

BOOK REVIEWS

Cultivated Landscapes of Native Amazonia and the Andes. WILLIAM M. DENEVAN. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. Pp. xxx+396, maps, tables, illustrations, appendix, index. £80.00 hardcover (ISBN 0198234074).

This capstone book summarizes and updates four decades of field-based research on agrarian prehistory and pre-Columbian landscape modification in western South America. Two points about the title need clarification. It is not a survey of everything there is to know about “cultivated landscapes” there, nor does it deal with comparisons or diffusionary linkages between the Andes and Amazon as the juxtaposition of those two regions might imply. Specifically, it classifies, describes, and reconstructs raised or drained fields in both highlands and lowlands, Amazonian farming systems, and irrigation and terracing in the Andes, both highland and coastal. About 70 percent of the content deals with previously published research, which makes the book heavily self-referential: 107 citations are made to 42 publications that Bill Denevan has authored or co-authored on these subjects.

In spite of a heavy dose of informational *déjà vu*, much about this book is fresh and compelling even to those who have read the earlier publications. The opportunity for reflection has elicited further commentary about the findings and the experiences required to get them. The chapter entitled, “Lost Systems of Cultivation,” is largely in this vein and conveys in a low-keyed prose style the sense of intellectual discovery by a Berkeley Ph.D. candidate in the early 1960s. Denevan’s identification of ridged fields in the Llanos de Mojos of eastern Bolivia to be a result of human agency then opened their cultural-historical reconstruction. Colonial documents, aerial photography, and environmental data along with a Sauerian skill at recreating the material basis of existence based on an evaluation of local resources, helped fit the puzzle together. That defining research experience later got him interested in parallel features elsewhere in western South America. Other projects followed on traditional agroecosystems in eastern Peru and terracing in Peru’s Colca Valley, which has the most spectacular system of bank terraces in the Andes. The research trajectory reported in this book is an instructive account of how new ideas grow out of previous work and how field-work can be so rewarding if one knows the right questions to ask. Denevan the mentor energized about a dozen graduate students who worked in Latin America on similar or related topics and some of their research is part of this book as well. He is generous in his attributions of both ideas and data to co-workers and assistants. Obliteration of some relict landscape in recent years heightens the value of the observations recorded in this work.

A book of this career sweep enables the reader also to appreciate how serialized insights accrue through a combination of field periods separated by discussion and writing. From that process, Denevan arrived at the grand conclusion

that the Amazon Basin is not and never was the untouched wilderness that still grips the popular imagination. Humans present there for at least 10,000 years turned substantial parts of this vast region into a cultural artifact. Moreover, long-fallow shifting cultivation considered to be the ancient classic mode of farming in Amazonia was, in Denevan's estimation, a post-conquest adaptation. This stunning revisionism, suggested by the inefficiency of stone-ax technology and the discovery of anthropic soils, makes obsolete J. Steward's tropical-forest model based on swidden cultivation. Instead, intensive soil management was the main livelihood base until the advent of the European steel ax. Recently discovered areas of black soils ("terra preta"), often mixed with ceramic and bone, have fueled this hypothesis. The notion of Amazonia as an anthropogenic landscape squarely contradicts the canon promoted by Betty Meggers that the tropical forest constricted the cultural evolution of native peoples.

A major empirical contribution of this work is to have imposed typological order on previously inchoate phenomena through a combination of literature survey and field research. Classifying field tools, field techniques, use of abandoned swidden plots, cropping patterns, terraces, irrigation systems, ridged fields, and forms of forest cultivation advance knowledge by making it possible for others to refine or correct the categories and to raise questions about origin, adaptation, and diffusion. For many readers, this book will be first and foremost a reference source.

The focus on typology has left some important issues on the sidelines. Are these large systems of earthworks material indicators of certain kinds of social and political organization? Are ridged fields necessarily the result of group labor beyond the household level? The book briefly touches on these questions, but the topic begs an in-depth discussion. Likewise, a "thick description" of crops, which arguably form the central element of a "cultivated landscape," could open new levels of agricultural comprehension. In fairness, crops get a lot of diffuse attention throughout the book and a detailed list of them is provided in an appendix. Those who search for specific pieces of information have Sarah Brooks' intelligently constructed index to guide them.

The research reported in this book has deepened two related circles of affinity, namely cultural-historical geography and cultural ecology. The former has gained from new understandings of the Amazonian and Andean pasts. The integration of environmental, cultural, and historical information is in the best tradition of Carl Sauer and James Parsons. Without armchair rhetoric or exhortation, Denevan's book refutes the economic development approach of bureaucratic-aid institutions that have long insisted on proffering their outside knowledge to the poor benighted folk of the world. The high level of agrarian ingenuity and sustainability reported in this tome dispels the notion that native peoples were in a state of technological infancy.

The other knowledge circle within geography is the more functionalist and interdisciplinary realm of cultural ecology. Data and interpretations presented here contribute to the debate on agrarian collapse, agricultural intensification, carrying capacity, and environmental limitations on culture. Those and ten other big ideas are discussed in the concluding chapter. Denevan's research on land-

scape modification counters the quasi-deterministic approaches based on after-the-fact rationalization that have dogged cultural ecology. Native people in a range of environmental settings—swampy terrain in the beastly hot savanna, hypoxic areas above 3,800 meters elevation, steep-sided desert valleys, elevated sites in the tropical rainforest—created new habitats rather than being limited by their obstacles. Reconstruction of earthworks and their carrying capacity have incidentally led to more tenable population estimates, an area of historical demography in which Denevan has also distinguished himself.

Cultural ecology has also benefited from the geographical practice apparent in this book. Use of the mesoscale that focuses on landscapes, rather than on a single community or archaeological site, has helped to expand the horizons of analysis. The maps in this book are models of exceptional clarity and aptness. Other measures of Denevan's keen spatial sense led to conceptual advances. One was the recognition of multiple biome use by the Karinya of Venezuela, which came from identifying the spatial components of a complex livelihood pattern. Another was the bluff model of indigenous settlement in Amazonia, which required a grasp of the microgeography of floodplain, river, and interfluvium. The book is also a showcase example of why geography has been the least hermetic of the social science disciplines. Many anthropologists look no further than anthropological journals for inspiration or data.

This book provides a range of brilliant conclusions about prehistoric, historic, and contemporary South America. Its importance goes beyond the region by offering a strong challenge to Eurocentric evaluations and developmentalist assumptions. It validates the convergence of natural history and cultural history to unfold new insights and to avoid *a priori* conclusions. At a personal level, it also can inspire young scholars by demonstrating the imperative of having a strong intellectual curiosity and the rewards that accrue from a relentless commitment to wild and remote parts.

—Daniel W. Gade
University of Vermont



Cultivated Landscapes of Middle America on the Eve of Conquest. THOMAS M. WHITMORE and B.L. TURNER II. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Pp. xvi+311, b&w plates, maps, index. \$110.00 hardcover (ISBN 01999244537).

Domesticated squash first appears in the archaeological record in Oaxaca, Mexico about 10,000 years ago. Since that time the indigenous peoples of Middle America have domesticated and cultivated a host of plants—among them maize, beans, avocado, chili pepper, agave, grain amaranth, vanilla, and chocolate. Not only did native Middle Americans domesticate and cultivate a wide variety of crops, they also developed ingenious and varied systems of agricultural production. Some combination of orchards, house gardens, raised fields, agricultural terraces, irrigation works, and wetlands engineered for agricultural production

were found throughout Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean by the time Christopher Columbus arrived in the late-fifteenth century. What is currently known of these contact-era agricultural systems and their imprints on Middle American landscapes provide the core material for Thomas Whitmore's and Billie Lee Turner's *Cultivated Landscapes of Middle America on the Eve of Conquest* (hereafter *Cultivated Landscapes*).

In an era of increasingly rampant bandwagon theorizing, it is refreshing that Whitmore and Turner refuse to favor any one theoretical template in explaining the geography of agricultural intensification in pre-Colonial Middle America. There are no lengthy regurgitations (or repudiations) of Malthus, Boserup, Meggers, Wittfogel, Marx, and the like. Instead, what is proposed is an aptly vague position that "induced intensification" can best be explained by "endogenously generated responses to the changing human-environment condition" (p.xi). This book is based largely on empirical evidence, and the authors do an admirable job of putting forth a balanced perspective: "We reject those explanations of agricultural land use privileging idiosyncratic invention, environmental suitability, the capacities of social structures, or any other singular or primary explanatory factor" (p.xi). Bravo!

Cultivated Landscapes covers a large geographic area—from Mexico to Panama to the Caribbean islands—but much of the evidence presented comes from the densely settled regions of central Mexico and Guatemala (especially the Maya Lowlands of the Yucatán peninsula). This geographic bias is perhaps partly a reflection of the two authors' collective regional expertise. It is also understandable considering that half of the twenty-five million or so people living in Middle America and the Caribbean at the time of contact were concentrated in these two countries, and that much of the research on pre-Columbian agriculture in Middle America has been carried out in these areas.

The first two chapters in the book provide important contextual information about understanding the ensuing chapters on fields and orchards. In Chapter 1, Whitmore and Turner situate their subject matter, pre-Columbian agriculture, in terms of the physical geography of the region: landforms, climate, vegetation, etc. Chapter 2 addresses the human geographies of the study area: political organization, social structure, demography, subsistence, and land-tenure patterns. A useful roster of the major cultivars used by the inhabitants of pre-Columbian Mesoamerica is presented in Chapter 2 (Table 2.2: pp.64-67), as well as a detailed description of the Middle American agricultural toolkit (digging sticks, hoes, fertilizer, etc.). These opening chapters set the stage beautifully; they are well conceived and provide a plethora of helpful definitions and essential background information.

The five chapters that follow are arranged according to "cultivation types." Differentiated by agro-technology, cropping strategy, and function, these types include arboriculture and horticulture (Chapter 3), rainfed cultivation (Chapter 4), terrace cultivation (Chapter 5), irrigated cultivation (Chapter 6), and wetland cultivation (Chapter 7). Throughout these chapters, archival and archaeological evidence is adeptly woven together to construct images of contact-era cultivated landscapes. As might be expected considering their large literatures, field typologies such as *chinampas* and *tablonas* are afforded the most ink.

Whitmore and Turner point out in Chapter 4 that rain-fed agricultural systems were responsible for more agricultural production in pre-Columbian times than their more famous cousins—irrigated and wetland fields. They also offer that these systems have not been paid much scholarly attention, in part because there are few good historical accounts or relics. While this is all true, the authors' emphasis on the "eve of conquest" precludes any serious elaboration of the archaeological relics that do exist.

Thick Holocene tephra deposits occur throughout Middle America and provide uncommonly fine preservation of pre-Columbian cultural landscapes. Rain-fed field systems and orchard gardens have been discovered at more than a dozen locales in El Salvador and Veracruz, Mexico, under volcanic tephra. The Salvadoran fields at Merliot (ca. 830 B.C.) and Cerén (ca. A.D. 660) are undoubtedly the best preserved of all pre-Columbian relict fields found to date in Middle America, with field surfaces and cultivars preserved *in situ* at both sites. Of these sites, only Cerén is mentioned in *Cultural Landscapes*, and that reference is relegated to a footnote (p.130). Although no major volcanic eruptions occurred in Middle America precisely on October 11, 1492 (the "eve of conquest"), the exquisitely preserved ash-covered pre-Columbian fields and orchard gardens of Middle America might well inform an analysis of contact-era agroecosystems.

The final chapter, "Inventing Histories? Themes and Implications," provides a somewhat eclectic mix of musings and conclusions centered around the topics of pre-Columbian food production and human impacts on the environment. Opening with a discussion of "the Pristine Myth," Whitmore and Turner defend the Berkeley School stance made popular by William Denevan's 1992 *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* article of that title, reinforcing a model of widespread Amerindian impacts. They put forth a convincing argument that the geography of anthropogenic impacts in Middle America was ever-changing and discontinuous through space and time. Next, recapitulations of the pre-Colonial agricultural landscapes of the Yucatán and the Valley of Mexico are provided. The chapter concludes with brief discussions of irrigation (or the lack thereof), famine, and natural hazards as related to food supply.

This book completes a three-volume series published by the Oxford University Press. The companion volumes are *Cultivated Landscapes of Native North America* (Doolittle 2000) and *Cultivated Landscapes of Native Amazonia and the Andes* (Denevan 2001). Collectively, they will serve as the standard reference work on pre-Columbian agriculture in the New World for the foreseeable future. Still, there is ample room for elaboration on the theme of indigenous cultivation in Middle America. Perhaps the most curious oversight by the authors of the Middle American volume was the decision to forgo any thorough consideration of the cultural, economic, and technological histories that gave rise to the agricultural systems of 1492.

Certainly the complex processes of landscape transformation set in motion by the arrival of Europeans in the Americas can be best understood when compared against some set of baseline pre-Colonial ecological conditions; to this end reconstructing indigenous cultural landscapes at the time of the Columbian Encounter is essential. But people were growing crops in Middle America for at least 9,500 years before the arrival of Columbus, and agro-technologies evolved rap-

idly from ca. 1500 B.C. onward. This 9,500-year history of cultural evolution and changing food-production strategies is not adequately addressed by *Cultivated Landscapes*. Chapter 8 goes the farthest towards filling in this gap, but still leaves the reader hoping for more.

To their credit the authors are explicit in their intention not to write a full history of pre-Columbian agricultural systems, and their decision to focus primarily on the contact period was “not made lightly” (p.5). Moreover, it is a complement to Whitmore and Turner’s excellent coverage of the contact period that this reader is left wanting a similar treatment of the development of agricultural systems before 1492. Despite any minor criticisms leveled here, this book is indeed a welcomed and long-overdue addition to the literature. The last three decades have witnessed significant progress in our efforts to understand pre-Columbian food-production systems and land-use practices in Middle America; Whitmore and Turner have taken this corpus and produced a splendid compendium. It will undoubtedly become a standard text for geographers, historians, anthropologists, and all students of the Columbian Encounter.

—Robert A. Dull
Texas A&M University



The Atlantic Celts: Ancient People or Modern Invention? SIMON JAMES. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1999. Pp. 160+preface, introduction, glossary, bibliography, index, and illustration acknowledgments. \$14.95 paper (ISBN 0299166740).

Simon James’ book on the ancient peoples of Britain and Ireland (his preferred name for them) is interesting, provocative, and has brought forth some heated debate in the fields of linguistics and archaeology. His thesis is that our current usage of the term “Celtic” to refer to the Iron Age inhabitants of Britain and Ireland is wrong and is based on a series of erroneous assumptions dating back to its first appearance in the writings of the early eighteenth-century Welsh antiquarian Edward Lhuyd. James points out that the term Celtic was never used as a self-referent by anyone living in the area now called The Celtic Fringe before 1700 and that the modern usage of the term to include the Scots, Irish, Welsh, Cornish, Manx, and Bretons resulted from the rapid acceptance throughout Britain and Ireland of Lhuyd’s philological writings, which provided a new usage for the ancient term “Celt.”

James describes how Lhuyd created this new identity for the non-English peoples of Britain (and shortly afterwards for the people of Ireland and Brittany) at precisely the time when their own separate identity had been usurped by the creation of a new political identity, called “British,” by the Treaty of Union between England and Scotland in 1707. Paradoxically, James argues that this sudden instance of ethnogenesis is a natural process and he goes on to describe how such ethnic identities are often created by societies in the face of a significant and often threatening ethnic “other”

through the adoption of an origin myth and an often fabricated or distorted history that validates the existence of a group and emphasizes perceived differences between it and the alien entity. Thus while denying the legitimacy of the term “Celtic” for the ancient peoples of Britain and Ireland, he also accepts that it is a perfectly legitimate label today for their modern descendants.

James reviews current notions of the concept of ethnicity and applies it to present knowledge about the Iron Age inhabitants of Britain and Ireland. He argues that 2,000 years ago the term “Celt” applied to and was used by only certain of the peoples of ancient Gaul and the central part of Europe and that the ethnonym was never used in the ancient past to refer to the peoples of Britain and Ireland. Instead these peoples were seen by the Romans and Gauls as distinct groups of peoples who were culturally different from the peoples of Gaul (even though they spoke what we know today to have been related languages). James reviews current thought on the archaeology of Iron Age Britain and Ireland and points out that there was a wide range of different cultures throughout the islands, that there is no convincing evidence of any large invasions of peoples from Gaul into Britain during the period, and that most of the similarities in the archaeological record between the islands and the continent most likely resulted from the adoption in Britain of Gallic symbols of prestige that were then reworked to fit local styles. Most Iron Age sites in Britain thus reveal profound continuity with earlier occupants of the land. He also addresses the phenomenon of similar “tribal” names found on both sides of the Channel (e.g., Belgae, Parisi, Atrebates) and argues that these are not really evidence for mass movements of peoples into Britain, but rather are more likely to be cases of “elite dominance” by military aristocrats, which would be consistent with his view that during the later Iron Age “kings created peoples” rather than the other way around.

Altogether, James uses the archaeological record well to buttress his contention that the various peoples of ancient Britain and Ireland were not only ethnically distinct from each other, but that they were also quite distinct from the Celts of Gaul and elsewhere. These are interesting conclusions for those of us who previously thought differently and now must alter some of our teaching of this fascinating and continually changing subject.

—Harold M. Elliott
Weber State University



The Shape of Inca History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire. SUSAN A. NILES. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999. Pp. 336+acknowledgements, notes on orthography and translation, notes on illustrations, introduction, notes, glossary, bibliography, and index. \$49.95 cloth (ISBN 0877456739).

In this new volume, Susan Niles puts forward a masterful vision of the way that Inca royalty used architecture and narrative to create legitimacy for their

rule. *The Shape of Inca History* is a very readable book, allowing both Andeanists and those without any background in the region to understand the mechanics of Inca royal succession and leadership. This is a carefully researched and edited book. A useful glossary of Spanish and Quechua terms, and a thorough index are provided. Maps, diagrams, and black and white plates provide ample visual accompaniment to the text. The bibliography is thorough, and will provide those who are new to Inca scholarship with an introduction to sources on Inca history, architecture, and archaeology.

The tensions between fact and propaganda form many of the core questions of this book. Niles makes excellent use of the Inca royal narratives, which were first written down by Spanish chroniclers based on Inca oral traditions. These narratives represent royal histories that were sung or presented at important events, and that were maintained for each ruler by their household long after that ruler had died. When each new Inca ruler came to power he was the founder of a new royal household, and was required to create his own estates and palaces. After a ruler's death his household preserved his mummy, his estates, and his reputation. Niles quotes Spanish chroniclers extensively where her arguments warrant it, both in their original Spanish (or Quechua) and in English translation. Her interpretations are well grounded, and bring out the subtleties of interpreting Inca oral narratives through the filter of Spanish chroniclers.

In Cuzco and the region surrounding it there were many buildings, places, and natural features that figured prominently in particular narratives, and thus both the cultural and natural geography of the Inca was intimately tied to their history. The memory of particular former rulers would be commemorated at houses they lived in, fields they ritually planted, fountains they drank from, and battlefields they had dominated.

Niles has not attempted an overview of all Inca architecture, but instead focuses on the architecture of the Inca royalty. She interprets this as an expression of each ruler's place and role within imperial history. Each Inca ruler constructed a palace complex in Cuzco and a rural palace in a valley outside the city. It is the survival of both the royal narratives and the architectural remains that allows Niles a window onto how Inca royalty functioned.

The volume is focused on the rural estate of one of the last Inca rulers, Huayna Capac, whose rule lasted from the 1490s until his death in the 1520s. He died before the beginning of the Spanish invasion of the Inca Empire in 1532. Huayna Capac's estate covered a fifteen-kilometer length of the Yucay River valley, forty-five kilometers northwest of the Inca capital at Cuzco. More than 150,000 workers were recruited from throughout the empire to build the estate, and Niles convinces us that much of this construction and alteration of the valley's landscape was a form of "visual propaganda." Huayna Capac, or more likely his half-brother and architect, Sinchi Roca, supervised the installation of drainage canals, roads, and bridges. An extensive agricultural terrace system produced food crops for the royal household and religious institutions. The estate included water gardens, a hunting forest, and lakes for ritual bathing.

Reconstruction drawings of the estate's architecture by the architect Robert Batson add greatly to the book's visual presentation. Niles then moves beyond Huayna Capac's rural estate, to other Inca sites in Peru and Ecuador attributed to

his reign. From these she asserts that a particular architectural style can be associated with Huayna Capac. Niles' conclusions are convincing. Moreover, Niles presents an elegant and detailed explanation of how Inca royalty used buildings, narratives, and landscape to create legitimacy. This volume is essential reading for those interested in the Inca. It will also be fascinating reading for anyone with an interest in how pre-Columbian societies thought about architectural design, landscapes, and history.

—Ross W. Jamieson
Simon Fraser University



Michoacán and Eden. BERNARDINO VERÁSTIQUE. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000. Pp. 194+list of Illustrations, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, and index. \$40.00 cloth (ISBN 0292787375).

Latin America has become a prime location for analyzing the diffusion of religion and how the cultural and physical environments influence the evolving religious character of a region. Professor Verástique's book *Michoacán and Eden* focuses on both the geographical and religious influences of the Old World and Mexico, and how they impacted the spread of Roman Catholicism in Michoacán in Western Mexico. The book brings an excellent geographical, historical, and theological perspective on the diffusion of Roman Catholicism in Mexico. Analyzing the spread of Roman Catholicism in Michoacán and among the Purhépecha people is valuable due to its unique setting in time and space.

Chapters 1 through 4 constitute the most extensive part of *Michoacán and Eden*. These chapters describe the relevant elements of the histories of the Purhépecha and Spain and their respective religious backgrounds. These preliminary chapters act as context for the remaining three chapters on the actual conquest of Michoacán and the evangelizing projects of Bishop Don Vasco de Quiroga (1477/8-1565).

The first chapter describes the history, geography, society, and culture of the Purhépecha lands that cover most of what is presently the state of Michoacán. Chapter 2 is an important chapter in that interprets in detail the religion of the Purhépecha people and their sacred landscapes. Chapter 3 informs the reader of the historical geography and characteristics of the society of Spain at the time of the conquest of the New World. Chapter 4 analyzes the religious issues and forces that were present in Roman Catholicism at that time.

The remaining part of the book, which is relatively small compared to the previous sections, examines the actual diffusion of Roman Catholicism in Michoacán. Chapter 5 describes the history of the conquest of Michoacán and the setup of the encomienda system. The chapter also gives a brief biography of Vasco de Quiroga. Chapter 6 examines the establishment of the Quiroga's three main religious institutions: the cathedral, the *colegio*, and the *congregación*. The important role of mendicant orders, especially with their dedication towards docu-

menting the history and customs of the Purhépecha people, is also discussed. Chapter 7 describes the dreams and plans that Quiroga had for Michoacán, primarily to create a Christian social utopia through establishing congregations and protecting the people from injustice. Finally, Chapter 8 relates the history of Santa Fe de la Laguna, a *pueblo* community that was the model for Quiroga's plan in seeing his goal of a social utopia. The chapter describes the ordinances of the community and the actions taken by Quiroga to achieve this goal.

The book concludes with an epilogue that analyzes the similarities between the conquest and evangelization of Michoacán and other areas of Mexico. The epilogue also describes the two distinctive worldviews of the Spanish and the Purhépecha and how Quiroga bridged them in order to successfully convert the Purhépecha. The topic of bridging the gap between the two faiths is a valuable and dominant theme throughout the whole book.

Michoacán and Eden is a very detailed work in its analysis of the diffusion of Roman Catholicism in western Mexico. While the amount of work that describes the actual diffusion of Roman Catholicism is limited, the background chapters are valuable in the entire synthesis that occurs in the book. The only apparent weakness of the book is the lack of maps. Only one simple map showing the region of Michoacán is included. In general, the book is a valuable addition to the literature on the evangelization of Latin America and would be useful to students of the geography of religion and the history of Mexico.

—Anthony Paul Mannion
Kansas State University



The Antiquities of Wisconsin, as Surveyed and Described. INCREASE A. LAPHAM. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001. Pp. xxix+95, foreword, introduction, key, maps, and references. \$45.00 hardcover (ISBN 0299170403). *Indian Mounds of Wisconsin.* ROBERT A. BIRMINGHAM AND LESLIE E. EISENBERG. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000. Pp. xv+245, illustrations, tables, preface, appendix, notes, bibliography, and index. \$18.95 paper (ISBN 0299168743).

This review considers two related titles: *The Antiquities of Wisconsin, as Surveyed and Described*, by I.A. Lapham, and *Indian Mounds of Wisconsin*, by Birmingham and Eisenberg. Although they were written almost a century and a half apart, both books pertain to this fascinating and somewhat enigmatic component of Wisconsin's cultural landscape. Lapham's classic text, recently back in print thanks to the University of Wisconsin Press, was the first book exclusively devoted to the study of the once-numerous conical, truncated, and effigy mounds built prehistorically throughout the present state of Wisconsin. Birmingham and Eisenberg's volume is the most recent and authoritative study on the subject.

The Antiquities of Wisconsin is a folio-sized book, which does justice to its fifty-five detailed plates—mostly maps—and sixty-one wood engravings. The

University of Wisconsin Press reprint adds a foreword by Robert A. Birmingham, and an extensive introduction and key to bibliographic references by Robert P. Nurre. Otherwise, the format and pagination is true to the long out-of-print original publication.

The Antiquities of Wisconsin was originally published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1855 as part of its Contributions to Knowledge series, and the author, Increase A. Lapham (1811-75), was one of the state's leading men of science in the nineteenth century. Lapham, who came to Milwaukee in 1836 at the age of twenty-five, worked as a civil engineer for a canal company. His interests were not limited to planning and engineering, however. In many respects, Lapham was an eclectic geographer; his published works include *A Catalogue of Plants & Shells Found in the Vicinity of Milwaukee* (1836), *A Geographical and Topographical Description of Wisconsin* (1844), *The Antiquities of Wisconsin* (1855), and *Forest Trees of Wisconsin* (1857). Lapham's talents and energy are also remembered institutionally: he helped establish the Milwaukee Public Library; served as president of the Wisconsin Historical Society for ten years and briefly as the state geologist; figured prominently in the formation of the United States Weather Service; and, much like Thomas Jefferson, his extensive collection of books enriched an institutional library—the University of Wisconsin.

Lapham's career coincides with a period in American history when settlers moving westward beyond the Appalachians reported finding a landscape covered with earthen mounds of various description. This was especially true in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Many refused to believe that these wonders had been constructed by ancestors of Native American groups living in the area; an opinion seemingly supported by the inability (or unwillingness) of those same groups to explain these earthen phenomena. The "lost race" hypothesis was born. It was fashionable to speculate on who were the moundbuilders, and peoples from the ten lost tribes of Israel, the lost continent of Atlantis, India, and China, among others, were all proposed as likely candidates. Upon his arrival in Wisconsin, Lapham was doubtless familiar with Ohio earthworks and may have read Caleb Atwater's influential *Description of the Antiquities Discovered in the State of Ohio and other Western States*, which was published by the American Antiquarian Society in 1820.

Thanks to funding from the American Antiquarian Society, headquartered in Worcester, Massachusetts, Lapham and a field assistant documented hundreds of mounds throughout the southern half of the state between 1850 and 1852. This included an exhaustive mapping effort of the site of Aztalan, a large mound complex in Jefferson County so named by an earlier investigator because of a presumed association with Mexico's Aztec civilization. (We now know that the site was related to mound centers in the middle Mississippi River Valley, specifically the ancient city of Cahokia located in East St. Louis, Illinois.) Lapham's cartographic documentation of Aztalan, in fact, is to this day a valuable tool for archaeologists researching the site. Among other mounds recorded by Lapham, many of which have disappeared over the past 150 years, were Wisconsin's celebrated effigy mounds. Lapham was intrigued by their zoomorphic, and even anthropomorphic, configurations: snakes, birds, turtles, bears, buffalo, and human-like figures, among others. He was also impressed by their size; some were

large-shaped mounds in excess of 100-feet long. An additional mound type that Lapham recognized and documented was a simple conical form, which he associated with human burials.

The enduring quality of Lapham's work with respect to mound investigation is its descriptive, not its theoretical, contribution. That is not to say that he worked in an intellectual vacuum. Lapham cites more than two dozen works, such as John L. Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (1841), and Ephraim Squier and Edwin Davis' *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley* (1848), that caught his interest. Nevertheless, the editorial restraint of Joseph Henry, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and Samuel Haven, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, seems to have acted synergistically with Lapham's background in civil engineering to produce a publication in which maps and objects took primacy over unsubstantiated ideas. Lapham did reason from the evidence he encountered that the mounds of Wisconsin had been made and used by Native Americans, although this was not his agenda. As he states in the preface, "My office has been faithfully to fulfil [sic] the duties of the surveyor...[leaving it to others to identify] such general principles as may be legitimately deduced."

The challenge of explaining Wisconsin's Indian mounds has been met. As we approach the sesquicentennial of the publication of Lapham's landmark study, two professional preservationists from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin offer a thorough synopsis of the current state of mound research. Robert Birmingham, the state archaeologist, and Leslie Eisenberg, coordinator of the Burial Sites Preservation Program, have succeeded in placing these features in cultural context to a degree never imagined by Lapham.

Unlike *The Antiquities of Wisconsin*, which is organized geographically according to major drainages, the eight chapters of *Indian Mounds of Wisconsin* are presented in chronological sequence. This expository arrangement, impossible in Lapham's time, is the result of advances in analytical methods and years of comparative material culture analyses. Thanks to radiocarbon dating, the seriation of artifact types, particularly pottery, and several generations of active research, Wisconsin's prehistory is no longer the palimpsest that confronted Lapham.

Birmingham and Eisenberg, in the first two chapters of *Indian Mounds of Wisconsin*, review the rise and fall of the moundbuilder myth and its aftermath. They explain that after considerable speculation during much of the nineteenth century it was finally laid to rest by a ten-year Smithsonian Institution study: Cyrus Thomas' *Report on the Mound Explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology* (1894). The authors credit Lapham, and later a Minnesota land surveyor named Theodore H. Lewis, with solid fieldwork in spite of this reign of theoretical confusion.

Although the twentieth century witnessed important new approaches to the study of Indian mounds in Wisconsin, one common thread, which continues today, is that of preservation. Birmingham and Eisenberg point out that the first mission of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, founded in 1899, was saving mounds from destruction. The moving force was the director of the museum of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Charles E. Brown. His plan, according to Birmingham and Eisenberg, "would be familiar to modern preservationists: systematic surveys to identify important sites, protective legislation, public ac-

quisition and stewardship, partnerships with influential people and organizations, landmarking, fund-raising, and, above-all, relentless promotion and public education" (p. 41). Interestingly, the many public parks that incorporate and preserve mound groups, a legacy of these efforts, are listed in a useful appendix. Research continued apace with preservation in Wisconsin; the authors single out the work of William C. McKern of the Milwaukee Public Museum, as well as numerous federally mandated cultural-resource-management studies done since the late 1960s.

Chapters 3 through 7 are devoted to different periods of the state's prehistoric past as they relate to the construction and use of mounds. Chapter 3 describes the pre-moundbuilding Paleo-Indian and Archaic traditions, periods lasting from glacial retreat (approximately 12,000 to 13,000 years ago) until sometime around 500 B.C. The authors describe these earliest of Wisconsin residents in terms of their changing cultural adaptations to post-Pleistocene environments, and some of their characteristic tools, such as spear points fashioned from central Wisconsin silicified sandstone or Lake Superior copper, that have been recovered archaeologically. Birmingham and Eisenberg note that cemeteries dating to the late Archaic period, between 1200 and 500 B.C., are generally situated on prominent knolls and covered with layers red ochre, and suggest that this may represent an incipient phase of burial mound construction.

The Early and Middle Woodland periods are discussed in Chapter 4. The Early Woodland period, which in Wisconsin dates from 500 B.C. to A.D. 100, is characterized by a more sedentary population, plant domestication, the appearance of pottery, and the construction of conical burial mounds. It is the more flamboyant Middle Woodland period (lasting until A.D. 500), however, when mound building seems to take on greater cultural significance. According to Birmingham and Eisenberg, "The ceremonies, rituals, and artifacts associated with this major wave of mound building show influences from Hopewell centers in Illinois and Ohio, particularly along the major mid-continental transportation route, the Mississippi River" (p. 92). They cite the many mound complexes in Trempealeau County as examples of Wisconsin's participation in the so-called Hopewell Interaction Sphere, a sophisticated trade network extending over much of eastern North America. And, even though earlier Old Copper Complex or Adena-influenced mound sites in Wisconsin contain evidence of social stratification and widely shared belief systems, the Middle Woodland Hopewell represents a quantum leap in social complexity.

Effigy mounds, generally assigned to the Late Woodland period (A.D. 500-1200), are described by Birmingham and Eisenberg as "Wisconsin's most spectacular mound phenomenon" (p. 100). They note in Chapter 5 that this uniquely local mound-building culture emerged after the Hopewell decline, its "heartland" consisting of southern Wisconsin. Mounds in the shape of animals, humans, and indeterminate forms dot the landscape, but, as the authors note, they are usually found on higher ground and overlooking water. A large bird effigy with a wingspan of 624 feet, for example, graces the grounds of the Mendota State Hospital on Lake Mendota. Perhaps one of the most intriguing sections of this book is an interpretation of effigy mound forms as symbolic representations of local Native American kinship systems. A dichotomous classification of effi-

gies into air and land/water forms may correlate with historic moieties of the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) and their rule of marriage exogamy, as documented by the anthropologist Paul Radin.

Between the Late Woodland and historic times, Wisconsin archaeologists recognize two additional cultures: Mississippian and Oneota. The former, characterized by walled villages and civic-ceremonial centers with prominent temple mounds, was part of a large network of complex chiefdoms extending to the Gulf of Mexico. The latter, probably consisted of descendants of Late Woodland peoples in the region who only partially embraced Mississippian culture. Chapter 6 explains the relationship between sites such as the impressive Aztalan, Mississippian paintings discovered in the Gottschall Rockshelter, and a mound complex astride the Mississippi River in the vicinity of Red Wing, Minnesota, with the regionally powerful city site of Cahokia in southern Illinois. As Chapter 7 explains, the Mississippian influence in Wisconsin fades after A.D. 1200 leaving the Oneota. The authors argue that ethnographic groups in the region, such as the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago), Ioway, and probably the Menominee trace their ancestry to this archaeological tradition.

The final chapter of *Indian Mounds of Wisconsin* returns to the issue of mound preservation. An estimated 4,000 mounds remain in the state of Wisconsin, and thanks to a sweeping 1985 state law (Wisconsin Act 316) these are afforded protection as “grave markers.” This law applies to both public and private property within the state. In 1990, Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), providing additional measures applicable to Wisconsin’s Indian mounds. Birmingham and Eisenberg conclude by noting that Wisconsin’s Indian mounds are tangible and powerful symbols from the past that speak to all people in the present.

The Antiquities of Wisconsin and *Indian Mounds of Wisconsin* are two remarkable books, and it is well worth the experience reading them in sequence. The University of Wisconsin Press is to be congratulated for reprinting Lapham’s classic work, and I suspect that Birmingham and Eisenberg’s *Indian Mounds of Wisconsin* will remain in print for some time to come.

—Peter B. Mires
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Homelands: A Geography of Culture and Place across America. RICHARD L. NOSTRAND and LAWRENCE E. ESTAVILLE, eds. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001. Pp. xxv+318, illustrations, maps, figures, references, index. \$49.95 hardcover (ISBN 0801867002).

The concept of homeland has caught the world’s attention over the past decade. As we read about struggles for ethnic self-determination in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, as well as in Palestine, Canada, and elsewhere, it is inevitable that Americans would begin to wonder if and how the idea might

apply within their own borders. The context here is not with secessionist movements, of course, but rather with “incompletely developed nation-states” (p. 125) such as the Hispano lands centered on New Mexico or the Yankee culture in New England where distinctive peoples have bonded deeply with particular places. This curiosity, under the leadership of Dick Nostrand and Lawrence Estaville, produced a series of special sessions at the annual meetings of the Association of American Geographers beginning in 1991, a dedicated issue of the *Journal of Cultural Geography* in 1993, and now this capstone volume.

The core of the book consists of fourteen essays commissioned from scholars expert with regional cultures. These range in length from eleven to twenty-seven pages (an average of nineteen) and include discussions of eight ethnic groups (African Americans, Amish, Cajuns, Hispanos, Kiowas, Navajos, Russians, and Tejanos) and six self-aware peoples (Anglo-Texans, coastal Creoles, montane Montanans, Mormons, Pennsylvanians, and Yankees). Following these is a somewhat longer (thirty-three-page) “dissenting view” that questions the use of homeland in such broad terms.

As a reader who has been disappointed with uneven quality in many edited volumes, I am delighted to report that Professors Nostrand and Estaville have assembled pieces that are both joyous to read individually and well integrated as a group. Each essayist writes directly to the homeland concept and does so in logical, jargon-free, and flowing prose. The densest, Martyn Bowden’s treatment of Yankees, is still quite accessible and is among the most valuable in the collection in that it incorporates material that has not been widely available before. That homeland arose about 1650, he argues, derived from a mixture of East Anglian folk culture, a Puritan ruling elite, and the emerging mercantile society of Boston. After diffusion inland to parts of Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Maine, it began to lose its distinctive character about 1790 in the face of nationalization.

The arguments of most of the other authors will be familiar to readers of *Historical Geography* since their essays are drawn from previous publications. The list (arranged from east to west as in the book) includes Richard Pillsbury on Pennsylvania, Ary Lamme on the Amish, Charles Aiken on blacks in the plantation South, Terry Jordan-Bychkov on the Creole Coast, Estaville on the Cajuns, Daniel Arreola on South Texas, Jordan-Bychkov again on Anglo-Texas, Steven Schnell on the Kiowas, Nostrand on the highland Hispanos, Stephen Jett on the Navajos, Lowell Bennion on Mormon Utah, Susan Hardwick on California Russians, and John Wright on montane Montana. From this group, the two by Jordan-Bychkov are especially noteworthy. The Creole essay argues convincingly for the cultural uniqueness and richness of the tidewater region from Virginia to Texas where residents originally looked seaward to Caribbean society before being isolated from this source by American independence. The Anglo-Texas contribution is cultural geography at its best, in my opinion. Based on archival accounts, fieldwork, and personal experience in roughly equal parts, it explores why self-consciousness among these people is so much higher than the national norm.

If a reader accepts the definition of the editors that homelands are formed when a particular people acquire deep attachment to a place, his or her mind cannot help but ponder which other people-place associations might be deserving of treatment in a book such as this. The Yankee chapter implies one for

Pennsylvania, but what about the South and the Midwest? Among ethnic groups, how many Native American groups do you choose besides the obvious Navajo Nation? And does the easy selection of Cajuns, highland Hispanos, and Tejanos demand essays for the larger concentrations of German and Scandinavian Americans? Then you have the possibility of emergent, self-selected groups such as those in Southern California, the Pacific Northwest, and perhaps even New York City or Miami.

Thoughts about the ideal book lead to questions on the inclusion here of the Amish, Kiowas, Montanans, and Russians. These obviously marginal chapters are nevertheless quite useful in helping readers to debate for themselves what a definition of homeland should and should not entail. The Amish, for example, are small and dispersed, yet have extremely strong senses of place. The Montana essay prompts thinking about voluntary cultures created through recent migration. Michael Conzen thoughtfully addresses these and other issues of definition in the book's concluding essay. This piece, a book review within the book in some senses, provides invaluable critique. For Conzen, the editors' definition of homeland is too vague to be useful, "permitting like and unlike to be presented under the same rubric (p. 240)." He discusses the important relationship between homeland and nationalism and then proposes a narrower definition that focuses more on territoriality and a fierceness of loyalty to place. The argument concludes with the assertion that only a few American subnational groups have (or ever had) true homelands: various Native American "nations" and the highland Hispanos, Cajuns, and intermontane Mormons. Other groups might better be conceived in terms of ethnic substrata, ethnocultural islands and archipelagos, or simply culture regions.

My reading of this book and its arguments led to a minor personal crisis. Although I enjoyed every regional essay thoroughly, I also was persuaded by Conzen's case for redefinition. What I had thought were homeland studies turned out to be simply accounts of culture groups who have developed strong senses of place. This recasting bothers me not at all, but in this age of bandwagon-minded academia, the experience has made me wonder if geographers sometimes worry too much that colleagues may judge culture regions and similar tried-and-true labels as mundane unless we constantly dress them in new clothing.

I recommend *Homelands* highly, for both general reading and use in the classroom. The uniform quality, succinctness, and broad range of the regional essays make them ideal for students. Beyond their solid information on individual peoples, comparisons among the articles also lead to useful thinking on the dynamics of such areas, including their interactions with mass society. Finally, the Conzen essay adds valuable theoretical context that virtually demands personal reflection and classroom debate.

—James R. Shortridge
University of Kansas



Northwest Lands, Northwest Peoples: Readings in Environmental History. DALE D. GOBLE and PAUL W. HIRT, eds. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999. Pp. xiv+552, preface, contributors, index. \$60.00 cloth (ISBN 0295978392).

These days it seems like scholars of various and sundry persuasions are all of a sudden discovering place, and turning their often inadequate powers of observation and inquiry upon the landscape, long the familiar terrain for the practiced eye of cultural/historical geographic study. Fortunately, this edited volume is under the aegis of environmental history, one of our more closely allied cognate disciplines. Even so, certain selections will leave historical geographers scratching their heads over the apparent lack of awareness of what our enterprise has been about, and these show an almost embarrassing ignorance of the wide-ranging geographic literature on landscape change. In a 1994 article anthologized here as the second chapter, Dan Flores proposes the label "bioregional history" for research and writing that purports to document "the particularism of distinctive places fashioned by human culture's peculiar and fascinating interpenetration with all the vagaries of topography, climate, and evolving ecology that define landscapes" (p. 32). Sound familiar? To be fair, Flores cites a number of contributions by geographers, including Jim Parsons and Yi-Fu Tuan, yet fails to acknowledge the fact that interdisciplinary study of place is actually the core of what we do. The editors, however, seem to know better, and have included a co-authored chapter by veteran Montana State University geographers Bill Wyckoff and Kathy Hansen on settlement landscapes and grazing systems, and one also from recent LSU graduate Douglas E. Deur, who already has compiled an impressive research record on Northwest coast subsistence strategies.

After the initial essay entitled "Setting the Pacific Northwest Stage" (some-what dangerously subtitled "The Influence of the Natural Environment"), twenty-two primarily single-authored chapters are rather unevenly organized into six sections: "This Place," "First Peoples," "Rivers," "Agriculture," "Forest," and "Mining." The first two each hold five chapters; the other sections fewer. Such categorization serves a useful purpose for the most part, although subregional boundaries and thematic delineations both blur amid the content of individual chapters. Attention to specific places in the region is provided by Arthur Kruckeberg (Puget Sound), William Robbins (Willamette Valley), Mark Fiege (Idaho's Snake River irrigation schemes), and Barbara Wester (Yakama tribal land use). More broadly brushed topical papers include those by Michael Blumm on the hydroelectric legacy of Northwest rivers, Carolyn Merchant on the changing ethics of ecosystem management, and Katherine Aiken on pollution from smelter operations in the region. A brief epilogue is offered by William Dietrich. Most of the contributions originated from a symposium on Northwest environmental history held in August 1996 in Pullman, Washington. While additional chapters were commissioned for the book, by the editors' own admission it still falls short of a thematically complete overview of the region. Conspicuous by their absence and duly noted, for example, are any contributions covering specific urban history or issues of environmental justice. But that need not detract from the value of what *is* presented here. Although not comprehensive, the volume encompasses plenty in terms of space, time, and topic.

There is likewise diversity and contrast in this versatile collection. For instance, in Kruckeberg's chapter we are told in tired cliché fashion that "urbanization has spread over the landscape like a cancer" (p. 72), while later, from Carl Abbott we learn "northwestern cities actually sit relatively lightly on the land" (p. 112). Such is an indication of the stimulating debate found in these pages, which redeems what all too easily might have been a party-line manifesto. Among other challenges to conventional wisdom about the Northwest is the piercing of the common myth, formed by repeated misconception, that the region's original inhabitants never practiced agriculture. Evidence summoned by Alan Marshall for the Nez Perce and Deur for coastal tribes points to environmental manipulations for the tending of food crops. As Deur notes, "These plant communities did not look like 'agriculture' to the European eye: they usually lacked the rectilinear shape of European gardens and contained a polyculture of unfamiliar species" (p. 141). Addressing the geographic heart of the region, eminent anthropologist Eugene S. Hunn offers an insightful examination of pre-contact cultural ecological relations on the Columbia Plateau.

Another refreshing aspect of the compilation comes to light after reading a number of chapters in random sequence: these environmental historians, by and large, know how to write. Remarkably deft prose is presented in chapters by Flores, Paul Hirt, Dorothy Zeisler-Vralsted, and Nancy Langston, among others. The short essay by William Lang on cultivating a sense of place as a requisite key ingredient for any regional history is an exceptionally well-crafted piece, complete with knowledgeable citations, that weaves together the convergent perspectives of historical geography and environmental history. Throughout the book there are very few typographical errors, making for smooth reading, though now and then some jolting snag stops the drift, as in "Straight of Juan de Fuca" (p. 10). Maps, on the other hand, occur nowhere near enough; their absence from most chapters is a serious flaw. At one point Flores asks, "If contemporary environmental historians step up alongside geographers and anthropologists in their examinations of place and culture ... how might we approach it?" (p. 39). In the expanding galaxy of interdisciplinary scholarship about place, one of the brightest stars seems to be environmental history, and *Northwest Lands, Northwest Peoples* is a welcome addition to the geographic literature of this region. One hope might be that future efforts by environmental historians be more cognizant of the record of publications and research by geographers. Nevertheless, this book provides a cogent and coherent affirmation of the value of utilizing multiple perspectives for the diachronic study of landscape and environment.

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Galveston and the 1900 Storm. PATRICIA BELLIS BIXEL and ELIZABETH HAYES TURNER. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000. Pp. xiv+174, acknowledgements, foreword, bibliographical essay, index. \$60.00 hardcover (ISBN 0292708831).

September 8, 2000 marked the centennial of “the nation’s worst recorded natural disaster,” when one hundred years ago that day, a powerful Atlantic hurricane churned out of the Gulf of Mexico and leveled the city of Galveston, Texas (p. ix). Using rare archival photographs and first-hand accounts, *Galveston and the 1900 Storm* brings to life the events and the aftermath of that fateful day.

Galveston is a precariously located barrier island on the southeast coast of Texas, “a sensuous place with balmy soft breezes, the rhythmic cadence of breakers on the beach, and lush tropical foliage” (p. 14). By 1900, it had become a thriving commercial port as well as a tourist destination, and boasted a population of 38,000. It was the first city in Texas to have electricity and telephones. Wealthy residents built ornate four-story brick homes and contributed to a lively cultural environment. Although the nearby town of Indianola was wiped out by a hurricane in 1886, Galveston residents were more concerned with improving access to the water than with keeping it out of the city. They removed trees and dunes along the beaches and dredged channels so that larger ships could enter the bay. Before the 1900 hurricane, no one wanted to pick up the costs of a seawall or other protective measures.

Since modern weather-forecasting techniques did not exist, the severity of the 1900 hurricane was not predicted. Residents were accustomed to periodic “overflows” at high tide and only those living within a few blocks of the beach evacuated when the waters of the Gulf of Mexico began filling the streets on the morning of Saturday, September 8, 1900. By the time residents realized the storm’s intensity, it was too late. The wind-driven storm surge of Gulf waters, combined with rising water from the bay, completely inundated Galveston and washed scores of homes from their foundations. The city sustained at least \$17 million dollars worth of damage; two-thirds of its buildings were destroyed. Almost 6,000 people died and another 6,000 were injured. Some 10,000 people were left homeless.

The cleanup was almost as dreadful an experience as the storm itself. The rotting bodies of both humans and animals were trapped in a three-mile-long swath of debris that prevented the flood waters from receding. The mayor and the city’s business leaders organized the Central Relief Committee to see to burying the dead; protecting survivors’ property; and obtaining and distributing food, water, and medicine. Clara Barton, the then-78-year-old president of the American Red Cross, arrived in person. Money and supplies poured in. Within two weeks, electricity was restored; shipping resumed in six weeks. Within a year, many houses had been rebuilt.

By 1905, a seventeen-foot-high seawall was completed and the city’s overall grade was raised in a massive filling project. These improvements proved their worth in August 1915, when another hurricane as powerful as the “1900 storm” struck. The seawall was damaged but not breached, and only eight people lost their lives. In the years since, however, the seawall has contributed to increased beach erosion, necessitating the building of groins and yearly sand replenish-

ment. “Galveston learned early on what the rest of coastal America is only now comprehending: barrier islands, while magical spaces, are not necessarily appropriate for significant human habitation” (p. 126).

Much of *Galveston and the 1900 Storm* describes the way in which rebuilding typified Progressive-era reforms and shaped the city’s physical and social characteristics. New storm drains improved hygiene; new plantings beautified the streets. White women rose to leadership positions in relief and public health organizations. Black residents, however, received disproportionately less relief aid and were excluded from political participation.

Galveston and the 1900 Storm provides a gripping account of the storm and the destruction it wrought, in the context of a vivid, thoroughly researched social history. It is an excellent companion to other books about hurricanes (such as *Isaac’s Storm*). Its wealth of source material and in-depth analysis of the socio-political factors affecting the city’s recovery make it a valuable historical text as well.

—Mary Claire Leming

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Winds of Change: Hurricanes & The Transformation of Nineteenth-Century Cuba. LOUIS A. PÉREZ JR. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. Pp. x+199, maps, diagrams, index. \$49.95 cloth (ISBN 0807826138).

Louis A. Pérez Jr. is the J. Carlyle Sitterson Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He is also the editor of the Cuban Studies Series at the University of North Carolina Press. Well known to Cubanologists across disciplines, these institutional attributes place him in good stead to understand how one type of natural disaster—hurricanes—shaped the culture, economy, and nation (a sense of nationhood or *cubanidad*). “The objective of this study is to insert the phenomenon of mid-nineteenth-century hurricanes into the larger circumstances of the Cuban condition as one more variable in the formation of nation. This is an exploration of environmental history within the framework of national experience. Specifically, this study examines the ways that the catastrophic storms of the 1840s shaped socioeconomic developments in nineteenth-century Cuba, by which, too, the limits of human agency were defined even as the circumstances of human choice were refashioned” (p. 10). About “human agency” and “human choice,” this reviewer found very little; nor is there a broader theoretical discussion of nation-state, colonial studies, or the larger phenomenological construct of how human agency is forged. However, we ascertain that the social construction of community—what to plant, emergency relief, and myriad factors—contributed to how the Spanish colony of Cuba readjusted its economic and political course in subtle yet weighty ways a century and a half ago.

Many environmental histories become idiographic and mired in detail. Pérez, however, shows how hurricanes served as a flashpoint to understand how complex material and moral relationships unfolded and highlighted the colonial land-

scape. We find in *Winds of Change* an enthralling historiography of how powerlessness (peasants, slaves, common folks) and power (the Spanish colonial authorities) reached compromise in preparing for tropical storms, surviving them, and rebuilding in the wake of the storms. Even today, Cubans accord meteorology “the same fervor expressed between fans of the Almendares and Habana baseball clubs” (p. 155). Which storms did what, whose source of information is more reliable, and how folklore and data chart these tropical tempests consume the lion’s share of these six short chapters. The author weaves together an extraordinarily wide arsenal of data to explain these complex calamities. Archival work, travel logs and diaries, secondary sources and even interviews (about twentieth-century hurricanes) serve Pérez well, and historical geographers will appreciate this fascinating tale. Nearly 400 endnotes and a 3,500-word “bibliographic essay” at the end of the book outline the sources of this carefully researched work.

How exactly did hurricanes serve as these catalysts of change and build a nation-state? The effect on economic production is probably the most notable way these storms directed Cuba’s economic history. After devastating storms in the 1840s, many coffee producers, for instance, had little incentive (and capital) to replant and repair. Small farmers often sold their landholdings to larger Cuban, Spanish, and North American entities because tropical storms wrought so much harm. The 1895 storm spurred military inscription (p. 195) because thousands of small farmers had no employment options. These recruits, in turn, might have helped to turn the tide in the longstanding independence struggle of the nineteenth century that turned victorious just three years later. Pérez relates how one observer described how conscripts made their way into the Cuban Liberation Army after an October 1895 storm: “They have nothing to do, nothing to eat, and would give themselves with a song in their heart [*con un canto en el pecho*] if they could come over and join our ranks.” Two months later, the invading army under General Antonio Maceo crossed into Pinar del Río” (p. 142).

Hurricanes became shared social experiences that created solidarity and tested the mettle of adversity. Both formal and informal organizations contributed to this process. “The ideal [sic] of a national community did not originate solely from abstract notions or sentimental attachments. Much was forged out of actual experiences that became a familiar shared history; the stuff of memory of the past as a source for the future” (p. 143).

The months from August to October taught the islanders about waiting, preparing, surviving, and rebuilding. Locals did not record much of this daily behavior, but scores of European and North American travelers provide rich travel accounts. Hurricanes, like the Christmas celebrations, were something to be shared with family members. Historical geographers will value these useful ways to understand past landscapes, lifestyles, and economic activities. Physical geographers are treated to a wonderful data base (Table 1.1. Hurricanes in Cuba, 1494-1850, pp. 31-32), and learn that the first meteorological institute was established on the island in 1857, in the Colegio Belén in Havana (p. 141).

National disasters may have enhanced the colonialists struggle for independence in ways not fully explored by scholars. For example, after many hurricanes, community leaders, politicians, landowners, and clergy appealed to governors and the Spanish Crown for tax-exemption on food and building materials. Some-

times they were granted and other times they were not, but they provided a human-compassion element in eliciting social-policy change that served as a demonstration effect in related policy spheres. “Under the circumstances [of post-hurricane relief], the inexorable logic of geography prevailed. Obligated by need to get emergency supplies of food and provisions from the nearest source, authorities turned to the United States. In fact, only North American producers, merchants, and shippers were in a position to provide Cuba with food supplies...” (p. 136). Ironically, those same supplies (rice, lard, salted meat, jerked beef, codfish, flour, salt, wood, nails, and bricks) are the same items that Cuba wishes to buy from the United States on a permanent commercial basis. Regarding hurricane relief, the U.S. sold \$20 million of foods and medicines in the aftermath of the 2001 storm, which underscores the “inexorable logic of geography” Pérez so astutely documents.

The hurricane (*huracán*, *hunrakán*, *yuracns*, *yorocán*) (p. 17) and cyclone (*ciclón*) leave undeniable marks on the geographical, economic, political, social, and moral fabric of all Caribbean peoples. Cubans have always judged themselves and their governments on their comportment. “So much in the character of economic conditions, social relationships, and cultural forms bear the distinctive imprint of the hurricane. The very notion of nationality, no less than the idea of nation, evolved from the experience and the encounter and contributed to decisive ways to the people Cubans have become” (p. 155). Louis A. Pérez has provided us with a fascinating and highly readable account of this important geographic story.

—Joe Scarpaci

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The Los Angeles River: Its Life, Death, and Possible Rebirth, creating the North American Landscape Series. BLAKE GUMPRECHT. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999. Pp. x+369, illustrations, maps, index. \$37.07 hardcover (ISBN 0801860474).

Reading a historical geography of the Los Angeles River might seem an odd way to capture a glimpse of the depths to which anthropogenic changes alter the landscape. After all, we’re talking about a river better known as a Hollywood set and a region that seems to defy any reasonable human environment relationships. Actually, there are two interwoven stories of the Los Angeles River. One is the story of water—using the river for drinking and agriculture, manipulation of its flow for continuity, and controlling damage from flood surges—all of which can be measured and recounted and compared to the politico-engineering feats found throughout the American West. The other story is how the river was forgotten by society at large. Conquering nature in terms of water supply and flood control was so successful that a whole new world created itself in Southern California without much attention to natural waterways. It is this second story that

Gumprecht uses as a rationale or jumping-off point describing the non-event of driving over the Los Angeles River on any of the regional freeways. And it is the reemergence or reawakening of awareness of the river that has the potential to become a contentious environmental issue in local politics, regional planning, and community-development efforts.

While this second story provides the meaningful interpretation for the overall work, Gumprecht properly outlines the first story of human interaction with the river detailing the various encounters and alterations of the river. Thereafter, readers can acquire the necessary background and formulate their own opinions of how the river should be modified in the future. The six chapters follow a temporal order beginning in the Columbian Encounter time frame and proceed to the present controversies concerning future uses and appearances of the river.

A decidedly natural history approach is taken in Chapter 1 with the primary focus on the Gabrielino Indians and their "Native Landscape" (p. 15). In addition to describing the Gabrielinos' proximity to and reliance on the rivers of Southern California, Gumprecht clarifies the hydrogeography of the Los Angeles River, which answers the question of why Los Angeles is located where it is along the river. The incorporation of early explorer's descriptions enhance the effect that a very different natural environment existed, and the Spanish correctly assessed the potential of settlement as well as locating the *pueblo* where they did. Chapter 2 details the early years of the *pueblo* through American statehood up to the transcontinental railroad. Gumprecht really sets the stage for the book when he explains the interrelationship between the settlement and the river. One of the more fascinating aspects was the description of the *zanjas*, which were the water ditches that distributed river water to the residents and to the burgeoning agricultural activity. While the *zanjas* might be a landscape relict, the power politics of water seems to have been forged early on in Los Angeles' history.

A reoccurring theme is the indecisiveness of city officials concerning the best course of action and the contentious selection of individuals to lead the city's water bureaucracy. On the other hand, the city was successful in pursuing exclusive legal rights over the river. As described in the third chapter, the city also was boldly successful in its attainment of Owens Valley water that ensured its continued growth as it modified the hydrology of Southern California. Despite securing legal precedents and exotic water sources, the river's terrestrial flow becomes non-existent except during flood events. Gumprecht makes a reasonable case in Chapter 4 that the consequences of flooding became the overriding issue in how the city was going to treat the river. Even after numerous piecemeal projects, inadequate engineering, and railroad rights-of-way that actually made floods more damaging, the mobilization of resources still could not be marshaled until the Great Depression and federal involvement. The fifth chapter describes the final solution of flood control with fifty-one miles of concrete channels that included a network of debris basins, reservoirs, and, ironically, some of the more interesting bridges. The final chapter looks to the future and the possibility of community groups organizing some sort of river rehabilitation. Gumprecht's historical geography of evidentiary sources in the previous chapters takes a subtle turn towards the social and gives voice to individuals that have emotional and/or scientific opinions concerning the future of Los Angeles and its river. It is clear that a natural restoration

of the river is impossible because of all the development that has occurred, but limited projects to create recreational land use along the banks and aesthetically pleasant views of the river are entirely within the realm of possibility.

A wide variety of interests may find value in this book. Beyond the limited scope of people living in Southern California, who will be most familiar with the place-names and terrain, those examining human-environment interrelationships, river-revival projects, or water politics in the American West will benefit. Perhaps the community of academic geographers also can learn something about making research accessible to general populations from this book. Relegating notes to the end and using a rather simple but consistent base map have made narration the foremost element. The wellwritten prose on an interesting topic makes this a worthwhile read.

—Erik Prout
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Forever Wild: A Cultural History of Wilderness in the Adirondacks. PHILIP G. TERRIE. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994. Pp ix+165, illustrations, notes, index. \$19.95 paper (ISBN 081560288X).

In 1894 the New York state legislature enacted legislation that called for the creation of the Adirondack Forest Preserve. Article VII, Section 7 stipulated that the preserve, over 600,000 acres in size, would be “forever wild.” Such a designation, Philip Terrie argues, was at once revolutionary for its time (before a modern environmental aesthetic emerged and in the midst of a high demand for timber) and, in the way that the legislators understood the concept of “forever wild,” largely misunderstood. *Forever Wild* is Terrie’s look into the particular cultural forces that both led up to and followed from Article VII legislation.

The crux of Terrie’s argument is that, while the wording of Article VII, Section 7 has remained relatively intact over the past 100 years, the meanings lawmakers, recreationists, and businessmen have taken from this wording have been fluid and determined by various interpretations of the designation of the Adirondacks as “forever wild.” Terrie does not claim to write a history of the Adirondack region (although he does draw extensively upon the region’s history), nor does he claim to write even an *environmental* history of the region (although this *is* an environmental work). Instead *Forever Wild*’s focus on Article VII, Section 7 is, on a local scale, a look at the various contested meanings and understandings of the very idea of “wilderness.” The question, then, is not what happened to this region, as a cultural or natural landscape, rather it is one that questions how the very term wilderness is defined. Terrie argues that this question must consider not only the differing (often unacknowledged) definitions of wilderness, but also the various *aesthetics* of wilderness.

The book is organized in two ways. The eight chapters trace the region’s development from an unmapped, uncultivated wilderness of fear in the eigh-

teenth century to its late-twentieth-century place as a mapped, contained wilderness area of ecological value and low-impact leisure activity. Situated both chronologically and conceptually at various points between these two disparate understandings of “wilderness”—one bent on destroying it, the other on preserving it—the intervening chapters further problematize any simple understanding of the idea of wilderness. Taken by themselves, the chapters do not break any new ground. One may look to Roderick Nash’s *Wilderness and the American Mind* for a more in-depth understanding of the particularly Christian ideology behind the early colonial’s fear of (and delight in the annihilation of) the wilderness; to Annette Kolodny’s *Lay of the Land* for a more gendered reading, virtually absent in Terrie’s account, of the impulse to both destroy and cultivate the perceived unproductiveness of the American wilderness; or to either Barbara Novak or Angela Miller’s works for the connections they make between romanticism, the mid-nineteenth century rise of landscape painting, and accepted aesthetic responses to nature and wilderness.

The strength of Terrie’s work lies in the way he layers each of these responses to wilderness—Christian, romantic, utilitarian, modern, leisure, conservationist and preservationist—on top of each other to produce a complex, often conflicted idea of what wilderness has been and might be in a particular place in upstate New York. Drawing upon these accreted layers of meaning that resonate with the concept of wilderness, we can begin to see that factions often portrayed today as being at odds with each other—the ecologist and the forest ranger, environmentalist groups and logging companies—differ not in their commitment to nature or wilderness, but in their understandings of what these terms mean. If nothing else, Terrie’s work creates new discursive intersections in which these different groups may meet.

The second, less noticeable, organizational structure is found in Terrie’s ability to locate each of these cultural/historical responses to the idea of wilderness through public figures who were influential in either doing geological and cartographical surveys of the region or in promoting the park through the writings of their travels there. This is attributable, I think, to Terrie’s background in literature studies, which emphasizes close readings of particular *texts*. As a result, we come to see the utilitarian response to the idea of wilderness through readings of Ebenezer Emmons’ geological survey of the region in the 1830s, the romantic response by way of a close reading of Joel T. Headley’s 1849 *The Adirondack: Or Life in the Woods*, the conservationist response through Verplanck Colvin’s late-nineteenth-century surveys of the region, and the leisure response through W.H.H. Murray’s *Adventures in the Wilderness*.

While these figures certainly represent a diverse group of relationships to (and definitions for) the idea of wilderness, a large segment of the New York populace is left out. Both Headley and Murray were well known and respected ministers in and around the Boston and New York areas who wrote for an upper-class audience looking for new and unique ways to spend their leisure time away from the city. Emmons was a professor of natural history before being appointed by the state government to survey the region. Colvin, prior to *his* appointment by the state government, was schooled at the Albany Academy before working for his father’s law firm. This is no small problem for a book that makes claims for

a *cultural* history of wilderness in the Adirondacks, one that reflects the differing ways in which the people of New York (and potentially all of the United States) understand wilderness. There is no mention of the way(s) in which women worked within or against the different discursive understandings of wilderness held by the all-male figures Terrie discusses. Similarly, while Terrie makes mention of the Adirondack guides, who would accompany the (often hilariously, always grotesquely) unprepared New York and Boston social elites traveling to the region in order to get away from the city (and enjoy such hunting activities as shooting swimming deer at point-blank range during the night in a canoe), there is little mention of the guide's own understandings of wilderness.

Despite the absence of these particular voices, *Forever Wild* is an important book in the growing field of environmental studies, a field that too often employs concepts such as wilderness unproblematically. The work's main importance is perhaps not simply as a contribution to a specifically Adirondack field of literature, but rather as a primer for thinking about the ways in which we conceive of the supposedly wholly natural spaces around us. Such a primer is especially relevant in light of the recent attempts by the current presidential administration to begin drilling for oil in the Arctic Wilderness Preserve, one of several so-called wilderness areas in which the very idea of wilderness is currently being contested.

—*Danny Mayer*
University of Kentucky



Contested Territory: A New History of Nature and People in the Adirondacks. PHILIP G. TERRIE. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press/The Adirondack Museum, 1997. Pp. xxi+223, maps, diagrams, index. \$26.95 cloth (ISBN 0815604459).

Much has been written about the Adirondack region of New York. Yet, Philip Terrie has offered a new, fresh, and useful interpretation of how various individuals and groups of people have perceived, interacted with, and affected this huge forested and mountainous area that occupies most of the northern portions of the state of New York.

The Adirondacks of northern New York stand out as a especially beautiful environment that was settled late in the push of European occupation of the United States away from the eastern seaboard towards the west. It was also an area used primarily for hunting and fishing by early Iroquoian and Algonquin peoples who apparently never permanently settled in the area. Both blessed and cursed with craggy mountains, thick forests of evergreen and hardwood trees, and hundreds of lakes and ponds, the Adirondack region also was an area that did not find favor with the vast majority of early Americans who moved inland away from the Atlantic searching for new, productive farmlands. Only small flows of settlers mainly from New England made their ways into the valleys of the region after 1800. Mostly, these people lived an isolated, subsistent, and rather poor existence that only slowly was altered by the discovery and exploitation of iron

deposits and large stands of commercially valuable trees after the 1820s and 1830s. Most of these early commercial and industrial endeavors were small, locally funded, and short-lived, and were later taken over by individuals and companies from outside the region. Therein lies one of the most fundamental and troubling paradoxes of the region; local versus external control of the lands and resources, hence the people, of the area. One other major influence upon the lands and peoples of the Adirondacks, tourism based on hunting, fishing, and varied wilderness recreational activities, also began to emerge by the 1840s and 1850s. This last force for regional change expanded and made much more complicated the fundamental problems that have plagued this region to the present day; namely, who would and should control the lands, spaces, resources, and development of the Adirondacks, how would this occur, and who ought to benefit from such uses and decisions.

The Adirondacks became a nationally renowned wilderness “playground” for the wealthy and powerful by the eve of the Civil War. Vast expanses of much of the most attractive and valuable landscapes of the Adirondacks were purchased, posted, and controlled by a relatively small number of wealthy individuals, families, and companies from outside the region starting in the 1850s, and this continues to the present. These powers usually decided how land was to be used, what transportation and business potentials were to be realized, and how the regional political and economic developments were to be accomplished in general. When these holdings, often called “camps” (though most were rustic and well-appointed palaces and private recreational lands) were added to the vast acreages owned and exploited by several lumbering and mining concerns, much of the area of the Adirondacks was simply beyond the use or ownership of the local people who were often left with few opportunities other than to work for low wages as the “hired help” of these wealthy outsiders. As a result, the region remained relatively poor, unevenly settled, and curiously controlled more by absentee owners and companies who spent only small blocks of time there.

Two other forces for regional change appeared by the end of the nineteenth century. One was the creation and gradual expansion of the largest “state park” in the country. The Adirondack Park, which evolved out of an hazily controlled Adirondack Forest Preserve by 1892 and encompassed by a boundary line that became famous (or infamous) as the “Blue Line,” became an unusual area comprised of large tracts of privately owned land controlled by wealthy outsiders bent on “preserving” such lands for their own enjoyment; large parcels owned and exploited by lumber companies; and scattered, often small, plots and stretches of lands owned by local people. These lands were sprinkled with small hamlets and villages, and connected with unpaved roads and a few railroads. It was with the creation of this park that the state of New York became a major player and yet another “side” to the arguments about the region. Often perceived by locals as elitist and anti-local, New York state also became an increasingly important land owner inside the park, as witnessed by the Olympic lands and facilities at new Lake Placid. Another force for change in the Adirondacks during the twentieth century was the spread and expanded uses of the automobile. Perhaps the most significant factor of increased and expanding auto access has been the large and increasing number of middle-class families who now could come to the area and partake in its attractions and activities.

As time has passed, the fundamental questions of who controls and decides what will be done with the lands and resources of the Adirondacks have remained unanswered and ambiguous, while the number of “sides” of these sometimes confused and heated arguments have increased and become more complex. Philip Terrie has focused his discussions on this ambiguity, rather than on biographical sketches or studies of specific economic or settlement aspects of the area. By doing so, Terrie has offered a quite different history of the Adirondacks, one that could potentially be useful to a number of different geographers, including those with historical, political, land use and planning, and environmental interests. While not the largest volume about the region, and perhaps too focused to be a single regional reference, it does provide important and previously overlooked insights and explanations about the regional dynamics of a very special region.

—*Thomas A. Rumney*
Plattsburgh State University



Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement. PAUL S. SUTTER. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002. Pp. xvi+263, foreword by William Cronon, photographs, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth (ISBN 0295982195).

In *Driven Wild*, historian Paul S. Sutter attempts to redefine the origins of the American wilderness movement by focusing on the decades leading up to the founding of the Wilderness Society in 1935. In this book expanded from his Ph.D. dissertation, Sutter argues that traditional narratives about the birth of the wilderness movement are obscured by the “filter” of postwar clashes between resource industries and the modern environmental movement (p. 261). These narratives often include the influence of the emerging discipline of ecology, wilderness representing the climax of preservationist thinking, or more typically, preservationists rallying against resource exploitation. Viewing the history of twentieth-century environmental thought through this filter of conflict between preservation and use has created a “blind spot” that Sutter tries to correct. He does this by examining the perceptions and motivations of four key founders of the wilderness society during the years leading up to their partnership. Instead of loggers, miners, and dam builders as villains putting wildlands at risk, Sutter’s research points to a much greater threat—middle-class tourists visiting wild places in their automobiles. The founders of the Wilderness Society were literally driven to the necessity for protecting roadless lands by the growing popularity of the automobile.

The four wilderness advocates chosen for biographical studies were Robert Marshall, Aldo Leopold, Robert Sterling Yard, and Benton MacKaye. They had diverse backgrounds and interests, and they each were motivated by social concerns that went far beyond the boundaries of wilderness preservation. Marshall is perhaps the most celebrated for his protection and mapping of roadless lands as a

forester for the U.S. Forest Service and Bureau of Indian Affairs during the 1930s. Leopold, best remembered for his classic *A Sand County Almanac*, shared Marshall's love for wildlands but looked more broadly at the conservation of both public and private lands. Yard was a publicist for the National Park Service until becoming disillusioned with the rapid pace of development within the parks. He became an agency watchdog and founder of the National Parks Association. MacKaye, best known for his efforts establishing the Appalachian Trail, was a forester and regional planner who tried to link the well-being of communities to the protection of wilderness. Much has been written about Marshall and Leopold, however, the contributions of Yard and MacKaye have been mostly overlooked.

The glue that bound these founders of the Wilderness Society was the frantic pace of highway construction, which threatened some of the country's last wild areas, burgeoning automobile tourism, and unprecedented recreational development by young men of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) during Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. To set the stage for the accomplishments of these four men, Sutter does a fine job of chronicling the impact of this development during the interwar years when autocamping nearly became the national pastime. As "roughing it" increased in popularity, the environmental toll climbed and these gypsies of the roadways eventually found fewer places to experience nature. As the rural landscape disappeared behind billboards, fences, and "no trespassing" signs, the public lands became the next target for finding nature in the automobile. Reluctant foresters and other public-land managers were forced to accommodate the growing numbers, or at least attempt to limit their impact to hastily designed campgrounds. The National Park Service also looked beyond federal boundaries to help state planners build hundreds of parks across the country using the labor of the CCC.

Driven Wild is a fresh look at the origins of the wilderness movement that deserves a place on the shelf of both geographers and historians. Historical geographers will especially appreciate the contribution Sutter makes to reconstructing the motivations of the founders within the context of the 1920s and 1930s. I think many would agree with Sutter that we are often tempted to look at historical events through the filter of more recent controversies. Sutter's descriptions of the social reform these men hoped to accomplish in conjunction with wilderness preservation also illustrates the complexity of the wilderness debate, and how nearly impossible it is to separate social and environmental challenges. One last contribution of this research is to shed light on the importance of New Deal programs in promoting recreation and transforming the American landscape. The pace and breadth of this development was unprecedented, yet has been mostly overlooked by scholars.

My only dissatisfaction with *Driven Wild* was that in his conclusion Sutter did not do more to compare his research to some of the current literature on the wilderness debate. Roads are increasingly viewed by both environmentalists and agency biologists as perhaps the greatest threat to preserving biodiversity in America's remaining wildlands, and Sutter could have more forcefully made this connection. Despite this shortcoming, *Driven Wild* makes an excellent addition to conservation literature. Sutter was a student of Donald Worster at the University of Kansas, and as the author notes in his acknowledgments, Worster's thought-

ful influence can be recognized in this project. Hopefully there will be more such projects forthcoming.

—Langdon Smith

Slippery Rock University of Pennsylvania



Greenbelt, Maryland. CATHY D. KNEPPER. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001. Pp. xvii+275, maps, photographs, index. \$42.50 (ISBN 0801864909).

The story of Greenbelt, Maryland is one of the most fascinating tales in twentieth-century planning history. Although Greenbelt is often pointed to as a milestone in the evolution of urban North America, it has never received a full historical treatment. This gap is filled nicely by the present volume by Cathy Knepper, which is part of the fine series *Creating the North American Landscape* published by Johns Hopkins University Press.

Greenbelt was planned in the 1930s as part of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. The planning was accomplished by the ambitious and audacious experimenters who came to Washington, D.C., with a belief in the federal government's ability to pull the United States out of the Great Depression. The town-planning program of the Resettlement Administration, created in 1935, was just one of many programs intended to create both work and hope in a country sorely lacking in both. The Resettlement Administration brought together some of the premier physical and social planners of the day, with one of its goals the creation of cooperative towns to serve as models for a new urban America. Though the initial plan for the "Green Towns" called for the construction of dozens of new towns across the United States, only three sites were actually developed. Greenbelt, Maryland was by far the most prominent of these towns due in large measure to its close proximity to the Washington bureaucracy as well as national media outlets like the *Washington Post*.

In a very straightforward fashion, Knepper recounts the beginnings of Greenbelt and then traces its development to the present day. The figure of Rexford Tugwell, an academic who came to Washington as part of the New Deal and led the Resettlement Administration, looms large over the first part of the narrative. Tugwell's vision for the new towns was of cooperative communities that were bound together by ties of family, church, school, commerce, and recreation. Tugwell's presence, however, had both positive and negative consequences, imbuing the project with his energy but also serving as a lightning rod for opponents of the bold plans coming from the "alphabet soup" of New Deal agencies. The fact that Greenbelt exists despite the forces arrayed against it is a testament to the persistence and strength of vision of Tugwell and his successors in the various government agencies involved in the creation of the new town.

After the opening chapters on the process of planning and constructing the town, the following chapters examine the effects of World War II on the town,

the transition of Greenbelt from public to private ownership, and the ongoing battles with private developers as well as government agencies such as the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) that were not committed to the dream of building a cooperative community. Despite these challenges and the loss over time of most of the Greenbelt “pioneers,” Knepper argues that the spirit of cooperation that was present in the early days of Greenbelt’s founding, and which set it apart from surrounding communities, is still present today. Knepper links this spirit of cooperation, which manifests itself in the formation of voluntary organizations around issues important to the community, to the aspirations of the Roosevelt years, identifying Greenbelt in the book’s subtitle as a “living legacy of the New Deal.”

Though the story of Greenbelt is interesting, there are many shortcomings in Knepper’s presentation of that story. First and foremost of these, at least for this reader, is the workmanlike prose employed by Knepper. The narrative is bloodless, and the only incident that comes alive is the story of Greenbelt resident Abraham Chasanow, a civilian employee of the Navy accused in 1953 of being a “security risk” during the McCarthy era, whose experience was later turned into a Hollywood film. The characters who were key to the creation of Greenbelt, argued over its development, and contested its landscape have little identity and leave little impression. The story of the struggle over the development of a cooperative community threatened by the forces of corporate capitalism as well as unsympathetic government officials at the federal, state, and local levels has little spark. The sameness of events—a threat arises from outside and associations form in response—begins to wear thin over time. The result is a book that is a detailed account of the development of Greenbelt but leaves the reader uninspired. Other problems concern Knepper’s reliance on Greenbelt’s local newspaper to tell a tremendous amount of the story. Though there is some use of oral histories, in which residents of Greenbelt are allowed to speak for themselves, much of the structure of discourse concerning the development of Greenbelt comes from newspaper articles, editorials, and letters to the editor. These sources do not make for exciting reading. A broader problem, however, is that although this book is a part of the series concerning landscape creation, there is precious little about the landscapes of Greenbelt and little attempt to place Greenbelt into a larger context concerning the forces at work shaping the North American landscape in the 1900s.

Greenbelt is a very important part of twentieth-century urban history. Knepper’s work is an excellent documentation of that history, well illustrated with both maps and photographs. Nevertheless, if one is looking for a study of the dynamic tensions that are inherent in any project involving the creation of a new town and the social forces at work in this process, this study comes up short. It is a fine history of the development of Greenbelt, Maryland, but it could have been more.

—*Dean Sinclair*
Northwestern State University



Columbus, Ohio: A Personal Geography. HENRY L. HUNKER. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000. Pp. ix+227, maps, photographs, field-trip itinerary, bibliography. \$51.50 hardcover (ISBN 0814208576).

I first came to Columbus, Ohio in August of 1973. Like Henry Hunker's initial Columbus experience in the late 1940s, many people still referred to the city as a "cow town" and seemed more concerned about the success of Ohio State's football team than with anything else (pp. 4-5). Almost thirty years later, a very large number of people remain concerned about the college's football team, but Columbus itself has experienced tremendous changes.

Hunker's book is a masterful historical geography of Ohio's capital, its largest city, and the changes that have occurred over nearly 200 years. But it is more than that. For example, throughout the text the author integrates general theories, models, and universal processes of urban growth to explain growth and change in Columbus. Furthermore, the author links the city's history and its morphogenesis to the development of other urban areas in the state—particularly Cleveland and Cincinnati—and to large-scale national geographic, political, and economic change over time. The result is that beyond its value as a general urban-historical geography, this book can be used as a supplementary text in any course in urban geography or urban-historical geography, since it uses and explains the same terms, ideas, concepts, models, and themes developed in most of these courses. Furthermore, it defines and uses this terminology in such a way that any reader can understand it and appreciate it. As a result, this is popular geography written by a geographer; it makes the work of professional geographers accessible to the professional and the general public alike.

In 1812, Columbus was platted as the new state capital on the high ground east of the junction of the Scioto and Olentangy rivers. It began its evolution as a planned state capital with a capital square laid out at the southeast corner of Broad (east-west) and High (north-south) streets—the main streets bisecting the city. As Hunker notes, in the early years of a town that developed along water courses, everyone with any means wanted to settle upstream from his or her neighbor to avoid their neighbor's pollution of their water sources. Thus, Columbus' early growth was directed upstream along the two rivers, and since real estate speculation is an American cultural norm, the highest land values have long been on Columbus' north side, affecting the long-term development of industrial, residential, and commercial land. The wealthiest neighborhoods were developed to the north, northwest, and northeast early on, and this process continues to this day.

Moreover, Hunker shows how the initial siting of Columbus affected its long-term settlement patterns. The site is flat as is the surrounding territory. Thus, as the city experienced various spurts of growth in the nineteenth century and in the early and late twentieth century, it continuously developed as a low-density community. This is especially true after 1950 when its "aggressive annexation" policy evolved (pp. 31-32) and since then, in combination with massive interstate and large-scale urban arterial development, Columbus has sprawled beyond the confines of Franklin County, especially to the northwest, north, and northeast, extending its boundaries into surrounding counties in efforts to "control" growth. Many people here would argue that Columbus "invented" sprawl.

Despite the fact that Columbus was founded as the capital city, it was located far from the major midwestern lake and river ports that were the foci of urban growth in the United States from the early nineteenth century through the 1920s. Cleveland and Cincinnati had distinct advantages in the nineteenth century that assured their dominance in terms of industrial production. And, in an age of small government, the Columbus service sector economy—state government, banking, insurance, and education—also remained relatively small. Thus, by 1834, Columbus only had 3,500 residents and only 18,000 by 1850 (p. 50). While the city grew slowly, but steadily—31,000 in 1865; 125,000 in 1900—it never developed as a “smokestack city” (p. 56). Instead, it developed a diversified economy focusing on government, education, retailing, the service sectors of banking and insurance, and regional transportation. Thus, as the U.S. began to deindustrialize after World War II, Columbus never suffered the fate of its bigger sisters, Cleveland and Cincinnati. In fact, after World War II, it grew steadily and became Ohio’s largest city in 1990 (p. 37). Its largest employers (the State of Ohio, Ohio State University, Banc One Corporation, the federal government, The Limited, the City of Columbus, etc.) reflect the dominance of the service sector in the economic base of the community (pp. 58-64).

As is noted in the title and in the preface, this is a personal geography. So not only does this small volume recount the demographic, economic, and morphological history of the city and its major characteristics of growth and change from 1812-2000, its author also delves into issues and themes one might not normally find in a general historical geography. To Hunker, these themes are factors that are keys to Columbus’ character and uniqueness among Ohio’s cities, and they are also very personal to him because he has always played a very active role in the life of the community. One of these themes is well articulated in his chapter on “Historic Preservation.” In the early 1980s, Hunker was the president of the Columbus Landmarks Foundation, an organization dedicated to historic preservation. In this chapter, he articulates the successes of historic preservationists in saving Columbus’ past (German Village, for example) and the failures (the demolition of the City Hall Annex, pp. 126-29, an argument with city government for preservation that he lost. While the author mourns the loss of a large number of historic buildings, he celebrates the triumphs of the Landmarks Foundation and the Columbus Historic Resources Commission in creating an inventory of historic buildings in the downtown and encouraging the preservation and re-use of many of them.

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, Columbus has faced many challenges. Its robust growth over the past twenty-five years has led to massive sprawl, and a large-scale regional shopping center and Edge City development, which has negatively impacted the downtown (well documented in a chapter titled “A Love Affair with Shopping Centers, pp. 85-99). The city has also witnessed the decline of many inner-city neighborhoods. This growth and change has also raised quality-of-life issues and has raised concerns over conflicts between inner-city and outer-city communities. Like his chapter on “Historic Preservation,” Hunker deals with these issues in a very personal way in chapters in which he reveals his intimate knowledge of many of Columbus’ inner-city communities (“Neighborhood Vignettes,” Chapter 9) and his ability to under-

stand and articulate complex quality-of-life issues in and among these neighborhoods ("Quality of Life," Chapter 11).

Many of the problems between the inner and outer city were universal to the country in the late-twentieth century and the problems facing Columbus are but an example of national trends. However, some are unique to Columbus and the methods the city is using to encourage development or redevelopment. Hunker does not make much mention of these processes (tax increment financing, and the like) and their impacts (neighborhood decline/change; shopping center closings, etc.) and one wishes that he would have. Regardless, Henry Hunker has created an intimate, readable, thoroughly enjoyable historical geography of one of America's fastestgrowing cities and metropolitan areas. And this book is a model for this kind of work on other urban places in the country. Urban geography desperately needs books like Hunker's if we are to understand the past the creates the present and the future of our urban places.

—Richard Fusch
Ohio Wesleyan University



New York, Chicago, Los Angeles: America's Global Cities. JANET L. ABU-LUGHOD. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999. Pp. x+553, illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$49.95 cloth (ISBN 0816633355).

Janet L. Abu-Lughod is among the leading historical sociologists writing today. In books such as *Cairo: 10001 Years of the City Victorious* (1971), *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco* (1984), and *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (1989), Abu-Lughod has demonstrated an admirable willingness to tackle new intellectual problems and respond to current social concerns, producing a scholarly record of breadth and depth that has won her a reputation as a shrewd observer of urban complexity.

In *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles*, Abu-Lughod engages the recent social science literature on urban globalization. Associated most closely with Saskia Sassen's seminal *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (1991) as well as with the work of Manuel Castells, Ian Gordon, and Susan Fainstein, this scholarship posits that the transition of the world economy from manufacturing to financial services that started in the 1970s and 1980s brought about fundamental transformations that are analogous to those caused by industrialization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to Sassen, globalization produced both spatial dispersal and concentration. As financial markets deinstitutionalized and as capital became more mobile, manufacturing was dispersed from the industrialized countries to developing and underdeveloped nations, a trend that, in turn, created a new strategic role for a few metropolises. Sassen argues that New York, London, and Tokyo evolved into a new type of city—the global city—becoming command points of the new global economy that exercised control over vast resources and that coordinated investments and production worldwide.

Yet these global cities also experienced wrenching internal changes, a process that Sassen calls “polarization.” The influx of privileged employees of multinational firms combined with the expansion of ill-paid part-time and underground labor to widen the gap between rich and poor, altered their social structures, spatial arrangements, and political dynamics in ways that reified the increasing economic inequality. Sassen’s bleak portrait of impending neo-colonization abroad and of social injustice and class exploitation at home provides a jeremiad-like warning of the perils of advanced corporate capitalism.

Abu-Lughod makes three main criticisms of this scholarship. One is that Sassen’s contention that global cities emerged in the last two or three decades is ahistorical for its neglect of the urban past. Abu-Lughod contends that all major characteristics of the global city were present in New York City by the late-nineteenth century, long before their presumed origins in the late-twentieth century. A second criticism is that the analysis of global cities ignores space. Despite geography’s prominence in economics, sociology, and the other social science disciplines that have contributed to the work on global cities, nearly all of these studies treat cities as points on a featureless plain lacking either internal or external spatial dimensions. Her third criticism is that the theories of urban globalization are incapable of explaining variations between and within specific cities. Abu-Lughod says that the theorists cannot answer this basic question: given such powerful common forces, why are global cities so different from one another? Abu-Lughod’s appraisal is persuasive and potentially devastating, yet it is also limited. The problem is her failure to examine the intellectual sources of the global city school and to put it in the larger context of the changing ideologies of radical social science. Although *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles* amounts to an extended critique of these theories, it nonetheless remains trapped within their conceptualization, unable to break free from their grip and advance a new conceptualization of world metropolises that elevates the cultural and spatial realms to equal status with the materialist realm and that offers a more subtle analysis of capitalism.

This book investigates three major cities in the United States that it identifies as “global”: New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Abu-Lughod explains that she chose these cities because they are the country’s three largest cities, but she does not say why population should be the determining factor in the attribution of global status rather than political or economic power (few would call Mexico City a global city, even though it is an urban giant) or why, if population size is to be the basis for such a designation, the cut-off point should fall between the third and fourth biggest cities instead of somewhere else. Her method for analyzing these cities is to explore particular cycles of their historical development. She divides their histories into five growth cycles, most of which last between thirty and fifty years, or about a single generation. Her comparisons occur in real time—in the case of her third cycle, for instance, from the 1870s through the 1920s—rather than in terms of discrete stages of urban growth. Because New York was about a generation ahead of Chicago and two generations ahead of Los Angeles, her account always seems slightly off kilter. Despite confronting many such obstacles in the course of this ambitious project, Abu-Lughod has produced the best comparative analysis that has ever been written of American metropolises. Far superior to the global city studies, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles* combines

the particular and the general, is alive to the problem of agency, and pays close attention to the actions of the state and of local elites. She argues that “common forces originating at the level of the global economy operate always through local political structures and interact with inherited spatial forms. They are therefore always manifested in particular ways that differentiate cities from one another and that militate against the facile generalizations that have hitherto been made about a class of cities called *global*” (p. 417, emphasis in the original).

Though the global connections sometimes get lost in the thicket of inter-metropolitan comparisons, this book has many insights about U.S. cities. Abu-Lughod’s examination of the contrasting boundary problems that confront these three metropolises and of the distinctive relationships that local elites have with urban spatial and social structures is particularly compelling. Among her chief findings are the attentiveness of New York’s economic elites to public problems, at least in the nineteenth century; the difficulty of implementing regional solutions in metropolitan New York, given its challenging geography and its political division among three states; Chicago’s “dual city” combination of massive racial and class bifurcations and a confrontational political culture; the role of the Spanish-American War and World War I in stimulating Los Angeles’ economic growth; and the unresponsiveness of Los Angeles’ political system to minority social groups and the channeling of their grievances into extra-political forms.

Because Abu-Lughod does not substitute a new conceptual scheme for the global city theory that she rejects, her book lacks some overall cohesiveness. One possibility would have been to frame this work with a discussion of national and regional metropolitan systems, a theme that Abu-Lughod touches on but does not develop here, although she has used it in elsewhere, most notably in *Before European Hegemony*. An analysis of American urban systems might have encouraged an exploration of these three metropolises’ connections with each other, their regions, and the rest of the U.S. as well as with other countries and other global cities. It might also have focused attention on questions of metropolitan power that Abu-Lughod slights because of her decision to concentrate on America’s three largest cities. A study of American global cities that skips Washington, D.C. seems odd in light of the imperial reach of the U.S. The national capital might not fit the Sassen definition of a global city, but perhaps that is further reason to reject this flawed model. Another metropolis that might have merited scrutiny is Houston, the nation’s fourth-largest city in terms of population size and, by some measures, one of its four regional metropolises, along with New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Though urbanists usually ignore it, Houston is an important and intriguing city. In this case, comparisons of Houston’s industrial and financial industries with Chicago’s economic base and of Houston’s spatial and demographic patterns with Los Angeles’ would have been revealing.

Great books provoke arguments, stimulate thinking, and improve our knowledge and understanding. Janet L. Abu-Lughod’s *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles* is a great book that all scholars of American cities should read.

—Clifton Hood

Hobart and William Smith College



Fields of Battle: Terrain in Military History (GeoJournal Library, Vol. 64). PETER DOYLE and MATTHEW BENNETT, eds. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002. Pp. ix+387, illustrations, maps, diagrams, index. \$120.00 cloth (ISBN 1402004338).

Military geography has enjoyed a resurgence of popularity in recent years. The end of the Cold War and emergence of global terrorism brought great changes to the world's political and strategic environment, causing many to rethink traditional military roles and missions. The conventional view restricting military geography to topics directly associated with the conduct of war is being challenged so that inclusion of the entire spectrum of military operations, including those during peacetime and "low intensity conflicts," are accepted as mainstream material. This trend is appropriate and healthy. Even so, the heart of military geography remains focused on armed conflict. In this respect, *Fields of Battle* is a welcomed and timely addition to the nucleus of the discipline.

Stemming from a January 2000 conference on terrain in military history held at the University of Greenwich in the United Kingdom, the papers Peter Doyle and Matthew Bennett compiled provide a multidisciplinary approach to the cultural and physical significance of terrain and battle. Intended for (and written by) military historians, geographers, geologists, and archaeologists, the text provides twenty case studies exploring the interplay between terrain and battle. Papers are arranged in chronological order, spanning medieval times through World War II. Not surprisingly, sixteen of the twenty papers deal with conflicts in which Great Britain was a major player.

Doyle and Bennett frame the compilation by explaining that terrain in military actions can be observed from the viewpoint of the historical commanders, as well as from the battles' cultural importance. They provide a conceptual model of terrain and military history that links symbolic and iconic landscapes to the landscape of battle, correlating these views with the passage of time. Only two papers in the volume address the symbolic landscape, and two others address the iconic landscape, while sixteen rest with the traditional landscape of battle perspective—how terrain influences military action.

Papers addressing terrain symbology and battle include an ingenious and thoughtful argument by Kerry Cathers, who investigates symbology in the choice of medieval battle location in the British Isles. Tony Pollard discusses symbology of the 1879 Isandlwana battle site in his well written work on the Anglo-Zulu War. He presents differing perceptions of battle landscape held by the Zulu and the British.

Iconic landscapes are treated in two papers. Edmon Castell and Sonia Roura argue that European battlefields and battlefield monuments are highly effective icons that promote understanding, while Castell and Lluís Falcó examine the Spanish Civil War battlefield of Ebro as a location that has become a symbol of Spanish Antifascist Resistance.

"Classic" military geography analyses that explore the impact of terrain on battle comprise the majority of papers in this volume. Trevor Halsall examines the effect of chalk cliffs on four battles during the English Civil War. Two exceptional papers, one by Judy Ehlen and Robert Abraham and the other by Walter Pittman, investigate the influence of terrain during the American Civil War. Doyle and Bennett classify terrain and its impact on the British Gallipoli Campaign during

World War I, illustrating that difficult terrain had a tremendous influence on the way the campaign was fought. Conversely, Rob Thompson capably argues against conventional wisdom that difficult terrain conditions were responsible for British failure during the third Battle of Ypres in World War I. A particularly outstanding paper is John Ciciarelli's contribution considering the influence of geology and geography on the World War II Battle of Monte Cassino, Italy. Beautiful, clear maps and fine photographs complement the well-written text. Finally, Stephen Badsey provides an excellent argument that the nature of terrain in the World War II Battle of Normandy was the principle reason the Allies failed to achieve their objectives on the first day and why it took so long to finally close the Falaise pocket.

Other meticulously well-researched papers round out the wide variety of terrain and battle topics. These include an exhaustive study of World War I mapping and surveying by Peter Chasseaud, a detailed exploration of Channel Island fortifications by Edward Rose et al., and a chronicle of the important contributions of Ralph Bagnold's Long Range Desert Group in World War II by James Underwood and Robert Giegengack. Other papers apply modern analytic tools to investigate battlefield terrain. Shell Kimble and Patrick O'Sullivan attempt to quantitatively assess the impact of physical terrain on guerilla warfare success using a Geographic Information System (GIS). Ehlen and Abraham deftly use a Digital Terrain Model and Virtual Reality Modeling Language to analyze terrain at the 1863 American Civil War battle of Fredericksburg, Virginia. Doyle et al. effectively use GIS to examine military operations on Messines Ridge during World War I. While this latter study is excellent, its maps of trench lines unfortunately translate poorly from the GIS screen to black-and-white renderings.

Criticisms of the book originate from problems inherent to any publication of proceedings. The scope of coverage is limited in this case to Western (and particularly British) conflicts; the quality between papers, and particularly maps, varies; and while the editors claim that the collection covers all aspects of terrain to include the cultural and spiritual significance of battle, the reality is that most analyses included deal with the influence of terrain on battle. This is not a criticism per se, however, as I believe it is the real strength of the volume. In today's uncertain geopolitical environment, there appear more and more articles on peacetime military operations, military environmental impacts, and "low-intensity conflicts." It is refreshing to see a new publication that treats the core of military geography. Minor criticisms include publication errors (one map is printed upside down), and lack of color necessary to clarify some maps.

Overall, this volume is an excellent addition to military geography, history, archaeology and geology. The diversity of disciplinary approaches vary greatly, fully supporting the editors' claim that the volume is a multidisciplinary work. While I would not recommend this book for use as a course text, it clearly meets the editors' intent to provide varied case studies for advanced undergraduates and researchers interested in the conduct of battle. I highly recommend it be added to the library of scholars and enthusiasts of the military art.

—*Daniel A. Gilewitch*
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English Maps: A History CATHERINE DELANO-SMITH and ROGER J.P. KAIN. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999. Pp. xiv+320. \$40.00 cloth (ISBN 0802047424).

This is a book that is long overdue. It is a very complete and thoroughly researched text about the history of mapmaking and cartography in England. The content is scholarly and very easy to read, yet not long-winded. Each of the eight chapters contains a detailed but concise history of specific types of maps created in England. Chapters cover medieval English mapmaking, mapping the country and counties, property maps, travel maps, town maps, and plans. The final two chapters cover topics about how maps have become an everyday part of life, and how ancient maps have perished and survived the ravages of time and history.

Chapter 1 is an introduction to, and overview of, the subject of maps and mapmaking throughout the history of England. Beginning with Chapter 2, the book delves deep into the origins of map creation in England beginning with a brief discussion of T-O and world maps. Each individual medieval world map created in England from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries is provided with an in-depth discussion about its creation and genealogy and whether it is still extant or is only referenced by other sources. The text focuses on how England is depicted on these various medieval world maps and then migrates to specific individual maps of England, i.e. Mathew Paris and the Gough map, as well as others.

The next chapter describes in great detail the mapping of the country as a whole and the mapping of individual counties. The authors have included an excellent detailed history about how county maps and atlases came into existence and the reasons behind their growth and popularity. Proceeding in chronological order, the authors detail the evolution of county mapping, beginning with the efforts of pioneering mapmakers and surveyors like John Norden, William Smith, and John Speed. There are a number of interesting biographies about the surveyors and major mapmakers as well as details about the commercial development of the map trade in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England.

The authors next discuss estate and property maps. This type of map evolved from verbal documents in feudal times to grow into carefully measured and drawn documents in the nineteenth century. There is considerable discussion about the history of tith and enclosure maps too. In all, these map types account for the most detailed mapping of England up to the end of the eighteenth century.

Traveling through early England and the creation of travel-oriented maps are covered in the fifth chapter. Like feudal property maps, travel maps also began as verbal or written documents, or itineraries, which then began adding roads with landmarks. Mathew Paris' *London-Rome* from the 1250s and John Ogilby's *Britannia* published in 1675 are two itineraries the authors discuss at length. The authors also detail the history of English sea charts and sea travel and how they also evolved from oral and written directions until portolan charts came into existence during the sixteenth century.

The final two chapters discuss how maps are used in everyday life and how they have become a common occurrence in today's newspapers and in the news media. These GIS-created maps can be made and changed at the touch of a keystroke to show changes in such subjects as social and economic conditions,

agriculture, and land use for any specific geographic area. The authors also provide a very detailed history about the first series of Ordnance Survey topographic maps that covered the country in the early nineteenth century. The most interesting chapter, which is also the last chapter, discusses how many of the ancient maps and medieval world maps created in England. The ravages of time have taken a toll on many of these important maps. It is a shame that more of these maps have not survived. So much could be learned from them.

The book's layout is well organized and easy to use. The presentation of information is logical and follows a chronology through English history. More than 100 black-and-white maps, figures, and illustrations are excellent and of high quality, are easy to read, and are to the point. The center section of twenty-four pages containing twenty-six color maps are of excellent quality printed on art-stock glossy paper. There is a detailed table of contents, and an extensive list of notes and references that is informative unto itself. The bibliography is first rate for those who want to use this book as a reference tool for further in-depth research on specific types of maps or of a geographic area in English map history.

This book is a great research tool. I highly recommend this title to any academic library, or for anyone who needs detailed information on the cartographic history of England. I shall use this book again and again for my own research and for those of my patrons.

—John Olson
Syracuse University Library



The Places Where Men Pray Together: Cities in Islamic Lands, Seventh through Tenth Centuries. PAUL WHEATLEY. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001. Pp. xviii+572, maps, appendices, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. \$65.00 hardcover (ISBN 0226894282).

This magisterial study of urbanism in the first three centuries of Muslim rule in the Maghrib, Middle East, and Central Asia represents geographer Paul Wheatley's final, and in some ways puzzling, contribution to urban historical geography of the pre-modern world. Published posthumously, *The Places Where Men Pray Together* advances several lines of thought about urbanism in what has come to be known as the Islamic realm. One strand reflects Wheatley's continuing interest in urbanism associated with cultural belief system, while another strand employs ideas and methods of urban economic geography from the third quarter of the twentieth century. This review will try to convey these parallel currents, along with a brief examination the wealth of information, insights, and synthetic understanding that typified this book and that will reward anyone interested in historical urban geography of the Muslim realm.

The volume consists of three parts, which complement one another but could almost stand alone as independent works. The introductory part consists of three substantial chapters on "The Roots of Islamic Society," "The Shaping of

Urban Systems in the Islamic World,” and “Preliminaries” (a title that evokes a smile of recognition of Wheatley’s earlier groundbreaking works that had subtitles like “a preliminary enquiry,” “notes,” or “desultory remarks”). These early chapters assemble and distill an enormous amount of work by others on Arabian origins, conquests, settlements, and institutions that shaped how cities were experienced, described, and interpreted by Wheatley’s principal source for Part II of the volume—Shams al-Din Abu `Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Abi Bakr al-Banna’ al-Sha’mi al-Maqdisi al-ma`ruf bi-l-Bashari—or Al-Maqdisi (transliterated in earlier periods as al-Muqaddasi).

Part I introduces contemporary Arabic source material, but more significantly for modern urban historical geographers, and for the chapters that follow, it draws heavily upon twentieth-century research on urban systems and hierarchies. In contrast with some of his earlier explorations, Wheatley succinctly states that, “A city comprises a set of functionally interrelated social, political, administrative, economic, cultural, religious and other institutions located in close proximity in order to exploit scale economies” (p. 59). Lamenting the limited quantitative data in medieval sources, he adopts a qualitative approach to the subject but retains the conceptual apparatus of urban-systems research.

This conceptual apparatus includes a focus on settlement patterns that consist of three main “components”—a relatively uniform spread of settlements or central places; a lineal component of transportation networks and trade flows; and a clustered component of specialized occupational, recreational, and religious activities. His discussion of settlement systems and hierarchies analyzes the relevance and limits of central place theory, rank-size relationships, and spatial analysis for understanding urban systems from Al-Andalus (southern Spain) to Al-Mashriq (roughly modern Afghanistan and Central Asia). Wheatley consistently sought to build upon Weberian social theory and works by Parsons and others, but his debt to urban economic geography and a functionalist approach distinguishes this volume from his earlier works and receives further attention at the end of this review.

Part II of the volume consists of thirteen chapters on regions examined in Al-Makdisi’s *Ahsan al-Taqasim fi Ma`rifat al-Aqalim* (*The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions*) compiled after a life of travel and trade in the late-tenth century (CE). Wheatley examines thirteen of the fourteen regions discussed by al-Makdisi, beginning with al-Iraq and continuing through Aqur, al-Sham, Jazirah, al-Jibal, Khuzistan, Fars, Kirman, al-Rihab, al-Daylam, al-Mashriq, Misr, and al-Maghrib. Regrettably, Wheatley omitted al-Sind, primarily because al-Makdisi did not personally travel to that province in the lower Indus valley. However, Sind would have provided an opportunity for comparison both of al-Makdisi’s accounts and of modern historical geographic syntheses based on different combinations of first- and secondhand sources. Wheatley also follows a different regional sequence than al-Makdisi, in part because the introductory chapters in Part I do justice to the al-Hijaz region and its generative religious centers at Makkah and al-Madinah, and in part because the evidence for al-Iraq enables an exemplary case of the urban systems approach.

Each of the regional chapters presents a succinct yet masterful synthesis of medieval sources and modern geographic analysis. They carefully weigh direct

observation, lived experience, eyewitness reports, sacred and secular perspectives, doctrinal influences, and selected post-tenth-century accounts. Each chapter begins with a delimitation of the region, followed by discussions of its market and service centers, transportation systems, industrial crafts, and religious centers, often returning to specialized markets or economic characteristics of lower-order cities, depending upon the available evidence from al-Makdisi and other sources. Wheatley gives special attention to al-Makdisi's struggle to reconcile regions that were administratively, politically, and culturally defined with settlement systems and hierarchies established by economic production, consumption, and trade. In struggling himself with these tensions, Wheatley offers a sustained experimental application, and partial critique, of structural-functionalist models applied to varied regional contexts.

The strengths of this approach are first, its apposite use of al-Makdisi's texts and their focus on economic activity and integration; second, its consistent treatment of each region, enabling clear comparisons of settlement, transportation, and urban hierarchies in different regional contexts; and third, the regional insights it sheds on urbanism in the seventh through tenth centuries. Overall, the approach fits the primary scale of analysis of regional urban systems.

The approach is admittedly less adequate for understanding the internal organization of cities, their physical form, or human experience, which Wheatley purposely sets aside in the first sentence of his preface:

This is not a history of Islamic urban architecture, nor is it a study of art-historical motifs traditionally associated with Islamic cities; still less is it a historical gazetteer of city names and locations. Rather it is an attempt to elicit from not always ekistically forthcoming sources the faded lineaments of thirteen settlement systems that agglomerative and accessibility factors had modeled into pyramidal urban hierarchies by the tenth century. (p. xiii)

This negative opening perhaps anticipates some queries and criticisms of Part II. To be fair, numerous passages in the text and in the extensive notes (over 3,100 of them) discuss architectural complexes (e.g., the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem) and features like minarets or gardens. But by and large, the regional chapters give limited sustained examination of urban morphology at the metropolitan, walled city; occupational quarter; or household scales. There are important exceptions that discuss the morphology, for example, of al-Kufah and al-Fustat, and more sustained morphological emphasis is provided in Part III of the volume. But the regional chapters tend to mention only selected examples drawn from secondary sources, with limited supporting cartographic or formal analysis.

Although fitting in the ways mentioned above, this urban systems approach seems limiting in other respects. Each chapter follows a common narrative sequence beginning with markets and service centers, followed by transportation, industrial crafts, and eventually religious centers (which may come as a surprise for readers of Wheatley's earlier works like *The Pivot of the Four Quarters*). One wonders how might the regional perspectives have varied if the narrative sequence reflected their changing historical importance, and interactions, in each region?

Similarly, the occasional references to cultural and religious activities as epiphenomenal may underplay the spiritual life and movement in early Muslim cities, and may also prefigure Wheatley's concluding doubts about what, if anything, makes a city or urban system Islamic. The urban-systems approach misses out on contributions of late-twentieth-century urban social geography both in theory and its relevance for late-twentieth-century historical geography. For example, the title phrase "places where men pray together" stems from an *hadith*, a saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad (p. 41), that unconsciously reflects the volume's lack of attention to gender relations in different urban and regional contexts, and to contemporary sources and modern research on the roles of women in early Muslim history—ranging from women of the prophet's family to the role of women of different classes, occupations, mobility, and religious orders in shaping urban systems. While this limitation is offset by the extraordinary wealth of social geographic insights embedded in each chapter, urban social and political geographic phenomena do not rise to the level of organizing structures.

These concerns do not diminish the magnitude Wheatley's analysis of al-Makdisi and contemporary sources, which is weighty, rigorous, and of enduring value for geographers and others. While Part II offers an original analysis of al-Makdisi's regional observations, Part III consists of a single chapter of over 100 pages in length titled "The Urban Fabric." It refers back to al-Makdisi and the preceding regional chapters, but stands as a short stimulating book in its own right. Its jointly cultural and functional perspective, and its typological organization, resonate with Wheatley's earlier work in East and Southeast Asia, and it is a pleasure to read. It offers a broad synthesis of urbanism across regions beginning with "signatures of power," and proceeding to "the sacred in the urban landscape," the landscapes of *sugs* and fairs, and an urban typology.

The typology goes far beyond simple oppositions between *villes crees et villes spontanee* to encompass "specialist cities" for textile productions and fortification; "palatine complexes"; "adapted cities" built on pre-Muslim foundations; and "twin cities" created by similar processes of transformation but in adjacent rather than superimposed locations. This chapter on the fabric of urbanism was reportedly nearly complete when Paul Wheatley died, and in my reading it most fully carries forward the spirit of urban inquiry that he pioneered. There is something haunting in its being left for last, and in the absence of any reference to Wheatley's early creative exploration of "Levels of space awareness in the traditional Islamic city," *Ekistics* 253 (1976): 354-66. Gone is the distinctive prose and humanistic focus of an earlier draft that was subtitled, "Paratactic reflections on the quality of life in the cities of the traditional Islamic world" (photocopy on file with author). In their place, the reader will discover another monumental convergence of erudition, geographic method, and imagination that characterized Paul Wheatley's intellectual life and this fine volume.

—James L. Wescoat Jr.

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The Enigma of Ethnicity: Another American Dilemma. WILBUR ZELINSKY. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2001. Pp. xvii+315, bibliography, and index. \$39.95 hardcover (ISBN 0877457492).

For more than half a century, Wilbur Zelinsky has been at the forefront of critical examinations of the social and cultural geography of the United States. In a comprehensive reading of a wide array of data and ideas relating to ethnic groups and the concept of ethnicity, the author provides a convincing examination of “the essential character of ethnicity” and its “larger significance” to the ever-shifting cultural and social geography of North America (p. x).

In the first chapter, Zelinsky examines ways that “ethnic group” and “ethnicity” have been defined and how the meanings of these concepts change through time and space. Several criteria are considered in searching for a more precise definition of an ethnic group including the magnitude or size of the group, identification with a homeland or territory, the distinction between ethnic group and nation, the impact of intermarriage, and the relatively recent phenomena of ethnogenesis and panethnicity. The author concludes that an ethnic group is:

...a modern social construct, one undergoing constant change, an imagined community too large for intimate contact among its members, persons who are perceived by themselves and/or others to share a unique set of cultural and historical commonalities, which may be real or imagined.... Ethnic groups can exist within a hierarchy that ranges from the smallest aggregation...to a politically sovereign national community or even beyond entities transcending international boundaries (p. 44).

Chapter 1 concludes with a definition “ethnicity” as “the generic condition of being ethnic” (p. 48). Together, these two concepts provide the framework for the remainder of the book.

Chapter 2, supported by a wealth of empirical evidence, investigates the various modes of ethnic expression and how such manifestations have evolved over time and space. Such cultural attributes fall into three broadly defined chronological categories. The first consists of the survival or attrition of indigenous or immigrant traits including language, religion, foodways, music and dance, competitive sport, the built landscape, burial practices and cemeteries, and dress and bodily adornments. A second category of ethnic expression involves derogatory representations, racial distinctions and ethnic stereotypes created by dominant groups to characterize and subordinate various “minority” groups. A third category details self-conscious expressions of ethnic identity and pride that are broadcasted outward from the ethnic community to the world in a deliberate fashion. The author reviews numerous examples of ethnic self-promotion including ethnic festivals, ethnic villages and showplaces, murals, bumper stickers, clothing, language maintenance, film and television, and ethnic cuisine. To sum up, writes Zelinsky, “Ethnicity has erupted past the parochial, maneuvering across social and cultural boundaries to become something novel delectable and our common treasure” (p.122). The author goes on to suggest that these outward expressions of ethnic identity signal parallel developments in social/geographic space, the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 3 compares and contrasts three models of sociospatial behavior among immigrant communities, assimilation, pluralism, and the more recent notion of heterolocalism, defined as the maintenance of ethnic community ties without territorial clustering. Especially noteworthy is Zelinsky's explanation that heterolocalism may exist at a variety of scales:

Heterolocal arrangements are most readily observed in metropolitan settings, but such "communities without propinquity" can exist at the regional scale, within nonmetro territory, or, under the designation of "transnational," as something approaching "deterritorialized nations" that span the boundaries of two or more conventional nation-states (p. 151).

According to the author, while traces of heterolocalism may have been evident in earlier times, "full development is conceivable only under the socioeconomic and technological conditions established in the late twentieth century" (p. 133). The heterolocal model offers a vision of "continuing spatial flexibility and plasticity of identity" (p. 154) for immigrants, ethnic communities, and non-immigrants and ethnics alike.

In Chapter 4, Zelinsky takes a broad view of human history and outlines the major forces that characterize the human social evolution from the first human communities to the present. His goal is to try to explain how individuals and groups meet their need for a distinctive identity in a seemingly placeless world. Various social and demographic developments are used to define distinct epochs or "landscapes" in human social history. Landscape 1 is characterized by pre-defined social roles associated with traditional societies. Landscape 2 reflects the advent of stratified, hierarchical societies where identity becomes synonymous with the nation-state system. Finally, Landscape 3 coincides with the postmodern era where "the pace, extension, and complexity of modern societies accelerate [and] identity becomes more unstable, more and more fragile" (p. 167). In Landscape 3, identity is "no longer experienced as a natural, coherent, or unchanging attribute of the individual" (p. 167) but a result of personal decisionmaking where one is able to choose one's own identity. The author considers several ways that individuals create or "shop" for identity through lifestyle choices including occupation, migration to specialized cities or regions, through acquisition of consumer goods, through membership in voluntary associations, or through association with spectator sports.

The final chapter looks at the nature of multiculturalism and its relationship to ethnicity by examining such divisive issues as bilingualism, the economic impact of recent immigrants, and the emergence of masked forms of racism or "cryptoracism." What form will multiculturalism take in the future? The author offers several options. The most optimistic of these visualizes a mutual coexistence of ethnic/racial groups referred to as "radical polycentric multiculturalism" which "is not about touchy-feely sensitivity toward other groups [but rather is focused on] dispersing power [and] empowering the disempowered....Polycentric multiculturalism demands changes not just in images but in power relations" (p. 229).

Overall, *The Enigma of Ethnicity* is a significant contribution to cultural, social, and historical geography, and the emerging subfield of ethnic geography

in particular. The book offers an encyclopedic look at ethnicity and ethnic communities in North America including African Americans, Hispanics, and Jews as well as such lesser studied groups as Iranians, Koreans, Estonians, Finns, Vietnamese, and the Hmong. The author successfully weaves rich empirical data within the provocative theoretical model of heterolocalism and throughout subsequent discussions of ethnic identity and race relations. The book is a must read for students of ethnicity as it highlights opportunities for new research while challenging the reader to think critically about the social controversies surrounding multiculturalism. The material is presented in a straightforward way and is remarkably free of jargon. Zelinsky's interpretation is a useful reference for a scholarly audience and would be welcome as a textbook in advanced undergraduate and graduate classes.

—Jennifer J. Helzer

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Who Am I? YI-FU TUAN. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1999. Pp. vii+139, illustrations, notes, and acknowledgments. \$21.95 cloth (ISBN 0299166600).

Geographers are not noted for writing autobiographies. However, in his most recent work, Yi-Fu Tuan has tackled the genre, seeking an answer to the complex question "Who am I?" This slim volume makes for delightful reading, as Tuan sorts through a life crowded with experiences in an elegant examination of his life. This is the story of the life of a renowned geographer, but more broadly, it is the story of the ongoing process of becoming a citizen of the world. Tuan's life has much to say to geographers and others, though in his modest appraisal of his talents he would probably shrug off such grand goals and simply note that "this [is an] exercise in self-examination" (p. 3).

Tuan was led to engage in self-examination through an invitation to deliver the Charles Homer Haskins lecture to the American Council of Learned Societies in 1998. In preparing for his lecture, "A Life of Learning," Tuan began examining his intellectual development. With this beginning, which "stimulated in me a desire to go beyond mere intellectual life to something more complete" (p. 139), Tuan engaged his, as he readily admits, less-than-complete memory. Tuan mines fragments of both his intellectual and his personal life to formulate an answer to the question "Who am I?", but fundamentally he acknowledges that what he has produced is an incomplete work, one that begs the question "Is it a true reflection of my real self?" (p. 3). Tuan reluctantly answers this question, "I am probably a compound of selves, but there is only one self—the one embodied in this work—that I can truly be said to know" (p. 3).

In telling his story, Tuan employs a loose temporal structure that provides a trajectory of his life from the broad stage of a youth growing up as an ambassador's

son in China during the turbulent 1930s to a narrower adult life spent in a series of academic settings. The loose structure allows Tuan to range through his life, relating events as an adult to earlier childhood experiences. Tuan describes his years in Australia; his studies at Oxford; and his studies in geography at the University of California, Berkeley, where he encountered the “sacred triad” of Carl Sauer, John Leighly, and John Kesseli. The open structure of the narrative allows Tuan to address personal questions, such as his sexuality, and intellectual questions, such as his place in geography, in an objective and occasionally oblique style that is engaging, entertaining, and thought provoking.

It is in addressing the issue of his sexuality that Tuan is hardest on himself, lamenting his perceived lack of courage and vitality, two traits he greatly admires. Tuan regrets that he never “stormed the barricades” in a drive for social justice, citing this as a failure of “moral courage.” Tuan’s self-assessment seems unduly harsh, downplaying his fortitude in the arena of ideas, where he has placed his work for public consumption and criticism. Though his many books and articles do not directly address issues of sexuality, the volume of his work and its grounding in a spirit of acceptance of human differences indicates great vitality and courage.

Tuan states that he found “salvation” in geography, explaining that “geography has diverted my attention to the world, and I have found there, for all the inanities and horrors, much that is good and beautiful” (p. 115). Tuan began his career as a geomorphologist studying arid landscapes, and though his published works such as *Topophilia* and *Cosmos and Hearth* are considered human geography, there is an understanding of physical landscape that emerges in his writings. This reminder of the relationship between physical and human geography is welcome at a time when the discipline seems to be fracturing into divided camps. Tuan’s story also serves to remind geographers that the discipline is an inclusive one in which new concepts like topophilia can flourish. Though Tuan calls himself an “odddity,” he states that his career “show[s] how geography can be taken in directions that even well informed people (academic geographers among them) do not venture” (p. 94).

The answer to “Who am I?” as given in this examined life is complex, as it for all of us. More easily addressed is the question of “What has Tuan’s life meant for geography?” Through his thirty years of publication and nearly forty years of teaching, Tuan has had a great impact on several generations of geographers. Geographers should consider the discipline lucky to have Tuan as one of its own. His work has added to the richness of geography, and his autobiography stands as a wonderful account of a life well spent.

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How It Came To Be: Carl O. Sauer, Franz Boas, and the Meanings of Anthropogeography. WILLIAM W. SPETH. Ellensburg, WA: Ephemera Press, 1999. Pp. xiii+268, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. \$15.00 paper. Distributed by Geoscience Publications, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70803.

It is the end of summer, and a late-afternoon sun shines brightly on the distant line of cottonwood trees that edge these irrigated hay fields in Washington's Kittitas Valley. We are facing east, sitting on the wooden veranda in the wind-protected lee of William W. Speth's modest and neatly kept house, and speaking of things geographical. We speak of large ungulates, native grasses, and ranching systems, and the historical displacement of one cultural ecology by another. In between gazing at hawks against a background of brilliant cumulus, I mostly just listen. The words come slowly, deliberately, more like individual thoughts uttered meticulously and with economy of purpose. There are spaces and long pauses to allow for digestion. Bill Speth speaks the way he writes, in measured sentences rather than paragraphs. It takes some getting used to, but in the end reveals a quiet contemplative respect for the traditions fostered by Carl O. Sauer and the various research trajectories in cultural geography favored by his students at the University of California, Berkeley.

How It Came To Be is a self-published compilation of the author's mainly previously printed articles over the past thirty or so years, though there are several chapters that appear here for the first time. Although the book is now distributed by Geoscience Publications in the LSU Department of Geography and Anthropology, the book's imprint is the ironically named Ephemera Press. It gathers together in one place pieces from disparate locales, some of which first appeared as articles in such journals as *Anthropos*, *Biological Conservation*, *Canadian Geographic*, and the *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers*. Several other chapters are reprinted here from prior edited volumes. This eclectic collection focuses on intellectual developments within academic geography and anthropology during the early to middle part of the twentieth century, and comprises twelve chapters divided into two parts. The first six chapters examine the development of Carl Sauer's thought and influence within American geography, while the remainder does the same for Franz Boas and anthropology. Under particular scrutiny are the historical antecedents behind the thinking of these two influential scholars, and the eventual conjuncture of anthropogeographic discourse at the locale that was Berkeley. There, under the guidance of Sauer and the anthropologist Alfred Kroeber, a concurrence of disciplinary viewpoints emerged. In tracing such developments, Speth expends a lot of verbiage emphasizing the diachronic perspective of Germanic "historicism" by juxtaposing this notion against the dictates of a positivist (and perhaps rather less intuitive) scientific paradigm. Regarding cultural geography's genesis, he writes: "One of Sauer's most far-reaching achievements at this time was the application of the Boasian term culture to his preferred view of geography" (p. 107). This, of course, entailed taking a stand against the environmental determinism then in vogue. A chapter on the sociological aspects of Berkeley geography is enlightening for the various revelations regarding pedagogic methods employed in a department where "field

study assumed a heightened significance” (p. 70). An account of course offerings and changes is especially engaging for those of us perennially faced with the task of geographic curriculum revision.

The book’s unifying theme as perceived and presented by the author is “the astonishing strength with which the German historical tradition penetrated American geography and anthropology (p. vii). But there is much more here than a mere history of geography, especially for historical geographers. Indeed, the most recent chapter (1993) is “Carl O. Sauer’s Uses of Geography’s Past,” which positions Sauer’s thought as an overly academic and decidedly historicist project that could only come to fruition in the intellectual climate of California, rather than the more pragmatic, applied-geography template emanating from the Midwest (ironically the region Sauer himself once called home). Such a stance represents a deep, many-layered attention to place, where time, paradoxically, is more important than space. The chapters addressing Boas and anthropology might be of lesser interest, were it not for their insistent focus on how we have thought about human-environment relations through time. Moreover, some are quite brief, such as Speth’s obituary for Julian Steward, which first appeared in the *Geographical Review*. The final chapter, a previously unpublished manuscript, is the one that was actually written first (1972) and serves to channel our attention back to the linkages that have been made throughout the book: “Carl Sauer’s Reinterpretation of Anthropogeography.”

The book is attractively and professionally published, and the author is to be commended for taking such a sedulous effort to make his careful and meticulous scholarship more accessible. Because these papers represent separately offered deliberations on essentially the same theme across several decades, there is a certain redundancy that may seem aggravating to some readers. On the other hand, listening to a set of discussions presented in various contexts enables multilateral reinforcement of the author’s message. There is much here that is enlightening, albeit buried deeply. Throughout the text are meaningful attempts to elucidate the underpinnings of our discipline, though too often by trying to categorize and weave one thread or another into a tapestry of neatly segregate philosophies. Unfortunately, Speth has been captured by the “Berkeley geography as school of thought” quagmire, even when warned by contrary evidence supplied as an appendix containing participant letters to the author. If anything, it became a prototype formulated in retrospect. The once valorous stance of Berkeley geography has over time diffused into the rank and file, and there is no longer any need to assume the posture. More importantly, “generations” of cultural geographers at many institutions can trace their academic lineage directly back to Carl Sauer, and testimonials to this singular scholar abound. *How It Came To Be* will be most appreciated by those interested in additional details of Sauer’s influence on geography in this country. But one should read it slowly and deliberately, pausing every now and then to watch a hawk negotiate the sky.

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