



# BOOK REVIEWS

*The Shaping of America. A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History: Volume 4 Global America 1915-2000.* DONALD W. MEINIG. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004. \$45.00, hardcover, ISBN 0300104324.

Readers of this journal are no doubt aware, Donald Meinig – considered by many to be the doyen of North American historical geographers – has now completed his sweeping four-volume geographical survey and study of America’s shaping. This fourth volume is structured into three main parts, each of which deals with important developments that were decisive in the molding of the United States of America as it currently exists. Meinig confers particular importance to technological change in this recent history. Accordingly, the first part, *Technology: Mobilization and Acceleration*, discusses how Americans have employed technology to obtain control over the physical and virtual space of the continent. As Meinig suggests, one might begin with “that most radical and engaging of tools, the automobile,” and follow its development through a remarkable set of technologies that diversified and accelerated the circulation of people and goods, of energy, information, and messages. At the end of this process we reach those “most amazing and mysterious of tools, the computer and the Internet” (p. 3). Tying this to geography, Meinig outlines how the sheer size and physical features of North America forced its people to be mobile and flexible in order to adapt to their environment and vice versa. Not only did the booming car industry increase the mobility of the American population, it also acted as a propulsive industry for the entire economy with a number of linkage effects. This refers to hardware innovations such as the assembly line and also to software innovations such as managerial strategies.

The second part, *Morphology: Migrations and Formations*, deals with the political and social formation of America as a society and as a nation. Meinig mainly discusses migration, cultural factors, and official policies that determined the social and political shaping of America. He argues that in the last half of the twentieth century the United States underwent an “increasingly comprehensive restructuring into an ever-more efficiently integrated and broadly balanced geographical entity” (p. 113). Meinig highlights how America came into existence as a melting pot of people from various different origins, cultures, backgrounds and ethnicities and how this influenced the shaping of the American society as it currently exists. Various movements, such as women’s and minority rights, and

innovations in the mode of industrial and agricultural production – like mechanization of cotton production – were factors with a high impact on spatial and social patterns of human distribution.

Part three, *Mission: Assertions and Impositions*, stems from the title of the book, *Global America 1915-2000*. It deals with the development that resulted in America emerging by 2000 as the world's sole superpower. At the beginning of the twentieth century Germany was rivaling the United States to become the successor to the declining British hegemony. However, after World War I, Britain was even weaker than before and the Weimar Republic was no match for American economic and military power. The interwar period was characterized by a power vacuum and high levels of autarky. After World War II, America understood the consequences of a power vacuum. At Bretton Woods the United States established a liberal, capitalist world order, resembling that of the British Empire in the nineteenth century. In sequential sections, Meinig discusses America's role and influence in various parts of the world, with a strong focus on American-European interaction and relations.

Since 9/11 the international system, the role of the United States in the world, and the American perception of the proper American role in the world, have significantly changed. Meinig's states in the preface that the "whole character and tone of Part Three had been set long before the attacks of 9-11-01" (p. xiii). Fair enough, but it is regrettable that he makes no comment on increasing international terrorism, the National Security Strategy of September 2002, the invasion of Iraq, and other pre-publication events. These were decisive changes for the world, and also for America's role in the world. International terrorism has clearly moved to a scale and scope far greater than in previous decades. These spectacular acts of terror naturally caused the West to feel threatened and employ measures for its defense. The official document to justify the use of severe means for defense is the National Security Strategy of September 2002. With its legitimization of unilateral pre-emptive strikes, even towards sovereign nation states, it marks a radical shift in American foreign policy and in the American perception of the proper American role in the world. Not dealing with these events and changes in a book that describes the shaping of America up to 2000 is fine, but a description of the international system lacks important factors if it does not acknowledge their impact on the role of America in the current world. Meinig's narrative and analysis is excellent in explaining the situation up to 2000, but since then the world has undergone radical changes and fundamental historical disjunctions. At the least, this calls for a modification of Meinig's perspective on the international system. If not yet meriting a fifth and follow-up volume, a coda might have been appended to this volume with some projections of what is to follow given the trajectories of the past five centuries.

The problems presented by late-breaking events aside, Meinig's book

is brilliant in analyzing how the United States was internally shaped as a nation in Part One and Two. Part Three, *Mission: Assertions and Impositions*, is more than a continuation of the first two parts. With great insight, Meinig explains how the role of the United States in the world developed from 1915 to 2000. For the reader interested in global systems, this part is the highlight of the book. He argues convincingly that the United States inherited the imperial ambitions of the British Empire when it bifurcated in 1776. First, the thirteen colonies had imperial ambitions only in Northern America, then on the American hemisphere and eventually globally. The radical difference to European imperialism was that American imperialism would not be territorial but economical and cultural.

Considering the Atlantic economy, the United States was the only Great Power that emerged stronger rather than weaker after World War One. After the mess of the interwar period, America was ready to step in as Britain's successor in world hegemony by 1945.

The United States showed impressive – and highly successful – commitment towards the reconstruction of Europe, especially in Germany. Meinig is perfectly right when he points out that “Western Europe was in effect an American protectorate” (p. 356). Protected by the American military umbrella, European nations could focus on regaining economic strength and become part of the American world economy based on liberal capitalism.

Whoever reads *Global America 1915-2000* in order to understand the role of the United States in the world at the present moment, will find that the book comes up a bit short. However, the reader who seeks to understand the shaping of America and its role in the world in the twentieth century will find a masterpiece of historical geography. Meinig brilliantly illustrates the developments of the twentieth century that shaped the United States internally, and externally in the international system.

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*Deforesting the Earth: From Prehistory to Global Crisis*. MICHAEL WILLIAMS. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003, Pp. xxvi + 689, maps, illustrations, diagrams, index. \$80.00, hardcover, ISBN 0226899268.

Past and present global deforestation involves at least three distinct issues. Deforestation varies in extent, intensity, and pace. It also has

numerous and complex underlying social, economic, political, and cultural causes, which vary dramatically over time and space. And deforestation is linked to many biogeophysical phenomena, such as decline in animal populations, invasion of exotic plants, soil erosion, and changes in the global carbon cycle. In *Deforesting the Earth*, Michael Williams analyzes the first two issues over time (10,000 years ago to 1995) and space (temperate and tropical forest biomes). As Williams argues, deforestation may have affected more of the Earth's surface than "any other single resource-converting activity" (p. xxi). But deforestation is "not solely a matter of hectares cleared; it cannot be divorced from the society that begets it," according to Williams (p. 167).

*Deforesting the Earth* is organized into three major sections: clearing in the "deep past" (10,000 years ago to *ca.* 1500); deforestation in Europe and the "wider world," mainly the Americas, *ca.* 1500-1900; and the global deforestation during the twentieth century. Excellent maps and well-chosen illustrations support concise and compelling discussion topics ranging from early Christian orders as "shock troops of clearing" in medieval Europe (p. 113), the East India Company's Scottish surgeons who criticized deforestation in South Asia during the early 1800s, the rise of biodiversity as forest protection ideology during the 1980s, and numerous regional cases of deforestation. Chapters on "driving forces and cultural climates," in which Williams discusses technologies, beliefs, and other causes of deforestation, are balanced with chapters focusing on the extent and intensity of forest clearing.

Throughout *Deforesting the Earth* Williams argues that agricultural clearing was more important – but less reported – than industrial uses such as metallurgy or logging. Scholars have often accepted as truth the written sources that targeted iron manufacture, for example, as the culprit of forest destruction; by contrast, agricultural clearing and forest regeneration produced relatively few written documents. Late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century European iron manufacture was responsible only for a "very minor element" of deforestation (pp. 191-2); nineteenth-century French fuelwood, furnaces, and forges "loomed far larger in the record" than clearing for crops or livestock, which attracted relatively little attention (p. 281). Overall, European shipbuilding and charcoal manufacture amounted to "mere pinpricks" compared to agricultural clearing and domestic fuel consumption, perhaps amounting to less than ten percent of total deforestation by the mid-1700s (p. 230). But if the wood trade was indeed a "pin-prick," it is a quite fascinating one, as Williams's own prose demonstrates for the Baltic and trans-Atlantic timber trades. Unfortunately, the twentieth-century trade in timber products does not receive similar attention from Williams.

Ironically, one of the main lessons of *Deforesting the Earth* is how little has been published in English (or in one of the other languages

that Williams reads) about deforestation in East, South, and Southeast Asia. Deforestation during the medieval period is devoted almost entirely to central-west Europe; Africa, China, and South and Southeast Asia scarcely appear. Deforestation outside of Europe between 1500 and 1750 is limited to the Americas, with other regions, such as East, South, and Southeast Asia receiving little attention. Only from 1750 to *ca.* 1920 does South Asia appear in *Deforesting the Earth*, but then the subcontinent disappears from later discussions. Probably, these omissions are the result of the relatively small literature on East Asian deforestation, as Williams argues (pp. 137, 233). But, if Canada's forests barely appear in *Deforesting the Earth*, according to Graeme Wynn's review published in 2003 in *Canadian Geographer* (vol. 47, no. 4, pp. 514-16), then the conspicuous absence of Africa and Asia might be less the result of a thin bibliography, and more indicative of Williams's effort to tell a European and U.S. story of "global" deforestation.

Regional specialists will be attracted, perhaps irresistibly, to Williams's depiction of their particular areas of expertise. I could hardly resist paying close attention to how Williams treated Latin America, *ca.* 1750-1920. Williams begins by reproducing John F. Richards's estimates for Latin America's land cover, then he argues that Brazil was the exception to the generalization that, prior to 1900, Latin America's forests "were barely touched" (p. 371). Williams goes on to summarize the case of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest, relying on Warren Dean's book, *With Broadax and Firebrand* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). There are some misspellings, such as "serato" for "sertão" (p. 372), the usual deforestation maps are reproduced (p. 378), and Williams concludes that clearing of Brazil's Atlantic Forest may have been the world's "most rapacious, complete, thorough ... needless and senseless episodes" (p. 378). Such hyperbole might be written off to uncharacteristic sensationalism, or to uncritical reliance on one English-language source, but I am less willing to subscribe to Williams's other generalizations. For one, Williams does not attempt to criticize Richards's estimates, even though he analyzes global estimates of 1980-1990 deforestation rates. How do we know that the forests outside of Brazil were intact? If this argument is based on population data, then Williams should say so. Also, Williams does not provide a serious discussion of shifting cultivation, even though he implies that it affected Latin America's forests; nor does he seriously consider the impact of agro-exports on non-Brazilian forests from 1750 to 1920. Finally, Williams neglects to discuss actual cases of forest-based economies in Latin America, such as the trades in Paraguay's tannin or Chile's timber.

These criticisms do not diminish the breadth and scope of *Deforesting the Earth*. This is a tremendous scholarly achievement, a beautifully illustrated book that might encourage historical geographers to tackle

other large questions of the past and present.

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*Landscape and Power*, second edition, W.J.T. MITCHELL, ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002, Pp. Xii + 376, illustrations, index. \$21.00, paper, ISBN 0226532054.

This anthology, edited by a distinguished University of Chicago professor of English and art history, was first published in 1994 and has already been thoroughly reviewed elsewhere. This review will therefore focus upon the new material in the second edition.

The first edition was dominated by art historians with an interest in the social context of landscape art, an area to which geographers like Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove have also contributed. The centerpiece of the original collection is the editor's classic essay, "Imperial Landscape," which "sets out to displace the genre of landscape from its centrality in art-historical accounts of landscape, to offer an account of landscape as a medium of representation that is re-presented in a wide variety of other media, and to explore the fit between the concept of landscape in modernist discourse and its employment as a technique of colonial representation" (p. 3). The essay is both a trenchant critique of the link between the idea of landscape and that of modernity (which, unexamined, underlies much geographical discourse concerning landscape and space), and a critique of the way this notion of modernity is used to repress colonized peoples. The essay thus points in the direction of post-colonial studies, and this thread is picked up in the new additions to the book, particularly in the form of Edward W. Said's essay, "Invention, memory and place." Said, as might be expected, focuses on differing memories of the landscape of Palestine. As he argues: "Only by understanding that special mix of geography generally and landscape in particular with historical memory ... can we begin to grasp the persistence of conflict and the difficulty of resolving it" (p. 248). It is a sad commentary on the contemporary state of our discipline that Said does not mention a single geographer when he notes the "burgeoning interest" in "memory and geography," which has "spawned an extraordinary amount of interesting work, work that has in effect created new fields of study and enquiry" (p. 241). Precious few geographers, in fact, are cited anywhere in the book, though J.B. Jackson is investitured as a "cultural geographer" (p. viii).

The second edition of the book also encompasses a new article by Mitchell, "Holy Landscape: Israel, Palestine and the American Wilderness,"

which, like Said's, focuses "on the way an imaginary landscape is woven into the fabric of real places ... and symbolic spaces" (p. xi). Mitchell, like the geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (another explorer of the imaginary), is deeply fascinated by the physical geography of desert landscapes – a fascination going back to a childhood in the Nevada desert, where his father was a geologist and mining engineer. Mitchell's penetration of the landscape as both site and sight is clearly rooted in a kind of humanistic fascination with geomorphology which has virtually died out within geography itself. Jonathan Bordo, who comes from cultural studies, produces a similarly "site specific" study of a North American imaginary of wilderness landscape that is counterpoised to a "real history" of destructive spatial practices and regimes of symbolic control (p. xii).

The final two new essays in the book are "The Beach (a Fantasy)" by the anthropologist Michael Taussig and "Hic Jacet" (the Latin term used on grave stones, meaning "here lies") by the literary scholar Robert Pogue Harrison. Taussig's "meditation," as Mitchell terms it (xii), is less an academic article, and more an attempt by the author to take on the mantle of a poet, ruminating at length on his personal experience, in particular, of the way that ports, paradoxically, have been displaced, ceasing to be visible, at the very time that bulk shipping has become ubiquitous. Harrison's article has its root in a similar displacement, that of the grave as place marker, and place maker, in a society in which for the first time since the origin of the neolithic era, "most of us don't know where we will be buried" (p. 358). Harrison, as Mitchell explains, hereby "reopens the Heideggerian question of place as simultaneously determined by and determining our 'being in the world'" (p. xii). This observation brings us to Mitchell's primary point, that *landscape* should not be understood as a noun, but a verb, not "an object to be seen or a text to be read," but "as a process by which social and subjective identities are formed" (p. 1). He is thus not so much concerned with what "landscape 'is' or 'means' but what it *does*, how it works as a cultural practice" and hence can act as an "instrument of cultural power" (pp. 1-2).

The new edition adds a provocative, and all too brief, new preface by the editor, in which he outlines his unfulfilled desire to retitl the book "*Space, Place and Landscape*" (p. vii). Landscape, he argues, remains underanalyzed in relation to space and place, and he calls for the three terms to be thought together as a "conceptual totality" (p. viii). Henri Lefebvre's triad of perceived, conceived and lived space (or representational space) corresponds roughly to what Mitchell would conceptualize as space, place and landscape (pp. ix-x). Within this trialectical framework he adds Michel de Certeau's idea that: "If a place is a specific location, a space is 'practiced place,' a site activated by movements, actions, narratives, and signs, and a landscape is that site encountered as image or 'sight'" (p. x). His point in proposing such triadic thinking is not to rigidly identify a set of categories, but to "activate the conceptual resources of this

conceptual triad” (p. xi). In this way he creates a means to “comprehend the expression of power in the landscape as a manifestation of law, prohibition, regulation and control” (p. x). This trialectic provides a way to “listen to our metalanguage” (p. xi) as a means of comprehending the fields of study that are subtended by the triad. “Any attempt,” he argues, “to stabilize the inquiry around one of these terms, to establish ‘space,’ for instance, as the foundational concept and to treat the other two as derivative modifications, tends to reify and impoverish the discussion” (p. xi) – *hic jacet* geography!

Mitchell’s call to theorize landscape as part of a triad along with space and place, would be clearer if de Certeau’s dictum were translated as “place is practiced space,” which is closer to the intent of the original French and to de Certeau’s own notion of landscape. As Mitchell himself notes, the connotations of de Certeau’s oppositions are reversed when phrased in ordinary English speech because we normally “link space with number, negation, measurement, surveillance, and control, while place retains a concrete, complex, and sensuous existence beneath the spatial codes of mapping and depiction” (p. ix). The confusion lies with the fact that the French word “*lieu*” is translated as “*place*” whereas it would be more correct if it were translated as *location* in geometric space, such as a coordinate on a map. This is because de Certeau is specifically using “*lieu*” in conjunction with the philosopher Merleau-Ponty’s notion of “‘geometrical’ space (‘a homogenous and isotropic spatiality’).” The term “space,” as used in “*space* is a practiced place,” is also confusing because de Certeau does not mean geometrical space, but rather “anthropological space,” which is analogous to what is normally meant by *place* in English. Furthermore, place as practiced space, according to de Certeau, cannot be dissociated from a ‘direction of existence’ as implanted in “a landscape” or “*paysage*” (see: Certeau, M. de, 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 117; Olwig, K. R., 2005. “Global Ground Zero. Place, Landscape and Nothingness,” in *Landscapes of the new cultural economy*. T. Terkenli & A. d’Hautesserre, Eds. Dordrecht, Kluwer). de Certeau was thus also working with a trialectical notion of space, place and landscape in which landscape is a direction of existence, or, perhaps, to use Mitchell’s wording, a powerful process by which social and subjective identities are formed.

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*America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918*. ALFRED W. CROSBY. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Second Edition. Pp. xiv + 337, tables, index. \$22.99, hardcover, ISBN 0521541751.

Why has the Influenza pandemic of 1918 been so effectively erased in the collective memory of the United States? Shouldn't a disease that in ten months killed more Americans than all losses in World War I and II, Korea and Vietnam combined, be one of the most discussed events in the Twentieth Century? Even during 1918, almost as many United States servicemen died in the pandemic than were killed in the war. In his book *America's Forgotten Pandemic* Crosby estimates that approximately 25 percent of the U.S. population were infected. Countless examples are provided of the almost unbelievable happenings that the epidemic caused on the city streets, such as the doctor who saw 525 patients in one day, administering advice from the running board of his car as his friend slowly drove the round.

And yet it is not, as Crosby comments, a widely taught or discussed event, with several reputable college history texts ignoring the pandemic completely. In the last chapter of the book Crosby makes several suggestions as to why this pandemic has been forgotten. Was society in 1918 desensitized by the frequency of epidemic disease in general? Was it the nation's focus on a world war that superseded the memories? Was it the relatively small ratio of mortality to morbidity? Did the lightning speed with which the disease struck and departed communities not leaving any real structural change lead to the events being forgotten? Or was it the fact that very few major historical figures died in the epidemic? Even those who lived through the disease and who would go on to literary greatness, would for the most part not draw on their experiences in future works. It is almost as though it was a very bad dream, with many personal tales of loss and suffering, but little left as a societal mark. It was an individual horror, with the personal accounts of the time being full of the misery, and providing ample fuel for Crosby's chapters. Of course this does not mean to say that society of the time didn't recognize what was happening. When the first cases began to emerge, the newspapers were full of war accounts while by pandemic's end, the lifting of the mandatory mask law superseded news of the German surface fleet surrendering to the British.

So why then is this tale being retold now? Crosby's work is one of several books to describe Influenza in 1918, with two books being released since 2004 (see Barry, J.M. (2004). *The Great Influenza: The Epic Story of the Deadliest Plague in History*: Viking and Adult, and Byerly, C.R. (2005) *Fever Of War: The Influenza Epidemic In The U.S. Army During World War I*: New York University Press) and one of dozens of social and medical histories that attempt explanations as to the how and why disease and society interact. *America's Forgotten Pandemic* was one of the first of

these modern popular accounts (first published in 1976) and as Crosby comments in the preface, this new edition of the book is possibly even more relevant today because of our heightened awareness of infectious disease such as Ebola, HIV AIDS, Lyme disease, West Nile virus, and most relevant to the subject matter of the book, SARS. Added to this list should be avian influenza, and potential biological terrorist agents such as smallpox. Simply put we are now made more aware of what is out there, and it frightens us. It is easy to see how Crosby's descriptions of urban devastation can be translated into a contemporary scenario. Relatively isolated settlements would implement "reverse quarantine", when upon hearing about the slow approach of the disease, patrols would stop anyone entering the community. The description of these futile attempts is presented with a mix of fear, dread and inevitability, which resonates with contemporary comparisons. It is in these first few chapters where Crosby excels as he weaves personal tales of horror into the statistics of devastation. American cities are described as wastelands, the dead and dying left in their houses with no chance of discovery, family members wandering aimlessly, while corpses overwhelm the city's resources to cope. The book's cover photograph adds nicely to these images as the police officers wearing gauze masks look more like specters than society's servants.

As previously mentioned, the 1918 pandemic has recently generated interest resulting a several texts over the last few years, especially the excellent account by Barry in 2004. So the question must be asked, how does this second edition compare to the body of work? Crosby is at his strongest when describing events based on a mix of data extraction and personal accounts. The early chapters, with vivid descriptions of the contagion in Boston, Philadelphia and San Francisco are particularly fine. In addition, two further chapters are as strong as any written about the epidemic. The first of these recounts the harrowing conditions aboard troop ships ferrying doughboys to the European theater. The focus of this chapter dramatically counterpoints the contemporary fear of disease-spread, which is speed. The diffusion in 1918 aboard the troop ships was by contrast slow and inevitable. Ships with unknown disease cases aboard would leave dock, slowly make their way across the ocean allowing for the disease to emerge, burn, cause a mini-epidemic, and kill. The high density of soldiers was perfect fodder for such a breath-borne infection. The inevitably came in knowing that for those onboard there was little chance of escape. Similarly, the final destination would also know about what was coming. In one six-month period approximately 1.5 million Americans made the Atlantic crossing. Using individual accounts, Crosby portrays the horror of this passage. The troops, though initially "checked" for sickness, were packed into cramped quarters that would soon become fetid, blood-soaked hells as those unaffected would refuse orders to clean the sick cabins due to the fear of infection. Some of these soldiers were

left to fend for themselves on deck as they first developed symptoms but were not deemed ill enough to be put in the sick wards. On deck, often soaked to the skin and freezing, they would eventually become sick enough to warrant being admitted below. And as the soldiers began to die, as in the cities, the embalming resources would be stretched to their limit and beyond. Whereas in cities trenches were dug for the bodies, at sea they would be slipped overboard, several at a time.

The story of these troop ships would not end at the final berth. For many soldiers, still sick, disembarkation would lead to another battle with the cold and wet as they slowly made their way to the front lines. The sickest would remain onboard ship until they died. Those that did leave would take the disease with them into the interior. Anyone interested in World War I, and certainly any teacher of the subject should read this chapter.

One interesting point of discussion that Crosby also raises in this chapter is the fact that the mortality rate was much lower amongst sailors than soldiers. Was this variation a mirroring of the 1700s and 1800s where sailors developed greater immunity than urban dwellers because of more frequent exposure to disease?

The second chapter of real interest is the account of how the pandemic affected two relatively isolated territories with markedly different environments; American and Western Samoa, and Alaska. In both examples Crosby stresses how strong local government, or at least local leadership could either protect a community or reduce the impact of disease once it had entered. For example, the American Samoan government, unlike their New Zealand counterparts in Western Samoa, understood the consequences of the news about the approaching disease. Measures were implemented that required upsetting their neighbors and changing the local culture of hospitality. As a result American Samoa went unscathed. A comparison to the situation in American Samoa is made with the markedly different environments of the towns and villages of Alaska. These were also on the periphery of global affairs, resulting in a similar situation of knowing what was happening in the rest of the world and that the disease was approaching. When it did enter many Alaskan communities, the effect was arguably the worst experienced anywhere in the world. The relative isolation of these settlements resulted in lower general levels of immunity to the disease. The cold, apart from aiding respiratory diseases, meant the inhabitants were packed together in rooms with little ventilation. The result was that when influenza entered, it hit hard and fast. For some communities, it stuck at the worst possible moment, just as the town or village was about to enter the isolation that winter brings. Just as the sickness began, there would be no medical help to care for the high proportion of people becoming sick, and no way to get that help in. A secondary effect was no firewood being cut and no food gathered. Just as most who died in the pandemic actually succumbed

to secondary infections such pneumonia, here the secondary cause was often starvation. In one small village, the eventual death toll would be 170 of 310 inhabitants. Reverse quarantine, the keeping of all out of the settlement, was often the only form of defense. Each community would hear about the slow progress of the disease from village to neighboring village as they waited and hoped that the winter would arrive first before the disease.

It would be nice to write that all of the chapters carry the same impact. Unfortunately this is not the case as Crosby sometimes gets bogged down in excessive detail. This is most evident in the chapter covering the Paris Peace Conference, which is overlong and often has the feel of being tangential to the pandemic. In some ways it is almost Crosby trying to force the presence of the disease into these historical events. Part IV as a section also suffers, except for the excellent chapter on Samoa and Alaska, due in large part to when the book was originally written. Since this time there have been several scientific insights and the reader would be better served by reading John M. Barry's account (*The Great Influenza*; New York: Viking, 2004).

It would have been far better for Crosby to have modified or even dropped these chapters in the new edition and added something new. For example, from an epidemiological point of view, it is interesting to make comparison with more recent outbreaks. For example, the kissing of an icon at a Russian funeral mirrors the family's touching of a deceased relative in the 1977 Ebola Zaire outbreak – both cultural practices causing further disease spread. The price gougers who overcharged for gauze masks in San Francisco mirrors the biohazard masks offered on Ebay at excessive costs after the Anthrax letters of 2001. The reports from the World War I battle lines that the sick presented worse logistical problems than the dead due to their transportation and care echoes the goals of western biological warfare agent development during the 1950s. The public outcry of choosing individual rather than social rights in San Francisco over the mandatory use of wearing face masks also bears similarity to the protests in the same city for shutting bath houses during the early days of HIV AIDS. What was noticeably different was the lack of a scapegoat which is so often found as an epidemic develops. For example, homosexuals and HIV/AIDS, or Navajo Indians and the Sin Nombre strain of the hantavirus in the Four Corners area of the United States. If we discount the general blame laid at the feet of Germans because of their status as “the enemy,” then this epidemic actually led to social cohesion rather than fragmentation, even though the greatest losses were felt by freshly landed immigrant communities, an event which could so easily have led the rest of society to blame these “strangers” as contributing to the severity of the outbreak.

Alternatively, from a medical geography point of view, what is most interesting, and in some ways frustrating about the current edition, is the

discussion of the diffusion pathways. Crosby does a good job of describing how the disease moved between towns and countries. Modes of diffusion are described, such as troop ships, soldiers disembarking, and even the mail carrier bringing disease. Routes of diffusion are also presented such as the Mississippi River mirroring the cholera and yellow fever epidemics of the 1800s. These modes and routes are supplemented with some excellent spatial and temporal references, such as how many contracted the disease in place A on week B, then week C etc. It is frustrating that these spatial interconnections are not displayed cartographically. The book is data table heavy and map light. The work has been done, the locations and effects well described, but a whole dimension is lost by not “seeing” where and when diffusion waves engulfed settlements, and where they simply petered out. For example, it would be fascinating to see the distance decay effect of contagion from port to the battle lines. In one unit fighting in France, 90 were lost in action, while 444 died from flu and related ailments. How did this compare with other units? What were the diffusion corridors? When did the men arrive and at what ports?

Crosby acknowledges a biostatistician could search for more sophisticated morbidity and mortality patterns within these data. He should make that contact with one of the many geographers now mapping and modeling disease. If a further edition of this book is planned, I would think that the construction of a GIS based on Crosby’s data would be a must, and certainly would offer a better chapter than those currently found in Part IV. This new chapter could combine Crosby’s extensive historical research and contextual knowledge along with a medical geographer’s technical and epidemiological skills to again move this text to the fore of the 1918 Influenza works.

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*Territories of Profit: Communications, Capitalist Development, and the Innovative Enterprises of G.F. Swift and Dell Computer.* GARY FIELDS. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004. Pp. xviii+281, maps, diagrams, index. \$24.95, paper, ISBN 0804747229.

Historical analyses of economic phenomena have long been treated in an empiricist manner. How refreshing, then, to come across a well written, theoretically informed analysis. Gary Fields, a planner in the University of California San Diego Department of Communications, offers an innovative and compelling comparison of two American firms

located in very different historical contexts to illustrate how corporations respond to, and in turn shape, rapidly changing technological and economic climates.

Fundamentally, Fields asks “How is geographical space for profit making (re)configured from the innovative activity of business firms” (p. 3), and proceeds to demonstrate that it is the visible hand of business administration, not some mythical invisible hand of the market, that offers the most insightful answers. His two examples, the dressed beef producer Swift and Dell Computer, both drew upon revolutions in communications and served as catalysts for implementing new technologies (the railroad and telegraph on the one hand and the Internet on the other) in economically advantageous ways. These technologies rapidly redefined the boundaries and nature of the markets in which they operated, and both firms were cutting-edge in deploying them to catapult themselves to the apex of their respective industries.

Fields draws on several bodies of literature to guide this analysis, including the history of technological innovation, the firm as a changing bundle of transactions, and works concerned with the social and spatial impacts of communications. He begins with Schumpeter, whose notion of “creative destruction” still remains one of the most insightful commentaries on capitalism’s ceaseless change, adding successive layers concerned with entrepreneurialism and innovation. Fields’ summary of transactions costs, ranging from Coase to Williamson to Chandler, is simply excellent. He carries this line of thought into the domain of communications, avoiding the technological determinism that plagues this genre. Even better, he meticulously carries this schema into a confrontation with empirical reality through two lengthy and detailed case studies, each of which would have made a dissertation unto itself.

In the late Nineteenth Century, the railroad and telegraph laid the foundations for the massive wave of time-space compression that formed a national market, oligopolized mass production, and mass consumption. The South and East became increasingly dependent upon the West for agricultural foodstuffs, and the West replied with an explosive increase in capacity. Beef, which had been produced and consumed on a strictly local basis, could be shipped inter-regionally with the advent of refrigerated railcars. In this context, G.F. Swift exploded as the largest dressed beef producer in the country, transforming Chicago in a meatpacking capital and revolutionizing the industry. The essence of Swift’s creative destruction was the formation of a network of branch slaughtering and distribution houses that sold beef directly to retail butchers, disintermediating the wholesalers and middlemen that once occupied an important niche in the market and had now become obsolete obstacles to be swept away. Meatpacking became the nation’s second-largest industry in terms of output, and Swift was its largest player. In reconfiguring the industry, Swift

reconfigured its geography, replacing the older, decentralized distribution with a tight network of centers serving regional markets. These centers were in turn carefully coordinated through the telegraph, forming an early just-in-time distribution system. Swift became increasingly vertically integrated, purchasing ice and railroad cars to facilitate its operations and enjoying huge economies of scale in the process.

In the late Twentieth Century, similarly, Dell Computer revolutionized the personal computer industry. The Internet, originally simply a tool of communications, evolved into a new arena of commerce as business-to-business linkages became one of its dominant forms of usage. Fields traces the growth of the Internet, its multiple transformations as new browsers facilitated the entry of new users, and the ways in which digital communications produced new territories of retailing such as Amazon.com. Then, using interviews and company documents, he explores Dell's role in this process. Based in Austin, where Michael Dell began retrofitting PCs in his dorm room in 1983, Dell Computers found a way to accelerate the industry's product cycle dramatically, moving the entire process of customer order, procurement, and delivery on-line. Fields attributes much of Dell's success to the industry's climate in the wake of IBM's decision to outsource most of the components of its own PCs, which led to modularized, standardized components – “like Legos” – that different firms could produce easily. A pioneer of Internet commerce, Dell used the Net and the Web to ascend to the top of the industry, bypassing many of the intermediaries that made computers expensive, and creating a radically new form of business organization in the process. As Dell expanded and became global in scope, its international operations became increasingly sophisticated and vertically integrated: A centralized ordering system via the Internet “pulls” material into the production process every two hours on a just-in-time basis. Assembly workers, located in four sites in Ireland, Texas, Malaysia, and China, put components together to form customized PCs in ninety *seconds*.

By way of conclusion, Fields compares and contrasts his two case studies to extract the most significant implications. Fundamentally, Swift and Dell showed that competitive advantage was to be found in the logistics of procurement, distribution, and marketing of beef and computers, respectively, rather than simply in new forms of production. Both firms took advantage of new communications technologies to usher in profound changes in their respective industries. In doing so, Fields reveals how value can be generated in the process of circulation as well as production. Whereas Swift played a key role in the formation of a national market, Dell served as an important actor in the construction of a globalized field of activity. Both examples point to the persistent remaking of time and space that lies at the heart of the process of commodity production and consumption.

This volume does not make light reading, nor should it. Fields has succeeded in giving economic geography an enlightening example of how historical scholarship and contemporary analyses can be integrated in mutually enlightening and transformative ways. We owe him a debt of gratitude for it.

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

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

Lanier's first chapter provides a worthwhile interdisciplinary literature review on the problematic concept of "region" and its many varieties in an attempt to define the Delaware Valley. She makes the compelling point that one reason that the Delaware Valley may not have received as much attention from scholars may be because of the fact that it is not as easily discernable as New England or the Upland South. Though specialists in these regions may take issue with her observation, Lanier must be given credit for making this bold point and also for her attempt at giving the Delaware Valley (and the greater Middle Atlantic) a serious examination.

Fans of more traditional cultural geography should be pleased to

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

Chapter 2 also sets some misleading expectations for the remainder of the book. Lanier switches gears in Chapter 3 to demonstrate how legend and folklore play a role in shaping the material landscape of "marginal" Sussex County, Delaware. The case study and its presentation do not clearly follow from the previous chapter, especially since Lanier mentions that many of the buildings and other indicators of North West Fork Hundred's historical landscape did not survive, which results in few figures or other visuals for the reader – a stark contrast to the figure-rich Chapter 2. Although I do not doubt the significance of folklore affecting the cultural landscape of a particular region, this chapter is not as convincing since Lanier does not provide visual evidence of *how* the local folklore affected the landscape. Perhaps she could have chosen a better case study to illustrate her point.

Lanier switches gears again in Chapter 4 for a case study of Mannington Township, New Jersey. Here, Lanier argues that the old, surviving brick houses of the elites of southwestern New Jersey function as "ancestral maps" that link artifacts, location, and history. The writings of late Nineteenth Century local historians of the significance of the brick houses provide an uneven presentation of the historical and cultural landscape of Mannington Township since the brick buildings outlasted the dwellings of other groups in the area. Chapter 4 is similar to Chapter 2 in that Lanier once again utilizes many figures, though they are inconveniently placed at the *end* of the chapter and not integrated with the text. This is perhaps indicative of the confusing organization and presentation of the book.

In Chapter 5 Lanier compares her findings from the previous chapters and some additional communities in the region to reiterate her argument about the uniqueness of the Delaware Valley. Though I do not question the distinct qualities of the region, her contention that it is a "region of regions" does not effectively hold up when one considers her avenues for

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

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

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*An Unnatural Metropolis: Wrestling New Orleans from Nature.* CRAIG E. COLTEN. New Orleans, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2005, xiii, 245, maps, photographs, notes, index. \$39.95, hardcover, ISBN 0807129771.

In this carefully researched, well-illustrated, and richly detailed narrative, Craig Colten explores three centuries of growth in the city and environs of New Orleans, Louisiana, from its earliest beginnings to the present day. This monograph is not a traditional contribution to the field of urban historical geography, nor is it a typical case study in environmental history. Rather, Colten explores the physiographic context, climate, and severe weather events and their influence on patterns of settlement, land use, water and sewage treatment, and related topics in the pre-industrial,

industrial and post-industrial eras, using an approach that makes a unique contribution to both fields of intellectual inquiry.

Following a brief introduction in which the physiographic, historiographic and research contexts for this study are developed, the book comprises six chapters which mostly follow a chronological sequence, with a short epilogue. In the first chapter, while focusing on the early history of flood and drainage control to the end of the nineteenth Century, Colten links levee development and swamp reclamation efforts with the microgeography of the physical environment of the early city of New Orleans. Colten deftly demonstrates how important a few inches or feet of elevation above sea level can be in an environment surrounded by standing and flowing water. Far from being accidental, patterns of land use tended to pay closer attention during this period to the vagaries both of Mississippi River floodwaters and the more unpredictable but frequent large storm events that periodically flooded the city despite earnest if under-funded attempts to limit their damage to the built environment.

The following chapter focuses on the evolving scientific understanding of disease causation and the role of “nuisance landscapes” in shaping the patterns of daily urban life. Major topics discussed include the development of sewerage systems, waste management, municipal water supplies, and the creation of city parks and green spaces. While patterns of development in New Orleans were similar to other late nineteenth century North American cities, including obtaining the services of the firm established by Frederick Law Olmsted to design plans for the improvement of Audubon Park in the 1890s, the physical environment of the region raised complexities for city leaders at every turn.

The third chapter focuses on environmental equity in New Orleans from 1900 to 1950. Here, Colten examines the geography of civil engineering works and public policies in relation to the spatial distribution of residences of racial groups. Colten’s analysis suggests that, while legally sanctioned racism shaped the spatial pattern of segregation in the Jim Crow era, the trade-offs made by developers and urban authorities as sewer, drainage and water systems were expanded cannot be identified as the primary causes of the racial geography of the city at mid-century.

Colten focuses on New Orleans’ response to emerging national awareness of environmental issues that characterized the second half of the twentieth century in the next chapter. Two case studies are provided as examples: the transition from perception of sanitary landfills as hazardous waste sites through examination of the Agricultural Street Landfill, and pollution control and quality of Mississippi River water as public perception of the river’s role transitioned from that of navigable waterway to that of source of urban drinking water. The fifth chapter examines more recent activities in flood control as the metropolitan area expanded. The region continually struggled as a result of piecemeal, local municipal decision, net-out migration from the built-up area to suburban districts,

major weather events including hurricanes and heavy rains.

The reintroduction of wetland environments after more than two centuries of destruction of these landscape features is the subject of the book's final chapter. Here Colten utilizes four examples to show how this process has been carried out and to identify the philosophical and political complexities involved. These case studies include two examples in which wetlands were created for public exhibits, at the Audubon Park Zoo and at the Louisiana Nature Center, and two large tracts that were set aside to preserve urban wetlands. The book concludes with a brief epilogue in which the author strives to make the case that the past is prologue to the complex environmental issues that the New Orleans metropolitan region will face in the coming years.

The monograph is formatted attractively, with maps and photographs in each chapter. Although there is no bibliography, there are 44 pages of notes and references at the end of the book. The text is well written, in a highly literate style, and typographic errors are very infrequent.

While this book breaks new ground in exploring the challenges and decisions made in a growing metropolis faced with severe environmental constraints, it will not be the last word on the subject. Although the epilogue seeks to make the case that "environment has always mattered" (p. 187), few geographers would have argued otherwise even without reading this book. Colten neglects to generalize from the insights drawn from the New Orleans experience to other North American cities. Translating the findings of this research into a theoretical model that could be applied elsewhere would be a very useful next step and could help to define the research agenda for urban environmental historical geography in the years to come. Until then, those interested in the history of New Orleans will have an excellent resource that provides a very interesting perspective on the city and its response to its environment (and the environment to its responses), and urban historical geographers will have another monograph to add to their personal libraries.

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*Mythic Galveston: Reinventing America's Third Coast.* SUSAN WILEY HARDWICK. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002, pp. ix+275, maps, photographs, index.

In *Mythic Galveston: Reinventing America's Third Coast*, Susan Hardwick tells the story of Galveston, Texas – a place often dismissed in geographical imaginations as simply a tourist-oriented, bed-and-breakfast

beach town. Using statistical and archival data, Hardwick reawakens the Galveston of long ago, the city that throughout the nineteenth century welcomed tens of thousands of new immigrants from around the world. This historical legacy, as the Ellis Island of Texas, argues Hardwick, creates a unique social and spatial geography that contributes to Galveston's distinct sense of place both in the past and present. Additionally, Hardwick suggests that Galveston should be considered the western boundary of an emerging cultural region – the Gulf Coast – to be further investigated by other scholars.

The first three chapters focus on the foundational historical geography of Galveston. Using primarily census data, Hardwick introduces the main immigrant groups and presents several maps showing settlement patterns throughout the city based on ethnicity and land use. Excerpts from archival sources enrich Hardwick's story. In fact, these chapters are Hardwick's best. She eloquently blends population data, property records, and a wide array of archival material including journals and personal letters to create a lively and engaging historical narrative. Those who have taken on a similar challenge know this is no simple task.

The last four chapters build on the historical framework to trace the evolution of a highly regulated socioeconomic structure and the consequential spatial implications of this structure. With great attention to detail, Hardwick offers a series of maps illustrating the ethnic enclaves created throughout the city and speculates about the resulting social networks. These geographies of cultural diversity, Hardwick maintains, are what made (and continues to make) Galveston unique.

Of particular note, Chapter 5 deals with Galveston after the Great Storm of 1900, remembered as the worst natural disaster in North American history. The primary accounts of storm survivors interwoven throughout this chapter resonate eerily with the stories being told presently in the aftermath of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita. Hardwick provides a detailed descriptive analysis of how the morphology of the city changed and which ethnic groups were affected the most. She also includes an all-too-brief description of the rebuilding plans after the storm, including the raising of the city grade and the construction of a seawall. Perhaps because of recent events, this chapter is rich with ancillary but important subliminal themes that leave the reader wanting more. Hardwick veers from the familiar narrative that the Great Storm was the root cause of Galveston's decline in the twentieth century. Rather, the elites who controlled the Galveston port raised fees and simultaneously discouraged local use and strengthened the momentum to create a deep-water channel into Houston, which ultimately sealed the fate of Galveston as a port city and changed the economic landscape forever.

Drawing from Terry Jordan's extensive work on Texas cultural geography, Hardwick argues that her study further substantiates Jordan's designation of the "Creole Coast," a distinctive Gulf Coast region in

the U.S. Like other cities in this region, Galveston “pivots” out toward the sea, depending on exports economically and culturally, creating an unparalleled, complex diversity. In a contemporary context, these cities are increasingly dependent on tourism and island-oriented entertainment such as casinos and cruise lines. Unfortunately, the book falls short of seeing this point through to more meaningful conclusions. Hardwick does not successfully address how Galveston fits into this new region or why the creation of this region is significant for North American geography. An opportunity seems to have been missed in this regard.

Hardwick’s book provides a compelling and robust geography of Galveston. Her story is enhanced by a handful of photographs showing distinctive architecture and streetscapes of the city. However, throughout the book, even more visual evidence is warranted to further illustrate the geography being presented. Census tables strengthen her ethnographic portrait of the city, but several of the maps are mislabeled or referenced incorrectly. Despite these minor disruptions, *Mythic Galveston* is a fascinating historical geography. Indeed, geographers who are looking for a sound model of historical geographical methods would benefit from reading this book. Hardwick tells a remarkable and inherently geographical story that until now has been neglected.

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*The Politics of Taste in Antebellum Charleston*. MAURIE D. McINNIS. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005, pp. ix+395, maps, diagrams, color plates, index. \$39.95, hardcover, ISBN 080782951X.

The aristocratic pretensions of rich white Southerners have always been easy targets for social commentators, especially when apparently rooted in a pre-Civil War fantasy land. For most of the twentieth century American historians’ routine dismissal of this claim of innate social superiority led most of them to ignore its social origins. To many mainstream historians any discussion of the planters’ material culture (and certainly of their “taste” which is the focus of McInnis’ book) has seemed like a distraction from the reality of the brutal slave regime which they governed. The historical literature was dominated by such questions as the institution of slavery, its profitability or otherwise, its political impact on American society, the political role of the slave owner, and so on. Documentation of plantation society, especially its expression in urban and rural landscapes and material culture, was therefore left mainly

to local writers, most of them members of the planter elite. Many of the results do not warrant scholarly investigation, except as cultural products, though a few are superb. It is remarkable that such locally based writings also account for whatever observations of African American landscapes were extant, their features being otherwise largely ignored.

The result of this imbalance was a huge gap between local accounts and a broader scholarly literature. There have of course been attempts to bridge this gap. A generation ago, for example, Marxist historians such as Eugene Genovese focused the attention of the broader scholarly world on plantation society and its landscape, and specifically on the figure of the planter. They challenged the intellectual community to acknowledge the particularity of social relations on the plantation as fundamentally distinct from a society based on the employer/employee relationship, and a proper field of study in its own right. While many of the arguments they advanced have since lost favor, the Southern planter has never been forced back into his former obscurity. At about the same time there was a significant revival of interest in African American cultures and landscapes.

Even the harshest twentieth century critics of the plantation South (including the infamous Southern iconoclast W.J.Cash) were prepared to grant at least a partial exception in their critiques of the Southern class structure to the idea of a Charleston "aristocracy." The South Carolina planter elite was old by the standards of European settlement in North America. In the colonial era, Charles Towne was among the half dozen leading cultural centers of European settlement. By the turn of the nineteenth century the new landowners had become adept at cultivating an exclusive plantation clique which increasingly repelled middle class pretenders engaged in "trade." The mechanisms for preserving exclusivity were club membership, discouragement of intermarriage, a preoccupation with genealogy and the cultivation of an air of superiority of culture and intellect. It also helped that they were extremely rich...wealthier per capita than anywhere else in British North America, and among the richest anywhere. The bulk of this wealth, gained largely through the labor of slaves on the rice plantations, was distributed over no more than a hundred families.

Local writing on plantation landscape and society in Charleston and the nearby rice plantations is particularly rich, and some of it is excellent. Certain compilations from the 1920s and 30s are beautifully illustrated, and more recent coffee table volumes abound. Public and domestic architecture has always attracted local interest, and a number of recent books compare local with national trends. Some South Carolina artists and writers, especially those from the early twentieth century, are now receiving greater recognition. Yet major scholarly research with broader thematic material linking local writings with broader intellectual trends in history and the social sciences are still far from plentiful. A few stand

out over the years as works that build bridges between core literatures of the disciplines and Charlestonian particularism: Jane and William Pease from social history; Peter Coclanis from economic history; Kenneth Severens from architectural history; and so on.

Maurie McInnis has built her bridge to Charleston from a base in the field of art history. The result is a broad-ranging account that is at root an account of the material culture of the dominant planter elite. But it is much more than this. One of her greatest contributions is to show how planter "taste" imbued the politics of class and caste in antebellum Charleston. She achieves this while producing accounts of the material cultures of middle- and lower-class whites and African Americans that do not make them appear passive and dependent. Her emphasis is rather on the creativity of these other cultures within the dominant planter autocracy.

McInnis begins and ends her account of Charleston's antebellum material culture with its destruction, or more accurately its dissolution. The Civil War saw the overthrow of a regime as well as a culture, the fall of a power structure. Not all of its material culture was reduced to rubble. Indeed, Charleston suffered less war damage than some other cities of the Confederacy, including Columbia to which some of Charleston's treasures had been sent earlier in the war for safe-keeping. Much damage evident in contemporary photographs had already been done in the central area by a fire in 1860, and Confederate troops themselves destroyed much in the face of occupation by Union forces. Much has been lost, but much remains and after years of neglect a lot has undergone restoration.

The text consists of nine substantive chapters, each of them an essay in its own right. Setting the context for detailed analysis of the material culture means including in some of the chapters material that will be familiar to anyone with an interest in the city. The section on the public landscape of racial control, for example, contains some narrative which has already been well covered. This applies to a lesser degree to some of the substance of the chapter on public art and politics. Yet to have omitted such background material would have left the book unbalanced, and balance is one of its main strengths.

The interpretive content is innovative and original throughout. The chapter on "Life in the Yard" presents a much-needed view of the material culture of Charleston's African Americans, demonstrating the interdependence of slave and free artifacts. The chapter on the Gothic Revival is a gem. I have never seen a better resolution of the seemingly paradoxical presence of Gothic Revival buildings in Charleston despite the commonly expressed view that the city rejected this national trend. McInnis argues convincingly that the Gothic style in Charleston fits neither the national chronology of architectural fashion nor the cultural meaning normally attached to it. For the Charleston elite, the Gothic "was a physical manifestation of their belief that slavery was a natural

component of their Christian society.” It epitomized the elite’s belief, often expressed in the language of rich Romanticism, in the natural superiority of an organically evolved hierarchical society founded on a morally based paternalism. Perhaps it is appropriate that the spirit of John Ruskin resonates in an art historian’s interpretation of Charleston Gothic. Certainly this conclusion is arrived at through the detailed investigation of several domestic mid-nineteenth century remodeling projects, including a particularly intensive study of the Aiken-Rhett house on Elizabeth Street.

The book is lavishly illustrated with dozens of black and white photographs of buildings and paintings, and prints of maps and lot plans. Also included are 16 color plates, mainly portraits but also some details of architecture and furnishings.

The book’s main contribution to the literature is to present an interpretation of the meanings imbued by Charlestonians into their artifacts. It is eloquent in its analysis of how those meanings varied depending on time, power and culture. The book’s epilogue provides an example of this, which I cite to demonstrate the tone of the whole. Before the Civil War, Charles Izard Manigault sent his art collection to his Silk Hope plantation for safety. When the slaves heard of their freedom, they divided the paintings among the slave cabins. “By giving away Manigault’s symbols of refinement, the possessions he had acquired through their labor” McInnis argues, “his former slaves subverted their cultural meaning.” Formerly hanging in Manigault’s drawing room, “the family portraits asserted the family’s lineage and cultural refinement”. Disbursed among slave cabins, they announced the passing of the old order.

This is, in sum, a beautifully written book, richly illustrated, nicely balanced, presenting new insights on antebellum Charleston’s material culture, and demonstrating the interdependence of its subcultures across vast inequalities of wealth and power.

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*Devastation and Renewal: An Environmental History of Pittsburgh and Its Region.* JOEL A. TARR, ed. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003, Pp. viii+281, illustrations, index. \$24.95, paper, ISBN 0822958929.

Operating under the premise that no American city can match Pittsburgh’s sordid environmental history of air, land, and water pollution

or surpass its degree of landscape alteration, the nine contributors to this volume illuminate the reasons behind the city's unique course of development and trace the environmental consequences. Since Pittsburgh was described famously in 1866 as "hell with the lid off" and later went on to be widely known as the "smoky city," the volume's tight focus on environmental degradation, while limiting, seems entirely appropriate. The book follows in the path of similar studies of New Orleans, St. Louis, and San Antonio, combining urban and environmental history in ways that delineate the impact of urbanization on the natural environment. In Pittsburgh, Joel Tarr points out in his introductory essay, the process occurred in three distinct stages. First as the area became an important trading post at the convergence of the Monongahela, Allegheny, and Ohio Rivers. Next, as Pittsburgh industrialized in the nineteenth century and began polluting its air, land, and water on a truly colossal scale. And finally, as the city deindustrialized in the late twentieth century and attempted redevelopment of spoiled areas and renewal of its natural environment. Looking at each phase through the lenses of change to air, water, and land, the contributors are primarily interested in suggesting the contingencies, politics, and economic factors behind both the pollution and recent revitalization.

After an informative overview essay by Tarr and Edward Muller describing the interactions between Pittsburgh's natural and built environments, Muller, Tarr and Terry Yosie, and Nicholas Casner offer three essays on water pollution. Muller examines the evolving relationship between rivers and the city in three crucial stages of development, suggesting that Pittsburgh initially evolved at the rivers as a trading post, then turned away from the rivers as an industrial city, and finally turned back to the rivers in its current recreational and redevelopment phase. In the process, the rivers moved from being a crucial source of transportation, water, and food, to a convenient outlet for industrial waste and raw sewage, to the focus of urban renewal. The rivers and the city, according to Muller, always co-existed in an "intimately intertwined" fashion. (p. 41) Tarr and Yosie focus on water use and treatment, suggesting the crucial factors that contributed to the city's three rivers becoming open sewers for human waste, mine acid, and industrial pollution. In the end, they point out, economics and politics supplanted public health concerns and left residents with one of the highest Typhoid rates in the nation up through the early twentieth century. Although Pittsburgh finally began filtering its drinking water in 1907 and treating its sewage in 1959, even today, the authors note, it pumps untreated overflow waste into the rivers. Casner's analysis of acid mine drainage is particularly enlightening, offering a detailed discussion of the disastrous consequences of sulfuric acid runoff in rivers and city water. While industry and the public understood that the acid killed

vegetation, fish, and trees and destroyed piping, boilers, and clothing, Casner concludes that “accepting the trade-off of stream degradation in return for economic prosperity was a somewhat easy choice in an era bent on increasing wealth.” (p. 108) Moreover, since long-term solutions never quite worked as anticipated and Pittsburgh’s rivers still receive some acid drainage, Casner shows how such distant trade-offs “pose a continued burden for the environment.” (p. 109)

Angela Gugliotta begins the “smoky city” section of the volume with an essay that blends social and environmental history in ways that reveal the reasons behind residents’ shifting attitudes about air pollution. Ironically, she suggests, it was the city’s poor who suffered the most from clean-air campaigns, since they could little afford the cleaner burning fuels mandated by antismoke activists. Lynn Snyder’s analysis of the 1948 Donora smog disaster thirty miles southeast of Pittsburgh exposes the factors behind that tragedy as well as its effect on air pollution policy. Although the suffocation deaths of seventeen residents was clearly the fault of the local zinc works smelter, Snyder contends that political pressure and an overriding fear of job loss combined to place the blame on weather conditions and leave the zinc company unregulated. In the long term, however, she argues that the disaster “mobilized public sentiment in favor of federal regulation” and created a legacy that contributed to passage of federal air pollution laws in 1955. (p. 126) In an examination of regional smoke control movements in the mid-twentieth century, Tarr and Sherie Mershon discuss the evolution of public perceptions about air pollution, maintaining that it was primarily technological advances that finally reduced smoke emissions.

In the one essay focused exclusively on land, Andrew McElwaine explores the inability of residents and community groups to end slag dumping near their homes in Nine Mile Run – an area envisioned as a park by early city planners but given up to corporate needs by local politicians. In keeping with the city’s post-industrial trend, the slag dump has now become an upscale neighborhood.

In a scathing critique of Pittsburgh’s recent “renewal,” local environmental advocate Samuel Hayes asserts that much of the recent transformation went only far enough to camouflage deeper environmental problems. Moreover, he contends that a good deal of the devastation being dealt with is from the recent past, not the legacy of decisions made 120 years ago. In the end, he also reminds us that Pittsburgh became “green” only when industry withered and redevelopment became an economic necessity.

Overall, there is much relevant scholarship in this volume to recommend to anyone interested in the interactions between urban development and environmental change. The essays are original, well argued, abundantly documented, and tightly focused on issues related

to air, water, and land pollution. While such a coherent focus is clearly a strength, one cannot help but wonder why a chapter providing a broad overview of environmental renewal was not included as well. The topic is instead dealt with in a piecemeal fashion over many essays, leaving the reader little sense of the overall changes. In another minor quibble, one also wonders why the marvelous illustrations appear in an insert in no chronological form, giving the reader little sense of the process from devastation to renewal.

—*Rand Dotson*

LSU Press

Louisiana State University



*Building San Francisco's Parks, 1850-1930.* TERENCE YOUNG. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004, Pp.xvi+249, maps, photos, index. \$45.00, hardcover, ISBN 0801874327

The history of large city parks in the nineteenth and twentieth century has long been concerned mainly with cities in Europe and the eastern United States. Terence Young's *Building San Francisco's Parks* is a welcome perspective from a different part of the world that shows some interesting parallels and important differences. While it deals with all the parks in the city, it focuses mostly on Golden Gate Park (larger than New York's Central Park), whose difficult environment made it unique among large city parks.

A major theme of this book is the ways the social goals for the parks and the landscape forms expected to embody them were adopted from cities in the eastern U.S. and then adapted to the very different terrain and climate of the San Francisco peninsula. Young structures his history of San Francisco's parks around "four virtues" a park expressed in the human landscape: public health, economic prosperity, democratic equality and social coherence. These values were shared widely among urban reformers of the mid- to late-nineteenth century, first articulated by Frederick Law Olmsted and later elaborated by others such as Charles Eliot and H. W. Cleveland. To them the goals were best met by a pastoral landscape design, suitable for passive recreation, a perspective Young terms "romantic." But by the late nineteenth century, parks were seen from a different perspective, termed "rationalistic" by Young, which encouraged many special-use settings inside a park, from art museums and concert halls to baseball fields and children's playgrounds.

In his introductory chapter on the nineteenth century American park movement, Young lays out more than a mere potted history of the

movement. Instead, he offers a new perspective on the relative importance of the social goals of park promoters, in particular the sense of the public good that was enhanced by public use of large parks. San Francisco was a very young and rapidly growing city throughout the first few decades covered by this study. Yet by the late 1860s it contained over a dozen city parks, most of them one city block or less in size: Union Square, Portsmouth Square, Yerba Buena Park, etc. The majority of these were public parks, though there was also one private square on the British model and a few private pleasure gardens open only to paying customers. The public parks were little more than open grassy plats with a few trees, however, and pressure developed to create a large park that would serve the city's needs along the lines of the new Central Park in New York City. Early in the process Olmsted himself had offered San Francisco a proposal for a smaller set of connected spaces on the western edge of the young city, but it never came to fruition.

Young is very detailed in his recounting of the political wrangling over a site for a large city park, leading the reader expertly through the tangled web of the Outside Lands controversy and the machinations of city and state politics throughout the period covered by the book. The site that was chosen was covered with open sand dunes beset by wind and fog, and the park's proponents had little idea how to convert this forbidding terrain into the pastoral landscape of their imagination. The solution came from the work of the park's designer and first superintendent, William Hammond Hall, an engineer who educated himself on landscape design and the large parks in Europe and eastern North America. His most difficult task, though, was dealing with the political agendas of San Francisco's and California's factionalized political and economic elites.

The stabilization of the sand dunes used methods developed in France and Belgium, planting beach grass to hold the sand, followed by other plants to begin the ecological succession process that led to a community of trees and shrubs and, with later plantings of ornamentals, to a steady progression toward a pastoral landscape. Young is very good at explaining ecological relationships as well as political ones. Public access was an early issue since Golden Gate Park was beyond the reach of public transportation until the 1860s. Thereafter it became immensely popular and was thronged, especially on weekends with crowds of visitors. Initially used for walking, horse-back riding and carriage promenades, the park soon faced pressures to develop more active recreational facilities and cultural venues. The decades of the 1880s and '90s were a time of conflict between the romantic and rationalistic agendas for large city parks, and Young explains clearly the political maneuvering in state and city government that sought to influence the management of Golden Gate Park.

The final chapter covers the turn of the century when the rationalistic perspective guided a renewed attention to the city's smaller parks. Many of them were redesigned and new ones were created, with the goal of providing access to healthy recreation for all the city's residents, following a revision of the city charter in 1898 that enlarged the powers of the Board of Park Commissioners.

My only criticisms are the lack of detail in the chronology of events during the rationalistic period of Golden Gate Park's history (when were the first baseball fields laid out, for instance?) and the index, which I found unhelpful in locating some key ideas, events, and sites mentioned in the text. In all, this is a wonderfully detailed history of the early years of the parks of San Francisco. It offers a perspective on the parks movement in general from a unique vantage point and is a valuable addition to the literature.

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*Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden.* DOUGLAS CAZAUX SACKMAN. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005, Pp. xv+386, illustrations, index. \$45.00, hardcover, ISBN 0520238869.

*A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900-1970.* MATT GARCIA. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2001, Pp. xvii+390, illustrations, index. \$19.95, paper, ISBN 0807849839.

Just when you think nothing more could be said about California agriculture – and the fruit industry in particular, two new books appear where the orange figures in both. Written by historians, both are attempts to integrate cultural studies with political economy, albeit in different ways. From there, the projects differ considerably. Sackman uses the orange as a trope, actually one of many literary devices he employs, as a way to revisit a number of stories loosely related to the power of the orange industry and ideas of human-nature hybridity. Garcia uses the original citrus suburbs of southern California as a starting place to make a set of arguments about the cultural politics of place. In so doing, he, coincidentally, also incorporates ideas of hybridity, but in his case, intercultural hybridity.

Like many who have written before, Sackman tells a story of the

makings of California agriculture, this time through its most idiomatic commodity. Although he touches on many of the elements that went into the orange industry, from biological control to the Sunkist cornucopia labels, his primary foci are technology and labor. This is to make what appears to be his larger point: that the orange (as well as California itself) while marketed as a symbol of Edenic, untrammled nature, was an artifact of human invention and work. Other than that, the book seems to be a collection of stories and allegories, albeit with several themes running through (e.g., hybridized nature, orange “empire,” “growth machine”), rather than a sustained argument.

One theme that figures prominently in the book is that of improvement. Biological scientists sought to improve the growing conditions of the orange through advances in irrigation, soil science, and so forth. Social workers attempted to improve the housing conditions of workers. Sackman shows how these projects of improvement of both nature and people took on racial connotations. Though this point is not particularly original, the exposition of plant breeder Luther Burbank’s dalliance with eugenics bears repeating as does a section on Americanization, which discusses how food and diet were tools of social control. If anything, this particular theme could have been made more explicit to help explain how, for example, images of pest control were used against the likes of Carey McWilliams, who was once deemed the red menace, or how the failure to breed the perfect orange was compensated for by efforts to make a more conducive growing environment. The parallels with the Progressive campaigns he discusses, for better farm worker housing rather than wages, could not be more striking.

Another theme that weaves through the text was that of the citrus industry as an engine of capitalist growth. Borrowing from well-trodden ground in economic geography, Sackman uses the metaphor of the growth machine to discuss the centrality of citrus to California’s economic development. This discussion is relatively weaker. Other books have told the story of, for instance, the Southern Pacific’s development of orange suburbs that in turn provided freight for the railroad, but Sackman surprisingly omits this important spatial dimension of the “Orange Empire”. For that matter, the characterization of the Orange Empire as “more than an industry” but something that “established hegemony over people and places” (p. 7) sounds rather facile when we learn that the term was simply a code name for Sunkist. In the concluding pages of the book we hear that many bemoaned the loss of an agrarian ideal when much of the Orange Empire was paved over in suburbs by the 1970s. Sackman disputes this reading, saying that growers were simply turning their capital into other ventures. Empire, in other words, is used in many different ways that are not always consistent. And if the argument is that California’s fruit industry was capitalism through and through, Richard

Walker's *Conquest of Bread* (2004, New Press) tells a more coherent story of capitalist agriculture in a way that is likely to be more useful to geographers.

Ironically, the most underspecified theme is also the strongest part of the book: the politics of representation. It also happens to be the most original aspect of the book if one goes by the number of original sources employed and what appeared to be relatively fresh interpretations of existing sources. This is most clearly seen in Part III (of a three-part book) where Sackman focuses on what he calls the agrarian partisans – those who contested the industrialization of California's agriculture – and shows how different representations were used to oppose and support orange empire. One chapter in this section focuses on Upton Sinclair's gubernatorial campaign and EPIC (End Poverty in California). Here we learn how, under the leadership of Charles Teague, Sunkist engaged in a war of images to defeat Sinclair in his gubernatorial campaign. In this section Sackman also includes chapters that provide new readings of Dorothea Lange's famous photographs and consider Steinbeck's ethnographic method in preparing the *Grapes of Wrath*. The discussion of the La Follette hearings, where the agrarian partisans overtly contested the concept of "factories in the field," was particularly intriguing. Growers claimed that they needed "absolute power over labor" (p. 286) precisely because they could not make nature into a perfect factory. Through these examinations of the relations between the represented and the representation, we begin to get a sense of Sackman's purpose. He almost seems to be speaking of himself when he writes of Steinbeck, "Yet, as we have seen, the novel did something more than report on existing conditions. Its 'poetic function' was to configure those events into a larger narrative ... The Grapes of Wrath took on a life of its own because it was a contested narrative, a version of real events that various interests felt compelled to challenge or support" (p. 279).

For a scholarly reader, however, the overall problem with the book is that Sackman never makes clear what new body of evidence or argument he is bringing to bear or how the stories he tells are relevant to the text. The first hint of this is found in the acknowledgements of all places, where he notes the many orange stories that have already been written but justifies this one with a quote that says there is always more to be said. Sackman also notes in the acknowledgements his love of language. True to that penchant, the text is replete with metaphor, allegory, deconstruction of representations, and flowery writing, beginning with Diego Rivera's painting *Allegory of California*, which in this case leads the reader to believe that the rest of the book will be used to draw out (or contest) this metaphor. The reader, in other words, has to work hard to get what the book is about, and it is easy to get lost in stories that do not necessarily add up to a central point or images that do not fit.

While some readers undoubtedly prefer an embellished writing style, those looking for coherency and careful analytics might find the book frustrating, especially when they encounter ideas such as a “solar theory of value” (p. 89) which are thrown in with little explanation.

Sackman’s acknowledgments provide an additional insight as to the relationship between his and Garcia’s books. It turns out that two authors were in conversation in the course of working on these books (they do cross-cite each other). It is not surprising, therefore, that several of the same themes emerge, most notably the differences between eugenic and “progressive” approaches to “the Mexican problem.” In Garcia’s case, though, he weaves these themes and what might otherwise seem tangential histories into a tighter narrative. For a scholarly audience, Garcia does the added work of making explicit how he situates his own work relative to others and leading the reader through his arguments in a clear fashion. He also makes explicit his intentions when blending archival and oral history – he mentions at one point that he seeks “to find the place where history and memory meet” (p. 152). This goes to his overall argument, as well. Rather than using selected figures to suggest that they represent entire cultural groups, he wishes to illustrate variation and complexity.

Indeed, as much as I personally preferred his organization and style of presentation, in the final analysis, it is Garcia’s arguments that I found to be the more compelling. Following on the heels of scholars such as Robin D.G. Kelley, Garcia wants to show that the politics of labor extends beyond the fields, that resistance can take forms other than work stoppages. To be sure, he discusses work sites and processes as background (the groves in part one and the packing houses in part two), and presents a more fine-grained analysis of labor market segmentation than the typical recounting. Yet, the heart of his intervention is about the production of place-based communities and cultural performance as arenas of expressing discontent and even resistance (making the title of his book a bit of a misnomer). One, this is a nice ameliorative to past farm labor histories that have focused on laboring bodies and exploitation to the exclusion of the personhood of those who performed that labor. Second, this focus makes this work eminently geographic. Many others, including Sackman, have looked at, for example, how the dire conditions of farm labor camps and the discontent that arose in them led to the “progressive” interventions of the Commission on Immigration and Housing. Garcia’s focus on the *colonias* – the communities Mexicans made on their own terms within those Southern Pacific-made citrus suburbs – broadens our understanding of the cultural landscape of southern California considerably. Also in keeping with a geographic imaginary, he presents a chain of explanation, of sorts, of how the orange industry helped shape these communities. Different orange varieties did well in different microregions and whether they were made into juice or packed fresh affected labor processes. In turn,

these labor processes affected settlement patterns. Growers who grew a variety of citrus, for example, provided more year-round work, and thus desired a more settled work force, in contrast to the needs and desires of growers in other crops and regions within California. This helps explain why many Progressives supported the social engineering associated with Americanization (as opposed to eugenics) – because, in fact, Mexicans were going to be their neighbors.

Garcia's other main contribution is to strike some provocative middle ground in the realm of cultural politics. As suggested above, Garcia wishes to contest histories that portray various cultural/racial groups as homogenous in their interests and views. In part this comes out of the observation that citrus growing itself was highly differentiated by ranch and locale. Growers differed among themselves and also had interests that differed from others who lived in the citrus suburbs. While some of the non-grower whites struck highly nativist positions, others, particularly those associated with the colleges and professions – what Carey McWilliams called the “in between element” – held more complicated views of the newly arriving citrus workers. Many of these middle-class women were sympathetic to the “plight” of these workers, yet some supported the repatriation drive in the 1930s to the chagrin of growers. Nor were relations seamless between Mexican Americans and Mexican nationals, particularly during the *Bracero* period.

The heart of this contribution, then, is Garcia's focus on three spaces/moments where different cultural groups came together with ambiguous outcomes. The most interesting (and well integrated) is his exploration of the Padua Hills Theatre, which was given to the promotion of intercultural understanding. Owned by white “progressives” who employed “Mexican talent,” the patrons were unsurprisingly paternalistic and pushed the actors to adopt poses that ironically helped reproduce racial stereotypes, including “putting on the Padua smile.” Nevertheless, the Mexican American actors used these “strategic essentialisms” to gain access to better jobs and lives. Garcia also discusses the dance halls of the post-war period, intercultural public spaces where youth cultures cross-fertilized, and pre-1960s (non-militant) efforts at intercultural politics where minor political gains were made on behalf of Mexican American civil rights. While these last two chapters seem disconnected from the rest of the book, focusing as they do on phenomena wider than the citrus suburbs, they nevertheless make for some of the strongest points about the possibilities and limitations of intercultural understanding. By no means does Garcia see these attempts at intersectionality as a panacea – after all, the white progressives were paternalistic and never seemed to reflect on their own privilege. But, as Garcia notes in a stunning epilogue, the abandonment of such attempts and rehardening of segregation that marks southern California's more recent history and landscape has made

things considerably worse for many cultural groups, including more newly arrived Latino immigrants.

The historian's craft, as I understand it, is either to dig up untold stories, or to provide new interpretations of old ones. Sackman sprinkles such morsels throughout, although they never quite come together. Garcia is more successful on both counts, but must be particularly lauded for charting new ground in the always-fraught politics of race.

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*Shaped by the West Wind: Nature and History in Georgian Bay.* CLAIRE ELIZABETH CAMPBELL. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005. Pp. xx + 282, color plates, index. \$29.95 paper. ISBN 0774810998. \$85.00 hardcover. ISBN 077481098X.

Readers of *Historical Geography* are in for a treat. Here is a brilliant piece of writing, with a similarly exquisite foreword, harbingers of a new monograph series with the theme "Nature/History/Society." Never mind that Georgian Bay sounds like a marginal area of America for a case study. Years ago I said the same thing about southeastern Georgia, the Santa Clara Valley, and Bellefonte, Pennsylvania. Claire Campbell has now added this great eastward lobe of Lake Huron to that resonant list, each of these studies being studious landmarks of scholarly processes that transcend the specific site.

This series addresses environmental history and is the brainchild of Graeme Wynn at the University of British Columbia and author of the exquisite foreword. Wynn sets a tone that draws together literature, art, gardening, iconography, and so much more in the ever-swelling sphere that "environmental history" as a term has more and more trouble embracing. Campbell, currently a post-doctoral fellow at the University of Calgary, has risen to the occasion. She sustains Wynn's sense of good literature with a fresh and engaging writing style that is a model of how to bring the reading public into the sorts of debates that too often revolve in small, isolated academic circles.

Campbell has written an absorbing commentary on the study of landscape, its historical roots, and its current strengths. In her words, "taking a thematic approach, asking questions about the relationship between culture and environment, gives regional history a theoretical sophistication. Yet, at the same time, regional experience and local sources give academic concepts a much-needed relevance by anchoring

them to a specific place and reality" (p. 8). Chapters overlap somewhat, but each has a narrative thread allowing it to stand alone while carrying the reader forward through time and through the book. "Surveying the Historical Landscape" reminds one of the evolution of map-making, the underestimation (deliberate?) of distances, and of the changing technology of instrumentation. We read of the opportunity the French had to name places, imagining they were the first to do so because they were the first to write them down. And then all this was overridden by English-language names to form today's landscape lying transparent to the process. "Industry and Land Use" carries readers from the familiar image of a land for the taking through to a setting for recreational activity (and sustained abuse). Restoration of a green and pleasant land became a noble enterprise, but no wilderness, thank you. Golf courses in the Precambrian Shield say it all for me.

This most overtly "environmental" of chapters is a good foil for the environmental messages embedded with subtlety in other chapters. "Imagining Natives and History" tells a story of balance between nature and mankind that today is, indeed, hard to imagine. "The culture of an inland sea" intrigues me particularly for it echoes the British colonialist idea that, if only one could live by the lakeshore one could hang on to all that old familiar maritime tradition. That point lay in the minds of nineteenth century railroad entrepreneurs pushing their rails from Boston to Lake Ontario, for instance. In "Developing a sense of place" Campbell uses artists and authors early in the twentieth century to consolidate the transient character of Georgian Bay, a region too long experiencing birds of passage. She argues that images and texts have encouraged people to seek a place for its own local sake and not merely as a stepping stone to wealth in Ontario or to a choice farm on the prairies. The last substantive chapter, "Managing and Protecting," is modern-day environmentalism, incorporating aspects of the Ontario Planning Act and the Ontario Heritage Act, plus the actions of local administrators. Some of this latter group are transplanted Torontonians, escaping the city and feeling compelled to right the perceived wrongs of generations of Georgian Bay exploiters who have gone before. This is a prescriptive and clinical chapter, probably the hardest to write into a style that suits the literary tenor of the rest of the book.

In conclusion, Campbell tells us to be "listening to the Bay." It is her way of inviting readers to do as she has done throughout her life -- to pause for the Georgian Bay experience. Feel the west wind of the book's title. Recognize in every vista elements of survey, industry, First Nations, culture, place, and management, and the interconnections among them. This whole book is more than the sum of its parts; each part greater than the sum of its pages.

Well, perhaps this review dwells too much on style, too little on

substance. Reading the book will redress any imbalance, however, for Campbell is, first and last, a storyteller, and her Georgian Bay stories are most engaging. That's the advantage of having grown up with the Bay as an intimate part of one's life. But she goes beyond, bringing outsiders inside to feel as if they have been there too and to want to be party to this rich environment. Tell your non-academic friends (as well as your colleagues) about this book, and don't be put off if they say they have no interest in Georgian Bay. Persist. I just happen to live near Georgian Bay and to have explored some of its recesses. That's my good fortune, but *Shaped by the West Wind* is everybody's good fortune.

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*Legacies of Lynching: Racial Violence and Memory.* JONATHAN MARKOVITZ. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004, pp. ix-227, illustrations, index, notes, bibliography. \$19.95, paper, ISBN 0816639957.

Moreko Griggs, an African-American high school student in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, was enjoying the pride that he and his family felt when he was named class valedictorian. However, their celebration turned sour when two white valedictorians, each with scores a thousandth of a point below Griggs's, were added to the graduation slate the day before the ceremony at the request of a white parent. The local NAACP demanded an apology and contacted the national NAACP, whose board vice chairwoman compared the maneuver to an "academic lynching." A month later African-American artist John Sims received anonymous threats when he planned to hold a mock lynching of a Confederate flag titled "The Proper Way to Hang a Confederate Flag" at Gettysburg College. These two Associated Press stories (7/16/04 and 8/27/04, respectively) are just two examples of using the historically potent and inherently violent phenomenon of lynching metaphorically when racial oppression is perceived or experienced. Perhaps the most widely publicized use of the lynching metaphor occurred when Clarence Thomas, nominated to the United States Supreme Court in 1991, called the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings "a high-tech lynching for uppity Blacks" after Anita Hill accused Thomas of sexual harassment years earlier.

Jonathan Markovitz, a sociologist, has examined the use of the lynching metaphor in a book based on his dissertation, *Legacies of Lynching*, which

explores the idea of lynching in modern American race relations as part of the "American collective memory." Through an exploration of real and metaphorical lynching in film and in a series of racially charged criminal, legal, and political events, Markovitz elucidates the relationship between race, sex, and power in modern America.

Markovitz examines the history of lynching by first considering the absence of any successful antilynching legislation. The definition of lynching that he uses (p. xxx) is from a 1940 antilynching leaders meeting: a human death for which there is legal evidence and that the person was "killed illegally at the hands of a group acting under the pretext of service to justice, race or tradition." The actual horrors of lynching are described with the avowal that even at the height of lynching it was also always intended to be seen as a metaphor for race relations and the notion of white superiority. That is, lynching as a metaphor describes and maintains the social control of white supremacy over non-whites with an *idea* rather than an action. Throughout the narrative, Markovitz harks back to the gender and sexual aspects of lynching, which are "the mythical black rapist, the heroic white avenger, the pure white female victim, and the oversexed black woman."

He argues in Chapter 1 that the antilynching movement and lynch mobs were at odds about how the American people would or should understand lynching. The antilynching movement did not succeed in achieving legislation to criminalize lynching, but they did establish lynching as a metaphor for Southern, and national, racism. Lynching was not about the punishment of an individual transgressor so much as it was a warning to all African-American people that transgressions of any kind would not be tolerated and that all transgressions would be considered by whites as a threat to their racial purity, whether the transgression involved sex or not. In this notion, the white power lynchers were successful. Their ultimate justification was the protection of white women, although the black male rapist threat was vastly over-emphasized. The antilynching forces, the NAACP, the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation (CIC), and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL), were concerned with the elimination of racist representations of and violence against black men *and* black women, who were both lynched. Initially their arguments included denunciation of hundreds of years of white on black rape, although, even in these organizations, the cause of justice for black women was subsequently abandoned for decades. Thus, the idea of lynching carries more than the baggage of violent retribution in racist and anti-racist consciousness.

Chapter 2 considers the lynching theme in Hollywood studio and independent films by black directors, including the films of early black directors whose efforts contested the portrayal of black men in D.W. Griffith's 1915 *Birth of a Nation*, a film that prompted the revival of

the Ku Klux Klan with an estimated five million members. He further explores the idea of lynching in Spike Lee's movies and in the mainstream films *Just Cause*, *A Time to Kill*, *Ghosts of Mississippi*, and *Rosewood*. The various uses of the lynching metaphor are dissected with the conclusion that most popular depictions of violent racism have shaped America's collective, yet incomplete, memory of all racism as being directed toward black men while essentially ignoring, with the exception of *A Time to Kill*, the sexual abuse of black women.

Chapter 3 explores the alleged and actual racial aspects of recent criminal cases. Fourteen pages are devoted to the sensational case in which Bernard Goetz, a white male, shot four young black men who approached him for money on a New York City Subway in 1984. The case transfixed many Americans who split over whether Goetz was a white hero who had defended himself against dangerous street criminals or a dangerous vigilante. That one of his victims was eventually awarded \$43 million in damages has not eclipsed the 'Goetz as hero' argument. The case of Susan Smith, a Southern white woman who drowned her children and initially claimed that an African-American carjacker (the mythical "black beast") had kidnapped them is considered along with that of Charles Stuart, a white Massachusetts lawyer, who murdered his pregnant white wife for an insurance payoff, claiming that she was shot by a black robber. Each case illustrates the fear of black men that a segment of white American society continues to harbor, the fear that lynching was supposed to assuage for whites (bringing to mind the brilliant title of Charles Barkley's book, *Who's Afraid of a Large Black Man?*). The issue of sexual abuse of black women is most thoroughly explored in the case of Tawana Brawley, a young African-American girl who was found nearly unconscious, beaten and otherwise horrifically abused in Wappingers Falls, New York, in 1987. Initially, Brawley's abuse and sexual torture were universally condemned, but ultimately her case was condemned as a hoax. Markovitz argues that the evidence for a real crime against Brawley is clear, but that white acceptance of the hoax explanation is a continuation of American inability to even acknowledge the history of the sexual victimization of black women by white men as well as a denunciation of the powerful black men who defended her.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the complex sides of the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill Supreme Court Confirmation Hearings and Thomas's outrage at his "high-tech lynching." Markovitz takes this much further by considering not only Thomas's side in all its convolutions, but also Hill's position as the black woman not only wronged by Thomas *but also* his lyncher.

*Legacies of Lynching* is a valuable contribution to the understanding of this pervasive aspect of our national collective memory. From the seemingly trivial case of the "academic lynching" through the lingering

polarization of the Goetz case to the deadly crimes of Smith and Stuart and the highly politicized Brawley and Thomas-Hill events, lynching lurks in the shadows of American racial reality. Most of us seldom consider it until it is force fed by publicity of horrific racially charged crimes, political grandstanding or fictionalizations of our real culture and history. It should be read by anyone with an interest in race relations.

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*Images of the New Jerusalem: Latter Day Saint Faction Interpretations of Independence, Missouri*, CRAIG S. CAMPBELL. Knoxville: The University of Illinois Press, 2004, Pp. xxv + 438, 59 illustrations, 2 tables, index. \$42.00, hardcover, ISBN 157233312X.

Author Craig S. Campbell set an ambitious goal. He hoped his book “is worthy of acceptance in a small but extraordinary paradigm established by the geographers John K. Wright, David Lowenthal, Walter Kollmorgen, James R. Shortridge, Patrick McGreevy, and Kenneth Foote, who emphasized the influence of collective perception, attitudes, and subjective values in establishing landscapes – and in interpreting imagined ones” (p. xviii). I am not an insider within this landscape approach, so I cannot fully assess whether Campbell accomplished his goal. I do, however, appreciate many of the accomplishments of this genre, particularly the work of the authors named. I can say, from my perspective in another part of cultural/historical geography, that *Images of the New Jerusalem* joins the list of works within this genre that I strongly admire.

Campbell astutely recognizes that Independence, Missouri, has few parallels as a sacred space within the non-indigenous realm of the United States. The Latter Day Saint movements (more widely, if somewhat misleadingly, known as Mormonism) regarded the area within and surrounding this Kansas City suburb as sacred ever since founding prophet, Joseph Smith, in the 1830s declared it the site of both past Adamic and future millennial events. The Latter Day Saints, in various forms, have expected an American New Jerusalem to rise on the site. They have often faced the dumbfounded, and sometimes even residually distrustful, attitudes of non-Latter Day Saint local residents. Independence thus offers a heretofore neglected example of the development of American sacred space, one that Campbell mines effectively.

But Independence is more than imagined sacredness. The Latter Day

Saint movement has split into multiple factions. Most well known is the Salt Lake City group – the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints – that now claims more than twelve million members throughout the world. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints numbers about 250,000, with headquarters in Independence. It recently changed its name to the Community of Christ. A third major group in the New Jerusalem story is the Church of Christ (Temple Lot). It is not the third largest Latter Day Saint organization (with only about 2,400 members), but it owns the single most important plot of land in Independence to the Latter Day Saint groups – the site where Joseph Smith asserted the millennial temple would be built. Each of these groups, along with others, separated following the death of Smith in 1844. Each of these three, additionally, have had others split off from them. Independence is therefore not simply a story of sacred versus secular versions of space. It is also a tale of various Latter Day Saints – sometimes aggressively, but often tentatively – competing to realize their own distinctive and diverging visions of the New Jerusalem on the Independence landscape.

Thus Campbell juggles a variety of geographic and religious phenomena, and he does so quite successfully. Astute discussions of the place of the Latter Day Saint New Jerusalem in the broader phenomena of American utopian landscapes and the world's sacred spaces frame chapters on the various Latter Day Saint movements. Campbell not only notes differences between the views of various Latter Day Saint movements but handles them with careful nuance. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, for example, has gained a greater official presence in and around Independence in part through a quiet strategy of purchase. While it operates some tourist sites, in the last several decades it has curiously avoided anything more specifically millennial than vague statements affirming the continued belief that Independence will be the site of the New Jerusalem. Meanwhile, some of its members, particularly those living close to Independence, much more willingly speculate on how their church will eventually gain control of the area. The Community of Christ moved ideologically toward liberal Protestantism on the official level in recent decades, de-emphasizing an earlier concern for millennialism in Independence, all the while alienating a significant “fundamentalist” movement from within the reorganization. Yet it recently built the Latter Day Saint movements' only temple in Independence. The Temple Lot church, meanwhile, has sought to retain its prime real estate while feeling besieged from the larger Latter Day Saint organizations and its own splinter movements. The story is much more complex than a review can adequately summarize, and *Images* shines in historical and theological description. The book also distinguishes itself through its attention to physical space. A large number of well-structured maps complement effective landscape description. The reader emerges with a clear idea of

both the spatial and the theological bases of the various New Jerusalem visions.

As any reader might report, I had some quibbles along the way: a misstatement or two (John Taylor's death date, p. 373; the impression that the *Book of Mormon's* Nephites and Lamanites split from one another before traveling to the American continent, p. 30); a few editing problems (a first name rather than a last name in a parenthetical reference, p. 34; "fearsome" should be "fearful," p. 312; "undo" should be "undue," p. 353; an endnote somehow in the wrong order); a lack of discussion of what "fundamentalism" means in the Latter Day Saint context; a few conclusions seem too strong (Latter Day Saint churches relations to non-Latter Day Saints in the Kansas City area and to one another, pp. 326, 327; the significance to Latter Day Saint groups of Independence being near the geographical center of the country); an unwieldy, topically divided bibliography. I also wondered about a few issues the book either does not address or discusses thinly: whether the splinter groups from the Salt Lake City Latter-day Saints also have New Jerusalem aspirations for Independence, how the non-Latter Day Saint residents of the Independence area relate to Latter Day Saint landscapes and aspirations, the impact of the vast size difference between Salt Lake City Mormonism and other Latter Day Saints on future landscape prospects, and the relationship between America's non-religious sacred space (patriotic space) and processes of sanctification in Independence. My most significant concern, however, is that parts of the book seem to be overkill. The book is well written. It is, nevertheless, a long book; one wonders whether the same analysis could have been accomplished in fewer pages. Cases similar to Independence are reviewed in much detail, for example. Conclusions are often repeated.

These are all minor concerns, however. The book's many virtues reward the reader. Campbell's book brims with important insight on theological, geographical, and sociological levels. *Images of the New Jerusalem* is an impressive piece of geographic research, the product of painstaking primary and secondary research, carefully conceived and interesting description, and analysis that maintains respect and critical distance.

—*Ethan Yorgason*

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*Pueblo Indian Agriculture*. JAMES A. VLASICH. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005, PP. xix + 363, map, photos, index. \$ 34.95, hardcover, ISBN 0826335047.

Readers interested in the modern history of indigenous agriculture in the American Southwest will recognize the author of this volume. Vlasich, a professor of history at University of Southern Utah, has long been interested in the topic and has contributed several articles in the past. This book serves as his master summary and synthesis of his interest in Pueblo agriculture. While some of the content has been previously published in article form, the majority of the text is based on his past graduate work with notable updates, and should interest scholars and students of Southwestern agriculture, cultures and history. It is a work rich in content, particularly for the twentieth century, but one that might have benefited from greater context.

Vlasich summarizes the history of Pueblo agriculture unevenly, giving much richer and deeper historical treatment to the modern period. While this is acceptable, given his past focus, and his intention, the dearth of archaeological literature and references is quite striking especially in a field so rich with useful literature. It is quite understandable, given the time span of most academic press releases, that there are few citations later than 2001. Readers should also be aware that the techniques or technologies of agriculture play very little role in this work, and rather, Vlasich has chosen to focus on how the Pueblo continued to practice agriculture even when faced with encroachment by Hispanos and Anglo-Americans. There is almost no treatment on the origins of agriculture in the Southwest, archaeological remains of past agriculture, or how crops and technologies changed over time.

His treatment of the Spanish colonial period of Pueblo agriculture, in chapters 1 and 2, is more thorough and interestingly grounded in a context for understanding water and land laws prior to Anglo-American annexation of the Southwest. Vlasich does his readers a favor by judiciously explaining the roots, intricacies and evolution of juridical understandings of land and communal rights in the Southwest. It is also done in a clear, concise manner. Specialists in land and water rights may quibble with the level of his generalizations about Spanish, Mexican and Anglo-American laws. But these portions are so plainly put that they may be of use at the undergraduate level, which is most welcome, given the subject matter.

Although there is little comparison to the experience of indigenous peoples in Mexico, Vlasich does note, as many Mexicanists have already noted in Mexico, that the Pueblo were better protected from land and water-use violations and encroachment during the Spanish colonial period than later, during the Mexican national "transition," as Vlasich terms it. And the author discusses a plethora of historical cases in which the

Pueblo were protected by colonial administrators, in some cases retaining complete rights, in others reaching a compromise with Spanish settlers. This protection was no longer extended or guaranteed once Mexico made them all citizens of the new nation-state, a point that Vlasich emphasizes, and rightfully so. The advantages of being sedentary Indians, with special protection and consideration, dissolved after the 1820s.

Given the amount of archival materials available for the Anglo-American and modern period, Vlasich makes extensive use of these in his remaining chapters (four through ten). Briefly, the author convincingly shows that the Pueblo groups successfully resisted most modernization efforts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and it was not until the 1930s and especially in World War II that Pueblo agriculture was sharply affected by modern technologies and markets. As someone who has written about this same period, this reviewer concurs, yet would point out that even during the late Spanish and early Mexican periods, labor transitions were occurring that sharply affected Pueblo agriculture. Even the author's inclusion of the 1827 census makes clear that there were sharp distinctions between Pueblo groups already, in terms of stated occupations, with the Western Pueblos (Acoma, Zuni) still declaring "farmer" as the single most important activity. In contrast, the Eastern Pueblos already counted among them numerous declarations or classifications of "craftsmen" or "laborers," clear signs that they were being incorporated into the proto-capitalist Spanish system. No such cursory analysis is included in this volume.

Few reviews of this book will avoid the inevitable: While this volume is rich in historical content and narrative, the context of it is rather lacking. There is little in the way of contemporary literature cited in this book, and as such, the author is rewording arguments or statements that have already been made by others in the past. It is understandably difficult to update and refresh a study that was performed in graduate school long ago, but a cursory review of the available literature, and its inclusion in the analytical or summative portions of the book would have made for a much stronger piece of scholarship. For a scholarly work of this size, the bibliography is rather skimpy and omits at least a dozen references that would have bolstered, or at least contextualized, the author's findings more successfully. The index is robust, and there are numerous photographs throughout the volume, along with a general location map of the modern Pueblo reservations. Oddly, however, there is not a separate listing for the tables in the preliminary material, even though they appear regularly in the book. A more useful map including those Pueblo villages that were abandoned should have been included here. Still, this is interesting reading for anthropologists, geographers, historians, sociologists and the whole is a useful, if not exactly ground-breaking, summary. More interesting to the reviewer would be the reaction to this volume by the

Pueblo themselves, since the group designation was essentially “invented” by Spanish interaction on the northern frontier of New Spain. Their common experience, however, of intensive agriculture in the Southwest does still set the Pueblo apart from surrounding tribes.

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*The Colonial Spanish-American City: Urban Life in the Age of Atlantic Capitalism.* JAY KINSBRUNER. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005. Pp. xvi +182, maps, diagrams, index, appendix, glossary, bibliography. \$18.95, paper. ISBN 0-292-70621-9.

This is an excellent short monograph: well-illustrated, clearly written, and touching on many of the key aspects of the colonial Spanish American city. As the author acknowledges, to cover in depth all of the topics that each brief chapter engages would take several multidisciplinary volumes, but here at least we are provided with a robust synthesis, full of insights, empirical examples, and ideas for future research. The central theme of the book is an examination of the evolution of the colonial Spanish-American city to demonstrate that the city was itself a circumstance of the particular capitalism of the period, a capitalism that included few who owned the means of production and thus urban wealth to be demonstrated, and a majority of lower class people.

After a consideration of definitions of “urban” based on function and form, and the multiplicities of chartered urban centers in Spain, the reader is introduced to the murky origins of the grid-plan (*damero*) protocol that was used in all urban foundations following the instructions given to Dávila in 1513. A brief following chapter breaks the colonial theme in summarizing the pre-Hispanic urban centers existing up to 1492, emphasizing the non-urban forms of the Caribbean and the Maya region, when compared with the dominant urban foci of the Aztec and Incan worlds. Of course many of the pre-Hispanic centers were either destroyed or abandoned under colonial rule, thus their relevance to the main thesis is limited.

The remainder of the book examines a variety of aspects of colonial cities, and plural is used here, for though there was a model city, almost none followed exactly all of the norms and ideals. Significant codification appeared in the guise of Philip II’s ordinances of 1573, clearly derived as a very useful appendix demonstrates, from the influences of Alberti’s tract published in Spanish in 1526. The site, street pattern, open spaces,

distribution of key civil and ecclesiastical buildings – all were prescribed in detail. How to lay out the blocks by “cord and rule” from the central plaza, and how to allot lots by lottery, replacing the pre-1573 method of “first come, most important, grab the most central,” was carefully described. An excellent description of the *cabildo/ayuntamiento* administrative systems is provided, properly emphasizing the key date of 1616 after which the office of *regidor* could be purchased and held in perpetuity, thus undermining the democratic ideal and permitting venality to endure.

Visually, the colonial city portrayed power and status via the size and height of its buildings: the church spire or tower, the massive mansions with extended patios, the many convents, and the cabildo’s balcony from which news could be shouted by the town crier. Coats of arms above huge doorways reminded the outsider of the status of the resident. The interiorized worlds of the white elite contrasted sharply with the peripheral hovels of the majority, racial, and class rankings measured by distance from the central plaza. But the regularity of form hardly matched the fetid nature of the streets which served as the dumping grounds of excrement, garbage and anything not worth keeping indoors. Add to the human refuse the nature of the street surfaces, dusty or muddy depending on the season, and one can more clearly understand the use of servants and slaves to do the fetching of foodstuffs and the like. Pedestrian colonial life was for the poor. Rats and lice and fleas don’t often appear in the documentation, but the glimpses that we do have show that cleanliness and hygiene must have been a constant struggle: The vital commodity was always water.

Economically, as the author has demonstrated in his several other books, the city of whatever size depended on mercantile capitalism: limited resources and production both within the colonial and metropolitan realms meant riches for the few and generalized poverty for the majority. Urban growth and decay accurately reflected the regional and periodic economic booms and busts. From the master merchant class to the humble corner storeowner, liquidity was an ever-present problem. Access to credit was often the key to economic success, thus trust and tradition and honor became not merely social values. With excellent examples the author demonstrates the significant relationships between masters and apprentices, and the wholesalers, storekeepers and the street vendors.

We are reminded that the social world of the colonial city reflected the ever-changing racial prejudices of the elite. Spanish America was a caste society and urban population distribution reflected the same: a white center seeded with Black slaves, a ring of *mestizos/pardos*, and the urban periphery of Indian *barrios* and the ever-present unclassifiable migrants. Locus and status were highly correlated. How to express the colonial social divisions analytically remains a challenge and here the

author argues for class-based divisions, accepting the clear fact that class, ethnicity, race, and origins were multidimensional factors that are almost impossible to separate, especially since the historical sources on individuals are not equally extant.

For the elite, the essence of colonial life was the extended patriarchal family, forged by kin and purposefully extended by fictive kinship. To have one's son accepted as a god-child of someone important was a major social (and often economic) gain. Marriage was more to do with economic alliances than romantic love, and for the many for whom Catholic rites meant expenses, cohabitation was the rule. The church understood the issues involved and normally priests were very willing to baptize the resultant offspring. Styles of dress and forms of addressing others denoted status and education. The extant imagery speaks of the almost uniform nature of male and female elite attire and may be sharply contrasted with the ragged or almost naked poor.

As a final flourish Kinsbruner challenges us to see the colonial city as a context for what he terms urban dialogue: the city as theater; the stage settings for bullfights, the *paseos*, processions, triumphant entries. The central plaza as the site of the pillory or hangman's noose; the internal *tertulias* of the privileged standing worlds apart from the vulgar street *fandangos* and carnivals when ethnicities can be exchanged, albeit for a night. The city as real people acting in segmented colonial space.

This is a book that deftly touches on all the key issues of the colonial urban world of Spanish America, ideal as the basic text for a graduate seminar. With excellent maps and an exhaustive bibliography, it is destined to become a minor classic.

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*States of Nature: Science, Agriculture, and Environment in the Spanish Caribbean, 1760-1940*, STUART GEORGE McCOOK. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002. \$50.00, hardcover, ISBN 0292752563.

This book is concerned with two complex themes in Caribbean history: States invariably are based on a control of nature, yet nature exists in many different states. Herein lay the problem for would-be states; the battle to control nature is not easily won. Unpredictable microbes, fickle markets, recalcitrant peasants and scientific miscalculations can tip the balance in favor of nature at any time. A voracious insect or a soil-borne fungus can bring down an economy, and a government, based on

bananas.

In this book, McCook concentrates on the historical nexus of agricultural science, political power and ecological destruction within select states of the “Spanish Caribbean” region (Cuba, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Columbia, and Costa Rica). The thesis is clearly stated early on, “The power of governments, planters, and, later, scientists depended on their ability to control the natural world and shape it to their models of development.” Consequently, political, social and economic power in the Spanish Caribbean is viewed as the result of successful calibration of a network of human and non-human actors that include agricultural scientists (botanists, agronomists, and soil scientists), plants (banana, cacao, coffee, and sugar), microbes (sugar cane virus), and élite planters.

To chart his way through this politically complicated and tumultuous time period (1760-1940), McCook chooses to “follow the migrations of specific people, plants, and pathogens from one country to another.” Befitting the catchy title of this work, the six chapters are equally dense with meaning, “Commodity and Country: Rediscovery of Nature in the Spanish Caribbean, 1760-1890,” and “Giving Plants a Civil Status: Scientific Representations of Nature and Nation in Venezuela and Costa Rica, 1885-1935” being two of the more poignant examples.

By following the interlinking lives of specific humans, and non-humans, McCook is able to render the social pathways and ecological impact of “export oriented agriculture” in a more nuanced story than what is typical from a somewhat teleological political ecology analysis so common in contemporary Caribbean social science. Further, by focusing on specific people, institutions and plant diseases, the book sheds much-needed light on the surprisingly heretofore little examined subject of the strange relationship between autochthonous agricultural science and nascent Caribbean nation-states.

This book weaves together important, and little researched, themes in the history of science, landscape history and the politicization of both science and landscape in the Spanish Caribbean during a critical period that spans the region’s encounters with colonialism, independence movements and integration into the emerging modern world (capitalist) system (particularly the “export boom” time period). As scholars of this region and time period well know, each of these encounters has left deep and lasting scars on what is essentially a cultural geography and physical landscape of extraction (for distant markets).

One of the most compelling and interesting themes developed in this book is the hybridization, or “creolization,” of “local” agricultural sciences in the Spanish Caribbean. Too often this region is cast as a passive playground for European and North American hegemony, yet McCook sheds light on a rich and storied history of local science practitioners and institutions that manage to emerge in the interstices of external, colonial

and neocolonial, pressures. It is shocking but interesting to learn, for example, that Caribbean-born agricultural scientists would have to visit North American and European botanic gardens and herbariums to learn (scientifically) about their own, “local,” flora! This scenario highlights the extent to which “nature” can be expropriated and made to travel (globally) through science networks, but it also underscores the kind of struggle local scientists faced in relocalizing and recapturing this extracted “nature.” The real question is: What do local agricultural scientists do with relocalized nature?

It seems almost too predictable that “local” agricultural sciences would focus on more “applied” research, given the export-oriented, laissez faire orientation of nation-states eager to appease elite planters. However, McCook reminds us that even local agricultural science is diverse, reflecting specific socio-economic-political configurations, and that export-oriented agro-science “models” cannot effortlessly and changelessly travel from place to place. Thus we have not only “creole” agro-science, but Costa-Rican, Venezuelan, Puerto Rican and Cuban versions of it. Here McCook’s (methodological) choice of following key scientists, plants and microbes pays off as a means to illustrate and personalize the different directions science takes in different sociopolitical settings.

Another theme of the book is the position of science as mediator between “Nature” and “Society.” Through a process of translating nature into manageable inscriptions of herbaria texts and statistical computations of plant breeding, science was able to render nature, in the form of plants, manageable (with some degree of confidence). This rerendering of nature into maps, texts, catalogues and tables, allowed two things to happen: First, planters could introduce new crop varieties, and second, entire landscapes could be refashioned to grow these new crop varieties. In the process of translating nature into “socionature,” science not only becomes “creolized” as McCook describes, but creole science also becomes a kind of obligatory passage point for planters and governments, thus securing an institutional place for itself. What *States of Nature* describes is the coevolution of science and society through the production of socionature and socionatural landscapes in the Spanish Caribbean. Remaining constant, however, throughout the history of this region is that nature is made to service capital accumulation. The difference being that, at different points in time, this accumulation is increasingly redirected to reside in local actors (élite planters and government coffers) through a renetworked socionature.

If there is one weakness to an otherwise densely interesting and informative text, it is that *States of Nature* could have been more “creolized” itself in its theoretical framing of the subject(s). There is certainly room for hybridization with Latin American cultural geography, Marxist

Caribbean anthropology, world systems theory and the social studies of science on the subjects of peasants, landscapes, capital accumulation and the production of socionature. There are too many “people without history” in the Spanish Caribbean that remain so in this work.

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*La Gran Línea: Mapping the United States – Mexico Boundary, 1849-1857.* PAULA REBERT. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001, Pp. xvii+259, illustrations, maps, maps index, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00, hardcover, ISBN 0292771118.

After the U.S.-Mexican War, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) wrested from Mexico her states of Alta California, Nuevo México, and the northern portions of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, and Sonora. In the coming years, an expanding United States carved out parts of California, Nevada, Utah, Texas, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico from these southwestern lands. Demarcating the new border between the two nation states meant interpreting and re-interpreting the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Paula Rebert explores the vast documentary evidence left behind by the Mexican and U.S. Boundary Commissions in her *La Gran Línea*, which tells an interesting story of science, culture, environment, international law, and mapmaking on the borderlands.

Previous scholars have touched on the importance of the joint boundary commission, but none have treated this large-scale topic in a monograph. Harry P. Hewitt’s several outstanding articles, for instance, focus on individual Mexican engineers, the surveys of California, and the Mexican survey of the Rio Grande. Paula Rebert in *La Gran Línea* is the first to synthesize the vast cartographic history and source material from both countries into a comprehensive history of the border. Rebert received a Ph.D. in geography from the University of Wisconsin and now researches and writes about the history of cartography. Her impressive training helps to give *La Gran Línea* a balanced and detailed account of the Mexican and United States boundary commissions. Her work compares Mexican and U.S. “... maps of the boundary and the country it crossed (p. xiii).” It undoubtedly makes a contribution to the history of cartography.

In the introduction Rebert details international law and the cartographic history of the border. Interestingly, John Disturnell’s map, attached to the Treaty of Guadalupe, contained serious geographic errors,

such as the displacement of the Rio Grande. It led both the Mexican and U.S. boundary commissions to the Bartlett-García Conde compromise, aptly named after the boundary commissioners Pedro García Conde and John Russell Bartlett. The United States government rejected the compromise. The ratified Treaty of 1853 renegotiated the boundary positions and included the Gadsden Purchase.

Together and with few animosities, the Comisión de Limites Mexicana and United States Boundary Commission surveyed the entire border and mapped fifty-four sectional map sheets, extending from the port of San Diego to the mouth of the Rio Grande. The joint commissions believed they were distinguishing the authoritative line between Mexico and the United States. The joint commissions brought shape to the political boundaries separating the two nation states by using channel soundings, surveys, and astronomical and mathematical observations. They fixed the line on the ground and recorded it onto multiple maps.

The new border formed along meandering rivers and geometrical lines. The lines ruled onto maps by diplomats forced the joint commission to establish azimuth lines - lines forming the straight southern boundaries across California, Arizona, and New Mexico. Also, the deepest channel in parts of the Gila River and Rio Grande served as determining lines between countries - the Rio Grande's deepest channel forming Texas's entire southern border. The commission ran into serious problems trying to map the channels because of the rivers' ever-changing fluvial geomorphologies.

Appropriately, Rebert concludes with the Chamizal hearings, which deal with the natural processes of the rivers and debates the true line. In this case the United States formed its river boundary policy and puts the commissioners' authoritative line to the test. U.S. Attorney General Caleb Cushing presented numerous international legal doctrines and principles (accretion and avulsion), which in the end defined "the river as it runs continues to be the boundary (p. 183)." Boundary commissioners from both the United States and Mexico dissented from this precept of letting the river determine the border. They believed the line fixed on the ground was the permanent line, but international precedent prevailed over this fixed-line theory.

*La Gran Linea* will enlighten and intrigue historians and geographers that study borderlands, the Southwest, Mexican-American foreign relations, and the history of cartography, science, astronomy, and mathematics. Social historians and cultural geographers might find the work somewhat celebratory, but it does offer some excellent conclusions about border cultures. The author concludes that the U.S. viewed the "... borderlands as empty wilderness available for settlement and development (p. 196)." While in contrast Mexican mapmakers saw vast amounts of "cultural information" that "emphasized the Mexican presence ... [and]

might be interpreted as testimony to the injustice of the U.S. conquest (p. 196).” Furthermore, the author puts her work into a larger context and even offers further insight into more recent boundary treaties, including the currently emplaced Treaty of 1970 maintained by the International Boundary and Water Commission.

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*Landscapes of Devils: Tensions of Place and Memory in the Argentinean Chaco.* GASTÓN R. GORDILLO. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2004. Pp. xviii + 304, maps, illustrations, index. \$23.95, paper, ISBN: 0822333910.

It is a rare book indeed that begins with an epigraph on the dialectic by Georg Lukács and still manages to convey a poignant, compelling, and highly readable story. Yet Gastón Gordillo’s study of the Toba people of the western Argentinean Chaco accomplishes just that, through a deft integration of extensive ethnographic investigation, archival research, and social-spatial theory. Gordillo, an anthropologist, eschews a conventional historical narrative as he builds the story around the Toba’s present-day recollections, which have much stronger ties to places than to chronology. He argues convincingly that the places of importance for the Toba are not fixed on the landscape, but rather construed through collective memory, and that these places have not so much intrinsic meaning, but rather are “produced in tension with other geographies” (p. 3). The Toba’s own words invoke these “tensions of place and memory,” which have helped define and maintain a collective identity against the forces of state violence, labor exploitation, land appropriation, religious conversion, and even environmental change.

During the Colonial era, the semi-arid Chaco region was the “theater of misery” for the Spanish army as its fierce, impenetrable environment defied attempts to subjugate native tribes, including the Toba. This remained the case until the 1880s, when the Argentine state moved to eliminate or control the last autonomous tribes in national space. The Toba – who subsisted mainly through hunting, gathering, and fishing – resisted and took shelter in the “bush” near the Pilcomayo River, even as Creole settlers, their cattle, and their roads began to take over and reshape the Chaco landscape. The last clashes between the Toba and the army took place as late as 1917, and the tribe was “rescued” from extermination mainly because sugar plantations in the distant Andes foothills demanded

their labor. Gordillo documents concisely how state actors and capitalists collaborated to create an Indian proletariat by stripping them of control of their lands. The end result was the “creation of a new social subject: people deprived of means of production and forced to engage in wage labor as their only means of survival” (p. 50).

As the Toba’s social and geographical dislocation continued, another important outside presence entered the scene. British Anglicans founded a mission near the banks of the Pilcomayo, an event Gordillo describes as “for most Toba *the* turning point in their history” (p. 78). The Anglicans’ presence had contradictory effects on the Toba. On the one hand, the mission represented “a kind of sanctuary,” as the Anglicans effectively protected the Toba from further military and settler violence. On the other hand, the Anglicans profoundly transformed Toba culture. Missionaries tried to end “vices” and “immoral” practices, such as sexual promiscuity, smoking, shamanism, gambling, and chewing of coca leaves. As the evangelists brought order and routine to the Toba settlements, the bush emerged as a site of refuge from missionary discipline, a place of practically absolute freedom to hunt, forage, and maintain key cultural practices. Thus, for many Toba (particularly the men) conversion to Christianity became a “spatial journey” that involved “dropping the bush.” Over time, this meant a redefinition of the bush: While it continued to serve as a key resource base, conversion “implied renouncing the bush as a site removed from, and defined in opposition to, the moral values and body language inculcated by the missionaries” (p. 99).

In distant sugar plantations, however, the Toba escaped the evangelists’ supervision while submitting themselves to new, pernicious forms of labor discipline. From the 1920s until the late 1960s, the Toba made massive yearly migrations to labor in the vast sugar estate of San Martín de Tabacal in northern Salta province. Although these journeys ended long ago, mainly because of the mechanization of agriculture, “the mountains” of Tabacal remain an “invisible presence in the bush” and “haunt generations of Toba in ways that often surpass their capacity to make sense of them” (p. 103). Gordillo explores the contradictory meanings of the sugar plantation for the Toba, and analyzes how their experience in far-off Tabacal has shaped their understanding of home, particularly the bush. The plantation was at once a place of discipline and freedom, of anguish and happiness. The Toba found themselves at the bottom of an ethnic hierarchy that included other Chaco Indian groups, highland Indians (Kollas), Bolivians, and Argentine Creoles. In this position, the Toba were subject to the most exploitative wage relations and assigned the most arduous tasks on the plantation. Interestingly, while this ethnic labor hierarchy in Tabacal reproduced older social structures, it also helped build a new “aboriginal” identity that united different Chaco groups.

Gordillo draws an important contrast between the spheres of labor and domesticity on the sugar plantation versus the bush back home, a distinction that continues to influence the meanings of the value of labor and of the bush as a place. In the Toba lands on the banks of the Pilcomayo, the missionaries controlled the domestic sphere, while the bush represented a place of work *and* freedom. Tabacal, however, represented the exact opposite: The Toba's wage labor was strictly supervised, but they were given almost total freedom at night, in the camps where they lived under precarious conditions. In the camps, far from the influence of the Anglicans, men and women indulged in sensual excess, which the Toba fondly remember today. Central to this expression of freedom was the *nomí*, a collective, circular dance that led invariably to "casual sexual intercourse," initiated by women who chose their partners from among the dancers. Notably, the *nomí* was not a "traditional" Toba ritual, but rather a product of the "interethnic socialization" characteristic of the sugar plantation: The dance originated with another Chaco group, and was rapidly adopted by the Toba and other Indians.

Mostly, however, the Toba experience on the plantations was characterized by bodily devastation through disease and overwork, alienation from their labor, and displacement from their homes. The Toba made sense of this profound sense of estrangement through "devil symbolism." In the book's most fascinating section, Gordillo discusses and interprets memories of the plantation's malevolent spirits. Unlike the "bush devils" back home, the Toba had no relationships of reciprocity with – and thus no sense of control over – the spirits at Tabacal. Building on anthropologist Michael Taussig's important work on devil imagery and "commodity fetishism," Gordillo argues convincingly that the devil narratives of Tabacal should not be interpreted as "veiled, distorted expressions of 'real' social conditions." Rather, the "fantastic monstrosity of these diablos and cannibals is inseparable from the very real, fabulous, and monstrous forms of wealth created by capitalism ..." (p. 138). Indeed, the "dazzling," almost magical displays of wealth at Tabacal continue to hold sway over the Toba. They recall the sugar mill with as much nostalgia as horror, since today practically no *trabajo* – by which they mean wage labor – is available to alleviate the poverty that is "almost intrinsically inscribed" in the bush (p. 199).

Gordillo's superb book should be of obvious interest to Latin Americanist geographers, as well as scholars of indigenous memory politics and place-based ethnic identity. Thanks to its fresh insights into the spatialization of memory and the construction of place as a relational process, however, this book deserves a much wider audience. Finally, *Landscapes of Devils* is instructive for any historical geographer who seeks to combine theoretical sophistication with outstanding empirical research. Gordillo employs, without reservation, a dialectical, neo-Marxian theoretical framework, which he integrates almost seamlessly

with intimate ethnographic detail. In this way, Gordillo not only makes sense of the complex and significant insights of such scholars as Lukács, Taussig, Lefebvre, Harvey, and Massey, but makes theory *come alive* in the words and practices of the Toba themselves – a rare accomplishment in the world of academic writing.

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*Highland Sanctuary: Environmental History in Tanzania's Usambara Mountains.* CHRISTOPHER A. CONTE. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004, Pp. xiii+215, b&w photographs, illustrations, tables, index. \$24.95, paper, ISBN 0821415549.

International concern for Tanzania's Eastern Arc mountains, a biodiversity hotspot in the language of contemporary conservation discourse, is the product of longstanding environmental struggles over the meanings, values and practices of peasants, pastoralists, colonial bureaucrats and international scientists drawn to the abundance of the region. In "Highland Sanctuary", Christopher Conte argues that colonial-era narratives of environmental degradation justified ambitious government programs to simplify the complex social and physical landscape. Conte shows how the lush and fertile mountain range, a sanctuary for peasants and pastoralists in a sea of semiarid savannah plains for centuries became an ideological battlefield for colonial farmers, bureaucrats and scientists, pitting the desire for ecological simplification and plantation production against an understanding of nature as complex, diverse and intrinsically valuable. The book attempts to inform current debates concerning conservation in the Usambaras by linking the politics of conserving "undiminished nature" with a historical understanding of how that nature is produced.

The book is organized as a comparative environmental history, asking why the western Usambaras have become a Mecca for small-scale agriculture and commercial plantation forestry, while the eastern range contains large tracts of indigenous forests and endemic wildlife. The eastern Usambaras are seen as the jewel of indigenous forest preservation, the focus of international conservation efforts, while the western range is the veritable poster child for agricultural marginality and environmental degradation, making it a site for endless soil conservation and population control programs.

The book is an excellent contribution to African environmental history, detailing the links between colonial imperatives and interests,

destructive development schemes and the desires and practices of the Tanzanian state and its citizens. The book is at its best illustrating how Malthusian environmental narratives popular throughout the global colonial bureaucracy took force in Tanzania, despite ample contradictory evidence by basic scientists of local agro-ecological complexity. Contrasting Kwai, a colonial experimental farm in the West Usambaras with the Amani Institute for Biological Research in the Eastern Usambaras, Conte argues that colonial administrators preferred the formers' applied scientific approach to solving practical problems such as coffee blight and locust outbreaks. The detailed soil surveys and biological inventories produced by Amani scientists, part of a growing number of satellites of Kew botanical gardens, were not seen as adequately promoting the labors of settler farmers who held considerable political sway at the time. Conte reads the marginalization of these ecologically concerned scientists as a missed opportunity for more appropriate policies. What the book illustrates without making explicit is that a new commodification of nature is taking shape. The inventories carried out by Amani scientists were part of an assemblage of experts responsible for producing biodiversity as a commodity worthy of being saved for its own exchange value, trumping alternative local use values. While the argument was discredited at the time, it was subsequently taken up by international conservation interests and national governments dependent on their funding and moral acceptance, as evidenced by the vast number of developing countries signing onto the convention on biodiversity.

Conte details how peasants had a history of adaptation, using exotic crops to take advantage of varying ecological conditions and expand production. Pastoralists took advantage of cold and dry plateaus where no crops could flourish, demonstrating how these different modes of production worked together linking economic and social relations. Through archival research Conte ably illustrates how political economic practices such as field borrowing, developed as a response to the restriction of access to forestlands, led to shorter fallow periods and contributed to soil degradation. Field borrowing had replaced earlier systems of reciprocity where newcomers were given access to land for two generations, allowing them to establish their own fields through marriage, sale, or forest clearing. The middle chapters provide detailed historical research that demonstrates the ongoing struggle for environmental and economic control, in the Usambaras.

Conte extends his analysis to the environmental politics that shaped the region before colonial occupation and manipulation. In contrast to confrontational dynamics that defined much of the colonial and post-colonial periods, Conte shows how farmers and pastoralists relied on one another in a strategy of diversification that took advantage of different climactic and soil conditions. Exotic cultivars such as bananas from Asia,

taro, yams, rice, sugar cane from the Indian Ocean complex, and cassava, maize and potatoes from the Americas created more options opening previously unproductive regions and leading to conflicts with pastoralists, who themselves integrated agricultural into their productions patterns. The late nineteenth century was a time of general crisis. The global market for cloves, grown extensively on Zanzibar, escalated the demand for slaves. With its proximity to the coastal town of Pangani and Tanga, the Usambaras were substantially destabilized by the violence of the slave trade. The displacement of large populations and the isolation of other communities led to significant environmental consequences, including one of several periods of hunger. The new political regime defined itself largely through its ability to feed the regional slave trade. Its policies led to a decrease in the mobility of local populations, thus reorganizing previous relations based on reciprocity and exchange. Mlalo town/village was able to insulate itself from the regional violence and was able to provide a stable presence in the otherwise sea of turmoil. Livestock disease also significantly shaped the late nineteenth century landscape, setting the stage for the primordial African landscape that was recorded by the arriving colonial forces in the late 1890s. This depopulated landscape set the stage for discourses of wild nature and primitive natives who caused environmental degradation.

The author attempts to speak not only to students interested in African environmental history and political ecology, but to policy makers and conservationists. The book attempts to show how history has important insights for contemporary debates and struggles over the future of the Eastern Arc mountain range. I believe the text succeeds in this intervention and is valuable reading for students and researchers interested in political ecology, environmental history, and the development of the post-colonial state in Africa.

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*The River We Have Wrought: A History of the Upper Mississippi.* JOHN O. ANFINSON. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003. xxi + 375 pp. \$56.95, hardcover, ISBN 0816640238

The Upper Mississippi has always freighted a heavy tonnage of nostalgia and mythic thinking about America's industrial progress. A fishery, a flood threat, a scenic wonder, the Upper Mississippi is also a remarkable feat of navigation engineering. But engineering may have had

less to do with the making of Man's Mississippi than most Americans suppose. Boosterism, agrarianism, the hatred of railroads, and the longing for pastoral landscapes have changed the shape of the river more profoundly than hydraulic design.

John Anfinson has written a superb book about the political economics that transformed the natural river. Sweeping in scope and marvelously detailed, *The River We Have Wrought* is easily the most impartial, most environmentally informed history of the Upper Mississippi to date. Two visions of the river merge in Anfinson's story. Farmers and shippers envisioned a river remade for commerce. An idea older than Fulton's steamboat, the commercial river gained power in the anti-railroad politics of the 1870s granger moment. Farmers hoped that a guaranteed channel depth of 4½ feet would boost enough river shipping to keep railroads from raising their rates. Congress looked to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers for a system of dikes, levees, and dams to regulate water levels. But after an investment of more than \$500 million on hundreds of channel projects, the engineers came to believe that drought and flood and the wildness of the Mississippi made river commerce too fickle to compete with shipping by rail. "It seemed," Anfinson notes, that "the more the Corps improved the river for navigation, the less shippers used it" (p. 103). By the era of WWI, as the lumber industry fell and trains captured the grain trade, river commerce had virtually died.

Conservationists meanwhile advanced the vision of a scenic river. In 1922 the Izaak Walton League shook an angry fist at the byproducts of industrialization—at the mill pollution, the urban garbage, the soil erosion, the backchannel sedimentation. League cofounder Will Dilg spearheaded the Upper Mississippi River Wildlife and Fish Refuge, signed into law by President Calvin Coolidge in 1924. By 1929 the sportsman's refuge had grown to 100,000 acres. But conservationists split the following year over an ambitious Upper Midwestern plan to revive barge navigation. Boosters now demanded a 9-foot guaranteed depth through a series of slackwater pools. In 1930 the patrons of navigation overrode protests from railroads. With a \$51 million boost of New Deal spending in 1933, the Corps remade the free-flowing river into a locked navigation staircase of 29 elongated lakes.

Because Anfinson never allows the minutia of engineering to cloud his political story, the analysis of the Corps is especially deft. Never do the engineers overwhelm the political process. In 1928, for example, Major Charles L. Hall of the Corps' Rock Island District criticized a popular plan to impound the river for barges. The criticism delayed but could not defeat the politics of barge navigation. Chained to its Congressional patrons, the Corps was eventually swayed.

*The River We Have Wrought* provides the clarity of historical context for a region sharply divided over the future of barge navigation. But the

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detailed reporting ends in 1940. To bring the story into the present would have required, the author laments in the introduction, “another book or two” (p. xix). Perhaps one day Anfinson will write the worthy sequel to this excellent book.

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