way of life.

Vermonters typically perceive themselves in terms of a contrast between “uphill” and “downhill” residents. This dichotomy also differentiated the views of the early settlers—the downhillers were professionals, uphillers farmers. While the difference stems from the state’s economic geography, it ultimately speaks to an ideological contest over the representation of the state. This argument forms one of the cornerstones of this book. A struggle has pitted urban interests against rural values, but both sides believed they were defending what it truly meant to be from Vermont. Uphillers saw themselves as profoundly stable, the upholders of community values and virtues. Downhillers also believed that they were pillars of the state community, but one that was based upon the traditional urban characteristics of industry, thrift, honesty, and civic responsibility. Their vision of the state was exemplified by energetic enterprise rather than the perceived homogeneity and parochialism of rural life.

When tourism emerged as a path to economic salvation, the contest intensified, for now the state was cast in the vision of a rural Vermont untouched by modern, urban living. Those who looked toward tourism as an economic engine tried to find a middle ground by describing their state as “a uniquely perfect balance of tradition and modernity” (p. 134). This conceptualization translated into the presentation of Vermont to outsiders as one of the best and most representative parts of the American nation. At this same time, a conservation ethic began to emerge in the crucible of cultural conflict over the image and meaning of Vermont. But the protagonists in this development also had to strike a balance between the two views of the state. The result was an ethic that restricted more adventurous conservation approaches while preserving and elevating the communal aspects of small-town life so favored by uphill residents. Uphillers used their region’s sparse natural resources in a way that blended personal and public uses, thereby “continuing traditions that applied an ethic of sustainability and replenishment to the environment” (p. 26). By the early twentieth century, though, downhillers were drawing from this uphill sense of community to represent Vermont as a whole in the context of conservation efforts. The irony, of course, is that the state no longer exhibited this sense of community precisely because of the ongoing modernization that catalyzed the need for conservation in the first place.

In telling this tale of two Vermonts, Paul Sears has given us an engaging story of how regional images increasingly diverge in the modern era. It is a

book worth reading for anyone interested in New England or the cultural history of the United States in general.

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Among Empires: American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors, CHARLES S. MAIER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006. Pp. 373, notes, index, figures, tables. \$27.95 cloth. ISBN 0-674-02189-4.

“How is the Empire?” King George V once asked nonchalantly at the dusk of British world supremacy, as the center of the world was moving from London to the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. At the time, the United Kingdom, with its colonies, mandate regions, and protectorates, was a single empire. But does the United States constitute an empire as well? In his latest book, Charles Maier gives a detailed, reasoned, and well-constructed answer to this question by breaking it into two parts. First, Maier determines the nature of empire. Next, he examines the United States in the twentieth century to show how its ascension to world supremacy qualifies it as an empire. Not only does the United States bear the characteristics of an empire and behave like one, but it also might follow the same trajectory experienced by past empires, both in terms of its relations with the outside world and the development of its home institutions.

In the first half of the book, Maier describes the characteristics of an empire. Reviewing and combining economic, geopolitical, social, and psychological explanations and models, he characterizes the mechanisms and processes that constitute an empire in three main dimensions. The first of these is internal and refers to the structure of an empire, particularly the way its institutions are built and the policymaking processes such institutions conduct. According to Maier, one of the distinguishing features of an empire compared to a state is that while the latter aspires for homogeneity, the former is by definition heterogeneous (p. 104). The second aspect is external and concerns how an empire defines its limits and borders, and, by extension, its own center and peripheries. The third aspect regards an empire’s use of force, violence, and coercion. Maier demonstrates how these three aspects are intertwined as he refers in detail to such issues as the use of “hard” versus “soft” power, the differences and similarities between empire and hegemony, and the important difference between “having” an empire and “being” one. Maier does not claim to build a complete model or to answer all the questions raised by his analysis, but rather his effort is to draw some general guidelines that in turn raise other,

more critical questions. Referring to an empire's use of force, for instance, he asks whether empires produce more or less violence than alternative forms of political organization (p. 139). Maier leaves such questions unanswered, allowing the reader to reflect.

The second half of the book describes and analyzes the ascendancy of the United States as a twentieth-century empire. Here again, Maier uses a tripartite explanation to show the process. While the basis for ascendancy was already in place by the end of the nineteenth century, it was the advent of mass production combined with strong agriculture and intense industrialization that made the United States a great economic power during the first part of the twentieth century. Second, its military might played a crucial role during the Second World War and even more so during the subsequent Cold War. Maier eloquently illustrates how this combination of holding both a fat purse and a gigantic sword (or, as he dubs them, "Highland Park and Hiroshima"—see p. 143) brought the United States to the status of an empire. The third step—and probably the last one, to judge by current events—is that of consumption. Maier argues that today, as the United States has neither military nor economic supremacy, the basis for its extraordinary might is the fact that it buys and consumes from the whole world, which increasingly places it in dependent relationships. To paraphrase Hamilton's proverb, the United States not only owns a sword and a purse, but also big jug of wine that demands constant replenishment.

Maier's book will be of interest to students and scholars in a number of fields. The division of the book into two parts—a theoretical section on empire and a deductive analysis of US history—makes it easily accessible for those interested in specific themes and questions about empire-building, such as financial and monetary policy, military positions, diplomatic actions, and cultural practice. Parts of the book, of course, will be more accessible to some scholars than others. The lay reader, however, will also find the book worthwhile reading as it provides a full and comprehensive account of the state of affairs in our world today.

In the last chapter of the book, "The Vase of Uruk" (a famous Mesopotamian artifact), Maier concludes with a historical hint, taking the area now known as Iraq as an example of the rise and decline of many ancient empires. Indeed, the mere use of the word "among" in the book's title points to the idea that the United States might be special, but it is by no means unique. Like other empires that have risen and fallen, the United States too shall enter a decline after the glamour of its zenith. Rather than bringing an end to history, as some scholars thought about two decades ago, the United States finds itself more bound to the past. To use a geographical metaphor, the house on the hill finds itself to be a part of the village, even if it is a global one.

How effective is it to try bringing theoretical perspective to the cold ground

of history? "Like liturgy to the believer," writes Maier, "social science, and even more certainly literary theory, speak to the mind or spirit that is prepared" (p. 56). Those readers who are prepared in their minds and spirits, however, will find Maier's historical analysis of the American Empire an excellent tool for understanding past, present, and probably near-future events.

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Rivers by Design: State Power and the Origins of U.S. Flood Control. KAREN M. O'NEILL. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006. Pp. xxi+279, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.95 paper. ISBN 0-8223-3773-8.

In this monograph, Karen O'Neill examines the evolution of the federal government's role in flood control and watershed management in the United States. O'Neill considers the complex interplay between riparian rights, the status of rivers as navigable waterways, the sources of water for irrigation and hydraulic mining, and competition between local, state, and national legislative and political interests in the development of US flood control policies. From among many potential case studies, O'Neill chose to focus on the lower Mississippi river south of Memphis, Tennessee, and on the Sacramento River in northern California.

O'Neill bases her analytical framework on the ideas of Barrington Moore and Stein Rokkan. She interprets policy developments as the outcome of negotiations between state and federal stakeholders over the legal authority to assume responsibility for the maintenance of navigation, downstream access to water supplies, and conflicts between farmers, landholders, and commercial interests. While never explicitly stated as such, O'Neill appears to apply a class-oriented analysis with Marxian overtones in her discourse. In both the Mississippi and Sacramento regions, patterns of land tenure and agricultural politics developed similarly. Large agricultural and mineral landholdings that resulted from Congressional land grants to railroads were followed by land speculation. Tensions developed between mining and agricultural interests in the Sacramento valley, and between agriculture and commercial interests in both areas. Following protracted political and legal battles at the local, state, and national levels, the role of the Army Corps of Engineers expanded from simply improving navigation for military interests into a broader mandate of flood control and water-basin management. Generally, the interests of small landholders and tenant farmers did not figure prominently in the decision-making process. The interests of capitalists trumped the competition between

state and national stakeholders, and in the end flood control in both the lower Mississippi and Sacramento River valleys came to be financed and managed mostly through federal agencies.

O'Neill's book is divided into three parts. In the first, the thesis is developed and placed in context. The second part focuses the settlement and land uses in the lower Mississippi valley during the nineteenth century, and in the Sacramento River watershed in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The third section examines the evolving federal role in flood control, bringing the historical account up to the early years of the New Deal.

While the text is generally well-written, the research is not deeply embedded in the broader ecological literature on human-land relationships and interactions. The geographical theme of the human role in changing the natural landscape would seem a natural framework within which to develop her thesis, but O'Neill scarcely taps it. The book includes only three maps; no effective cartographic representations can be found for flood basins or watersheds, evolution of levees, breeches from previous floods, or the location and roles of specific flood control facilities. One map on page 33 egregiously locates Evansville, Indiana on the Mississippi river in Illinois. The text occasionally includes content irrelevant to the primary argument (one instance is the listing of patriotic songs played at a political gathering on p. 138), while at other times fails to take account of essential material. O'Neill, for example, does not cite William H. Goetzmann's *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1959), nor does she mention the relevant official histories of the Army Corps of Engineers, such as Albert E. Cowdrey's *A History of The New Orleans District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and its Life Long Battle with the Lower Mississippi and other Rivers Wending their Way to the Sea* (1977).

This monograph provides a solid recounting of the local and national political contexts in which current flood control policies evolved. And despite its limitations, the book may hold some interest for historical geographers. Several research questions could emerge from the discussions of the broad impact of government flood-control intervention on the economies, social structure, and natural environments of the affected regions. O'Neill integrates the spatial context to a surprisingly limited extent for a scholar with a faculty appointment in human ecology, but her monograph does point the way for more focused regional, economic, and historical-geographic analysis.

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Geography and Revolution. CHARLES W. J. WITHERS and DAVID N. LIVINGSTONE, editors. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005. Pp. vii+433, maps, diagrams, index, bibliography. \$38.00 cloth. ISBN 0-226-48733-4.

Geography and Revolution is a timely and important foray into the relationship between the geography of revolution and geography in revolution. The book is a collection of papers presented at a conference in Edinburgh in 2001, and it draws on the work of geographers, historians and historians of science to analyse varying conceptions of scientific, technological, and political revolutions. The book begins with an introduction by the two editors and is drawn to a close by an afterword penned by the cultural historian Peter Burke. The introduction sets out the book's agenda and emphasizes its central thrust, which is to raise questions about the difference that space makes in conceptualizing revolutions and to consider the place of geography, as both a discipline and the insights it offers as such, within various explanations of what revolution actually was. The book itself is divided into three parts: Geography and Scientific Knowledge, Geography and Technical Revolution, and Geography and Political Revolution. Each section contains four, three, and four papers, respectively.

Geography and Scientific Knowledge addresses the question of whether or not science is placeless and assesses the reciprocal linkages between geography and scientific epistemology. In his essay on space, revolution, and science, Peter Dear begins by using Thomas Kuhn's classic study, "Structure of Scientific Revolutions," to interrogate the very idea of revolution. Using examples such as the diffusion of Boyle's air-pump across Europe and the Dutch successes in the cultivation of tropical botany in the eighteenth century, Dear points out the necessity of including the geographical issues of place and space in any attempt aimed at understanding historical change. John Henry addresses the issue of national styles of science, focusing on the different methods of Aristotelian and experimental scientific explanation that emerged respectively in France and England, and then illustrating how each was entangled in the politico-religious discourses of Catholicism and Protestantism. Charles Withers focuses on Scottish geographical scholarship in the seventeenth century by looking at the textual space of geographical texts and the teaching of geography in Scottish universities.

James Moore looks at the careers and achievements of Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace, and finds distinctive parallels in the language of Victorian Imperialism and the prose employed by the two evolutionary theorists to describe migration and mutation. Darwin's terms were those of the military idioms of invasion, colonization, alien displacement of indigenous inhabitants, and it is no coincidence that his theories of evolutionary biology

came about in the age of Britain's greatest imperial reach. Wallace's biogeographical theories are less enamoured with the invasive nature of the biology/imperialism matrix, as he tended to see the imperial project as a corrupting rather than a civilizing one. Whereas Darwin saw colonists mimicking nature by behaving in the same aggressive, invasive way, Wallace saw the geography of nature and imperialism as being one in which environmental determinism could be rejected in favor of a more contingent, emancipatory understanding of global biogeography, albeit one that used the resources of contemporary colonial politics and literature.

In "Geography and Technical Revolution," Jerry Brotton deals with the mapping of the Cape of Good Hope, which was a seminal moment in the geographer's understanding of the size and shape of the world as the Ptolemaic worldview was dispelled and a new global geography emerged that fostered mercantilist geographies in which the newly "discovered" peoples began to be mapped and simultaneously marginalized and demonized. Brotton details the commercial drive, for which textual mechanisms such as maps were central, to "fix" a barbaric image in the European imagination for the peoples in question. In their essay on time and timekeeping, Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift reject what they see as the simplistic understanding of revolution as a break or rupture, and use their essay to highlight the emergence of "new senses of time"—everyday timekeeping is the true revolution in horology, as opposed to the traditionally accepted Horological Revolution of the seventeenth century when timekeeping technology improved dramatically. They identify three revolutions, the first in clock time, a second that involves the changing significance of its measurement for different communities, and a third focused on the ways in which the practices of timekeeping were learned and embodied in social behaviour in early modern England.

James R. Ryan's paper on photography in the nineteenth century complements that of Glennie and Thrift: just as horology was achieving a new level of scientific exactitude in the nineteenth century, the camera emerged as a device that could seemingly "stop" time. Images of people and places could be rendered onto a photographic film and reproduced all over the world. Ryan outlines how some nineteenth century geographers saw the camera a huge boon to their work and its invention as a revolutionary moment in geographical scholarship, others were slightly more sceptical as to its value, seeing it as an aid, not a replacement, to field studies and sketches. Ryan traces its absorption into the discipline and shows how photography came to be understood as a vital part of the everyday practices of description and taxonomy which were the *sine qua non* of the nineteenth-century geographer.

The final section of the book deals with geography and political revolution. Robert J. Mayhew's essay on the nature of the "English Revolution" of the 1640s details the changing methodologies that emerged in the

institutional sites of geographical debate, Oxford University in particular, and how these changes meant that geography, and especially geographical texts, became spaces of religious and political debate. Geographical texts both expressed and were used to legitimize a particular group's or individual's political and religious allegiances. Michael Heffernan's paper on Edme Mentelle exemplifies the fluid nature of the French scholar's geographies, which were variously used to promote a royalist geography and to cement the republican expression of the Revolution before Mentelle was finally honoured by King Louis XVIII shortly before his death. Mentelle's texts were thus an educational tool and served to assist multiple political agendas by those who set them, not least of which was Mentelle's own survival in the upheaval of pre and post-Revolutionary France.

David N. Livingstone's chapter on Jedidiah Morse and the geography of the early American Republic shows how Morse attempted to develop a highly specific moral geography based on the perceived qualities of New England and its inhabitants. This "moral" geography was to serve the dual purpose of providing an ethical and social model of social organization to secure America's sense of self-identity and simultaneously dispel erroneous European conceptions of the barbarism and uncivilized nature of the flora and fauna—humans included—of the budding American nation. Nicolaas Rupke's essay on the famous German geographer, Alexander von Humboldt, deals with his posthumous cooption as a political revolutionary rather than his contemporaneous apperception in England as a cosmopolitan geographer. Rupke shows how Humboldt's private correspondence was used to read his work differently after his death.

Taken as whole, the book teases out the difficulties inherent in the study of any revolution, not merely the three dealt with substantively in the text. The authors highlight the significance of conceptualizing revolution from the perspective of geography, of recognising how integral the elements of space and place are to that conception, and how those elements help shape and foster any and all revolution. They point out that the meaning of the term "revolution" has changed over time from Copernicus's account of the motion celestial spheres and the medieval understanding of revolution as neutral change in sovereignty to its modern connotations of overthrowing one regime and replacing it with a successor. This shift in meaning to a more political understanding was cemented by the idea that the fundamental laws of nature had been uncovered in the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century and that this was a precursor to a revolution in understanding the social and political organization of the human world. A revolution like the French Revolution was not simply the completion of a historical cycle but something that demanded innovation and stark, direct change. Yet as the authors point out, the concept of revolution has found favour among historians for events

and affairs beyond matters celestial and political. Technological and intellectual revolutions, from the Industrial to the Information Revolution, have come under the historian's microscope. One of the key aims of this collection of essays, however, is to highlight how revolutions such as the Scientific Revolution owe a great deal of their nature, extent, and ultimately significance to their geography—where they happened and how their impacts subsequently diffused.

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Atlas of Race, Ancestry, and Religion in 21st-Century Florida. MORTON D. WINSBERG. Gainesville and Tallahassee: University Press of Florida, 2006. Pp. iv+125, tables, maps. \$29.95 cloth. ISBN 0-8130-2929.

This small book introduces readers to the spatial patterns of ethnic identity and religious affiliation in Florida. Using Census 2000 data where possible and data on religious group membership collected privately in 2000 by Glenmary Research Center, a Roman Catholic organization, Winsberg maps a wide range of groups and interprets the patterns to illuminate aspects of Florida's contemporary cultural geography. All the larger racial, ancestry, and religious groups are treated in addition to non-Hispanic whites over age 65 and many less numerous groups such as Greek Orthodox, Seventh-day Adventists, Hispanic American Indians, Thais, Hondurans, Ecuadorians, and people reporting Nigerian, Guyanese, Armenian, Lithuanian, and Lebanese ancestries. Although the average American probably likes to think of our diverse society as a "melting pot," I agree with the author that this term is inappropriate for today's situation. Religious, racial, and ethnic identities are still important both socially and in popular consciousness, an observation that provides the rationale for this book.

Winsberg, emeritus professor of geography at Florida State University, explains various aspects behind the cartographic design of the 140-plus maps. Most of the text, however, deals with the cultural history of settlement in the state, covering such groups as the Vietnamese and Greeks in Tampa Bay and Arabs in Jacksonville along with the metropolitan expansions of the larger ethnic and religious groups. These discussions are generally short but are adequate for a book of this nature. Numerous tables with group population totals are a helpful feature in this handy guide to Florida's culture groups. There are no footnotes or author-date references, but a reference list does appear at the book's end.

In the introduction, the author sets out the geographical framework for understanding the group patterns by presenting three basic Florida maps: a detailed dot map of total population distribution, a map of county names and boundaries, and a map locating and identifying Florida's cities and larger towns. These three maps guide the reader to the locations and places referred to in the text. Including these maps also means that the county-level group maps are not unnecessarily cluttered with place names. In later chapters, intra-urban dot maps similarly orient the reader and display the names of cities without either boundaries or point symbols, which again would have cluttered the map. Winsberg provides a useful summary of Florida's population history, and his division of the state into seven regions makes possible a table of distribution shifts between 1960 and 2000 for Blacks, Hispanics, and non-Hispanic Whites both younger and older than 65 years. For each of the four major urban regions (Gold Coast, Tampa Bay, Orlando, and Jacksonville), he provides a table showing the numbers in all but the smallest racial and ancestry groups reported by the US census.

The maps are the most distinctive feature of this book. They are easily legible and attractive in appearance on the 6"x 9" pages, reflecting good cartographic design and appropriate use of different scales. Two colors are used in most maps with patterns clearly shown in different shades of blue and gray. Most maps, and all of those for religious groups, cover the entire state and portray distributions with counties as the areal unit. County-level maps and most tables are based on location quotients so that the reader sees just how much higher one group's proportions are compared to the average for the state and occasionally, the United States as a whole. This design makes sense because without it, as the author points out, most group distributions would simply appear to mimic the total population. Within the four major urban regions the author uses tract-level data to produce an extensive series of dot distribution maps. Other maps show group expansion across space for Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites aged 65 years and older by identifying the decade when the group first achieved 40 percent of the tract's population.

With respect to religious affiliation, numbers at the county level are not as good as census data. As the author explains, some important Christian church groups still do not participate in the program for collecting data on adherents and thus cannot be shown in the book's maps and tables. Nevertheless, over the last few decades an increasing number of religious organizations have cooperated with the data-collection program. Thus, the 2000 data from the Glenmary Research Center include Muslims, Baha'is, Buddhists, Hindus, Sikhs, Zoroastrians, and most eastern Orthodox groups, although the small number of followers from these faiths in Florida means that only Muslims appear in this book.

Middle Eastern ancestries are not presented as clearly as possible, which

is particularly troubling since the realm's countries and cultures confuse most Americans. Winsberg presents as "Arab" the total numbers who wrote either the term "Arab" or the name of an Arabic-speaking country in response to the Census ancestry question. In the same tables, however, he also lists the numbers reporting specific Arab nationalities such as Egyptian and Syrian with no indication that these are included in the general "Arab" total. It would also have been helpful to indicate that people of Iranian, Armenian, Israeli, or Turkish ancestry are not part of the Arab ancestry total because in the Middle East they neither speak Arabic nor share an Arab identity.

On a point that is perhaps minor considering the nature of this book, but one that is nonetheless fundamental to its subject matter, Winsberg gets into unnecessary difficulties in conceptualizing race, ethnicity, and ancestry. He believes that such identities should reflect actual genealogical or biological heritages and that these groups must "continue to share a cultural heritage other than that of the majority culture" (p. 6). Yet most scholars concerned with this issue do not consider it necessary for a racial, ethnic, or ancestry group in the United States to retain aspects of a once-distinctive culture. Moreover, the Census Bureau does not seek the actual biological or genealogical origins of people when they ask questions about identity. Expressed identity is sufficient. For those whose families have been in the United States for more than a generation, such identities often are multiple and find unique expression depending on individual motive or social context, but this variability over time is not a problem for most uses of the data.

The book was designed as a concise reference guide for journalists, public administrators, government planners, demographers, gerontologists, and a full range of scholars interested in the history, geography, and politics of Florida. The atlas is a very good one for its intended purpose, although an index would have increased its utility. All of the above professionals would do well to have a copy on the desk for reference purposes alone. At this low price I would also recommend the atlas as stimulating supplementary reading in undergraduate courses in the sociology, history, and geography of Florida, as well as in courses taught in Florida on race, ethnicity, and religion in the United States. Most every Floridian should find material on some group that is personally meaningful, thereby enhancing the book's value and potential audience.

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The Neoliberal City: Governance, Ideology, and Development in American Urbanism. JASON HACKWORTH. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007. Pp. 225, tables, maps, bibliographic references, index. \$22.95 paper. ISBN 978-0-8014-4488-3.

In his essay on the thirteen theses of globalization and neoliberalism, geographer Thomas Klack describes neoliberalism as “a country’s ticket or passport to the globalizing economy” (*Globalization and Neoliberalism*, Rowman and Littlefield, 1998, p. 3). Although the prefix “neo” proceeds “liberal,” the neoliberal movement is actually a return to classical liberalism, a condition in which free trade and unfettered capitalism are considered necessary for growth. While Klack assumes a more macro-level approach to studying the relationship between globalization and neoliberalism, the phrase implies that neoliberalism is more of a continuing process than a concept or a result. Using a multitude of data sets and clear language to state his arguments, Jason Hackworth succeeds in exemplifying this point throughout *The Neoliberal City*.

The Neoliberal City takes a local-scale approach to examining neoliberalism in the American urban realm. Throughout the book, Hackworth uses US metropolitan areas as case studies to explain trends in the neoliberal urban movement. While these case studies give specific examples of how neoliberalism plays out in different cities, Hackworth also uses them to show how local examples are not entirely local and are instead connected to larger global shifts. Hackworth claims that neoliberalism is not “organic” (p.16), but rather that the neoliberal impact on American urban areas is something engineered by forces much greater than local governing bodies in each city. As is clearly stated in Chapter One, Hackworth’s intent is “to use the physical, political, and discursive space of the American inner city as a vehicle for understanding the nature of neoliberalism....” (p. 13).

Hackworth divides *The Neoliberal City* into an introduction and three parts. In the introduction, he explores and defines neoliberalism, tracing its roots back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Here, the author contrasts neoliberalism with Keynesian economics to explain how the older ideology evolved into the concept under examination in the book, and how neoliberalism is in some ways related to ideas of classical liberalism. Hackworth also explains that he uses the inner city as a case study in the book because it is an area where the work of local governance, public-private partnerships, and global forces agglomerate to shape both space and place.

Part One (Chapters 2-4) focuses on the neoliberalization of local governance in city planning. Specifically, Hackworth describes the relationships local governments have with bond-rating agencies, public-private partnerships, and public housing authorities, which must conform to the dictates of the state and federal governments. He uses New York City, Philadelphia, Detroit, Seat-

tle, Chicago, and New Brunswick, New Jersey to show how such relationships often lead local governments to choose a neoliberal path of development, in some cases making local governments less “local.” In this way, political and economic shifts in local areas are caused by influences from non-local institutions such as bond-rating agencies, public housing authorities, and public-private partnerships.

Part Two (Chapters 5-8) shows how neoliberalism has changed and shaped the urban landscape. In particular, Hackworth argues that neoliberalism at a local scale is realized through the real estate market. Maps showing patterns in investment and disinvestment in the inner city, exurban areas, and suburban regions of nine US cities in the 1970s illustrate how these three urban forms are indications of the influence by larger, non-local forces. This section also takes an in-depth look at the urban core, using New York City and Phoenix as case studies, to focus on the changing nature of gentrification. Hackworth concludes that the gentrification projects of the 1960s and 1970s, which were funded through small investors, have evolved into largely corporate-funded projects today. Such projects were enabled by lax zoning regulations and anti-gentrification laws since the 1980s.

Part Three (Chapters 9-10) outlines movements against neoliberal development and the strategies and rationale used to counter neoliberal urbanism. Hackworth argues that protests against neoliberalism are difficult because the very nature of neoliberal urban development fragments those displaced by it, making it more difficult for the displaced and their champions to organize against a cause. He concludes the book by stating that there is a geography to neoliberalism, and it is this geography that makes neoliberal development so complicated to understand and so difficult to fight against.

The Neoliberal City is a well-written book with many strong points. The book’s best feature is that Hackworth explicitly states his purpose and argument in the beginning of each chapter. The author leaves the reader with no questions regarding the direction of his argument or his choice of particular case studies to illustrate a concept.

Each chapter in this book follows a relatively similar format: introduction and statement of purpose, description of concept or theory, brief overview of relevant literature, and at least one case study that illustrates the point. While some might argue this format is rather unimaginative, I think that this format is essential to making sure the reader is able to follow the author’s argument. This format is especially helpful because, as Hackworth admits in the final chapter, neoliberal urban development is a complicated process that is still evolving, and thus difficult to explain.

Hackworth uses numerous case studies supported by a triangulation of data collection methods to support his claims. He combines quantitative and qualitative data to draw his conclusions, uses both contemporary, sec-

ondary source data analysis and historical research to prove his points, and draws from historical documents and present-day observations to support his arguments. Maps and data tables clearly illustrate the urban development trends discussed in each case study. This book is an excellent example of how a combination of techniques and a collection of individual studies can be used to analyze an overarching idea such as neoliberalism.

The only weakness I found in this book was in the final chapter. Despite the book's title, which implies that it may fall firmly within a larger welter of post-modern literature, it remains largely (and refreshingly) jargon-free. The exception to this clarity is the last chapter, which becomes much more conceptual and jargon-laden. One could argue that this is typical of a concluding chapter, but it is so stylistically different from the rest of the book I almost felt like I were reading a different text. For example, when the author begins talking about the "left" and the "right," and the divisions within each in regards to neoliberalism, the clear arguments from the rest of the book can be lost. Politics of the Left and Right were absent from the rest of the book, at least under that label, and the conclusion is not, in my opinion, the place to introduce new ideas. That said, I strongly recommend the book to anyone interested in the inner workings of neoliberal urban development, or as a text for a graduate class on urban processes. Hackworth draws from and reviews an extensive body of literature in forming his arguments, and he explains precisely what could otherwise be a very confusing aspect of critical urban theory.

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