



Hegemony: The New Shape of Global Power. JOHN AGNEW. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005. Pp. xii+284, graphs, maps, tables, endnotes, index. \$64.50 cloth. ISBN 1-59213-152-2.

American Commodities in an Age of Empire. MONA DOMOSH. New York and London: Routledge, 2006. Pp. xii+202, illustrations, maps, photographs, tables, endnotes, index. \$90.00 hardcover. ISBN 0-41594-571-2.

Fourteen years ago, Amy Kaplan admonished cultural historians for disavowing the longstanding importance of global imperialism in shaping American culture. Historians who have contributed to the study of US colonialism and the internationalization of American cultural history since then are too many to list (but see *Haunted by Empire*, edited by Ann Stoler, 2006, for a recent collection). Geographers have also begun to produce a distinct literature on American empire with contributions, for instance, by Derek Gregory and Neil Smith (for a review of the latter, refer to this volume). Two new books—*Hegemony* by John Agnew and *American Commodities in an Age of Empire* by Mona Domosh—both make excellent and noteworthy additions to this literature.

Agnew's book is both a response to the recent "proliferation of publications" (p. 8) that have taken American empire as their subject, and a thorough reworking of his earlier book, *The United States in the World-Economy* (1987) in light of current debates. He launches this book with the claim that "words matter," and then suggests that the word "hegemony" is a far more convincing description of American power than the language of "empire and imperialism" that is currently being refashioned today. The rest of the book is a sustained case in support of that suggestion.

Agnew's argument is structured into seven chapters. After a short introduction, he uses a literature review to sketch distinctions between empire and hegemony. He associates empire with territorial rule or direct coercion and defines hegemony as the "widespread assent to principles of conduct that are the 'common sense' of world politics and that emanate from distinctive

cultural-economic sites with potentially global reach” (p. 26). The third chapter traces a “new geography of power” that evolved with the emergence of American hegemony. Here he develops his central thesis that this hegemony has taken the form of a marketplace society, which itself first took shape in the United States. American hegemony may sometimes resort to territorial or military forms of rule, yet fundamentally it rests on the normalization of its own marketplace society through globalization. The fourth chapter fleshes out this thesis in historical detail, emphasizing less the imperatives of capital and more the specific experiences of American society in the nineteenth century. It is here that Agnew argues most forcibly that the current hegemony of the marketplace society and mass consumption had its roots in the United States.

Agnew then challenges Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri’s thesis, developed in *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), that contemporary imperial sovereignty has been projected through the global expansion of US constitutionalism rather than its cultural-economic forms. The sixth chapter returns to the historical narrative of the fourth, tracing the implementation of “free market” globalization through the geopolitics of the Cold War. The seventh and eighth chapters take readers deeper into calculative arguments regarding current trends in the world economy, first to argue that an economic polarization between rich and poor is growing within nations as economic inequalities between nations have become marginally less significant. This trend in uneven development is then turned back at the United States as Agnew argues that American foreign policy and the economic well-being of its citizens are increasingly at odds. This brings Agnew’s argument full circle: while the new geography of power became increasingly de-territorialized through the penetrating new regime of the marketplace, the United States itself became “increasingly subject to the logic of globalization that its governments and other institutions helped release” (p. 220).

Domosh begins her monograph, *American Commodities in an Age of Empire*, from Agnew’s central thesis that new configurations of hegemony, based on a marketplace society and regimes of consumption, took shape in the United States and were pushed outward from there. “For much of the 19th and 20th centuries,” she writes, “American foreign and economic policy was geared not toward the establishment of formal colonies but toward the expansion of markets” (p. 5). The congruence may not be surprising: the two authors have been in conversation across thousands of miles, and Domosh admires Agnew’s book for having “provided the most compelling and historically rich account of the distinctive shape of American ‘empire’” (p. 16). While containing this praise, *American Commodities in an Age of Empire* turns out to be the more modest and richer book. Within its pages, Domosh examines

the marketing strategies and advertising media that three major American companies—Singer, McCormick/International Harvester, and Heinz—used to sell their products abroad in the second half of the nineteenth century. Drawing on original archival research and using over seventy black-and-white images, her argument is that US products, rather than its guns or politics, were portrayed as America's principal instrument for civilizing people around the world. She situates her material in line with recent studies of US colonialism among cultural historians, noting the "little attention paid to such 'cultural' matters as gender, race, identity, and performance" (p. 9) among writers interested in the political economy of America's less violent forms of imperialism.

If such attention clearly distinguishes Domosh's text from Agnew's, another difference is their form of argument. *Hegemony* ends with numbers; *American Commodities* begins with them. Thus the second chapter offers a statistical overview of the overseas expansion of several American firms before 1915 while exploring the measured flexibility of their business cultures as each adapted to local contexts. The third chapter then examines how Singer, America's first international company, used its overseas success as an advertising tool in the United States. Its imagery, she argues, fostered a view of malleable identities where foreign women could become civilized—almost "white"—through consumption, socially proximate because geographical distance was clearly maintained. The fourth chapter traces the frontier narratives and discourses of progress and international economic development portrayed in McCormick's early farm-implement catalogues. According to these photographs, "what separates India from Russia, for example, is the use or lack of use of machinery, not any intrinsic difference of character or culture" (p. 134). Notions of a hierarchy of nations based on economic development appear again in the fifth chapter, where Domosh demonstrates how Heinz represented itself as a patriarchal family whose civilizing mission was more than simply the production of "pure" foods in its company "kitchens." The last chapter, "Flexible Racism," sketches a provocative and challenging modification to the framework of commodity racism that Anne McClintock developed in *Imperial Leather* (New York: Routledge, 1995) in regard to British imperialism. For Domosh, the hierarchy of nations came to be associated more with marketable technologies and less with biological categories of race, that is, the idea that exotic racial identities were malleable became the more dominant view.

With their critical and empirically rich accounts, both Domosh and Agnew put business culture and consumption at the heart of America's imperial formation. In so doing, their books offer a much-needed bridge between the recent literature on American empire in geography (with its tendencies toward critical geopolitics) and new cultural histories of Ameri-

can neocolonialism. Indeed, their work will be crucial to building such a connection. A weakness of the two texts lies in their neglect to inquire into the impact of American goods overseas or the early transnational translation and traffic of business practices. Postcolonial perspectives would have added a great deal on both counts. Domosh acknowledges this limitation in her current work, but Agnew seems less convinced that such considerations are important. Indeed, there is a touch of (strategic?) essentialism about American culture in *Hegemony* as, for example, when Agnew cites “routines derivative of or compatible with those first developed in the United States” (p. 13) or writes of a consumer culture that “has a number of distinctive roots in the American historical experience” (p. 100). But these limitations open up a vast terrain for future research about the nature of America’s imperial formation. *Hegemony* and *American Commodities* deserve to be widely read, and Agnew and Domosh should both be generously applauded for their tight, compelling, and path-breaking works.

—Matthew Kurtz
Open University

v v v

American Empire: Roosevelt’s Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization. NEIL SMITH. Berkley: University of California Press, 2004. Pp. xxvii+557, maps, photographs, index, endnotes. \$24.95 paperback. ISBN 0-520-24338-2.

One response to the emergence of the pseudo-scientific “geopolitics” during the Second World War relayed in Neil Smith’s biography on “Roosevelt’s Geographer,” Isaiah Bowman (1878-1950), can be drawn from Henry Luce’s *Time* magazine of the period. The comment not only provokes a belly laugh, but also undermines the earnestness of Smith’s Marxist-inflected polemic: “Politicians are bad enough when it comes to settling world problems, but geographers!”

The research in this densely constructed tome is meticulous and at times outstanding. Bowman provides Smith with a Horatio Alger-like protagonist who is ultimately undermined in the tale. He was a hardscrabble kid from a poor farming family in Brown City, Michigan (and a Canadian immigrant besides) who matriculated to Harvard, taught at Yale, and then trekked to the Andes to research his PhD, all the while remaining an outsider to the Ivy League elite. Bowman left academia for a series of such influential positions as the head of the American Geographical Society and member of Woodrow Wilson’s Inquiry, the consortium that reconceived the bloody puzzle of European geography after the First World War. Soon thereafter, Bow-

man was appointed President of John Hopkins University, where he is portrayed as a martinet with anti-Semitic tendencies. (As distasteful as this might appear, Smith's elision of the scale and impact of the genocides perpetrated by Hitler and Stalin do not contribute to a balanced account of the period.) Bowman was a founding member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a body whose structures were later adopted by the US State Department. During the Second World War, Bowman served on various committees for Roosevelt, secured massive defense funding for research at John Hopkins, and helped to frame the United Nation's constitution and charter.

This skeleton of Bowman's biography allows Smith to discuss a number of topics of specific interest to geographers—environmental determinism; Mackinder's "Geographical Pivot" of history; the Kantian university; emerging liberal internationalism; the German school of *Geopolitik*; and the foundation of the military-industrial complex. Smith takes on his own personal bailiwick, globalization, arguing that it enabled the United States to emerge as a twentieth-century superpower. Smith drapes his personal theme in Luce's declaration of the "American Century," elaborating upon the "unequivocal role of geography" in drafting the US "blueprint for today's global ambition." Smith traces the emergence of American imperialism from William McKinley's 1898 victory in the Philippines to Woodrow Wilson's global imprimatur on twentieth-century European political geography during the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. Set against the backdrop of the Allied campaign against Hitler and the Axis, Franklin D. Roosevelt's postwar planning with Churchill and Stalin set the stage for what Smith refers to, somewhat problematically, as an "American Lebensraum" that produced the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Organisation. (Suspiciously regarded at the time as spectres of Communism, contemporary academics of Smith's bent view these institutions as Augean stables of neoliberalism.) Though Bowman was only seventeen when McKinley's forces took Manila, he organized a local militia in rural Michigan and drilled them using wooden rifles. His role in Paris as Wilson's geographical adjutant, and as "Roosevelt's Geographer" during the Second World War, were a bit more significant, as Smith records with pedantic detail—the former more so than the latter, as is perhaps suggested by the book's title, in which Bowman's name is curiously absent.

Smith's premise is that the United States made itself a world empire during the twentieth century by establishing hegemony over economic, not territorial space; rather than making and maintaining colonies, it created markets backed by military force. The British Foreign and Colonial Offices' best-laid plans flummoxed as a result. It is an interesting, if not a completely original, reading of US foreign policy, and one that invokes Henri Lefebvre's conception of relational space. Smith's application of Friedrich Ratzel's *leben-*

sraum is more problematic, however. Ratzel's theory equated a nation with a living organism and argued that a country's search for territorial expansion was similar to a growing organism's search for space. The Monroe Doctrine certainly provided the United States with a regional hegemony, and territories secured from 1889 to 1919 can be seen in this light. But as Smith himself illustrates, US expansion after the Second World War has been largely economic. Defeat in Vietnam and the current boondoggle in Iraq show the practical shortcomings of the American military's territorial expeditions in quest of empire, notwithstanding contemporary delusions embodied in the "Project for a New American Century."

Smith's initial Lefebvrian premise concerning US economic and cultural imperium in the pursuit of capital accumulation is accurate; his application of Ratzel's spatiality upon American geopolitical ambition is not. Smith should have expanded upon the former without jettisoning the latter. This is indeed ironic, because it was in the Upper Plains of the American West that Ratzel first conceived his idea, as Sven Lindqvist's text *Exterminate All the Brutes* (1997) illustrates. In *Der Lebensraum* (1904), Ratzel wrote of the late nineteenth-century US Indian Wars as an "annihilating struggle, the prize for which was the land, the space." Smith's idea of an American *Lebensraum*, it seems, is a century too late. In his forward, Smith thanks David Harvey and Derek Gregory for proofing his draft manuscript. Given their recent tracts on American imperialism, he would have done well to pursue his breathtakingly original Lefebvrian instincts more strongly, rather than to pour his new wine into the old skins of their respective works, *The New Imperialism* (2003) and *The Colonial Present* (2004). In the end, Smith's criticism of the Cold War's binary geography is embedded within the similarly binary logic of dialectical Marxism's critique of nineteenth-century capitalism. It would have been more interesting if Smith had incorporated a reading of Antonio Gramsci's Americanism and Fordism to accompany his Lefebvrian theoretical praxis.

Despite Smith's criticisms of Bowman's personality, ambitions, and geographical practice, it seems that his maligned protagonist was a better mapmaker: Bowman's map of the Urubama River in the Andes of Southern Peru (p. 65) is a fine piece of cartography compared to the maps in Smith's text, which show a careless disregard for the political geographies of Europe and the natural fluvial patterns of Persia.

—Charles Travis
Trinity College, Dublin

Nature and the City: Making Environmental Policy in Toronto and Los Angeles. GENE DESFOR and ROGER KEIL. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2004. Pp. xviii+274, maps, photographs, table, index. \$45.00 paper. ISBN 0-8165-2373-8.

In *Nature and the City*, Gene Desfor and Roger Keil set out to critically examine the ways political actors use environmental narratives to formulate urban environmental policy. The empirical scope of their study is limited to Los Angeles and Toronto in the 1990s, with attention paid to four case studies: the restoration of an urban wetland in Toronto's Don River Valley; efforts to renaturalize the Los Angeles River; soil contamination in a Toronto brownfield redevelopment site; and the political struggle over air quality in the Los Angeles Air Basin. Yet the applicability of their arguments and method lie well beyond the urban ecologies of these two cities. *Nature and the City* is not solely an empirical work, but also a sophisticated theoretical engagement that draws together social ecology, local-state theory, narrative interpretation, and urban-centric approaches to the social production of nature. The overall thrust of their argument is that ecology itself represents a core ontological site over which political actors struggle to reshape the political economies of the post-Fordist urban form.

The text is significant, not simply because it adds new depth of analysis to the growing urban political ecology literature, but also because its case studies allow the authors to combine an impressive array of theoretical positions and methodologies. Their focus is on ecological modernization theory (developed in the mid-1990s by Maarten Hajer), which the authors insist offers a useful lens through which to observe shifting nature-society relations in industrial societies. Ecological modernization is a social response to environmentalist critique, but one in which the institutions of modern capitalism are not fundamentally altered in the design of ecologically "benign" futures. Instead, ecology and economy are seen to be fully compatible, harmonized through policy choices that produce synergistic benefits. The authors distinguish between "weak" and "strong" ecological modernization: the former is synonymous with the neoliberal idea that market-friendly policy instruments can overcome environmental problems; the latter focuses on open, transparent policy debates about desirable futures along with strong state and communicative intervention. In each case study, Desfor and Keil demonstrate the clear hegemony of weak ecological modernization in municipal policy discourse.

The Toronto brownfield case study is illustrative. Over the course of much of the 1990s, environmental activists struggled with development interests over soil remediation in a former industrial site that contained high levels of contamination. In the ensuing policy debate, Desfor and Keil track

how soil remediation policy guidelines shifted from “stringent” to “flexible” in accordance with the interests of an urban growth coalition comprised mainly of developers. The result was a significant reduction in remediation costs through a relaxation of standards. What is particularly interesting about this shift, however, is that it came on the heels of a crippling recession that devastated Toronto’s labor and real estate markets. (Desfor and Keil found a similar situation in the Los Angeles air-quality case study.) According to the authors, developers capitalized on this circumstance by arguing that stringent environmental standards halted growth precisely when it was needed for the city to overcome its real-estate crisis. Redevelopment, it was further argued, would improve environmental quality on the site itself. This response is perhaps predictable, but also ironic: in making their argument, the developers implied that by restoring ecology through development, the municipality could reestablish its competitive advantage. For Desfor and Keil, this sort of historical contingency is typical of how ecological modernization discourse unfolds. They insist, however, that while agendas such as this one have a tendency to foreclose alternative strategies, they are by no means inevitable. To the contrary, if ecological modernization is conceptualized as historically contingent, then alternative ecological narratives have an extremely important role to play in shaping urban environmental policy.

The text is also significant for the way it challenges the hegemony of ecological modernization as national discourse. Against this convention, Desfor and Keil write that ecological modernization must be understood and critiqued from an urban perspective precisely because it is forged in the crucible of municipal politics. The authors are well aware that ecological-modernization discourse is found elsewhere in the global chain of production and consumption, but contend that municipalities around the world now bear a significant burden of globalization in an era of downloading. Their message is that neoliberal globalization manifests itself, and is negotiated in, urban ecologies and spaces, as well as in the quotidian lives of urban people—all in ways that national political activity simply cannot address.

For all its strengths, the book warrants a few minor cautionary notes. In bringing together such a diverse array of theory and method and then applying these to the world of urban policy development, the authors sometimes lose sight of both. Their theoretical explications are sound but could use more elaboration, whereas their descriptions of specific policy processes and developments are overly detailed. The result is that it is sometimes unclear whether they are addressing their arguments to theoretically inclined readers, the urban policy community, or environmental activists. Another problem, familiar to anyone who has worked in policy, is the complex array of organizational acronyms. The chapter on air quality in Los Angeles, for instance, was difficult reading at times owing to the multitudinous abbreviations. This, of

course, constitutes minor criticism in what is otherwise a thoughtful series of engagements. *Nature and the City* makes a novel contribution to studies of nature, urban political ecology, and local state theory. But perhaps most of all, it draws attention to the need for governance regimes that place the urban domain at the center of environmental policy.

—Andrew Baldwin
Queen's University, Kingston

v v v

Land of Sunshine: An Environmental History of Metropolitan Los Angeles. WILLIAM DEVERELL and GREG HISE, editors. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005. Pp. viii+350, photos, index. \$34.95 cloth. ISBN 0-8229-4254-2.

The second volume in the University of Pittsburgh's *History of the Urban Environment* series, *Land of Sunshine* aims to explore the "metropolitan nature" of Los Angeles, "one of the ecological wonders of the habitable world" in the words of architectural historian Reyner Banham. It is part of a growing literature on a hybrid topic that, in bringing cities into environmental history, has made urban scholars increasingly aware of the environmental issues in their midst. It is fascinating and fertile territory, as the essays in this volume attest: three "folios" of historical photographs with accompanying essays; an archaeological prehistory of the Los Angeles region; a reconstruction of its pre-modern prairie ecology; a treatise on the fate of Mexican land grants in US courts; four essays on zoning, planning, and public policy; three on flood control engineering; and musings on gardens, pets, and food. The approaches range from academic geography, history, anthropology, economics, and ecology to journalism, art history, and literary theory. On the whole, they are engagingly written. Two stand out in style and structure: John McPhee's "Los Angeles Against the Mountains," a tour-de-force example of what environmental narrative can be (first published in *The New Yorker* on September 26, 1988, and later collected to form one-third of the equally magisterial book, *The Control of Nature* (1989)); and Jennifer Price's "Thirteen Ways of Seeing Nature in LA," a clever celebration of how Los Angeles, popularly construed as the anti-natural city, is actually the most interesting intersection of nature and culture imaginable.

The collection offers a strong argument for the continued relevance and vitality of serious writing about Los Angeles, and of promise for the editors' enterprise in urban environmental history. They convincingly show the insufficiency of earlier paradigms in scholarly and popular discourse about

southern California: Los Angeles as anti-nature, as “a museum of failed urbanism,” as dystopia, as the contemporary locus of the ancient American narrative of moral disintegration written across the physical landscape—here as pollution, congestion, disaster, riot, and (eventual, probable, inevitable) collapse. In spite of the city’s well-documented problems, this book begins instead, in its introduction, with the acknowledgment that “in LA, we begin the twenty-first century struggling with the consequences of success”—success, that is, defined by its sheer size, its reach, both physical and psychological, its enormous economic (the ninth largest economy in the world) and political (the most populous region in the nation’s most populous state) power, and its continuing magnetic attraction to millions of immigrants from across the globe. The rumors of its demise are greatly exaggerated: Los Angeles is going strong and getting stronger—this is not to say that its epic problems are getting any smaller, quite the contrary—and this volume goes some way toward helping history, geography, and related fields come to terms with that fact. Collectively, the pieces hint at the complexity of the region’s history. For all its apparent chaos and formlessness, Los Angeles was carefully and doggedly constructed by well-organized parties: real-estate developers, businessmen, politicians, engineers, planners, and property owners, particularly middle-class homeowners. The city is marked by the powerful role of its entrepreneurial government, to which historian Kevin Starr once referred as its “Bismarckian municipal will” to create the infrastructure—dams, aqueducts, flood control channels—that would, in political scientist Stephen Erie’s telling of it, “create, in an unlikely setting, one of the world’s great cities, regions, and hubs of global commerce” (*Globalizing L.A.*, 2004).

The core of the book consists of essays that focus on zoning and planning in Los Angeles (“Pollution and Public Policy at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” by Daniel Johnson; “Beaches versus Oil in Greater Los Angeles,” by Paul Sabin; “Private Sector Planning for the Environment,” by Tom Sitton; and “Zoning and Environmental Inequity on the Industrial East Side,” by Christopher Boone), and in the construction of the flood control system (McPhee’s contribution, along with “Who Killed the Los Angeles River?” by Blake Gumprecht; and “Flood Control Engineering in the Urban Ecosystem,” by Jared Orsi). Though not even in quality, these essays truly embody the collection’s thesis that human affairs collide with nature on this contested urban ground.

Yet the book remains unsatisfying: disjointed, scattered, unprogrammatic. It contains much variety, but the effect is one of a few choice and colorful bits spicing up an otherwise unremarkable collection. It is not a complete education on the question it poses, and does not even begin to provide an answer. Mostly this is because it, oddly, misses the towering urban-environmental narratives that have come to define Los Angeles: imported water (a bookcase

full of work exists on this subject); labor, migration, and immigration; the regulation of air and water pollution; transportation; the biodiversity crisis; and the emergence of a post-natural nature, or “second nature.” Finally, the text ignores the importance of context—regional, national, and international. The essays have an inward, internal focus (except “A Garden of Worldly Delights,” by Douglas Sackman), which gives the volume an insularity that is unfortunate in light of the fact that Los Angeles is preeminently a city of globalization, arguably the first truly global city, and that its greatest contemporary challenges are tied up with the challenges of globalization.

Unapologetically and without chronology, mapping, obvious design, or navigational aids, the book is a lot like Los Angeles itself. To be otherwise would have made it more like a textbook. It is like *omikase*, the sushi chef’s special so beloved in the city, which is dependent on the vagaries of the morning fish market, the mercurial moods of the chef (one famous Ventura Boulevard sushi master, Nozawa, is affectionately known as “the sushi nazi” for his inflexibility), and the serendipitous pairings of artistry, not unlike the editors’ choices. *Land of Sunshine* ends with a short, passionate riff on food by Robert Gottlieb, and, in the end, the book does offer a palatable intellectual feast of the unique, always-surprising phenomena of Los Angeles and Southern California.

—Wade Graham

University of California, Los Angeles

v v v

From Apocalypse to Way of Life: Environmental Crisis in the American Century. FREDERICK BUELL. New York: Routledge, 2004. Pp. ix+390, appendix, notes, index. \$29.95 paper. ISBN 0-415-95040-6.

In *From Apocalypse to a Way of Life*, Frederick Buell, a Professor of English at the City University of New York, has produced a truly remarkable study, the best book I have read this year. Much more than a standard survey of environmental destruction, Buell uncovers how environmental crises have been mythologized, denied, and most recently, normalized through a variety of discourses and practices. The rise and consolidation of corporate environmentalism, techno-politics, ecological modernization, social constructionism, natural capitalism, “Third Way” progressivism, cultures of hyper-exuberance, economic globalization, and neoliberal thinking are read against the vagaries of German sociologist Ulrich Beck’s “risk society,” a notion developed extensively in the book of the same name (London: Sage, 1992). Interspersed with brilliant takes on the privatization of nature and the

“colonisation of the unconscious” (what Beck calls the “politics of knowledge”) are impressive sections devoted to cyberpunk film and eco-dystopian science fiction. Throughout, Buell demonstrates a firm grasp of the scientific literature on environmental degradation and a passionate conviction that things could be different.

Buell begins with what he helpfully calls the “alchemizing” of crisis (p. 47) in the second half of the twentieth century. When Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring* in 1962, US society was just beginning to come to grips with the long-term legacy of human-made environmental degradation. A student of marine biology and at one time an employee of the US Bureau of Fisheries where she wrote radio scripts during the Great Depression, Carson passionately condemned the practice of chemical industrialists, pseudo-scientists, and government cronies who sponsored the reckless use of synthetic chemicals to the detriment of human and ecological health. Self-consciously alarmist, Carson symbolised a new era of ecological engagement that sought to promote reformism from the dismal depths of systemic crisis. It was also about this time (and not by happenstance) that anti-war protesters began to press the US government to end the Vietnam War. Just as the My Lai massacre and the publication of *The Pentagon Papers* destroyed the morality of US participation in South East Asia, the “eutrophication of Lake Erie and the dying birds washed up on the oil-slicked shores of Santa Barbara” (p. xi) exposed another silent war on the environment that threatened to end the prospect of a liveable planet. Public indignation was successfully channelled into various counter-culture protest movements: Woodstock, the hippies, green lifestyles, and Earth Day. This was a hopeful era of grassroots activism in the name of progressive politics.

Predictably, this “new landscape of multiple urgencies” (p. 47) encountered a conservative backlash. Buell identifies five powerful strategies of opposition that characterised the new “discourse of denial”: outcasting opponents, respinning the past, returning to roots, hyping a new paradigm, and dividing the opposition. The first three categories are intimately connected. Opponents were identified as “betrayers of national traditions” (p. 12), demonised as ecoterrorists or “tenured radicals” (p. 15), while conservatives were recast as the “true stewards of the American legacy” (p. 13), or more outrageously, the marginalized and persecuted—victims of a new orthodoxy of “political correctness,” “liberalism,” and “environmentalism.” The promotion (or “hying”) of the new paradigm of globalized competitiveness and “corporate futurism” helped ratchet up this rhetoric of betrayal and deviancy. The new paradigm promised the “rebirth of American entrepreneurialism”: a post-manufacturing “information economy” that would be culturally vibrant and pollution-free. This could be achieved, so the argument went, without the painful period of fiscal austerity advocated by tree-hugging doomsters. Last,

conservatives and conservative-led think tanks were able to balkanize their opponents by isolating them and magnifying attention on the more vulnerable and controversial aspects of environmentalism (p. 27). From the conservative viewpoint, environmentalism was anti-human ecocentrism, environmentalists were fanatical ecoterrorists, and conservation was really just a wish by WASPs to return to prelapsarian innocence. This is cynical proof of what Aristotle long ago noted: truth has very little to do with facts and everything to do with persuasion.

Buell traces the development of these counter-strategies through the Clinton years, when much energy was devoted to marrying environmental concerns (represented by Al Gore) to the vision of a global economy (represented by Robert Reich). Cutting through the media fanfare, Buell identifies a disturbing gap between theory and practice, image and reality. If anything, these new advocates of “ecomodernization” promoted a dangerous move toward risk assessment, market logic, hyper-urbanism, and American-style consumerism. With its concomitant celebration of growth, the “new economy” of globalization produced a worrying array of additional environmental concerns precisely at the moment when a radical social critique seemed most seriously undermined.

It is at this point that Buell sets aside the responses to environmental crisis and begins to critically discuss the continued practices of habitat depletion and ecological destruction (which, he morbidly points out, have long been accelerating). He focuses on ocean and freshwater contamination, deforestation, the erosion of arable soil, and the loss of biodiversity. This admittedly limited catalogue of crises is cleverly read against a trend of “deepening intimacy” between human-induced damage to nature and environmental threats to human well-being (see also Matt Weaver’s article in *The Guardian*, “‘Climate Porn’ blamed for global warming despair,” August 3, 2006). Although social theory has devoted considerable attention to showing how the human body is not naturally given but rather socially conditioned by race, class, gender, and sexual orientation, much less consideration has been given to how “human natures” are constructed by pollution and spiralling environmental decline (p. 116). According to Buell, this “tightening reciprocity” (p. 113) between human and ecological well-being is most evident in the “production, use, and disposal of a wide variety of synthetic chemicals” (p. 114) as well as the rising tide of infectious and epidemic diseases spurred by modernization and economic globalization.

For certain technocrats and corporate gurus, however, crisis is a harbinger of positive innovation (p. 214), spawning a glut of “nick-of-time” technologies (removing breasts and prostates as a “fix” for rising cancer rates) and “accommodationist” principles (an “anti-pollution industry” devoted to cleaning up the fallout from environmental pollution). Indeed, some risks are in-

credibly lucrative. By generating “Act-of-God” bonds, for instance, the insurance industry can speculate on human and environmental catastrophes (pp. 163-5). The inherent logic of this type of risk assessment is deeply arresting: “a certain number of individual people are likely to subsidize industry with their lives” (p. 195). According to Buell, a variety of discourses and practices help normalize the new status quo of dwelling in crisis. For example, the realization that the human body is a “toxic environment” (p. 116) and the growing perception of ecological fragility have together produced a “variety of bizarre fantasies of escape both from earthly ecosystems and from human flesh” (p. 142). In a series of sophisticated readings, Buell explores how science fiction (e.g., *Earth* and *Neuromancer*) and film (e.g., *Blade Runner* and *12 Monkeys*) embraced and popularized the logic of hyper-exuberance by “introducing children (and playful adults) to a culture of planetary experimentation and the fascinations of risk” (p. 229).

In short, Buell tries to come to terms with (and find the terms for) what might be called the new geography of crisis habituation. No one since Beck has taken crisis domestication so seriously, and no one has so painstakingly shown how western society is becoming gradually inured to a future of heightened environmental decline. With the debate on climate change once again coming to the fore in the popular press, Buell’s book is a timely and critical read for anyone concerned about the future of the planet.

—David Nally

University of Cambridge

v v v

Globalization and the Race for Resources. STEPHEN G. BUNKER and PAUL S. CICCANTELL. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005. Pp. xvi+263, index. \$22.95 paper. ISBN 0-8018-8243-5.

This book is an attempt by the late sociologist Stephen Bunker and his former student and long-time collaborator, Paul Ciccantell, to develop a “new historical materialism” that will help readers understand the progressive integration of widely dispersed natural resource deposits within the global economy. The authors start with a detailed case study of the development by Japanese interests of the gigantic iron mine of Carajás in the Brazilian Amazon. After deriving lessons from a broader history of Amazonian resource extraction—in the process borrowing, supplementing, and criticizing theories and insights from a wide range of authors—Bunker and Ciccantell reinterpret the ascent and temporary trade dominance of four national economies (the Netherlands, Great Britain, the United States, and Japan) in light of their

paradigm. This theorization leaves few stones unturned, but rarely does it distinguish the relative significance of the various factors involved.

The essence of Bunker and Ciccantell's argument is that, historically, emerging national economies have transformed world markets by facilitating (and, by extension, reducing the cost of) access to the source areas for the most valuable raw materials of each era. States achieved this by developing increasingly efficient, if not still complex and expanding coordination of extraction, transportation, finance, and corporate structure. These innovations resulted in cheaper raw materials, all despite the increasing distance to the most valuable remaining deposits. But while these processes were beneficial to advanced economies, supply regions were typically overharvested, degraded, and depleted, in the process overshooting their material base. The ultimate result is increased inequality between manufacturing and extraction regions, and within the extraction economy itself.

According to the authors, two contradictions drive this vicious cycle. The first is that "social production can expand much more rapidly than natural production, even as it remains absolutely dependent on it" (p. 226); the second is that, by raising the volume and number of raw materials that social production requires, increasing economies of scale create "a diseconomy of space in trade and transport as competitive nations seek to loosen the limits that the first contradiction imposes on their economies" (*idem*), which pushes us ever closer to global material and spatial limits. The authors' proposal to break this conundrum includes more than gathering additional information to negotiate better deals on the behalf of less advanced economies, but also entails creating international cartels of peripheral raw-material producers in an effort "to end the ongoing reduction in their rents and to break the emerging pattern of payment by the periphery for the transport infrastructure that benefit[s] only the industrial economies that import these raw materials" (p. 237).

There is much merit to the authors' contribution. Among other things, it reminds readers of several key insights, among them that globalization is not a recent phenomenon; multiple factors shape resource exploitation; states are still important players in deposit development; and overspecialization in commodity production rarely results in sustained material progress. The authors also account for geographical factors more fully than would many practitioners of the discipline. Bunker and Ciccantell's approach, however, suffers from a number of flaws that, in my opinion, ultimately invalidate both their interpretation of the historical evidence and their policy proposal. First, the authors' use of "core" national economies as the main analytical unit, while certainly justifiable in their discussion of mercantilist states or when examining foreign investments by state-controlled corporations, seems somewhat questionable in light of the increasingly diverse national and ethnic backgrounds of the shareholders in major private-sector

corporations. More perplexing still is their approach of deriving most of their insights from the Amazon (a region where everything seems to have gone wrong in the last two centuries), and then looking selectively in other places for supporting evidence, all the while failing to discuss the cases that run counter to their main assertions. In their account of the mid-nineteenth-century rubber boom in the Amazon, for example, the authors point out that, faced with unmet demand and rising prices for this valuable commodity, Britain led successful “botanical, political, diplomatic and economic efforts to domesticate the rubber cultivar.” The expansion of rubber production to other British colonies led to overproduction and ultimately resulted in the demise of Brazilian producers (p. 44). But the authors fail to consider that early twentieth-century rubber plantations transformed Malaya from a sparsely populated region of hamlets and fishing villages into a prosperous country where many people lived longer and with a much higher material standard than did their ancestors. More importantly, they do not tell their readers that rubber customers the world over (Brazil included) benefited from the cheaper price and increased quality of this resource.

The Malaya case is hardly exceptional. Contrary to the authors’ basic thesis of ever-increasing degradation and inequality, many peripheral regions have benefited from similar developments at various points in time. The adoption of agronomic approaches to wood production in recent years, for instance, has led to the development of numerous “fiber farms” with intensively cultivated, short-rotation tree plantations in temperate and subtropical regions of the southern hemisphere. The result, as Franklin and Johnson (“Forests face new threat,” *Issues in Science and Technology*, summer 2004) have pointed out, is that many North American and western European wood-products corporations have sold huge tracts of land and eliminated thousands of jobs in core economies in order to relocate their productive activities to such countries as Argentina, Chile, Vietnam, and Thailand.

Despite their emphasis on technological change, and notwithstanding some allusion to the issue, Bunker and Ciccantell have very little to say about what economist and geographer Erich Zimmermann (*World Resources and Industries*, 1933) once termed the “dynamics of resource-ship,” that is, the counterintuitive fact that raw materials only become “resources” through human intervention. In the event, Bunker and Ciccantell’s account pays insufficient attention to productivity gains in the creation of renewable resources and to the historical development of substitutes in advanced economies. Had they given more thought to the social process of creating resources, the authors might have better understood why humanity has never run out of materials in the past, and why the prices of virtually all resources have decreased over time. It also explains why natural-resource production cartels have never been very effective.

The authors' treatment of physical geography is questionable. Rather than sticking to the incontrovertible fact that locations present different challenges, the authors end up supporting a very crude environmental determinism. For example, they ultimately attribute the economic success of former resource-based colonies such as the United States, Canada, and Australia to "subtle geophysical distinctions," where "extraction catalyzed commercial exploitation of other natural features, such as fertile lands, extensive forests, and access to navigable waters" (p. 237). If this is the case, why was Argentina at least as successful as Canada and Australia a century ago? As the authors should have realized, to use geography as an explanation for the relative achievements of countries over time is to use what is essentially a constant to explain a variable phenomenon.

Globalization and the Race for Resources tells us much about past resource exploitation, but Bunker and Ciccantell ultimately fail to discuss in any meaningful way the institutions (private property rights; the rule of law) that are now widely credited for the benefits that some countries historically derived from their natural resources. I suspect that many readers who sincerely care about the current plight of peripheral economies will close this book disappointed by the lack of concrete and sensible policy proposals to address this pressing problem.

—*Pierre Desrochers*
University of Toronto

v v v

Inventing Pollution: Coal, Smoke, and Culture in Britain since 1800. PETER THOR-SHEIM. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006. Pp. xii+307, illustrations, diagrams, index. \$26.95 paper. ISBN 0-8214-1681-2.

As history's first urban-industrial society, nineteenth-century Great Britain led the world in the social, environmental, and economic developments related to this new political economy. Pollution was no exception. Sanitarians, scientists, and social reformers of various stripes denounced the foul watercourses and filthy air that surrounded and enveloped the towns and cities of industrial England. Friedrich Engels, in his imaginary walking tour of working-class districts (*The Condition of the Working Class in England*, 1844), commented frequently on the "smoke be-grimed" buildings and "the atmosphere [which is] laden and darkened by the smoke of a dozen tall factory chimneys." While the struggle to purify water supplies, clean up streams, and improve the atmosphere may seem, from a contemporary perspective at least, like a protracted battle against ignorance and environmental disregard, recent histori-

cal work on the science and politics of pollution has emphasized the complex cultural debates involved in defining the phenomenon, all of which preceded the technical achievements of water purification, sewerage, and smoke abatement.

Peter Thorsheim's *Inventing Pollution*, a study of changing ideas about air pollution in industrial Britain, is a welcome and important addition to scholarship on the cultural aspects of pollution and environmental quality. Covering the same historical ground as Peter Brimblecombe's *The Big Smoke* (1987), Thorsheim does a much better job of highlighting the potent mix of nature, culture, and technology that shaped perceptions of and prescriptions for the pollution plaguing Britain's industrial cities. If at times impressionistic, *Inventing Pollution* is a well-researched and engaging examination of how changing attitudes towards "smoke" affected the atmospheric environment of British cities.

English industrialization was powered principally by coal; between 1800 and the beginning of the First World War, coal consumption increased from about 18 million tons to an all-time high of 183 million tons. Industrial Britain exploited its vast reserves of coal to fuel the steam engines that powered trains, ships, and factories, and also to heat homes, cook meals, and (once made into gas) provide street and indoor illumination. Burning coal produced not only energy, of course, but also noxious chemical byproducts and particulate matter. The high levels of domestic and industrial coal use in Britain's crowded cities intensified the impact of air pollution on the urban environment and its residents; it also affected the countryside populace living well beyond the city limits. These problems increased with growing coal consumption, which prompted calls for the abatement of the coal-smoke menace. Thorsheim's research chronicles the efforts of sanitarians, urban reformers, and other critics to force industry (and, to a lesser extent, homeowners) to seek solutions for this "aerial sewage."

Pollution-control efforts reflected divergent ideas about the nature of smoke, its effect on people and the environment, and the strategies for its abatement. In a series of short, thematic chapters, Thorsheim deftly traces the links made by anti-smoke activists to such nineteenth-century issues as eugenics, public health, social reform, and the anti-modern reaction to industrialism. These debates were, in turn, tied to changing technical understandings of smoke and its impacts on health and environment. Thorsheim shows that by mid-century, the potent blend of smoke and fog bedeviling London "was no longer understood as natural, but was instead viewed as an amalgam of nature and culture" (p. 29). In the 1880s, anti-smoke activists formed a Fog and Smoke Committee (later the Coal Smoke Abatement Society) to educate the British public about the health threats of pollution and to promote cleaner-burning fuel technologies. Coal-burning, however, was

deeply woven into both the industrial and domestic lives of Britons; coal's strong cultural associations with industrial development and the "home fires" made it a difficult target for environmental reformers. Nor were clean-air advocates initially successful at promoting state regulation of air pollution. Industry was associated with progress, and for many residents the black effluvia from smokestacks were airy pennants proclaiming Britain's industrial might. Although Britain could claim the world's first environmental legislation, the Alkali Act of 1863, air pollution regulation remained divided between local, regional, and national authorities, and was by consequence ineffectively enforced. Not until the tragic killer fog of 1952, which resulted in the deaths of thousands of Londoners, were parliamentary reforms inaugurated that led to Britain's Clean Air Act of 1956.

Thorsheim's study effectively links the social, political, technical, and environmental aspects of air pollution and its control. However, the book's structure—thematic chapters organized along a loose and overlapping chronology—makes it somewhat difficult to gain a sense of the historical trajectory of these developments. Even within individual chapters, Thorsheim often eschews narrative case studies for summaries of positions among the various participants involved in the debate over pollution. Nor is there geographical coherence to the story. Examples in each chapter are drawn from a variety of different industrial cities, making it difficult to gain a sense of how pollution affected any particular place, the possible exception of London notwithstanding. There are, however, some excellent sections dealing with local geographical factors in the experience and impact of air pollution, including the locations of gasworks in residential areas and the stigmatization of working-class neighborhoods afflicted by the habitual pollution detected by Engels.

These points are, however, minor quibbles with a thorough and thoughtful contribution to both the environmental history of Britain and the global history of air pollution. The book effectively explores how perceptions of environmental problems such as pollution reflect not only deeper cultural and social values around the human relationship to nature, but also generate fundamental questions regarding social and economic equity. Thorsheim's conclusion—that while "pollution is a social construct, the stuff that this concept signifies is very real indeed" (p. 201)—is a timely exhortation as our society debates the contemporary impacts of air pollution on the global environment.

—*Arn Keeling*

Memorial University of Newfoundland

Fish versus Power: An Environmental History of the Fraser River. MATTHEW D. EVENDEN. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Pp. xvii+309, tables, maps, figures, photographs, footnotes, bibliography, index. \$65.00 cloth. ISBN 0-521-83099-0.

In a world where over three-quarters of the largest rivers have been significantly affected by dams and water regulation, and where humans have transformed rivers on every continent except Antarctica, why has the main stem of the Fraser River—the third largest on the Pacific coast of North America—not been dammed in British Columbia (BC)? This is the central question of Matthew D. Evenden's study of the Fraser River, which focuses on the struggles to exploit the river for fish and power. As the world's most productive salmon river and one of the largest potential sources of hydroelectric power in the Pacific Northwest, the Fraser River has been the object of many competing human interests that reshaped its ecology over time. It is, in short, a contested river. Human desires have encountered significant non-human forces, an interaction that has significantly impacted the millions of salmon that seasonally claim the river and its tributaries as a spawning ground. Evenden's environmental history explores this relationship, and how it ultimately led to the apparent triumph of fish over power.

With each chapter, the book shifts the focus between fish and power, starting with the rockslides at Hells Gate between 1911 and 1913. The debris from the construction of the Canadian Northern Railway along the banks of the river obstructed the path of millions of migrating salmon, decimating the Fraser River's salmon run. In response to the environmental catastrophe, federal fisheries officials placed constraints and regulations on Native fishers. The second chapter focuses on early power development on the smaller tributaries of the river's basin to service the urban markets of Vancouver and its region. A combination of financial constraints, technological limitations, and limited energy demand led BC Electric to restrict power development to local tributaries on the Coquitlam, South Alouette, and Stave Rivers. Chapter Three returns to Hells Gate, exploring how, through the auspices of the International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission, fisheries scientists and engineers remade the river in order to restore salmon stocks. Rather than focusing on overfishing, the commission devoted most of its efforts to habitat restoration by constructing an expensive and experimental system of fishways to solve the problem of the Hells Gate obstructions. The fourth chapter looks again at power development in BC during and after the Second World War. In absence of a New Deal-style public works program for Canadian power development during the 1930s, and coupled with the cautious development strategy of BC Electric, the main channel of the Fraser was left unobstructed by large dams. In the immediate postwar years, provincial debate over the issue

concluded with the formation of a public authority for rural electrification and a private power monopoly for BC Electric in urban areas. The floods on the Fraser River in 1948 led to the formation of a federal-provincial body to investigate the possibility of damming the stream for flood control. The fifth and sixth chapters examine the main conflicts over fish and power in the province during the 1940s and 1950s. Chapter Five focuses on the Aluminum Company of Canada's Kemano project on the Nechako River, one of the largest hydroelectric development projects to affect the Fraser River system. Chapter Six discusses the major debates over the development of hydroelectric dams on the main channel of the Fraser, ultimately finding that power development was displaced to the Upper Columbia and Peace Rivers. In the end, Canadians chose a different path for the Fraser compared to other North American streams "by choosing fish and power" (p. 276). The final chapter of the book offers an epilogue exploring how science shaped the fish-power debates and was, in turn, shaped by the struggles to define that relationship.

Evenden's book is a landmark work in Canadian environmental history, and it contributes to a new and growing field of historical inquiry. Based on the first dissertation in Canadian environmental history to win the American Society for Environmental History's Rachel Carson Prize (in 2001), *Fish versus Power* stands alone in the prestigious *Studies in Environment and History* series published by Cambridge University Press as a work that focuses solely on a region of Canada (excluding, of course, Thomas Dunlap's transnational study, *Nature and the English Diaspora*, 1999). This is not to say that Evenden does not look beyond national borders. *Fish versus Power*, in fact, pays close attention to the international nature of the fish-power debates and argues that the relationship between Canada and the United States played a fundamental role in shaping the Fraser River. According to Evenden, "it would be more accurate to conclude that the Fraser was not dammed in spite of Canadian attempts by a conjunction of Canadian and American interests" (p. 275). In addition to contributing to the field of environmental history, Evenden makes an effort to draw attention to significant aspects of the history of fisheries science. His arguments concerning the fish-power debates are enhanced by his close analysis of this history of fisheries science as it developed in the Pacific Northwest. Scientific expertise played a tremendously important role in these debates by informing the public and politicians, and by shaping the many ways that people understood the river and salmon. The fish-power debates, in turn, changed science by influencing research agendas and compelling scientists to approach Pacific salmon fisheries within a framework created out of demands made by hydroelectric energy development and the international fisheries industry.

Fish versus Power falls short, however, in its discussion of the Native fishery and the impact of industrialization on the Fraser River. While Even-

den is explicit that Native fishers and concerns for their fishery played a limited role in the major fish-power debates, it is the larger story of industrialization on the Fraser that changed the human relationship with the salmon. The basis for some of the most complex indigenous societies in all of North America, European agriculture and food production began to supplant the Native fishery in the mid-nineteenth century. The conflicts with Native fishers following the Hells Gate slides demonstrate the persistence of colonial encounters involving different modes of subsistence and resource exploitation. Fish in the Fraser River were transformed from a local food source into an international industrial commodity, and the exploitation of the river for both fish and power jeopardized the food security of the region's aboriginal people. On this point, *Fish versus Power* does draw some attention to the callous disregard for the well-being of the province's Native peoples.

Fish versus Power will be useful for historians and geographers interested in environmental history and, more generally, the history of science. The excellent maps by Eric Leinberger provide crucial geographic illustrations for the book. For those with an interest in environmental change and the industrial development of rivers, this story provides important lessons for future research.

—Sean Kheraj
York University

v v v

Earthquake Nation: The Cultural Politics of Japanese Seismicity, 1868-1930. GREGORY CLANCEY. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006. Pp. xiii+331, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 hardcover. ISBN 0-520-24607-2.

Despite enormously destructive potential, earthquakes provided late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Japan an opportunity to contest Euro-American authority in crafting modernity. Gregory Clancey's excellent study explores the ideological fault lines apparent in the evolution of anti-earthquake construction regimens and the understanding of seismicity itself. As such, this book will appeal not only to those interested in the study of earthquakes and related phenomena, but also to cultural theorists and historians of science. While the discourse Clancey analyzes is mostly that of civil engineers, at no point does he write solely for engineers.

Two powerful quakes bookend this study: the Nôbi (1891) and the Kantô (1923). Both caused widespread devastation, earning each the appellation of "Great Earthquake," or *daijishin*, in Japanese. Both also destroyed

the received wisdom regarding construction practices and earthquakes. Coinciding with a general reconsideration of foreign ideas in Japanese society, the earlier earthquake shattered the reputation of European architectural techniques. Before then, foreign architects had urged the Japanese to build with masonry and stone rather than wood as a means of improving Japanese society. Wooden structures were deemed primitive and insubstantial, and simply not used by great civilizations. Many of the new structures, however, crumbled in 1891, fostering the perception that these structures fared worse than those made of wood, though Clancey notes that newer buildings, like those of the poor, were often situated on less forgiving ground. Although iconic structures like Nagoya Castle survived the destruction because of their situation on solid earth, new buildings and housing for the poor were found mainly on alluvial plains. Recently constructed water mains and bridges collapsed because they spanned long distances.

In the aftermath of the earthquake, Japanese civil engineers strived to develop new construction techniques that were appropriate for Japan, ones that would, it was also hoped, validate their profession. While some availed themselves of traditional Japanese carpentry and others explored new foreign practices, technological change eventually provided another solution. The practice of ferro-concrete (known by some as reinforced concrete) construction offered a “made-in-Japan” solution yet at the same time shunned the lore of traditional approaches. As most reinforced-concrete buildings withstood the Kantô Earthquake, the practice thereafter dominated the Japanese landscape in the prewar period. Such an indigenous solution is central to Clancey’s broader argument: in recognizing Japan’s unique seismic environment, engineers realized they were in a position to lead global research in a new and important field. As a result, seismology was as much a means of asserting Japanese authority as it was a way to come to grips with a puzzling and devastating phenomenon. Thus, even though some of the founders of Japanese seismology were Britons residing in Japan, the Nôbi quake prompted nationals to quickly take the lead, gaining world recognition in the process.

Given the enormity of this project, the Japanese proved unable to dominate the field of seismology. Identifying with earthquakes, however, remained a powerful imaginary for the Japanese. Discarding notions of the disinterested yet mighty catfish that was traditionally said to shake the archipelago, many Japanese at the turn of the century embraced the symbolism of earthquakes to redefine themselves. While early foreign descriptions portrayed the Japanese as defenseless against the natural environment and depicted the nation’s wooden architecture as feminine, Japanese engineers and architects emphasized native ingenuity in both construction and seismology as they interacted with foreign peers in their efforts to establish the notion of national resilience and fortitude. Given that the Japanese were becoming in-

volved in seismic studies at the same time that the state was embarking upon a more assertive foreign policy, Clancey suggests that seismic work in Japan was as much cultural as it was scientific in character. This assertion rings true, even if some Japanese theories about earthquakes eventually proved to be spectacularly wrong.

Clancey's study includes many insights that cannot be considered here for reasons of space. One of the most important, however, is that seismicity not only troubled Japanese nation-building, but in some senses produced it: historical actors responding regularly to catastrophes established particular patterns of behavior (p. 4). And as the Japanese state increasingly involved itself in the production of a professional class, Clancey is able to highlight some of the wider social implications of this knowledge making (pp. 19-21). At the same time, he refutes the perception that scientists outside of Europe and the Americas were simple gatherers or replicators of "Western learning." In dealing with such issues, Clancey occasionally comments indirectly on issues of power by resorting to metaphorical, especially linguistic, terminology (noting, at the outset, some of the biases implicit in terms such as "technology transfer"). This technique sometimes produces phrases that seem awkward, but on the whole it is a useful strategy because the novelty of the terminology itself compels one to visualize the author's assertions.

While one might be tempted to suggest that the small number of individuals studied here is a possible shortcoming, Clancey situates those figures within a wider social context, successfully portraying them as representative of their times and connected to the social fabric. Japanese seismologists, for example, were supported by state institutions and were able to mobilize a veritable army of junior seismographers in their efforts to combat the threat of earthquakes. The one perspective that is missing here is that which is impossible to rescue—the voices of artisan-carpenters. Although extant and observed edifices can be studied, they do little to reveal the underlying assumptions and motivations. Yet Japanese carpenters of the type currently extolled in popular media today are peripheral to Clancey's arguments; they figure more as the characters that engineers tried to supercede. That said, the carpenters are poignantly peripheral, because as the vision of Japan as an "earthquake nation" passes in Clancey's account, that of Japan as an "art nation," with new status for the artisans' craft, arises.

Given the clear prose and imaginative blending of science with issues of national identity, this monograph will be a useful addition to undergraduate libraries catering to the contemporary students of modern Japanese history.

—*Bill Sewell*
St. Mary's University

The Commerce of Cartography: Making and Marketing Maps in Eighteenth-Century France and England. MARY SPONBERG PEDLEY. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press (published in association with the Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography at the Newberry Library), 2005. Pp. xvii+345, figures, maps, plates, notes, bibliography, index. \$40.00 cloth. ISBN 0-226-65341-2.

This well-written, compelling study of the “business” of Anglo-French cartography during the Enlightenment charts a new panorama and will prove to be invaluable to scholars of cartography, a variety of historians (especially economic, intellectual, and military), historical geographers, socio-cultural researchers, and persons interested in the history of printing and publishing. The political and intellectual history of mapmaking during the eighteenth century is generally well known, but is often confined to specific mapmakers. Primary information and syntheses of the details of its commercial impact—a “revolution” to some scholars—have been widely scattered, and we are indebted to Mary Pedley for drawing together these diverse materials. She provides a clear and engaging perspective of the costs and profits of the mapmaking business in England and France—epicenters of the Enlightenment—and documents how the economics of the map trade also affected the content and appearance of the maps themselves. The eighteenth century saw a dramatic increase in the quality and quantity of consumer goods, and printed maps were among these commodities.

The volume is an outgrowth of Pedley’s 2001 Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr. Lecture in the History of Cartography, and it is the sixth volume in the series of the same name published by the University of Chicago Press in association with the Hermon Dunlap Center for the History of Cartography at the Newberry Library. Pedley received her doctorate from the University of London and was a Guggenheim Fellow in 2000. She is adjunct assistant curator of maps at the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, a Latin instructor in the Ann Arbor Public School System, and the associate editor of *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography*. Her previous notable publications are *Bel et Utile: The Work of the Robert de Vaugondy Family of Mapmakers* (Tring: Map Collector Publications, 1992), and she edited *The Map Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century: Letters to the London Map Sellers Jefferys and Faden* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000). She is also coeditor, with Matthew Edney, of the forthcoming compendium *The History of Cartography, Volume 4: Cartography in the European Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), which treats mapping in eighteenth-century Europe and its overseas empires within the contexts of national administration and colonial expansion. Hence, she is eminently qualified to prepare this informative, engaging assessment.

The Commerce of Cartography contains a preface, six chapters, a conclusion, and seven appendices. Fully one-third of this 562-page volume is devoted to the documentation of the narrative. Her book is illustrated by 41 halftones and 8 color plates, accompanied by 792 endnotes (pp. 243-312) and a 14-page bibliography listing 59 primary and 221 secondary sources. There is a comprehensive proper-noun and topical double-column index. Pedley has also successfully mined European and American archival resources for data relevant to cartographic costs and prices reported in primary documents, which are presented in seven appendices (pp. 205-242, with 337 source notes).

The three initial appendices contain information on the costs of map production in France (pp. 205-221), England (pp. 222-230), and North America (pp. 231-232). Two others tabulate the documentation of map and print prices in France (pp. 233-234) and England (pp. 235-237), while the final two record wages and expenses related to map production in France (pp. 238-239) and England (pp. 240-242). The three appendices tabulating the French data (with entries for the years spanning 1644-1817) report prices in francs, livres, sous, or deniers as well as Dutch florins. Three appendices relating English costs (1668-1822) expressed these figures in £ Sterling, shillings, pence, or guineas. The North American data (1774-1791) are expressed in £ Sterling, shillings, or dollars. Collecting these data was a "Heraculean" task, although she points out that much of the information in the English sections is reliant on secondary sources or printed material. The vast majority of the French research is original and highly informative. The various monetary units are discussed (p. xvii), but readers are advised to review John McCusker's *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775: A Handbook* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978). This is nonetheless a vexing issue because of the lengthy time spans involved and the diachronic fluctuations of the value of the national currencies. Hence, it is the reader's task to sort out the value of a franc versus £ Sterling at various synchronic intervals.

Pedley begins her treatise with an assessment of surveyors in the field, and then considers the printed maps and their dissemination to consumers. She documents the creation of maps, from "going outside" (actual land surveys) to "staying inside" (compiling information from extant sources). The French, she notes, were more advanced in developing the theoretical foundations of cartography, thanks in large part to a Jesuit education system that emphasized mathematics and geography. A succeeding chapter documents the production and costs of printed maps, engraving and printing, and selling. A fascinating set of essays focuses on issues of plagiarism, counterfeiting, and copyright, followed by a case study documenting issues related to the international copying of maps. The study employs the example of mapping Narragansett Bay, Rhode Island to elucidate how a map produced by an English cartographer and printed in England could be copied in France and then

recopied in England. Clearly, governmental policies on map secrecy were unenforceable. A subsequent chapter addresses the affordability of maps and the intriguing question of what defines a “good map”—accuracy on the one hand versus inexpensive maps that “looked good.” She also reviews cartographic errors, poor workmanship, and “foreign” plagiarism.

In qualitatively assessing the relationships between the evolution of commercial cartography and economics, Pedley uncovers all facets of cartographic art and science—compilation, production, marketing, consumption, and criticism—in a single fascinating compendium. One hopes that she will next explore this issue of cartographic publishing and marketing in other map centers such as Amsterdam, Hamburg, Nuremberg, and Venice, and then perhaps will expand into more recent centuries.

—Charles C. Kolb

National Endowment for the Humanities

v v v

How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier. STUART BANNER. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005. Pp. 336, index. \$29.95 hardcover. ISBN 0-674-01871-0.

Stuart Banner’s new interpretation of how Native Americans became dispossessed of all but a tiny percentage of their ancestral homelands in the United States is an exhilarating but disappointing study. It is exhilarating in the sweep and scope of the narrative and in the extensive use of primary and secondary resources to support a novel approach to an old historiographic question. It is disappointing, however, in that in addressing one of the greatest geographical transformations in human history, his interpretation is nearly, if not completely, devoid of geographical content.

Consider, for example, Banner’s decision not to include maps in his book. He writes that he intended to include a series of maps but realized that to do so would “require taking sides in a very large number of past and present disputes” and that it would be better to “include no maps . . . than to publish maps that would inevitably convey a false sense of certainty” (p. 9). Nevertheless, throughout his narrative he weighs in on questions that are fundamental, both legally and morally, to all Indian land claim disputes, such as whether Europeans acquired the land from Native Americans by rule of law, and what role power played in the purchase or taking of land. Clearly, his argument to exclude uncertainty concerning the often-unchallenged geography of land cessions, while being undaunted by the more serious problems of law, contract, conquest and power, is specious. Nevertheless, Banner should be

applauded for bringing centuries of interaction between indigenous peoples and European and American settlers into a single theoretical construct. Banner's basic thesis—and his book's great strength—is that Native American land cessions occurred along a spectrum that has the rule of law (fairly applied) on one end, and the dynamics of power (ruthlessly applied) on the other.

In the first five chapters, Banner demonstrates that, beginning with the first English settlements in Virginia and Massachusetts, European (and later American) settlers found it expedient to purchase Indian land rather than expropriate it because it was less costly than conquest. Over time, however, and especially after the American Revolution, unequal power dynamics increasingly came into play. Banner demonstrates that changes in power dynamics appeared in many dimensions, including that of land ownership. During the earliest years, settlers supported the idea that Native Americans held clear title to the lands they occupied because it facilitated their acquisition through purchase, especially when they were comparatively weak. As the raw numbers and relative power of settlers grew, land purchases involved settler practices that, despite being carried on under the legal cover of contracts, became increasingly unfair or fraudulent. By one common strategy, Native Americans were encouraged to use credit to purchase the necessities that their diminished resources made them require. Eventually, creditors would sue them and take their land as repayment.

The Proclamation of 1763 was enacted, in part, to control the mistreatment of Native Americans during land sales. British authorities drew a line across the continent, reserving all land to the west for the Indian Nations and prohibiting all private land purchases there by settlers living in the east. Thenceforth, only colonial governors could authorize land purchases. The revolutionary period saw a complete transformation of how Americans interpreted Native American land rights. The Proclamation had already reduced Native American land rights to something less than full ownership, and the Revolution evolved into a war of conquest. By 1789, vast stretches of western land had been snatched by the new American state and national governments. Thereafter, Native Americans never again held full ownership rights to land. All land not already privately held by Americans or by the states fell under federal jurisdiction. Native Americans retained only the right of occupancy, and it was this right that could be extinguished through land cessions, with the federal government as the only buyer.

This interpretation was inscribed in American case law in *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823). Chief Justice John Marshall argued that because European nations applied the rule of discovery in denying full ownership rights to Native Americans, the United States must do the same because it won those rights by conquest. No doubt Marshall's argument was revisionist history, but it be-

came commonplace to Americans who no longer lived among sedentary eastern Indian nations, but who rather saw as typical the western “nomadic, non-farming Indian, the sort of person who did not stay in any one place long enough to develop property rights in land” (pp. 189-190). In the last three chapters, Banner details the processes that resulted in the nearly complete dispossession of the remaining lands belonging to Native Americans. Removal occurred at a time when Banner’s spectrum was stretched furthest to the extreme of power. Reservations gave Native Americans some legal protections, but allotment of parcels of reservation land to individuals, theoretically to promote farming, resulted in so many private land sales that Native Americans lost 86 of their last 138 million acres between 1887 and 1934.

Historians have applauded Banner for the sweep of his narrative and his close attention to primary resources. He has been criticized for failing to deal with the role of “race” in these affairs, focusing instead on the English colonial experience and providing inadequate discussions of power, violence, and Indian property ownership traditions. (See book reviews by Eric Foner in *London Review of Books*, February 9, 2006, and David Wilkins in *The American Historical Review*, April, 2006.) It is Banner’s lack of geographical consideration, however, that will most disappoint geographers. Its shortcomings highlight the importance of the kind of work undertaken by geographers—scholars for whom place truly matters—in studying individual land transformations in close detail. For example, the Cayuga land claim case in central New York, which Banner treats in a single sentence (p. 291), involves thousands of pages of disputation, much of it concerning precisely where an actionable truth may fall on the spectrum between contact and conquest.

—Scott Anderson

State University of New York at Cortland

v v v

Permeable Border: The Great Lakes Basin as Transnational Region, 1650-1990. JOHN J. BUKOWCZYK, NORA FAIRES, DAVID R. SMITH, and RANDY WILLIAM WIDDIS. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press; Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005. Pp. xiv+298, maps, illustrations, index. US\$34.95 and Can\$39.95 cloth. ISBN 0-8229-4261-5 (Pittsburgh) 1-55238-216-8 (Calgary).

The Great Lakes Basin has definite American and Canadian sections, very similar in physical and economic geography but different in politics and, to a lesser extent, culture. An international border runs through the basin, one that while historically permeable has nonetheless had profound effects on

both nation-states and on the region itself. The authors of this book emphasize the border's contingency and its role in the region's evolution. In his introduction, John Bukowczyk reminds us that the Great Lakes "might have remained [from colonial times] a distant piece of Great Britain or France; it might have become entirely American or entirely Canadian. It even might have become a separate nation . . . Ours is a story of what geography, capital, and state shaped, but what people made" (pp. 7-8).

Bukowczyk, Faires, and Smith are historians; Widdis is a geographer. Bukowczyk contributes the introduction and two chapters of economic and political history covering the period from 1650 to 1890, plus a brief concluding chapter. His account reminds us of the global forces and migrations that have shaped the region from the seventeenth century onward. Faires has a chapter on migration from Ontario to the American Midwest in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while Smith contributes a piece on the regulations (or lack thereof) that affected trade and migration since the latter half of the nineteenth century. Widdis provides an account of migration, borderlands, and national identity. All sections except the introduction, the conclusion, and Widdis's chapter are quite heavy on historical detail. The book also has an appendix on primary sources on migration (Widdis), and a long bibliographic essay on further reading (jointly composed). All authors provide extensive footnotes not limited to citations, and the reference list is twenty-four pages long. Taken together, the detail and references make the book valuable to specialists on the region and on Canada more generally, and, as I explain later, Widdis's essay will be of interest to geographers in particular.

The authors offer no comprehensive account of the geography of the Great Lakes, nor do they explore its connections to adjacent areas such as the Canadian Shield or upstate New York. The text, moreover, fails to provide a comprehensive overview of the region's terrain, drainage, climate, and soils. Missing, too, is a geographical consideration of the Lakes themselves—their extent, icing over, internal connections, and outlet via the St. Lawrence River—all of which proved significant for trade and movement across the North American continent. (I am reminded here, for example, of the competing attempts to integrate the water bodies along east-west and north-south axes.) The authors, of course, reveal details of this physical geography as their narratives unfold, but an introductory overview would have helped nonspecialists understand how people have conceptualized and used the Lakes over time. As a veteran instructor of North American regional geography, I was also startled to find that the Canadian Shield does not materialize until page thirty-four, at which point a reference appears to a footnote describing the feature on page 196. The Shield, of course, cramped the hospitable territory of Canada north of the Lakes and made it difficult for the

country to compete for westward-moving people. The Chicago River does not factor in the text until page fifty-three. I would also have appreciated observations on site and situation, a set of old-fashioned but still useful theoretical categories that describe relationships between major cities and subregions, in this case Detroit, Montreal, and the area known, much to the confusion of outsiders, as southwestern Ontario.

Migration is a recurring theme. All authors consider how migrants on both sides of the border helped “make the region.” Smith describes how successive governments increased the region’s impermeability to goods (by imposing tariffs) and people (by promoting hands-off policies on immigration and investment). Bukowczyk elaborates on this distinction in his second chapter, and adds information on the differences in land policies on the two sides. Faires relies on census data and biographies, some gleaned from local history sources, to show the great imbalance in migration as the Midwest, especially Michigan, attracted Canadians. Many of these migrants were recent arrivals from Europe, but some had accumulated human or financial capital in Canada (the “brain drain” did not go unnoticed). Faires notes they left the “land of the second chance,” a phrase coined by historian Norman Macdonald: Europeans found a “second chance” in Canada, yet many moved on to the United States for a third chance only to return north of the border once more. Faires emphasizes chain and return migration, which resulted in extended families straddling the border, and “circular migration,” Charles Tilly’s phrase referring to people who return to a home base occasionally, or even frequently, after extended periods living elsewhere.

Widdis’s chapter is somewhat different from the others. He has less historical detail, writes more engagingly, and speculates about the future. He describes several versions of borderlands theory (developed long ago by geographer Herbert Bolton) and, by showing how they apply to this region, offers a balanced account of current debates on the topic. He wonders in particular whether the border and, more generally, the borderland concept itself will become less important as globalization forces work within and between the two countries. Two remarks are especially interesting and help illuminate the other essays in the book. The first: “The border is the meeting place between both countries but it is not necessarily a common edge...the Canadian ecumene has straddled the border, making Canadians a border people, while for most Americans the border is the back door” (p. 155). The second meditates on the metaphor of the border as a mirror, which “reflects the goal of creating an alternative to the United States. By examining the nature of our relationships with America, we in turn see ourselves” (p. 161).

The book’s maps are disappointing. The frontispiece map shows the Great Lakes, tributaries, and fifteen cities, but provides no relief. The only relief map in the book is a most curious choice: a blurry image only ¼ by ¼

inches in dimension that depicts all of North America, from Greenland to the Yucatan. Bukowczyk's discussion of railroads mentions over twenty places not identified on the associated map. Widdis's essay notwithstanding, however, the book will be valuable to specialists, and probably of interest to non-specialists if they have some background in Canadian history and the economic geography of the region. Widdis's essay, on the other hand, is appropriate for many different kinds of reading lists and will be worthwhile reading for geographers in particular.

—Roger E. Bolton
Williams College

v v v

Creating Portland: History and Place in Northern New England. JOSEPH A. CONFORTI, editor. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2005. Pp. xxxii+348, illustrations, maps, index. \$29.95 cloth. ISBN 1-58465-521-6.

Regionalism, landscape, and sense of place have emerged in recent years as key concepts within the growing body of literature on New England, the bulk of which has been produced by historians and scholars involved in American Studies. Taken together, this scholarship has enhanced our understanding of how contexts such as art, literature, tourism, conservation, and historic preservation have shaped the construction of landscape and identity regionwide. Joseph Conforti's *Creating Portland: History and Place in Northern New England* is a recent addition to this literature, one likely to appeal to readers with interests in New England and urban history.

A well-known authority on regionalism in New England, Conforti brought together twelve contributors for the book, most of them historians. Eight (Conforti included) share an affiliation with the University of Southern Maine, the main campus of which is located in Portland. None of the contributors claims an affiliation with geography, although many geographers will be familiar with the work of contributor Kent Ryden. Together, the book's essays explore the evolution of Portland's economy, culture, and urban landscape from the seventeenth century through the late twentieth century. The collection is diverse in topical coverage, highly readable, and timely: Portland (population 64,000) has been popularized in recent years as an attractive, livable city on the northern edge of the urban eastern seaboard. Growth and development associated with that reputation have sparked a host of land-use debates and social tensions, all of which are better understood when viewed within a historical framework. *Creating Portland* helps to build such a framework with insights for students, academics, land-use practitioners, and general readers.

Conforti's introduction opens with a brief look at the concept of place and an assessment of the relationship between Portland's geography and its cultural and economic histories. Conforti draws from works by Wayne Franklin, Michael Steiner, and Kent Ryden published in the University of Iowa's *American Land and Life Series* to define place as both a physical product of "history, geography, and public policy" (p. xii) and as a representational construct born of "the stories and images that structure how we perceive a particular locale and define its significance and distinctiveness" (p. xx). The creation of place, Conforti notes, always unfolds through processes of inclusion and exclusion. Certain social and ethnic groups in Portland, for example, have been written into the city's stories, images, physical spaces, and public memory more than others. The essays that follow, he explains, examine these patterns as expressed in a variety of historical trends, events, and social groups. Each essay is meant to explore the creation of Portland as a physical and imagined city, and each is tied to the other by four thematic continuities in the city's history: the centrality of the sea, the diversity of the population, the town's recovery from repeated disasters, and its recent emergence as a regional cultural center.

Creating Portland's twelve subsequent essays essentially fall into three categories: political and economic development; history and culture as viewed through art and literature; and the cultural, ethnic, racial, and sexual diversity of the urban scene. Spanning some three hundred years, the essays range widely from war to immigration, international trade to historic preservation. Taken as a whole, these chapters succeed on two fronts. First, the book's authors work hard to make meaningful connections, where appropriate, between Portland's history and that of other places, both regionally and globally. Such connections often hinge on Portland's long history as a maritime port. David Carey's fascinating essay on Latin American influences in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Portland is particularly noteworthy in this regard, as is Eileen Eagan's account of Irish immigrant women in the nineteenth century. That Portland's maritime history finds a prominent place in a number of the book's essays makes *Creating Portland* much more than a local history; indeed, there is much to learn here about places beyond Portland and, equally important, the roles they played in constituting the city itself. Second, the book's chapters cover a fresh and diverse range of topics, distinguishing it from more traditional histories of New England towns. This is particularly true of the book's coverage of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Essays on the visual arts, the African-American population, and late twentieth-century gay and lesbian communities (among others) all combine to make this a thoroughly contemporary and refreshing approach to the telling of New England town history.

Despite these strengths, some historical geographers will be disap-

pointed by *Creating Portland's* lack of theoretical engagement with the concept of place. The term's inclusion in the book's title and Conforti's introductory claim that the book "is designed as a crossdisciplinary study of place rather than a comprehensive local history" (p. xxviii) suggest a more ambitious and sustained exploration of place than is in fact the case. Conforti's introduction offers only a glancing gesture to the concept's epistemological and historiographic underpinnings, and few of the book's authors make an effort to engage the topic directly. Readers who want to learn more about the concept will find little guidance in the book's footnotes, particularly regarding work done by geographers. This appears to be a missed opportunity: *Creating Portland* starts from a position of strength as an engaging and thoughtful collection of solid essays, but it does not pose more wide-ranging questions about place—what the experience of Portland, for instance, teaches us about the making and meaning of place in small-sized American cities. Conforti approaches such questions in the final pages of his epilogue, but there is little to support such a directive throughout the contents of the collection.

This is unquestionably a discipline-driven criticism on my part, and it needs to be viewed as such. For beyond this, historical geographers with interests in New England and urban history will undoubtedly find value in the book's creative diversity, its attention to interconnections, and the well-researched, well-written essays. *Creating Portland* is in fact an invitation of sorts for geographers to revisit this region themselves. Places like Portland, and small New England cities more generally, offer geographers a wealth of unexplored historical and contemporary topics through which they might add their voices to the solid work being done by Conforti and other American Studies scholars.

—Blake Harrison

Southern Connecticut State University

v v v

Escaping Salem: The Other Witch Hunt of 1692. RICHARD GODBEER. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. Pp. ix+170, notes, bibliography. \$20.00 hardcover. ISBN 0-19-516129-7.

Richard Godbeer's *Escaping Salem: The Other Witch Hunt of 1692* is a refreshing look at a well-known topic. The unfortunate events of Salem, Massachusetts in 1692 have dominated all discourse about witchcraft and, in particular, our understandings of the fear of witchcraft in colonial New England. Salem's dominance is not limited to academic history, but rather is a central fixture in New England's public history and cultural psyche. While not dis-

counting the tragic events that occurred near century's end in the Massachusetts town, Richard Godbeer has provided a new perspective on the seventeenth-century attitudes towards the realm of the mysterious and supernatural.

The captivating Prologue sets the stage for the "other witch hunt" of 1692. The events that would hold the town captive for the next year occurred in Stamford, Connecticut, which was, as described by Godbeer, "a remote southwestern outpost of Puritan New England." The reader is an eyewitness to the terrifying events in this small community of about five hundred people, beginning with the first "blood-chilling scream" of the seventeen-year old maid servant in the Wescot household. In a deft weaving of the documentary evidence, Godbeer recreates the sights, sounds, and feelings that the people of Fairfield County experienced as they tried to master the ever-deepening mystery around Katherine Branch's "fits." What comes to light as the story unfolds is the perhaps unexpected rationality that various townspeople brought to the situation. Through a careful reading of the documents, Godbeer portrays a people that, while fearful and concerned, at the same time possessed a commitment to logic and upheld a measure of skepticism. While the standard picture of a witchcraft scare would conjure a scene of fearful residents who were sure from the outset that Katherine Branch must undoubtedly be bewitched, the townspeople and neighbors of the Wescots, for the most part, took a more moderate, wait-and-see approach. The first action taken in Branch's case, in fact, was to call in the local midwife to see what natural causes could possibly have caused these fits. Unfortunately, a "natural" explanation did not appear to offer an answer.

When little explanation could be found for her condition, and with the appearance of other strange occurrences, some people began to take the possibility of a bewitching more seriously. In a world where the unseen forces of good and evil were believed to be real, this consideration would not be out of the realm of possibility. Godbeer stresses the uniqueness of the Stamford case: care and deliberation were taken in its handling, which made it a situation somewhat different from that of Salem. As the author makes clear, the local officials, church leaders, and magistrates did not doubt that those in league with the devil could wield the forces of evil, but they also believed that caution had to be taken in accepting as "'evidence' sufficient for conviction" just any accusation made by those in distress or seeking a quick resolution. When Branch began to converse with her "tormenters" and call them by name, the community speculated about the individuals most likely to be involved with the powers of darkness. Although the suspects were similar in character to those who would be fingered in Salem, Godbeer points out that a jury of inquiry was called before the magistrates would proceed to a trial. In the end, therefore, only two people would be forced to face their accusers and the judges of the court. In the "Afterword," Godbeer writes that, according

to the evidence, the secular courts of New England were rigorous and cautious when it came to capital cases of any kind, witchcraft included. The Salem frenzy notwithstanding, New England's seventeenth-century courts convicted only about one-quarter of prosecutions for witchcraft. As the author notes, convincing one's neighbors of a likely suspect and proving their conviction in the court were two entirely different matters.

Throughout the book's six chapters, the narrative is never dull or predictable, and certainly this is not a simple retelling of a familiar story. Godbeer's insightful handling of a well-traversed subject breaks from the traditional mold and allows the reader access to a different side of the witchcraft controversies that disrupted New England communities. As opposed to the relatively rapid arrests and later convictions of suspects in Salem, Stamford's case was limited, but it could have intensified had the courts not taken the steps to require additional evidence and, in the event, adhere to a strict legal standard for conviction. Godbeer's account of the "other witch hunt of 1692" is informative for this point of comparison alone.

—Serena L. Newman

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

v v v

Sunset Limited: The Southern Pacific Railroad and the Development of the American West, 1850-1930. RICHARD J. ORSI. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. Pp. xxii+615, photographs, maps, notes, index. \$29.95 hardcover. ISBN 0-520-20019-5.

In this comprehensive monograph, Richard Orsi examines the role of one of the major nineteenth-century American railroads in the economic growth and development of the regions served by its network, from its inception to the Great Depression. While this work is in some ways a traditional business history, in its totality it is much more. Orsi has labored for decades on the source materials concerning the business aspects of the Southern Pacific Railroad, authoring numerous articles in the process. In preparing *Sunset Limited*, he not only received funding from the railroad, but also access to its extant historical documents and archival materials. While some may quibble over the author's objectivity given the resources made available by the modern-day corporate descendants of the subject of his research, in this reviewer's opinion Orsi has written a detailed, balanced monograph in which the failings of the corporation in its early history are faithfully described, with nothing held back.

The book is organized in five parts, focusing successively on foun-

dations, land settlement, water, agriculture, and conservation. The text begins with a description of the origins and early history of the Southern Pacific Railroad and its older sibling, the Central Pacific. Both railroads figured prominently in the post-Civil War economic development of California, and were important investment vehicles for the Big Four—Leland Stanford, Collis Huntington, Mark Hopkins, and Charles Crocker—individuals intimately linked to the political and business interests of San Francisco during the latter half of the nineteenth century. After losing control of the Central Pacific, the Southern Pacific began to develop its own network of main lines and feeder routes across California and into Oregon and adjacent states, eventually completing a transcontinental railroad line from southern California to Texas.

The railroad was far more than a transportation carrier, however, since it also built hospitals, hotels, and other facilities for its employees and customers, and marketed its extensive land grants to settlers, ranchers, and farmers. In response to the needs of large-scale farmers, the Southern Pacific spearheaded technological advances in refrigerated cars, and frequently provided electricity and potable water to communities along its lines in arid regions. Orsi devotes considerable attention to the work of lesser-known individuals who nonetheless played key roles in the railroad's land-grant sales policies and public relations. Railroad personnel often held positions of political influence as legislators, elected officials, and owners of major newspapers. With the exception of a brief interlude in the early twentieth century when the railroad came under the control of E. H. Harriman, the railroad had a consistent development approach in selling the extensive acreage deeded to it by the federal government in exchange for the construction of the lines. Orsi also describes several historical incidents involving the railroad, including the Mussel Slough affair and early controversies in the conservation movement that led to the creation of state and national wilderness preserves in California.

Readers expecting a book focused on patterns of land alienation and agricultural history will find considerable material of interest here, although these topics are by no means the sole focus of the text. An early chapter reviews the historiography of the role of land grants in American history, and places the history of the Southern Pacific in that context. The author devotes considerable effort to the study of the railroad's land grants, policies, and choices in selecting acreage and marketing those lands; he also discusses the controversies that periodically arose, particularly during periods of agrarian conflict and reform. Although Orsi provides an authoritative historical account of these incidents, his work will only whet the historical geographer's appetite for more detailed analysis. While Orsi's work falls in the tradition of Paul Wallace Gates' study of the land colonization practices of the Illinois

Central Railroad, Richard Overton's work on the Burlington, and William Greever's book on the Santa Fe in the American southwest, he largely abandons the cartographic analysis of the spatial patterns and processes of land use and agricultural practice. Indeed, although well illustrated with photographs and promotional materials, the text includes only four maps, none of which displays or interprets the results of Orsi's analysis. Nor does Orsi examine the Southern Pacific's territorial development strategies from a spatial perspective, despite the fact that the company encountered direct competition in several of its markets. Readers interested in this aspect of the railroad's history will learn more from consulting James Vance's *The North American Railroad* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), a seminal work in both historical geography and railroad history, and one that Orsi curiously fails to reference.

Read on its own, this monograph adds to the growing scholarly literature on the economic history and impact of railroad corporations on American life. Beyond providing details about the Southern Pacific, the primary contribution of Orsi's work for the historical geographer is in identifying potentially fruitful areas for research, especially vignettes or case studies that would add depth and dimension to the broad outlines of the portrait sketched in this book. *Sunset Limited* is a solid and worthy contribution to the economic history of American railroads, and should be acquired by libraries and aficionados of railroad history. Although the monograph is richly detailed, deeply grounded in archival and historical sources, attractively priced, and well written and illustrated, most historical geographers in the United States will undoubtedly prefer to borrow this book rather than adding it to their personal collections.

—Russell S. Kirby

University of Alabama at Birmingham

v v v

Extracting Appalachia: Images of the Consolidation Coal Company 1910-1945. GEOFFREY L. BUCKLEY. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2004. Pp. ix+215, map, photographs, index. \$22.95 paper. ISBN 0-8214-1556-5.

Based on an analysis of nearly four thousand photographs from the records of the Consolidation Coal Company archived at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, Geoffrey Buckley's *Extracting Appalachia: Images of the Consolidation Coal Company 1910-1945* is a fascinating glimpse into the coal mining industry and everyday life in pre-World War II Appalachia. The book is not a general history of coal mining, nor is it a com-

prehensive account of the Consolidation Coal Company or Appalachia. Buckley is strictly concerned with the photographs, what they tell us about Appalachia, and how their production was motivated by the company's own purposes (p. xxii). Landscapes and photographs are never innocent views of the world. Rather, they are ideological representations, and cultural geographers analyze what they reveal and conceal. Buckley conducts this sort of analysis through a sustained examination of this vast photographic collection, capturing for us the insights they provide into everyday life in company towns, work in the coal mines, environmental degradation, and most important, the company's use of the photographs to shape Appalachia itself. It is unusual to base a book on one archival collection and, to its credit, the book draws not only from this archive but also from a number of other sources. Most notable among these is the *Consolidation Coal Company Mutual Monthly*, a magazine that published many of the photographs and provided a candid assessment of the company's position on a wide variety of issues, from mine safety to gardening.

Following an introduction and the first chapter in which the author reviews the concept of landscape, the book unfolds in four chapters, each one addressing some aspect of the photographic collection. Chapter Two describes the history of the company, from its initial development in western Maryland to its gradual expansion as it acquired smaller coal operations in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Kentucky. The company's access to Eastern capital and its ownership of various transportation resources—railroads and wharves in particular—allowed for its growth. The company's expansion was spectacular: coal production grew from 37,768 tons in 1864 to 13 million tons in 1927 (p. 37). Chapter Three discusses life in the company towns as revealed in the photographic collection. The company's construction of such towns for its workers can be interpreted as both altruistic and malevolent. On one hand, it was genuinely concerned with workers' well being and the order of its settlements, particularly when they had an impact on production. On the other hand, company towns offered an obvious way for the firm to exercise control over labor. The strength of this chapter is Buckley's willingness to understand the contradictory nature of company towns as sites of "welfare capitalism," that is, spaces of worker beneficence and control. Chapter Four examines work in the mines, focusing particularly on safety issues, the importance of race, and the absence of photographs depicting union activity. Drawing from secondary sources, Buckley claims that "a measure of harmony" characterized relations on the job between white and black miners, but that racism prevailed outside of the workplace (p. 89). This is a contentious claim in light of white miners' persistent racism and Buckley's reliance on limited photographic evidence. Chapter Five examines the environmental history of coal mining, from the purchase of land to the impact of mining on forest and water resources.

The company had no remorse for this environmental degradation, arguing instead that it brought progress to Appalachia.

Several minor problems plague the book. Foremost among these is the use of excessively long block quotes from secondary sources, which disrupts the flow of the text and leaves the reader wondering why Buckley himself does not weigh in on the issues. The quotations are often awkwardly referenced, with each endnote referring to more than one quotation, thereby making it difficult to determine the relevant author. In many cases, the photograph captions give no indication of where the images were taken, except for a reference to the mine's number. Last, Buckley does not interpret many of the photographs that he includes in the book. My broader concern is the author's insufficient attention to the role of the photographs as an ideological tool for the company. Despite his repeated claims that the images must be historically and geographically situated and understood as value-laden representations of Appalachia, Buckley fails to follow through completely on this task. Essential questions remain unanswered: Who were the photographers? Who decided where and when the images were taken? How were editorial decisions made at the *Consolidation Coal Company Mutual Monthly*? Did workers even read the *Monthly* and did they contest its content? Most important, how does the very act of posing workers for a photograph operate as a means of asserting company power? Buckley writes in the conclusion that the company used the photographs to project a positive image to insurance companies, workers, customers, investors, and mine inspectors (p. 159). While Buckley here describes how the photographs were used, the reader is left with little understanding of how the photographs were produced and how they helped to reproduce power relations between subjects (the management of the company) and objects (the workers and their families). Buckley's book provides a detailed description of what the photographs tell us about Appalachia, but not of the conditions of their production and the power relations contained therein. Given the limited archival evidence, these questions are very difficult to answer, but they are nonetheless necessary, ultimately requiring one to move beyond the strict confines of photographic evidence.

The above points aside, *Extracting Appalachia* is an enjoyable and insightful book. Its nearly one hundred photos provide a compelling vantage of Appalachia from behind the lens of the Consolidated Coal Company. It will be highly useful to those interested in the historical geography of Appalachia, company towns, environmental degradation, and extractive industries. It will also be valuable to cultural geographers interested in a novel application of their methods to this fascinating archival source.

—Patrick Vitale
University of Toronto



From Meetinghouse to Megachurch. ANNE C. LOVELAND and OTIS B. WHEELER. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003. Pp. x+307, illustrations, color plates, index. \$59.95 hardcover. ISBN 0-8262-1480-0.

Mirroring the strip-mall complexes and one-stop shopping centers that cater to Americans' secular pursuits, evangelical churches have likewise established expansive "campuses" that offer spiritual and social resources to large congregations. Many of these so-called "megachurches" seem to resemble an airport or community college more than a conventional church, all in an effort to appeal to a public that may feel more comfortable in a secular environment.

Megachurches have deep roots in America that date to colonial times, and the history of this development is the subject of Anne Loveland and Otis Wheeler's *From Meetinghouse to Megachurch*. Early evangelical "awakenings" highlighted the importance of preaching on the American religious landscape, and the colonial meetinghouse emphasized this ideal with its rather plain architecture and high, central pulpit. While this form flourished especially among the Puritans in New England, other dissenting groups also followed the meetinghouse form.

The Second Great Awakening in the early nineteenth century frequently involved outdoor camp meetings, especially on the frontier. Gatherings focused on converting non-members, so there was a section just below the pulpit for those people to come forward. Based on a circle or some modification thereupon, this plan was moved to an indoor setting as some preachers and congregations took over secular theaters or built similar structures. This form developed further in the auditorium church. Curved pews on a sloped floor, an arch over the "stage" accommodating the preacher and perhaps a choir, and lack of a center aisle are all features that were borrowed from theaters. The capacity was usually large, and most architects tried to avoid pillars that would block the view of the preacher. Both African-American and white congregations built such churches.

As churches increasingly provided social services as a form of outreach in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, their buildings featured not only a sanctuary but also rooms for kitchens, fellowship and meals, Sunday school, and office space. The megachurch had been born, and these features expanded on the late-twentieth century campuses. At this stage, however, they were still within the city, well within reach of the people they sought to attract and serve.

The late nineteenth century also saw the development of fundamentalist, Pentecostal, and other evangelical denominations separate from the

“mainline” churches. In addition to theological arguments, they disagreed with the ornate neo-Gothic and Romanesque buildings of stone that prosperous congregations were constructing. Although some of their buildings for mass evangelicalism were substantial, others looked more like factories or offices. In any case, if they were going to attract and convert the masses, they needed spacious buildings to accommodate their congregations.

The building boom and rapid suburbanization that followed World War II brought a profusion of new architectural styles for churches. Critics called for improved church architecture and more functional buildings to replace what seemed like poor copies of European cathedrals. Churches sought to reach out to the new American lifestyle, even to the point of establishing “drive-in” churches where families could “come as you are” and sit in their cars just as they might at a drive-in movie. With its spare, machine-made lines, modern architecture was also applied to churches. Churches, in short, echoed the buildings in which Americans spent their weekdays.

All these forms can be found as themes in the megachurch, as made abundantly clear by the authors in their sample of 63 such institutions from various parts of the country. Most authorities cite Willow Creek Community Church in South Barrington, Illinois, as the megachurch prototype, but the styles vary from plain and utilitarian to quite elaborate. A megachurch is usually taken to be a church with a weekly attendance of 2,000 or more and a sanctuary that seats about 3,000 to 4,000. Seeking land for their sprawling facilities, these churches accompanied the American migration to suburbs and edge cities in the late twentieth century. They set out to recruit non-members, often by keeping their architecture free of traditional symbols (although some do feature very large crosses and other religious iconography), and by offering a variety of services: classes not only on religious topics but on other subjects as well; food courts, libraries, gymnasiums, and other sport facilities; and counselors, playgrounds, child care, meeting rooms, and many other amenities—a tremendous expansion from the Sunday school rooms, church offices, and fellowship halls for potluck meals offered by churches just one century earlier. The megachurch is, in effect, a shopping center where all spiritual (and many social) needs can be found in one location. As such, it appeals to the suburban family with its busy schedule and predilection for multitasking activities.

This book features a wealth of black-and-white photographs of precursors of the megachurch and color plates of the megachurches themselves. Although it has no maps, the locations of the churches are given so that one can easily find them on general reference maps. No attempt is made at a spatial analysis of the locations of the megachurches or their precursors. The text offers a wealth of information about the development of evangelical church buildings in America, but it is easy to get bogged down in so much de-

tail. The authors, for instance, tried to connect the evolution of the church forms and functions to other social and cultural developments in the country, but the sheer bulk of information makes these connections less than clear. For scholars interested in material culture and religious landscapes, however, *From Meetinghouse to Megachurch* will offer a tremendous volume of information and ideas.

—Elizabeth J. Leppman
Eastern Kentucky University

v v v

Fathoming the Ocean: The Discovery and Exploration of the Deep Sea. HELEN M. ROZWADOWSKI. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap, 2005. Pp. xii+276, illustrations, index. \$25.95 hardcover. ISBN 0-674-01691-2.

For Helen Rozwadowski, the idea that the ocean is a space without history or an area immune from human action is both false and irresponsible. Considered outside of time, the ocean's "fragility" cannot be registered, nor can appropriate environmental policies be formulated. Rozwadowski's portrayal of the nineteenth-century "discovery" of deep-ocean science, or the ocean's "third dimension," consists of a series of fascinating and interlocking narratives that contribute to her broader project of historicizing the sea. Rozwadowski carefully unfolds some of the spaces and moments crucial to the intellectual development of deep-ocean science, and, in so doing, has made a significant contribution to recent work on the historical geography of the sea.

Rozwadowski's account is, most conventionally, a cultural history of nineteenth-century ocean science in the United States and Great Britain. Inquiry was not, as *Fathoming the Ocean* demonstrates, a rarefied exercise free from cultural issues and moral concerns. The interest in the "abyssal" and, deeper still, "benthic" depths was related to a wide range of extra-scientific activities and institutions, which together gave early work in oceanography a strong cultural charge. Yet whatever the particular set of social, cultural, and economic conditions that motivated scientific practitioners to turn towards the ocean depths—Rozwadowski does an excellent job of detailing just such "exoteric" circumstances—it was in the name of science that the third dimension was claimed as an object requiring sustained and deliberate attention.

Rozwadowski begins by considering the role of maritime literature, seaside tourism, and exploration stories in developing scholarly and public interest in deep-ocean science. The careers of whalers, naval officers, and voyaging naturalists provide her with more tangible indications of its emergence. As Rozwadowski notes, however, hydrography was a commercial and practi-

cal form of survey that did not always meet the needs of deep-ocean scientists. The trans-Atlantic telegraph was clearly a boon for what Matthew Fontaine Maury, following Humboldt, dubbed the “physical geography” of the sea. Even if this boost was as transitory as Rozwadowski suggests, it substantially altered how the ocean floor was visualized. Based on a growing collection of soundings carried out by naval vessels in the 1850s, Maury’s portrayals of the deep revealed a “Gothic” scene of jagged peaks and deep valleys. His was not, it seems, a physical geography that evoked the “pathos of time” and sense of melancholy that Yi-Fu Tuan found in the work of geomorphologists writing later in the century (*Landscape*, 1964, 14: 27-30). Abrasion on the ocean floor, Maury surmised, occurred slowly if at all, and the surface formations were not so much ruins as permanent monuments in an environment indifferent to the ticking of the “geological clock.” This depiction of the ocean floor became less imaginative after it was discovered that the shortest route for a cable between North America and Europe ran across what Maury later dubbed “telegraph plateau.” Investor confidence in the route was bolstered by Maury’s own admission that the ocean floor was adorned with a “fleecy covering” that, like snow drifts, rounded off what otherwise were sharp edges. Maury’s reporting of such fortuitous circumstances was surely part of what Graham Burnett (“Sea of fire” in Driver and Martins, *Tropical Visions*, 2005) has termed a “providential geography,” a point Rozwadowski hints at but does not develop.

If the telegraph was one catalyst for mapping the deep ocean, a growing interest in marine natural history provided another, and Rozwadowski’s overview of the latter is among the most helpful available. Just off the British coast, amateur naturalists, buoyed by the convivial and salubrious effects of dredging, investigated underwater marine life with ever-greater intensity. Pushing farther out into the depths, however, required moving from reliance on yacht owners and scientific societies toward metropolitan funding and government patronage. This movement marked the science’s professionalization, culminating in government support for the *Challenger* expedition (1872-1876). Rozwadowski tells the story of this expedition admirably, but ultimately fails to account for some of the tale’s complexity and nuance. Little is said, for example, about whether oceanography experienced the same “amateurization” that natural history did when naturalists without professional posts elevated their own scientific standards. Indeed, others have argued that this event accompanied the professionalization of science in the late-nineteenth century more generally. David Allen’s suggestion three decades ago (*Naturalist in Britain*, 1976) that marine biology was one of two natural history specialisms (the other being ornithology) allowing for a late-nineteenth-century “recovery” of amateur-professional cooperation in biology has yet to be fully investigated.

Rather than considering the relationships between amateurs and professionals, Rozwadowski provides a fascinating account of the relations between maritime and scientific culture as they were worked out in the now-famous steam corvette named *Challenger*. In her most effective chapter, Rozwadowski gives a captivating description of the vessel as a social space. Hers is a detailed elaboration of the argument that “space, rank and behavior were related” (p. 183), a situation that obtained both for mariners and “scientists.” What emerged was a fragile equipoise between naval expediency and scientific purpose, a resolution that subsequently shaped both marine science and naval life.

At a different scale, *Fathoming the Ocean* considers the role of national rivalry in the development of ocean science. Little evidence suggests that national styles of oceanography developed, but early oceanographic endeavor was nonetheless steeped in national pride. In making this argument, however, Rozwadowski risks overemphasizing national competition at the expense of scientific efforts in international cooperation. Indeed, of all the scientific enterprises’ oceanography was international par excellence. Most oceanographers saw the ocean as a transnational, borderless space. For all the trumpeting about the *Challenger* as a symbol of excellence in British science, the voyage sat uneasily with the idea of science as a national enterprise. As Rozwadowski notes, the *Challenger* office was located in Edinburgh, not London, and international experts were routinely put on the payroll to write up the data.

This winsome history of oceanography furnishes us with an astute and effective historical geography of the deep ocean, which is not to be understood as something straightforwardly “there,” like Maury’s unchanging “bold, ragged and grand” seafloor, but rather as something always in the process of being formed as a social space. Oceanography developed by “changing through change,” and Rozwadowski’s account fully captures the historical and spatial dynamics that drove the beginnings of deep-ocean science.

—Diarmid A. Finnegan
Queen’s University, Belfast

v v v

Disputed Territories: Land, Culture and Identity in Settler Societies. DAVID TRIGGER and GARETH GRIFFITHS, editors. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003. Pp. 316, illustrations, index. \$49.50 hardbound and \$21.95 paper. ISBN 962-209-648-4.

The phrase “disputed territories” can represent a great many things,

from actual land to the metaphor of academic turf. The landscapes of Australasia and southern Africa have long been, and continue to be, disputed territories. This volume developed out of a year-long program of interdisciplinary seminars entitled "Land, Place, Culture, Identity" at the University of Western Australia, which explored the intersection of history, representation, and identity in Australasia and southern Africa. The volume's ten essays explore the "imaginative possession" of the land (p. 3), and cover a range of topics in both historical and contemporary settings. The contributions roam widely, focusing on texts and images, settlers and natives, textual studies and social inquiry. By crossing boundaries and deconstructing binaries, the editors hope to find a fruitful common ground in a region that, by nature, requires interdisciplinary research. The result is a set of engaging essays that raises important questions about the interdisciplinary research presented in the volume.

It is difficult to group the essays, for they truly are interdisciplinary and do cover an extraordinary amount of ground. To provide a sense of the collection's breadth, though, it might be helpful to summarize a few of the essays. Catherine Nash's "Genealogy, Geography, and Identity," the sole contribution penned by a geographer, explores the "diasporic identities" of Irish immigrants as they return to Ireland to "reconnect" with their heritage (p. 31). As genealogy tourism increases in popularity, Nash calls for a rethinking of identities from static and singular in definition to forms of identification that are inclusive, fluid, and multi-located. Michèle Dominy takes us to the historical landscape of New Zealand, examining the cultural and biological encounters that took place as European settlers transformed the landscape from a Maori rainforest to a colonial environment dominated by grasses. Bringing insights from environmental history into a textual approach, Dominy examines the significance of place in relation to biogeophysical and cultural components, mapping the encounters at the colonial, postcolonial, and global levels (p. 75). Ian McLean's "Landscape and Ideology: Picturing Sydney Cove 200 Years Ago" uses art to examine the relationships of the settlers and the indigenous population to the landscape of Sydney Cove (p. 109). McLean contrasts a convict's portrayal of Sydney Cove with that of a professional artist, and suggests that their social positions are revealed in the different portrayals of this landscape and its people. In "The Art of Country: Aesthetics, Place, and Aboriginal Identity in North-West Australia," Valda Blundell explores the role of art in Wandjina culture, which serves to locate their identities within a specific cultural landscape as well as to transform the production of their art over time (p. 158). Drawing upon fieldwork, historical and ethnographic materials, and textual readings of the art, Blundell describes how rock art functions in this society, tying the place to the people and the people to a particular place, while arranging the related tribes into a meaningful spatial

array. Repainting the rock art, in short, maintains ties to the land. So while today's rock art is depicted on bark or board for sale in the tourist trade, it can be read as a means of maintaining artistic traditions and conventions amid rapid global change. While tourists fail to recognize how the art connects people to place, the Wandjina still recognize this essential feature, and "by mapping their identities on to the lands of their ancestors, individuals implicitly paint against the idea that at Mowanjum they are 'settled at last'" (p. 174). The last essay in the collection (and by far the most theoretical in stance), Paul Carter's "Ground Designs and the New Ichnology," is a sustained meditation on mapping and movement. He calls for a new conception of migration that shifts the focus from binary relationships to a multiplicity of experiences that come together in "a dance-like discourse" (p. 292). In this way, Carter's essay offers a means of understanding the widely divergent threads of the collection.

Geographers will find much of interest in this book, with fascinating evidence and thoughtful analysis. I particularly enjoyed the unexpected resonances within the text, such as that found between the contributions of Nash and Blundell, whose ideas of ancestry and nationhood echo one another in surprising ways. Who knew that people of Irish descent exploring multiple national identities would share common ground with contemporary Aboriginal peoples who are similarly exploring manifold territorial identities? In other ways, though, in its exploration of the intersections of landscape, representation, and ideology, *Disputed Territories* covers issues well-trodden by geographers. Although southern Africa and Australasia provide terrain generally less familiar to American geographers, the results are somewhat predictable in that they reflect work done in cultural and historical geography over the last thirty years. Despite the editors' statement that "this volume seeks to illustrate the value of cross-disciplinary interaction" (p. 4), and despite repeatedly referring to current work in cultural geography throughout the text, the contributors nonetheless come mostly from history, English, and anthropology. Works by geographers are hardly even mentioned, and then only vaguely, in the book's pages. Particularly striking is the essay "Genocide by Cartography: Secrets and Lies in Maps of the Southeastern African Interior, 1830-1850," an exploration of the colonial mapping of eastern South Africa, which contains not a single reference to works by geographers or historians of cartography. While discussing "genocide by cartography," the author, a historian, misses the contributions made by J. B. Harley, G. Malcolm Lewis, and other historians of cartography whose work has obvious relevance for the chapter's topic.

As someone who regularly engages in interdisciplinary work, as many geographers do, I appreciated the attempt to bring disciplines together, and I enjoyed reading many of the essays in the volume. I would, however, have expected a little more than a halfhearted gesture to geography's presence in

these “disputed territories,” especially when they have already been exploring aspects of this terrain for quite some time.

—Christina Dando
University of Nebraska-Omaha

v v v

Colonization of Unfamiliar Landscapes: The Archaeology of Adaptation. MARCY ROCKMAN and JAMES STEELE, editors. London and New York: Routledge, 2003. Pp. v+248, illustrations, maps, figures, index. \$ 35.95 paper. ISBN 0-4152-5607-0.

Landscapes capture the essence of the geographical imagination. Dominated by work in anthropology and archaeology, this edited volume aims “to define ‘landscape learning’ as a research field” (p. xix) and to answer how colonizers acquired knowledge about the landscape. Editors Marcy Rockman and James Steele took great pains to balance the volume’s theoretical foundation, case studies, and conclusions by organizing the book systemically. As with many edited volumes, however, maintaining a cohesive argument is challenging, a task rendered more difficult in this case because of the broad topic of landscape learning itself. The volume was based on a Society for American Archaeology symposium in 2000, which was organized into three parts: conceptual frameworks, mainly from within archaeology and anthropology; case studies across space and time dating back to the Late Pleistocene and Neolithic through the early American colonies in Jamestown, Virginia; and a summary of the volume’s conclusions and suggestions for future research.

The first chapter sets the stage for the volume by introducing the theme of landscape learning in the broadest sense—“the relationships between environmental knowledge and adaptation, working definitions of landscape, initial colonization, and the landscape learning process” (p. xx). The only geographer featured in the volume, Reg Golledge, draws upon cognitive psychology to present “fundamental scenarios in which wayfinding takes place” (p. 25). He also discusses the gendered nature of wayfinding and the implications this had for landscape learning and survival. Anthropologist Robert Kelly considers the difficulties involved in interpreting the archaeological record without ethnographic accounts of landscape learning amid large-scale colonization. Clearly, any archaeological assessment has to be carefully qualified due to the lack of ethnographic evidence. Zedeño and Stoffle address the importance of roads for colonization, recognizing that the road and the path “are places in their own right, with unique activity, social intercourse, and material culture association” (p. 59). For geographers, the signif-

icance of roads will not be a revelation. They go on to discuss, however, the ways in which path systems endure, thereby identifying the intergenerational aspects of landscape learning. The final chapter in the first section discusses landscape learning during the mining boom in the American West, and concludes that the process influenced later notions of modernity.

Part II consists of case studies, beginning with archaeologist Roe-broeks' earliest example of the original settlement of Europe approximately 500,000 years ago. He suggests that these settlers were "highly mobile, omnivorous primates, adapted to a wide range of landscape settings" (p. 108). The next chapter deals with a major interruption in landscape learning when humans returned to the British Isles after the last Ice Age some 20,000 years ago. Author Christopher Tolan-Smith interprets this example as a "classic case of the 'landscape learning process' in the context of remote antiquity" (p. 116). He interprets radiocarbon patterns coupled with ethnographic material to conclude that "patterns related to landscape learning may be visible on scales of one to two millennia" (p. xxi). Editors Rockman and Steele provide an exploratory model on the movement and distribution of Paleo-Indians in the territory of what is now Wyoming. Fiedel and Anthony then examine the Neolithic colonization of Europe. Using calibrated radiocarbon dates, they discovered a punctuated series of rapid migrations interrupted by 500 to 1,000 years of "stasis and in-filling" (p. 163). The switch from hunting and gathering to an agricultural society, they argue, occurred opportunistically rather than in a systematic way (p. 163). Anderson's chapter on the colonization of the Pacific Ocean discusses two models: the first envisages a pattern-searching strategy whereby people undertook extended voyages in all-weather sailing vessels, while a second proposes that rapid population growth and colonization were involved in a positive feedback loop that ultimately enabled humans to settle in the Pacific. Anderson concludes that more research is needed to fully determine the precise patterns of colonization in the ocean realm. This section of the volume concludes with an exploration of the Jamestown, Virginia settlement, suggesting that the high rates of starvation and mortality from 1607 to 1680 were directly related to the group's inability and initial refusal to learn the landscape. As Blanton summarizes, "poor planning and extreme resistance to change, among other factors, created a lethal context which more than once brought the new colony to the verge of collapse" (p. 199).

The volume's third section discusses how archaeologists can contribute to the development of continuum models by generating knowledge about the "pioneer phase of a prehistoric colonization episode" (p. xxii). Authored by anthropologist David J. Meltzer, the final chapter summarizes the volume's general findings and its prospect for archaeology, concluding that "landscape learning is vital, regardless of whether or not people are present"

(p. 236) and that “landscape knowledge is critical to the ultimate success of colonization” (p. 238).

The problems inherent in the archaeological record contribute to rather tentative and unsatisfying conclusions. The considerably technical nature of some of the chapters has the potential to deter readers who are not well versed in the intricacies of carbon dating and applied statistical models. Nevertheless, this volume offers a solid overview and first introduction to problems related to earliest colonization: wayfinding strategies, local knowledge production, and temporal and spatial landscape learning.

—*Claudia Sanjyer*
Syracuse University

v v v

Empire City: The Making and Meaning of the New York City Landscape. DAVID M. SCOBEEY. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003. Pp. xi+340, maps, illustrations, photos, tables, index. \$24.95 paper. ISBN 1-59213-235-9.

A number of recent books have delved into the history of New York City. Some focus on a critical element of the city’s development such as the water supply system or the subways. Others temerarily span hundreds of years of Gotham life. When David Scobey wrote *Empire City* he was an Associate Professor of Architecture and Director of the Arts of Citizenship Program at the University of Michigan. Now he directs the Harvard Center for Community Partnerships and is the Donald W. and Ann M. Harvard Professor of Community Partnerships at Bates College. In *Empire City*, he discusses the growth and reconstruction of the city in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, a time when New York transformed itself from merely the largest American city to the capital of an empire. Scobey obviously understands buildings, but his larger interests lie in the economic forces, political trends, and cultural values that together determine what buildings and supporting infrastructure will be built where, when, and for the benefit of whom. Scobey’s interest in society and culture, as opposed to planning principles and technical progress, leads him to prefer the term “urbanism” over “planning.” *Empire City* deals principally with Manhattan and only toward the end does it expand the circumference of analysis to include adjacent areas that were to become the boroughs of New York City in 1898. Nevertheless, the subject never seems parochial because Scobey heeds the long geographic reach of Manhattan. In the 1850s and 1860s, Manhattan established institutions and adopted practices that unleashed the potential of real estate speculation to create a modern metropolis. Underlying these changes was a cultural imper-

ative: New York was an empire city that would make the environment and lives of its inhabitants a model for lesser cities and that would rightfully claim dominion over the nation, the Euro-American axis, and even the entire capitalist world. The discourse of this imperative not only incorporated high moral ideals, but also included generous doses of boosterism. Scobey characterizes this new urbanism as bourgeois, and he deftly weighs and compares the comments of reformers, civic-minded business leaders, real estate developers, politicians, and boosters, although he pays special attention to Frederick Law Olmstead, whom he considers to play a central role.

The first chapter sets the stage through a discussion of New York's dominant status. Most readers know that New York became the most populous American city by the mid-nineteenth century, far larger than its principal East Coast competitors. Scobey, however, shows that New York was a primate city by then, dominant commercially and intellectually. The goods of continental trade were heaped on New York's waterfronts, and the nation's wealth piled up in its correspondent banks. The city controlled the domestic print culture of telegraphy, periodicals, news reports, and lithography. Americans who were ambitious economically and socially were drawn to New York by its business opportunities and its theatrical self-importance. Starting in Chapter One, Scobey delights the reader with a generous use of period illustrations, lithographs, paintings, and photos, all of which draw the mind's eye back in time.

Chapters Two and Three focus on the expansion and functional segregation of life in the city and the processes and institutions that governed patterns of land use and building. The overriding theme here is that the new order, meant to ensure the city's dominance of time and space, was literally surrounded by an undercurrent of disorder, especially evident in the tenement blocks that housed two-thirds of New York's population by the 1870s. Scobey relates how the downtown transformation—reconfiguring buildings to maximize the return on investment—generated surplus capital to fuel the development of uptown for bourgeois residences and supporting spaces and institutions. The uptown transformation leads Scobey to reevaluate the significance of the 1811 gridiron plan for Manhattan, which he sees less as a failure of imagination and more as a Trojan horse that supported real-estate speculation and conjured dreams of quick wealth. Chapter Four is a coda in which Scobey examines how the real-estate economy could not really separate physical and social disorder (for example, the draft riot of 1863) from development for the bourgeoisie. This tension, in fact, gave birth to the new urbanism.

Chapters Five, Six, and Seven address the new urbanism, its proponents, and how they set about trying to realize their imagined metropolis. The new urbanism centered around what Scobey calls “moral environmentalism”:

the idea that both the natural and built landscapes molded one's character. The proponents that Scobey hones in on are Olmstead (principal cultural elite of the urbanists), Haswell Green (head of the merchant and businessman coalition), and William Martin (leader of the real-estate developers). They are portrayed as agreeing on the wedding of state power and capitalist dynamism to further the city's development, but they are also shown to be competitive and vying for the mantle of the American Haussmann. Perhaps that is why their goals, when confronted with opposition, fell short. Scobey is most sympathetic to Olmstead, for he came closest to realizing the lofty goals of the new urbanism in his design of Central Park, an urban refuge that later served as the inspiration for comprehensive planning in the periphery in such projects as Brooklyn's Prospect Park District.

The book ends with Scobey explaining why the new urbanism failed by the 1880s. The progressive era that followed was quite different in geographic scope and moral energy. The progressives limited their concern to the reform of the urban core, which they held to be the nexus of urban life. This paradigm still dominates urban studies and academic engagement with the city. It is a practical approach, but one cannot help, after reading *Empire City*, feeling a bit of nostalgia for the idealism and broad geographic mindedness of New York's nineteenth-century urbanists.

—Steven L. Driever

University of Missouri-Kansas City