



BOOK REVIEWS

Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography. By WAYNE HOROWITZ. Vol. 8 in the series Mesopotamian Civilizations. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1998, Pp. xiv + 410, 10 plates, diagrams, tables, appendices, indexes).

Let there be no misunderstanding; this is a book written by a specialist for an equally proficient readership. It offers few concessions to those untutored in textual exegesis of the ancient world and none at all to those uncertain of the minutiae of Sumero-Akkadian history. It is to be remarked, though, that the title provides an accurate enough indication of the contents of the volume; the term "cosmic" clearly denotes a focus on the manner in which ancient Mesopotamian texts depicted the universe in its entirety as opposed to a discussion of their conception of that particular territory occupied by Sumerians and Akkadians. It should also be noted that the "geography" in the title is a narrowly conceived construct encompassing only spatial arrangement and allowing neither for the reconstruction of an ancient landscape nor for the "constitutive becoming" of a phenomenological understanding, much less for a semeiological interpretation in the manner of the New Cultural Geography.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I (Chapters 1-9) evaluates the principal sources available for study of Sumerian and Akkadian conceptions of the physical universe. Remarkably, all known texts from all relevant periods and genres are involved in the exposition. The first chapter furnishes a succinct description of the six superimposed levels of the Sumero-Akkadian universe as preserved in the tablets catalogued as KAR 307 and AO 8196. The rest of the chapters in this section deal sequentially with the testimony of The Babylonian Map of the World (2), The Etana Epic (3), the so-called Sargon Geography (4), Tablets IX and X of The Gilgamesh Epic (5), several creation accounts (6), the misnamed Astrolabe Texts (They actually identified thirty-six month-stars, one for each of the Paths of Anu, Enlil, and Ea every month) and related tablets (7), the fragmentary BagM. Beih. 2 no. 98 (8), and certain Sumerian-language incantations (9). For each and every text the author provides a formal description on the following pattern (p. 5):

KAR 307 is one of a small number of first-millennium mystical religious compilations. The tablet preserves 63 lines of text divided into six sections by horizontal rulings, with three sections on the tablet describing the levels of the universe (obv. 30-38) occupies the final section of the obverse. No horizontal ruling follows, so the first section of the reverse (rev. 1-10) may belong to the same section as the list of cosmic regions.

Each such description is then followed by a romanized transcription of the text,

sions, or to engage in cross-cultural comparisons other than a few references to Greek maps of the first millennium B.C.E. (pp. 40-4) and the Book of Job (p. 327). Nor has he considered the cosmological implications of his studies in the manner of the genre of investigation that began in the seventeenth century when Sir Thomas Browne first discerned what he called the "Quincunxial Ordination of the Ancients" ("The Garden of Cyrus" in *Religio Medici and Other Writings*, London, 1961, p. 177) and which attained its fullest development in the writings of Mircea Eliade (e.g., *Comentarii la Legenda Mesterului Manole*, Bucharest, 1943; *Le Mythe de l'Éternel Retour: Archetypes et Repetition* Paris, 1949) in more recent times. The emphasis in the book is wholly on cosmography to the total exclusion of cosmology. And, throughout, the author resolutely refuses to speculate. His aim has been to provide a rock-solid data-base, unencumbered by opinion or presumption, that will facilitate future explorations into Mesopotamian cosmography (p. xiv). This he has achieved with what appears to a reviewer with no relevant linguistic capability exemplary skill. But I must end as I began. This is a treatise for the use of specialists; anyone lacking substantial Sumerian-Akkadian expertise who seeks to exploit its translations for comparative purposes would do well to proceed with the utmost circumspection.

The book is provided with a scholarly apparatus that includes a list of abbreviations and conventions; two appendices providing transliterations of editions of incantatory texts; schedules of ancient texts and modern editions; lists of Sumerian and Akkadian terms; a subject index; indexes of Sumerian, Akkadian, English, and Classical star names; together with four handcopies and six photographs of ancient texts.

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Biblical Historiography and Historical Geography: Collection of Studies. By ZECHARIA KALLAI. *Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des Antiken Judentums.* Vol. 44. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998, Pp. 281, maps, diagrams).

The etymological puns in the aetiological narrative of Genesis 25—the story explaining the relation between Jacob (Israel) and Esau (Edom)—are well known to those who do not know biblical Hebrew, for, today, most Bibles in English draw the reader's attention to the frequent, biblical play on words through the editorial use of explanatory footnotes.

When it was time for Rebekah to be delivered, there were twins in her womb. The first one emerged reddish [*'admoni*, a pun on Edom], like a hairy [*se'ar*, a pun on Seir: because the elevated, mountainous, region of Edom is covered with thick forests of shrubs, the topographical synonym for Edom is Mt. Seir, or the "hairy mountain"] cloak all over; so they named him Esau [eponym of Edom]. Next came out his brother, his hand holding Esau's heel [*'aqeb*]; so they named him Jacob.

an English translation, and an evaluation of its contribution to a reconstruction of the Sumero-Akkadian universe.

It is only too evident from even an assiduous reading that the translations alone do not render the texts intelligible to a layman; that is achieved only the aid of Dr. Horowitz's interpretative commentaries. Even the Babylonian Map which, by reason of its graphical component, might be expected to be more readily accessible, is enigmatic in its implications. This diagram, which occupies the upper half of the obverse of a clay tablet with the remainder of that face and the entire reverse preserving related textual information, depicts a central, circular, continental portion of the earth's surface surrounded by an enclosing zone identified as the *narratu* (ocean). Triangular areas projecting into uncharted space beyond the ocean are characterized as *nagu* (regions). Standard Mesopotamian cartographic conventions such as geometric shapes are employed to denote places and topographic features but relative sizes and locations are, in the commentator's forthright characterization, "preposterous" (p. 27). The circle representing the city of Der, for instance, is as large as the circle representing the whole of Assyria. That the map was devised in Babylonia rather than Assyria is reflected in the circumstance that Babylon is represented by a rectangle extending almost half way across the central continent while Assur appears as a small oval. The map, which cannot be older than the ninth century B.C.E, is unique among ancient Mesopotamian representations in being drawn on a cosmic scale.

Part II comprises two studies of the nomenclature and disposition of the heavens (chapters 10,12) and two studies of the nomenclature and disposition of the earth (11,13), thereby placing the matters presented in Part I in a broader context. In this connection it is worth noting that there is no single word in Sumerian or Akkadian lexica conveying the notion of universe or cosmos, which is invariably denoted either by a word or phrase signifying totality or by a combined reference to its constituent halves, most commonly "Heaven and Earth." It is also of more than passing significance that, despite the vast amount of cosmographic information in the tablets, only two sources, The Babylonian Map of the World and The Sargon Geography, provide actual descriptions of the earth's surface. It is evident, moreover, that Mesopotamian cosmographers conceived of the territories within which they lived as relatively circumscribed, with the cosmic ocean depicted as lying just beyond Assyria, Urtu, and the headwaters of the Euphrates. Although "regions" were believed to extend beyond the Ocean, the early authors were unaware that their "universe" was part of a larger Asian continent, much less of one that reached from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Nor was there a consensus as to the topographical limits of the earth's surface; some texts adduced a cosmic mountain range, some the Ocean, and some were ambiguous. The geography of the Underworld was equally indeterminate, although a preponderance of the evidence would seem to imply a huge temple complex, perhaps a complete underground city where gods and former members of the human elite dwelt while lesser social groups clustered, as in life, on the outskirts.

While Dr. Horowitz acknowledges that paucity of evidence leaves a considerable number of topics unresolved (p. xiii), he has intentionally further limited the scope of his inquiry. He has not, for example, attempted to assess the roots of plausibility of ancient cosmographic traditions, to harmonize conflicting ver-

other conceptions on the history and culture of the Occident. Historical and cultural geographers would do well to be familiar with such works as Alt's "The Settlement of the Israelites in Palestine" and "The Formation of the Israelite State in Palestine" (in his *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion* [Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1967]); Yohanan Aharoni's *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (London: Burns & Oats, 1979); and a number of the studies found in Kallai's *Biblical Historiography and Historical Geography*.

A majority of the studies in Kallai's collection will be primarily of interest to scholars of the Old Testament and the history of ancient Israel on account of their technical nature, for example, "Solomon's Districts Reconsidered," where the differences between Solomon's territorial-administrative division (1 Kings 4:8-19) and the territorial-tribal system (Joshua 13-19,21) are examined. There are, nonetheless, a number of studies that richly deserve the attention of historical and cultural geographers, especially, "Historical Geography and Biblical Research," "Organizational and Administrative Frameworks in the Kingdom of David and Solomon," "The United Monarchy of Israel—A Focal Point in Israelite Historiography;" and perhaps to a lesser extent, "Judah and Israel—A Study in Israelite Historiography," "Territorial Patterns, Biblical Historiography and Scribal Tradition—A Programmatic Survey," "The Reality of the Land and the Bible." "Historical Geography and Biblical Research," an impressive statement for the necessity of interdisciplinary cooperation, argues for the particular value of historical geography for biblical research as it provides an independent tool of investigation, "control elements," for literary analysis, a minor example of which was seen above in the analysis of Genesis 27:11.

In these studies Kallai focuses our attention on analyses of fixed territorial formulae, for instance, Solomon's administrative division of Israel as recounted in 1 Kings 4:8-19; the tribal allotments as described in Joshua 13-19,21; the territory of Israel as defined by the census of David in 2 Samuel 24:5-7; the borders of Israel as marked out in Numbers 34:2-12; Ezekiel's conception of the promised land as presented in Ezekiel 47:18-20 and 48:1-29; and, indeed, the territorial concepts of "Judah" and "Israel." He goes on to show how these different territorial formulae from and about different periods may have influenced Israel's conception of itself—its collective self-consciousness—and the direction of religious speculation. For example, because the boundaries of the promised land as described in Numbers 34:3-12 and Ezekiel 47:15-20 do not correspond to any known polity during Israelite history, it is likely that both descriptions represent theological goals. Yet, there is more to be said about these two sets of boundaries. If the territories delineated here are, in fact, derived from the memory of the Egyptian province of Canaan as it took shape at the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C. following the battle of Kadesh between the Egyptians and Hittites, then we observe the phenomenon of what Kallai calls the "successor-territory," where, in this case, the Land of Israel was viewed as, by divine promise, being fully concordant with that of the Egyptian province of Canaan. A better understanding of the phenomenon of the successor-territory, as well as many other vexing and controversial, geographical problems such as the relation between the tribal territories and Solomon's territorial division of the goy (usually translated as "nation" or "national state") are indicative of the rich harvest awaiting further

The geographical elements in this narrative—the ethno-territorial entities of Israel and Edom (Jacob and Esau), and the topographical “hairy mountain,” Mt. Seir, as a synonym for Edom—are obvious enough.

What is not obvious and, regrettably, rarely made clear by explanatory footnote is the play on words in Genesis 27:11, where Jacob, scheming to obtain his father Isaac’s blessing that belonged to the first-born Esau, says, “But my brother Esau is a hairy man [sa’ir], and I am smooth-skinned [halaq].” What is significant, as Kallai (p. 217) notes in the article “The Southern Border of the Land of Israel—Pattern and Application,” about this description of the confrontation between Jacob and Esau is that it is an allusion to the borders between Israel and Edom as expressed by the fixed, descriptive formula for the southern border of Israel in Joshua 11:17 and 12:7, “Mount Halak that goes up to Seir.” If one knows this description of the southern border between Israel and Edom, it then becomes clear that it was, in fact, this geographical formula that determined the seemingly geographically-free literary composition of Genesis 27:11. As this collection of Kallai’s excellent studies makes clear, the allusion to this geographical border in Genesis 27:11 is by no means a rare example of where a fixed territorial formula influences the literary composition and religious speculation in the Old Testament. Indeed, the seventeen essays collected in this volume reminds us that the ancient Israelites were a geographically intoxicated people.

The influence of the social sciences on the study of the Old Testament and the history of ancient Israel and its religion has occasionally been intimate and productive. (For a recent example, see R.E. Clements, ed., *The World of Ancient Israel* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989].) The outstanding example of such influence remains Max Weber’s treatments of the Israelite conceptions of covenant, the putative Israelite amphictyony, and Israelite prophecy in his *Ancient Judaism*. Weber’s discussion of the putative Israelite tribal amphictyony had a marked influence on the great German scholars of the Old Testament, Albrecht Alt and Martin Noth. The continuing influence of Weber’s work on the scholarship of the Old Testament is seen in two recent, superb books, Michael Fishbane’s *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), sections of which are indebted to Weber’s analysis of types of law; and E.W. Nicholson’s *God and His People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), which, in the course of examining the nature and history of the ancient Israelite conceptions of covenant and prophecy, takes up Weber’s own analysis of both.

What is instructive about Weber’s *Ancient Judaism*, beyond the details of his analysis of ancient Israel, is that his sociological understanding of human action was deepened greatly through his immersion into the scholarship of the Old Testament. I think that, in similar fashion, the understanding of historical and cultural geographers will be deepened through a sustained engagement with the scholarship of the history of ancient Israel and its religion—an engagement from which Old Testament scholars and historians of ancient Israel will surely benefit. Indeed, how could such a hoped for deepening interplay between the scholarship of the Old Testament and historical and cultural geography not be remarkably fertile, given the ancient Israelite conceptions of the garden of Eden; the desert as a locus for penitential wandering; the promised land, a land of milk and honey; Jerusalem and its temple as centers; and the influence of these and

lazuli is ludicrous" (p. 190).

The "origins" and the "end" of the "Mesopotamian city" remain necessarily somewhat obscure. The archaeological evidence for early Babylonian urbanism remains extremely sparse, and the written evidence begins only about 3,000 and remains difficult to interpret and sparse for hundreds of years thereafter. We do not know, for example, how towns actually grew up in the south, only that they are increasingly evident after ca. 3500 B.C. For the period between the end of the Macedonian and the Abbasid period (ca. 150 B.C. - A.D. 750), we are faced with a situation where the written evidence is so inadequate and the archaeological evidence so poorly studied that it is impossible to make generalized statements. These are facts that historians of urbanism must keep in mind: the Mesopotamian city had a "prehistory" and a "posthistory." We simply do not have the evidence to describe either of these.

With regard to "prehistory," the non-specialist should be aware that northern Mesopotamia has a longer history of village and town life than the south. Moreover, communal dwellings that spread out over larger areas than contemporary "urban" clusters in Mesopotamia are known from east central Europe. Whether one calls these "villages" or "towns" seems still rather subjective. Compare, for example, the term "city" (p. 39) for the eighteen hectare site Habuba Kabira on the Euphrates in Syria during the latter half of the fourth millennium and "town" (p. 89) for the 1.3 hectare site of Harradum on the Middle Euphrates from the eighteenth century B.C. In southern Mesopotamia (Babylonia), high concentrations of population were possible solely because of irrigation agriculture and water transport. It does not seem likely that the "city" or "urbanism" was invented in Babylonia, as often assumed. The author, of course, is not so naive as to suppose this. Occasionally, however, one senses an underlying Babylonian prejudice, for example, when he (tentatively) suggests that the "concept of the city itself may have been introduced into Assyria from the South" (p. 8). The diverse evidence for increasing concentrations of population over the period from ca. 8000 to 3000 B.C. in Eurasia suggests that the "city" as "concept" cannot be separated from technological and socio-economic factors.

The historical quality of this work will readily be seen if the reader compares it with the papers of a congress held in Halle in 1996 and published as *Die Orientalische Stadt: Kontinuität, Wandel, Bruch* edited by Gernot Wilhelm (Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft I, Saarbrücken, 1997). The latter volume can be profitably read for specific problems and other points of view, but Van De Mieroop's work is distinguished by its breadth of view, its freedom from dogma, and its sensible, balanced treatment of the "city" in ancient Mesopotamia.

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Envisioning the City: Six Studies in Urban Cartography. Edited by DAVID BUISSERET. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998, Pp. xiii + 181, illustrations, maps, index).

geographical analysis of the Old Testament and the history of ancient Israel—a work greatly facilitated by this collection of studies.

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The Ancient Mesopotamian City. By MARC VAN DE MIEROOP. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, Pp. xv + 269, map, figures, index).

In eleven chapters and a reflective summary, the author surveys the urban scene in Mesopotamia from its first clear attestations in the fourth millennium B.C. to the “eclipse” of the ancient Mesopotamian city between the end of the cuneiform tradition and the Islamic period. It is a historical picture in that account is taken of developments over time. The author does not attempt, however, nor can anyone reasonably expect, a detailed history of the Mesopotamian city over this long period of time: not only are the sources insufficient for such a reconstruction because of their non-random nature, but they pose problems of interpretation that far exceed the capacity of a single scholar, and, to the present, remarkably few systematic historical investigations of urban phenomena in ancient Mesopotamia have been undertaken.

The book is unique in that it discusses basic questions about urbanism that can be answered with existing sources, treats these sensibly and competently, and communicates the results in a language that can be understood by any educated reader. It is a book that I, as a Mesopotamian specialist, can recommend to non-specialists interested in the history of urbanism in ancient Mesopotamia as the best I have read on this topic.

Particularly good are the treatments of urban layout, social relationships, urban government, food supply, crafts, commerce, and business. Especially worth noting are the sensitive treatments (chapters 3-4) of the very complex social relationships which we know to have existed within Mesopotamian cities and between these and their environs and the thoughtful discussion of the relationships between “king” and “city” (chapter 6).

Among the aspects of the book that will delight serious historians of antiquity are the ubiquitous but polite bubble burstings, e.g.: cities as “ceremonial centers” find no support in the Mesopotamian evidence (p. 24); estimating population size is “virtually impossible” (p. 95) as is also estimating the “sustaining area” (p. 96); “guilds” in the medieval European sense are not attested but analogous organs existed (p. 110); Finley’s characterization of Mesopotamian politics as “government by antechamber” is “inspired by orientalist stereotypes” (p. 118); Jacobsen’s primitive democracy “resembles the Marxist model” (p. 134.); there is no justification for assuming “a continuous band of cultivation around any site” (p. 163); and neither the “city as parasite” nor a West-East contrast of democracy versus despotism is clearly attested in the Mesopotamian sources (pp. 252-260). One rare, but justified, example of sharp criticism is “The oft-repeated idea that grain was shipped from Uruk to Afghanistan in order to acquire lapis

Quebec City, and Montreal—were also built, although only that of Quebec City survives. The models provide a wealth of information for urban historians, and Buisseret reminds us that the art of model building for military purposes was used extensively in the Second World War, especially for the Normandy Landings. In the final chapter, Gerald Danzer examines the grandiose Burnham and Bennett plan for Chicago produced in 1909. A lavishly illustrated book that was among the first to make extensive use of color plates, the Burnham plan depicted a resplendent Chicago that had shaken off its monotonous Midwestern grid and embraced the fashionable boulevards of Haussmann's Paris. A preposterous Beaux Arts Civic Center provided a focus on land, while an enormous yacht harbor anchored the lakefront. Such cartographic rhetoric seems entirely appropriate for the Windy City.

As David Buisseret points out in his introduction, all the papers show that cities have been depicted using either vertical plans, bird's-eye views, profiles, or models, and that these representations encode the power structures that made them. This is particularly evident in the Chinese maps and the models made for the gaze of Louis XIV. Although there was no geographer among the contributors, the influence of the late Brian Harley lies behind these specialist studies and their interest in power and urban representation. Such nods towards current concerns in geography rescue this collection from the antiquarian bookshelf of the map collector and make it accessible and useful for many geographers interested in historical cartography, the depiction and representation of cities, and the exercise of power.

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Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History. Edited By LEONIE SANDERCOCK. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, Pp. 257, 15 illustrations, index).

Any academic or planner interested in the power dynamics involved in the history of urban and regional planning and community development programs will gain new insights from this exciting collection. Its contributors urge planning historians to make race, class, gender, and sexuality central to their inquiries, and demonstrate a plethora of ways in which this can be done, and well. The papers display a remarkable variety of theoretical approaches and an attention to a diverse range of places, constituencies, and scales of action. They also show an outstanding degree of coherence in their underlying commitment to a more inclusive, empowering, transparent, and reflexive history of and future for planning. Finally, they convey remarkable substance for an edited collection of no less than twelve articles plus an excellent and provocative introduction. Would that social movements themselves were this well put together. Leonie Sandercock has done a tremendous job in structuring a challenging but approachable program of action for historians of planning, urbanism, social movements and state power. Yes, that means you, historical geographers.

Despite the fascination that geographers have for maps, the study of the history of cartography has never occupied a central place in the discipline. Shouldered to the sidelines by the contemporary concerns of many geographers, scholarly research on the history of cartography has been as much an occupation of historians and art historians as geographers. Certainly, this division of academic labor is reflected in David Buisseret's latest edited collection. Well known for his studies of the cultural landscape using maps and aerial photographs, Buisseret has edited a group of papers first presented in a lecture series at the Newberry Library, Chicago, in 1991, on the theme "Profiling the City." Written by historians and art historians, the papers focus on the cartographic representation of the city, ranging from depictions of Chinese cities two thousand years ago to Chicago in the early twentieth century. Like other University of Chicago Press books on the history of cartography, the collection is well illustrated and designed.

In the first essay, Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt examines the image and reality of mapping the Chinese city. As so much early Chinese mapping was done by scholars at the imperial court, surviving maps reveal more about the mandarin world than about the physical reality of cities. Maps had to correspond with some textual or symbolic purpose, rather than display cartographic accuracy. Whatever the city plan, there always had to be "a place for the ruler to sit facing south in the center" (p. 30). Similar conventions are revealed in the paper by Naomi Miller on "Mapping the City: Ptolemy's Geography in the Renaissance." In the fifteenth century, several bird's-eye views of cities in the Mediterranean and Near East were appended to copies of Ptolemy's world map. Despite the revolutionary notion of abstract space contained in Ptolemy's map and the developing Renaissance interest in perspective, the city maps were still rooted in the medieval world, depicting the cities as collections of towers surrounded by defensive walls. Continuing the focus on the medieval world view, Richard Kagan argues in "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain" that the linear and progressive view that mapping moved from the artistic to the scientific simplifies the history of city mapping in Spain. Most seventeenth-century Spanish cities, he observes, were as much concerned with projecting an image of a spiritual community as they were with topographical accuracy. At the time that medieval "moralized geography" was being abandoned elsewhere in Europe, it clung on resolutely in Catholic Spain. The Renaissance interest in science, mathematics, and geometry is revealed in Martha Pollak's paper on "Military Architecture and Cartography in the Design of the Early Modern City." In the seventeenth century, the representation of fortifications became closely linked to their construction. Skilled surveyors drew horizontal plans, vertical cross-sections, and bird's-eye views of fortifications to be built for the absolute monarchs of continental Europe. When constructed, these bastions and walls greatly influenced urban form. In "Modeling Cities in Early Modern Europe," David Buisseret continues the military theme by examining the hundreds of models, many still surviving in Paris, of eighteenth-century cities. A great number were made for Louis XIV so that he could envisage the fortifications that were planned for cities on the French borders; apparently, Monday afternoons were set aside for the Sun King to view the models. Models of the Canadian cities—Louisbourg,

supported regional planning and economic development policies in the Mississippi Delta, and what he identifies as an indigenous "blues epistemology" among African-American activists and community leaders. From New Deal programs through then-Governor Bill Clinton's Delta Commission of 1990, an unwillingness to be reflexive about power imbalances of race and class, and an inattention to regional and cultural specificity have marked development efforts in the South. A circular logic of disempowerment has prevailed, through which whites have presided over programs to enhance the programs' "legitimacy," resulting in programs which reinforce whites' control and "legitimacy." For Woods, the blues tradition of a self-critical author relating to a self-critical audience represents a "sustainable epistemolog[y]" for planning in the Delta which can avert the plundering of the region's labor in the service of outside economic forces and the further consolidation of long-standing local power asymmetries.

The essays in the second half of the book examine how the theories and narrative structures employed in planning history can have unintended consequences for planning practice and vice versa. Robert Beauregard urges planning historians to write in a way which empowers planners, and shows how, in the dramatic case of South Africa, historians have undermined planners' power to reshape the future through accounts which absolve planners of responsibility for instituting Apartheid. Olivier Kramsch offers provocative critical readings of some urban history texts with the "best" of emancipatory intentions, such as Mike Davis' *City of Quartz* (London: Verso, 1990) and Elizabeth Wilson's *Sphinx in the City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). He makes visible (and shows urban historians why they should care about) the narrative tropes which contradict their explicit interpretations, preclude their desired outcomes, and limit the scope of their readership. Thus for Kramsch, Wilson's text is so beholden to the mythic underpinnings of urban disorder and its gendering that it overwhelms any concrete attempt to challenge gender relations.

A more focused and effective interpretation of the relationship between urban disorder, gender, individual consciousness, and social policy is provided by Dora Epstein. For Epstein, it is the unconscious which must be made visible. Her psychoanalytic approach illuminates how accumulated experiences from the past shape our present understandings of place and distort planners' approaches to the design of public spaces. Like women who quite rightly employ "common sense" precautions in negotiating city streets, planners risk becoming prisoners of a one-sided, crime-obsessed view of the unpredictability which makes urban life so exciting. There are dangers, but there are also the pleasures of encountering someone different. Epstein's framework enables her to ask, but not sufficiently answer: how might planning encourage such pleasures and not just invent buffers from danger?

Alas, there are of course limits to the book's program of visibility. Explicit discussion of class generally drops out of, or is subsumed by, pictures of many different, largely internally coherent, cultures and localities. How class issues can be integrated into this program, in a way which enhances our appreciation of inter- and intra-group complexities, but still enables us to see the forest through the trees, remains to be seen. Some might argue that there is no longer a class

In her introduction Sandercock argues that prevailing approaches in planning history are not only inadequate but are themselves part of what obstructs a more widespread transformation of contemporary planning practice. Historians perpetuate the myth of a heroic tradition of individual planning professionals, concretizing ever-increasing social progress as agents of a benign state. Sandercock ties this myth to the whole project of the Enlightenment, with its drive toward modernization, ideals of liberal democracy and faith in the capacities of science and technology to solve all of society's problems (p. 3). The hero-myth leads to the exclusion of non-professionals as "relevant historical agents," producing narratives largely about "the ideas and actions of white middle class men" such as Peter Hall's *Cities of Tomorrow* (Oxford and New York: Blackwell, 1988). (p. 5- 6) These exclusions, in turn, come "at the expense of any kind of critical insight into or scrutiny of the actual practices of planning, including its knowledge bases" (p. 7).

Unfortunately, in critiquing such central "modernist" texts as Donald Kruecker's *The American Planner* (New York: Methuen, 1983) and *Introduction to Planning History in the United States* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Center for Urban Policy Research, 1983) for painting too rosy a picture of planning's effects, Sandercock herself oversimplifies. Surely, not all the works she correctly cites as examples of modernist, establishment-serving history are without any "critical insights into planning practice"? A related problem is her broad indictment of modernism: whether we are or should be through with modernism and thoroughly ensconced in postmodernity—and indeed, what is meant by those terms and by whom—is a complex if, at this point, tired debate, with less obvious implications for social movements than Sandercock suggests. (See, for example, David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* [Cambridge, Mass. and Oxford: Blackwell, 1989].) Placing the project of an emancipatory planning history decidedly on one side of this debate—against modernism—seems similarly oversimplified, and I dare say, belied by the empirical and theoretical dilemmas posed in the chapters which follow.

Indeed, the greatest strengths of Sandercock's argument and the book as a whole come from the sensitivity and complexity of its vision for a more emancipatory planning history. Made visible in the first half of the book are alternative planning practices and the unstated—or unchallenged—assumptions of mainstream planning. James Holston extrapolates from his research on Brasilia (see his *The Modernist City* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989]) to argue for a planning process which explicitly addresses and keeps in tension the diversity and social conflict inherent in urban life, cultivating an "insurgent citizenship." Similarly, Moira Rachel Kenney reviews some of the ways gay identity has been constituted through urban space and argues for a planning history which recognizes the city as being not only a container or stage, but an "activator of social and political empowerment." Gail Lee Dubrow traces the logic of prevailing approaches to historic preservation and urban revitalization that has led to the erasure of Asian-American and women's experiences. She shows how bringing to life their activity in buildings from the past would also reconfigure the character of development efforts in the present.

Most intriguingly, Clyde Woods chronicles the encounters between federally-

4), where his guides are Jane Jacobs and James Holston. The knowledge which comes from practical experience, *metis*, is to be preferred to those metrical designs for social organization which emerge from political rhetoric or high theory.

These are all splendid chapters, and they will be as interesting to readers who are familiar with the work of Berry, Jacobs, Holston or Sivaramakrishnan (all of whom are properly acknowledged by Scott), as to those who are approaching such arguments for the first time. I also want to commend Scott for not allowing a critique of the imperialism of a high modernist planned social order to lapse into a more general critique of science, development or even modernism. In his chapter on "Taming Nature," Scott refers to an "uncritical, and hence unscientific, trust in the artifacts and techniques of what became codified as scientific agriculture" (p. 304; emphasis added), and early on in the book he suggests that the disciplinary tools of modern statecraft are "as vital to the maintenance of our welfare and freedom as they are to the designs of a would-be modern despot" (p. 4). This is a properly dialectical account of state power and its effects, and it is at a considerable remove from the position adopted by some followers of Foucault.

But whilst a progressive role for critical science is acknowledged by Scott, he has no truck with the view that market-based capitalism can guard against the high modernist conceits of planned development. Scott is adamant that:

[m]y bill of particulars against a certain kind of state is by no means a case for politically unfettered market coordination as urged by Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman [T]he conclusions that can be drawn from the failures of modern projects of social engineering are as applicable to market-driven standardization as they are to bureaucratic homogeneity (p. 8).

This may be so (and would seem to be so if we consider the private interests behind the genetic modification of foods), but it is not an argument that is sustained by Scott. Most of his examples of state failure do come from the state socialist world, and one can imagine a free marketeer commending competitive markets as a means by which to promote an open society and guard against the risks of social engineering and over-simplification. It is a pity that Scott chooses not to deal explicitly with such sentiments, or with the arguments of von Hayek. There are times, indeed, when Scott seems not to distinguish between the high modernist tyrannies of the Left or Right, and this leads him to discount both the ideological ambitions of socialism (to improve the human condition) and its intrinsic flaws (something explored by Steven Lukes amongst others). As a result, Scott is not well placed to argue for any particular state interventions (contra Hayek), and his prescription for a "development planning less prone to disaster" boils down to four linked points: take small steps, favor reversibility, plan on surprises, and plan on human inventiveness. This is doubtless good advice, but I still wonder about the nature of the political and economic systems in which this planning might survive or even flourish.

There is one other weakness that I would draw attention to in this intelligent and stimulating book. Although Scott acknowledges, finally, that "those who become involved in [a] project later will have or will develop the experience and insight to improve on the design" (p. 345), *Seeing Like a State* is largely silent about what might be called the anthropology of the state, or the notion that the

"forest"—or any other kind—to be recognized, but in this volume several other "forests" regarding race and gender dynamics are apparent to me. Perhaps, in a formulation which empowers planning historians rather than absolving us of responsibility, how class issues operate in relationship to planning, race, gender, and sexuality remains to be made visible by us.

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YYY

Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed. By JAMES C. SCOTT. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, Pp. xiv + 445 pages, illustrations, notes, index).

The argument of James Scott's new book is a simple one, but it is none the less important for that. Scott wants to understand why it is that so many poorer nations in the Third World, as well as countries in eastern Europe, have been damaged in the twentieth century by development schemes that went wrong: he has in mind the Great Leap Forward in China, collectivization in Russia, the ujamaa experiments in Tanzania, as well as overly planned cities like Brasilia and Chandigarh or monocultures in the tropics. These schemes have failed to improve the human condition, Scott contends, because they chose not to recognize the inherent complexity or uncertainty of natural and social systems. And they chose not to recognize this complexity or uncertainty because they were impelled, in the most tragic cases, by a combination of four "elements"—an administrative ordering of nature and society which aimed to produce legibility through simplification; a high modernist faith in the transformative powers of science and industry; an authoritarian state which was "willing and able to use the full weight of its coercive power to bring ... high modernist designs into being" (p. 5); and a prostrate civil society which lacked the strength to resist these plans. Development came to be seen in intentional terms, as something that the state could look ahead to—or see—and thus call into being. An idea of immanent development was all but submerged by this Promethean dream, or this new myth of Sisyphus, as we might now describe it.

Thus outlined, it might seem that Scott's book is a reworking of the ideas of Wendell Berry or Friedrich von Hayek, and there is some truth in this strange suggestion. Scott draws on Berry when he writes about "Taming Nature: An Agriculture of Legibility and Simplicity" (chapter 8). Scott praises the practical knowledges of cultivators in West Africa, and he joins with Berry to protest the violence of a quasi-industrial model of high modernist agriculture. The revenge of nature—from dust bowls in America to eutrophication in the Punjab—is read as evidence that radical simplifications are risky in a chaotic world. Scott makes a similar argument in Chapter 1, which is ostensibly about Nature and Space, but which is more obviously concerned with the state and scientific forestry in Asia, and which draws on recent work by Ram Guha and Krishna Sivaramakrishnan. The same argument informs his account of the "High Modernist City" (chapter

translation is therefore very welcome, its attempt at theoretical framing of the subject is its weakest part. Oettermann asserts that the Panoramas' aim was "a total illusion of reality" (p. 49). Unfortunately the precise ideological nature of the illusionary aspects is elided when Oettermann proceeds to claim that, apart from vantage-point, the artist had no choices to make in his depiction of a subject: "everything else was dictated by the need to reproduce reality as closely as possible" (p 51). What is forgotten in this formula is that the "illusion" of reality is hardly the same as the "reproduction" of reality. One connotes a series of representational and aesthetic choices, which involve ideological choices, and the other suggests an absolute and somehow unproblematic copy. Indeed, the Panorama entertainments seem ideally suited as objects of inquiry into the question of ideological framing, and how that framing helped to determine conceptual and artistic choices, precisely because of the way in which they can be mistaken for reproductions of reality, and especially because they based their representational and epistemological grounds on being mistaken for reality. This was the case right from the beginning, as Robert Barker's advertisement in *The Times* for his Panorama of London in 1792 makes clear: "one painting ... which appears as large and in every respect the same as reality. The observers of this Picture being by painting only deceived as to suppose themselves on the Albion Mills from which the view was taken" (quoted p. 101). The naturalization of representation, so that literary or pictorial representations pretend simply to describe or reflect existing places and conditions, but actually produce the relationships that they purport to reflect, and which is a key function of ideology, seems to be precisely what Panorama entertainments can be understood as achieving. Furthermore, given the historical moment of the Panorama entertainments, during the apogee of imperialist expansion, and the very scope that Panorama entrepreneurs dared to embrace, the subject over which the Panoramas cast the net of their ideological representations was very broad indeed. In fact the Panorama offered a way of bringing very distant places under an ideological redefinition.

Oettermann also deliberately chooses not to consider the Panorama's pre-history (p. 5), thereby unfortunately ruling this pre-history out of his attempt to understand the Panoramas. (When the author finds himself discussing anamorphic drawings printed on souvenir programs, for example, and concludes perplexedly that it is a "mystery" how anamorphic drawing "came to be connected with panorama" [p. 60], he needs to be able to refer to Sebald Beham's circular drawing of the siege of Vienna, from as early as 1534, but cannot). While neither pre-history or ideology is examined in Oettermann's book, leaving it with no extensive discussion of the epistemological or representational processes by which geographical knowledge was communicated through Panoramas, his work does offer invaluable documentation on the history of the Panorama entertainments in England, France, Germany, Austria and the U.S.A. from 1789 to the end of the nineteenth century. Numerous illustrations show building cross-sections, the exteriors of structures, artists painting, and representations of the panoramas themselves. The commercial fortunes, relative sizes, and costs of the entertainments are discussed in the text. Details of their staging, and of related entertainments such as art galleries, ice rinks and (from 1844) roller-

high modernist ambitions of Moscow or New Delhi are significantly reshaped at a local level. Scott has plenty to say about planning and design, but rather less to tell us about the planners or the designers, or about the lifeworlds of the architects or plant scientists whose work he discusses. The possibility of conflicts around or within the high modernist ideologies of “the” state is not explored as fully as it might have been.

To write in these terms, of course, is simply to say that a fair bit is missing even from a book as ambitious as Scott’s latest work. The persuasive telling of any one story must impose silence on some other stories, as Scott would be the first to admit. The story that is told here, however, is an important one and it is told with great seriousness, vigor, and wit. *Seeing Like a State* is a book that deserves a wide audience.

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YYY

The Panorama: History of a Mass Medium. By STEPHAN OETTERMANN trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider. (New York: Zone Books, 1997, Pp. 407, many black and white illustrations, bibliography, index).

Our conceptions of the ways in which the famous Panorama entertainments of the period after 1879 signified their subjects to their viewers seems to have grounded on the reef of naturalism. One recent academic book, Charlotte Klönk’s, *Science and the Perception of Nature: British Landscape Art in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries* (New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Centre and Yale University Press, 1996) states that the Panoramas “popularized unselective 360-degree painted views” that “emphasized inclusiveness rather than the selection of salient particulars as academic theory had advocated.” The assertion is made that “each part was given equal significance in relation to the observing subject.” An “ideological fallacy” only arises through a jingoistic juxtaposition: that is, when scenes of the British fleet were shown “along with” other panoramic views (pp. 149-150). The author makes such assertions in order to recruit the Panoramas to bolster a partial view of the connections between science and visual representation, but it should be pointed out that the conclusions about the Panorama entertainments in the above quotations are quite wrong. Making sense of the wide view by selection and visual interpretation is an essential part of the making of a Panorama, as it proved for Robert Burford, for example, when he painted only half of the Tuileries Palace in his Paris Panorama of 1828, in order to show also what was behind it; or in the case of Thomas Girtin’s 1802 “Eidometropolis” of London, when the artist chose to obscure parts of the city behind painted mist and smoke in order to enhance artistic effect.

That Klönk can make such statements partly reflects the weaknesses of the most comprehensive and valuable work about Panorama entertainments, Stephan Oettermann’s *Das Panorama*, (1980) now translated into English. While Oettermann’s book contains a great deal of useful information, and the English

In some respects this work resembles Clarence Glacken's history of Western attitudes toward nature. But whereas Glacken concentrated on three leading ideas, more or less taken out of their historic contexts (Glacken referred to this as the living tissue of thought), the authors of this volume are interested in ideas about wonder and wonders as they worked within specific cultural and socio-political contexts. This means necessarily a denser story and the sacrifice of a certain elegance, but the gain is significant. We learn, for example, that in the Middle Ages there was more rationality than stereotypes allow. Significant is the claim by the authors that Western science, especially in the realm of natural history, made headway not in an inevitable linear progression, but rather in an unfolding of sensibilities "that overlapped and recurred like waves" (p. 11). Thus the authors find it necessary to do away with the methods of eighteenth and nineteenth century "political historiography," viz., periodization, distinct stages, watersheds, new beginnings, and times of decisive changes. Nevertheless Datson and Parks present a clear story (albeit with some inevitable minor repetitions). Their prose is literate and erudite, with often fresh and lovely turns of phrase. Many of the illustrations are fascinating.

Throughout the book there are recurring themes: attractions of the exotic, role of court culture, nature of collecting, types of scientific experience, a changeable boundary between miracles and marvels, and questions about the creations of nature, God, and art. The first chapter examines travel literature, romances, "topographical writings," chronicles, clerical encyclopedias, theological treatises, and collections such as at St. Denis and of the dukes of Burgundy. The authors show a "romantic rhetoric of wonder" (p. 37) that was particularly devoted to marvels found beyond the periphery of the oikumene (Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Holy Land), i.e., Ireland, the East and South—India and Africa. Among the sources used are Gerald of Wales, Mandeville, Marco Polo, Odoric, St. Augustine, Thomas Vincent, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, as well as classical authors. Chapter 2 examines wondrous objects as texts and objects in their own right. There were two kinds of objects, those that came from nature (e.g., unicorn horns, griffith or ostrich eggs, serpents' tongues, magnets) and those that were created by human art, such as "imperial automata" (e.g., a silver tree of the great Khan, mechanical monkeys, a mechanical stag). Objects could have religious significance and they had monetary, social, political, and magical power. Displays of objects at banquets and elsewhere played out exotic themes. Chapter 3 shows the rejection of wonder and wonders by natural philosophers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For academic philosophers wonder came to be associated with fear and ignorance, which was regarded as knowledge barely above that of animals, characteristic of children and old women. The task of the philosopher was to pursue universal truths. There was also the wish to remove wonders from the realm of the supernatural. Chapter 4, on "marvelous particulars," traces the entry of wonders into natural philosophy between 1370 and 1590. The main impetus comes not from academics but from writers working with medicine, alchemy, pharmacology, and magic. To no surprise, it was Italian natural philosophers and physicians, part of a new urban elite, who were most active. In part, attention was focused on specifics through the study of the therapeutic characteristics of individual spas. New marvels also appeared as a result of the voyages of explo-

skating rinks, also housed in their buildings, are revealed. As for the “mass audience” of the entertainments (and London’s Colosseum received the staggering figure of one million visitors within fifteen years), Oettermann cites plenty of evidence of socially comfortable users, while asserting that the lower middle-class (“shopkeepers and minor civil servants, patrons of smaller theaters”) made up the bulk of the paying visitors (p. 77). Elsewhere, however, he states that “the masses crowding into the new urban factories” paid for the Panoramas with their entrance fees (p. 45). Therefore something of a contradiction occurs. The footnote supporting the assertion on page 45 simply gives population figures of various cities, not the comparison of Panorama entrance costs versus laborers’ wages that is needed to prove the assertion (since the London Panorama cost a shilling entry fee in 1792, it is unlikely that a factory worker, earning perhaps ten shillings a week, could have afforded a visit).

While this is an indispensable book, then, it does contain flaws and should be read guardedly. Not all the errors are attributable to the development of scholarship in the area of cultural studies since the book’s appearance in 1980. We are told, for example, that George Chambers painted a panorama on the walls of a London pub that “showed the Thames from the Tees to Whitby” (p. 135). No matter how much he might have enjoyed the pub’s hospitality, this wonky geography cannot be blamed on Chambers. It is a shame, too, that the attached envelope that contained a series of fold-out color reproductions of Panoramas, and which was such an attractive feature of the German edition, has not been repeated by the publishers of this translation, for which the only color reproduction is the one on the dust jacket. But as a work of documentation, rather than interpretation, *The Panorama* retains its value.

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YYY

Wonders and the Order of Nature. By LORRAINE DATSON and KATHARINE PARK. (New York: Zone press, 1998, Pp. 511, illustrations, index).

Wonders and the Order of Nature by Lorraine Datson, a historian of science, and Katharine Park, a historian of medicine and an intellectual historian of mathematics, is a prodigious work of scholarship. It examines some six hundred years of Western scientific thought (from the High Middle Ages to mid-eighteenth century), as revealed in medieval romances and travel literature, engravings, paintings, collections, as well as writings in medicine, natural history, theology, and philosophy. The work is rigorous in both depth and breadth. Coherence is provided by two central themes: the character of wonder as a human passion and sensibility; and the pleasures, fears, and intellectual stimulation of wonders. Among the latter are marvels, monsters, prodigies of nature, inexplicable phenomena, perceived and registered on the margins of the Western cultural *oikumene*; or strange occurrences within it, such as glowing substances, mutated births, unusual life forms, or celestial events. The two themes are examined in particular intellectual, socio-political and cultural contexts. Ultimately the authors want to know how wonder and wonders framed and informed perceptions and interpretations of the natural order.

Battling the Elements looks at twenty-four battles and campaigns of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, plus the thirteenth-century Mongol invasions of Japan. The cases were chosen to provide multiple examples of important phenomena. Harold Winters, the principal author, is a geographer. The other three authors are former Army officers, whose scholarly qualifications are not discussed in detail on the dust jacket. Much of the book is fascinating, though the coverage, as one might expect, is somewhat uneven.

At its best, the book deals successfully both with the ways weather and terrain shaped military action, and with the underlying processes that created the weather and terrain in question. It describes how the flat, poorly drained topography of Flanders arose, and then describes how dreadful a battlefield this made in World War I. There is also the "Mud March," an attempted offensive by Union General Ambrose Burnside in January 1863, that never even made contact with Robert E. Lee's army. Burnside's troops were brought to a halt north of the Rappahannock River, in northern Virginia, when rain from a major winter storm, falling on clay-rich soil, rendered the roads impassable.

The story of the Civil War battles in the "Wilderness" is clarified by the explanation, which many accounts omit, of why this area was so impassible: the taller trees, which once blocked sunlight and inhibited the development of dense undergrowth at ground level, had been cut to feed local charcoal furnaces. This reviewer was fascinated to learn about the process by which a river can come to cut right across a major ridge line, as the Potomac cuts through the Blue Ridge at Harpers Ferry. The book's description of the way glaciers shaped the terrain of western Russia does much to clarify the story of Napoleon's and Hitler's campaigns there.

Sometimes, however, there are serious gaps in this book. There are two case studies of amphibious landings in which the tides played an interesting role: Tarawa 1943, where the Americans planned on a high tide that did not occur, and Inchon 1950, where the Americans had to deal in their planning with an extraordinarily great rise and fall of the tides. Nevertheless neither tidal anomaly is clearly explained.

The number of minor errors seem excessive. Kublai Khan should not be referred to simply as "Khan" as if this were his name (pp. 10-13); it was a title. The army that invaded France in 1914 belonged to Kaiser Wilhelm II, not to Bismarck (p. 48). The B-52s with which the United States pounded enemy troops at Khe Sanh, in 1968, were not "gunships" (p. 70). The map on page 136 shows two *cuestas* between Verdun and the Moselle River, but the cross-sectional diagram below it on the page shows only one. The description of Operation Market-Garden, in which Field Marshall Bernard Montgomery's 21st Army Group tried to reach Germany by going through Nijmegen to Arnhem in September 1944, is not helped by a map (p. 146) that shows Nijmegen far to the west of its actual location, and a 21st Army Group path of advance that bypasses both the mistaken and the actual location of Nijmegen, by a wide margin. Operation Desert Storm was in 1991, not 1992 (p. 260). The slowing of waves when they enter shallower water is not caused by friction against the bottom (p. 195). If it were, waves that slow while passing over a sand bar would not accelerate once

ration to Africa, the New World, and Asia. Particularly the discovery of America gave impetus for considering new ways to study nature's objects ("naturalialia") and for making collections of them. At the same time, more and more marvels were investigated in the core of the European oikumene, e.g., rains of frogs or of blood, the powers of magnets and amethysts. There also appeared the idea of an "inexhaustible variety and beauty of nature" (p. 165), as well as the notion that knowledge brings power to transform the world of nature.

Chapter 5 is most fascinating. It is a case study of monstrous births from the late Middle Ages through the Enlightenment. During this time the center-periphery division lost its sharpness. A sophisticated analysis is presented of three complexes of wonders based on particular interpretations of them and associated emotions, viz., horror, pleasure, and revulsion. Questions of norms of nature or of custom are illuminated. Chapter 6 charts the history of how facts for their own sake became central to reforms in science and art. Chapter 7 reveals how Bacon and Descartes and their followers developed a particular natural philosophy, stimulated by the persistent opposition of art and nature (e.g., the lack of nature or "internal principles of change and faithful reproduction" in human artifacts-p. 264). Chapter 8 raises questions about the relationship between the passions of wonder and curiosity, with "gawking wonder" and "ravens curiosity" ascribed specific roles in the study of nature and links to specific social classes. For example, Hume relegated wonder to the "unlettered masses" (p. 327), while Adam Smith wanted to eliminate wonder from scientific study, in order for the imagination to have "tranquility and composure" (p. 327). The last chapter sees wonder and the wondrous ("the unholy trinity" of enthusiasm, superstition, and imagination) linked to the vulgar and the illiterate. Wonder and wonders ceased to be part of the preoccupations of scientists and the learned. Contrary to conventional wisdom, Dutton and Park do not see these changes as coming from science but rather from wider cultural and social transformations that occurred.

Of all their findings, most challenging is the revelation that in the history of Western science it was not so much the development of rationality or the scientific method that banished the darkness of superstition and freely ranging imaginations, but a changed role in society of savants, intellectuals, and scientists, who self-consciously disassociated themselves from the vulgar and the ignorant. After 1850 the latter would continue to indulge their imaginations on fanciful, imaginary interpretations of natural as well as cultural wonders (e.g., strange births, flying saucers), while the former settled down to rigorous hard work, in order to understand nature as it is, not as it is imagined to be. Once again we learn that ideas do not necessarily change history. At least not directly.

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YYY

Battling the Elements: Weather and Terrain in the Conduct of War. By HAROLD A. WINTERS, with GERALD E GALLOWAY JR., WILLIAM J. REYNOLDS, & DAVID W. RHYNE. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998, Pp. ix + 317, maps, diagrams, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index).

of this rich data source and the multiple methodologies used in their analysis. The text, while necessarily descriptive in parts, is enhanced by over a hundred elegantly designed maps and figures. The overall presentation is a delight. If that were not enough, the book includes over forty pages of appendices on primary data sources, international and national epidemiological sources/agencies. These appendices are a tremendous resource for all historical medical geographers and should prove to be a good starting point for many worthwhile research endeavors.

Cliff et al. argue "there has grown in epidemiology the need to study the past to see if firm baselines can be established against which modern shifts in disease prevalence can be measured" (p. 2). The prologue charts the journey taken by the authors in demarcating the boundaries of their epidemiological inquiry. Among the features or "experimental conditions" (p. 37) they sought were global coverage, geographical and temporal precision, and data on a range of infectious diseases. Culling through the archives they identified the US Weekly Abstracts of Sanitary Reports as meeting their stringent criteria.

Many medical historians will be rewarded in the nature of the evidence. Here, Cliff et al. describe the history of disease surveillance in the US and the origin of the Weekly Abstracts. Briefly, in 1878 the US Congress, recognizing the growing risk of imported disease, authorized the collection of morbidity and mortality data from consular offices for use in quarantine measures against infectious diseases such as cholera, measles, smallpox and the plague. The dispatches from consular officials not only provided numerical data on eleven important diseases and their mortality incidence in 350 cities throughout the world, they offer numerous insights into the lives of the consular officials and the realities of data collection and verification under often difficult circumstances. The authors provide fascinating excerpts from these dispatches, which undoubtedly are deserving of further study.

It is not surprising that the spatial and temporal coverage for all eleven diseases in all 350 cities every week for 25 years is incomplete. True to form, Cliff et al. lead the reader through a variety of data quality concerns and data cross-checking that suggest "with careful selection, the data for some cities and diseases are of sufficient integrity to provide useful insights into global epidemic history" (p. 82). In the global sample the authors justify their selection of six "marker" diseases (diphtheria, enteric fever, measles, scarlet fever, tuberculosis, and whooping cough) and provide both the clinical background on and the epidemiological history of each. They also narrow their focus to 100 cities, providing information on the size, geographical distribution and other characteristics of those cities selected. The reader is now set for their analysis of marker diseases during a period of considerable epidemic transformation, 1888-1912.

The six marker diseases and "all cause" mortality are analyzed using a battery of different graphical and multivariate statistical techniques (including time-series, multi-dimensional scaling, and entropy surface mapping) all of which are clearly explained, and thus should deter no one. The chapters that follow provide detailed analysis at the global, regional and city level. The authors open their analysis of epidemic trends (a global synthesis) with a "brief" (pp. 134-138) review of the debate over human mortality decline. The reader is encouraged to

again when passing beyond it to deeper water.

Some of the errors are not so minor. The ammunition dump that exploded at Khe Sanh in January 1968 did not contain 98 percent of Khe Sanh's ammunition (p. 70). The problems that weather caused for air support of Khe Sanh in February 1968 are seriously exaggerated on page 68, though they are discussed much more realistically on pages 71-72.

Describing Italy's struggle against Austria in World War I, the authors seem seriously confused about the borders of the Austrian Empire: "fighting a landlocked enemy, the Italians were threatened nowhere along their extensive coastline" (p. 173). The Austrian Empire had, in fact, a substantial coastline on the Adriatic, and the Austrian fleet based there was shelling the Italian coast within twenty-four hours of the Italian declaration of war.

Overall, *Battling the Elements* is a readable and informative book. The range of material covered is so great that no reader can fail at least to encounter unfamiliar information about military history, and almost all readers will encounter unfamiliar theoretical explanations of the processes that create certain types of weather and terrain. But by the same token, a great range of topics calls for a great range of expertise on the part of the authors. To judge by the number of errors cited above, the combined expertise of the authors of this volume was not as great as might have been hoped.

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YYY

Deciphering Global Epidemics: Analytical Approaches to the Disease Records of World Cities, 1888-1912. By ANDREW CLIFF, PETER HAGGETT and MATTHEW SMALLMAN-RAYNOR. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998, Pp. xxiii + 496, 11 half-tones, 43 tables 129 figures).

As the twentieth century draws to a close, epidemiologists, public health specialists and medical geographers face enormous challenges in their efforts to describe, analyze, and ultimately understand the dynamic geographies of both newly emerging and well established infectious diseases. In an effort to help combat, contain, and even eradicate some infectious diseases, the World Health Organization and a host of (inter)national agencies collect and disseminate vast amounts of epidemiological data. Indeed, through data integration and sharing there now exist sophisticated global public health surveillance programs. The rationale for, and significance of, these global disease surveillance programs owe much to the success and importance of the early public health monitoring programs of the late nineteenth century, such as that reported in the *US Weekly Abstracts of Sanitary Reports*. It is to the rich textual and numerical data archive of the *Weekly Abstracts* that Andrew Cliff, Peter Haggett and Matthew Smallman-Raynor have turned for their third book collaboration.

In *Deciphering Global Epidemics*, Cliff et al. have again produced a text of the highest standard. They provide a thorough, careful, and clear description

in practical campaigning and politically significant terms" (p. 1), and to emphasize its "hitherto understated popular impact" (p. 2). Such aims would hardly be novel in a book focusing on the twentieth century, but Taylor seeks to extend the story of the outdoor movement back into the nineteenth century, such that the inter-war period, to which he devotes his final chapter, becomes less of a defining epoch for things outdoor, and instead a period displaying marked continuities with concerns going back a hundred years. The bulk of Taylor's text deals with nineteenth and early twentieth century material.

Taylor's introductory chapter provides a good summary of the existing terms of discussion on outdoor movements in Britain, and sets out the book's aims. Taylor is rightly critical of the tendency in many analyses to equate a concern for the countryside with anti-modernism; indeed his book clearly shows how, especially in the late nineteenth century, the outdoor movement needs to be understood as part of a progressive vision of a new life, rather than as a regressive and escapist tendency. "Progressive" here denotes not only a general faith in progress but a progressive socialist politics, with outdoor experience forming part of a broader critique of urban and rural capitalist society. Taylor stresses how such a political alignment of the outdoors is culturally complex; values of the outdoors in general, and nature in particular, are shown to appeal across the political spectrum from Tory to communist. Taylor also indicates the often uneasy relationship between outdoor movements and popular commercial culture, a theme which recurs throughout the book and which might have been given more attention. There is a sense that Taylor's own evident sympathy with the outdoor movement leads him to put to one side some of the political, cultural and moral complexities of the term "popular," which have generated tensions within Left political theory and practice well beyond the outdoor movement and which continue to structure debates over appropriate and inappropriate ways of experiencing landscape.

Seven substantive chapters follow the introduction. Chapter 1 deals with footpath campaigns dating back to the restrictive 1815 Stopping Up of Unnecessary Roads Act, and stresses how such campaigns often formed part of a progressive municipal civic ideology. Chapter 2 considers early walking enthusiasts; upper-middle-class groupings such as the literary Sunday Tramps, religious walking clubs, and local societies such as the Bolton Whitmanites. Chapter 3 argues for the importance of natural historians within the open-air movement, drawing out themes of cross-class comradeship in natural history practice, and criticizing readings of natural history as a form of social control. Taylor here as elsewhere highlights the role of autodidact figures such as Rev J. M. Mather, author of *Half an Hour with a Factory Botanist*, to argue that presentations of natural history as an elite knowledge passed down to working people for their moral improvement are inadequate to explain such intellectual enthusiasms. Chapter 4 details late nineteenth century campaigns for open access to uncultivated land, emphasizing how access became an especially acute political issue in Scotland. Chapter 5 provides a valuable analysis of the early cycling movement, discussing the socialist Clarion Cycling Club alongside the Cyclists' Touring Club, and drawing out some fascinating tensions of cycling, Sabbatarianism, and "rational" female dress. Chapter 6 extends the rational leisure theme in detailing the movement for

keep this debate in mind as they test the “crisis,” “big-city” and “environmental” hypotheses for mortality decline using the 1888-1912 data at the three analytical scales. In comparing world regions, the attention shifts to comparisons and contrasts between ten regions in terms of overall mortality decline. Interestingly, the authors found that “the impact of climate variables on the seasonal incidence of these marker diseases . . . is considerably more subtle than we had expected” (p. 237). The individual city record initially focuses on mortality patterns in ten “leading world cities.” Widely varying mortality profiles were observed and many cities did not conform to the mortality transitional model or the crisis hypothesis. A closer examination of first North American and then British Isles cities revealed that within-city mixing contributed to observed mortality patterns, and consistent with this, data on all cities revealed that large ones appeared to act as permanent reservoirs of infection. The city chapter includes an interesting (again brief) section on atypical data series and yet another valuable appendix of city specific public health references and data sources for many of the 100 cities.

The book closes with epidemics looking forwards where the marker diseases trends are projected through the twentieth century (based on data from twelve countries). In turning to the future, the authors discuss some of the key geographical changes that will have implications for disease: demographic growth and migration, the continued collapse of geographical space, global land-use change and global warming. The authors close with a focus on controlling future epidemics and even eradication. They find support for disease prevention over improvements in disease treatment as a cause of epidemic disease decline. But as Cliff et al. note on their last page, while there has been a downward trajectory in mortality throughout the past century the six marker diseases (diphtheria, enteric fever, measles, scarlet fever, tuberculosis, and whooping cough) are still major killers in the developing world today. The task ahead for epidemiologists is enormous but as Cliff et al. ably demonstrate there are many lessons we can learn from the past.

Attention to detail, the teasing out of results through multiple forms of analysis at multiple scales, and the clear presentation of results in graphical form are the hallmarks of research by Cliff, Haggett and Smallman-Raynor. Deciphering *Global Epidemics* will not disappoint and it deserves to be an invaluable text for medical geographers, demographers and those who like to get knee deep in historical medical records. Indeed, if readers want to work with the data culled by Cliff, Haggett and Smallman-Raynor et al. then write to them and ask. They would be delighted.

—Stephen A. Matthews
Pennsylvania State University

YYY

A Claim on the Countryside: A History of the British Outdoor Movement. By HARVEY TAYLOR. (Edinburgh: Keele University Press, 1997, Pp. x + 303).

In *A Claim on the Countryside* Harvey Taylor, Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Northumbria, aims to “redefine the British outdoor movement

lor is to be congratulated on producing a fascinating and well written volume.

—David Matless
University of Nottingham

YYY

Cartographic Encounters: Perspectives on Native American Mapmaking and Map Use. Edited by G. MALCOLM LEWIS. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998, Pp. xx +318, maps, index.)

This marvelously-conceived, edited, and written volume includes most of the contributions of a recent series of the Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr. Lectures in the History of Cartography presented at the Newberry Library in Chicago. These lectures and the book that has come out of them continue a tradition of investigation of mapping in traditional societies, most recently represented by volume 2, book 3 of *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*. G. Malcolm Lewis, the editor of *Cartographic Encounters* and the author of its preface, introduction, and nearly half its text, served as co-editor, along with David Woodward, of the newest contribution in the important History of Cartography project. Lewis has also recently authored a ground-breaking contribution to the history of North American exploration, "Native North Americans' Cosmological Ideas and Geographical Awareness: Their Representation and Influence on Early European Exploration and Geographical Knowledge," the second chapter in the first volume of the three volume *North American Exploration*, edited by John L. Allen. The scholarly credentials of the editor/contributing author of *Cartographic Encounters* are paramount among those who have studied native cartography in North America and it is no surprise, therefore, that this book represents a more-than-substantial contribution to our understanding of map-making in North American traditional cultures.

Lewis and his co-contributors recognize early in the volume that the centuries-long encounter between Europeans and Euro-Americans and native peoples was not a one-sided process; it was mutual discovery. But in this process of mutual discovery, it was nearly always the whites who initiated the requests for geographic information that resulted in their being presented, in one fashion or another, with maps made by indigenous peoples. The inadequacies of language between such different cultures almost guaranteed that most of the transfer of native geographical lore would occur in a nonlinguistic mode: spatial information was presented by means of what Europeans understood to be recognizable and functional maps. There was also substantial geographical information presented in other symbolic modes that may or may not have been understood by Europeans as maps and the authors of *Cartographic Encounters* do not shy away from discussing these modes as well as the more recognizable "Indian maps."

By design, the book is divided into three parts that reflect its editor's assessment of the past, present, and future of cartographic encounters between the native peoples of North America and the European "others." Part 1 consists of

rational holidays through the Co-operative Holidays Association (CHA) and the Holiday Fellowship, who mixed socialism and nonconformist religion to provide cheap alternatives to the commercial seaside resort. Tensions between socialist practice and popular culture are especially acute here, with Blackpool the *beten noir* of both groups, and the Holiday Fellowship splitting off from the CHA in part because of a growing "rowdyism" at CHA centres, including the unspecified "senseless vulgar practical joking that frequently takes place in bedrooms" (p. 212). Such material could form the basis for a fascinating exploration of the moral geographies of Victorian and Edwardian popular culture. The final chapter details a largely familiar story of inter-war open air movements and access campaigns, and the book concludes with a disappointingly short "Epilogue."

In bringing together such a range of material, based on primary research, *A Claim on the Countryside* is an immensely valuable work which should be required reading for anyone concerned with nineteenth century leisure practice, open air activity, or indeed the broader politics and culture of nature and landscape. In the course of work on twentieth century English cultures of landscape I have often come across bodies such as the Holiday Fellowship without ever really knowing where they came from, and Taylor has provided both a valuable source book and a starting point for further enquiry. It is unfortunate that the book includes no illustrative material; there is surely a rich visual culture around outdoor experience in the nineteenth century as in later periods, and at times the book's detailing of local movements would have been usefully enlivened by visual material. A few broader criticisms of the work may also be made, which derive from it being very much a rather than the history of the British outdoor movement. The bulk of the material in the book relates to northern England, with a focus on the Lancashire mill towns, and while Taylor makes a persuasive case for the importance of this local context in the development of open-air ideas and practices, the book's general argument on the outdoor movement in the nineteenth century would be helped by reference to other regions, if only to further underline the role of distinctive regional cultures. The reader gains little sense of what, if anything, might have been going on in, say, East Anglia or the West Country, and the story of movements to preserve urban commons, strong in southern England, might also have been given more attention; if not a story of the countryside then this is certainly a story of the outdoors. A further criticism is the lack of attention to more conservative brands of outdoor enthusiasm. Taylor notes the "hugely influential Tory populism" (p. 208) of the Primrose League, especially popular among women, but this huge influence is given little attention here, and *A Claim on the Countryside* tends towards a laudatory account of a radical, northern, predominantly male movement into the outdoors. Despite an illuminating account of issues of gender and dress in relation to women cyclists, the book sidesteps the broader question of the mode of masculinity running through this movement. A picture is given of a strongly associational movement, yet one of the key facets of such association tends to be taken as given rather than explored. Despite these omissions though, *A Claim on the Countryside* provides an essential starting point for further enquiry into the culture and politics of the outdoors in nineteenth-century Britain, and Tay-

predicted by Lewis is uncertain. What is not uncertain is that those future explorations will be grounded in the very solid work of the present, as represented by this intriguing and valuable collection of essays.

—John L. Allen
University of Connecticut

YYY

Concise Historical Atlas of Canada. By WILLIAM G. DEAN, CONRAD HEIDENREICH, THOMAS F. McILWRAITH, and JOHN WARKENTIN, editors, GEOFFREY J. MATTHEWS and BYRON MOLDOSKY, cartographers. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998, Pp. xx + 180, maps, illustrations, diagrams).

The most impressive achievement to date in Canadian historical geography, the award-winning three-volume Historical Atlas of Canada (1987-1993), was recently rated one of the 100 most important English-language Canadian books of all time (University of Toronto Bookstore Review, April 1999). Such an accolade is evidence of the widespread impact of this best-selling publication. With the recent release of a concise one-volume edition, the atlas is bound to reach an even larger audience.

The purpose of the Concise Historical Atlas of Canada is to summarize Canadian history from prehistoric times through the latter part of the twentieth century. To accomplish this goal, the editors selected sixty-seven plates from the 193 found in the complete three-volume set. The plates are unmodified from their original form, each one a double-paged spread of maps, graphs, illustrations and text on a single subject or theme. The atlas is effectively organized into three major sections, each introduced with a short, but cogent essay. Part one, entitled "National Perspectives," provides a sweeping overview of the land and the process of nation building. This section includes thirty-three plates covering prehistoric and Native Canada, exploration, territorial extent, population, transportation and urbanization, the economy, and society. Part two, "Defining Episodes," contains nine plates which focus on historical events of national importance, such as war, depression and dramatic migrations. Part three, entitled "Regional Patterns," offers case studies dealing with specific events and developments in greater detail over limited periods. Sixteen plates focus on "The East" and another nine relate to "The West and the North." Almost all of the plates in this section deal with economic themes or settlement patterns, and emphasis is placed on early history.

The great value of this concise edition is that it brings together many scholarly and cartographically brilliant plates illustrating the most important aspects of the historical geography of Canada, in a single, accessible volume. The most remarkable plates are those which use a variety of visual techniques and work at multiple scales to not only illustrate the nationwide impact of a specific subject, but also to draw attention to the commonly shared experiences of individual citizens. Plate 41, for example, is extraordinary in the way it uses a combination of graphs, lists, diagrams, maps, and photographic material to effectively illus-

three chapters, all written by Malcolm Lewis, that describe three very different processes: the field contact between natives and European/American explorers from 1511 to 1925 that provided the raw material for investigation; the work of scholars who, between 1782 and 1911, attempted to interpret evidence of native maps and mapping based on stored materials from the field contacts; and the long hiatus between the conclusion of this archival phase with the publication of a Russian global compendium of traditional mapping and its English abridgement in 1911, and the renewal of interest in mapping in traditional societies that began with the landmark publication, in 1970, of John Warkentin's and Richard Ruggles' *Manitoba Historical Atlas* that contained facsimiles of Indian maps. These three chapters are intentionally epistemological, and tell the reader how we know what we know about traditional mapping in North America more than describing what we know. That is reserved for Part 2.

In the second section of the book, opened with a chapter by Lewis that is, again, largely epistemological, the co-authors (Elizabeth Hill Boone, Barbara Belyea, Margaret Wickens Pearce, Morris S. Arnold, Gregory A. Waselkov, Patricia Galloway, and Peter Nabokov) get their chance to discuss what we know about native mapping, albeit in a selective and idiosyncratic manner rather than a systematic and comprehensive one. Spanning topics as diverse as maps as collective memory in Aztec Mexico and native maps as sources for colonial land deeds, these seven chapters are the heart of the book, Lewis' excellent essays notwithstanding. It is expected of multi-authored books that the contributions will be somewhat uneven and this work is no exception. But the editor has done an excellent job of coordinating the styles and themes of his co-authors and whatever unevenness appears to the reader will probably be more the consequence of personal preference for the subject matter, rather than the strength of the research and writing. Each contribution is lively and the reproductions of both native maps and the European or American derivatives of them are crisp and readable. There is a temptation, in this day and age of "postmodernism" and "deconstruction," to write in jargon accessible only to the initiated, to ascribe to earlier peoples the attitudes of the present, to make vast and sweeping assertions based on the flimsiest evidence. The authors have, for the most part, avoided such traps and pitfalls and the results are productive for all scholars interested in mapping in traditional societies.

Part 3 of the book contains one chapter: Lewis' conclusion in which he discusses the possible directions for future investigations in North American traditional cartography, where the future of the field lies. While Lewis was not particularly inhibited in presenting his own views in Part 1, he becomes even less so in Part 3 (almost to the point of preaching). The future course of encounters with native American mapping will, he asserts, take place in five contexts: the legal, in which historical and traditional maps become legal documents; the linguistic, expanding a small literature on the linkages between natural language and cartography; the psychological, in which cognitive science debates the relationship between spatial cognition, the ability to make maps, and actual map production; the social, in which geographers and others study the social structuring of space as evidenced by native American maps; and the performative, in which native maps become fully recognized as a part of the artistic and literary tradition of their makers. Whether future explorations take the directions

Despite a few limitations, the Concise Historical Atlas of Canada, like its predecessors, is an invaluable resource for students and teachers of history and geography. This new format makes the atlas much more accessible for students who cannot afford the full set. The volume would be much easier to use, however, if it included an index of place names and subjects. Likewise, its utility as a teaching tool would be greatly increased if slides and posters of individual plates were available for purchase. News that a "Historical Atlas of Canada Online Learning Project" is currently under construction (<http://www.geog.utoronto.ca/hacddp/hacpage.html>) is particularly exciting to educators. Hopefully one of the first tasks of this project will be to incorporate a downloadable keyword index to all four volumes. With the exploding popularity of academic initiatives "online," and the ever-increasing importance placed on computer-assisted cartography and GIS skills in most geography departments, it is not unrealistic to believe that the team at the University of Toronto could, with the collaboration of junior and senior researchers across the country, keep the project alive and continue to fill gaps in our knowledge of Canada's historical geography, with the periodic addition of new plates. Until then, the Concise Historical Atlas of Canada remains the best single-volume tribute to Canadian historical geography, and one of the most important contributions to our understanding of Canada's past.

—Jason Gilliland
McGill University

YYY

Homeplace. The Making of the Canadian Dwelling over Three Centuries. PETER ENNALS & DERYCK W. HOLDSWORTH. (University of Toronto Press, 1998, Pp. xvi + 305; illustrations, notes, bibliography, index).

To survey the development of housing in any nation over three centuries is ambitious. To survey a nation as geographically extensive as Canada is moroso. Even the simplification of the streams of cultural influence that reached Canada, notably British, American, and French, does not reduce the task much. The authors simplify their own task and impose order on relative chaos by first a temporal division into the mercantile and industrial capitalist eras of Canadian development, then a fourfold division of house styles derived largely from the work of R. W. Brunskill. As usual with geographers, the book is as much about the diverse cultural histories of the builders as it is about the houses.

The authors' first style is the elite, "polite" (chapter 2), or "self-conscious" (chapter 6) house. A few such houses had a massive and enduring impact. In the era of mercantile capitalism, elite houses were built in largely British styles. Such styles did not disappear in the era of industrial capitalism but were subordinated to the overwhelming influence of the 800 pound gorilla to the south. Ennals and Holdsworth take pains to remind us of the self-conscious attempts of the Canadian elite after Confederation to develop a Canadian identity in their housing but that effort was almost entirely a failure. By focusing on Canadianness the authors miss the pervasive anglophilia of late nineteenth and early twentieth century American culture which shows up so heavily in American styles of

trate the impact of the Great Depression, province by province, while providing a human face to the story by tracing the paths of individuals "trekking" across the land in search of work. Likewise, plate 40 provides data on Canadian casualties during the Great War (1914-1918) in a number of lucid maps and graphs, but reveals the brutal reality of war most effectively in a detailed map of St John's which shows the final fate of Royal Newfoundland Regiment members located by their home addresses.

In condensing the historical geography of Canada from pre-history to the 1960s into a single volume, certain omissions are understandable. While the editors have done a fine job in ensuring that all regions have been fairly represented, there is nevertheless the impression that certain segments of the population have been neglected. One of the innovative aspects of the original Historical Atlas of Canada was that it offered much new information on the historical experiences of "ordinary people." The concise edition contains a few of the groundbreaking plates on Native peoples from the first volume (plates 2-4), but rarely focusses on "newcomers" beyond the French and British. Although there is one plate which illustrates the ethnic composition of the population down to 1961 (plate 18), there is no detailed examination of the Canadian people after 1930, a period which included a postwar wave of immigration which changed the face of the country. Likewise, information on the historical circumstances of women and families seems particularly thin. In addition to a few graphs showing the proportion of females and children in the population, we find just one map showing the percentage of women in the workforce in the East in 1891 (plate 56), another map showing a small sample of kinship linkages in a few Ontario counties in 1889 (plate 15), and a clever set of maps showing the increasing proportion of female teachers in the Maritimes between 1851 and 1891 (plate 32). Given these basic deficiencies, readers are left to wonder about the historical experiences of women, and members of Canada's various cultural communities, "ordinary people" like themselves, who have contributed to the complex diversity of the nation.

What is missing from the volume is not merely due to page limitations, but also due to the editorial decision to construct the volume out of pre-existing plates, unmodified, from the original three-volume set. Although the Historical Atlas of Canada is a remarkable product of decades of collaboration by numerous leading scholars, the reality is that many of the plates were printed almost a decade ago, and most were conceived almost two decades ago. The content, therefore, reflects the nature and extent of historical and geographical research as of the 1980s. Over the past decade or so we have seen large gaps in our understanding of the historical realities of the Canadian population become filled, as more historical geographers have turned their attention to themes such as: immigration and race relations, gender and sexuality, the environment and health. Kay Anderson's research on Vancouver's Chinatown (1991), for example, has revealed much about the history of racism, ethnicity and multiculturalism in Canada, while historian Bettina Bradbury's work has informed us about the daily survival strategies of Working Families (1993) in an industrial city (Montreal), and Cole Harris has informed us how disease transfer played a crucial role in The Resettlement of British Columbia (1997) by Europeans.

Canada. Since their text effectively ends in the 1920s they necessarily omit the major innovations in finance that have allowed so many people in the capitalist world to become homeowners. The topic cries out for attention.

Finally, the authors have chosen to illustrate their text with a set of exceptional line drawings that allow the reader to easily compare styles in a way photographs could not. An older generation of geographers understood and used field sketching to great effect but this is today a nearly lost skill. Ennals and Holdsworth are remarkably reticent about who was responsible for these elegantly simple drawings. They should not be!

—Peter J. Hugill, Ph.D.
Texas A&M University

YYY

Voyageur Country: the Story of Minnesota's National Park. By ROBERT TREUER. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979, reissued 1998, Pp. ix + 181, maps, index).

Recently, popular texts have been recognized for their contribution to the telling of local histories, environmental histories and historical geographies. Historiography and geography challenge us to reconsider our sense of reality, to theorize about the relationship between humans and land, and to formulate ideas about the processes, and past and current configurations of our worlds. Robert Treuer's *Voyageur Country: The Story of Minnesota's National Park* is a nice example of a popular text that contributes to the story of northern Minnesota landscapes and the imprint of politics on the land. This second edition of a volume by the same name, first published by the University of Minnesota Press in 1979, is an indication of the interest in Voyageur National Park by outdoor enthusiasts and devotees of the Northland. While the book is a fascinating story about the history of Voyageur National Park, the political process that led to the creation of the park, and the policies of the park managers, it is not the type of work I would accept as primary or secondary evidence for a scholarly analysis of the park per se or larger issues facing the American public and natural resource managers. The book is a testament to the places, people, and events that brought about the current status of Voyageur National Park (NP).

The evolution of the park is summarized in the book's 181 pages. A preface to the new edition by the author reminds the readers about the beauty and necessity of the national park. Three simple maps accompany the text. At least one error exists on a map of the physical geography of northern Minnesota and Wisconsin. The error places the mouth of the St. Croix River on the south shore of Lake Superior when, in fact, the river flows the opposite direction and empties into the Mississippi River. Fred Kniffen once related a story to me about his hiking of the old Indian trail from the (true) headwaters of the St. Croix River in Lake St. Croix over the height of land that separates the St. Croix and Mississippi drainage from Lake Superior and the St. Lawrence drainage. The trail was an important transportation route that allowed the natives to cross from one major drainage to another and have access to extensive areas of North America. The mapping error is unfortunate. It minimizes American Indian geographical

the period—English landscape tastes were dominant in America when much of the Canadian elite residential landscape was being built. What is English in fin-de-siècle Canada is as easily ascribed to American influence as it is to British.

Ennals and Holdsworth do their readers a minor disservice by treating folk housing second, in Chapters 3 and 7. This breaks the elite house from its proper place as arbiter of styles for the vast majority of Canadian houses analyzed in Chapters 4, on “The Vernacular House,” and 8, on “Pattern Books and an Industrial Vernacular.” The treatment of folk housing is largely politically correct: housing produced by ethnic groups marginalized by the dominant culture (the French, who must come first in any work from a Canadian academic press; folk from the Celtic fringe; the Germans; the Mennonites; the Ukrainians; and, last but not least, the French again—now dressed as Acadians). There are oddities here. Although the section on Celts gives appropriate homage to Estyn Evans, the section on Germans is innocent of the work of Terry Jordan.

Chapters 4 and 8 deal with the vernacular houses nearly all of us live in. The rise of the American pattern book in the 1870s and the consequent swamping of the Canadian market with American designs is treated appropriately by the authors, although one senses a reluctance to admit to the remarkably powerful nature of this particular diffusion from the south. The authors make every attempt to find Canadianness in their vernacular, without real success. Three examples are the Toronto “Bay-n-Gables,” which seems at least as much a product of land-ownership and development patterns in that city as of attempts at a Canadian style; the British Columbian version of the California Bungalow; and the Eaton’s version of the Sears’ mail-order house that dots the Great Plains north and south of the border. The attempt to impose Canadianness where little exists is, in part, a result of too little consideration of house construction techniques. The remarkable florescence of balloon frame construction from the 1840s using mass-produced standardized lumber and machine-cut nails is all but ignored. The Americanness of the pattern book house thereby became inevitable—English vernacular building technology was almost entirely based on brick or cut stone before 1800. Early British North American housing built in wood is derived from a construction technology common throughout pre-industrial England that used massive wooden structural elements and clad the structure with clapboards much like an upside-down clinker built boat. The American balloon frame house of the 1840s owed nothing to this relatively skilled British maritime tradition and de-skilled house construction labor to the level of basic carpentry.

Chapters 5 and 9 deal with a housing form particularly relevant in Canada, the common housing for gang labor found on the extractive resource frontier. Gang labor was exclusively male and, in such areas as forest products, had to remain highly mobile. There is, however, little of anyone’s national culture in lumber camp structures. Whether in British Columbia or East Texas the communal bunk-house is a simple structure designed to maximize returns to capital.

I would have liked to see more on the constant obsession of North Americans with reconstructing their houses. The authors mention this as a way of understanding how folk styles survive beneath layers of vernacular, but reconstruction is also a way that the average person up-dates their particular vernacular. In Upstate New York Victorian gingerbread is common on Greek Revival styles. Second, the authors occasionally comment on the way houses were financed in

—Martha L. Henderson
Evergreen State College

YYY

Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service. BY ETHAN CARR. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998, Pp. x + 378, map, photographs, diagrams, endnotes, bibliography, index.

A trip to a national park brings the visitor into contact with an important American place. Not only do national park units preserve outstanding wilderness, scenery, historic structures, and memorials, but they represent a value-laden statement by the American people through their elected officials. Although some national monuments result from unilateral presidential decree, most units in the system are established through full congressional evaluation, debate, and vote. In such way the nation has affirmed their value and afforded them protection for future generations.

The task of the National Park Service has been to protect these sacred places and also to present and interpret them to the public. To those ends they have developed museums, campfire presentations, and informative walks. For the same purposes they also have designed and built an extensive infrastructure of buildings, roads, trails, and lookouts. About that infrastructure Ethan Carr writes, "For most visitors, even today, the emotional enjoyment achieved through appreciation of landscape beauty is not an inevitable, accidental, or haphazard affair. The designed landscapes within the park choreograph visitors' movements and define the pace and sequence of much of their experience" (p. 1).

Now those designed landscapes are themselves recognized as valuable entities worthy of protection on the National Register of Historic Places. They also require study to understand the motives of and influences on their designers. Part of a general drive by the National Park Service to accomplish these goals, *Wilderness by Design*, authored by agency landscape historian Ethan Carr, is the best analysis published to date.

Carr focuses on the period from 1916, when the National Park Service was established, to 1941 when World War II brought an end to the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the greatest phase of infrastructure development. Mission 66, a program of the decade beginning in 1956, is not covered. That era of glass and steel visitor centers and suburban style housing still awaits serious treatment. However, Carr correctly identifies the quarter century after 1916 as the period when the agency developed its particular rustic style, established the policies that directed development, and built the vast majority of the infrastructure used and enjoyed by modern visitors.

The volume is divided into two parts. The first provides an overview of the history of the landscape park in the United States up to the early 1920s. The first chapter begins with the urban park movement in the early nineteenth century, the clash between those who wanted a design for playgrounds and those who wanted natural scenery, and the growth of landscape architecture as a discipline. The second chapter discusses the rise of the national park movement, the

knowledge and the history of the transformation of North American geography to a Euro-American geography. It also casts a shadow of doubt on other elements of the book, at least on the maps.

A very nice chronology of events beginning with Glacial Lake Agassiz and leading up to the park's current status follows the text. The text is broken up into chapters that review northern Minnesota's natural and cultural history including modern perspectives on environmental politics and symbolism. Chapter headings, such as "Exploiting the Wilderness," "Politics of Environmental Concern," and "The Park as Symbol," introduce possible meaty topics for geographical consideration. However, the chapters do not develop larger contextual studies on public land use, outdoor recreation, ecosystem management or international relations including American Indians. Instead, specific events of the creation of the park are presented.

The text does include some development of the negotiations between local, state and federal politicians to set the park's boundaries. The efforts of Governor Elmer Anderson to quell the local residents' fears about a national park as a neighbor and the loss of their accustomed uses of the area are recorded. Other people in the process included State Representative Irv Anderson and the creation of a non-profit organization of local citizens to provide local guidance for park managers. Not mentioned are the efforts of Fred Witzig, geographer at the University of Minnesota, Duluth, to document the historical land uses in the area and the history of the park. Fred Witzig's work represents local and national interests who sought to protect the area as a treasure for all Americans. Omitting this larger discussion of American heritage is an example of the lack of contextual building that is not found in the volume.

Missing from this edition are the photographs in the original publication. In reviewing the original text with photographs, I was struck by the beauty and solitude of Voyageur National Park. The photographs, black and whites as opposed to National Geographic Association photographer Jim Brandenburg's colorful newer images of the area, put me back in northern Minnesota. Here were the images that I remembered from my childhood; gray slabs of rock dipping into reflective lakes, layers of dark trees that created deep patterned forests, and white snowy fields criss-crossed by shadowy tracks of wolves. This was my childhood image of wilderness, beautiful and remote, frightening and sacred. The current edition seems incongruous without those images. It would have been better to retain the images and remind readers that the modern condition of wilderness included distance from civilization, peripheral ecosystems and their constituents, and only historical and archaeological records of human occupation. A complete re-issued Voyageur Country could have been an excellent reminder that concepts of wilderness change over time rather than to suppose that a re-edition without the photographs is a millennium discussion about a wilderness park.

Anyone seeking information about the creation of Voyageur National Park will benefit from reading this popular text, omissions and errors notwithstanding. Northern Minnesota is as much a frontier region as one can find these days. Social conflict over land and resources of the region are an extension of a few, but not all, Americans' experience. The challenge for historical geographers is to document and analyze other wildernesses and stories of this region and its citizens.

—Lary M. Dilsaver
University of South Alabama

YYY

Creating Colorado: The Making of a Western American Landscape, 1860-1940. By WILLIAM WYCKOFF. (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1999, Pp. xiv + 336, maps, diagrams, photographs, notes, index).

This remarkable study from the veteran historical geographer William Wyckoff is a kind of perfect set piece; it is a crystallization of many of the significant ideas that historical and cultural geographers have mustered, over the last four decades or so, relating to the American West. And it comes at a remarkable point: The book captures nuance and the evolving geography of Colorado, at exactly the same time that D.W. Meinig has painted in precise parallel, and with much the same vision, the diverse geographies of the west in Transcontinental America and two preceding volumes in his *Shaping of America* series, which issued also from Yale. That Meinig and Wyckoff should be working out comparable ideas at different scales ought to surprise no one; Bill Wyckoff was Don's student at Syracuse. But in the years since they have evolved into more than that, they are now fully kindred spirits. *Creating Colorado* is a grand encapsulation, and in its extension and exploration it probes a geopolitical understanding, parses a highly local geographical history, attends to crucial strands of connection, transport, and linked knowledge, each in ways that demonstrate the range and reach that have made the last decade the best time ever to be an historical geographer.

No longer are geographers poncing around, tilling their own patch, working in distant bays and obscure bywaters with techniques that historians have not yet gotten around to embracing, and revelling and pointing and nodding sagely as a few random seeds emerge. In that rugby scrum of remarkable revisionism that is the New Western History (this applies as well to its less couture predecessors), geographers are not only players, they are contenders, and doing so well that historians are compelled to perform triple-takes: When something like *Creating Colorado* comes along, historians know instantly that here is not history as it has always been done. Recognizable in this is a style and content—a panache—that exceeds what many a working historian has produced, and which, besides, asks questions and works in ways so as to leave historians shaking their heads in pleased wonder, wishing they could imitate. But for imitation to be possible would of course require that historians become more geographical, and, indeed, their ship may someday come in. For now, Wyckoff's work is reminder enough: Historical geographers are anything but historians-without-portfolio. We can expect, nay, "require" that our historical geographers be better than that, that their geographical parts be true and effective, inventive, and beautiful. This book surely is.

Creating Colorado is not only a handsome, indeed, an exquisitely prepared and produced volume, reminder enough in physical design and conception of

foundation of the agency's tourism ethos due to threats of takeover by the U.S. Forest Service, and early landscape architecture in the agency. Key figures like Albert J. Downing, Charles Eliot, Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., Mark Daniels, and Charles P. Punchard, Jr. are profiled.

The second part consists of four chapters that present "a series of landscapes" designed by Park Service landscape architects. Each focuses on one type of landscape element and highlights one or more important examples. Thus, in Chapter 3, Carr discusses the park village, introducing key figures like Daniel Hull, Jens Jensen, and Frank Waugh, and culminates with a detailed explanation of the design of the villages at Yosemite and Grand Canyon National Parks. Chapter 4 deals with the important topic of road building and design. After establishing the background for the ideas the Park Service would adopt, he concentrates on the Going-to-the Sun Road in Glacier National Park. The Park Service correctly recognized at the time the preeminence of this road for the future of agency resource management and visitor development policy. In the next chapter, Carr considers regional or "master" planning. He introduces key people like Thomas Vint and Ernest Davidson and again concentrates on a policy setting example, this time Mount Rainier National Park. In the final chapter he discusses the recreation planning mandate and the influence of the Works Progress Administration and the CCC on American parks at all levels. A final capsule on the Blue Ridge Parkway in the conclusion serves to exemplify recreational planning as well as the design influences of the village, road, and master planning processes discussed earlier.

The most valuable quality of *Wilderness by Design* is the author's ability to place in context the development of National Park Service planning and construction. Carr deftly explains the evolution of the academic and practical disciplines of landscape architecture and, where appropriate, architecture and civil engineering. Each topic then is situated in the context of disciplinary theory and its execution in varying public and private venues from local to national levels. In each Carr profiles the individuals and processes, including intra-agency politics, that led to National Park Service design adoption. Finally, he demonstrates how these changes affected service-wide policy. Taken as a whole, this book is as well-structured and erudite an explanation of the reasons for and meanings of national park landscapes as exists.

The volume is well served by extensive notes, bibliography, and index. Ten diagrams, forty-four clear photographs, and one reproduced map augment the presentation. Original maps showing Yosemite Village, Grand Canyon Village, the Going-to-the-Sun Road, the Mount Rainier master plan, and the Blue Ridge Parkway would have better served the author's purpose than the reproduced diagrams but the book is not seriously damaged by their absence.

In sum, *Wilderness by Design* is a fine overview of a fascinating subject. Each development and policy change is firmly ensconced in disciplinary theory and nationwide practice, its adoption explained in the context of the myriad influences on the National Park Service, and its import succinctly defined. Carr leads the reader through the maze of factors, confidently explaining linkages, to present a superb portrayal of a complex topic and a good introduction to understanding the National Park Service and its overall mission. Anyone interested in these subjects should read this enjoyable book.

many cultures; also a place where capitalism and liberal individualism were implanted and evolved to dominance (something still seen today in the state's aggressively eccentric regional politics). As elsewhere in the American West, "nature matters—Colorado's resource base, though varied and abundant, proved more fickle than was initially advertised" (p. 11). And finally, in Colorado is ground for the ferment of political institutions that have endured. Each of these themes is examined and brought back through the volume of eight chapters, ending with "Geographies in Transition," and a reiteration and expansion of these themes, in theory until 1940, but actually with implications up to the present day (p. 287).

The main chapters are divided in time and region, tracking the development of different parts of Colorado through its history. "Pre-1860s Geographies" is the second chapter, followed by chapters covering the same period—1860-1920—for five divisions of Colorado: "Mountain Geographies," "Piedmont Heartland," "Hinterlands: Eastern Plains," "The Southern Periphery," and "The Western Slope." Each of these regional vignettes could stand on its own, but as a whole they sing. This is not a book to summarize; it has to be read, and should be. But quotation of some of Wyckoff's concluding chapter, "Geographies in Transition," is called for:

Coloradans produced a mosaic of localities that varied in their texture and character. Many threads contributed to these new geographies: a dense, multilayered, and spatially variable physical framework established their broad contours; a set of political and economic imperatives structured their form and function; a layering of diverse cultural elements gave personality and feel to the fabric; and, perhaps most important, the experiences of individuals shaped the everyday reality of Colorado landscapes, imputing each place with their evanescent but palpable presence. The product of these interweavings was nothing simpler or more complex than the Colorado scene itself. (p. 294)

This is a fine time to be producing geographical writing of such intelligence and scope. Certainly that cannot be said of all of publishing in the United States. It isn't reasonable to plead that we really are in a best of times for scholarly monographs. Instead, all the bellwethers seem to keep tinkling and clanking like an amphetamine-posessed Marley's Ghost (that's the Dickens one, not the late great Rastafarian or his son Ziggy) about an imminent demise of American publishing. If so, how is it then that university presses—and some trade book publishers—are producing a handsome and consistent body of geography books the likes of which has been seen ... well, the right answer is "almost never"? There are dramatic volumes, especially wise monographs, hailing from Chicago, from Johns Hopkins in Baltimore, from the University of Texas, occasionally from California or Georgia or Minnesota, and ever and often so conspicuously, from Yale.

All this is of a fashion to give pause to a reviewer. We heft books, we admire their dramatic images, we assess them by their elegance and by their design, we weigh words and the ideas imbedded. Maybe the bar is rising—there are ugly books, sure, that see the light of day; ugly in material, ugly in production. There is more material and some is far finer than what has hailed from the geography sections of university presses before. Some entire lists are filled with aesthetic

what we geographers owe to Yale and its ingenious editors in bringing us such a fine form of book, it is also noteworthy for precise scale. Colorado, Wyckoff notes, was not a logical place or a necessary creation; it came to exist from concatenated needs. The crucial refrains of location, place, and landscape are for Wyckoff the central movements of historical geography (p. 4), and each was crucial to the visions and ambitions invoked in constituting this odd rectilinear creation of Colorado, surely a triumph, if ever there was one, of the geometer over any more reasonable and geographically-tempered instinct.

So was Colorado made and not born; here was a conscious, a deliberate creation rather than any organic evolution, and for that, it embodies some stunning and disparate parts. "An interest in location involves investigating how areas are organized spatially, how settlements are connected to form systems of circulation that shape flows of people, goods, money, and information," Wyckoff writes (p. 4; his italics). "Place refers to the process by which people give meaning to location, particularly how they create social geographies that are rooted in community," he continues (p. 6), and, "Landscape ... refers to the signatures people leave upon the visible scene and what those imprints can tell us about a culture and its relation to the environment" (p. 6). And he carefully nurtures these themes, returning to them throughout his narrative. Among Wyckoff's greatest gifts is a preternatural clarity and organization that those of us of a less orthogonal mind can only look to with a pleased and admiring surprise.

Creating Colorado is a well-gridded book about a (roughly) square state. That's brought home by the series of maps in the volume; dozens of newly-drafted original maps, and no shortage of well-reproduced historic ones. With 106 figures, many of them nineteenth or early twentieth century photographs, maps, and booster documents, or equally effective modern-day photographs by the author, this is anything but a sparsely illustrated volume, and it is those illustrations—not just well chosen, but effectively captioned (though I for one might wish for more discussion; what's an extra line or two in a caption, when a few extra words might add volumes to what readers get from the illustrations) that reinforce what Wyckoff explains is more than an historian's interest in place through time. This includes an intriguing discussion of the geographer's converse—examining time through place (p. 13). On occasion, the scale time is geological (what a grand idea to reproduce as Figure 10 the entire Gateway U.S.G.S. quadrangle, deeply shaded in its canyon depths and river convolutions, as a full-page illustration, which shows clearly even though this reproduction of the 1:24,000 scale map is perhaps only one-eighth size). By the same token, the Orchard Mesa Canal (Figure 85) speaks volumes about bringing water to the desert, and the historic images of Denver, Boulder, Golden, Greeley, are choice. The illustrations are quite grand and can be read as an entirely appropriate counterpoint, tracking but elaborating on the textual story.

After beginning with an examination of L. C. McClure's promotional photographs of Colorado—the first figure is a rendering of South Park sufficiently beautiful to inspire tears of recollection—the introductory chapter presents five themes to be examined. Colorado is, Wyckoff writes, a prime case for Zelinsky's doctrine of first effective settlement. Second, it became a meeting ground of

roofed barns and eave-entry gabled barns and sheds are ubiquitous. Caches, corncribs and other storage buildings round out the inventory.

A chapter on log carpentry traditions varies the focus to include a detailed analysis of log-shaping, notch-cutting, and roof construction techniques. Again, typologies are invoked and distributions are recorded on the same traditionally crafted base maps displayed in the initial chapters on dwellings and outdwellings. The distribution of round-log construction prevails throughout the region whereas hewn-log construction extends sparingly into more remote and sparsely settled areas. The chapter delves into precious dissection of end-hewing, chinking, scribed grooving, and dovetailing, square, saddle and V-notching, among other techniques. The authors conclude the West is a "complex region of continuity, innovation, and diversity, a place at once archaic and inventive, mainstream and ethnic" (p. 86).

In the final two substantive chapters the authors continue their classification of structures, namely wooden fences and haymaking devices. Worm or snake fencing for boundaries and corrals is concentrated in the wood-rich Pacific Northwest. Other Eastern fence types include chock-and-log and straight rail fences. The first is concentrated in the British Columbia interior whereas the straight rail type prevails throughout the region with major concentrations in the B.C. interior and the "four corners" region of Utah, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico. Western x-shaped buck and Jack-leg (or propped) fences are concentrated in the western interior of Montana, Idaho and Wyoming. Slide-type hay stackers, used to ramp the hay onto piles prevail throughout the intermontane West but appear to exhibit their greatest concentration in southwestern Montana. Derrick-type hay stackers are concentrated in neighboring Idaho. Roofless hay cribs are a rare Eastern derivative form. Stilted haysheds, on the other hand, prevail throughout most of the region.

What is revealed about the mountain West in this book? The authors claim that the West cannot be understood without attention to cultural diffusion from the East. Midland Anglo-American culture traits such as gable-entry cabins and round-pole worm fences appear in archaic forms. Non-archaic forms, notably the front-gable single crib-barn, display wider geographical range and appear ubiquitous on both sides of the border. Also, the Anglo-Canadian-Yankee New England culture complex seeds the material culture of the mountain West on both sides of the international boundary. Ethnic and indigenous continuity prevails as well. It ranges from Hispano log construction implanted from Old Mexico to the forms introduced by Scandinavians and the elements borrowed from Native Americans. Astride this prevailing conservatism, innovations occurred throughout the region and notably in the California gold fields, southwestern Montana high valley ranching region, Hispanic highland New Mexico and Mormon Deseret. The spheres of influence of these innovation centers extend throughout the intermontane West. This enticing thesis parallels conceptions of multiple West forwarded by other authors, but it brings this volume to a close rather than forming the basis for more extensive exploration and analysis. Material culture provides the clues and points the way, but it does not reveal the complexities of life in the mountain West.

The Mountain West is a delightful beginning. In it the authors point to

and intellectual winners, and geographers should be stocking their shelves. Into that rank goes William Wyckoff's *Creating Colorado*, a fine example of historical geography that shows a maturing of mind, a breadth of travel and consideration, a competence in illustration and command, that will not surprise those who know Bill Wyckoff's other work, but will please everyone.

—Paul F. Starrs
University of Nevada

YYY

The Mountain West: Interpreting the Folk Landscape. By TERRY B. JORDAN, JON T. KILPINEN and Charles F. GRITZNER. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, Pp. xii + 161, illustrations, maps, index).

The *Mountain West* is a well-crafted and expertly illustrated book on log dwellings and outbuildings, log carpentry traditions, wooden fences and hay making devices surviving in the mountain region of West Canada and the United States. The volume is not a comprehensive guide for interpreting the folk landscape. The authors draw heavily on hewn and sawed material culture to construct their vision of the North American West, and their insights revealed about the folk landscape must be viewed in the context of this selected evidence.

Although the evidence is selective, the scope of the field research is extensive. Thirty years of field survey in more than twenty-five study areas have produced a sample of more than 2000 historical log structures. The field research districts extend from Alaska and the Yukon, through British Columbia and Alberta, and concentrate in the northern tier of mountainous states. A line of four sample areas from Colorado through New Mexico and Arizona complete the research district allocation. Ethnic group settlements associated with these research districts include concentrations of French Canadians, Finns, Hispanos, Norwegians, Russians, Swedes and Ukrainians. The scope of this immense fieldwork is truly impressive. It anticipates a rich, colorful analysis, integrating distributions of cultural evidence to describe and to attempt to explain the built landscape in the mountain West. The presentation, however, is muted and restricted as reflected in the technically superb yet sepia tones of the black-and-white photographs and maps that carry the presentation.

The authors classify log structures according to morphological types and plot their distributions. Dwellings are differentiated as traditional English-plan concentrated in the trans-border Pacific Northwest, eastern double-pen south of the Canadian border, front-gable, Anglo-Western buildings throughout the region, and mountain-shotgun types dispersed in the U.S. mountain West and in Alaska. Outbuildings include eastern-derived single-unit sheds and barns in the trans-border Pacific Northwest, double crib barns mainly south of the border, transverse crib barns in Idaho and Montana and Pennsylvania fore bay bank barns transplanted in western Washington and the Willamette Valley. Mountain horse barns include large gable-front structures in the inter-mountain plateaux and gable-entrance structures in the northern Peace River country and Alaska. Shed-

brief, provides two spatially oriented studies that will resonate well with historical and ethnic geographers. Particularly impressive is Royden Loewen's comparative study entitled, "Steinbach and Jansen: A Tale of Two Mennonite Towns, 1880-1900" which examines the manner in which similarly based religious immigrant communities diverged from traditional historical paths upon transplantation to North America. Loewen carefully describes the historical formation and continuance of two *Kleine Gemeinde* Mennonite communities, one in Manitoba which made a concerted effort to maintain traditional cultural patterns through guarded contact with the secular world and the other in Nebraska which welcomed the coming of the railroad and the social and economic developments that ensued.

Unfortunately, the quality of the individual essays in this book is lessened by various editorial decisions. The most distracting of which is the repeated omission of endnotes from five of the twelve chapters. While Luebke openly states in the introduction that the missing citations are for the sake of brevity and thus encourages the reader to pursue the original publication source of each chapter, it is nonetheless frustrating. Along similar lines, all of the included chapters are reproductions or condensations of previously published articles or book chapters which calls into question the ability of this volume to contribute significantly to the body of literature relating to western history. In fact, four of the chapters are drawn directly from two individual authors' previously published books.

The limitations of *European Immigrants in the American West*, however, are negligible if the book is intended for an undergraduate reader in a broad survey course on the history of the American West. The essays do indeed remind students of the important role of European immigrants in the settlement and development of the West as a region. In contrast to the opinions of Luebke which suggest the contents of this book are at odds with the work of New Western Historians such as Patricia Nelson Limerick, Richard White, and Clyde Milner, I feel they can be interpreted as different sides of the same coin. While the work of most New Western historians has focused primarily upon native residents and non-European immigrants, they do so by examining broader, more generalized experiences of these groups in the American West. From a geographical standpoint, New Western histories have provided a large regional scale model of minority group experiences in the West which have most often been characterized by conquest and discrimination. Rather, the essays selected by Luebke are community histories and examine differing individual and European group experiences at local scales in which discrimination toward the immigrants was less often a central issue. In short, the goals of these two approaches to western history are distinctly different from each other; however, they may indeed complement the other. Exemplar of this connection are the two chapters contributed by David Emmons which examined the experiences of Irish immigrants in Butte, Montana. Emmons clearly draws attention to the Irish control over local mining employment opportunities. Of this ethnic advantage, Luebke writes: "This meant that exclusionary policies could be followed that benefitted both Irish workers and their Irish bosses, at the expense of non-Irish ethnicity. Inevitably, the latter suffered even more cruelly than the Irish" (p. 91). In this particular case study, European immigrants of various origins were recognized as both the subjugators, as well as victims of oppression.

important research questions about cultural adaptation, continuity, and innovation. Yet, by their own admission, the authors are content to avoid the social and environmental contexts of the material culture they cherish. There is no human face to this work. Instead, most of the high quality black-and-white photographs convey fossilized remnants of the operating material culture that, paradoxically, is pictured in the few selected archival photos required to convey evidence of structures that is either rare or absent. The evidence denigrated in the authors' zeal to promote "field" immersion is the every evidence of land and life in the mountain West needed to complete the picture. With these reservations noted, I can recommend this book as an excellent introduction and field guide to the log structures that prevail as sentinels of a way of life that is slipping away rapidly in the mountain West of North America.

—Victor Konrad

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YYY

European Immigrants in the American West: Community Histories. Edited by FREDERICK LUEBKE. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998, Pp. xix + 198, maps, tables, bibliography, and index).

Certainly the strength of Frederick Luebke's collection of essays, *European Immigrants in the American West*, lies within its claim to diversity. The twelve chapters represent the broad spectrum of European immigrant experiences in the American West often overlooked in larger studies of this geographical region. Such diversity can perhaps be attributed to the wide range of scholars whose work forms this edited volume. It is infused with the work from various fields of study, including that of an educator, a religious scholar, geographers, as well as trained historians. This combination of scholarship provides a unique breadth of historical research with regard to both theory and practice.

The book itself is divided into three sections, the first of which emphasizes the historical settlement process of various European immigrant community groups in the American West. The essays included within this group provide students of history with examples of thorough archival work. Characteristic of this attention to detail is "Prairie Bound: Migration Patterns to a Swedish Settlement on the Dakota Frontier" by Robert C. Ostergren. Through the use of autobiographical accounts, Ostergren sketches out the patterns of both origin and destination among Swedish settlers in Clay County, South Dakota.

Having addressed various settlement pathways in the initial five chapters, the second section of the book turns toward examinations of ethnic community experiences and maintenance. Of particular significance is the reliance that several of the authors placed upon oral history and interview sources. The inclusion of Anna Zellick's "Childhood Memories of South Slavic Immigrants in Red Lodge and Bearcreek, Montana, 1904-1943" provides an intriguing, humanizing element often missed with a sole reliance upon archival documents. Zellick's emphasis upon adult interviews, however, does not go without caution as she importantly notes that the childhood memories of the working class Slavic community have been tempered by time.

The final portion of *European Immigrants in the American West*, although

color and flavor to the story. Later sections explore a series of regional conflicts, including efforts to rebuild Spokane Falls after a great fire in 1889; reservation and land allotment struggles of the Coeur d'Alene tribe; and, disputes between mine owners and unionized miners, and between miners and Indians.

Morrissey's perseverance in searching for evidence of minority perspectives within this contested region is impressive. Tribe members, trade unionists, immigrants and other Inland Empire residents gain voice through the inclusion of their remarks within reports, transcripts and correspondence on file with such agencies as the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Colville Indian Agency and the federal courts. Morrissey also deconstructs newspaper accounts of labor disputes, expositions, fires, and crimes for evidence of symbolic meanings attributed to people and places around the Inland Empire. Finally, she interprets the regional visions of boosters and influential outsiders, including railroad capitalist James J. Hill, Boston lawyer Brooks Adams, and Western author Zane Grey.

Mental Territories includes an intriguing collection of historic maps, although the rather murky quality of their reproduction is disappointing. General Land Office maps, birds-eye views from promotional brochures, maps published for homesteaders and gold-seekers, and Chamber of Commerce maps showing rail lines and tributary districts help the reader see the Inland Empire through the eyes of its creators and its promoters. A few archival photos and other illustrations also convey a sense of the Inland Empire as a historic and geographic place.

In conclusion, Morrissey observes that while confrontations between distinct social groups may set up a powerful dialectic, the regional dynamic within the Inland Empire was not sharply drawn:

The internal struggle for definition, which took place after the period of initial contact, was often a muddle of contradictory impulses. Yet in ongoing encounters among new settlers and old, reservation Indians and government agents, miners and mine owners, real estate speculators and tourists, different voices constructed a regional identity. In their uneasy transitional state as a settled frontier, the peoples of the Inland Empire developed their own subtle codes of meaning. As they engaged in the development of a particular way of thinking, they forged a mental territory. (p. 165)

The story of mapping out the Inland Empire replicates an American narrative that is familiar to us in many aspects. While this particular regional rendition may not make for a spectacular story, *Mental Territories* will hold the attention of anyone interested in the settlement of the Pacific Northwest. It also merits wider reading for Morrissey's adroit inclusion of a wide array of voices in her telling of this very human tale.

—Nancy Lee Wilkinson
San Francisco State University

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Hamilton Park: A Planned Black Community in Dallas. By WILLIAM H. WILSON. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998, Pp. x + 256, photographs,

Other chapters could also be interpreted as supporting the basic tenets of New Western history, including that of Henry Warner Bowden, "Southwestern Indians, Spanish Missions," which clearly depicts Spanish missionary efforts to assimilate Pueblo Indians within European religious and cultural practices. New Western historians have typically paid less attention to European immigrants as a group (in contrast to Asians, Native Americans, or African Americans) as they have historically been less often the victims of discriminatory ethnic lumping on such a broad regional scale. Certainly, the inclusion of chapters such as those described above would seem to support such a line of historical interpretation rather than contradict it. Overall, *European Immigrants in the American West* does provide a collection of essays which draw attention to a vital element needed in constructing a more complete history of the American West, however, should not stand alone, just as New Western history can not be expected to do so.

—Toni Alexander
Louisiana State University

YYY

Mental Territories: Mapping the Inland Empire. By KATHERINE G. MORRISSEY. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997, Pp. ix + 211, maps, illustrations, index).

The Inland Empire is (or was) a frontier region centered on Spokane, Washington. Donald W. Meinig, a native son of the Inland Empire, described it as "among the clearest examples we have of a region and its capital" (in Morrissey p. 3.) Yet, prominently as it figured in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this region is not well-known today. Morrissey sets out to locate this "ghost region" in American history and to ascertain how early settlers mapped its internal and external boundaries, its regional bonds and its future.

Morrissey discusses mapping as both a cartographic endeavor and as a sociopolitical process, but her focus is on perceptual components of regionalism: how the perceptions of particular individuals came to be shared by groups of people within the emerging region, how these perceptions influenced regional delimitation, and how contested social values shaped regional symbols, boundaries, and visions. Her book conveys the story of a particular area and some of its inhabitants during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; it also serves as a case study in the semiotics of regional culture, a method based on theoretical work in history, geography, cultural anthropology, cognitive psychology, and literature. While Morrissey does not devote much of the text to method or theory, forty-four pages of bibliographic notes provide a comprehensive and illuminating review of the relevant literature.

To learn about perceptions and symbols from the past, Morrissey relies most heavily upon the kinds of published and archival sources long favored by regional scholars: newspaper accounts, editorials and letters to the editor; contemporary magazine and journal articles; government reports and transcripts; local histories; popular literature; and settlers' diaries and letters. Thus, for example, *Mental Territories* opens with a discussion of Oscar Amos, a Pullman, Washington, grave-digger and self-styled philosopher whose rambling prose adds significant

ing government for improved services, registering complaints about potholes and traffic signs, and distributing awards for the “lawn of the week” and “best Christmas display.” In addition, it hectored local home owners about covenant violations and filed suit in several instances to prevent the construction of apartments and unsightly commercial developments. No less than their white counterparts, Hamilton Park’s black middle class evinced clear concerns over the preservation of a middle-class suburban atmosphere as well as the status, comfort, and property values that it reflected.

In addition to concerns with neighborhood upkeep, residents of Hamilton Park shared a range of other values about housing and community life with suburbanites in general. Using oral histories, Wilson illustrates that families who moved to Hamilton Park sought many of the same things as white suburbanites of the era: home ownership, a better education and safer environment for children, brand new housing, a uniform residential landscape, and a community of like-minded families. In the context of mid-century Dallas, Hamilton Park represented a dream come true for hundreds of black families, but Wilson demonstrates that it was a thoroughly American dream within the mainstream of middle-class suburban life.

Another striking feature of Wilson’s portrait is the apparent ambivalence of Hamilton Park residents about racial segregation. Throughout the era of Brown and the mass action phase of the civil rights movement, residents readily supported the construction and maintenance of an explicitly segregated neighborhood and school. Wilson explains that residents were “realists who lived in the world as it was.” (p. 121) However, Hamilton Park residents’ support for separate housing and institutions also reflected lingering ambiguities in the struggle for equality that Wilson might have explored further. Beyond realism, most southern blacks took both pride and comfort in the separate institutions that flourished under Jim Crow, and many worked to achieve equality within a “separate but equal” formula—even after the formula had been discredited among civil rights leaders. Tellingly, in the case of education, Wilson illustrates that Hamilton Park residents’ “focus was on improving the school as it was—not on desegregating it,” (p. 137) and it was ultimately federal pressure, not local agitation, that led to the school’s closure.

Hamilton Park, and indeed the process of “separate suburbanization” across the South, raises provocative questions about the possibilities of achieving real equality under the “separate but equal” schema. One thing is clear. Separate subdivision building in Dallas produced a high quality residential environment—superior in most cases to African-American neighborhoods anywhere outside the South—and, it provided the basis for a cohesive and stable African-American community over several generations.

—Andrew Wiese
San Diego State University

YYY

Geography of Louisiana. By DAVID C. JOHNSON and ELAINE G. YODIS. (New

maps, endnotes, index).

William H. Wilson's engaging book joins a growing list of titles whose subject is the impact of race on city planning in the twentieth century South—in particular the southern variant of “second ghetto” formation. Wilson adds to the literature with a careful analysis of a neglected but distinguishing aspect of the process: the construction of new, though explicitly segregated, suburban subdivisions for black families.

In contrast to northern cities, where the lion's share of black neighborhood growth after World War II took place through racial transition in existing neighborhoods, more than half of the additional homes occupied by growing black communities in the metropolitan South during the 1950s were built new. By 1960, middle class blacks in the urban South were as likely as not to live in single-family homes similar to those in middle-class suburbs nationwide. Wilson's monograph details the development and life of one such community, Hamilton Park in Dallas, from its planning stages in the early 1950s through the 1990s.

Beyond the issue of race and city planning, Wilson is also concerned with re-establishing the primacy of a place-based definition of “community.” In contrast to recent scholarly emphasis on the “decline of community” in contemporary America, Wilson asserts that places such as Hamilton Park remained communities in the traditional sense of the word despite the growing atomization of 20th century life. From its inception, Hamilton Park was a vital, place-based community with local attachments rooted in shared aspirations, experiences, and associations, as well as ethnic homogeneity.

As in similar communities, Hamilton Park traced its roots to the post-World War II housing shortage and the racial tensions it ignited. In Dallas, African-American population mushroomed during the war. Meanwhile housing construction for blacks stagnated. Black attempts to move into white neighborhoods provoked white vigilantism. Following a wave of racially motivated house bombings in 1950, Dallas business leaders intervened. Afraid that an interracial explosion would sully Dallas' reputation as a good place to do business, Dallas' business elite organized a Dallas Citizens Interracial Association (DCIA) with the mission to alleviate the black housing shortage. In tandem with a program of slum clearance and public housing construction, white leaders sought to relieve pressure on white neighborhoods by building new housing for blacks away from tension areas. In the case of Hamilton Park, they identified a tract in suburban north Dallas that was sufficiently distant from white subdivisions to limit opposition and which had a tradition of black farm ownership. Exercising the clout of Dallas' major corporate interests, the DCIA succeeded in building a comfortable black subdivision where a parade of private developers had failed. The first section of an eventual 730 homes opened for occupancy in 1953.

Among Wilson's most important findings is the extent to which the middle-class residents of Hamilton Park shared mainstream residential desires in the era of mass suburbanization. Like suburbanites nationwide, residents organized groups to satisfy social, political, educational, civic, and spiritual needs. These included a PTA and Dad's Club, several churches and Scout Troops, and organizations focused on political and civic concerns. The most influential, the Hamilton Park Civic League, functioned much as a property owners association, petition-

on creole and creolization in Louisiana highlighting how the use of creole has changed during the last three centuries. Hall opines that creole is derived from the Portuguese "crioulo," "... meaning a slave of African descent born in the New World" (p. 157). Moreover, it is both pretentious and academically chauvinistic to assert that creoles today claim to be creole because it "... connotes a colorful and adventurous past ..." (p. 97) and that the term best be used "... as a collective term for the cooking of New Orleans ..." (p. 97).

As a state geography text *Geography of Louisiana* is valuable in emphasizing the spatial relations between and amongst major human and natural phenomena including: (a) the Mississippi river floodplain, including efforts to control the river through artificial levees and spillways, (b) New Orleans as a major economic node close to the mouth of the Mississippi and its relationship to other cities in the state, and (c) the importance of the petroleum industry as a barometer of the state's economic health including the environmental impacts of petroleum development. However, like other state geographies the distinction between the physical and human geography chapters is too pronounced. State geographies by their very nature tend to be micro-scale enterprises focusing on processes and patterns within states that end abruptly with neighboring state boundaries even though physical and cultural phenomena often transcend state boundaries. A weakness of many state geographies, including this one, is a neglect of macro-scale geopolitical processes that provide a broader context for understanding how similar and/or different one state is from another despite their initially idiosyncratic trajectories. Despite these shortcomings, the *Geography of Louisiana*, if used in conjunction with Charles R. Goins and John M. Caldwell's *Historical Atlas of Louisiana* (1995) and augmented with literature on African-American cultural influence and the recent Watson Brake archaeological discoveries, is a suitable regional text for Louisiana geography. Given its objective, the text in its entirety has little or no utility for regional courses on the South and/or the United States. The astute reader will, however, glean from the superficial treatment of macro-scale geopolitical events including the Seven Years War (1756-1763) and the founding of New Orleans (1718) the significance of how events such as these impacted not only Louisiana but the South and ultimately the United States.

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Baseball on the Border: A Tale of Two Laredos. By ALAN M. KLEIN. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997, Pp. xiv + 291, map, photographs, appendices, notes, index).

Baseball has been popular in sections of Mexico almost as long as in the United States and, consequently, a part of the interactive culture along the Río Grande/Río Bravo and the social life of peoples on both sides of the international border. The centrality of that sport in that region was uniquely expressed in the decade 1985-1994 when a special arrangement allowed Laredo, Texas, and Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas, to share a professional baseball team (Los Tecolotes/

York: McGraw-Hill Primis Custom Publishing, 1998, Pp. 213, maps, photographs, references, index).

Geography of Louisiana is a welcome addition to the collection of the state's regional geographies. Its greatest strength is its updated facts and figures. Kniffen and Hilliard's *Louisiana Its Land and People* (1988) was published more than a decade ago on the heels of Milton Newton's *Louisiana: A Geographical Portrait* (Baton Rouge: Geoforensics, 1987). Johnson and Yodis succeed in producing a regional geography text that is more "meaty" than Kniffen and Hilliard's but not as encyclopedic as Newton's. The authors adhere to the cookbook approach characteristic of traditional regional geography with a chasm separating the five physical and five cultural chapters. A second strength of the text is clarity of presentation of the complex physical processes that have produced Louisiana's diverse physiographic patterns including floodplains, deltaic and chenier plains, pleistocene terraces, and tertiary uplands. The multifarious assortment of illustrations including many of Yodis' photographs in Chapter 2 (The Lowlands) and Chapter 6 (The Climate of Louisiana), in particular, stand in stark contrast to the paucity of illustrations in the cultural chapters. The strongest cultural chapters are those that detail "The Petroleum Industry in Louisiana" (Chapter 9) and provide vignettes of the eight major metropolitan statistical areas (Chapter 11).

In both popular and academic literature Louisiana's 4.2 million (1990) inhabitants are touted, in a somewhat hackneyed manner, as being an ethnically diverse bunch with the lion's share of attention showered on New Orleans and its creole cuisine. Southwest Louisiana's Cajuns feature equally prominently in this tourist cajolery celebrating the Pelican State's rich cultural diversity. The *Geography of Louisiana* fails to convey Louisiana's cultural diversity beyond lip service as to its "... vibrant cultural heritage present today" (p. 91) The major weakness of the text is its overly Eurocentric bias with short-shrift given to Native- and African-American cultural influence. Omitting serious consideration of African cultural influence in such a culturally diverse state is a major flaw given that Africans significantly outnumbered Europeans during the eighteenth century and until 1860 constituted 50 percent of the state's population. It is hard to contemplate how one in good conscience can overlook the cultural contributions of African-Americans who constitute almost a third of Louisiana's population (31 percent in 1990) in a text representative of Louisiana. Gwendolyn Hall's, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (1992) provides a treasure trove of African cultural contributions in Louisiana derived from Senegambia following the involuntary migration of upwards of 6,000 Africans to Louisiana during the first third of the eighteenth century. The hollowness of the "... vibrant cultural heritage present today" (p. 91) assertion would have been remedied by mining Hall's seminal book for colorfully rich examples of African-American cultural influence that would have been more representative than reducing people of African descent to a percentage of either a parish (p. 120) or metropolitan statistical area (p. 186). Continuing in the cultural diversity vein, treatment of creole in Louisiana is disturbingly simplistic and erroneous. It is stated that "originally "creole" was used to define people of European descent that were born in Louisiana ..." (p. 97). Hall (p. 157-58) provides a primer

The Owls) that had home stadiums in both cities while playing in the Mexican League (classified AAA by Major League Baseball). Intrigued by this experiment, Northeastern University professor Alan Klein, who wrote previously on baseball in the Dominican Republic, undertook to examine the historical, cultural, and human dimensions of baseball on the border.

His findings and interpretations are provocative. On the descriptive level, Klein reports on work done in the two Laredos during seven field trips, most in the 1993 and 1994 seasons. While there he did formal and field interviews with players and administrators, conducted a fan survey, pursued archival research, and recorded oral histories with various local figures. From these he constructed an introductory history of the two Laredos in which he contends that baseball played a significant role in developing cross-border integration perhaps as early as the 1870s, thus creating a legacy that would culminate in the unique Tecolote arrangement. Still, despite the integrative function of baseball, the Tecos also expressed different cultural perspectives and, among the players, different senses of friendship, family, and masculinity. Such differences also contributed to the business failures that brought an end to the international project.

On the theoretical level, Klein concludes from his observations that baseball is part of a process that has over time simultaneously constructed three levels of nationalism along the border: (1) autonationalism, that traditional nationalism in which Mexicans and North Americans (USA) identify with their respective nation-states; (2) binationalism, by which peoples on each side of the border share experiences and feelings that derive from identification with both nations; and, (3) transnationalism, a growing sense of common identity distinct from either the Mexican or American nations. "All three forms of nationalism exist as structural relations, behavior, and sentiment (identity), and all of them have analogs in the realm of baseball on the border," though "one has to see them as more or less present at different times in differing ways" (p. 13).

This dimension of Klein's ethnographic/sociological analysis meshes with the geographical/cultural perspective laid out by Santiago Vaquera-Vásquez in his article "Wandering in the Borderlands: Mapping an Imaginative Geography of the Border," *Latin American Issues* 14 (1998): 107-132. For him this is a "complex and heterogeneous region" whose "hybrid," dynamic, and multiple culture(s) is (are) created through migrant practices. Consequently, "the method for mapping this space is not singular, but rather multiple." He also correctly argues that in defining and mapping that culture, one must consider the central Mexican perspective, not just the relationship to Chicano and southwestern United States features and attitudes. Klein's treatment of the border reaction to decisions made in Mexico City about the future of the Tecos underscores this point.

While I fully accept Klein's assertion that over the last century-and-a-half Laredo and Nuevo Laredo have developed a symbiotic and integrated relationship, reflected in and possibly reinforced by the Tecolote experience, I don't think he demonstrates convincingly that Laredo-Nuevo Laredo is unique among a number of paired cross-river communities. Brownsville-Matamoros, El Paso-Ciudad Juárez, San Isidro-Tijuana, the two Nogales, and perhaps more, suggest that the Laredo-Nuevo Laredo linkage may be observed elsewhere. For example, focusing on the El Paso-Juárez Metroplex, *The Wall Street Journal* (December 4, 1998)

reported on the successes and cultural implications of a program that allows Mexicans to attend branches of the Texas university system as part of the larger "entwining" of interests across the Río Grande. How often is this pattern repeated?

Given the relatively sparse attendance figures on both sides of the border, especially for spectators who cross the river to pay to watch, it may also be questioned whether baseball in itself really means that much to enough people to continue to play a major role in building nationalism on any level in the targeted area. Raising this, however, should not be taken to deny the importance of baseball as an indicator or expression of patterns of community development and identity as they have worked out, and continue to work out, through a complex of interacting forces in this very fluid environment.

Despite these debatable points, Klein merits praise for focusing on sport as a significant factor in a long-term cultural process and for suggesting that transborder relations can contribute to the construction of national identities on multiple levels at the same time. He also deserves thanks, in this mix of traditional and newer forms of ethnography, for constructing an ethnography "able to recount a people's story, one that is intrinsically interesting and able to capture much of what the storytellers had in mind" (p. 265).

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Patterns of Pillage: A Geography of Caribbean-based Piracy in Spanish America, 1536-1718. By PETER R. GALVIN. (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1999, Pp. xiv + 271, maps, illustrations, glossary, index).

This is a delightful treatment of a fascinating topic. Peter Galvin's *Patterns of Pillage* moves beyond a recitation of piratical plundering and rapine to a more analytic treatment in an effort to position piracy within the larger context of the historical geography of Spanish America. That he largely succeeds in this effort is due to the author's tight focus on the Caribbean, "... historically a stage of intense cultural interchange and conflict in which piracy played an early and crucial role" (p. 1), as well as his well-developed storytelling abilities. This not only is solid historical geography but also a terrific yarn, incorporating fascinating characters, dramatic events, and exotic locales in a wonderful treasure trove of a book.

The author's approach towards piracy in Spanish America between 1536 and 1718 is firmly rooted in classic works of historical geography. Galvin draws heavily on Ellen Churchill Semple's 1916 article "Pirate Coasts of the Mediterranean Sea" in *Geographical Review* and Derwent Whittlesey's 1939 political geography text, *The Earth and the State*. From Semple, Galvin draws the notion of "the pirate coast," a region where environmental factors such as rugged shorelines, limited agriculture, forested slopes, and proximity to trade lines created an area predisposed to piracy. From Whittlesey, Galvin draws the idea of islands in the Mediterranean as "springboards" for piracy and applies the concept to the islands of the Caribbean. These and other classic texts of historical geography inform

Galvin's effort to describe a "pattern of pillage" in Spanish America, rejecting the notion of pirate ships roving the seas until a likely target appeared. Galvin finds that these patterns "... include favorite routes, lurking places, and coastal targets of the pirates; elements of site and situation pertaining to their established strongholds; spatial exigencies posed by the distribution of vital resources and environments; and pirate coasts, the littoral regions of chronic piracy" (p. 33).

The book is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 includes a brief review of Mediterranean piracy, which provides the foundation of piracy in the New World. Galvin then proceeds in this chapter to distinguish three broad phases of piracy in Spanish America: corsairs, buccaneers, and freebooters. Although these terms seem to overlap, the author effectively uses them to distinguish between chronological periods as well as spatial patterns of piratical activity in Spanish America. In Galvin's treatment, corsairs are "French, English, and Dutch raiders, commissioned (by European monarchs) or not, who threatened Spanish possessions during the sixteenth century" (p. 6). The term buccaneer (which has a fascinating origin involving food preparation!) is used to denote seventeenth century pirates whose operations included large-scale overland assaults on targets like Havana and Panama City directed against Spanish possessions. The term freebooter as used by the author indicates pirates in the early 1700s (e.g. Blackbeard) who sailed with no commission or attachment to any government and who believed a ship of any flag to be fair game. The author notes that this chronological distinction is meant to suggest that: "In sequence they embody an important qualitative transition in Spanish-American piracy from arguably borderline legitimacy to undeniably flagrant criminality" (p. 8).

Chapter 2 focuses on the earliest pirates and the Spanish colonial economy that attracted them to the Caribbean. Chapter 3 is a more detailed look at the characters and activities of the corsairs, buccaneers, and freebooters. Chapter 4 is an extended treatment of the patterns of pillage of the title, describing pirate haunts and strongholds. Chapter 5 is a detailed consideration of one particular pirate stronghold, Tortuga, off the coast of Hispaniola. Galvin examines the history and historical geography of Tortuga, providing anecdotes and insights that make for fascinating reading. A short concluding chapter speculates on the role of pirates as geographers and explorers, and briefly describes their cartographic contributions to the charting of the New World.

Though highly readable and enjoyable, the book is not without its flaws. Chief among these, and probably the most disappointing aspect of the book, are the graphics. The black and white maps, which were drawn by the author, seem cluttered and difficult to decipher. In addition, though Galvin has clearly divided piracy in Spanish America into three distinct periods, he chose to combine the different activities during all three periods on a single map, making any distinctions between the spatial activities of the corsairs, the buccaneers, and the freebooters difficult to discern. There may have been overlap in many pirate activities, but the maps as presented are so cluttered with symbology as to border on the incomprehensible. A related graphical problem is the lack of any photographs in the book. Galvin goes to great length to provide descriptions of exotic locales, many of which remain largely unchanged since the 1800s, yet