



BOOK REVIEWS

Geography and History. Bridging the Divide. ALAN R.H. BAKER. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, Pp. vii+227, maps, illustrations, diagrams, index. \$25.99 paper. ISBN 0521288851.

Historical geographer, Alan R.H. Baker, provides a comprehensive, interdisciplinary, and multinational approach to understanding the interrelationships of geography and history. He seeks to contribute “a common language in which [geographers and historians] can conduct meaningful dialogues” (p. 2). Baker approaches the task of providing a book-length treatment of the connections between geography and history from the perspectives of both disciplines as well as through the lenses of historical geography and geographical history. By exploring their “‘spaces of contact,’ he offers a framework for ‘bridging the divide’ between geography and history.”

Many geographers, historians, and historical geographers in particular already recognize and appreciate the connections and shared systems of meaning between the two fields. For this group, the book reinforces their perceptions with numerous examples of works that incorporate both geographic and historical methodologies and perspectives. This study will also “be of interest more generally both to historians seeking more knowledge and understanding of the ideas and practices of geographers and to geographers wishing to improve their knowledge and understanding of the ideas and practices of historians” (p. 2). It is perhaps, this group that lacks a clear understanding of the interconnectedness of history and geography, which serves as the primary target of this book. More specifically, Baker explains that he designed this book for advanced undergraduate or graduate students in both geography and history (p. xi).

Because Baker utilizes a basic structure (couched in geographic concepts) to illustrate the continuities between geography and history, this may be an effective approach for students of geography and history. He argues that the three major “discourses” in geography are location, environment, and landscape (p. 7). These three also overlap and regional geography is associated with their intersection and represents a fourth major tract of study in geography (p. 7; see Figure 1.2, p. 8). Each of these themes is taken in turn and serves as a focus for Chapters Two through Five. Baker explains that although these discourses are interconnected, they “serve as a useful framework for discussion of the nature of historical geography and of the relations of geography and history” (p. 8).

The strength of the book lies in the depth and breadth of the works cited and the variety of examples used in each of the primary chapters. Baker utilizes both qualitative and quantitative methods-based examples as well as both human and physical geography studies. He includes a broad range of sources from the “classic” works of Immanuel Wallerstein, Michael Foucault, Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, Edward Said, Carville Earle, Denis Cosgrove, Stephen Daniels, Donald

Meinig, Michael Conzen, and Carl Sauer (to name only a few) to contemporary studies, such as GIS and historical geography. He explains, "Although extensive, the references are specific to this book and do not compromise a general or comprehensive list of works on, and in, geography and history" (p. xiii). Despite this disclaimer, he includes a well-balanced selection of sources. Baker, does claim, however, to use "examples of 'best practice' in historical geography" (p. 8).

Baker's book is an excellent resource for graduate students, especially for those with an interest in historical geography or in understanding the connections between geography and history. On one hand, it is particularly useful as reference book because it does include an extensive overview of relevant works in the field. On the other hand, it is debatable whether this book would be suitable for senior undergraduate students. While this could be a great choice for a graduate seminar in historical geography or geographical history, it may be too advanced in some cases for an undergraduate course in historical geography.

Baker concludes by re-emphasizing that his perspective is shaped largely by his position as a historical geographer. It is important to note, however, that it is possible to practice historical geography without being explicitly or solely a historical geographer, hence the breadth of contributions from the variety of scholars that he included in this study. In the final pages of the book, Baker lays out seven principles of historical geography that can serve to "bring the relations of geography and history into sharper focus" (p. 209). Baker demonstrates thoroughly that historical geography, in particular, is well positioned to bridge the gap between geography and history.

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Five Billion Years of Global Change: A History of the Land. DENIS WOOD. New York: The Guilford Press, 2004, Pp. xv+335, index. \$19.95 paper. ISBN 157230958X.

I have done my share of reviewing but I do not remember seeing ever such a puzzling book. The puzzles start with the title. How can one have five billion years of global change when there was no planet five billion years ago? The author, of course, knows this as he moves from the Big Bang (*Pow!Bang!* as he has it) and cites, quite correctly, the period of 4.6-4.5 billion years ago as the time when the Earth was formed. And yet he insists on saying that "global change has been how change has taken ever since the Earth spun itself out of chaos. That was 5 billion years ago: 5 billion years of global change" (p. 5). To justify this by the fact that individual atoms of our planet are older than its existence does not work either, as they are older than 5 billion years. And the subtitle misleads no less: unless the noun is taken as a synonym for the Earth, the land has always been a minor part of the third planet.

The book's goal is straightforward—to take us on a long ride from the formation of the universe through the evolution of the biosphere to the emergence of our species and its transformation of the Earth's environment. Plenty of relevant information is passed along; there are numerous lists of names and dates of evolutionary milestones, eras, and capacities and brief explanations of many basic physical and life processes. But all of that is presented in a truly puzzling way, as a wordy (if not folksy) chatter with countless rhetorical questions, italics, and exclamation marks (there must be hundreds of them as only a few things in the book remain unexclaimed!).

I must do something I rarely do in my reviews, to quote liberally in order to transmit the book's peculiar flavor. "This book wants to be a history of the land" (p. vii). Why this contrived coyness? And soon we are told "Without the atoms though . . . *no book*, and without the Big Bang . . . *no atoms*" (p. viii). Profound or trite? And on the next page, "It all comes from the land." Except it obviously does not. And right after that comes a convoluted discourse why this book "could only have been written by me, and I could only have written it in Raleigh, in North Carolina." Chapter One (Missing the Global in the Local and the Local in the Global) tells us that you *can't* act locally, *only* globally because everything is hooked up, the world breathes with you. And this is just the first of many New Age thoughts (if I were the author I'd put !! at this point). As you proceed—Chapter Two: "The Idea of Prehistory Makes It Hard to Think about Global Change"; Chapter Three: "The Land (And This Book and You and Me) Is Made of Matter"—the book's puzzling style begins to wear you down.

I am all for individualistic, idiosyncratic writing that floats above stilted, prefabricated sentences that fill so many academic books, indeed I long to see more of it—but carrying the idiosyncrasies all the way to the language of cartoon bubbles (including the extra large size fonts, countless . . . and !!!) is a different story. Maybe your tastes are different, but I rapidly got tired of "Hmmm? Well, . . . Ohhhh . . . I get it! . . . It's awesome. . . *Arrggghhh!*" [sic!, including the italics] writing style. Why this stylistic choice? After all, beneath this cartoon-babble veneer this *is* a solid science book, albeit with some very peculiar interpretations of the standard evidence. The author *is* quite knowledgeable and he *has done* his homework. And he has a *great deal* to say on a huge range of topics, although some key biospheric realities are entirely and indefensibly absent. Perhaps the most unpardonable omission is to write, in 2004, about the evolution of the biosphere without referring even once to Archaea and talking just about bacteria: thanks to Woese's pioneering work we have known the two are not the same for more than two decades!

But the writing style definitely matters. I find it hard to appreciate this contrived stylistic edge and I do not see how the discussion of planetary evolution is enhanced by exclaiming "Yuh" and "Pinch yourself again." Nor do I think that anybody's understanding of global change is enhanced by a liberal sprinkling of such phrases as "*So much is going on!*" (p. 158), "Godamnit it's hard!" (p. 160), "The presentness of the present" (p. 221), "The way forward is not back" (p. 236), or by such profound observations as "But there is no prehistory. It's all one everlasting story" (p. 79), and "And we're just another life-form" (p. 185). This style is relentless and there is no escape. The last topical chapter (nine, and you

must love its title: “Humans Cover Themselves With The Land”) ends with this appraisal of the WWW (p. 214):

“Does this mean it’s alive?

The Net? I don’t know. It’s another structure jacked off other structures brought into being by the biosphere, another face of third-order unities. I guess it’s like soil. I guess if soil’s alive, there’s a sense in which the Net’s alive. I mean. . .

. . .It’s *all* alive.”

The final puzzle is a complete absence of any illustrations in the book that would so obviously benefit from their presence: if maps and graphs and images should not abound here then what topic is worth illustrating? This is even more inexplicable given the fact that between 1974 and 1996 the author was a Professor of Design at North Carolina State University and published *The Power of Maps*. But perhaps it is just me, an incorrigibly old-fashioned natural scientist who prefers clarity to the New Age emoting: pre-publication blurbers found the book dazzling, radical, and exhilarating. So may you. *Argghh!* Pow!!!

—Vaclav Smil

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The Natural History of Madagascar. STEVEN M. GOODMAN and JONATHAN P. BENSTEAD, eds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004, Pp. xxii + 1709, color plates, diagrams, maps, index. \$85.00 cloth. ISBN 0226303063.

This massive tome weighing 4.1 kg presents more information about the outsized island off East Africa called Madagascar than any previous volume under one cover. So many topics get attention that only the broad sections, not each chapter or author, can be listed here: history of scientific exploration, geology and soils, climate, forest ecology, human ecology, marine and coastal ecosystems, plants, invertebrates, fishes, amphibians, reptiles, birds, mammals, and conservation. Research generated on these subjects has greatly accelerated since the 1980s as concern has mounted for the survival of the island’s very special biological diversity. For the last eighty million years, the isolation of the island has resulted in the evolution of organisms different from other parts of the world. The best example of this principle is that of the lemurs, a primate group found only on Madagascar, that had radiated into thirty-three living species and at least fourteen extinct species.

The editors have mustered a small army of Madagascar specialists, many more foreigners than Malagasy but no longer dominated by the French, to contribute to this collective effort. What natural history—an evocative and still useful term that originated in the early eighteenth century—actually includes has always been a point of contention. If the American Museum of Natural History

embraced the world's peoples in their exhibits, research, and publications, the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris did not.

Human aspects of natural history in this volume cover archaeology but not ethnography, although the latter is much better known than the former. The island's prehistory going back 2,000 years has necessarily involved a lot of deduction, most notably the long-distance transfer of traits from the Indonesian archipelago and later East Africa to create a fusion culture. No new thinking on that diffusion gets into this book, nor are there solid discussions of tribal identities, materia medica, traditional crop species and varieties, or the history of cyclones. Presentation of the human use of biotic resources is hit or miss, so that, for example, virtually nothing about entomophagy, a traditional and still important source of island protein, penetrates the chapters on the insect world.

If the natural history system as perceived by rural Malagasy had been included in this book, eating insects would have warranted inclusion. How in that system folk taxonomy is structured, species evaluated, resources perceived, and deforestation understood has remained an imponderable of Madagascan natural history. Euro-American scientists and their local acolytes on the island have not just set the research agenda, they have also claimed stewardship rights over land and resources owned by others. Would Western-trained scientists be less eager to see themselves as self-appointed arbitrators if they had an ethnosciences understanding of Malagasy natural history? New insights and perhaps even a reassessment of conservation priorities might emerge if thinking about the forest and its organisms was not framed by Western conceptions.

Another impertinent interrogation is whether the biological natural history reported here as "scientific" is thus a "higher form of knowing." More than half of its chapters follow a Linnaean mode of organization ("ferns," "lemurs," etc.), but none has involved a systematic territorial inventory of the island. In that sense, its content is not any more "scientific" than that of historical geography, which does not normally proceed with a systematic screening of all the documents in a large archive. Authors are silent about exactly how these field data projects were conducted and what epistemic problems were associated with this kind of research. Devoid of hermeneutic reflection, these highly pasteurized accounts continue the fiction that the knowledge we produce is innocent reportage of the observable. If field biologists could explain the choices made, actions taken and disappointments incurred, readers could better assess the relativity of their interpretations.

About 150 pages deal with the content and management of protected areas as the way to preserve remaining forests and the biotic treasures they contain. Scientists who have devised conservation strategies have seen the rural people, not as an interdependent component of the ecosystem with their own livelihood requirements, but as intrusive and destructive elements. The theme of disappearing or fragile biota has encoded a host of assumptions that have not only become the script for conservationists, but also the basis of Madagascar's present development narrative. Its centerpiece has been the National Environmental Action Plan, in place since 1990, whose main goal to stop the anthropogenic deforestation that has endangered many endemic organisms, has, in fact, not been achieved. Burning the natural vegetation has remained as a critical survival strategy of rural Malagasy folk. Looked at with a cold detached eye, scientists have been the main

beneficiaries of the Plan. In the name of aiding economic progress under the largely ineffectual banner of conservation (“Green Island, Island of Development”), they can count on international funding to conduct more research to initiate or solidify their careers.

“Reading the book of nature” is more than the Euro-American field biology presented in this tome. If, however, one follows the assumptions of Western science, other criteria for judgments come into play. One is originality, which in this grand tome is somewhat compromised. More than a dozen chapters provide enough duplication with what had appeared earlier in the periodical literature to make the Madagascan specialist grumble at the redundancy. To the lacunae of content previously mentioned would have to be added the lack of any synthesis to bring all this detail into focus. The significance of the thousands of factoids in this book for the study of Madagascar, natural history, island biogeography and/or organic evolution awaits the astute synthesizer. Yet as a compendium of data conveniently and gracefully assembled between two stout covers, this book must be seen as an editorial and publishing achievement of the first order. Goodman and Benstead solicited the 249 manuscripts published, authored in full or part twenty of them, and translated several from French into English. They also set consistent expectations, chose excellent illustrations, and secured the necessary financial support from several foundations. *The Natural History of Madagascar* stands as the baseline of knowledge to gauge future advances in the study of biodiversity on the Grande-Ile. It will also serve as a vehicle for an intensification of international collaboration, help to boost the ecotourism business on the island, and provide a prime exhibit for the debate on conservation imperialism.

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Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium. DIRK HOERDER. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002. Pp. xiii+779, maps, figures, notes/references, bibliography, index. \$85 cloth. ISBN 0822328348.

One hesitates to use the word “definitive” in any review: we all strive to advance our scholarship. But definitive is the word that springs to mind upon completing Dirk Hoerder’s monumental and learned discourse on the complexity of human migrations in the last thousand years. It is, whatever the case, hard to imagine this work being superseded for a very long time. Although the book is described as being about “cultures in contact” it is, as much as anything else, about the traditional subjects of modern historical geopolitics: the emergence of the modern-state system, imperialism, the “new nationalism” and its bedfellow the “new imperialism,” decolonization, and the empowerment of subaltern elites and peoples. Hoerder briefly and usefully summarizes the six major approaches to migration in the current literature as well as new and developing research paradigms (pp. 8-15).

Hoerder, a professor of history at the University of Bremen with a long-standing interest in the migration of the German-speaking peoples, structures the book into five historical periods. He notes that “the *longue durée* approach to migration challenges traditional interpretations . . . migration was ubiquitous and ever-present” over the entire millennium (p. 8). The work is thus intrinsically if not specifically imbued with the ideals of world-system theory. Resident populations have interacted culturally with migrants, intermarried, or fought with them. Within a generation or so what was “foreign” about such migrants has usually become incorporated into host cultures revised by the process of interaction. A constant theme in all sections of the book is the central attracting force of towns and cities, in the first three periods not least because death rates were so much higher among such concentrations of people. Each period is elaborated upon at length in its own section in the text, periods one through three being treated in Parts I through III and periods four and five in Part IV. In each part the individual migration and demographic systems are treated as separate chapters.

The first period deals with “the multi-civilizational Mediterranean and Black Sea World of Latin and Byzantine Christendom, of Sunni and Shiite Islam, and of Jewish communities [which] included western Asia, southern Europe, and northern Africa” (p. 2). By the end of the period it had extended into the Indian sub-continent. This was a period characterized by considerable cultural interpenetration, a very weak state system, complex trade networks, and substantial mobility of both skilled labor and slaves. In this period “status rather than ethnicity defined a person” (p. 60). It began to end with the climatic changes and epidemiological disasters of the 1300s, and “the construction of Others in ethnic or [particularly] religious terms” (p. 3). The period was concluded with the emergence of “Europe” as a concept, the wholesale expulsion of the other in religious terms, especially from Latin Christianity, and the development of the modern state-system after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

The second period initially saw merchants and soldiers from the Western Mediterranean expanding out into the Atlantic basin and through the Indian Ocean as far as the South China Sea, the migrations we generally characterize as the European expansions and the creation of the European empires. The elaboration of the African slave system into what were really two rather separate systems, the pre-existing Islamic one and the new Atlantic one, was a major feature of this period’s migration. The voluntary component of these migrations quickly elaborated into a move by the land poor “to colonies of agrarian settlement in temperate climates,” which meant into the Atlantic basin, and by elites and their slaves to tropical territories that offered higher immediate returns on investment (p. 4). Numerous culturally complex peoples came into existence. In settler colonies indigenous peoples were usually extirpated or expelled. Perhaps the most significant consequence of these migrations was that the European worldview began to undergo a tectonic shift: “Europeans had to explain the existence of the peoples of the Americas, not mentioned in the Bible, the basic text of their worldview: either these creatures were not human, or the Bible was wrong” (p. 257).

The third period Hoerder describes as focused on “industrialization and concentration of production in the Atlantic core” (p. 5). Two events characterized the period: intense urbanization and the development of an integrated imperial

world order out of Europe's previous separate colonial systems. Agrarian slavery began to decline in the face of both moral revulsion in the metropolises and increasing mechanization that rendered forced labor less effective. A Pacific migration system developed to supplement the Atlantic one. Increasingly, however, what would count most in this period in the creation of the new urban proletariat and bourgeoisie was "performance, not humanitarian concerns or religious or cultural Otherness" (p. 297). In this regard the third period saw a harkening back to the migration principles of the first period.

In the fourth period, which occupied much of the first half of the twentieth century, the "new nationalism" forced cultural homogenization on pre-existing interdependent folk cultures. The construction of national identities based on some claim of "ethnicity" became a major defining force. The often disastrous results included wholesale refugee migrations to avoid ethnic or, later, political cleansing. Forced labor by ethnic or political minorities became a new form of slavery suited to the needs of rapidly industrializing or re-industrializing economies such as Stalin's Russia or Hitler's Germany. The accompanying "new imperialism" saw attempts to co-opt and acculturate local elites in non-settler colonies to the values of the metropolises. The political principles underlying migration needs began to shift toward the end of the period as "the military-statist reach of the northern hemisphere was replaced by domination strategies of transnational capitalism" (p. 443). These new strategies of "globalization" would mature in the fifth period.

In the fifth period, now well under way, subaltern elites themselves adopted the "new nationalism," colonial occupiers largely withdrew from non-settler colonies, often at gun-point, and the combination of reduced fertility rates, increasing labor demands, and the relaxation of nationalistic labor controls in favor of the needs of transnational capitalism in the core states has resulted in vast migrations to the metropolises from the old colonized regions. "Monochrome White societies" have been increasingly displaced in the metropolises by multicolored ones, despite local resistance by the "internationalized white-colored middle classes" that were emerging in the fourth period (p. 7). In effect the migration system has circled back to being more interested in performance as a criterion for successful migration, as it was in the first and third periods, than in the rejection of otherness that characterized the second and third periods.

This is a "liberal" work in all senses of a word much misused in current American discourse. It is liberal in the social sense of Hoerder's sympathy for the problems of "the Other." The work thus has an Orientalist sentiment perhaps unavoidable at this moment of scholarship, but one that interposes a layer of cultural and historical construction that in its own way academics need to eschew as much as our previous unexamined tendency to Eurocentrism. But, redeemingly, Hoerder's work is also liberal in the Mancunian sense, seeing migrants as conscious and rational actors pursuing free trade in labor and "an investment strategy meant to increase human and social capital for life-course projects" as well as avoiding religious, ethnic, or political cleansing (p. 574). And it is neo-liberal in a way that recognizes that the current forces of transnational capitalism, for all their faults, treat migrants better than religiously or ethnically constructed states that had clearly no interest in open labor systems. This is a work that one can,

without hesitation, recommend to every serious cultural and historical geographer, in particular those with interests in the relationship of demography and human migration to political geography. It is, quite literally, a work that belongs on one's bookshelf, to return to time and time again.

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Incoherent Empire. MICHAEL MANN. London: Verso, 2003. Pp. viii+278, index. \$25.00 cloth. ISBN 1859845827.

If we are to judge by the generation of written words alone—a narrow but nonetheless relevant verdict—then the horrific day now casually known as 9/11 has become a momentous geopolitical marker. Any attempt to track the resulting volumes currently crowding bookstore and library shelves, let alone an extraordinary number of shorter commentaries, quickly ends in exhaustion. I am not even referring to finer analyses of subsequent geopolitical practices, from the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq to the enactment of the USA PATRIOT Act, but just to the many meta-explanations of how the human world itself shifted in the broadest sense as a consequence of terrorist acts in American air space.

It is such abstract commentary that attracts the word “empire,” and it is incontestable that this loaded term has multiplied through the ranks of academics, pundits, and, most importantly, many of the world's citizens in the last three years. Why empire, and specifically an American Empire, is on many lips is a difficult question prompting easy answers. Equally interesting is the recognition that discussions of this latest imperialism typically adopt, in the language of international relations, either a realist or idealist tone—a rather blunt rebuttal to the poststructuralist aspirations of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's (2000) *Empire*, a book concerned with a very different but not entirely unrelated form of global order, and a tome whose publication year of 2000 unfortunately renders it dated. Their tellingly entitled follow-up, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (2004), has just been published.

Among the coterie of writers who have emerged to challenge the brazen actions of American President George W. Bush and his allies, Michael Mann is certainly one of the most qualified, at least in a sense that will resonate with historical geographers. Two volumes of his far-reaching study of *The Sources of Social Power* are mandatory reading for those interested in the grand sociological structures of the past, and a third, addressing the period from 1914 to the present, is underway. From its notes, *Incoherent Empire* appears to be but one of several projects, all individually ambitious, which Mann is publishing before completing the *Social Power* trilogy. With *Incoherent Empire*, however, he is aiming to create a splash in the largest pond, in the shape of a hastily composed warning with no defined target audience beyond informed and inquisitive minds. And in

releasing this literary invitation he has run up against a swath of competitors vying for a roughly similar readership.

We are told, in the brief Preface, that Mann was “stirred by current events and my own dual British/American citizenship” to turn his attention from the history of human power to wander outside the “groves of academe” and draft a tome, “at breakneck speed,” on a subject so fresh that it will inevitably appear incomplete (p. vii). (Speed of composition does not excuse spelling errors, partial citations, and overly casual name references, such as the incomplete “Senator Lugar” [p. 36].) Disinclined to relinquish a scholarly mantle, Mann claims that his book is not a moral treatise but an analysis. Yet notwithstanding their distinct rhetorical channels the two are tough to separate. Composed out of anger and frustration, *Incoherent Empire* is littered with expressions of incredulity, often in the form of colloquial asides ending in exclamation points. These are hardly the signs of cool reasoning, and while not excessively troubling, they signal an impatience that threatens to mire the book between a polemic and a more cautious unwrapping of evidence. Works successfully straddling these approaches, especially those lacking much historical perspective, are rare indeed.

Since 9/11, the administration of “Bush the Younger,” as Mann cheekily calls him, has embraced a “unilateralist and militarist vision of how to overcome world disorder” (p. 2). Threats to American security, in the form of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, will be addressed alone, if necessary, and by prioritizing force. Although such posturing is necessarily complicated in the realm of geopolitical practice, as isolated discourse it is not particularly contentious, in the sense that both critics and advocates appear to agree on its outlines. More disputable are the connections between diverse policies, and whether these policies have been deliberately combined in the name of a resurgent imperialism. Mann’s answer begins with a recitation of statements and backgrounds of key Bush officials—an attempt to define the neo-conservative worldview. Again, we might quibble with some of Mann’s minor assertions, such as the claim that Bush “reveals in his reputation abroad” (p. 4), but there is little new in this collective biography. Mann is more incisive in his ridiculing of Bush’s “uncertain grasp of geography” (p. 5), a presidential map of terror cobbling disparate organizations and landscapes into a singular, paranoia-inducing hazard.

With universal danger comes universal responsibility. And while the Cold War provided many opportunities for American influence and interference abroad, Mann argues that this “more or less normal” militarism, backed by a “mainly pragmatic and defensive notion of military power” (p. 7), has been superseded by an offensive posture more reminiscent of past imperial civilizing missions, in the sense that physical territory is again ground for colonization, if only temporarily. The suspicious election of George W. Bush, followed by the selection of his staff and then the horrific events of 9/11, were the three triggers enabling this new imperialism, which, Mann argues forcefully, is not grandiose, but only a “much simpler and much nastier” new militarism (p. 9). This is a crucial point, since for Robert Kagan, Niall Ferguson, and other conservatives, it is indisputable that the United States *can* wield imperial power—it is only a matter of whether the nation will rise to responsibility. Indeed, from the left, right, and center, all seem to

agree that we live in an era of American Empire—the only disagreement is over how this “burden” should be shouldered. For representative examples, see Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (2003) and Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of America’s Empire* (2004). For the left, the standard reference is Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America’s Quest for Global Dominance* (2003). A more unpredictable work is Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U. S. Diplomacy* (2002). As I have suggested, many more books could be added to this list.

All concur except Mann, at least as he portrays it. Whether correct or not, he certainly seeks to deflate imperial pretensions by exposing American power as surprisingly limited, and by hewing to a determined pragmatism. The new imperialists fail, he argues, to comprehend America’s “extremely uneven power resources” (p. 13). Drawing from categories developed in *The Sources of Social Power*, Mann divides these resources into four types: military, political, economic and ideological. Laid bare, as a result of this division, is an incoherent foreign policy, tilted uneasily toward military might, but also weakened by the limitations of global economics, political vacillation, and contradictions between democratic and imperial principles. Drawing from the work of Chalmers Johnson, who has written a more comprehensive recent guide to the organization and geography of American militarism (*The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic*, 2004), Mann notes that the “disturbed, misshapen monster stumbling clumsily across the world” (p. 13) is liable to generate further “blowback” in the form of additional terrorism, malcontented rogue states, and restless allies. In this regard, one might also see also Chalmer’s rather prophetic book *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (2000). As American leaders reach desperately for “the one power they do possess in abundance—offensive military devastation” (p. 16), their broader imperial quest will crumble.

Over the remainder of the book, Mann anatomizes his monster, first by fleshing out each of the four forms of power, and then in four chapters devoted to Afghanistan, the global search for Muslim terrorists, confrontations with rogue states (especially North Korea), and, finally, Iraq. While none of his chapters is singularly superb, each is dotted with astute observations, and together they add up to a conclusive condemnation of American imperial ambitions. Mann begins by acknowledging the extraordinary strength of the American military, the first army “deployable over the whole world” (p.20), and yet one that still suffers from older problems of relations with its foreign subjects, relations where the awesome technology at the Pentagon’s command has little influence. These frustrations are compounded by America’s incomplete grip on both global markets and the elusive capitalist “confidence” (p. 51) running them. Even when the United States can act decisively through economic policy, as in the provision of benefits through aid or loans, military goals, Mann argues, remain predominant. Neo-liberal economic doctrine, moreover, “is biased toward the interests of the U.S., the North and the world’s wealthy classes” (p. 75). While this is an unremarkable charge from the left, Mann should be commended for signaling that many “generous” impulses in American foreign policy are negated by military priorities.

Further challenges to the Empire exist in the political realm, where lingering multilateral options, the predicament of forcing effective regime change, and

reluctant allies all sap American strength. And at home and even more so abroad, the American dream of freedom “dances in front of people’s eyes, but when they advance toward it, it flickers, recedes and disappears,” replaced and “contradicted by an imperialism which is strong on military offense, but weak on the ability to bring order, peace and democracy afterwards.” More broadly, whether couched in democratic or more limited ethno-nationalist terms, “the world’s dominant ideologies, carried through the mass media, contradict *any* imperialism” (p. 120). This, Mann points out, means that compared to imperialists of the past, whether Roman or British, much higher standards hold for today’s emulators. The ultimate evidence for this, certainly, lies in Iraq, and although the book ends roughly at the instantiation of the American occupation, Mann recognizes that while the United States might have the military force to conquer the country, it possesses few additional resources in the region, at least those pebbling a path to meaningful democracy and self-determination.

The second half of *Incoherent Empire* amounts to a narrative history of American foreign policy from 2001 to 2003. Mann has little time for those politicians who fail to distinguish between types and orders of terrorism—the same leaders who deploy a useless language of good and evil. Yet his tour through the geography of terrorism is rudimentary, and all sense of a conceptual framework, and even mention of empire itself, is muted in the final hundred pages. Mann’s sober realism is also oddly synchronous with the pronouncements he disdains—it is as if he offers up a more accurate version of the truth. What is lost, though, is any meaningful engagement with geopolitics, histories of imperialism, or with the deeper structures of power not encompassed by journalistic commentary. With reference to North Korea, Mann suggests that Americans “forget good against evil, introduce a little pragmatism, and play baseball with them” (p. 204). While this may well be a step beyond the confused approach taken by the Bush administration, it is not much of a step.

For Michael Mann, the United States “is going against the tide of history,” and the new American militarism will only birth “more resistance, more violence, more devastation” (p. 262). It is not so much the accuracy of this statement as its presumptions that concern me. For he is not only saying that claims to an American Empire stand on shaky ground, but that any pretense to a *benevolent* American Empire is particularly misguided. The implications here are momentous, and yet Mann does not develop the historical comparisons necessary to vindicate earlier empires that might have been benevolent, or even coherent, however improbable this might seem. Does it matter whether the United States rules an Empire, then? Perhaps if by invoking imperial power you can contribute to an understanding of the workings—and the flaws—of American foreign policy. Mann’s four-part schema does move us some distance towards this goal. But it is significant that better explorations of American Empire’s crucial historical trajectory and its conceptual dynamics, respectively, can be found in recent books written by the geographers Neil Smith (*American Empire: Roosevelt’s Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization*, 2003) and Derek Gregory (*The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq*, 2004). In concluding that Mann’s comprehensive but thin denunciation of the war on terrorism deserves widespread consideration, I also hope that these two more thorough and suggestive works will attract

even more readers, and encourage geographers with historical leanings to further consider the spatial dimensions of militarism.

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Anarchy, Geography, Modernity: The Radical Social Thought of Elisée Reclus. JOHN P. CLARK and CAMILLE MARTIN, eds. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004. Pp. xii + 271, index. \$70.00 cloth. ISBN 0739108050.

“Anarchist geography” has a nice, contemporary—almost post-modern—ring to it, conjuring images of fluid, shifting borders and underground environmental movements. Unless you’re an ardent student of Kropotkin and Bakunin, though, the phrase in question has probably not rolled off your tongue with great frequency. Many scholars do of course know the anarchist geographers quite well as historical figures, but most historical geography these days is anything but anarchic. As the French geographer Yves Lacoste has lamented, most of his colleagues, together with their cousins the historians of science, generally seem content to trace technical developments and produce dry intellectual genealogies, without ever putting their work in a broader social context; they are hampered by the “central epistemological problem of academic geography: the exclusion of the political” (p. 21).

John P. Clark and Camille Martin, in their welcome new study of the French anarchist geographer Elisée Reclus (1830–1905), position themselves in direct opposition to this academic tendency. Maintaining an appropriately scholarly style, marked by deep background knowledge, nuanced argument, and careful qualifications, Clark and Martin nevertheless reveal a passionate love for their subject and adopt a stance of political engagement that they hope does justice to Reclus’ own commitments. This timely book is explicitly intended for scholar-activists “who are able to envision a free, just, and compassionate world, and who, like Reclus, dedicate their lives to creating such a world” (p. v).

Though there are already two serviceable biographies of Reclus, by Gary Dunbar’s *Elisée Reclus: Historian of Nature* (1978) and Marie Fleming’s *The Geography of Freedom* (1988), Clark and Martin provide the first extended analysis of Reclus’ social and political radicalism, and they also translate and reprint more than 100 pages worth of Reclus’ most relevant writings. These brief tracts, each one surprising and energetic, explore topics ranging from urbanization and deforestation to utopian communes and vegetarianism, and Clark and Martin manage to be just as broad-minded and interdisciplinary as Reclus in their analysis of his significance. This book deserves an audience not just of geographers but also of historians, critical theorists, and environmentalists.

Reclus’ brand of anarchist geography, as Clark and Martin point out, is perhaps best understood as a kind of precursor to what we now know as social ecology. His critiques of the state, colonialism, patriarchy, and the destructive extrac-

tion of natural resources, all point to his central concern with domination and hierarchy both in human relations and in humanity's relationship with the world. Discussing rural-urban migration, for instance, Reclus offered a clear-headed causal analysis delivered in a burst of sarcasm: "How pleasant are the words of the moralistic landowners who advise the country people to remain attached to the land, while by their actions they uproot those very peasants and create for them the living conditions that compel them to flee toward the city.... Who clear-cut the forests and the moors, depriving the peasant of the fuel he needed?" (p. 180)

In the current academic climate, it takes courage to paint a glowing portrait of a white, male, European scientist. But many of Reclus' writings—especially his two magna opera, the *The Earth and Its Inhabitants: The Universal Geography* (19 vols.) (1876-94) and *L'Homme et la Terre* (6 vols.) (1905-08)—would be considered radical even in the 21st century. Perhaps most remarkably, Reclus bolstered his polemics by laying out a positive social program that comprised mutual aid, workers' and women's rights, and a kind of cosmic ecological solidarity. While so many other social theorists of his day ultimately embraced a somewhat self-serving Progressivism, Reclus located humanity's greatest potential not among enlightened, philanthropic elites but among "the weak and the downtrodden" themselves: the workers who paralyzed entire cities by calling general strikes, the poachers who resisted the cordoning off of what used to be common land, the prostitutes who rose up "to protest the abominable treatment to which they have been subjected" (pp. 209-10). And he always linked his fight against racism, capitalism, and sexism to the farther-reaching goals of "seeing the interconnection of things" and effecting the "complete union of Man with Nature" (pp. 16 and 30). Moreover, this sense of global cohesion derived not from some naïve belief in environmental harmony but from a commitment to reconcile individual freedoms and common interests—to construct a society, as Clark and Martin put it, that would mirror the world's "complex balance of order and disorder" (p. 23).

Clark and Martin's enthusiasm for Reclus is well placed, in other words, and he truly was an exceptional figure in the history of geographical and social thought. But *Anarchy, Geography, Modernity* may slightly overstate his uniqueness and originality. It seems particularly strange that Clark and Martin never mention the career of the man who served as the clearest role model for Reclus, both scientifically and politically: Alexander von Humboldt. Indeed, one of Reclus' pet phrases, "unity in diversity," was plucked directly from Humboldt's *Cosmos*. When environmental historians like William Cronon posit a dialectical relationship between humanity and nature and when social ecologists like Murray Bookchin insist that clear-cutting and desertification and pollution in low-income areas are all connected to social exploitation, they are drawing not just on Reclus' work but on a tradition that dates back to Humboldt and the early nineteenth century.

Additional exaggeration creeps into the editors' argument that Reclus' anarchist geography "effectively disappeared from mainstream social thought early in the century and did not re-emerge significantly until well into the 1970s" (pp. 19-20). Like Humboldt, Reclus did go from being an immensely popular scientist to being a barely remembered fringe radical, but the broad legacies of both men can be seen clearly in the work of people like Franz Boas, Lewis Mumford, and Carey McWilliams. Still, Clark and Martin are absolutely justified in their

contention that Reclus merits a much more prominent place in our collective memory and our intellectual culture. It is almost eerie how accurately Reclus identified the aspects of modernity that would continue to plague western society. To take just one example, his 99-year-old essay deconstructing “The Modern State” provides a powerful and apt commentary on the 2004 U.S. presidential election. “It is certainly not the most honest of the candidates,” Reclus wrote, in 1905, “who has the best chance of winning . . . The winner may owe his success to a certain provincial popularity, his good-natured qualities, his oratorical skills, or his organizational talents.” Or, in certain political climates, the key to a given candidate’s victory might turn out to be, quite simply, the level of “terror that he can inspire” (p. 208).

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Historical Atlas of Islam. MALISE RUTHVEN with AZIM NANJLI. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004, Pp. 208, maps, color plates, chronology, glossary, acknowledgments, map list, index. \$35.00 cloth. ISBN 0674013859.

This engaging volume of short essays, maps, and color images encompasses a wide range of events and topics relevant to the history of Islam, from the political geography of the Middle East in late antiquity through the capture of the former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein by the United States military in December 2003. By including events of the early 21st century, including “World Terrorism 2003” and “Democracy, Censorship, Human Rights, and Civil Society,” it has a currency unique among historical atlases of Islam. By tracing the diaspora of “Muslims in Western Europe” and “Muslims in North America,” along with associated phenomena of “Muslim Cinema” and “Mosques and Places of Worship in North America,” it achieves broad cultural and geographic scope. Its essays communicate complex historical processes in a clear, well-informed style. Priced at thirty-five dollars, it will be affordable for college courses and general use.

This *Historical Atlas of Islam* has limitations, however, both in its internal organization and cartographic content, and in its disconnection from related historical geographic and cartographic scholarship. Although the “Introduction” succeeds in linking the violence of September 11th, 2001 with deeper questions about historical and cultural relations among Islamic cultures and between Islam and other cultures of the world, it offers little introduction to the overall scope, context, and logic of the atlas. Acknowledgements on p. 204 offer some hints about the production of the volume. They concentrate on authorship of the text followed by sources of images and a listing of staff with Cartographica Limited, which holds the copyright for the volume. However, the intended connections between maps, images, and text remain ambiguous. The subjects of the text and maps are generally well coordinated with one another, but the essays do not comment upon the maps, and the maps vary in their depiction of the text. This

arrangement works reasonably well in this volume when the maps display historic paths and events (such as migration, trade, and battles), but less well when representing areal differentiation and regional environmental phenomena. The introductory section on a “Geophysical Map of the Muslim World,” for example, offers a two-page sketch of human-environment relations illustrated by a general elevation map with rough symbols for an “arid zone” and “northern and southern forest zones.”

Organized in sixty-four separate sections that range from one to four pages in length the atlas lacks a clearly defined structure. Some early entries span a millennium, extending into the modern era, while later entries return to the early centuries of Islamic history or to regional developments. Toward the middle of the volume, for example, an entry on “The Muslim World under Colonial Domination, c. 1920” is followed by one on the “Balkans, Cyprus and Crete 1500-2000,” followed by “Muslim Minorities in China,” returning to “The Levant 1500-2000.” A series of thematic essays proceeds from the Hajj to cities, oil, water resources, and the arms trade, followed by a regional profile of Southeast Asia in the late-twentieth century.

Each of these entries contains thoughtful, informative content, so the atlas should be appreciated more as a stimulating collection of themes than as a systematic geographic project. Relevant geographic and cartographic works do not appear in the section on “Further Reading,” which concentrates instead on historical scholarship. This section could have drawn the reader’s attention to earlier historical atlases of Islam by Brice, Kennedy, and others; as well as to Harley and Woodward’s landmark *History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); and more specialized regional historical atlases such as Habib’s *Atlas of the Mughal Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

In summary, this volume succeeds more as an early twenty-first-century illustrated cultural perspective on the history of Islam than as an historical atlas. It comments thoughtfully about contemporary cultural concerns up through “Modern Movements, Organizations, and Influences,” and their complex historical sources; and it retraces long-term historical processes in succinct, engaging ways. This broad perspective, along with its rich color imagery and affordable pricing, make this book a good choice as a supplemental text for college courses as well as for general use.

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The Spacious World. Cartography, Literature and Empire in Early Modern Spain. RICARDO PADRON, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004, Pp. xv+287, illustrations, maps, index. \$35.00 cloth. ISBN 0226644332.

Cartography was pivotal to both the establishment and comprehension of the Iberian empire. Mapping represented one of the first steps in territorial ap-

appropriation, yet also made visible those regions of the world beyond the so-called "sea of shadows" that previously had been the subject of fantasy and myth. A number of recent publications have focused on the relationship between maps and imperialism (these include: Edney's (1997) *Mapping An Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843*) and for mapping the different regions of the Spanish Empire see Mundy's (1998) *The Mapping of New Spain. Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* and Kagan and Marias' (2000) *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793*). Maps *per se* provide the central focus in those studies. In *The Spacious World*, in contrast, Ricardo Padrón deftly illustrates how, as examples of "meta-geographies" of European culture, written texts can also incorporate an important cartographic dimension. Adopting broad definitions of "mapping" and "cartography" (p. 26), Padrón demonstrates how a series of classic historical narratives of Spanish explorations of the Americas "mapped" the regions upon which their accounts were based. He uses these texts to examine contemporary developments in European cartographic method and changing conceptualizations of space, but in so doing, offers an original insight into the relationship between fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spanish ideas of the world and the origins of European colonialism.

Padrón contextualizes his work using O'Gorman's studies concerning the "invention of America." O'Gorman's (1951) *La Idea de Descubrimiento de América* and his (1986) *La Invención de América* look at America as concept. Yet he focuses less on the way in which selected cartographic narratives helped produce America, and instead considers "the resources that the Europeans had at their disposal for the job" (p. 29). Thus, while O'Gorman focused on the way in which American identity was effectively lost and thence created on the basis of European expectations, Padrón is more concerned with the changes that were taking place in how Europe, and Spain in particular, imagined space and constructed maps.

Situating his thesis within an elegantly articulated historiographical evaluation of the traditions of map making in Europe in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Padrón also highlights other points of departure from O'Gorman's thesis. The shift from the mythological, theological, and historical imagery typified by the Medieval *mappaemundi* to the more empirically and scientifically grounded reality of the Ptolomaic or gridded maps, that of Waldseemüller in particular, around the turn of the sixteenth century was, for Padrón, the critical development that allowed the *orbis terrarum* to be visualized. It was the geometric rationalization of space made possible through the gridded map, sooner than the "invention" of the Americas, that effectively broke the "oceanic barrier that had circumscribed the Medieval world" and so provided the Europeans with a "powerful cartography" (p. 39). Spaces or blanks on maps were effectively transformed into "positive emptiness" (p. 35), areas still to be explored and appropriated.

Notwithstanding such advances in mapping "technology" and changes in the way space was interpreted, Padrón demonstrates how "professional" Ptolomaic maps remained "a cartographic ideal rather than an achievable reality" (p. 71), even up to the close of the sixteenth century. He reveals the reluctance to assimilate novel cartographic method and conceptualizations of geometric space into the visualization of the Americas. Indeed, he demonstrates how older inherited ideas of "linear" space, manifest in "amateur" itinerary ("way-finding") maps,

and medieval navigational or “Portolan” (chart) maps appear to have prevailed, not least because skilled cartographic technicians capable of producing gridded maps represented an elitist and minority group throughout the sixteenth century. Yet Padrón also explores the coincidence and convergence of old and new conceptualizations of space, the “Janus-like” hybridization of space, through Enciso’s *Suma de Geografía*.

Chapters Three to Five elaborate on these themes and provide detailed analyses of a series of carefully selected discursive cartographies charting Spain’s attempt to write about and visualize the Americas. Padrón uses these texts to illustrate changes in the way Spain imagined her empire and to chart developments in cartographic approach. He begins with an evaluation of Cortes’ *Second Letter from Mexico* as an example of “cartographic historiography” (p. 92) and to illustrate the retention of traditional, predominantly linear spatialities, which served to map Mesoamerica into an imperial—if “invented”—space. The author then turns his attention to a comparative analysis of the cartographic narratives of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Francisco López de Gómara and Bartolomé de Las Casas. The prose cartographies in Oviedo’s *Historia General y Natural de las Indias* and Gómara’s *Historia General de las Indias*, like Enciso’s *Suma*, are singled out as representative of the hybrid spatiality alluded to earlier in the book. Gómara’s *Historia General* is highlighted as an attempt to map the Americas as a whole into European consciousness, while affording insight into the gradual transition from medieval to more “modern” conceptualizations of space. Las Casas’ texts, the *Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias* and the *Apologetica Historia Sumaria* are presented as “foils” to Gómara’s works and as a counter to imperialistic cartographic histories. The penultimate chapter, in contrast, provides an examination of Alonso de Ercilla y Zuñiga’s epic poem, “La Araucana”—“one of the most important watersheds in the constitution of Spain’s identity as an imperial power” (p. 185). This story of rebellion and resistance in southern Chile, Padrón suggests, exemplifies a “counter cartography of imperial desire,” a cartographic narrative, representative of a “mingling” of old, linear, and more modern conceptualizations of space, but one that focuses specifically on the “local” as opposed to the imperial power and that candidly condemns Spanish cruelty.

Set in a context whereby “real cartography” was a preserve of a minority, Padrón eloquently demonstrates the role these and many other diverse forms of Hispanic cartographic literature discussed throughout the book may have played in informing changes in the conceptualization and imagination of space and nationhood in imperial Spain. Rich in biographical detail and historical context for the narratives he considers, the book represents an original, skillfully created, and beautifully illustrated contribution to studies of historical cartography and empire.

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A Pest in the Land: New World Epidemics in a Global Perspective. SUZANNE AUSTIN ALCHON. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. Pp. ix + 214, maps, illustrations, tables, index. \$24.95 paper. ISBN 0826328717.

With this slim volume, Alchon simultaneously re-kindles the on-again off-again debates that swirl around the causes of the Amerindian population collapse and attempts a grand synthesis of the topic seeking to address a number of overarching themes. She makes three main arguments. First, that Amerindians reacted to the insults of introduced contagious disease in much the same way other peoples have—she argues strongly against what she believes is a “widely held notion of New World exceptionalism” (p. 2). Second, she contends that the Americas were not a “New World paradise, free of disease, hunger, and violence, until germ-laden, rapacious Europeans began arriving on American shores in 1492” (p. 2). Third, and this is her main thrust, she argues that it is “the phenomena of European colonialism as conceived and implemented by the four main nations with the most extensive New World colonies—Spain, Portugal, France, and England—that explains the delayed or failed recovery of indigenous American populations” (p. 3). This argument grows out of her belief that because scholarship ignored the role of introduced contagious disease in the colonial history of Amerindian populations for so long, the more recent trends of scholarship “. . . over-emphasize the long-term impact of disease and minimize the impact of other aspects of European colonialism” (p. 5). Moreover, she argues that “while it may not be the intention of these authors to do so, this emphasis on disease leaves readers with the distinct impression that other factors such as violence, slavery, and migration were not major contributing factors to the demographic decline of native American populations.” The book has five broad chapters addressing these topics: “Old World Epidemiology to 1500”; “Amerindians and Disease before 1492”; “Colonialism, Disease, and the Spanish Conquest of the Caribbean, Mesoamerica, and the Central Andes”; “Colonialism and Disease in Brazil and North America”; and “New World Epidemics and European Colonialism.” There also is a short epilogue and a useful appendix with a review of the myriad estimates of the number of pre-conquest Amerindians.

In her first chapter, Alchon devotes twenty-five pages to the sweeping topic of Old World epidemiology prior to 1500. This treatment argues for the universal nature of human responses to diseases by briefly reviewing the origins, history, and significance of human disease in the Old World. Here Alchon notes examples of the often frequent and sometimes virulent outbreaks of contagious disease in the Old World that, by 1500, made most of the Old World a unified disease environment—as opposed to the epidemiological isolation of the New World.

In her second chapter, the author seeks to debunk those who view the pre-European Conquest Americas as a “paradise.” This reviewer agrees with Alchon’s main arguments here, that pre-Columbian Amerindians died from infectious disease, famine, and nutritional problems, and violence to much the same degree as contemporaneous peoples all over the globe. This is not a new observation, but is well articulated here.

The evidence for the book's main argument is found in Chapters Three and Four covering the conquest and epidemiological experience of the colonial-era Amerindians. In these chapters, she outlines the impacts of colonial policies and practices, notes disease histories, and speculates on disease identities and mortality rates for particularly important epidemics. This is appropriately organized by broad geographic regions since the timing and impacts of the various colonial enterprises varied geographically and according to the European colonizing power.

Alchon addresses the main thesis of the book in her last chapter where she points out the tragic impacts of colonial military conquests, slavery and other forced labor, forced relocation, and agricultural disruption. Here she argues that “. . . while epidemic disease accounts for much of that demographic decline, other factors specific to the phenomena of European colonialism, also played a significant role . . . and it was European colonialism . . . that differentiated the demographic experience of native American populations from that of populations of the Old World” (p. 144). That the colonial powers' crimes were huge and partly culpable in the Amerindian holocaust is virtually universally accepted—what is debatable, however, is that European colonialism has been given too small a role in the interpretation of the collapse or that European colonialism in the Americas was somehow vastly different than elsewhere. These claims seem more a matter of opinion than of empirical evidence.

In the appendix, Alchon reviews the politics, debates, and methods of pre-Columbian population estimation. She reviews the various estimates regionally (for North America, Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, the Andes, and lowland South America) and examines the hemispheric total estimates as well. While she does not make any independent estimates, her preferred estimates are similar to Denevan's 1992 well-known and well-regarded estimates (*The Native Populations of the Americas in 1492, Second Edition*).

There is much to recommend in this book. The author's synthetic and wide-ranging approach is a helpful and welcome addition to the ongoing discussion of this important topic. The general educated public (probably the author's target audience) will find the book to be very well written, well organized, and engaging. It would serve as excellent adjunct reading in an undergraduate course on American historical geography (especially Latin American). That said, the very boldness of her purpose makes the reader more aware of the difficulty in satisfying the rather large aims of the book in fewer than 150 pages (not counting the demographic appendix). While not the intended audience of the book, specialist readers may find themselves questioning details or interpretations and especially requesting more depth of argument and evidence. In many places, critical arguments need elaboration and this reviewer would have loved to see Alchon offer expanded treatments. Even though Alchon argues (in part) against a disease-based account of the Amerindian population collapse, a large fraction of the book deals with disease issues and a new edition would benefit from more nuanced explanations in matters of contagious disease epidemiology and etiology, the complex issues of immunity, the specifics of particular diseases, incorporation of key recent historical epidemiological literature, and more accurate treatment of the connections between colonial policies and practices and agriculture.

Expanded treatment of these would have made her already interesting and valuable book more robust.

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Igniting the Caribbean's Past: Fire in British West Indian History. BONHAM C. RICHARDSON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004, Pp. xvi+233, map, illus., bibliog., index. \$59.95 cloth. ISBN 0807828548.

This book, written by an eminent Caribbean specialist, is a refreshing model of inquiry in historical geography. In *Igniting the Caribbean's Past*, Bonham C. Richardson uses fire both as a focal point for exploring human-environment relations, and as an entry into the spatial and temporal milieu of the Lesser Antilles. As a notable Caribbean scholar, the author is well-versed in the geographic and historical circumstances of the region. Yet, rather than offering up the traditional broad-brushed and sweeping view, he has carefully chosen to limit his perspective, for several reasons. Because he believes that fire is not merely as significant a natural hazard as hurricanes or volcanoes in the Caribbean, but has literally helped define the region's ecological and social development, Richardson intentionally uses fire as a thematic "window" to elucidate the intriguing human geography of these islands during the late-nineteenth century. We learn of such diverse topics as plantation agriculture, or housing conditions in both urban and rural landscapes, and patterns of inter-island migration, which collectively set the stage for comprehending the drama being enacted by human use of fire. Most of these topics effectively activate what the author has termed "relevant digressions . . . intended to augment a fuller understanding of fire's role in British Caribbean history" (p. 3). At various points throughout the book, however, these digressions can take on a life of their own, and their centrifugal force transports the reader a distracting distance away from the central theme.

Richardson has conducted exhaustive archival research, and by purposefully concentrating on fire accounts, which typically retain the quality of spontaneity, his particular focus conveys a sense of proximate immediacy when relating descriptions of local conditions. He likewise offers this approach as an attempt to "exemplify or to fit in with the recent academic thinking that tries to remedy or offset the structuredness of colonial history and the partial truths often contained in conventional archival records" (p. 5). We are reminded that history is not the dreary litany of government officials administering to a certain location, but represents the sum total of what has happened to common people on a daily basis; likewise geography provides the multi-scalar spatial context for all these vernacular events. The Caribbean has been one area in the world where the environment emphatically was, and continues to be, socially constructed, a condition that naturally lends itself to what Richardson feels is the currently vogue perspective of political ecology. He also stresses a coherent regional view of British colonial

possessions comprising the chain of islands stretching from Trinidad and Tobago northward to Barbuda, rather than examining individual insular outposts in isolation: "such an approach carries with it the virtue of portraying the broad and fluid regional habitation spaces in which real people lived, not the spatially delimited single-island colonies that proved so convenient for colonial record keepers" (p. 9). Perhaps following from that, the book's only map is a small rendition of an historical chart demarcating these British colonies in the Lesser Antilles.

Several scholars have investigated the cultural context of fire, foremost among them Stephen J. Pyne, who has written a number of important books regarding the topic. Intentionally set fires are by far the most significant aspect of anthropogenic flame, and those who have studied the human use of fire know that arson and incendiarism are often perceived as a powerful external combustion engine driving social change. While Richardson certainly discusses fire-setting activities on these islands, much more of the book involves accidental fires, especially in urban areas, along with beneficial uses of fire, and social response to fire danger and threat. Following a pair of very well-executed introductory chapters that set the tone and provide requisite historical-geographical background for the study, the book is then organized topically into a sequence of chapters that explore manifold dimensions of fire and fire-prevention measures: "Fires in Towns and Cities," "Forestry and Bush Fires," "Sugarcane Fires" (one of the more interesting sections), and "Fire and Water," perhaps the most digressive of all. In the penultimate chapter, "Fires of Protest," Richardson finally is able to document how much of the population's anger, hence incendiary activity, was ignited by the "repressive social atmosphere of the British Caribbean in the late 1800s, where black working classes only two generations removed from slavery were ruled by a tiny minority of white planters and a cadre of white officials representing the London colonial office" (p. 2).

When he allows himself to be, Richardson is a consummate wordsmith, able to delight as well as inform. His language can be rich, his descriptions vivid, his analyses sound and to the point. There is an energized flow to the writing that makes the book very readable and the complex ideas more comprehensible. Expressions of playful prose and puns are welcome rhetorical devices, such as the diminished visitations of British warships to island ports constituting "only a token and *fleeting* presence in West Indian waters of what had very recently been an enduring and formidable seaborne display of military might by the mother country"; or when members of an American Navy band from a ship visiting Trinidad "would be *instrumental* in helping to combat the enormous city fire in the center of Port of Spain" (both p. 12, italics added). Richardson is at his best when calibrating the lives and the livelihoods of agrarian commoners, in nearly all cases the descendants of African slaves, against the overarching historical patterns and geopolitical circumstances of the region. He is somewhat less effective when laboriously delving into details such as grades of kerosene or levels of insurance coverage.

The volume is impeccably published in both cloth and paper versions, set in a highly legible typeface (Cochin), and has been carefully edited. Indeed, I could not find a single typographical error. The cover is attractively designed, and makes striking use of a snapshot, taken by the author and appearing as a more conven-

tional illustration on page 94, of a Nevis islander setting a bush fire, altered here by an effective graphical mix of monochrome and color. Several illustrations, however, call into question their relevance to the text. There are some street scenes, mainly historical images of Barbados and Trinidad, that are only tangentially related to the discussion at hand. Thus, the book might have benefited from a more careful selection of complementary illustrative material. Other problems tend to skew the overall balance. There seems an uneven presentation of research, away from the heavily foreshadowed yet minimally depicted fires of anger and protest in the countryside toward an emphasis on urban conflagrations devouring ramshackle wooden structures. Although pledging to explain the connections between Caribbean fire and its historical antecedents, Richardson continually evokes vague references to potential slave revolts. Finally, while professing to limit the study to the Lesser Antilles, the author makes numerous allusions to events and conditions on larger islands such as Haiti or Jamaica.

Despite such criticisms, Richardson's fine-grained research and organizational perspective are to be commended. All in all, *Igniting the Caribbean's Past* is a valiant effort to provide an invigorating alternative to the more standard history or regional geography that attempts to represent an all-inclusive prospect yet invariably falls short.

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The Hacienda in Mexico. DANIEL NIERMAN AND ERNESTO H. VALLEJO. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003. Pp. xii+144, color and black and white plates, floor plans, maps, index. \$34.95 cloth. ISBN 0292705263.

Haciendas often conjure many colorful and romantic images in the minds of aficionados of Mexican cultural landscapes. The common misconception in American lay society is of the “hacienda” simply being a grandiose dwelling replete with an eclectic arrangement of archways, French doors, balconies, open courtyards, “Spanish” roofing tiles, and the like. Indeed, haciendas boast unique and often eccentric characteristics, as they meet the eye, in their built environments. However, the hacienda is a form of agrarian estate once common throughout Mexico that typically includes an array of structures, many of them lavish in architectural detail, each having its special purpose and significance.

Authors from Mexico, the United States, and abroad have described and analyzed these feudal-like landholdings in numerous articles and books. No work, however, has done justice to the elaboration on the built environment and the architectural detail of this historical Mexican institution like Daniel Nierman and Ernesto H. Vallejo's *The Hacienda in Mexico*. Given that the authors are architects, this book does a superb job of explaining in detail the architectural characteristics and the functions of each of the hacienda's components. It reveals the cultural meaning in each of these elements. This is impressive in that it demon-

strates that these architects are capable of looking well beyond architecture alone, but at the greater environmental and cultural contexts as well. While this particular volume focuses on the three central Mexican states of Hidalgo, Tlaxcala, and San Luis Potosí, and is thus limited in geographic scope, I would very much look forward to seeing such great research expanded further afield in the republic.

This is not the first major work on haciendas in Mexico. Numerous works, mainly articles and book chapters, have definitely touched upon the topic of the Mexican hacienda over the course of the last fifty years and even earlier. Many of the earlier books and articles elaborate primarily upon the historical, economic, and political aspects of the hacienda. Noteworthy here is François Chevalier's *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico: The Great Hacienda* (1963). Guillermo Boils in his *Las Casas Campesinas en el Porfiriato* (1982) elaborates on the position that the haciendas commanded in rural Mexican society during the regime of Porfirio Díaz, in the years leading up to the Mexican Revolution. No doubt some of these works have also touched upon the architectural components and the particular functions of the hacienda buildings as well. For example, Mariana Yampolsky's more recent work *The Traditional Architecture of Mexico* (1993) dedicates a whole chapter to the illustration of hacienda architecture as well as a very generalized explanation of the *casco*, the centralized complex of buildings, and its functions. None of these works, however, matches the depth at which Nierman and Vallejo elaborate upon the details and the meaning of each and every one of the hacienda's physical components. They literally reveal the character and the meaning behind every nook and cranny.

Nierman and Vallejo commence with a rather in-depth look at the history and beginnings of the hacienda in Mexico, as they truly explain the evolution of "the hacienda through time." This first chapter lays the groundwork for the emergence of this once-great Mexican institution by clearly explaining the diffusion of the Spanish feudalistic system of landholdings and labor exploiting systems, especially the *encomienda* and *repartimiento*, to colonial New Spain. There is meticulous detail in the differentiation between the early Spanish colonial landholdings, the *estancias*, and the later haciendas of a more mestizo-dominated Mexico. In order to gain an even greater understanding of the hacienda's antecedents, perhaps further research and detail regarding the great estates, or *cortijos*, of medieval Andalucía would have been helpful. Overall, the discussion is very thorough, especially up through the Porfirian period and the Revolution.

The remainder of the book dwells meticulously on the vocabulary of the hacienda compound itself, otherwise known as the *casco*. This is initiated with the definition of two forces that were responsible for the emergence of the hacienda as a unique architectural accomplishment bequeathed upon the Mexican landscape. These forces include both the local communities and their inhabitants and artists with their high styles of architecture and intellectuality. In other words, the authors accurately define hacienda architecture as a unique synthesis of vernacular and high style. Indeed, that is exactly what it is. From my own field experience in Mexico, I can attest that hacienda *cascos* are mere complexes of rectangular, usually flat-roofed, adobe-walled boxes. In fact, they fit the same description upon that Robert C. West (1974) elaborated in his article entitled "The Flat-Roofed Folk Dwelling in Rural Mexico," in which flat-roofed adobe

dwellings often “grow” into multi-room complexes organized around central courtyards. The adornments, on the other hand, often involve an eclectic potpourri of exotic styles from faraway lands. Nierman and Vallejo demonstrate this very clearly as does Yampolsky (1993).

Chapter Four basically sets the tone for the remaining chapters of the book. It introduces the spatial layout of the hacienda *casco* and the significance of each of its working parts. Nierman and Vallejo place great emphasis on the hierarchy of the compound and how it relates inextricably with that of its occupants. The overall issue of the human/environment equation is importantly stressed here as throughout the rest of the book. After all, the authors constantly reveal the manner in which the walls of the haciendas “speak” of their inhabitants and of bygone rural Mexican society in general. Even more importantly, they speak of the intricate relationships between former occupants and their environment, as these structures truly blend with the landscape.

As one reads on through the chapters, the hierarchy descends from top to bottom. First comes the main component, the “big house” of the *mayordomo* and his family, then the ecclesiastical quarters, or chapel, and finally occupying the lower ranks of the hacienda layout are the areas where commodities are produced, goods stored, and where animals and workers alike reside. Unfortunately, perhaps due to the more precarious nature and shorter longevity of the structures, the dwellings of the peons, who formed the backbone of the hacienda, are discussed in very little detail. This would have been a true dedication to folk housing in rural Mexico, although such an emphasis tends to be one of the more common shortcomings of architectural research.

While *The Hacienda in Mexico* gives relatively little emphasis on the traditional dwellings of the common folk, it constitutes a major contribution to the study of the traditional Mexican landscape in that it focuses exactly on what it implies, “haciendas.” It is nonetheless an asset to research in vernacular architecture. After all, hacienda buildings are vernacular in that they are made of local materials and constructed under the same techniques as typical flat-roofed folk dwellings. It is only their decked-up veneer and sheer size that make them resemble high-style works of art. As with folk houses, hacienda architecture portrays the once harmonious relationship between humans and the environment. As architects, Nierman and Vallejo demonstrate these traits very successfully, and they reveal, through eloquent writing, colorful photos, and elaborate floor plans, a very significant piece of Mexico’s cultural landscape.

—*Scott S. Brown*

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The Land That Never Was: Sir Gregor MacGregor and the Most Audacious Fraud in History. DAVID SINCLAIR. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2004, Pp. xxvi + 358, appendix, index. \$26.00 paper. ISBN 0306813092.

Gregor MacGregor, the self styled “Cazique of Poyais,” created an elaborate fraud of a non-existent country in the early 1820s, yet earned little profit from the operation. In the first and third sections of the book Sinclair details MacGregor’s fraud of selling land and government positions in “Poyais,” an area centered on the old Black River settlement in Honduras’ Mosquitia, and gives a bibliography of MacGregor’s life up to the time of this swindle in the second section.

Starting in the summer of 1821, MacGregor began promoting his Poyais settlement in London and Scotland. Interest in the new Latin American republics was high, and MacGregor’s impressive false credentials led credence to the project. His stunning military uniforms, a guidebook of Poyais (plagiarized largely from other sources about the Caribbean islands), and impressively printed stock certificates, land titles, and currency convinced many that the Cazique’s project was legitimate. MacGregor found financing through a small, but respectable, banking firm in the City of London. Settlers came largely from Scotland, including many elderly, whose meager savings were invested in Poyaisian land hoping for a grand plantation. The guidebook by the fictitious Thomas Strangeways, likely authored by MacGregor, convinced many that the Poyais region had a far better climate without the diseases found at the rest of the Mosquito Coast or Belize. Food and local native labor would be plentiful, and gold also was abundant. Military and civil service positions were sold to those willing to serve the Cazique’s government. But the initial 230 or so settlers in late 1822 and early 1823 failed to find the promised paradise. What they found was an unsettled wilderness, yet, nearly all of the settlers failed to recognize that they were involved in a huge deception.

MacGregor’s life previous to the Poyais fraud is detailed in the second part of the book. He did rise rapidly through the ranks of the British Army, but through commissions purchased with his first wife’s fortune. MacGregor retired his commission after trouble with fellow officers in Gibraltar, and then served the Portuguese army for a short time, but leaving before he took part in any battles or gained any honors. At this time he invented both his military excursions in the Peninsular War and his Portuguese knighthood. After his wife’s death in 1811, and having spent all her money, MacGregor traveled to Venezuela and offered his services directly to General Miranda, an early hero of the independence movement. MacGregor quickly rose to the rank of general, married his second wife, Josefa, a cousin of Simon Bolívar, played an important role in the siege of Cartagena in 1815, and gallantly led a fighting retreat by 1,500 Republican troops from Spanish troops in July and August 1816. MacGregor then headed to Washington, D.C., and later claimed to have worked with the State Department to capture Amelia Island, Florida, “a model and a dress rehearsal for the Poyais scheme” (p. 178), funding the venture selling land titles and bonds in the name of the Republic of New Granada. Despite capturing the island in 1817, MacGregor left after his disaffected troops had not been paid for several months. MacGregor

returned to Ireland and England, sold military commissions and raised a mercenary force that he cowardly led in Panama at Porto Bello and Rio de la Hacha, and even declared himself “His Majesty the Inca of New Granada” (p. 217). He abandoned his men to their fate during a Spanish counterattack, and fled to England in 1819, where he began his Poyais fraud.

The third part of the book returns to the tribulations of unfortunate settlers of Poyais, where over 180 of some 230 settlers died, and how officials from Belize transported the unfortunate survivors to Belize. Many who had been swindled, however, continued to believe MacGregor to be blameless. MacGregor was imprisoned but later released in Paris for trying to sell his fraud there. MacGregor continued selling fraudulent Poyais bonds over several years with little success. After his wife’s death in 1838, he returned to Caracas, was granted a general’s pension for his part in the wars for independence, and lived there until his death in 1845. The Poyais fraud earned enough money for MacGregor to live in style for a few years, yet the cost from printing, provisioning settlers, hiring ships, maintaining land offices, and elaborate military uniforms never brought him much wealth. The author suggests that MacGregor deluded himself with his make-believe grandeur.

The author tells this incredible tale of MacGregor and Poyais in an eloquent style befitting the story, making the book easy and quick to read. Despite the lack of footnotes, because the book is directed toward a non-academic audience, it is clear from the select bibliography and the acknowledgements that the author worked with many primary documents in London and Edinburgh. Maps, which the book lacks, would have been a tremendous asset to the story. The author also fails to mention the Eastern Coast of Central America Commercial and Agricultural Company, formed in London in 1833, to speculate in MacGregor’s Poyais bonds, purchased at huge discounts with hopes of driving up the price before selling to unwary investors (see Griffith 1965, *Empires in the Wilderness: Foreign Colonization and Development in Guatemala, 1834-1844*). The company came into contact with the government of Guatemala eager to encourage immigration, and the directors suddenly found their “palpably fraudulent undertaking turn suddenly legitimate in their hands” (see Griffith 1965, p. 46). Throughout the book, the author uses the term “South America” to mean Central America, the continent of South America, and sometimes Latin America. This review barely describes just how audacious MacGregor’s Poyais fraud truly was; one must read the book to understand both the man and his scheme.

—Taylor E. Mack

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Colonialism and Landscape. Postcolonial Theory and Applications. ANDREW SLUYTER. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002, Pp. iii + 232, photographs, diagrams, maps, index. \$29.95 paper. ISBN 0742515605.

In *Colonialism and Landscape*, Andrew Sluyter challenges geographers as inheritors of knowledge and methods intricately linked with colonial processes to make a theory of colonialism and landscape transformation a disciplinary priority. He bases his first steps toward such a theory on a deceptively simple model presented early in the book, and an extended, multifaceted, regional case study that forms the majority of the text. Sluyter does not rely on forcefully asserted jargon, nor does he leave it for the reader to construe the relatedness of the case study to the theoretical discussion. Rather, he skillfully weaves together discussion and critique of postcolonial studies, scholarship on the Americas and other antecedents to his own work, discussion of data and method, and new or expanded interpretations of the data in a rich, flowing narrative. Throughout, he maintains careful evaluation of the validity and exceptions to claims about the nature of colonialism, actions and attitudes of indigenous peoples, and the relevance of regional processes to those occurring elsewhere. At the end, he reminds the reader that further analysis and critique remain to be done if his goal of developing a theory of colonialism and landscape is to be accomplished.

The book begins with a review of the major types of landscape transformations induced by colonial processes and ways that geographers and others have tended to conceptualize relationships between people and landscapes. The author then presents a simple model of “the colonial triangle” consisting of “Non-native—Native—and Landscape” elements at each vertex connected by lines signifying processes of interaction and feedback. The model (which Sluyter has presented previously and for which he acknowledges the influence of Hulme’s 1992 *Colonial Encounters*) then becomes the framework around which the rest of the book is organized. Each subsequent chapter examines a segment of the “triangle” and ways that each period, or focus of the Veracruz (Mexico) lowlands case study elucidates the nature of the land uses, interactions, and transformations modeled.

Chapter Two discusses the precolonial landscape of the Veracruz lowlands, focusing on evidence for, and estimates of, pre-Columbian population and agricultural landscape transformations. This is followed by a chapter reviewing the arrival and settlement of Europeans in the region, their recorded perceptions, and the general processes by which much of the region was gradually, then increasingly rapidly, transformed into a desettled, extensive grazing region. In Chapter Four, the author describes the archival materials—primarily sixteenth-century *mercedes* or land grants—upon which much of the analysis is based, the methods used to derive reliable data from those materials, and most importantly, maps the land-granting process. Based on standard land-grant dimensions, archived sketch maps and references to place names and other landscape-identifying information, Sluyter’s land-grant maps reveal dramatically the extent of the transfer of control and change in land use in the Veracruz lowlands during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. By applying this method to archival materials, doing so at a regional scale, and combining this original analysis with others’ observations regarding cattle and sheep densities and Iberian-Mexican

grazing ecologies, Sluyter translates apparently sparse information into a rich portrayal of the landscape transformations that these data represent.

Chapter Five reminds us of the conceptual differences and transformations required for, and reproduced by, these wholesale changes in land use and control, and that even native resistance, attempts to ameliorate the effects of colonial processes, and later applications for land grants of their own reflect conceptual as well as landscape change. Rather than ending the analysis here, however, the author then draws attention in Chapter Six to ways in which the demographic, landscape, and conceptual transformations of the first half of the colonial period set the stage for, and framed the discourse of, dramatic postcolonial and ongoing land-use changes in the region.

In the final chapter, Sluyter returns to the question of a theory of colonialism and landscape. While clearly in favor of basing such a theory on his formulation of the colonial triangle, he recognizes that other places and times may require revisions to the model and urges collaborative application of additional and diverse case studies. To do so, he argues, is not only necessary for an accurate understanding of the past, it is the right thing to do given the nature of the colonial past and its repercussions for people and environments today, and is essential in order for the discipline of geography to regain its integrity and significance.

Andrew Sluyter's book does many things exceptionally well and has only a few minor flaws. While I was initially skeptical of the utility of the colonial-triangle model, Sluyter's consistent reiteration and critical expansion of the model in each chapter results in a useful conceptual scheme after all. Some readers will quibble with the decision to represent only three elements of interaction or the representation of complex, discursive processes with a few curved arrows. Sluyter is quite aware of these likely objections and addresses them while also explaining at length the variety and complexity of processes as his case study reveals them. By the end of the book the simple model of colonial interactions and transformations has become much more complex, the author's understanding of the complexity of the processes is clear, and the wisdom behind the attempt to represent visually—and therefore simply—the depth and complexity is better appreciated.

Well-crafted maps, photographs, iterations of the model, and other graphical representations of data are spread evenly and frequently throughout, while long tables of archival sources are available in chapter endnotes but do not disrupt the text. The grays used in some of these diagrams in Chapter Four, and a few choropleth maps in Chapter Six unfortunately did not reproduce well even though the author appears to have followed standard cartographic practice.

A few scholars are singled out for disproportionately intense criticism, but several of them are also thanked in the preface for their contributions to the author's research. In the early chapters in particular, it is sometimes difficult to discern whether a cited source is the origin of a critical observation, or its subject. A single reference to French farmers (p. 191) in this discussion caught my attention for its brevity. In my own brief wanderings in the study region, I heard frequent references to actions of "*los franceses*," as in large landowners of French descent, as fundamental to the complaints and problems of twentieth-century Veracruz farmers. The degree to which land control by non-Spaniards merely

reinforced processes well underway, or were modifications of those processes, might have been an additional insightful discussion in Chapter Six.

In addition to his contribution of the nuanced colonial-triangle model, his masterful use of an extended case study to explicate that model, and his example of how to make historical research relevant to contemporary concerns, one final strength of the book deserves comment. Akin to the coherent though complex sound of a marimba orchestra in which each player “manages” two or four mallets, perhaps the most striking feature of this book is the consistent and skillful manner with which the author has blended theory, critique, summary of a broad spectrum of research, review of research methods, and vivid interpretation of archival documents.

It is too soon to determine whether this book will have the discipline-wide significance the author envisions. *Colonialism and Landscape* clearly, though, deserves a great deal of attention from historical geographers, political ecologists, environmental historians, and Mexicanists, at least.

—Philip Crossley
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Historical Atlas of Central America. CAROLYN HALL and HECTOR PEREZ BRIGNOLI. John V. Cotter, Cartographer. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003. Pp. xiv+322, notes, glossary, illustrations, maps, tables, graphs, sources, index. \$99.95 cloth. ISBN 0806130377.

This is a special publication. To most readers, the word *atlas* probably refers to a bound collection of maps. While this book does contain hundreds of maps, it is far more than the cartography. This oversized volume is a highly illustrated, scholarly presentation of the progression of Central America’s history, geography, and important cultural enterprises. The collection of more than 1,250 references used in the preparation of the book is an indication of its thoroughness and might provide the best single place to begin research on the countries between Mexico and South America.

Two of the isthmus’ most respected academics, both of the School of History and Geography at the University of Costa Rica, formed a wonderful collaboration for this project. Because of their previous, long-term commitments to research in Central America, geographer Hall and historian Perez Brignoli complemented each other perfectly. Also, the enormous effort and contribution of cartographer John Cotter cannot be overstated.

The work is organized into five major units: (1) Environment and Territory, (2) Peoples and Places: The Patterns of Culture Change, (3) Colonial Societies, (4) The Formation of National Societies, and (5) The Challenges of Development. Within each unit, twenty-four to twenty-nine widely diverse topics are discussed in some 1,000 to 1,500 words. A flavor of the contents can be gleaned

from a few titles of the sub-section—(Unit 1): The First Geographical Records: Explorers and Chroniclers, 16th-17th Centuries; The Birth of New Countries: Spanish Organization of Territory until 1785; and The Formation of the State of Panama; (Unit 2): An Ethnic Mosaic: Indian Peoples and Cultures, c. 1500; Spaniards, Indians, Ladinos, and Blacks: Regional Variations in the Late Colonial Period; and Migration and Colonization, 19th-20th Centuries; (Unit 3): Haciendas and Mines: The Economy in the late 16th-17th Centuries; Pirates; and Agrarian Landscapes in the Late 17th Century: Totonicapan and the Valley of Guatemala; (Unit 4): William Walker and the National War; Coffee Haciendas and *Beneficios*; and Interoceanic Transport: The Panama Canal; and (Unit 5): Organization of Modern States; Banana Wars; and The Process of Urbanization.

Aside from the coverage and the quality of scholarship, the readers' attention will probably be captured by the highly visual nature of the presentation. The aura of the volume is enhanced richly by its varied and colorful design. On virtually every page, to place the texts, is one of cartographer Cotter's 383 original maps. Further, the other 162 color illustrations are inserted appropriately and include a wonderful mix of 13 historic maps, 71 historical illustrations, 70 modern illustrations and photographs, and a few portraits and colonial paintings.

Attention to detail is obvious throughout the work, but as might be expected in such a monumental undertaking, some slights can be found. Most errors arise from mistakes in secondary sources. Only specialists will notice these. For example, San Pedro Sula, the second largest modern Honduran place, did not have the "Sula" suffix until after 1700 (p. 70, 76-77, etc.). San Pedro and Buena Esperanza, an early mining center west of San Pedro, should change places on the map "Foundation of Spanish Towns 1503-1580" (p. 70). Olanchito, was not founded in 1530 (p. 70), but perhaps was confused with an early Spanish settlement in the Olancho Valley, more to the interior. The map on p. 133 is by Senex, not Sener (apparently a typo). According to primary documents, Fort Dalling, known also as Cape River Fort in 1782, was *at* Black River, not on Brus Lagoon to the east (p. 147). Why use a full page for two maps: "Departments and Provinces, ca. 1950 and 1975," when there was only one slight border change in all of Central America (p. 223)? After his reading, the Honduran historian/librarian Mario Argueta was high in praise, but pointed out that in 1977 Carlos H. Romero became the president of El Salvador, not Oswaldo Lopez Arellano, a former president of Honduras (p. 279). Argueta also mentioned that he was impressed with the very readable text and that the atlas was "para el especialista y el publico en general."

Publications such as these are time-consuming efforts for the authors and costly ventures for the sponsors. But the product, I believe, is well worth it. Thanks to Hall and Perez Brignoli and to the University of Costa Rica, the Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of Texas, and the University of Oklahoma Press for their sacrifices to produce a classic.

This is indeed a special publication.

—William V. Davidson
Memphis, TN



The Upland South. TERRY G. JORDAN-BYCHKOV. Santa Fe, NM and Harrisonburg, VA: Center for American Places (in association with the University of Virginia Press), 2003. Pp. xiv + 114, maps, diagrams, index, bibliography. \$30.00 cloth. ISBN 1930066082.

The Upland South is a volume modest in length, extending to only eighty-five pages of text. This last book produced by Terry Jordan-Bychkov, to a large extent, represents his testament. Almost 40 percent of the citations in the text are to earlier works by him. Many of the maps also are taken or modified from these earlier works.

To attempt to analyze the significant aspects and components of one of America's most complex and little understood regions is a Herculean task. To do it in a minimal amount of text is overwhelming. One marvels that the author, in the face of a terminal illness, had the grit to undertake the project.

But, sometimes he tries too hard to convince the reader of the correctness of his reasoning. A "long series of scholarly articles" (p. 16), actually consists of just four items, three of which appeared in two adjacent years. Words such as "without question," "at once," "clearly," "correctly," and "obvious" often stand in place of documentation to help prove or establish a statement.

More distressing is the author's frequent tendency to provide explanations with no supporting documentation. One particularly noticeable example occurs in Chapter Three when he proposes that no-longer-needed dogtrot cabins were easily converted into center-aisle crib barns. This is not the careful and measured research of earlier Jordan-Bychkov publications.

Also some of his pronouncements do not ring true exactly. For example, at the beginning of the essay, he states that "this highland culture barely survives other than in a significantly altered type" (p. 3), but then throughout the rest of the volume, he identifies a variety of signature characteristics that continue to exist. Then, in a list of practices of the Upland South culture, he omits hunting, agricultural patterns, distinctive food practices, and other traits. At the same time, however, he captures the essence of the problems associated with Upland South research by noting that its extent and complexity is extremely difficult to measure and correctly analyze. Understandably, much of the material in the text and illustrations is slanted towards eastern Texas, the part of the Upland South that Jordan-Bychkov knew best.

Despite the volume's title, the text is quite selective, limited to brief discussions of just five elements, which in the author's view define the landscape of the region. The characteristics, to each of which a chapter is devoted, are: half-dove-tail log notching, the dogtrot log dwelling, the transverse-crib barn, the "Shelbyville" court house square, and cemetery grave houses. Four of these factors have been dealt with by Jordan-Bychkov in earlier works, but here are more carefully placed in the Upland South context. The only new direction is the discussion of Shelbyville court house squares, which I found to be the most interesting and stimulating chapter.

I came away from this volume wishing for more, for a greater dissection of the Tennessee vs. Pennsylvania influences, for a more penetrating discussion of topics such as the significance of racial groups such as the Melungeons, and for more extensive documentation beyond the author's earlier works.

Despite these shortcomings, readers will have much to ponder on and will undoubtedly expand their view and understanding of the landscape of the Upland South. Much of the value of the volume lies in the insights and flashes of intuition Jordan-Bychkov offers. Farewell Terry, a job nicely done under the worst of circumstances!

—Allen G. Noble

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Designing the Bayous: The Control of Water in the Atchafalaya Basin, 1800-1995. MARTIN REUSS. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004, Pp. xv + 476, maps, illustrations, index. \$24.95 paper. ISBN 1585443751.

For many people, the Louisiana coast is synonymous with wetlands. Marshes and swamps rich in wildlife and other natural resources blanket the state's southern lowlands, and whether these wetlands attract or repel visitors, most would consider these places to be wild and "natural." Among these places is the Atchafalaya Basin, the nation's largest river basin swamp, which stretches from the confluence of the Mississippi, Red, and Atchafalaya rivers southward to the Gulf of Mexico. Few travelers crossing the Basin by air or along Interstate 10, however, would be likely to think of this eighteen-mile-wide swath of cypress-tupelo swamp as a "designer wetland," but that is exactly how Martin Reuss labels it (p. 355). Moreover, his argument is convincing, for he describes nearly 200 years of political, social, and technological change that has transformed this seemingly "wild" place into a highly manipulated landscape.

Reuss is an appropriate person to relate this history of transformation, for he is both a skillful researcher and a good storyteller. A senior historian in the Office of History of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Reuss had access to a wealth of information from inside that agency, and he supplemented this material with a great number and variety of additional sources, as his detailed bibliography, notes, and illustration credits reveal. The result of his fifteen years of effort is an authoritative work on the evolution of water resource-management policy in the Atchafalaya region, an example that has broad application, for it illuminates the shifting political, social, and economic contexts that influence U.S. natural-resource policy development, modification, and implementation.

The Corps of Engineers originally published *Designing the Bayous* in 1998, primarily for internal distribution, and it is fortunate that Texas A&M University Press has chosen to reissue the work so that it can reach a wider audience. The book begins with a brief "Preface to [the] Texas A&M Edition" (p. vii-ix), in which the author describes policy-related developments in the Basin from 1995 to February 2003. The original work follows, with minimal change in content or appearance. After the original preface, a prologue introduces the Atchafalaya Basin and Floodway and sets them in their physical and cultural contexts. The

narrative then turns to the evolution of responsibility, authority, and empowerment for water management in this vast wetland region.

Part One, "Assuming Responsibility," covers the period from early settlement in the Basin to the end of the decade that included the devastating 1927 Mississippi River Flood. During these 130 years, responsibilities for controlling floods and maintaining navigation shifted from local and state authorities to the federal government. The shift climaxed with the U.S. Congress' approval of the Jadwin Plan in 1928. The Jadwin Plan signaled the end of the government's fifty-year-old "levees only" policy by embracing floodways and spillways as an additional means of defense against flooding in the Mississippi River Valley. With this shift in policy and perspective, an Atchafalaya floodway system became a possibility.

Part Two, "Defining Responsibility," deals with the difficulties of putting the Jadwin Plan into practice. The challenges of the 1930s-1950s included acquiring real estate in the several floodways that were to drain water from the Mississippi into the Atchafalaya, securing funding, modifying the plan to accommodate state interests, and constructing massive water-control structures to regulate the flow of water into the floodways. After mid-century—as Part Three, "The Burdens of Responsibility," points out—these challenges broadened to include the monumental task of keeping the Atchafalaya River from capturing the Mississippi. In the 1970s and 1980s, water-flow regulation and levee construction in the Atchafalaya floodway sparked controversy among a variety of wetland users and stakeholders, all of whom demanded their concerns be addressed in the planning process. The Corps of Engineers' role thus broadened to accommodate not only flood control and navigation, but environmental, socioeconomic, and recreational needs as well.

Has the Corps been successful in meeting this challenge? Reuss indicates that, while conflicts over property rights and land use continue, the agency has indeed been more responsive to the state and to the Basin's varied users. As it strives to balance a variety of competing interests, the Corps continues to maintain a vital flood-control system that protects downstream interests, including those in New Orleans and Baton Rouge. In his words, "the issues that raised so much rancor in the 1970s and early 1980s still exist; but less vitriol flows, more listening occurs" (p. vii).

If you have the patience to persevere, the rewards of reading this lengthy work are many. Readers will first gain an enhanced understanding and appreciation of a nationally important wetland region, its dynamism, and the constant demands it places on its human manipulators. There are also lessons here on the historic and current importance of levees and flood control, the changing responsibilities of resource-management agencies, the changing perception of wetlands, and, perhaps the most important lesson, the need to incorporate multiple perspectives and compromise in the policy-planning process.

Although Reuss' narrative carries readers along like a swift current, there are a few swirls and eddies to be aware of. The most obvious is his erroneous labeling of the Atchafalaya swamp as "the last cypress-tupelo swamp in the country," a phrase that appears on p. 3 and again on the book's back cover. While the Atchafalaya Basin contains the *largest* swamp of this type in the nation, it is cer-

tainly not the last. Another problem is the author's shifting definition of the Basin, which sometimes includes the flanking highlands of Bayou Teche and Bayou Lafourche, and at other times includes only the lowland areas. Finally, the preface to the Texas A&M edition, which updates readers on developments in the Basin since 1995, is surprisingly brief. The author seems unaware of some recent activities, including the work of the state's Atchafalaya Basin Program and progress on several projects: a visitor center, nature trails, boat launches, and water-quality monitoring.

One of these projects, the Atchafalaya Basin Visitor Center, is now a reality; located along Interstate 10, it entices travelers to stop awhile and learn something about the land and people of the swamp. After reading Reuss' book, you will surely have a greater understanding of how humans have shaped this place, and perhaps you too will want to see firsthand the nation's premier "designer wetland."

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The Greening of the South: The Recovery of Land and Forest. THOMAS D. CLARK. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004, Pp. xvi + 168, photographs, bibliographic essay, index. \$19.95 paper. ISBN 0813190827.

Twenty years ago, Kentucky's historian laureate Thomas Clark wrote *The Greening of the South* as part of a series of books entitled "New Perspectives on the South." The University Press of Kentucky decided to honor this preeminent southern historian (who celebrated his 101st birthday during the summer of 2004!) by reprinting his 1984 book. His work is a synthesis of scholarship on southerners and their forests up to the early 1980s. Naturally, much more has been written on this subject during the past two decades. For example, Williams' (1989) *Americans and Their Forests* and Silver's (1990) *A New Face in the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in South Atlantic Forests* have become fixtures in the literature. But the book was well received when it first appeared and I suspect readers of the reprinted edition will also find much to appreciate. Indeed, Clark raised several issues of interest to contemporary historical geographers.

Clark begins by dismantling the notion of cotton as "king" in the nineteenth-century South. True, several large plantation owners amassed fortunes growing cotton, but this accumulated wealth was more a function of squeezing untold labor out of slaves. In any event, since much of the South is hilly and clay laden (which reduces infiltration and encourages runoff), clear-cutting forests without replanting and planting row crops (such as cotton) severely eroded millions of acres of land, greatly reducing its productivity and value. Of course, such apparent land abuse was not always born of sheer ignorance or the mindless pursuit of profit. As Carville Earle was always quick to remind us, planters, croppers, experts from state agricultural agencies, and the agents of fertilizer companies genu-

inely believed that an agrarian system based on commercial fertilizers and cotton would maximize profits while maintaining soil fertility.

Meanwhile, Clark correctly observes that the South remained blessed with tens of millions of acres of high quality “virgin” or “old growth” forests as late as 1880. Then came what he calls the “carpet baggers of the woods”: timber people who were on the verge of wiping out Great Lakes-area forests. From the 1880s until the 1920s, an army of northern entrepreneurs invaded the southern woods, profiting handsomely by chopping down enormous quantities of old growth timber without making any effort to replant (“cut out and get out” was the name of the game). On top of this, Clark expresses his disgust with ignorant and tradition-minded southerners who refused to believe the region’s natural resources could ever be exhausted. Yes, attempting to farm marginal land and deliberately setting forest fires for the purposes of improving hunting or creating attractive forage for livestock seems wasteful and stupid even by early twentieth-century standards when people like Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot preached “wise use” of natural resources. At first, I thought Clark lacked sympathy for the large number of poor and isolated southerners who never had the opportunity to go to school and learn about what we now call “sustainable development.” Yet even with vastly improved education today, profligate use of resources is still common throughout the United States; so it’s not hard to understand why someone who cares deeply about the South would be upset with the apparently senseless trashing of the landscape a century ago.

For most early twentieth-century southerners, the Great Depression began in the early to middle 1920s, when the Great War’s end led to a decline in the demand (and prices paid) for agricultural commodities, and when much of the timber industry packed its bags and headed to the ancient and more profitable forests of the Pacific Northwest. Clark includes fine chapters on some of the early conservation-minded voices in the southern wilderness, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), and their collective work in beginning the process of rehabilitating cut over and eroded lands, educating southerners on the value of fire suppression, and creating the South’s “second” forest. After bemoaning the loss of the towering long-leaf pine from most southern forests, Clark notes the emergence of lowly loblolly and short-leaf pine trees on some of the most eroded landscapes. He recounts the struggle of chemists who by the early 1930s had discovered ways of bleaching pine pulp so it could be made into newsprint and other high-quality papers. Clark then sings the praises of modern wood-products industries as an avalanche of capital (by mid-twentieth-century southern standards) in the form of wood and paper manufacturing plants that began to move into the region.

Although Clark devotes a couple of pages to the environmental impacts of modern plantation forestry, I would like to have seen better development of these important issues. Environmental problems go far beyond the impacts of monoculture on wildlife or the pungent odor of paper manufacturing plants. What about the shocking air and water pollution these industries generate? Clark does suggest that desperately poor communities across the South accepted environmental problems associated with modern wood-products manufacturing because

these firms provided desperately needed economic opportunity. Perhaps this is still true for there is a striking parallel between poor southern communities and their messy manufacturers—and equally obnoxious industries in less developed countries that deserves more attention. Clark does a little better when addressing the socioeconomic impacts of industrial forestry. For example, he points out that one paper mill in Columbus, Mississippi received 10,000 applications to fill just 380 jobs; and on the next page (p. 123) Clark asks “But what of the 9,620 people whose applications . . . were rejected?” On one hand, we cannot hold wood-products industries responsible for not performing an economic miracle in the rural South (Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, rural north Florida and south Georgia are still among the poorest places in the country). On the other hand, perhaps Clark could have examined more closely the relationship between plantation forestry, globalization, development, and environment in the region.

Thomas Clark's *Greening of the South* is informative and well written, and these qualities make it a pleasure to read. Although Clark does include several photographs depicting work in the southern woods last century, geographers will lament the absence of maps, graphs, or other illustrations. Furthermore, the book's bibliographic essay is now badly outdated and the lack of references in the text occasionally leave one wondering if selected statements are from Clark or some other source. This minor quibbling aside, Clark's twenty-year-old work is still an excellent introduction to the relationship between rural southerners and their forests.

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The Cast Iron Forest, A Natural and Cultural History of the North American Cross Timbers. RICHARD V. FRANCAVIGLIA. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000. x and 237 pp., notes and index. \$45.00 cloth. ISBN 0292725159.

There are people—both in geography and beyond—who suggest that the old classic geography with all its explorative spirit, powerful synthetic qualities, and elaborate descriptiveness is dead. I am pleased to report that it is not exactly true. One proof is Richard V. Francaviglia's *The Cast Iron Forest*. This delightful book has earned a place on my shelf alongside classics by Alfred Russell Wallace, Richard Spruce, and Carl Sauer. Not only the spirit is alive—Francaviglia's book has infused it with new agendas, themes, and conceptual perspectives for our new century.

I am sure that not many people outside of Texas and Oklahoma ever heard of the “Cast Iron Forest.” This name was given by the early Euro-American pioneers and explorers to a belt of the xerophytic oak-dominated scrub woodlands extending from southeastern Kansas through Oklahoma into north-central Texas. Otherwise known as the North American Cross Timbers, this belt is not to be confused with the forest-prairie ecotone located immediately west from the great

deciduous and piney forests of the American East. Remarkably, the Cross Timbers is essentially a big island of woody vegetation nearly in the middle of the open expanses of the southern plains.

The Cast Iron Forest fits the emerging genre that blends of natural history, historical geography, and environmental history. However, its main focus is on environmental change within a regional context. A relatively simple structure is certainly a plus of the book. It takes a reader through a classic sequence of cognitive steps that help him or her conceive the changing face of the region in its physical, human, and environmental aspects. Being focused on the processes of never-ending landscape change, this narrative is saturated by a powerful sense of time. Francaviglia is equally competent here as both the geographer and historian. His visionary flight back in time takes an unsuspected reader to the remote and obscure geologic past when the region was just emerging from the carbonate-rich Paleozoic seas. He eventually returns the reader back to the present, but not before stopping to examine major movements in the region's natural history.

While reading through the book, I was thinking to myself—what a perfect piece of work! I went through the text twice, each time trying to find few words for criticism, but I simply exhausted myself—the book read too smoothly! Eventually, I found myself going through certain selected parts again and again magnetized by Francaviglia's mild but all-encompassing descriptive powers. This text is like a current: once caught with the flow, your consciousness simply stays in it, being mesmerized by the visions of the Cross Timbers landscape in its eternal drama of transformation and endurance.

What are the reasons for the existence of this remarkable region? In Chapter One, Francaviglia begins his explanation by going as far back as the Carboniferous period at which time rivers began to deposit huge loads of crystalline sediments from the Appalachian-Ouachita orogenic belt into broad deltas and alluvial fans along the coastline of the ancient sea that occupied the interior portion of what is now the central United States. Over millions of years, these layers of sand lithified into sandstone that became uplifted and exposed to erosion, forming low stony hills and gently rolling plateaus. It is the presence of this Paleozoic sandstone that accounts for the predominance of the woody vegetation in what should otherwise be a prairie country. One can see the creative power of geographic method at work as Francaviglia presents us with an intricate web of relationships between underlying geology, physiography, fire regimes, and plant communities, emphasizing the advantages provided by sandstone for the development of the woody vegetation. Since the sandstone beds in the Cross Timbers country are either fully or nearly exposed, grassland communities were not able to fully conquer their stony surfaces. Therefore, fires here could not expand and roll as freely as they did in the past in the surrounding prairies. That left a window of opportunity for trees.

The relatively aridity of the Cross Timbers was of course another potentially limiting factor but abundant cracks in sandstone beds provided tree roots with more or less regular supply of moisture at depths not accessible to grasses. However, in places where pockets of more or less deep soil enabled grasses to take the upper hand, woodlands were punctuated by multiple small prairies and glades. Thus, the Cross Timbers existed not as a uniform, continuous forest belt but as a

mosaic of woodland and grassland communities with all sorts of savanna-like transitions between these two extremes.

Francaviglia goes into considerable detail, describing the variations in region's physiography, edaphic conditions, soils, climatic characteristics, and—above all—native plant communities. Being a biogeographer, I would probably lament the lack of the representative statistical information on the species composition but I have to restrain myself; after all, the book is designed to make a lovely reading for the curious public and it does so precisely by sacrificing some potentially boring sections. Besides, the lack of statistical data is compensated by the author's methodological vigor and his great interest in vegetation geography. It is impossible not to mention, for instance, his sharp understanding of the region's ecotonal status, good use of the modern ecological concepts involving fire and succession, and keen emphasis on the anthropogenic factors that contributed to the development of the pre-European vegetation of the Cross Timbers.

Chapter Two tells a long history of the white man's exploration of the Cross Timbers before the beginning of its massive development. Here Francaviglia presents us with a rather masterly written review of how this extensive area was defined, delineated, and conceptualized by the European and later on—the Euro-American—mind and culture. In the end of the described "exploratory period" in the late 1830s and early 1840s, the Cast Iron Forest emerged as a fully shaped cognitive region and—above all—as the ultimate manifestation of the Texan frontier, "a natural barrier between civilized man and the savage" as it was portrayed in the report to the Thirty-Second Congress by explorer Captain Marcy. Although yet to be conquered, this frontier seemed to have laid ripe for axe and plow—the big change was just around the corner.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Chapter Three deals with the history of the environmental transformation inflicted on the Cross Timbers region by the restless and land-hungry Euro-American and Europeans. The emphasis is placed on the century between the start of the European colonization in the early 1840s and World War II when the region experienced the most dramatic disturbance in its recent environmental history. That story is presented with its indissoluble connection with the region's diverse historical and cultural dynamics. Apart from the agricultural colonization and related deforestation, Francaviglia discusses briefly such topics as the cultural backgrounds of the Euro-American migrants, Cross Timbers geopolitics (focused of course on the mandatory "Indian wars"), ranching, industrial development, and even tourism. Essentially, he deals here with the whole spectrum of human activities that eventually culminated into the emergence of the Cross Timbers as what Terry Jordan called "the Anglo-Texan Homeland."

Chapter Four covers the post-WWII changes as the new processes such as urbanization, suburbanization, and the general decline of farming were taking shape. These were accompanied by new ideas and perceptions. The most important message of the post-war era of the Cross Timbers is the call for conservation. A century of so-called Anglo-American authored "progress" led to the gradual but persistent change in attitudes toward the value of the Cross Timbers natural heritage. The agrarian civilization that cut the Cast Iron Forest and raped the land on which it grew has been itself sentenced to decline and oblivion by the power of urban and suburban commercialism. Revolutions always devour their

children—and the Faustian revolutions are no exception. And now, in the beginning of the twenty-first century, new managers consider the task of restoring the natural habitats of the Cross Timbers side by side with the reclamation of the old farming lands as if they were parts of the same primordial design.

The final chapter of Francaviglia's book gives us a brief retrospective summary of how the physical factors and cultural attitudes shaped the modern landscape of the Cross Timbers. Of particular interest to a reader would be the changes in vegetation and land-use patterns between 1800 and 2000 that are condensed into graphic form (p. 228). Although being somewhat "impressionistic," this diagram reflects some rather interesting trends. For instance, the transition between the second and third millennia is marked in the Cross Timbers by the spatial decline of the prairie grasslands, farmlands, and pastures accompanied the spatial regeneration of the forest vegetation and rather explosive growth of urban areas. These processes make the focal topic of the author's discussion through the rest of the final chapter. While reading through the last pages of the book, I found myself asking the same big existential questions that have been disturbing the minds of a great many geographers, ecologists, and environmentalists for quite a while: Is the Walmartian civilization of modern America compatible with the designs of "the Great Creator of all things"? Is the parallel expansion of the Valhalla of mass consumption and "forest wilderness" at the expense of the earlier human landscapes just a short-living paradox or a long-term trend? Obviously, the answers remain to be seen. Francaviglia himself leaves these questions conspicuously open. By doing so, he sets an intrigue that may serve as a prologue for the new tests that are yet to come.

Cast Iron Forest is a high-quality book whose resonances run deep and far through our discipline, setting a pattern of genre and style for the twenty-first century's environmental geography. In particular, I recommend this book as a model for the apparently growing cadre of historical and environmental geographers pursuing the bioregional approach. Reading this text is a must for the faculty and graduate students at every department of geography through Texas and other states of the Cross-Timbers belt as well as any geographer specializing in the environmental history of North America. Above all, I recommend it highly for any geo-, eco-, and environmentally minded individual across North America and beyond.

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The Social Origins of the Urban South: Race, Gender, and Migration in Nashville and Middle Tennessee, 1890-1930. LOUIS M. KYRIAKOUCES. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003, xviii, 226, maps, diagrams, illustrations, tables, index. \$19.95 paperback, ISBN 0807828114.

Eye-catching and appealing expressions have a way of taking on lives of their own. More than half a century ago, historian C. Vann Woodward published the

landmark *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*, setting a grand historiographic stage for generations of southern historians focusing on the forces transforming the American South following the Civil War. In the 1970s, Jonathan Wiener published *Social Origins of the New South*, focusing on social and economic change in Alabama from 1860-1885. Now, Louis Kyriakouides has extended this expression once more, using *Social Origins of the Urban South* as the title of a monograph examining patterns of migration, the structure of the workforce, employment, and social change in the city of Nashville and its hinterlands from the 1890s to the early years of the Great Depression.

Kyriakouides begins by examining the origins of the mythic Nashville many Americans imagine when they think of the iconic capital of country music today. The Grand Ole Opry had its origins in marketing of insurance policies, pure and simple, yet it was also born out of the rural-urban transition then underway in the Upland South. Nashville in the 1920s was a focal point for young men and women, both black and white, seeking better opportunities in factory and office work in the largest city in middle Tennessee.

In the following two chapters, the author examines relations between city and hinterland, and the social and economic conditions in rural middle Tennessee during the period 1890 to 1930. While the framework for this discussion borrows heavily from the work of urban and historical geographers, Kyriakouides does not contribute a careful spatial analysis of his own. For example, on pages 28-29, we find two maps showing the numbers of Nashville correspondent banks in each Tennessee county in the years 1890 and 1925, respectively. Leaving aside issues of cartographic presentation, these maps provide limited evidence for a sophisticated reader, because they fail to show the relative importance of Nashville correspondent banking linkages in competition with other regional centers, including Memphis, Knoxville, St. Louis, Louisville, and Birmingham, among others. Examining the map for 1925, one might surmise that Nashville's relative influence had grown at the expense of Memphis—and perhaps it did, but Kyriakouides has not presented the relevant data to make this case. One might have expected a discussion of how the study area for this monograph was defined, but instead the map showing the study area on p. 41 displays physiographic regions of middle Tennessee, classified by county. Social historians may read on without concerns about the scientific integrity of the study results, but historical geographers might have qualms. It would be unfortunate to dismiss the book on this basis, however, for Kyriakouides has created a comprehensive social science history, using a wide variety of primary and secondary sources, skillfully written in a highly readable prose.

In the fourth chapter, Kyriakouides explores the economic factors linking countryside and city ever more tightly during his study period. These included expanded urban markets for agricultural produce, both fresh and processed; limited accessibility by road and rail that reduced the prices local farmers could expect for their produce; urban demands for higher-quality agricultural goods, especially dairy, poultry, and livestock; and regional deforestation. None of these was unique to middle Tennessee, but collectively and in combination with rural population growth the net effect was to create pressure for migration of the young and those displaced by economic hardships.

In the following two chapters, Kyriakoudes examines patterns of net migration by age, gender, and race using federal census data, linking these trends with contemporary perspectives from progressives and reformers. Advocates for reform of schools, construction of rural highways, among other reforms, believed that these measures would stem the tide of rural-urban migration, but the economics of land acquisition, tenancy, and making a living from agriculture led to continued out-migration from the countryside. The second of these chapters turns the focus on migration to Nashville, combining statistical data with a case study of the role of DuPont Engineering Company's massive Old Hickory powder plant during World War I. This plant employed 34,000 workers in powder production, and an additional 12,000 in construction, drawn from throughout the South but especially from middle Tennessee. It would have been interesting for Kyriakoudes to contrast the age-gender-race patterns between rural and urban middle Tennessee more clearly, as the patterns are not completely complementary. The author also takes advantage of data from Selective Service records for 1917 to characterize Nashville's male migrants. Unfortunately, the spatial analysis is descriptive; the author determines that most migrants to Nashville selected in the draft were from rural areas or towns of less than 200 persons (p. 108), but no denominators are provided for comparison.

The two following chapters focus on occupation and employment patterns for men and women, respectively. For males, the 1917 Selective Service data are analyzed, providing a perspective on occupational rank by migration status, age, and race. Middle Tennessee remained a highly segregated society during these years, with both white and black migrants occupying lower status employment roles in 1917. Less statistical data for female employment were available, limiting analyses to decennial occupational census data. Neither of these chapters compares occupational patterns in the rural hinterland by gender and race. In none of the presentations or discussions of statistical data throughout the book is there any use of inferential statistics. The book concludes with a brief three-page chapter summarizing its findings.

This brief volume contributes to the literature on the social history of the urban South, providing a well-written perspective on the social and economic context of life in the middle Tennessee region in the years from 1890 to 1930. However, it is not a path-breaking monograph that sets a standard for urban historical research in the years to come. More importantly, what does it offer for historical geographers? While it provides a regional framework for analysis, the regional entity is poorly defined. Once defined, the region is divided into urban (Nashville) and rural (balance of region) for all subsequent statistical analyses. The presence of other cities and central places and their role in a regional urban hierarchy is scarcely discussed, nor is the possibility that relative accessibility to Nashville (and other regional centers) varies within the study region. Census and other statistical sources are not subjected to geographic analysis beyond tabulation into broad categories. The author demonstrates knowledge of urban and historical geographic research, and attempts to ground his study in these and other works, but utilizes their methods only in limited ways. The monograph is not without its strengths—for example, the sophisticated demographic analysis of census data to study migration patterns, and the interweaving of many pri-

mary sources with statistical data into a highly readable narrative. Ultimately, despite its catchy title, this book may be one that urban historical geographers will consult in reference libraries rather than adding to their personal collections.

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Race and Place in Birmingham: The Civil Rights and Neighborhood Movements. BOBBY M. WILSON. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000, Pp. ix + 275, maps, diagrams, index. \$34.95 paper. ISBN 0847694836.

African Americans did not have a major place in the general geographic literature before the mid-1960s and many studies published since this time have focused on the racial group strictly in terms of social problems, population characteristics, and spatial segregation. Far less research has examined the cultural and historical geographies of black life and, until recently, studies of the civil rights movement and its legacies were seriously lacking. However, geographers are increasingly sensitive to the historical conditions that underlie the social construction of race and a growing number of studies analyze race relations within the larger context of cultural identity, political economy, and politics of place. Bobby Wilson's *Race and Place in Birmingham* represents a significant contribution to these efforts to build a more critical body of work about African Americans.

In *Race and Place*, Wilson characterizes Birmingham's civil rights and neighborhood movements as rooted in postmodern politics. African Americans fought not only against racial inequality but also for the right to fashion a new identity, whether based on race or place. This emphasis on group identity and difference—while essential to the restoring of respect and dignity to blacks—self-subverted the building of a collective, class-based consciousness necessary for achieving true justice. Wilson carries out a neo-Marxist interpretation of the ultimate successes (and failures) of the American civil rights movement. According to him, civil rights leaders were conservative and middle-class in their approach, demanding equal access to material resources and public spaces without calling into question the social inequalities inherent in capitalism. Consequently, the black leadership later saw a proliferation of neo-conservative challenges to affirmative action and further division of the working class along racial and geographic lines. The overt racism of Eugene “Bull” Connor has been replaced by a “rational discrimination” in which businesses and corporations use the pursuit of profit or cost savings as justification for not investing in African-American people and places. To combat the exclusionary forces of post-Fordism, African Americans in Birmingham and across the country pursued neighborhood-based participation in planning and community development. Although the neighborhood movement empowered blacks to organize in a specific locality, Wilson says the focus was too territorial and actually played into the hands of capital, whose mobility and flexibility requires a fragmentation of labor and communities.

Rather than simply recounting and critiquing the civil rights and neighborhood movements, Wilson uses *Race and Place* to offer an alternative political vision for mobilizing the black community. A “radical democratic politics,” according to him, requires placing racism and oppression in more universal and global terms, recognizing that “it is necessary that people of color and others who are economically marginalized look beyond their immediate environment” (p. 206). The micropolitics of racial and place differences must be transcended by a collective identity that respects the differences of others while also focusing on people’s similarities. The common building block is class: “We are similar because all identities are situated in the capital relation of production and exchange” (p. 212). While Wilson is critical of the traditional black establishment, he does see potential for change. In the last years of his life, Martin Luther King Jr. pushed for global economic justice rather than simply racial equality. It led him to voice opposition to the Vietnam War and advocate on behalf of sanitation workers in Memphis right before his assassination. However, the reluctance of whites and even some blacks to talk about these more radical aspects of King’s teachings is perhaps evidence of how difficult it may be to achieve Wilson’s goal of moving beyond the postmodern politics of identity and difference.

Race and Place does not have the feel of a traditional historical geography book. Although the history of black struggle and mobilization in Birmingham lies at the center of Wilson’s observations, he is concerned with a much larger intellectual project. For him, interpretation of the black experience (inside and outside of Birmingham) is impossible without an in-depth understanding of capitalism and the changing social and economic geography of America. He interlaces descriptions of Birmingham with lengthy theoretical discussions about the rise of the Fordist-Keynesian welfare regime, its decline, and the shift to post-Fordism. Comparisons also are made with other United States cities, including Atlanta, Montgomery, Detroit, and Pittsburgh. Although such an approach runs the risk of producing a disjointed text, Wilson avoids this problem for the most part by encapsulating his major arguments into several brief, coherent chapters.

While *Race and Place* is about more than just Birmingham, the city is by no means tangential to the book and its purpose. As Wilson writes: “In Birmingham more than any other industrial city in the United States, racism divided the working class and disguised the true tendencies of the capitalist system” (p. 30). The city’s civil rights efforts involved not only black protest and mobilization but also the growth of entrepreneurial regimes that saw segregation as bad for attracting business. Birmingham also demonstrates the complex nature of the African-American community, such as when Wilson contrasts the black liberation theology of local pastor Fred Shuttlesworth with the more accommodationist politics of King and the national civil rights movement. The Alabama city serves as a place to contextualize and elucidate important ideas about the political economy of race rather than being an analytical end in and of itself. It is this quality that makes *Race and Place* innovative and also frustrating. Wilson’s discussion, while insightful and well researched, is overly structural in nature. By emphasizing the broad social and economic forces at work in Birmingham and throughout America, he devotes far less attention to the historical and political agency of African Americans. As a result, this book will be appreciated more for its theoretical sophisticated

tion than its insight into the ordinary experiences and struggles of those who lived in “America’s Johannesburg.”

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River of Enterprise: The Commercial Origins of Regional Identity in the Ohio Valley, 1790-1850. KIM M. GRUENWALD. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002, Pp. xvi + 214, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth. ISBN 0253341329.

This insightful new book offers a fresh and intriguing interpretation of the early Anglo settlement of the Ohio Valley during the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Gruenwald is a historian by trade, but this book’s questions, methodology, and findings will appeal as much to students of American historical geography as they will to those concerned with the social and commercial history of the American frontier. Indeed, some of the book’s most central themes—the importance of space and place in frontier-settlement processes and the changing roles and meanings of regions—are inherently spatial in nature. Gruenwald begins her study with the assertion that historians of the American frontier have for decades been overly preoccupied with the experience of yeoman farmers, assigning to them the lead role in the alienation of land, the establishment of towns, and the creation of markets. Gruenwald rightly asserts that this has led to a substantial gap in our complete understanding of the processes involved in the early settlement of frontier regions, especially with regard to the roles played by merchants and entrepreneurs. Through a detailed analysis of the business activities of a leading mercantile family in the early Ohio Valley, Gruenwald convincingly shows us that merchants worked in tandem with farmers and speculators in building early markets and establishing networks and connections that were of vital importance in linking the early frontier economy of the Old Northwest to the Atlantic economy of the eastern seaboard.

River of Enterprise is really two books in one, dealing as it does with two different subjects—one frontier social and mercantile history and the other cultural and historical geography. The first analyzes and describes the importance of merchants and business entrepreneurs in the establishment of market networks and a commercial economy in the early Ohio Valley. The second explains the creation of a regional identity in the Ohio Valley and how the meaning and role of the river changed over time in the lives of three generations of settlers. Through painstaking archival research and imaginative writing, Gruenwald skillfully weaves the two into a meaningful but highly complex whole that is both illuminating and captivating. Social historians will appreciate the author’s expert use of a vast array of primary sources (ledgers, account and invoice books, letters, and journals) culled from a number of archives in several different states, while cultural and historical geographers will appreciate her adroit interpretation of how a re-

gional identity was created and then modified in the Ohio Valley over time, even though such an interpretation appears to be largely speculative and qualitative in nature rather than based upon quantifiable data. The main protagonists in this story, according to Gruenwald, are Dudley Woodbridge and his son, Dudley Woodbridge Jr., of Marietta, Ohio, the most important merchants in the Ohio Valley during the early, formative stages of settlement in the early nineteenth century. Gruenwald builds her book around the story of how the Woodbridges built a network of stores and business contacts in the Ohio Valley, employing their business records, letters, and journals to construct and drive home the book's main theses.

The book is organized temporally in three parts, consisting of eight chapters. Part One (Chapters One and Two) concerns the earliest period of settlement from 1790 to 1800, describing settlement processes in early southeastern Ohio, how towns were established and the various roles played by farmers, merchants, and land speculators in this settlement. Here, Gruenwald argues that land speculators and merchants were the primary agents of settlement, planting towns hundreds of miles away from initial entrepôts like Marietta that acted like magnets in attracting farmers seeking access to goods and markets for their products. It was such merchants and speculators that sold land to farmers on credit, lobbied for public money for education and transportation, and supported businesses and enterprise. For this first generation of settlers who grew up in an Atlantic-oriented economy, Ohio was the land "across the mountains" and the Ohio River was a means of access to the interior of the continent. Part Two (Chapters Three through Six) involves the period from 1800 to 1830, punctuated, according to Gruenwald, by the emergence of a regional identity built through commerce and the establishment of an urban hierarchy. Commerce united people on both sides of the river as "westerners" and the Ohio Valley came to be recognized as home to a new generation. The Ohio River was central to this identity since the economy of the region was so vitally linked to it. During this period a tri-partite hierarchy of urban places developed under the planning and direction of urban merchants like the Woodbridges: small local communities that serviced the needs of local farmers; sub-regional hubs where merchants gathered goods and produce from their hinterlands for export to eastern markets; and entrepôts like Marietta, larger towns and cities that imported and supplied settlers in the hinterlands with the goods they desired and the services they required. Merchants like the Woodbridges were at the center of building this network of towns and cities and it was they who established, nourished, and cultivated the connections between farmers and merchants at all three levels. Part Three (Chapters Seven and Eight) details the period from 1830 to 1850 and the first generation of settlers raised west of the Appalachians. During this period, the growing importance of the National Road and the canals began to challenge the central role played by the Ohio River in the region's economy and transportation network. Ohio began to shift its attention from the commercial world of the Ohio to the Great Lakes and the growth of industry there. Social and political realignments at the regional and national level also led to the emergence of the river as a regional and political boundary between North and South. A new and distinctive Ohioan identity emerged during this period; for this generation, Ohio came to be known as "the Buckeye state."

In the end, *River of Enterprise* presents four compelling theses that comprise a new model of regional development in the Ohio Valley. First, while most studies have focused on the role of farmers, Gruenwald is convincing in her argument that merchants were of at least equal importance in shaping the region's economy, society, and identity. Second, commerce, directed and nurtured by urban merchants, played a central role in the expansion of the United States. Ohio and the river systems of the trans-Appalachian West were the testing grounds for strategies that merchants, boosters, railroads, and entrepreneurs would later employ in settling lands west of the Mississippi. Third, the emergence of the Ohio River as a boundary between North and South came later, toward the end of the nineteenth century as the river lost its dominance over life in the region. Fourth, the river meant different things to three generations of Ohioans, reflective of a changing economy, the evolution of markets, and changes in transportation technology. For readers of this journal who are interested in the historical geography of the American frontier, *River of Enterprise* should be required reading. It is superbly written, meticulously researched, and presents a new and persuasive model for regional development in the Ohio Valley that also forces us to rethink the processes that shape regional identity.

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Calumet Beginnings: Ancient Shorelines and Settlements at the South End of Lake Michigan. KENNETH J SCHOON. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003. Pp. x + 247, photographs, maps, illustrations, index. \$24.95 cloth. ISBN 025334218X.

Many have formed impressions of the Calumet area—which stretches from the sandy, wave-swept shores along the tip of Lake Michigan to the rolling Valparaiso end moraine—solely from driving along Interstates 80-90-94. This is a pity. As Kenneth Schoon documents in *Calumet Beginnings*, there is far more to the modern vernacular landscapes along these major southeastern thoroughfares to Chicago than meets the eye.

The author, a former high school earth science teacher and current Associate Dean at Indiana University Northwest's School of Education, situates his attachment to the Calumet area in a brief prologue. Schoon's background is evident in the comprehensive, yet accessible, chapters devoted to Calumet area physiography.

Prior to the late-nineteenth century, the terrain here was dominated by a series of east-west tending ridges separated by broad, low-lying, frequently inundated areas. Some ridges were formed by ice sheets between 15,200 and perhaps 14,000 years ago such as the Valparaiso end moraine and the smaller Tinley and Lake Border moraines. Ancestral Lake Michigan later formed other ridges such as the Glenwood, Calumet, and Tolleston shorelines. Other topographic prominences, such as large dunes, formed during both Late Pleistocene and Holocene times.

Physical geography strongly influenced the settlement history here. The broad low-lying areas occupied by the Grand and Little Calumet rivers were largely impassable by foot, hoof, or wheel prior to the late-nineteenth century. Overland travel was, therefore, largely limited to the ridges. Early industry, ranging from quarries to brickyards, relied heavily on the economic deposits of pebbles, sand, and clay left behind by ice, water, and wind.

Euro-American settlers came in earnest to the Calumet area after the Potawatomi ceded the last of their lands in 1833. They generally traveled by horse and stagecoach along old Indian trails atop the shorelines of ancestral Lake Michigan. Farms, taverns, mills, smiths, and cooperages sprang up along the overland routes through the Calumet area. The construction of a canal that connected the Great Lakes with the Mississippi river drainage basin at nearby Chicago, and the arrival of railroads, greatly accelerated settlement and industrial development throughout the region after the 1850s.

The scale of human modification to the Calumet area during the late-nineteenth century is astonishing. Ridges and dunes were leveled. Most low-lying areas were filled. Dams and levees altered rivers. Ditches permitted settlement and farming of previously inundated areas. Communities expanded into Lake Michigan by filling near-shore areas. Gary, and to a lesser extent Hammond, became manufacturing centers with the rise of the steel industry. Conservation efforts began in the early twentieth century, culminating with the establishment of the Cook County Forest Preserve system, small scattered preserves, and Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore.

Brief biographies of early settlers and prominent citizens, and descriptions of the founding of Calumet area communities, dominate the last half of *Calumet Beginnings*. These accounts are augmented by more than 160 photographs, maps, and illustrations, most from Calumet area archives and local historical societies. Although Schoon emphasizes the German and Polish immigrant experience, he provides several interesting portraits of African Americans including Jennie Smith, Henry Robbins, and Marshall Taylor.

Calumet Beginnings ends with a listing of preserved natural areas along the southern tip of Lake Michigan. This rather sudden ending has the unfortunate consequence of isolating the past from the present. The Calumet area is today a home and workplace to more than a million people. There are many socioeconomic gradients visible in the Calumet landscapes of today, in part a legacy of the industrial era and a consequence of human environmental impacts. Calumet neighborhoods are also remarkably diverse as some have strong expressions of ethnicity, community, and revitalization while others do not. Historical events and processes are responsible for some of this geographic differentiation.

It is nearly impossible to adequately cover the natural and cultural history of a place in a slim volume such as *Calumet Beginnings* without sacrificing content. There is no attempt at a late Quaternary ecology of the Calumet area, despite excellent studies on the topic that stretch from Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore to Volo Bog in northeastern Illinois. Occasional nineteenth-century descriptions of the Calumet area's biota provide but a snapshot of the region's dynamic ecology. In addition, only a few pages are devoted to the native peoples who lived in the Calumet area for more than ten millennia. More should be done here. Projec-

tile points shown in Figure 22 suggest that Indian trails have existed here in one form or another since Early Archaic times (ca. 9,000-8,000 years ago). Native peoples, known as the Goodall Tradition in archaeological parlance, built earthworks, engaged in long-distance trade, and left behind large middens in the Calumet area about two millennia ago. Metal and glass artifacts of European origins are found in large Huber phase villages that date the end of prehistory here. Finally, there are seventeenth-century descriptions of densely populated Indian villages and large agricultural fields around the southern tip of Lake Michigan penned by Hennepin, Marquette, La Salle, de Tonti, Allouez, and others. While the scale of native environmental impacts is clearly dwarfed by those of Euro-Americans, it is difficult to reconcile the author's notions of a pre-nineteenth-century wilderness lost (e.g. pp. 8 and 96) given the palimpsest of nature and culture suggested above.

Nevertheless, *Calumet Beginnings* is very well-written celebration of place. The content is a meticulous compilation of secondary sources enhanced by archival materials. Schoon's passion for local history is evident throughout the volume—enough so that my family and I exited the interstate to explore the Calumet area several times this summer. Ancient moraine and shoreline remnants, ditch and levee systems, immigrant churches and cemeteries, and historic architectural edifices offer testimonials to the rich history of the Calumet area. These vestiges of the Calumet area's past will be far more meaningful to anyone reading *Calumet Beginnings*.

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Atlas of Lewis & Clark in Missouri. JAMES D. HARLAN and JAMES M. DENNY. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press. 2003. Pgs. xii and 138 pgs., plates, maps, illustrations, bibliography and index. \$59.00 cloth. ISBN 082614738.

In the publication of both academic and trade books for the bicentennial celebrations of the accomplishments of the Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery Expedition in 1804-1806, there have been great books and there have been pot-boilers. This volume—*Atlas of Lewis & Clark in Missouri*—done by cartographer James Harlan and historian James Denny is fully in the former category. It is one the most illustrative volumes honoring the extraordinary Corps of Discovery and their exploration and way-finding for the America of the early nineteenth century.

Consider, first, the aspects of the Lewis and Clark expedition that are included in this work. There are twenty-seven colored map plates. Numbers 1-23 (pp. 12-120) are detailed plates that encompass the full Corps progression from the confluence of the Ohio River and the Mississippi River (November 14, 1803) in southeastern Missouri to Bald Island in northwest Missouri and then back to St. Louis at the completion of the expedition (September 23, 1806). These plates each have two inset maps that provide additional detail for the Missouri River, its

floodplain, and adjacent landscapes. The final four plates—24-27 (pp. 122-129)—illustrate the reconstructed historical land cover of the eastern, central, western, and northwestern corridors of the Missouri near the time of the Corps of Discovery Expedition.

The text and plates in this volume provide a very explicit accounting of the landscape elements, intersection with native American tribes and individuals, the discovery of plants and animals heretofore unseen or at least unchronicled by explorers from east of the Mississippi River, and ongoing assessments of the potential for settlement, for political stability, and for productive avenues of commerce in the floodplain and adjacent lands of the Missouri River.

In addition, there is a variety of colored artwork by contemporary Missouri artist Gary R. Lucy, by nineteenth-century artist Karl Bodmer, and also other artists' work from the collections of the State Historical Society of Missouri. Each of the twenty-three river plates is also accompanied by a General Land Office (GLO) survey plat map of the same general locale as the cartographic plate. These GLO surveys were made primarily between 1815-1819. They provide the baseline data for the final four plates, and the section of the atlas entitled "The Lost Missouri."

There are, in addition, two large maps nested in slipcovers at the front and the rear of the atlas. One is "The Journey Begins" and the other "The Journey Ends." They each provide a statewide cartographic view of the landscape covered by the Corps of Discovery, inclusive of each of the Corps' campsites, dates, as well as hydrologic information and major plat lines. This total assemblage of geographic and geo-referenced information in combination with text and graphic representation amounts to an extraordinary body of landscape information. Its totality is unparalleled for anyone interested in better understanding and appreciating the exact geography of what the Corps of Discovery witnessed and accomplished in Missouri during their expedition to the Pacific Ocean and back two centuries ago.

As an opening line, consider the words by Missourian Matt Blunt, the Secretary of State who commissioned the work that led to the enormous digital database that underlies this entire atlas. He is speaking of President Thomas Jefferson, under whose watchful eye the Corps of Discovery took shape and articulated its mission.

"To Jefferson, geography was more than the study of an area's physical characteristics. That definition was too simplistic. It imposed stifling parameters on his boundless imagination. No, geography was much more. It was a way of looking at the world. And the world he saw in the land beyond the Mississippi River promised a grand and awesome future for "the Empire of Liberty." Blunt goes on to say "He (Jefferson) wanted to know intimately this land he would never see. He wanted firsthand knowledge of its inhabitants and their customs, its vegetation, its mineral production of every kind, its animal life and habitat. No question was too insignificant for him to contrive. His limitless imagination sent Lewis and Clark and their Corps of Discovery on one of the epic expeditions of all time and secured their place in American history and folklore" (p. ix).

The *Atlas of Lewis & Clark in Missouri* provides enormous detail in chronicling the range of cultural and physical landscape features that the Corps found in their 630 miles of travel in the state of Missouri. Between their November 14,

1803 arrival at the confluence of the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers until their return to St. Louis on September 23, 1806, all manner of encounters and observations are charted. The combination of highly detailed maps and judiciously included journal observations by six different authors (although William Clark provides the majority of the observations included) provides a richly evocative passage to the Pacific, examples of the always delicate interaction with native American populations, and the vagaries of crew life with a changing body of both Corps members and water craft. These all combine to enable the reader to feel virtually present at this most demanding exploration of early nineteenth-century landscapes lying west of the Mississippi River.

The genesis of this particular presentation on the Journals of Lewis and Clark, and all of the associated permutations of the Corps of Discovery is based on the unusual union of early GLO field notes and Geographic Information Systems (GIS). Nearly a quarter century ago, historical geographer Walter Schroeder of the Department of Geography at the University of Missouri began a labor-intensive analysis of the hundreds of field notebooks of the Missouri GLO surveyors. These notebooks contained the field reports of survey work done throughout Missouri. Dr. Schroeder's goal was to note and annotate the frequency with which the surveyors used the word "prairie" in their description of the landscapes they grew so familiar with in their detailed land surveys. Their mission had been to prepare an objective and uniform base for the anticipated flow of early nineteenth-century settlers soon to be coming across the Mississippi and up the Missouri River in search of farmland and settlement opportunities.

Schroeder used pencil and notebooks. Geographer Jim Harlan learned of this project two decades later and organized teams of graduate and undergraduate students to work with him in the further analysis of these GLO field notebooks. In the computer lab of the Geographic Resources Center at the University's Department of Geography, his team undertook an inventory of many more aspects of the GLO surveyors' observations. It is from those thousands of entries—dealing with trees, vegetation, and land cover; evidence of human settlement; property boundaries; and river location—that Harlan was able to create the databases that are the foundation of the twenty-seven plates in this atlas. Funding for this unprecedented project came from the Missouri Secretary of State and the National Endowment for the Humanities. The *Atlas of Lewis & Clark in Missouri* was finally published with assistance from the Bernoudy Foundation, the Kemper Foundation, and the State Historical Society of Missouri.

On the plates are marked all of the more than seventy campsites selected in Missouri for the Corps in its trips out and back. There are also notes on all of the locations that Clark or Lewis or others made geographic observations that led to the inclusion of new data in the body of journals being attended to on the expedition. While such campsite information may or may not seem of moment to the general readership of *Historical Geography*, the impact of exact map and place locations for such camping grounds has stirred up considerable controversy in the communities along the Missouri River. Whole tourist economies have been developed around campsites that Harlan and Denny have now shown to be incorrect—even though such traditional Lewis and Clark locales have been of major importance to town lore.

Even the initial location of Camp DuBois—where the Corps of Discovery over-wintered in 1803-04 at the mouth of the DuBois (Wood) River in Indiana Territory in 1804—has now been shown in the atlas to be a landscape site that has “migrated” to Missouri. The meandering of the Mississippi River has caused a political shift independent of any legislative body’s decision. Illinois, in anticipation of the regional and national interest in the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, invested considerable capital in the construction of a handsome Lewis and Clark Interpretation Center. It was sited at the traditional site of the Camp DuBois winter camp established late in 1803 and the point from which the Corps set sail on May 14, 1804. It has been particularly frustrating for the state of Illinois to find out that the true locale of Camp DuBois is—geographically—no longer in Illinois, but rather across the errant Mississippi and located in Alton, Missouri.

Some of the particularly interesting facets of this atlas include the detail given on the ways in which the keelboat, pirogues, canoes, and hunting members of the Corps stayed in motion both upstream and downstream. The images in the narration of Clark—particularly—and his assessment of the proximate landscape should be welcomed by geographers. Also fascinating is the explicit description of the hazards of going against the Big Muddy for sixty-five days upstream as well as the challenges in the final fourteen days downstream from Bald Mountain to St. Louis in September 1806.

Frustrations in the atlas come in the occasional discrepancies in the reportage of the same events when seen through the eyes of distinct journal keepers in the Corps. Although Harlan and Denny are only the messengers of such inaccuracies, the reader hungers for some explanation of the differing place names, for example, given to the same location. There is always wonder as we read of the complexity of the speeches of Meriwether Lewis with only minimal reference to how the nuances of such declarations were ever adequately communicated to the attending Indian peoples at these events. There is also a comment on “longitude” that clearly should be “latitude” associated with Plate Four (p. 27).

While the dominant attention of this atlas is, as the title states, the Corps in the state of Missouri, the detail of the narrative and the cartographic plates do provide an excellent template for a reader to get a wide-ranging sense of the monumental task that was undertaken and accomplished by the Lewis and Clark Expedition. For the historical geographer, the information gained by the comprehensive analysis of the field notes of the General Land Office surveyors in Missouri and the subsequent creation of a massive digital database is of particular importance. This wedding of GIS and historical data nearly two centuries old in the creation of the twenty-seven atlas plates and the intricate text of this twenty-eight-month exploration is unique.

The role of good fortune, strong spirit, appreciation of the setting for the Corps travel, and the sheer tenacity of everyone from top to bottom in this three-to four-dozen explorers and river men is well-expressed in these pages. Geography and landscape analysis are well-served by this volume. Students of Lewis and Clark are certain to wish that other states will mine their GLO data in a similar fashion. There is, however, an additional power in the *Atlas of Lewis & Clark in Missouri* gained in the blending of digital data and historical record keeping that

enables the reader to gain an ever-clearer sense of the drama of what Lewis and Clark and their Corps of Discovery attempted—and accomplished.

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The River We Have Wrought: A History of the Upper Mississippi. JOHN O. ANFINSON. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2003. Pp. xxi + 375, ill., photos, tables, notes, biblio., index. \$18.95 paper. ISBN 0816640246.

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 navigational 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 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 the easily the most impartial, most environmentally informed history of the Upper Mississippi River 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 four feet would boost enough river shipping to keep railroads from raising their rates. Congress looked to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers for 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 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 guaranteed depth of nine feet 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 twenty-nine 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 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 his excellent book.

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Grand Excursions on the upper Mississippi River. Places, Landscapes, and Regional Identity after 1854. CURTIS C. ROSEMAN and ELIZABETH ROSEMAN, eds. Iowa City: The University of Iowa Press, 2003. Pp. xiv + 212, photos, drawings, maps, charts, notes, bibliography, index, acknowledgements. \$19.95 paper. ISBN 0877458855.

Grand Excursions on the Upper Mississippi River is an enjoyable collection that attempts to define the gap between the economic dreams of the 1850s and the evolving reality of Upper Mississippi River development that continues today. The inspiration for this text is a six-day journey in 1854 that symbolized the opening of the Upper Mississippi River to trade and expansion of settlement from the east. Advertised as the "Grand Excursion," the journey took several hundred nationally prominent guests from Chicago by rail to Rock Island Illinois and by steamboat to St. Paul, Minnesota.

The first five essays are set in the time of the excursion and encompass the interaction between the transportation, press coverage, and the landscape encountered by participants. The essay by Edwin Hill is particularly effective in combining a detailed description of the realities of steamboat commerce and travel with a sense of humor about the problems related to providing fuel, food, and sanitary facilities on river journeys. Hill also provides a brief but surprisingly detailed history of steamboats on the Mississippi River that highlights the way transportation methods find a window of opportunity between the ability to cover space, and the economic and technological advances over time.

The only apparent gap in the historical essays is a more complete description of farm settlement and land use for the region. Essays describe geological history to native American removal, and they also describe settled towns and rich, culti-

vated farmland. Depth would have been added to the background information if an essay had been added to describe the types of settlers, farming methods, and crops grown on these lands with as much detail as the fishing methods were discussed later in the text. Another weakness of the text as a work in geography is a lack of theory to put the information in disciplinary context. While the description and easy readability of the text are its strong points, geographic theory related to transportation, economic change, and land use are not well developed.

The more current essays in this text address different aspects of the economy that the communities of the Upper Mississippi River have faced since 1854. The essay by Gary Meyer clearly documents the conservation interests, and location of protective zones within the study area. The essay by Malcolm Comeaux on fishing is exceptionally thorough. While fishing is described as a marginal economic activity in the past and the present, it provides the most interesting contrast in the book. While all other topics highlight the ever-changing pattern of growth and development, fishing represents an enterprise along the Upper Mississippi River that has remained relatively unchanged in method and product output since the time of the Grand Excursion in 1854.

The final essay by Moline and Mahaffey effectively provides a connection between 1854 and today by describing the evolution of riverfront towns. The success or failure of these towns is clearly demonstrated as being affected by the use and perception of the river, as well as the development of surrounding resources and new transportation methods.

Grand Excursions on the Upper Mississippi River contains a good combination of historical content, with discussion of the role that transportation plays in the development of towns. The case studies have good factual content, and could lead to important discussions related to the economic evolution of any chosen region.

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One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West Before Lewis and Clark. COLIN G. CALLOWAY. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2003, Pp xvii + 631, illus., maps. \$39.95 cloth. ISBN 0803215304.

One Vast Winter Count is an ambitious and successful synthesis of American history, native American ethnohistory, cultural anthropology, and archaeology, which focuses on the Trans-Appalachian West from earliest prehistory to the start of the nineteenth century. Calloway tries to weld 12,000-plus years of North American prehistory to the last 300 years of American history and create a seamless whole. His view of American history is revisionist in that he explicitly rejects an ethnocentric Anglo-American historical perspective. His refreshing opinion that the United States “might better be seen as a phase than a final solution” tells us that this is an historian who is not afraid to go outside the box of more tradi-

tional histories of the American West. While dealing superbly with French, Spanish, and British imperialist ambitions in North America, he never loses his primary focus on the indigenous people of the American continent. The native American experience is always given equal understanding and respect. By adopting this perspective on the validity and the worth of native American history, the American West regains its true historical time depth. It is not a New World (as seen from a European ethnocentric perspective) but a very old one indeed, more like the one of archaeologists. This worldview is reflected in the book's title. A "winter count" is a native American pictorial record in which significant historical events are recorded for each year. These winter counts preserved on deerskin may be more than a century old and could be recopied or joined to form a much longer series. Calloway argues that these winter counts may amplify or even correct the histories written by European observers. These counts are really memory aids for preserving a rich oral tradition that has been handed down from one generation to the next. What makes this book so interesting is the author's consistent use of native American oral traditions as a bridge between recorded history and the prehistory normally investigated only through archaeological techniques. In the last several years there have been several attempts to rewrite American history from a native American perspective, e.g. *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native American History of Early America* by Daniel K. Richter, but this book by Calloway stands out for its greater scope, its greater emphasis on Indian sources, and the overall superb synthesis of history, anthropology, and geography.

The book has a tripartite organization in which each of the three large sections are subdivided into somewhat lengthy chapters, which are further subdivided into sections introduced by subtitles. There is a well-written prologue to the main body of the book and a thought-provoking epilogue that ties together the massive amount of information presented into a meaningful and coherent worldview. Part One, *The West Before 1500*, covers the prehistoric period to just before the DeSoto entrada into the southeastern U.S. and sustained contact with Europeans. The author demonstrates a fine command of the current archaeological literature and a willingness to let native American oral tradition serve as metaphors, shedding needed light on the archaeological record. For example, Indian origin stories of emergence from a dark underworld may preserve ancient memories of the Arctic Circle and Beringia. Stories of encounters with great bodies of water may recall giant glacial lakes while stories of encounters with animals that taught Indian ancestors how to build lodges may refer to the early development of earth-lodge architecture on the northern plains. Calloway's emphasis on oral tradition and winter counts reaching back to a time before European historical accounts may remind some readers of Julian Steward's direct historical approach to archaeological interpretation of prehistoric cultures. Calloway sees value in the native American perspectives preserved in oral tradition and art (winter counts, pictographs, petroglyphs, etc.) because they are records of a unique and fully human experience and a component of the western history that has been heretofore ignored by historians.

Part Two, *Invaders South and North 1500-1730*, is an excellent overview of the Spanish and French imperialist effort in Trans-Appalachian America. The focus here is on the native American understanding of, and reaction to, the Euro-

peans. In a clear rejection of traditional Anglo-American approaches, where the primary point of departure is the history of thirteen British colonies, two of the three chapters in this section focus on the colonization and attempted missionization of New Mexico. There is a detailed discussion of the 1680 Pueblo War of Independence and the epidemics that followed when the indigenous tribes revolted against the Spanish colonial order in New Mexico and northern Mexico. After a dozen years of freedom, the Spanish reconquest of New Mexico brought on a new era of Indian suppression. The author provides detailed notes in his excellent synthesis of primary historical records and secondary sources. There is a clear geographic regional approach taken here that is somewhat hampered by the very limited use of maps. The long chapters are only rarely broken up by cartographic figures and the few figures that do appear are mostly historic portraits or paintings of landscapes.

The third chapter of this section deals with French colonial occupation of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River Valley. Calloway weaves a fine tapestry using familiar threads, the special affinity between the French and the Indians, the high rate of intermarriage and the emergence of the metis society, the loyalty of Indian people to the French during times of warfare between the colonial powers. The author tries to give both native American and French perspectives on their unique relationship. For example, Calloway reports that Anishinabe tribal history, preserved in oral tradition and later committed to writing by literate Anishinabe authors in the nineteenth century, places them “center stage in the Great Lakes world before 1800 with Frenchmen and their actions very much peripheral to Indian-Indian relations.” French chroniclers, like Pierre Esprit Radisson, portrayed French traders around Lake Superior quite differently, describing them as “Caesars” and “demigods” to the native people. In sharp, almost comical contrast, Anishinabe histories depicted these traders as hapless individuals dependent for survival on Indian kindness. Calloway consistently portrays Indians as intelligent human beings whose behavior must be understood in cultural and historic contexts. Consequently, there is no valid reason to ignore their views when they can be reconstructed with a reasonable degree of certainty. This is history that is anthropologically informed and geographically focused.

The third and final section, *Winning and Losing in the West 1700-1800*, is the zenith of the book from an historical geography perspective. The discussion of the impact of the horse culture (“equestrian revolution”) on the Plains (*The Coming of the Centaurs*) is rich in anthropological and historical details on the movement of woodland peoples like the Sioux and Cheyenne onto the Plains in the eighteenth century following increased levels of warfare and disease in the Great Lakes areas after sustained European contact. The author’s geographic approach to the diffusion of horses across the Plains and the Rockies and the complex movement of tribes onto and across the Plains is greatly aided by the more effective use of maps here. At his best, Calloway is writing “Anthropogeography” in the best Sauerian tradition. He continues to integrate the native American perspective contained in oral traditions and winter counts and makes effective use of archaeological data where it sheds light on the history of a people. This is most evident in the history of the conflict of the Sioux and the village Indians of the Upper Missouri (Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara). Other highpoints include a

thorough discussion of the devastating impact of European diseases, particularly smallpox on Indian populations (*The Killing Years*). The great smallpox epidemic of 1779-83 killed tens of thousands and yet its social impact has rarely been considered in depth by American historians. Anthropologists like Ann Ramenofsky and others have made this a special research concern for a long time. Calloway notes that historians tend to downplay the role of unpredictable epidemics that bring colossal loss of life because they lie beyond historical explanation and make it difficult to make sense of human experience. Another explanation by Calloway worth considering is that this great epidemic occurred in what was then Indian Country located outside of the U.S. Call it ethnocentrism, call it tacit racism, the historians' neglect of these American pandemics is wrong and revision is long overdue. This book marks a great step forward in that regard.

In his very thoughtful epilogue, the Englishman Calloway, a professor of history and chairman of Native American Studies at Dartmouth, takes a well-deserved shot at American (U.S.) hubris. He likens twenty-first-century America to the victorious Roman general who must be reminded by a slave in the chariot that "you are mortal and this moment of glory will fade away." Calloway takes on the role of the slave. The history of America is not just the history of thirteen British colonies and an imperialist manifest destiny to rule from sea to shining sea. It is also the history of its indigenous peoples who lived on the American landscape for millennia prior to Jamestown and Plymouth Rock. "Their stories are our story; they made choices that made sense at the time they made them but with long-term consequences they would not foresee." Calloway argues that there is no American (U.S.) exceptionalism to the cycles of history, "to the historical fact that everything passes and no one escapes." In the wake of the 9/11 Al-Qaeda attack on the U.S., it is sobering to consider his final admonition that the cycles of history will continue as they always have and ultimately, the only truly exceptional thing about American (U.S.) history is that it happened in America.

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The Future of the Southern Plains. SHERRY L. SMITH, ed. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press (in cooperation with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University), 2003, Pp. xii, 275, maps, illustrations, index. \$29.95 paper. ISBN 0806135530.

In *The Future of the Southern Plains*, Sherry Smith, professor of history at Southern Methodist University, brings together an engaging set of essays. Essentially made up of the panhandle region of Texas and adjacent areas, the southern plains region is defined by the conditions of grass, water, oil, heat, drought, space, and distance. The book grew from a symposium held in 2001 at Southern Methodist University and several of the authors have done especially interesting work on the region. The topic, given in the title, is the region's future. It is the tale of

human occupancy of the region, an examination of resources, and resource strategies. The contributors, mainly historians, supply a broad understanding of place and possibility. The timeframe is long, but coverage focuses especially on human adaptations to environmental conditions.

The book is best seen (and evaluated) as an ongoing discussion. First came the symposium, then the book—with the authors acknowledging each other—and then the reader is invited in. The authors cover different aspects. Smith sets things up; Elliot West offers the long view; climate and periodic drought is covered by Connie Woodhouse, oil by Diana Olien, and water by John Opie; John Morris examines ranching; Yolanda Romero discusses Hispanic experience; Jeff Roche addresses politics, and Dan Flores brings it all home with landscape.

West gracefully goes from pre-Columbian time to the present in a mere twenty-five pages. He argues for the region's underappreciated and ongoing centrality as a vast reservoir of energy for exchange. Its bison trade—that is, converted bioenergy—made it a crossroads of the Americas. Later its oil established it as a key region for equally central transactions. West finds recapitulation of pattern, but that includes long stretches of desertion due to drought. The essay works as an establishing section, but it provides less help with the future since cycles are not temporally predictable; for decision-makers, knowing where exactly one is in the swings is critical. Woodhouse's essay on the region's climate and drought has the same virtues and limitations. With clear charts and text, she shifts from time frame to time frame. It is clear any future will include drought, whatever the practices. It cannot be prevented, but it can be worsened.

Opie's comparison of two water-management districts, one in the Texas panhandle and the other in southwest Kansas, focuses more on the human scale. His *Ogallala: Water for a Dry Land* (1993), first published more than a decade ago, clearly and sympathetically depicted the opportunities and pressures that led to overexploitation of the aquifer. In this essay (and in the book's second edition), he finds a new urgency within the region, at least for some, about the looming reckoning for overuse of the aquifer. The chapter's principal figures are two water district managers; each must find ways of meshing state and local politics, the regulatory structure, and private action. Watching them, Opie finds cause for optimism, but the essay's larger history shows how tentative that judgment is. Olien's essay on oil neatly puts everyone on the same page, providing straightforward background on the industry for the ignorant, and then detailing the ramifications of technological and global shifts of the last twenty years. She points to the region key's decision makers, independent producers, but they themselves are heavily constrained by the choices of the majors, who have now long been centered elsewhere.

Geographer John Miller Morris' essay on identity intelligently parses the relative weights of corporations versus independent family farmers and then takes on the crafting of modern, market-oriented agricultural enterprises and regional pride. In one of the most interesting sections, he discusses the pressures on his own family's farm. Clearly successful—after all, it still exists as a family corporation—it searches for solutions to costs, climate, lack of water, soil erosion, global competition, and vastly different levels of commitment among co-owners. Morris provides a concrete and immediate understanding of the difficult path for the

future. His final section forthrightly states that corporations will decide what happens next. Their willingness to undertake conservation measures is a key to a positive future.

Roche's interesting essay on politics connects to that of Morris. The unraveling of the independent family farm (voting solidly Democratic) leads directly into the heart of the conservative wing of the Republican Party. Gratitude, then resentment of Dust Bowl aid, created the conditions for a break with the Democratic Party. That break reinforced a regional identity built on local values—in Roche's terms, small government, libertarian, unfettered capitalism, and the righteousness of small-town Protestant beliefs. A new politics was its medium of expression. Roche suggests the regional politics will either continue to reshape larger American politics, or the Republicans, like the Democrats before them, will slight the regional sense of itself, and open up a new national political dynamic. Romero's essay on Hispanics broadens the identity. Historically, Hispanics, a small population in the southern plains, are now a growing presence. Romero conveys feeling for the ethnic relationships in the small, gritty towns where a necessary labor pool gets absorbed into the social fabric.

The opening essay asks why one should care about the southern plains. Its answer is that it is the cutting edge of the modernist experiment. Its lessons are those for elsewhere—eventually. Maybe. An equal case can be made for the region's ongoing connections with elsewhere—its resource wealth and its political influence. The back and forth between regional particularities and larger forces provides the nuance that gives the book its surprises and its interest. The conversation is one that has engaged me for nearly twenty years, and I found myself periodically responding aloud, as though I had been there. (For the record, it sometimes felt as though I was, since my work is discussed explicitly in the introduction and several of the chapters. I have talked to a number of the authors and found myself and my ideas well represented in the text.)

Flores concludes the book with a strong essay that may trump all rationales for caring. His writing on the region here and elsewhere (see his *Caprock Canyonlands*, 1990) gives a visceral sense of place. He traces its power to attract or repel. His love of the region drives the basic question: why is this glorious land no longer as glorious? How has it become "un-country," my word, once uttered indiscreetly to describe it? Can it become "country" again? "Un-country" was the upshot of dismantling its ecology. For Flores, the best future lies in restoration. Mindful of earlier missed opportunities to protect landscape, he nonetheless finds hope in the growing number of restoration projects across the plains.

The book is amply illustrated with maps, charts, and black-and-white photographs that work well enough, but don't convey the blue of the sky and browns of the earth that captivated Georgia O'Keeffe, who was inspired by west Texas before New Mexico. The book is worth reading. It stimulates across a whole range of environmental, regional, and development questions.

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Myth and History in the Creation of Yellowstone National Park. PAUL SCHULLERY and LEE WHITTLESEY. Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 2003, Pp. xv + 125, photographs, index. \$50.00 cloth. ISBN 0789480166.

As its title suggests, this book attempts to separate what we have been led to believe (the myth) from what we actually know to be true (the history) of how Yellowstone National Park came to be. According to tradition, on September 19, 1870, in the southwest corner of the Montana Territory, members of the Washburn-Langford-Doane expedition sat around their evening campfire and discussed the future of the amazing region they had just explored. A few men suggested filing private claims to those acres containing specific wonders, especially the geysers and hot springs. But one man, Cornelius Hedges, shunning the more self-serving suggestions of his traveling companions, proposed a more altruistic solution: petition the federal government to create a *public* park and open up Yellowstone's wonders to all people. Apparently, everyone around the campfire agreed, and on March 1, 1872, Yellowstone became the world's first national park. This sequence of events has since become known as the "campfire story."

Schullery and Whittlesey are both National Park Service (NPS) employees in Yellowstone, prolific writers, and clearly disappointed that the NPS has for so long and so unabashedly continued to repeat the campfire story as fact despite questions regarding its validity arising almost from the start. In *Myth and History*, the authors investigate circumstances surrounding the campfire story in painstaking detail. They are on a mission to validate or discredit it as the "creation myth" not only of Yellowstone as a national park but the National Park Service as well.

As the authors state in the introduction, the book strives to answer questions concerning that fateful night that "may never be fully answered" (p. xv). Hence, the reader is presented with a wealth of information but always with the cautionary note that we may never know for sure what was said, who said it, and why it was said. The book's other stated goals are to "observe the rise of the campfire story in the culture of the conservation movement, chronicle the various scholarly challenges to its specifics, and review the turmoil the National Park Service experienced as its most beloved institutional memory as reduced to folklore" (p. xv).

Those familiar with the campfire story will find the book's first chapters fascinating reading. The authors absolutely shine in their detective work. They collect bits and pieces of the historical puzzle never before brought to light, question the absence of substantiating documents, delve into the personal integrity of expedition members, and even scrutinize the handwriting on the margins of lecture notes. They point out that no member of the 1870 expedition whose original diary has survived to date wrote in his diary that the campfire conversation even took place.

The culprit in initiating the hoax, it seems, was Nathaniel Langford, who, the authors write, "despite his not ever claiming to have originated the idea of establishing Yellowstone National Park, has long been the central character in this historical drama" (p. 6). Indeed, the first published mention of the campfire conversation was made fourteen years after the expedition took place and twelve years after Yellowstone had already become a national park. Langford wrote in an 1894 article that it was Hedges who first suggested the government withdraw the Yellowstone region from settlement. Langford then repeated this assertion in the

1905 publication of his supposedly original diary (the authors prefer the term “reconstructed account” to “diary”) of the 1872 expedition. It is in his reconstructed account that Langford fleshed out the circumstances of the campfire conversation and wrote that he, Langford, “lay awake half of last night thinking about it.” The “it” was the idea that “our purpose to create a park can only be accomplished by untiring work and concerted action in a warfare against the incredulity and unbelief of our National legislators when our proposal shall be presented for their approval” (p. 9).

In the rest of the book, the authors document how the NPS institutionalized the campfire story through commemorative plaques, roadway signs, re-enactment skits, and any number of public speeches despite the fact that many people both inside and outside the agency questioned its authenticity. Beyond de-bunking the myth-like character of the campfire story, another not-so-subtle goal of *Myth and History* is to vindicate the work of former Yellowstone historian and NPS employee Aubrey Haines. Haines was not the first to question the campfire story but was the most outspoken opponent of the NPS’ continuing to repeat the dubious tale to the public as fact. In so doing, Haines incurred the wrath of high-ranking NPS officials. Schullery and Whittlesey admit this is an emotional issue for both of them, and the book suffers a bit from their repeating the injustices done to Haines during his NPS employment.

Myth and History may have too narrow a focus for most historical geographers, but those with an interest in the national park idea and its ties to Yellowstone will find the book a wonderful annotated bibliography of Yellowstone literature. In a single, slim volume, the authors point the reader to much of what has been written about Yellowstone over the past three decades. Using the campfire story as an underlying, unifying theme, the authors take readers on a journey through Yellowstone literature from the park’s native American presence through beggar bears, elk management, and wolf reintroduction. The book offers an extensive and impressive bibliography.

If the book has a weakness, it is that it begs the question, “Does it matter to the American public whether the campfire conversation happened or not? Would the NPS be different today if it had not used the campfire story as a promotional tool?” The authors suggest Langford’s campfire story spawned a creation myth that “handily placed the Washburn party (and especially himself) in a pantheon with Prometheus, Jason, Aeneas, and other mythic hero-adventurers of old” (p. 83), but no evidence is offered to substantiate such a statement. It would strengthen the book’s argument if a survey of NPS employees both inside and outside Yellowstone were questioned as to their knowledge of and belief in the Yellowstone campfire story. A similar survey of the national-park-going-public would also contribute much to the weight of the book’s argument. It is obviously important to the authors to set the record straight, but it is not made clear how important this distinction is to a larger Yellowstone or National Park constituency.

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Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region, ETHAN R. YORGASON. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003, Pp. xii+ 261 notes, bibliog., index. \$32.50 cloth. ISBN 0252028538.

There is little to criticize and much to commend in this well-written account of regional development and change. The scholarship is sound and the prose concise and clear. Some idea of its quality is apparent from its selection as the outstanding book on Mormon History for 2003 by the Mormon History Association. *Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region* is, according to the author, an attempt "to contribute to regional history and regional geography" (p. ix). Yorgason, is intimately connected to the Mormon Culture Region by belief and ancestry, prompting his own interest in explaining why "such a strongly conservative set of sociocultural norms marks the present-day Mormon culture region" (p. vii). Specifically Yorgason has set himself the task of explaining how the religion founded by Joseph Smith in 1830, so radically different from mainstream American culture because of its distinctive theology and emphasis on communitarian doctrines, morphed into one of the most politically conservative and patriotic regions in the United States. His volume attempts to define the region not in terms of its geo-political boundaries along the lines set forth by Donald Meinig in his writings on the region in the 1960s and 70s, but in terms of the cultural and social processes that combined to create such a distinctive and persistent cultural region. Yorgason relies on concepts derived from what he describes as new regional geography to examine selected conflicts between Mormons and non-Mormons in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that he believes are responsible for both the creation and transformation of the Mormon West. Yorgason argues that regions can be thought of as agents of social change that create for their members not just a regional identity, but ongoing conflicts over the meaning and importance of that identity.

Using this paradigm of new regionalism, the author discusses three major conflicts between the Mormons and the broader American society that dominated the decades from 1880-1920. He concludes that these three—polygamy, economy, and politics—shaped the current cultural characteristics of the region. Each involved the Mormon majority changing their beliefs and behavior to more closely conform to the broader American cultural milieu, and in the process moving further from the liberal ideals originally promulgated by Smith in the early nineteenth century.

Polygamy, the first process and associated conflict examined by Yorgason, is symbolic of the cultural changes that transformed the Mormon West. Mormon practitioners argued that polygamy empowered Mormon women compared to traditional Victorian monogamy. Multiple wives allowed each more independence from the husband, at the same time it provided a safety net for widows and spinsters in an economy in which there were few jobs for single women. Multiple wives in a home, according to this view, allowed sharing the work of rearing children, cooking, and cleaning and thus allowed each wife freedom to pursue other personal accomplishment. Polygamy as perceived at the national level, however, was associated with visions of debauchery and female subjugation. Attempts by leading Mormon women to ally themselves with the feminist movement were

largely rebuffed because of the dominant American societal view that monogamy was the only acceptable marriage practice. National attacks on polygamy caused the Mormon church to officially disavow it as practice in the 1890s, the first step in creating the present cultural values that dominate the Mormon West. Through careful analysis of a wide array of historical source materials, Yorgason explains how adoption of the nuclear family model of one wife, one husband, and their dependent children came to be so firmly incorporated into mainstream Mormonism. The process and resultant changes in the Mormon culture reversed the early radical views of the faith's founder Smith, transforming the region into a bastion of support for the Victorian view of marriage as a male-female diad.

Economic issues were a focus of interregional conflict because of Mormon experiments with both communitarianism and economic exclusivity. Church leaders encouraged members to live in communities where property was jointly owned and operated for the benefit of all community members. This deviation from capitalism might have been tolerated had it not been for leaders also encouraging members to patronize only businesses owned by other Mormons. Weakness in Mormon altruism made successful communitarian settlements the exception in the West, and outside pressure associated with efforts to gain statehood and get their representatives accepted in Congress forced the Mormon church to formally abandon its economic discrimination against non-Mormon businesses.

Conflict over statehood and Congressional recognition of elected representatives from Utah is the final conflict that Yorgason defines as transforming societal characteristics in the Mormon region. National fears that Mormon abandonment of polygamy and communitarianism was only a temporary ploy to get national acceptance prompted Congress to reject the first representatives from the new state. Media and anti-Mormon sources of the time maintained that the primary allegiance of Mormons was to the church and its leaders. The perceived power of church leaders over the political behavior of members prompted church leaders to encourage its members to give up their near-exclusive support for the Democratic Party and support the Republican Party. Mormons were hostile to the Republicans because they had supported legislation punishing Mormons for polygamous practices, but Mormon leaders believed that creating a viable Republican vote among the Mormons in Utah would demonstrate that the Mormons were not a monolithic voting bloc controlled by religious belief. Although the emergence of the Republican Party in Utah was viewed at the time by many outside of the region as but another devious and temporary phenomena of the unpatriotic Mormons attempting to gain statehood and thus a measure of independence from Washington, it actually signaled a major transformation of the regional political culture into a nearly monolithic voting bloc that today seems to unquestioningly support the Republican national agenda. The author concludes that the regional transformation of political views represents a critical part of the process of cultural change that transformed the Mormon Culture Region from its liberal and radical roots to one emphasizing group conformity to American ideals that enshrine monogamy, capitalism, patriotism, and the Republican Party.

Overall, the book will be a valuable addition to any social scientist interested in understanding the development of modern western regions. Readers unfamiliar with the ideas and techniques of new regionalism will receive a basic introduc-

tion to its major hypotheses in the clear and concise explanations of its methods and approaches. The scholarship is excellent and there is little to criticize except the total absence of maps, an absence particularly egregious when the audience seems to extend beyond geographers (who might be expected to be familiar with the locational aspects of the region). After all, this is supposed to be a geography book, not just a social history. Nonetheless, readers interested in understanding the process by which regional identity and characteristics in general (and the Mormon West in particular) are created and changed through conflict and public dialog will find the book invaluable. The book also will be of interest to anyone interested in new regionalism, and should be required reading for students interested in understanding either the modern West or current ideas and research in “new regionalism.”

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Racial Frontiers: Africans, Chinese, and Mexicans in Western America, 1848-1890. ARNOLDO DE LEÓN. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2002, Pp. ix + 150, photos, notes, bibliography, and index. \$21.95 paper. ISBN 0826322727.

As a recent volume within the continuing Histories of the American Frontier Series published by the University of New Mexico Press, Arnolde De León's *Racial Frontiers* is a testament to the evolution of the field of Western American history. Over the past several decades, scholars have redirected their focus from describing a singular defining experience of the West toward exploring the diverse contributions of minority groups in the creation and transformation of the Western frontier. *Racial Frontiers* fits nicely into the approach commonly referred to as New Western History. Largely a review of published research, the author takes on the tremendous task of synthesizing a broad collection of literature relating to three diverse minority groups in the U.S. West—Africans, Chinese, and Mexicans. Through this effort, he effectively demonstrates how the contribution of these groups to the construction of the American frontier is best understood within the context of each other and the dominant Anglo population.

While the author makes casual reference at times to the concepts of “place” and “social space,” there are perhaps greater geographical implications within the text. Following in the tradition of new Western historians, this work supports the contention that “western history makes sense only when we see the complex linkages that tied the frontier to other parts of the world.” The linkages De León describes are those between the non-white population of the U.S. West and their homelands both in the eastern U.S. and beyond the national boundaries. The flow of people, ideas, and practices between homelands and the frontier contributed to an environment of contestation that produced change as well as resis-

tance to change. Both the frontier and the people who inhabited it were characterized by both elements of change and continuity.

The theme of change and continuity runs throughout the book, from the introductory chapter and on to the five thematic chapters addressing a single component of the social environment of a racially diverse frontier. Organizing the chapters thematically rather than devoting individual chapters to each racial minority group highlights the complex network of relationships within and between minority groups in the U.S. West during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Key to De León's thesis is the notion that for people of color, the frontier was never a single monolithic experience but rather a constant renegotiation of identity by individuals and groups. Africans, Chinese, and Mexican inhabitants of the frontier struggled to find a compromise between their past and present circumstances.

Chapter One sets the stage for the rest of the volume by examining the arrival of the three minority groups. Through a discussion of push-and-pull factors, De León reviews various scholarly interpretations as to what factors influenced the immigration of Chinese, Africans and Mexicans to the frontier. Very quickly, the new arrivals to the West realized that the new physical environments they encountered often were more challenging than those they left behind, yet their new social environments often proved even more challenging. Their transition to not only minority status, but moreover one of several racial minorities in a largely Anglo-dominated society, would force them into alliances and conflicts the likes of which they had never experienced.

The next two chapters, entitled "Citizens or Outsiders?" and "Quasi-Chat-tels, Coolies, and Peons," respectively, describe the ways in which racial minorities negotiated their roles within the political and economic structures of the West. Both of these systems forced minority residents of the frontier to continually adapt to local circumstances. According to De León, racial minority groups in the West were neither completely passive victims of the political and economic circumstances they encountered nor in a position of total empowerment. They were at times subject to the inconsistencies of the legal system and institutionalized discrimination but at other times turned to it as a means to remedy an injustice. Likewise, while the capitalist economic system of the West did not provide even the basic assurances of economic protection, it nonetheless allowed racial minorities to at least find or create an economic niche for themselves. The author points out that while that small window of opportunity for minorities may have often been as economic "scavengers" who served a dominant white population, it was still a more accessible passage to economic ascension than they would have been afforded in their homelands.

While the previous two chapters focus upon how racial minority groups were forced to adapt to their new social circumstances politically and economically, the final two chapters emphasize the importance of cultural continuity and change. Entitled "Customs of Color" and "Identities," respectively, Chapters Four and Five describe how racial minorities struggled as much with maintaining their own ethnic and racial identities as they did in negotiating the nuances of the political and economic environments of the Frontier West. Despite the attempts

of some immigrants to minimize their distinct heritage through adaptation and even such customs as “passing,” the author contends that greater evidence suggests that there were rarely instances of complete acculturation. Racial minorities were often forced into a position of hybridity whereby they maintained an appreciation for their homeland, but “competition and survival demanded compromises.”

Racial Frontiers would be an appropriate text to include in an undergraduate survey course on the American West. The inclusion of both substantial notes and a bibliography will serve to direct students and their instructors in locating original case studies. The use of biographical anecdotes and historic photos from all three minority groups provide the reader with concrete examples of De León’s thesis. The author’s style adds to the accessibility of the text, but lacking a glossary, some students may find a dictionary a useful companion in navigating some of the terms used. Overall, *Racial Frontiers* provides a much-needed summary of the minority experience in the U.S. West suitable for both a general audience and as a course adoption.

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The Nature of Gold: An Environmental History of the Klondike Gold Rush.
KATHRYN MORSE. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003, Pp. xviii+290, maps, illustrations, index.

The late-nineteenth-century gold rush to the Yukon Territory and Alaska, often collectively called the Klondike rush, was the last great gold mining excitement in North America. Like earlier strikes, it drew tens of thousands of would-be miners from cities and farms across the continent and from countries around the world. Like previous rushes, it began with simple tools and individual claims. Through the three or four years of its heyday, technology and organizational efficiency advanced and environmental impact increased. What differentiated the Klondike Gold Rush from earlier precious metal frenzies were the nature of the environment, the difficulty in reaching it, and the extraordinary problems encountered in the mining process. Miners were required by the Canadian government to bring one ton of food and supplies per person. They spent the winters burning fires to melt permafrost and then excavating the melted, potentially ore-bearing material and piling it up where it promptly re-froze. The summers were then spent manipulating the erratic water supply to process the excavated material for gold. It is a legendary story that has been told by many writers including participants like Jack London and Robert Service.

Part of the excellent Weyerhaeuser series published by the University of Washington Press, *The Nature of Gold* by Kathryn Morse retells the history of the Yukon and Alaska mining experience from the perspectives of economic and environmental history. It is an approach that will be familiar and welcome to

geographers in general and historical geographers in particular. Her primary goal is to show that “everything that human beings produce from the earth has a nature, not only in its physical qualities and its usefulness, but also in all that people consume to produce it” (p. 192). Hence, Morse devotes most of the book to explaining the story as a case of industrial capitalism operating in the wilderness as well as its connections to nature both in the north country and wherever its supplies were produced. Among the key themes are the linkages of consumers to nature through products and labor, the influence of culture in determining value and the importance of the work ethic, the desire for freedom that drove miners to these inhospitable places only to find that they were linked to the constraining corporate world as tightly as ever, and the differential impacts of this Herculean industrial effort on the environment and all the peoples associated with it. In the end, socio-economic realities shaped the event, not the harsh and distant environment.

Morse divides the book into an introduction, seven chapters, and a conclusion. The chapters concern five topics: gold, transportation, the mining process, food supply, and the role of Seattle as the primary entrepôt. In the first chapter on gold, the author explains that the value of gold is entirely a cultural construct and that as such it was the force that drove miners to the Yukon. The next two chapters are about the nature and culture of transport to the northland, respectively. This is the *modus operandi* for the rest of the book. First, she elucidates the interrelationship of the transport process with the natural world, both locally and through economic linkages, and then discusses the role of culture in shaping the journeys. Next come two chapters on the process of mining. Chapter Four is one of the most interesting as she explains how the miners extracted the gold in the midst of such desperate physical conditions. In the next chapter, Morse shows how mining evolved from the protestant work ethic idea that hard work produces profits to the sense that it was gambling and could return nothing for all of one's efforts.

Spatial linkages, especially around North America, are the foci of the last two chapters on the nature and culture of food supply and the importance of Seattle as a supply center. Here, Morse is confident that by now the reader understands the links between production and consumption and between nature and culture. Hence, the text flows better than earlier in the book when she hammers home these concepts repeatedly. She traces the sources of many of the supplies and simply refers to the roles of nature and culture in these distant places. Finally, Morse describes how aggressive promotion and an equation of Seattle's role as supplier were considered both divinely ordained and a part of nature. In an elegant conclusion, Morse sums up the various themes demonstrated by the Klondike story and provides some additional perspective by comparing it to a current mining controversy in Montana.

The Nature of Gold is intensely geographical and it is gratifying to see the author's keen sense of spatial connections and the interrelationships between cultural ideas and the natural world. The book is graced by extensive notes, seven useful maps, and a cluster of engaging photographs bound in the center. As a story of the great northern gold rush for the general reader, the book may be too

academic, but for historical geographers and environmental historians it is a delight.

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Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past. WILLIAM DEVERELL. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004, Pp. xix + 252, notes, index, illustrations, maps. \$29.95 paper. ISBN 0520218698.

In 1932, Mexican muralist David Alfaro Siqueiros painted a 17 x 80 foot mural on the exterior wall of the Plaza Art Center on Olvera Street in downtown Los Angeles. Most of the mural illustrated images of the collapse of pre-Columbian civilizations in the Americas, but the central motif showed a crucified Indian with an eagle perched on top of the cross. While the art community hailed the technical achievements of *Tropical America*—the mural was done in fresco—the enthusiasm for the art was not enough to save it. Its poignant indictment of United States imperialism and exploitation was unacceptable. After its completion and the deportation of Siqueiros, the mural was whitewashed.

That act is the symbolic metaphor historian William Deverell elaborates as the general thesis of his latest book about the “remaking” of the Mexican past of Los Angeles, today, the most Mexican city in America. At the tip of Deverell’s pen sword is the proposition that El Pueblo de la Nuestra Señora la Reina de Los Angeles de Porciuncula founded in 1781 became transformed by Anglo elites and others chiefly in the late-nineteenth and pre-World War II twentieth century. That transformation that included equal parts political, social, cultural, demographic, and architectural was a whitewashing of the Mexican cultural heritage of the city.

Deverell’s ammunition is packed tightly inside five chapters that ignite individual fuses about the use of public works, labor, public health, and both street theater and playhouse drama to whitewash the Mexican past. To my mind, only three of these chapters explode with conviction, two, quite literally, are duds. The better arguments are made about two celebrated events of Los Angeles—La Fiesta parade and The Mission Play—and slightly less successful, a brickyard that was worked almost exclusively by Mexicans. The less convincing examples are a chapter about Mexicans and the Los Angeles River, and a chapter that discusses how quarantine became a social weapon against ethnic Mexican districts in the city.

After an introductory chapter that brings the reader up to speed about the discrimination and segregation of Mexicans in the historic city of angels, Deverell launches into a lengthy and detailed discussion about the contrived La Fiesta de Los Angeles parade that he claims was used as a foil to romanticize the Spanish past of the city. Cooked up by the city’s merchants’ association in the 1890s, La Fiesta—later known as Fiesta de Las Flores—may have been the first full-blown community booster campaign for Los Angeles. The parade was meant to be more

than mere celebration, however, and Deverell deconstructs the social actors, the media representation, and the pedagogical insights that were there for those who paid attention. While the Fiesta parade lost energy into the early years of the twentieth century, it became the model for *The Mission Play* that debuted in 1912 and was said to represent the history of California in active voice. The play was staged at the site of the 1771-founded Mission San Gabriel, the oldest Spanish settlement in the Los Angeles area, and in time the drama itself came to canonize Southern California history. Here again, Deverell deconstructs and contextualizes the subject as an instrument of regional consciousness and the lessons it affords for whitewashing cultural heritage. In a fascinating note, Deverell explains how the playhouse, located next door to the mission, appeared like a motion picture backlot with its mission architecture façade and its outdoor Mission Walk, a miniature set of California's twenty-one missions laid out in geographical sequence.

Deverell's third installment of evidence for his whitewashing theme is the story of Simons brickyard, an Montebello institution, once situated near the Whittier Narrows where the San Gabriel River washes from its interior valley course and issues onto the coastal plain of Los Angeles. The brickyard was both production site and barrio for the some 3,000 Mexicans who worked at the site, the closest thing to a company town in Los Angeles. This chapter sheds interesting and useful light, but the connection to the whitewashing theme is less well developed. Deverell tries to mortar the contradiction of Simons' bricks made by Mexicans that were a large part of early twentieth century building across the Los Angeles basin—often the structural support for so much of that Spanish Revival stucco housing that carpeted L.A.—yet the cement seems missing in this construction. We see the contradiction, but somehow the theme does not adhere. Deverell might have made greater use of maps in this chapter to develop a spatial theme illustrating the extent of period Spanish Revival housing juxtaposed against the geographical segregation of Mexican residents.

Whitewashed Adobe is a useful contribution to the literature about Mexican heritage in Los Angeles. It is surprising, however, that its author fails to connect the theme of fantasy heritage to others who have explored this subject like Chris Wilson's pioneering and brilliant evaluation, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (1997), or Dydia DeLyser's forthcoming *Ramona Memories*. Partly, this is explained by the historian's narrow view of the local context. Deverell writes, like many in his craft, with excruciating detail yet sometimes a reader wants to see the forest, not simply the trees. In any event, I recommend this book especially those chapters assessed above and thank William Deverell for his opening of this door to further explorations of Mexican heritage in the Hispanic Southwest.

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Signs in America's Auto Age: Signatures of Landscape and Place. JOHN A. JAKLE and KEITH A. SCULLE. Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2004, Pp. xxxiv + 219, photographs, diagrams, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth. ISBN 0877458901.

Roadside billboards and other outdoor signs are so much a part of modern American life that we usually take them for granted. John Jakle and Keith Sculle urge us to pay more attention. Signs, they say, not only are important parts of the visual landscape, they also are our society's primary way "to announce and give meaning to virtually every sort of place" (p. xxiii). This book of historical interpretation covers the years from 1900 to the present. It is concise, error-free, and a worthy addition to the "American Land and Life" series of the Iowa press.

Jakle and Sculle bring impressive credentials to this project. Through four other books—on gasoline stations, motels, fast-food restaurants, and parking lots—they have become our primary scholars of the American roadside. This volume exhibits their hallmarks of careful archival research (especially in the trade journals), well-chosen and abundant illustrations (one on about every third page), and clear prose. They arrange their study into four sections, and work chronologically within each unit. After a theoretical introduction, they discuss commercial signs in three chapters (urban, small town, and roadside). Then comes a two-chapter section entitled signing public places (traffic signs and community signs) and a single-chapter one about signing personal space. An analysis of aesthetics concludes the book with chapters on visualization theory and sign regulation.

Several of the essay titles sound as though they might overlap, and they do. The redundancy is slight, but annoying, since the book is short and contains many topics worthy of more elaboration. The authors focus on the fascinating history of billboards in the United States. We discover, for example, that the phenomenon began in New York in the late 1860s to take advantage of the right of way created by the city's first elevated railroad. Floodlit signs began to give way to pure electric creations as early as the 1910s, and neon technology first became available in the 1930s. Beyond the mechanics, it is even more interesting to ponder how these mammoth placards have become one of our most concise and therefore purest forms of communication. A person traveling at sixty miles per hour has only four seconds to read a billboard. To impart information effectively in this brief span of time, the trade industry has learned to stress combinations of upper- and lower-case letters and to emphasize icons more than words. Sign makers, in fact, have become true experts on image creation and manipulation. As such they provide a lode of raw material for students of semiotics who, ironically, have largely ignored real signs in their search for signifiers and referents.

Chapter Four, on traffic signs, tells an interesting parallel history to that of billboards. Here the designer's goal is to improve navigation rather than to divert drivers from their primary task. Standardization therefore is important, a process that came about largely in the 1920s. Detroit, we are told, erected the first stop sign in 1915, while Wisconsin led the way in marking state routes. The familiar red-yellow-green coding for traffic lights did not become the national standard until 1925.

The basic facts that Jakle and Sculle provide about the sign system we pass absentmindedly on our daily travels are reason enough to purchase this book. Most of the chapters are intellectually satisfying as well. In addition to the one on traffic signs, I especially enjoyed the two on aesthetics. The first of these, Chapter Seven, is about how our minds process visual landscape information. It stresses how wayfaring is necessarily a search for visual cues and how signs can both enhance and distract from the process. This dichotomy is elaborated upon in the concluding chapter's discussion of the nation's longstanding debate over sign regulation. The basic affirmative arguments—that signs aid commerce, provide visual interest for travelers, and are protected by first-amendment rights—have been countered since at least the late 1800s by charges of blight and driver distraction. The outcome, predictably, has been mixed. Although Alaska, Hawaii, Maine, Rhode Island, and Vermont have strong exclusionary laws in place, the sign industry has regulated itself enough to prevent widespread governmental censorship.

Signs in America's Auto Age is a good book, but one that promises more than it delivers. This failing is most evident in Chapters Five and Six where the discussions of signs as a way of building community consciousness and personal identity strike me as quite incomplete. The community chapter digresses onto the American flag as a symbol and largely ignores how a town's signage can use local history, native sports heroes, and the like to promote civic pride. The personal chapter focuses on social stereotyping on billboards, while including single photographs to tease readers with the potential meanings of graffiti, bumper stickers, and tombstone inscriptions. For some reason, Jakle and Sculle have given us a framework for a more complete study, but then decided not to follow through.

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