

Reviews of books

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P. Andrews (ed.), *Excavations at Hamwic Volume 2: Excavations at Six Dials*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 109; Southampton Archaeology Monographs 7. York: Council for British Archaeology, 1997. xviii + 268pp. 32 plates. 100 figures. 3 tables. Bibliography. Microfiche. £28.00.

J.D. Hurst (ed.), *A Multi-Period Salt Production Site at Droitwich: Excavations at Upwich*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 107. York: Council for British Archaeology, 1997. xv + 164pp. 125 figures. 17 tables. Bibliography. Microfiche. £28.00.

I do not expect that many readers of this journal will read every word in these volumes. They are essentially excavation reports and as such they provide us with all the detail of method and analysis which is the essence of modern archaeology. However, I would suggest that all those interested in the (re)emergence of the 'town' in England in the post-Roman period should read *at least* the summary sections and conclusions. For these volumes provide us with important new information on the social and economic conditions from which the earliest English 'towns' emerged, and on the role of production in these settlements.

The volume on Droitwich presents us with the archaeological (and historical) evidence for salt production from the brine springs at Upwich in that town. As Hurst argues, this is 'a remarkable instance of stability in industrial production and extraction' (p. 149) from prehistory to the early modern period. However, the most significant findings come from the early post-Roman to middle Saxon period (sixth to eighth centuries). Conventional images of the sixth century in England are usually drawn from presuppositions of infrastructural collapse, a 'return' to prehistoric modes of exchange and economic autarky. However, at Upwich at this time, there is excellent archaeological evidence for the production of salt on a scale that was 'of more than local significance' (p. 150; see also the reconstruction of the process in fig. 16), associated with ceramics which were 'non-local' (p. 23). This evidence, while clearly limited and implying no more than regional systems of production and distribution, allows us to begin to suggest 'a continuation of wide-ranging economic activity into the post-Roman period in this part of the Midlands' (p. 150).

It would certainly be going too far to use this evidence to locate the origins of the 'town' of Droitwich in the sixth century. However, it is clear from the later archaeological and historical evidence (much of which is detailed in this volume) that the actual development of the town was integrally linked with the utilization of the natural brine springs to produce salt. The results of the excavations at

Upwich chart the progressive intensification of production on this site up to the breaking of the borough monopoly on salt in the late seventeenth century (p. 57). However, it can be argued that this process of intensification started in the eighth century.

Although many of the relevant layers were removed by the construction of a huge brine pit in the thirteenth century, '[t]he archaeological evidence is unequivocal about large scale development of the area in the eighth century' (p. 30). Something of the scale of 'investment' can be gauged from the fact that there is archaeological evidence for 'a deliberate attempt from the middle Saxon period onwards to control the river course in the vicinity of the brine well [to prevent dilution of the brine], by revetting the banks and dumping so that the river was moved southwards and away from the brine springs' (p. 54). It is from roughly the same period that we get the first documentary references to the importance of salt at Droitwich and to elite involvement in its production (pp. 30–2). In fact I would argue (although the authors nowhere make this point) that the very fact of this documentation at this time points to an intensification of production, since it clear that one of the most important early uses of writing was in increased administration and control over the process of production.

The evidence presented in this volume shows that something rather remarkable was happening at Droitwich in the eighth century and, as Hurst notes, it is significant that '[b]y the 8th century... [it] was referred to mainly as *Saltwich*, and a salt trading place (*vicus emptorium salis*) suggesting that a market had been established' (p. 31).

It has been well known for quite some time that Hamwic (middle Saxon Southampton) was a rather remarkable settlement – 'Hamwic was remarkable for its size, layout, density of buildings, and concentration of crafts and industries' (p. 254), and for the evidence for long-distance trade. The results of some of the many excavations carried out at Hamwic between 1946 and 1983 have been summarized by Alan Morton, *Excavations at Hamwic Volume 1*, 1992 (reviewed in volume 21 of this journal, October 1994). In the volume under review Phil Andrews provides us with detailed analyses of all 68 middle Saxon structures, of the 530 pits, the boundary ditch, the road system, wells and cemetery uncovered in the Six Dials excavations, 'the largest single programme of excavations [and arguably the most significant] yet undertaken within Middle Saxon Hamwic' (p. 14). These analyses, along with the excellent interpretative summaries of the most important classes of finds and the environmental evidence, have enabled Andrews to produce a more refined and 'organic' picture of Hamwic from its inception at the very beginning of the eighth century to its demise between the middle and end of the ninth century.

It is clear from the excavations at Six Dials that Hamwic was conceived on a grand scale, and that the basic infrastructure of the settlement was established first. The bounding of the 46-hectare site by a ditch to the west, and the construction of a network of roads over the whole of what was to become the settlement were the first signs of human activity since the first century AD (p. 19). Although the streets running north-south were constructed before those going east-west, the latter pre-dated the establishment of the north-south street frontages – '[a]ll of this would argue in favour of an early and co-ordinated development of the street system in advance of the construction of buildings' (p. 36).

What is also clear, however, is that it took several years, perhaps even decades, for the settlement itself to conform to the grandiose vision inherent in the street system. There *is* early eighth-century occupation at Six Dials but it is very limited. Perhaps more significantly, there is similarly limited evidence for the scale of craft/industrial production which would typify the whole of the settlement by the middle of the eighth century. Andrews notes that the earliest phase of iron working at Six Dials dates to the 'second or third decade of the 8th century' (p. 115) and that slag was 'generally absent from early pits' (p. 225); that there 'appears to have been ... [an earlier] phase of activity or occupation unassociated with iron working' on the sites of the postulated 'smithies' in structures 6, 7, 45 and 46 (p. 140); that pit 4005 was unusual in that it 'was one of the few features containing worked bone which can be fairly securely dated to the 8th century; ... most other assemblages of bone working debris ... are later in date' (p. 229); and that 'a fairly extensive area was given over to [leather working] ... in the late 8th and 9th centuries' (p. 234).

It would appear, therefore, that much of the evidence for intensive settlement and production at Six Dials dates to the middle decades of the eighth century and later (although it should be noted that imported pottery was comparatively common in the earliest phase – p. 207). From the evidence at Six Dials, it would appear that it was only one or two generations after the basic infrastructure had been established that Hamwic expanded to fill the space originally conceived for it.

I should make it clear that Andrews nowhere makes an *explicit* statement to this effect. This is largely my reading of the details of the evidence presented. He might not be prepared to go this far, but there are hints that he might concur. Thus he reminds us that 'Hamwic was unlikely to have been a uniform whole' (p. 252), and points out that '[i]t is possible that Six Dials was one of several nuclei of early occupation which expanded and coalesced' (p. 252). His suggestion that 'the settlement would have required large quantities of foodstuffs to sustain it, in particular ... from around the middle of the 8th century' (pp. 254–5) might confirm a fundamental transformation at that time.

The evidence for a comparatively 'late' intensification of settlement and craft production at Six Dials, is paralleled by changes in the nature of the local ceramics. The 'greatest quantity' of pottery from the site dates to the so-called 'middle period' – between AD 750 and 850 (p. 208). By the middle of the eighth century more specialized modes of pottery production, tied into more widespread systems of distribution, were in evidence at Hamwic (p. 209).

In many ways this evidence parallels that from Droitwich – both witness an intensification of production and exchange in the course of the eighth century. Of course there are differences. Droitwich has none of the evidence for long-distance trade which was characteristic of Hamwic even in its earliest phases. The development of Droitwich was based on the exploitation of a resource which occurred there naturally; the raw materials for production at Hamwic had to be brought to the settlement. Finally, the medieval and late medieval towns of Droitwich developed on the location of their middle Saxon predecessor, while Hamwic had been abandoned by the end of the ninth century. However, what the evidence presented in these two admirable volumes does suggest is that both Hamwic and Droitwich contributed to and were the product of a largely unrecognized 'quickening of the pace of life' throughout eighth-century England.

One final point. I suggested that the eighth-century texts from Droitwich were integral to the process of economic intensification, and there should be little doubt that writing played a similar role in the organization of production and distribution in the system of which Hamwic was part. Yet the fact remains that there is only one single surviving eighth-century reference to Hamwic as a market or *mercimonium* (Andrews, p. 254). Almost everything we know about Hamwic is the product of archaeology, while at Droitwich archaeology has uncovered 'an important early post-Roman industrial role that predates the charter evidence for the salt industry by at least 150 years' (Hurst, p. 150). It would be something of a cliché to say that we have much to learn about the origins and development of towns in England, but what these volumes show is that archaeology will play an important part in that process. Perhaps it is time that urban historians *did* read every word of volumes such as these.

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R. Champaklakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 BC to AD 1300*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996. x + 485pp. 4 plates. 18 maps. Bibliography. Rs. 650.

The book consists of eight chapters, six of which are revised and enlarged versions of published articles between 1979 and 1996. In addition there are two entirely new chapters, together with an introduction presenting coherent and persuasive argument. The author delineates two different phases of urbanization in south India. Both phases exhibited a distinct type of urban experience. The earliest urbanization or early historic urbanism in south India spread with chronological variations in the Deccan, Andhra and Tamilakam, the three main regions of peninsular India. This was a secondary development due to inter-regional trade between the Ganges valley, Andhra and Tamil regions, and also between the Gujarat and Kerala coasts. It was further stimulated by maritime commerce between south India and the west Mediterranean, and subsequently between south India and south-east Asia. The political processes and territorial expansion were not functionally interrelated to urban genesis in Tamilakam. There was a lack of religio-political foci, creating 'effective space' in the form of territory controlled from and oriented to the cult centre. In the Tamil region, *varna* ideology in social stratification was hardly visible and this phase of urbanization was not simultaneous with the emergence of a state society, i.e. state formation (p. 93). No institutional forces, like a Buddhist monastery and guild organization as foci of urban development, are attested to in the archaeological and epigraphic data with no significant architectural remains. A market system and a definable power structure, important determinants of inner urban growth, were not found in the secondary urbanization of Tamilakam. Thus maritime trade remained the crucial factor in the urbanization of the early historical period (p. 104).

Champaklakshmi does not subscribe to the much-debated thesis of urban decay, which is believed to be a general historical phenomenon in the sub-continent in the post-third century AD. R.S. Sharma has tried to establish a causal link between urban decay and the emergence of feudalism. The archaeological records and Tamil literary traditions do not support this assumption. The Tamil

literary traditions are more concerned with the decline of ruling families rather than the decay of urban centres (p. 17). The author raises several questions as to the validity of the historical phenomenon of urban decline in the third century AD. Champaklaxmi remarks that Sharma makes no distinction between a rural or urban basis of economic activities in settlements, nor does he try to identify functionally the different character of crafts and trade centres, as no uniformity in the pattern and nature of settlements is attested to by the archaeological data. All sites yielding similar archaeological material cannot be categorized as urban, as held by Sharma (p. 17). The social upheaval located in the crisis of *Kaliyuga* has no relevance to early historical Tamil society. In the post-Sangam period no large-scale migration of brahmanas and artisans has been mentioned in the sources. On the contrary the post-Sangam literary works point to the continuity of trade activities in at least the major centres of the early historical period. Thus the segmentary state theory or the feudal polity model has no relevance to south India until the rise of Vijaynagar (p. 41).

The second phase of urban growth encompasses the period from the seventh to thirteenth centuries, which was significantly different from the earlier phase of urbanization. It was primary (inner) urban growth and not of secondary generation. The operation of the 'ramp process', a model applied by Adams for the study of Mesopotamia and Meso-America, is visible in the early medieval urban process (p. 37). It marks a processual change rather than a mystically 'sudden impulse'. A remarkable degree of agrarian expansion was the significant feature of early medieval socio-economic formation. Extension of agricultural activities through *brahmadeyas* and *devadanas*, advanced farming methods, seasonal regulation of the cultivation process and technology of irrigation resulted in surplus production. The author links up the urban growth in the Cola period to the expansion of existing rural settlements (p. 206). The *brahmadeyas* and temples became elements of integrative forces and more intensive agrarian organizations (p. 206). The cluster of these settlements led to the emergence of trade centres, initially in key areas, subsequently leading to the network of such centres in the Cola period. Consequently, organized trade through merchant organizations, specialization of specific local commodities through the *naqaram*, exotic and luxury goods through itinerant trade was encouraged (p. 206). The further impetus to organized trade came from expansion of south Asia trade from the tenth century, involving south Asia, south-east Asian kingdoms and China (p. 47). But one consistent factor which seems to permeate all political, economic and social activities, was religious ideology provided by the concept of *bhakti* and expressed by the temple in the early medieval urban process. The presence of religious institutions was a necessary concomitant of the urban process, along with political and economic factors, contributing equally to the growth of urban settlements.

This is perhaps the first work on early historical and early medieval Indian urbanization in which an attempt has been made by the author to study the intermingling of several factors, economic, political and ideological, in varying degrees of importance. The need for the study of settlement pattern (i.e. historical geography) has been stressed. This work seems to have provided meaningful insights in exploring the nature of south Indian economy and urban forms and explaining the possible interlinkages between them.

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Franz-Josef Jakobi (ed.), *Unter der Mitwirkung von Thomas Küster, Geschichte der Stadt Münster*, 3 vols, Münster: Aschendorff, 1994. xvii + 774pp., vi + 767pp., vi + 882pp. Maps. No price stated.

The urban history *Geschichte der Stadt Münster* is one of a number of projects that have been commissioned by German cities. This publication is one of the most ambitious and successful in Germany.

The history of Münster is a long one, dating back 1,200 years to 793. Although there have been many publications on urban affairs, a modern urban history was lacking. In spite of many difficulties the present work was completed within five years. The three volumes contain more than 2,400 pages, which are amply provided with illustrations, maps and diagrams.

Numerous specialists worked on the 53 contributions. The editor was Franz-Josef Jakobi, the director of the urban archives in Münster. The focus of the work lies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, because of the fragmentary source material for earlier periods. Before the middle of the sixteenth century many of the documents were destroyed by damage caused by fire in the year 1121 or under the government of the *Wiedertäufer*, after the spring of 1534. Volume I contains chapters covering the period from the foundation of the town to the abolition of the princely bishopric Münster in the year 1802. The second volume deals with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries up to the end of the Second World War. Volume 3 is concerned with the post-war era and points out perspectives for the coming development of the town. Comprehensive surveys on the part of the various branches of art are also given. There are individual chapters on: medieval art from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries (Jászai), modern sculpture (Jászai), painting of the sixteenth century (Pieper), baroque painting (Lorenz), painting from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries (Westhoff-Krummacher), modern architecture (Bussmann), vernacular building (Mummenhoff), music and musical life (Brockhoff), language and literature (Peters/Ribbat). There is a detailed bibliography with more than 2,840 titles, subdivided by author, an index for places and persons and an index for the whole three volumes.

It is very pleasing that the authors avoided a history based only on chronological events. On the contrary there are different aspects of urban history, using a latticed model that is called *Gitterstruktur*. Long-term processes of change are represented and different points of view are shown.

Volumes 1 and 2 are each divided into two sections: 'Urban History and Chronology' and 'Structures and Changes' which represent the connections of the matrix. Volume 1 contains an outline history from the pre-Christian Mimigernaford to the *honestum monasterium* Liudgers (Freise), town-planning from the ninth to twelfth centuries (Balzer), municipal councils, guilds and communities up to the modern time (Ehbrecht), the reformation and the *Täufer* (Laubach), the Protestants and the Sectarians (Duchhardt), civil autonomy in the town versus princely dominion of the town (Hanschmidt), the conclusion of peace (Lahrkamp), the town on its way to the eighteenth century (Reimann) and residence-town without a courtyard (von Oer). In part 2 there are sections on urban archaeology (Isenberg), topographical development (Kirchhoff) and population development (Jakobi), history of ecclesiastical institutions (Kohl), the Jews

(Aschoff), popular culture (Remling), commerce and trade (Johanek), educational institutions (Schönemann) and the part that Münster played as a garrison town (Sicken).

In the second volume the years of upheaval (1802–15) (Lahrkamp), changes from princely-Episcopal to Prussian provincial capital (Walter) and from *Vormärz* to the Reichsgründung (Behr) are explained, as are the *Kulturkampf* (Kaiser), the development of the town during the Weimar Republic (Thamer) up to the NS-Zeit (Kuropka). The changes in society are shown by the development of the population and the corporations (Teuteberg), the changes of the Catholic (Sowade) and the Evangelic Churches (Bauks) and the Jewish parish (Aschoff). Further on there are details on the change in the culture of citizenship (Jeismann), the culture of festivities (Saueremann), the activities of commerce, banks, trade and industries (Tilly), the role the town played as an entrepreneur (Krabbe) and urban self-government (Lambacher). Something is told about the tasks of educational institutions (Jeismann), and the significant changes from when Münster was a garrison town (Sicken).

Volume 3 departs from this schema, and covers the post-war era and perspectives of urban development. Historians, as well as other disciplines such as geography and sociology, examine the present and future of the city of Münster. Questions about the political system and the structure of the society and cultural life are discussed (Teppe). Much importance is attributed to the area of the parishes (Sowade/Bauks) and economic development (Petzina). Also the methods of local self-government (Lambacher) and the educational institutions of Münster (Jeismann) are studied. The change to the forces of the *Bundeswehr* is mentioned (Sicken), with the suggestion that Münster should become a *Oberzentrum* with an enormous hinterland (Mayr/Sommer). Even the problems of space-structural development of the town have not been disregarded (Heineberg/Mayr).

As a consequence of this method something like a manual has been created, which shows the contemporary state of investigations and perceptions of the history of Münster. The authors have succeeded in writing an accessible modern urban history, that can be read and enjoyed by specialists and non-specialists alike.

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John Beckett (ed.), *A Centenary History of Nottingham*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997. xxiv + 598pp. 66 plates. 26 figures. 38 tables. £50.

John Beckett, *Nottingham. An Illustrated History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997. 128pp. 197 plates. £12.99.

The evolution of Nottingham, 'Queen of the Midlands', from its Anglo-Saxon origins to a modern industrial and commercial centre of the late twentieth century, is the subject of both these volumes. The *Centenary History* is the key publication aimed at a wide audience. With contributions from twenty-three authors this city biography covers a broad range of themes which are dealt with in four chronologically ordered sections. Part I examines the origins of Not-

tingham and its medieval development. Part II focuses on the early modern period, with Parts III and IV developing the story from the mid-eighteenth century to the present day. Within each part the chapters are arranged thematically covering such topics as trade and manufacture, the urban fabric, family life, education and town government. The structure of the book successfully balances the demands of local interest with those of a broader significance. It is clear that while individuals have worked on independent chapters, linkages are made between chapters which ensures a sense of continuity and coherence. And while the story is told chronologically, the thematic orientation of each chapter means that along with a sense of change over time, it has been possible for each contributor to set Nottingham's history within the context of the current historiography.

The early chapters set the scene for Nottingham's development from the late seventeenth century. The Danish settlement, the English reconquest and the growth of the medieval town trace the development of the borough and its relationship with the Royal Castle built in 1067. The landscape, government and administration of the medieval town are explored in chapters four and five. Chapters six to nine focus on the late medieval period from 1149 to 1560 when Nottingham gained its county borough status (1449) and weathered the sharp divisions that arose within the community as a result of the Henrician Reformation and Civil Wars. Nottingham saw little change in urban fabric until the Restoration period, where like many other provincial centres, the town experienced much urban renewal and, significantly, it is this period that sees the beginning of Nottingham's long-term involvement in the textile industry. From 1750 to 1900 Nottingham is gradually transformed from a county town with a range of manufactures to that of a modern industrial centre where hosiery, and more particularly lace, came to dominate the town's economy. The impact of such change is explored in chapters that focus on municipal reform, enclosure, radicalism, industry, church, education and leisure. Similar themes are pursued in the final section that explores Nottingham City in the twentieth century. This period sees the gradual decline of Nottingham's long-standing textile industry to be replaced by the development of three major companies: Boots Pure Drug Company, Imperial Tobacco Co. and the Raleigh Cycle Company. Trends associated with changing social values, rising living standards and improvements in health, housing and educational provision are developed in chapters on housing, population and transport, family life, leisure and education. Nottingham's identity is discussed in chapter 17 which contrasts the magnificent restructuring of the city with the poverty endured by many in the inter-war period. Such contrasts are pursued in later chapters showing that while present-day Nottingham is still a thriving commercial centre, this city has not escaped the problems and challenges of the twentieth century.

The *Centenary History* of Nottingham will appeal to a broad audience including social, economic, urban and local historians. Not only does the book give a sense of evolution over time but this is successfully set within the framework of critical discussion. There are omissions in terms of the themes covered. The editor acknowledges these in the introduction and also the fact that, inevitably, some broad issues are dealt with rather lightly. There is, for example, little discussion of the physical impact of war. Perhaps one surprising omission is the limited discussion of Nottingham's relationship with its hinterland. In the conclusion it

is argued that one continuity in the history of Nottingham is its role as a regional centre; the evolution of this role would form an interesting line of enquiry.

A companion volume to the *Centenary History* is the *Illustrated History of Nottingham*. This publication is aimed at a more popular readership. The history of the town is condensed into a slim volume of four chapters that focus on the medieval town, urban renewal and industry 1550–1750, the industrial town 1750–1914 and the twentieth-century city. Accompanying the text are numerous well-produced and interesting illustrations, maps and plates.

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David Nicolle, *The Hamlyn History of Medieval Life: A Guide to Life from 1000 to 1500 AD*. London: Hamlyn, 1997. 192pp. £18.99.

David Nicolle's book, an 'overview of the World spanning the years 1000 to 1500', casts a wide net, and aims to contrast aspects of medieval life in Western Europe, Eastern Europe, the Muslim World, China, and India and South-East Asia. The discussion is arranged in eleven sections, such as 'Domestic life', 'The arts', 'Architecture', 'Religion and belief', etc. Chapter 5, 'Urban life and commerce' (pp. 78–95), covers a wide range of topics, from plague and its effects, and urbanization in medieval Italy, to Byzantium's failure in trade, and the physical characteristics of towns in China. The organization of the material generally works well, although the arrangement is not always obvious. For example, under 'Domestic life' ('Western Europe: the new heartland'), the subsection 'Education in the hands of the Church' (pp. 10–11) moves from the cathedral schools, and the Trivium and Quadrivium, to sexual attitudes and relations, the preparation of foods, herbs and the forest laws. At least two of these subjects would seem to belong more appropriately to the following subsection, 'Peas pottage to roast pheasant'. However, Dr Nicolle and Hamlyn have produced an engaging text with well-chosen illustrations.

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Charles M. Rosenberg, *The Este Monuments and Urban Development in Renaissance Ferrara*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. xvi + 329pp. 60 illustrations. Bibliography. £55.00.

Nicolai Rubinstein, *The Government of Florence under the Medici (1434 to 1494)*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997. xvii + 406pp. Select bibliography. £50.00

Ferrara was famously dubbed 'Europe's first modern city' by the architectural historian Bruno Zevi, on account of the vast, planned extension to the city carried out by Duke Ercole d'Este in the 1490s (the *Addizione Erculea*). Though this epithet was unwarranted (it downgrades the great urban-planning efforts of city-states in thirteenth-century Italy), it has proved hard to shift. Among the welcome achievements of Charles Rosenberg in the book under review is to challenge and refute some of Zevi's claims, especially regarding the plan of the

Addizione, and the inflated role given by Zevi to his architect-hero, Biagio Rossetti. But this is by way of digression from Rosenberg's main theme, which is the series of statues of members of the Este ruling family erected or planned from 1393 to 1503, 'the earliest Renaissance example of a series of public dynastic nonfunerary sculptures' (p. 8). Rosenberg's attractive thesis is that these statues both reflected and enacted growing Este domination of the space of the city itself: whereas the statue of Alberto (erected in the 1390s) was placed on the cathedral facade, as if in recognition of the church's role as a physical and symbolic focus for the city and its governors, the statues of Alberto's fifteenth-century successors were placed either so as to claim the main piazza for the Este family or, as in the case of the planned equestrian monument of Ercole d'Este, to announce ducal authorship of the transformation of a cramped medieval town into a spacious Renaissance city. Rosenberg thoroughly examines the history of each statue, explains the symbolism of dress and pose (Niccolò d'Este riding out, baton in hand; Borso d'Este on his Solomonic seat of justice, and so on), relates the statues to their surrounding buildings, and considers the links between each statue and its accompanying inscription (from the inscribed papal bull that stands beside Alberto's statue to the mini-biography that was to accompany Ercole's).

However, the book is marred by errors of several kinds (including typographical). There are errors in the translations from the Latin (for example, 'traditio' (handing over) is mistaken for 'tradition', p. 199) and from the Italian (*strazzaroli*, second-hand clothes dealers, are elevated to 'cloth merchants', p. 20; 'the communal grain market', 'destroyed' in the 1470s to create a garden for the duchess, is in fact, according to Rosenberg's source, a market for wood, hay and straw sold from carts, pp. 118, 250). There are errors of fact: the Roberti and Obizzi were not 'old Ferrarese families' (p. 42), nor was the *datea* a tax on imported grain (p. 223: rather, on grain crops). There are errors, too, of interpretation: it is surely unlikely that the cathedral was perceived in the 1390s as 'an emblem of papal hegemony' (p. 34) given that the pope, as Rosenberg himself admits, was a 'distant power' (p. 45) and that the bishop was from a courtier-family.

These are small errors, perhaps, and in arguably marginal areas, but they put readers on their guard, especially as Rosenberg's treatment of his sources could have been improved. First, it is not true to say that there are no surviving deliberations of the communal council in Ferrara from before 1441 (pp. 194, 202). Second, Rosenberg draws heavily on three unpublished chronicles, one from the seventeenth century, one from the sixteenth and one from the fifteenth, and tends to give precedence to these rather than to contemporary, published chronicles. The value of one of Rosenberg's chronicles, that of Jacopo da Marano, has been impugned in the past and its questionable accuracy is evident in some of the passages quoted by Rosenberg (for example, Marano gives an improbably early date for the installation of a public clock in Ferrara: p. 188). Use of this source would seem to call for a more extended defence than that offered on p. 193. These two source problems come together in Rosenberg's re-dating of the Alberto statue: he prefers Marano's date of 1394 (for conception of the project) to the usual date of early 1393 (for installation), and this allows him to argue that decisions on statues were usually related to succession crises, a means of reaffirming one dynastic line, as Alberto died in July 1393, and his young son Niccolò was faced with a challenge to his succession (pp. 37–45). However, as the communal government paid for the statue, the absence of any reference to it

in the communal deliberations from July 1393 onwards suggests perhaps that the usual date for the statue should be retained. This suggestion is reinforced by the fact that the head of the communal council named by Marano is not to be found as such in the records of the communal deliberations in the 1390s or in any other decade: if Marano could be wrong about a name, he could be wrong about a date.

Nevertheless, Rosenberg's book does in general illustrate Cosimo de' Medici's famous, exasperated comment to the lord of Milan in 1462, that 'a republic cannot be run in the same way as a despotic regime' (quoted by Rubinstein, p. 146). Whereas in Ferrara the Este could stamp a dynastic and self-encomiastic presence on the city centre and its monuments, with the commune acting as obedient paymaster, in Florence the Medici could not make such overt personal or familial self-assertion, and exercised their ascendancy through manipulation and control of republican institutions (suffering, as a result, from periods of republican reaction). It was the great achievement of Nicolai Rubinstein's *Government of Florence*, to trace this process of manipulation, and a second edition of this book is very welcome (though it is a pity, perhaps, that the opportunity was not taken to translate many of the Latin or Italian quotations in the text). As Rubinstein announces in the preface: 'some of my account has been enlarged and supplemented; its picture of the government of Florence under the Medici has remained the same'. The enlargement (an extra seventy pages) consists of three further appendices and updated footnotes (to take account of works published in the fertile field of Florentine studies since 1966), but derives partly from more generous spacing. The unaltered nature of much of the text is a tribute to the durability of Rubinstein's vision in the 1960s.

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Cesare de Seta et al., *Città d'Europa: Iconografia e vedutismo dal xv al xix secolo*. Naples: Electa Napoli, 1996. 212pp. No price given.

This collection of essays comes at a good moment, when urban historians like other historians are turning more and more to images to supplement written records of the past. The volume, which emerged from a conference on the iconography of European cities which took place in Naples in 1995, consists of fourteen essays by historians from eight countries who between them examine early modern images of European cities, leaving out the less urbanized north and east but including for comparative purposes an essay by Richard Kagan on Mexico, Cuzco and other cities in the New World. The images range from maps and plans to bird's eye views or images from ground level, while the preoccupations of the authors are equally diverse. Some, like Donatella Calabi on Venice, Boudewijn Bakker on Amsterdam, and José-Augusto Franca on Lisbon, are primarily concerned with the history of a city or cities, and exploit images as a source. Others, like Ralph Hyde, focus on artists (in his case the eighteenth-century engravers Samuel and Nathaniel Buck), or on artistic techniques, such as perspective. Yet others are concerned with the typology of images, like Cesare de Seta in his introduction or Fernando Marías in his chapter on Spain. Wolfgang Behringer approaches the topic from the point of view of the history of the book,

and so on. The political and military reasons for commissioning views of cities, as well as their appeal to buyers and subscribers, are all discussed somewhere in the volume. Urban historians will have something to learn from every chapter, and the large number of illustrations makes the book a delight to browse in, as well as drawing attention to certain artists, such as Anton van den Wyngaerde or Antoine Lafréry, who remain less well known than they deserve.

All the same, the volume is disappointing in certain important respects. There is an introductory essay by Cesare de Seta, and it does raise certain general questions, but it does not explore them either systematically or at length, preferring to linger somewhat self-indulgently on Naples. A conspicuous absence is a discussion of conventions of representation. Behringer refers to the woodcuts of cities which illustrate the chronicle of Hartmann Schedel (published by Anton Koberger of Nuremberg in 1493), but he does not develop the well-known point that some of these woodcuts were used more than once in the same volume to represent different places. When, where and among whom did there develop a sensitivity to the specificity of a townscape, to realism or at least to the 'reality effect'?

As for comparison, anyone with a serious interest in that approach might be well advised to take a large pair of scissors and cut the volume up into small pieces, which might be re-arranged by city, or by theme, or indeed chronologically, to show the rapid increase in images of cities from the late sixteenth century onwards (there are 546 such images in one collection alone, the six volumes of Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's famous *Civitates orbis terrarum*).

The carelessness with which this doubtless expensive book was produced is somewhat disconcerting. One author, Michael Reed, who writes about images of English provincial cities, does not appear in the table of contents. On p. 28, a view of London by Wenceslas Hollar is dated to 1749. More surprising still, pp. 127 and 178 represent the same painting, labelled respectively 'Barcelona seen from the sea' and, more plausibly, 'The procession of Corpus Christi' in Lima. Perhaps the gulf between Hartmann Schedel and ourselves, or more exactly between Anton Koberger and Electa Napoli, is not so great after all.

Peter Burke

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M. Glendenning et al., *A History of Scottish Architecture from the Renaissance to the Present Day*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996. 604pp. 335 b/w, 25 line drawings. £60.00 hbk, £25.00 pbk.

The format of this book is not a usual one for these days. 'A History of ...', like 'A Handbook on ...' will be perceived, perhaps, to be a little old-fashioned. One might argue, however, that there are enough architectural and 'heritage' books which are primarily coloured, beautiful and proceed highly selectively, so that a solid narrative, extensive bibliography, glossary of architectural terms (with a useful slant towards Scottish ones) and 378 illustrations may at least be seen as a good counterbalance. Moreover, much care was taken over the illustrations, especially in the way so many older photographs have been included. A certain greyness which pervades some of them may be due to the choice of paper; here, again, one should not complain: for the paperback price of £25 this work is

excellent value. Thus, as a handbook, it can hardly be faulted. As a source of reference it may, arguably, also provide good service to researchers from other disciplines.

Precisely the issue of interdisciplinarity is addressed briefly in the introduction. The authors' aim, we read, was a 'conservative' one: 'to set out a history of "architecture" in a "traditional" or canonical Western sense: a history of styles, of the works of key artists, and of their theories and ideas'. After some argument, maintaining that traditional architectural theory itself is loaded with extra-architectural matters of practical functioning of buildings, the authors state briefly that they do consider matters other than architecture, for instance definitions, of the 'home', regional planning, geology, demography and so on, as well as issues of patronage. But in the end, we read that these areas can only be dealt with 'in passing', because, to stress it again, this is a book of architectural history. Checking through, we find, indeed, very frequent references to events, trends and ideas outside architecture. One might conclude that there is sufficient 'background', or 'context', to help the architectural reader to 'understand' Scottish architecture as a whole. The question remains, however, what does the non-architectural reader demand? She or he might conceivably pick out elements of social history, etc., and be critical about them, for instance more might have been said about new commercial urban patronage in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, and perhaps ironically, the social and political historian will take this book to hand primarily for architectural purposes. The debate about interdisciplinarity and its circularity will doubtless go on.

There is one major cross-disciplinary aspect, and that is, not surprisingly for the late 1990s, nationalism. There have been many books on British architecture by very noted English authors, for instance Sir John Summerson, in which Scotland was treated as an appendix to England. The authors of this book do not miss a chance to talk about British architecture as Scottish architecture. Robert Adam's buildings are the most prominent example. Now English architectural historians have to read parts of this Scottish book if they want to add to their knowledge of quite a number of English buildings. There are, finally, some practitioners who can be dealt with by jumping over England and by going directly to the Continent, such as with the early and very severe neoclassical work of James Playfair, and above all, of course, with the intensive Continental concerns of Charles Rennie Mackintosh. In the end, no 'history of' is ever just 'a history of', no work on architecture is just that; this book occupies an important place within the wider frame of the search for Scotland's self-understanding.

Stefan Muthesius

University of East Anglia

Mary J. Dobson, *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. xix + 647pp. 10 plates. 71 figures. 58 tables. Bibliography. £65.00.

The way forward for historical demography in the wake of *The Population History of England* surely had to be towards regional analysis and the application of appropriate demographic techniques. With this book Mary Dobson leads the way with a full-blown regional study of death and disease in south-east England,

employing aggregative methods of analysis. Somewhat ironically, this approach also harks back to the past, to J.D. Chambers on the *Vale of Trent*, or Michael Drake on the West Riding of Yorkshire, both regional studies which employed the aggregative demography that was of the moment in the late 1950s and early 1960s. But Dobson's book is no throwback, for she takes the aggregative analysis of death to new levels of sophistication. Furthermore, the scope of the study dwarfs the respected efforts of her predecessors. Whilst Chambers analysed 94 parish registers for Nottinghamshire, Bedfordshire and Lincolnshire across 130 years, Mary Dobson has, personally, counted the baptisms and burials contained in 637 parishes in Kent, Essex and East Sussex for 143 selected years lying between 1593 and 1811, besides making a complete count of 165 registers between these dates and collecting monthly totals of vital events for 70. Whilst it is a pity she did not extract the marriage data too, this in itself makes a truly monumental study, which would be impressive as the work of a research team but is quite staggering as the achievement of an individual scholar.

Dobson's prime goal is to elucidate the impact of 'airs, waters and places' upon the mortality regime of south-east England. She does this, first, by establishing a topographical, olfactory and environmental profile of this vast region, employing the rich array of contemporary accounts that survive. She then classifies each of the 1,185 parishes in these three counties according to proximity to London, geology and environment, urban/rural status, size, type, function and location, occupational structure, social structure, domestic conditions, medical care and the 'manners' of its inhabitants. The contours of death are established, in the heart of the book in Part II, by the parish register analysis. The approach here is multi-levelled, moving from simple analysis of secular long-term trends in natural increase and decrease, through local variations in mortality rates, age-specific mortality (a mere 100 registers are used here), life expectancy employing Princeton model populations fitted to age at death data for smaller sub-sets of parishes, and finally to seasonal mortality levels. Dobson then goes in search of the causes of death, using a range of epidemiological and medical material that she herself describes as 'enormous', to establish a spectrum of death, disease and medical care. The focus then narrows once again to concentrate upon malaria, the truly distinctive epidemiological feature of this region, before the whole is contextualized within the wider spectrum of disease in an effort to establish the 'epidemiological landscape of the past'.

Whilst there is little that is new here in terms of demographic analysis *per se*, the novelty lies in the manner in which the demographic results are related to the identified geographical and socio-economic features of the various parishes using statistical computer packages, of the essence in order to marshal and make sense of this vast array of material. Levels of mortality, as well as seasonality, varied enormously between places, with a particularly marked distinction between healthy upland and unhealthy lowland parishes, despite the relative poverty of the former as compared with the latter. The importance of topography, drainage and air quality are convincingly established as key variables in explaining differential mortality levels between places and over time, and there is little doubt that it was endemic malaria that was the main culprit for the highest mortality levels, a feature of the region that renders it wholly exceptional. Other social and economic characteristics played a supporting role in explaining these differences. Nor did malaria act in isolation, but it formed the prime

ingredient of a cocktail of endemic and epidemic diseases that could impact upon different localities in different ways at different times, sometimes predictable, sometimes erratic.

A positive balance between baptisms and burials was transformed into natural decrease during the second half of the seventeenth century, when the region experienced a number of severe and widespread surges in mortality, and it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that a clear, positive balance returned and now baptisms surged ahead. This latter period witnessed profound improvement in many of the places that had previously been the most mortal, and although marshland drainage played a key role, it is argued that other environmental, 'welfare' and medical improvements (particularly smallpox inoculation), allied to the general course of economic and social change, exerted an impact too. No attempt has been made to evaluate the respective influences of fertility and mortality on long-term population movement, but Dobson has undoubtedly established that, in this region at least, mortality changes cannot be ignored as a potentially important influence upon the disjunctures of both the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries.

For the urban historian, and particular for this reviewer, it is refreshing to find a rejection of the crude distinction that is so often drawn between town and countryside. Towns were not uniformly 'consumers of men', and the key epidemiological divide in this region was not between town and countryside but between marshland and non-marsh terrain. Some towns were remarkably healthy, such as Ramsgate in Kent, and were well known for it, others unhealthy throughout the period, and significant differences were not simply related to size but to a range of factors such as location, function, population movement and the quality of the individual urban environment. Ports, particularly if low-lying, were often but not uniformly unhealthy, as were Kentish dockland towns, whilst small towns close to London suffered too. Inland market towns as well as the cathedral city of Canterbury fared better, whilst coastal resorts such as Brighton and Margate were famous for their healthy bathing and 'sea airs'. Towns also appear to have shared in the deteriorating mortality conditions of the later seventeenth century, as well as in the improvement in mortality evident in the later eighteenth century, even London where a regular excess of mortality over fertility has been convincingly established and where life expectancy still remained lower than its rural hinterland. It is a pity that so little of the purely urban data is presented in tabulated form in the book for urban demographers to use for their own ends.

It is, of course, impossible to do justice to a study of this scope in such a short review, but hopefully appetites will be whetted. The methodology is rigorous throughout, though resort would need to be had to the author's thesis for full exposition. The level of argument is both sophisticated and measured, and the causative influence of the various epidemiological and other factors upon changing mortality levels is thought through with consummate care. The book is also immensely readable, despite its length, and contains invaluable summaries of central themes at a number of points. The bibliography is extensive, the index thorough. This is an epic study, and one that will rightly take its place amongst the true classics of English historical demography.

Nigel Goose

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François-Joseph Ruggiu, *Les élites et les villes moyennes en France et en Angleterre (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles)*. Paris and Montreal: L'Harmattan, 1997. 356pp. 37 tables. No price stated.

M. Ruggiu has written an ambitious and successful work of genuinely comparative urban history. Based on his doctoral thesis, his book examines economic, social and cultural developments in two English and two French towns in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Canterbury and Chester, and Abbeville and Alençon (both in the north of France). All the towns were established, middle-rank centres with populations of between 8,000 and 20,000; all were outside the mainstream of urban expansion in the period, with Canterbury and Abbeville suffering from the decay of their textile industries. From detailed research in both countries, Ruggiu argues strongly for a greater degree of convergence between French and English towns than is usually recognized.

After a general analysis of the four towns, Ruggiu investigates the role of the genteel classes in urban society, patterns of social mobility, the landed influx into towns, the wealth of the urban elites, and finally the character of new-style leisure activity and sociability in the eighteenth century. There are many interesting points of comparison and contrast. As is well known, French towns enjoyed much less civic autonomy than their English counterparts. At the same time, on both sides of the Channel towns attracted growing numbers of the genteel classes (including nobles). Only some of these were landowners taking up residence in towns (most landed patronage involved only short visits). Rather many of the new gentility were pseudo- or town gentry – professional men, merchants and others who acquired genteel status, either *de facto* (as in England) or more formally (as in France). In both countries social mobility was a powerful engine for the new elite groups in provincial towns.

Linked to the growth of urban gentility was the transformation of these four towns into centres of consumption. Their townscapes experienced extensive urban improvement and rebuilding; there was a proliferation of new-style cultural and associational life, with music-making, assemblies, theatre, masonic lodges and learned societies. Peter Borsay's urban renaissance was not just an English phenomenon, as Ruggiu shows. In both French and English towns there was a shift towards greater residential segregation, based not on exclusive *quartiers*, but on particular streets or squares which with their new classical-style houses became fashionable.

On the other hand, the study reveals significant differences. In French towns nobles held civic office, in England gentry office-holding was much less common. At Abbeville and Alençon there was less social mixing, with the nobility maintaining a measure of social separation: cultural activities including societies were less open, more restricted to the elite. English towns had a greater range of informal clubs and societies as well as cultural activities, which facilitated social interaction among the better-off. At Abbeville at least it was traditional organizations like the confraternity of *Nôtre-Dame du Puy* which provided the focus for social contact of this type. Particularly significant, in French towns there was less voluntary action, funding new cultural developments through subscriptions: urban improvement was much more dependent on the town and central authorities.

Not everything is plain sailing in Ruggiu's analysis. There is a question about

the choice of towns. Would there have been the same points of convergence if more dynamic towns had been chosen, particularly on the English side? At the detailed level, more might have been said about the role of the Church in urban social and cultural life (often seen as posing a major challenge to new-style associations in France if not in England). The impact of the state (more intrusive in France) also needs broader discussion, particularly in the context of the discussion of new ideas, the growth of the press and newspapers, and the creation of a sense of the 'public sphere'. Problems exist too with the documentation. For England, there is a tendency to rely on directory evidence (incomplete and often out of date), whereas for French towns fiscal records are deployed. For Canterbury and Chester more use could have been made of the excellent local newspapers.

Nonetheless, this is an important and thought-provoking book which makes a significant contribution not just to urban studies in the two countries, but to European urban history in general. It is warmly welcomed.

Peter Clark

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Gareth Shaw and Tim Coles, *A Guide to European Town Directories. Volume one: Germany Austria, Switzerland and Scandinavia*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997. xiv + 327pp. 23 plates. 20 figures. £55.00.

This is another thoroughbred from the Gareth Shaw stable. He has already produced two editions (with Alison Tipper) of his definitive listing of English (1850–1950) and Scottish (1773–1950) directories and here (this time with Tim Coles) extends his scope to include Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Scandinavia. Volume two will comprise France, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the Benelux countries. The significance of this corpus of work is such that all reference libraries catering for urban historians must have all three Shaw volumes. The current one under review represents good value at £55 since it provides a thorough introduction to the evolution of European directories as a form of Geographical Information System, as well as detailed country-by-country lists of directories. It would be helpful for researchers if in future the listings were available on a CD-Rom or perhaps online through the World Wide Web.

The prehistory of directories lies in a miscellany of almanacs and calendars which assisted the courtier and traveller in almost every major European state from the medieval period onwards. The systematic gathering of address information did not start until a demand was created by the growth of trade and commerce, first in Geneva in 1582 and then in Paris in 1608. Registry offices were more common than printed directories, however, until the eighteenth century when German and then other cities were covered. At first the prestigious professions and bureaucrats were the focus of attention, followed by traders, and later by the principal inhabitants. This represented a democratization of information and an attempt to make sense of the increasingly chaotic urban realm. By the end of the nineteenth century directories were highly sophisticated in Britain, France and Germany, where they had acted as agents of modernism, but there was a periphery of nations where this kind of database was late in developing.

Shaw and Coles identify an extraordinary range of directory publications.

These seem to vary nationally according to traditions which developed over the years. In France and parts of southern Europe it was common for directories to cover urban fields or regions, but in Germany the fragmented politics before unification and a burgeoning civic pride were responsible for a large number of directory series, each linked to a specific town. By 1913 industrialization and economic maturity had encouraged the publication of 500 German titles, including over 100 for settlements of under 10,000 inhabitants. The whole urban hierarchy was by then adequately covered. This proved to be the high tide mark for directories; the war and the economic instability of the 1920s caused a decline, although the Nazis recognized the potential of such publications for propaganda and social control and therefore revived them to a certain extent. In 1933 the association of directory publishers was taken over and the information and advertising industries were harnessed to the interests of the state.

For each country directory editions are listed by town, with an indication of their library locations. The bibliographical detail is minimalist, but this will not concern the majority of local historians who simply want a basic resource guide. Germany has 4,698 entries and not surprisingly this is a long way ahead of the other countries in the volume: Austria 385, Switzerland 717, Sweden 833, Finland 232, Denmark 604 and Norway 236.

There are only a few minor blemishes in this otherwise excellent reference book. There are a few typographical errors and the odd split infinitive, but more seriously the quality of the printing in the copy sent to me was disappointing, with some of the maps having poor registration or appearing very dark. Overall one must congratulate the authors for their significant contribution to the very heartening trend in international scholarship and also the Leverhulme Trust for funding such a project.

P.J. Atkins

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Lindsay Proudfoot, *Property Ownership and Urban and Village Improvement in Provincial Ireland, ca. 1700–1845*. London: Historical Geography Research Series no. 33, 1997. vii + 105pp. 14 figures. 9 tables. Bibliography. £7.95.

Colman O Mahony, *In the Shadows: Life in Cork, 1750–1930*. Cork: Tower Books, 1997. xiv + 386pp. 24 plates. Bibliography. No price given.

In the European race to establish urban networks Ireland was a slow starter. By 1700 the transformation of the Irish economy over the previous century had created a maze of urban centres throughout the country which would be shaped and reshaped over the next two centuries. Two elements were of particular importance in this legacy, the dramatic expansion of regional centres, such as Cork and Belfast and the no less explosive growth of smaller towns in the seventeenth century. It is the subsequent development of these elements which the two books reviewed here examine.

Urban historians are no exception to the generalization that in analysing change over time the two main factors are people and place. Lindsay Proudfoot's work is firmly grounded in the study of places, with topographical concerns being the main focus of the essay. Using a data set of 742 towns and villages

which show signs of improvement, defined in both spatial and infrastructural ways, the volume tries to understand the mechanisms of this phenomenon in the first main phase of urban change, roughly the eighteenth century and pre-Famine Ireland of the nineteenth century. By considering such themes as the regional geography of wealth and property ownership Proudfoot questions the accepted orthodoxy that landlords were the prime movers of improvement as implied in terms such as 'landlord town' or 'estate village'. Instead he argues for a model in which co-operation between landlords and other social groups in determining urban change was the norm. Hence, urban leases were the result not of landlord development policies but resulted from negotiation between landlord and tenant. Paradoxically this delegation of property management helped to destroy landlord authority. These are important and useful insights which build on the work which has been done on great rural landed estates in the last ten years, but in the urban context they need to be tested against a much wider body of evidence than is possible here. In particular the archives of landed estates, which will be the proving ground for this hypothesis, will need to be deployed to a much greater extent than before for urban studies.

In contrast to Proudfoot's focus on place, Colman O Mahony's approach is clearly centred on the people in a place, the regional centre of Cork from 1750 to 1930. If it is intended, as the introduction suggests, to be about 'everyday life in Cork city' then that city must have been a miserable place for its main focus is the problem of poverty and its attendant evils such as disease and crime. It thus explores the social consequences of the urban growth in the second phase of Irish urban expansion during the nineteenth century. Also in contrast to Proudfoot this is a work grounded in facts rather than in ideas or models of change. Indeed at times the quantity of the information becomes overpowering but there are important evidential lacunae. No use, for instance, is made of the 1901 census returns which would have exposed the problems of poverty and slums. Again while there is a good deal about the government measures to relieve poverty through the poor law there is nothing about the voluntary activities of, for example, religious orders in this area. It is best to regard this book as a series of explorations into the world of Cork arranged chronologically. Looked at in this way the book contains a number of excellent studies of crime, the city's water supply, the problems of the great Famine of the 1840s and the management of the workhouse later in the century. One of its strengths is the range of material assembled and the careful combing of newspapers for relevant material. For a country in which historians spend a good deal of time bemoaning the lack of source material, this volume shows what is available given patient searching.

In rather different ways these volumes make a significant contribution to the understanding of the Irish town. Proudfoot's essay is full of ideas and suggestions which call for empirical verification and qualification, while O Mahony's work shows that empirical research can be carried out utilizing a wide range of sometimes fragmentary sources. Their approaches are complementary and taken together will help us to understand rather more of the Irish urban experience.

Raymond Gillespie

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Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997. xiv + 271pp. 10 figures. 3 maps. Bibliography. £37.95.

In this impressive study of festive culture in the early republic, Simon Newman has gone a long way towards filling in many of the gaps in our understanding not only of early American culture and society but also of the changing nature of American nationalism in this period. It must be said that this latter achievement was not primarily Newman's aim, yet his close analysis of the American response to the celebrations surrounding Washington's birthday, the Fourth of July and the French Revolution provide a level of detail about events that scholars such as Zelinsky (*Nation Into State*, 1988) have highlighted as significant in the nation-building process. Newman himself indicates in his Preface that he has been influenced by the ideas of E.P. Thompson, and is here seeking to 'move our discussion of early national politics beyond Congress and the studies of elite leaders like Washington and Jefferson, and into the streets and public places of the new republic'. He focuses on the period between the ratification of the Constitution and the inauguration of Jefferson (1788 to 1801), and divides his study into five distinct sections covering: the English and American Revolutionary context for the emergence of a 'national popular political culture'; the celebration of America's first three presidents (although he concentrates on Washington); Independence Day; the French Revolution; and the various songs and symbols that dominated daily political life in this period. Newman's sources include manuscript collections and published papers, but for the bulk of his material he has relied on a wide range of contemporary newspapers since, as he argues, the 'rites and festivals of the new republic and the expansion of popular print culture ... went hand-in-hand'.

The opening chapter sets the scene for much of what follows by showing how Americans drew on English and colonial traditions in the development of their post-Revolutionary political culture. Civic toasts and feasts were extremely important events at this time, Newman argues, enabling the colonists 'to articulate their commitment, first to the Patriot cause and later to political causes and parties in the new republic'. Yet immediately following the Revolution national popular festivals reverted to local patterns, and it was not until the ratification of the Constitution that Americans began to move once again towards a national political culture. When they did so, English precedents continued to inform their activities. This was especially the case with the celebrations of Washington's birthday, which 'bore a remarkable resemblance to royal birthday celebrations', although from the outset they had a distinctly partisan tone.

This theme is pursued throughout the work, as Newman traces the links between the festivities of the early republic and the development of a national political party system. In particular he is able to show how and why the Democratic Republicans were so much more successful than the Federalists in reaching the people through such celebrations. Although the partisan nature of the culture of Washington soon faded after the first president's death the festivities surrounding Independence Day and the French Revolution functioned in favour of the Democratic Republicans much more than they ever did for the Federalists. Newman argues that the Democratic Republicans' conquest of Independence Day celebrations 'is not altogether surprising, given their commit-

ment to the Declaration of Independence's exalted rhetoric of liberty and equality'. This may well be so, but in the context of American political and national development it is fascinating to see how the Democratic Republicans were able to link such a central festival and all its associated national and ideological symbolism with themselves alone. In contrast, celebrations surrounding the French Revolution were never really contested, although here too the Democratic Republicans were able to make successful political mileage out of such festivities. Similarly the Democratic Republicans took control of many of the popular rites and symbols of the early period, albeit to a more limited extent, transforming them in the process into 'a regularized part of the political process'.

By 1800, Newman argues, the American in the street 'had assumed a new role and significance in American political life', and he reiterates his assertion that the expansion of popular print culture 'played a vital role in the transformation of the rites and symbols of festive culture into part of the currency of political exchange'. However, at the same time as the American masses were being encouraged to relate to each other through print, parades and politics, certain elements in the populace were being actively excluded. Although Newman argues that many of the early republic's festivities relied on the tacit support – if not the direct participation – of women, he also shows how both women and blacks were increasingly discouraged from involvement in the national popular political culture. He ends, however, on a positive note. The attempt to exclude certain groups was never, Newman concludes, wholly successful, and the nineteenth century witnessed a plethora of festivals and parades devoted to moral reform, women's rights and abolitionism. Having let 'the genie of popular politics out of the jar' Americans found that there was no going back.

S.-M. Grant

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Pierre-Yves Saunier, *L'Esprit lyonnais XIXe–XXe siècle*. Paris: CNRS Editions, 1995. 233pp. 15 plates. Bibliography. 190FF.

What does it mean to say one is a New Yorker? A Parisian? A Londoner? In recent years, scholars have devoted considerable attention to national identities – their construction, their modes of expression, their significance. A fair amount has also been done on regional identities, particularly in places that held on to their local languages and customs despite incorporation into the nation. An obvious example is Brittany where Breton language and customs existed in opposition to the French culture. While a number of works could be cited on what 'Frenchness' meant in a given period, or what the concept of Breton signified, little has been done on what identification at the level of a particular city meant or where it came from. In *L'Esprit lyonnais*, Pierre-Yves Saunier addresses this question for the case of Lyon, France's 'second city'.

The answers Saunier provides indicate that Lyon's history included certain features that made the identification 'Lyonnais' carry greater weight than say 'Avignonnais' or 'Lillois'. In fact, Saunier suggests that one would be hard-pressed to write a similar book about other French cities because, unlike Lyon, most were primarily provincial capitals, and inhabitants identified more with the entire region than the specific city. Lyon in contrast had an identity distinct from

the regions surrounding it. As a result, its inhabitants constructed a particularly 'lyonnais' identity, one which existed in opposition to Parisian characteristics and not French ones.

L'Esprit lyonnais traces the origins and evolution of the concept of a lyonnais 'character' over the course of the 'long' nineteenth century. Examining guides to Lyon and the work of local historians, Saunier demonstrates that these texts both reflected and shaped notions of the city and its inhabitants. In discussing the city, these writers relied upon certain assumptions as well as some key historical moments to put forth their theories of typically lyonnais characteristics: the association of Lyon with commerce was one such assumption, while Lyon's ancient history and more recent events such as the federalist revolt in 1793 functioned as proof of inhabitants' fierce sense of independence. Despite the diverse backgrounds and political views of their authors, these texts present an astounding level of unanimity on what were seen as specifically 'lyonnais' characteristics. 'Lyonnais' signified attachment to liberty, commitment to hard work and moral behaviour, as well as fidelity to family and religion.

To this day, Lyon is known as a 'bourgeois' city, despite the fact that it has always housed large numbers of workers. Saunier intelligently avoids this term until well into the book. He eventually, however, admits that the 'definition of what is bourgeois and what is lyonnais are two processes that mutually sustain each other' (p. 76). He traces the significance of particular neighbourhoods whose link to ancient lyonnais culture became glorified by local historians in their effort to construct a unique lyonnais identity. Many of these neighbourhoods were more working class; others were more 'bourgeois'. What matters is that all who wrote about Lyon accepted the central place of commerce and productive activities. Elites thus created an idealized world in which employers and employees lived in a harmonious system where all recognized the value of skill and hard work (p. 207). One of the purposes of the strong sense of being 'lyonnais' was to minimize the significance of class identities. One telling quotation dating from 1908 emphasized these shared experiences: 'Every *lyonnais du race* has in his heart a *canut* [silk worker] who is sleeping' (p. 78). Elites romanticized images of *canuts* in their representations of the city. Saunier's discussion of Lyon's famous marionette, Guignol, which evolved from a purely popular amusement into an official symbol of the entire city, demonstrates that elites manipulated such images for their own purposes.

Interestingly, Saunier examines the development of a local sense of identity at precisely the period when national identities were supposedly erasing these 'older', regional identities. Saunier insists that lyonnais identities worked in conjunction with, not in opposition to, national ones. In contrast to Eugen Weber's creation of a dichotomy between local and national identities in *Peasants into Frenchmen*, Saunier refers more than once to the idea that one could be 'Lyonnais without ceasing to be French' (pp. 188, 220). This historiographical contribution is one aspect of the book that would make it of interest to non-specialists.

Saunier's work will no doubt appeal to those interested in Lyon or in nineteenth-century European cities, perhaps. By making such a strong case for Lyon's uniqueness, however, Saunier limits the extent to which one could build on his findings, or use them as a model for understanding 'cityness' more generally. While this study certainly contributes to debates in urban history, and his

methodological discussion of the concept of social space brings in broader concerns, this book is in many ways, and it almost admits this to a certain extent, purely Lyonnais history. Not a history of Lyon, it is a history of ideas about Lyon; of representations of the city and its inhabitants and how they have changed over the years in response to various political, social and economic developments. Saunier demonstrates above all that city-level identities, like other forms of identity, are cultural constructions which people can sculpt to accomplish a wide variety of goals.

D.Z. Davidson

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Eric H. Monkkonen, *The Local State: Public Money and American Cities*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995. x + 191pp. 16 figures. 12 tables. Bibliography. \$39.50.

Eric Monkkonen demonstrates three things in this short and analytically rigorous book. First, nineteenth-century American local governments were entrepreneurial and creative, especially in their use of indebtedness to promote economic growth. Second, fiscal crises expressed in municipal defaults and bankruptcies had political rather than economic causes; they were decisions to repudiate certain debts rather than responses to hard times. Third, because fiscal crisis was 'the historical norm' (p. 20) for nineteenth-century cities, the crisis beginning in the 1970s, typified by New York's near-default in 1973, 'is to a large extent an imaginary event' (p. 120). This last point leads Monkkonen into an argument about the significance of the historian's perspective for contemporary policy analysis. The period from 1945 to 1973 was 'an era of unprecedented fiscal stability and expansion' which 'deviated from a century-long tradition of fiscal crisis' (p. 20). A long-term view cautions against alarmist attitudes towards current urban fiscal problems in the United States. Not only are they less serious than what was the norm, but today's city governments are also cushioned in their efforts to cope with fiscal crisis by the powerful fiscal contributions of the federal government. The irony is that federally-sponsored fiscal stability has undermined local democracy; as 'the cash-rich partner of local government' (p. 31), the federal government has given local officials fiscal autonomy from local voters.

To make these arguments, Monkkonen starts with a statistical analysis of all recorded local government bond defaults from 1850 to 1936, showing that while bond defaults rose during depressions, only the catastrophe of the 1930s had a statistically significant impact on the time series. He then analyses the politics of state constitutional debt limits in Illinois in 1870, unravels the practices of debt issuance and politics of default in small Illinois cities, and recreates the political history of four 'spectacular' urban defaults that drew national attention in Duluth, Watertown (Wisconsin) and Memphis in the 1870s and 1880s, and in Detroit in the 1930s. In all these studies, cities issued debt in order to promote economic growth, often by subsidizing private entrepreneurs. Default occurred when the entrepreneurs failed to deliver on their promises – to build railroads, water works, factories, etc. – and cities 'in effect stopped payment on a defective product' (p. 75). State legislatures helped cities evade debts by devices such as

abolishing municipal governments so creditors could find no officials to sue. Courts helped as judges endorsed cities' arguments that debts had been issued illegally in the first place. This, Monkkonen argues, was the real point of debt limitation. Far from weakening city governments, debt limits strengthened them and were, accordingly, supported by cities that issued large amounts of debt.

Oddly but convincingly, Monkkonen makes the era of 'normal' default look like the good old days. Urban fiscal crisis was a sign of creativity and democracy. It was a problem to solve, but it was no cataclysm.

Robin L. Einhorn

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Robert Bruegmann in Association with the Chicago Historical Society,
The Architects and the City: Holabird & Roche of Chicago, 1880–1918.
Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997. xvi +
544pp. Plates. Figures. Maps. Bibliography. £51.95.

For the past fifteen years Robert Bruegmann has set himself the task of understanding the urban landscape of Chicago. This is an even more daunting task than that which, two decades ago, confronted film historians, who felt that the study of individual directors or canonic films could not capture the complexity of cinema and who turned, instead, to the analysis of studios and the production of film. Bruegmann's alternative to the traditional focus upon the great names and styles of the two 'Chicago schools' is to examine the work of an architectural firm 'as a record of intervention by architects into the built fabric of the city' (p. x). Indeed, Bruegmann succeeds not only in incorporating the contributions of contractors, clients, and manufacturers of materials and parts, as well as the leading architects, in the construction of great civic and commercial buildings but also of overlooked buildings: showrooms, tombstones, semi-rural banks, switching stations, boiler rooms and the like, both inside and outside the downtown area. *The Architects and the City* begins, then, with a composite railroad journey, drawn from literary sources, which encompasses the varied urban landscape of enterprise, neglect and everyday routine which a late nineteenth-century traveller would have seen when leaving the agricultural hinterlands for the Loop. A second book will follow the firm and the same kind of descriptive and interpretive journey across and around Chicago through to 1945. This sequel will allow Bruegmann to continue what is undoubtedly a very important attempt to connect architecture and urbanism, so that buildings of all kinds are treated as 'integral parts of the city's development' (p. xii), neither ignored by urban historians nor regarded as transcendent great works in a progressive architectural 'Great Tradition'. The groundwork for this two-volume endeavour was completed as the three-volume *Holabird & Roche/Holabird & Root: An Illustrated Catalog of Works, 1880–1940* (1991), based upon the firm's archives at the Chicago Historical Society. An abridged version of this catalogue (up to 1918) is included in the present book, which is also packed with fascinating illustrations, each well-embedded in Bruegmann's detailed narrative account.

Holabird and Roche did not go in for a formal aesthetic theory and – in spite of the richness of the archive – did not leave many statements of intent. 'Most of what we know about Holabird and Roche', Bruegmann therefore concludes, 'we

can find out only by looking at their buildings' (p. 25). And there are some excellent close readings of such buildings as the Tacoma (in which Bruegmann expertly brings together economic, technological and spatial factors), the Boston Department Store (as part of an account of the firm's impact upon State Street), and the Congress Hotel (as an example of how development occurred through additions to a building). What is unusual about Bruegmann's readings of these individual buildings is that they do not slip back into mere stylistic analysis and the accompanying approval or disapproval ratings which bedevil most architectural histories. And yet his readings are at all times close and at least implicitly address such key issues as urban space and power, commerce and culture, and form and function. There is a reluctance to push at theoretical issues, perhaps because Bruegmann's antipathy to Modernist debates and his real admiration for the professionalism of Holabird and Roche work against position-taking. There are some hints of an ideological/stylistic connection between the fortress-like house which the firm built for industrialist James Walker, the firm's involvement in the construction of Fort Sheridan – 'a direct response to the sometimes bloody Chicago labor strife of the 1870s and 1880s' (p. 51) – the downtown commercial and civic buildings, and the Commercial Club of leading Chicago businessmen. But this connection between architecture and power and other instances when social history cuts across both architectural and a top-down urban history are not made central to the book's argument, probably because Bruegmann is understandably reluctant to theorize beyond the archival evidence and engage in direct debate with urban theorists or those who have helped to set the parameters of debate about Chicago and its architecture, from Carl Condit through to Daniel Bluestone. And yet Robert Bruegmann's book as a whole is a significant methodological/theoretical contribution, albeit one which lets the accumulation and perceptive organization of detail speak for itself. So much so that it is difficult to imagine any subsequent work on urbanism and architecture in Chicago either failing to benefit from Bruegmann's ongoing project or being able to ignore it.

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Anja Kervanto Nevanlinna, *Interpreting Nairobi: The Cultural Study of Built Forms*. Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1996. 371pp. 147 plates. Bibliography. No price stated.

In the first two parts of *Interpreting Nairobi*, amounting to 87 pages, Anja Nevanlinna explains her new 'hermeneutical' approach to urban history and how she intends a 're-presentation' of Nairobi. But (fortunately?) the bulk of her study turns out to be a fairly conventional, and informative, analysis of the functional and spatial history of the Kenyan capital, from its origins as a railway town to the 'African metropolis' of 1983. This is the year in which fieldwork was conducted for a shorter yet more adventurous section on dwelling forms in Nairobi. The book concludes with a brief return to some of the theoretical concerns raised at the beginning.

Despite her efforts (not without use and interest) to give theoretical gravitas and novelty to her work, Nevanlinna is at her best when providing not only

'thick' but sensitive description – albeit having duly recorded the modern theoretical sanction of Clifford Geertz. Dismissing 'modernist' and 'romanticist' notions of the city – as, respectively, a 'vehicle for well-being' and 'a work of art' – Nevanlinna prefers to see it in 'hermeneutic' terms 'as a producer of cultures'. In keeping with ultra-relativist ideology associated with some post-modern and post-colonial scholarship, different cultures are deemed to be 'incommensurable' but (presumably to allow the academic project to proceed) 'the alterity ... of the other systems of values is possible to understand to an extent'.

Well, that is a relief. However, one wonders about both the theoretical novelty and worth of this 'hermeneutic' approach for urban historians. Nevanlinna (rightly) reminds us of the difficulties and dangers of subjective judgements about 'other' people's (or our own) built forms, that the built city is 'polyphonic and "speaks with many voices"' – like Dostoyevsky's novels as she puts it. Quite, but the difficulty comes when Nevanlinna discusses and categorizes (surely a modernist pursuit?) the 'self' and 'others' whose 'communities' produce these cultural sounds. She defines culture as the 'values, histories, ways of life, and practices' of 'any urban community ... distinct from other communities'. But a community is somewhat vaguely described as any group with 'manifestly common characteristics ... [and] an underlying network of meanings', whose members could belong to several other communities and '(sub)-cultures'. Such characteristics include 'place of habitation ... occupation ... ethnicity, field of interest, or ... income level'.

But, in the event, the only three '(sub)cultures' in Nairobi that Nevanlinna selects are those of 'communities' unproblematically described as 'European', 'Asian' and 'African'. In her case study, she examines twenty dwellings belonging to people across these categories to explore the 'different' uses and values their 'communities' accord to space. Nevanlinna finds that Africans favour the 'gate pattern' ('one room as a centre of activity'), Asians the 'chain pattern' ('numerous connections between the rooms, often through a courtyard') and Europeans the 'wing pattern' ('wings which can be spatially separated and which function independently from each other'). Fascinating, and Dr Verwoerd would have approved. But apart from questioning the reliability of such weighty findings on the basis of so small a sample, one doubts whether highlighting only the racial determinants of such 'cultural difference' would satisfy many readers of *Urban History*. One expects that they will also be disappointed by the absence of any analysis of the informal dwelling form.

Perhaps it is just as well that in the lengthy section on the evolution of urban forms, Nevanlinna conveys both a modernist and romantic understanding of Nairobi's history despite her avowed intentions to the contrary. Here we have a well-researched and detailed account of both unplanned and planned development, including lengthy discussions of the Master Plan of 1948 and Metro Growth Strategy of 1973, as well as discussions of residential densities and ('modernist?') problems such as overcrowding and service deficiencies. What we also have are extensive and insightful quotes from contemporary diaries, newspapers and novels. Thus around 1930 Margery Perham thought Nairobi 'very sociable with unlimited entertainment ... in many houses [there was] a table loaded with drinks, upon which you can begin at any hour from 10.00 am onwards, and with real concentration from 6.00'. Or in 1950 an official pithily told a visiting journalist that the city's population was 'of two types – those who

want to escape the 20th century, and those who want to find it'. While at independence in 1963 Gokonyo, the central character in the Ngugi wa Thiong'o novel *A Grain of Wheat*, walked down Kenyatta avenue as his heart 'fluttered with the flags ... as if the city really belonged to him'. It is in these plentiful 'polyphonic' descriptions that Nevanlinna begins to capture Nairobi's changing and contested spirit of place.

Vivian Bickford-Smith
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Andrzej Olechnowicz, *Working-Class Housing in England Between the Wars: The Becontree Estate*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997. 273pp. 2 maps. 17 tables. Illustrations. Bibliography. £45.00.

This book looks in considerable detail at an important English public housing estate at a key period for housing development. In the years between the wars, 30 per cent of the population of England and Wales were rehoused, half of them by local authorities. The London County Council's Becontree Estate, situated about ten miles from Charing Cross, was the largest area of public housing in the world, covering more than four square miles and containing over 25,000 dwellings. This estate, which was built between 1921 and 1928, was expected to attract industries which would provide local employment, but it remained largely a dormitory suburb for London until the opening of the Ford plant in 1931. The book does not attempt to provide a comprehensive history of the early days of the estate, since Terence Young had already done this in *Becontree and Dagenham*, published in 1934. The focus is rather on why Becontree was universally regarded between the wars as a social failure and, in order to investigate this, the author examines key features of political and social life in Britain during this period, particularly the entrenchment of ideological stereotypes which were hostile to the working class.

The book examines this aspect of Becontree's development within a context of the way in which other planned areas of mass housing failed to develop as communities. It confirms that there was little sense of community in new estates compared to the comradeship in the traditional working-class areas from which the tenants came. This was to some extent the result of the acquisition of consumer goods, such as the radio, which meant that workers were quite happy to indulge in home-centred leisure activities rather than involve themselves with community associations. Also, status divisions amongst the working-class tenants, which meant that the estate became divided into 'rough' and 'respectable' areas, undermined the development of a civic spirit. The book includes an examination of the ideology of the New Estates Community Council which, the author believes, had a vision for the estates based on flourishing community centres and associations; indeed a lack of community in new working-class estates was thought to be a threat to democratic societies. Olechnowicz claims, not entirely convincingly, that this attitude of the NECC inadvertently contributed to the anti-working-class public opinion which partly legitimized anti-working-class policies between the wars. Social problems were supposedly exacerbated by the building of new one-class estates; for social stability a mixture of class, typified by the traditional English village, was desirable.

Critics of Becontree simply assumed that all those who were rehoused there from overcrowded conditions were slum-dwellers. Although the negative image of the slum-dweller was a powerful inter-war stereotype, Olechnowicz examines effectively the truth behind this image and concludes that such prejudice was unfair since very few of the estate's tenants actually came from slum clearance schemes. Moreover, much of the blame for the 'failure' of the estate lay in the fact that the design and administration of public housing between the wars represented what the local authorities were able to afford, not what they might have wished to provide. The inadequacy of central government's financial contribution, together with the urgent need to provide housing quickly, meant that estates were badly planned with few or inadequate facilities for the size of their populations. Not only were social facilities lacking, but Becontree was hampered by being in more than one local government area, which made the provision of adequate services difficult and hindered the creation of civic pride amongst residents.

This is a solid and well-researched book whose admirable footnotes provide biographical details of the major protagonists involved in the development of inter-war housing. Although some of the painstaking detail would be of interest to the specialized rather than the general reader (for example the method by which houses were allocated or the way in which tenants managed their incomes), its strength lies in an examination of contemporary attitudes towards the estate and through this to council housing in general. The urban historian will find much in the book to illustrate the social snobbery of England in this period. Attitudes to class are effectively explored; indeed it is claimed that the public made an ideological assumption that the working class in general were 'slum minded'. Perhaps most usefully, Olechnowicz examines when and why the council estate began to be labelled as a failure and reaches the conclusion that this was the judgement of middle-class consciousness and conservative politics between the wars because it validated a society where the working class were of little value.

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Jon C. Teaford, *Post Suburbia: Government and Politics in Edge Cities*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. v + 249pp. 4 figures. 8 tables. Bibliography. £27.00 hbk.

How appropriate are the models of urban life developed in the metropolitan areas of America's late nineteenth century for the study of the modern metropolis in all its post-industrial complexity? This excellent comparative study of suburban New York, Detroit, St Louis, Chicago and Los Angeles insists that those of us (whether in American Studies, politics, geography or history) who seek to understand the modern metropolis must liberate our thinking from seeing today's suburbs as being essentially larger versions of what went before, and come to terms with their new status as 'edge cities'. Here, in detailed analyses of a range of case studies exploring varying attempts to govern these new entities, Teaford convincingly argues for the need to recognize that suburban communities and their governments have often had considerable difficulty coming to

terms with new realities. As once essentially residential communities matured, politicians sought to raise their tax revenues whilst retaining small-scale, almost village life, within an increasingly urbanized milieu. How communities squared this circle is the focus of this extremely well-written and thoughtful historical study. How did suburban governments adapt nineteenth-century models of administration that emerged from big cities' attempts to promote growth, provide services and develop distinctive metropolises? In this difficult process voters, elected representatives and officials tried to adapt governmental institutions to new realities, and, Teaford argues, have in so doing fashioned models of administration, crisis management techniques and responses to rival communities with which most Americans will greet the new century.

One way of squaring the edge cities' circle could have been the development of metropolitan governments that would have at the very least co-ordinated the suburban communities that came to encircle inner cities. Outside the Miami area (and in Toronto) this option never materialized as states and counties jealously excluded rival power-bases. Instead suburban communities early found that to preserve their explicitly non-urban characteristics and avoid being swallowed up within metropolitan arrangements they had nevertheless to make compromises. An often suggested strategy was to enhance counties' powers, though these too were seen as all too willing to develop into quasi-municipalities hardly different from traditional cities, intent as they became on promoting growth appropriate to a desired tax base. But grass-roots feeling by and large inhibited county governments from going beyond a minimal co-ordination role. Any rationalization of authority was soon seen as a desire to centralize power away from local communities, whose leaders, across a wide range of circumstances, initially at least, thwarted such empire-building, even as economic change seemed to cry out for enhanced county powers and regional authorities.

Teaford's initial study of the ideal pre-war suburban haven is both a delight and an eye-opener, a useful adjunct to such classics as K.T. Jackson's *Crabgrass Frontier* (New York, 1985). Subsequent chapters map out shifting balances of power, but suggest nevertheless that in the long run a need to respond adequately to economic forces that are far from local will force ever more communities down the county rather than municipality-based administrative model, as already evident in Orange County, California. In so doing this book neatly segues into the post-modern concerns of Edward Soja and Mike Davis, concerns deeply engaged with appropriate historical contexts.

Overall this book almost continues where Sam Bass Warner left off in *The Urban Wilderness* (New York, 1972). It is a delight to read, probably reflecting its urban history rather than urban politics pedigree. Though it has limited illustrations, the prose is accessible and throughout the author is well aware of the wider debate taking place across a wide range of disciplines as scholars try to make sense of an ever-changing urban configuration. Reading about the various economic and political machinations across these new post-suburban communities reminded me of first reading Sam Bass Warner's *Streetcar Suburbs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), surely proof enough that though the title suggests a political science monograph this is very much the work of an historian, however current the concerns.

Steve Mills

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J. Barry Cullingworth, *Planning in the USA: Policies, Issues and Processes*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997. xxii + 280pp. 43 plates. 17 figures. 87 text boxes. Bibliography. Index. £19.99.

In 1898 George Kriehn, a Chicago art historian, coined the term *City Beautiful* that came to identify a popular movement seeking civic improvement and aesthetic concern for North American cities. A hundred years later, the legacy of the short-lived *City Beautiful* movement echoes through the pages of this newest book by J.B. Cullingworth. To be sure, *Planning in the USA* is not a book on beauty or ugliness of American cities, nor is it a study on the history of American urban planning. Rather, as its subtitle suggests, it is concerned with the contemporary context of city planning in the United States. Yet both civic aesthetics and urban history congeal to form much of the backdrop to this excellent overview of urban planning in America. To that extent Cullingworth's approach joins a class of other recent works that interpret much of planning theory as a history of planning.

The opening question in this study, pointedly, embodies a paradox unique to this young profession: is there rationality in planning? The book attempts to provide an historical response. In the first of its seventeen chapters it reviews the evolution of urban planning approaches in America: sectoral and comprehensive planning; advocacy planning; planning vs. implementation; incrementalism. Other parts in the book have also a strong historical slant. Chapter four, 'The evolution of zoning', provides a concise review of approaches to residential land use control, from the first comprehensive zoning ordinances at the turn of the century, through the famous *Euclid* case that marked the advent of exclusionary zoning, to contemporary subdivision controls.

Historic preservation in the US is discussed in chapter nine. Cullingworth reviews the different aspects of this issue, characteristically looking first at the history of historic preservation. Tracing the roots of American heritage conservation to several cases in the nineteenth century, he reviews attempts at spontaneous acquisition of landmarks in the built environment as well as the first juridical stands: the *Antiquities Act* of 1906 and the *Historic Sites, Buildings and Antiquities Act* of 1935, both of which became the basis in the 1960s to the *National Historic Preservation Act* and to the *National Register of Historic Places*. Pointing to the tension between profit-making and the need for cultural heritage protection, Cullingworth elucidates the contentions within which American planning operates as a conflict where 'one party wants to preserve a historic structure for public enjoyment [while] the other party wants to use the site for a profit'. The issue of historic preservation is perhaps one of the most illustrative examples in the book bringing to the fore the public aspects of urban planning.

Indeed, since the introduction of civic sanitary reforms in the mid-nineteenth century urban planning has become increasingly a rudimentary facet of American public life. A professional practice that all too often had to acquiesce, not unlike many others, to the opinions and judgement of the lay public, planning to Cullingworth is an intensely shared endeavour. The underlying ethical premise of planning, then, is in the attempt to resolve conflicts between groups representing different, often opposing interests. This is particularly poignant in the American litigious environment. Pointedly, the book is dispersed with a rich assortment of case studies, often presented in text boxes chronicling court cases and legal precedents in American planning. To that extent, even recent polemics

involving the profession and the courts will prove useful as a matter of record and future reference.

The book will prove a fine guide for any student of American urban and regional planning. Cullingworth's experience spans both shores of the Atlantic, and one can only hope the future will bring an equally eloquent study on comparative planning practice in North America and Britain.

Yet, as comprehensive as it is, the book would benefit from statistical tables that would substantiate some of the significant propositions made in it. And although the author cautions right at the onset that the book does not address issues of urban design and demography, sections or chapters of the book, such as 'Aesthetics' or 'Growth management', would benefit from a wider discussion on just these issues. Both urban design and demography are increasingly in the forefront of American planning. Also helpful would be a descriptive chapter relating to the actual process of land development, from the initial application by a developer, to the issuance of building permits or appeals against municipal rulings at the various boards of municipal or state appeal.

Perhaps the most significant impression one is left with after reading this book, is that an answer to Cullingworth's opening question must be sought in the future rather than in the past. Is there rationality in planning? The increasing numbers of students in planning schools will have to address this aporetic question. This book should be of significant help.

Abraham Akkerman

University of Saskatchewan

Michael Dumper, *The Politics of Jerusalem Since 1967*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997. X + 365pp. 28 maps. 10 tables. Bibliography. \$29.50.

Michael Dumper's book, part of the Institute for Palestine Studies series, tells a sorry tale about Jerusalem. Dumper's analysis of Israel's attempt since 1967 to expand into East Jerusalem makes one feel nostalgic for old-style benevolent despots. At least the Ottomans did not have the obsession to control and manipulate to benefit one community the way Israel has done. This is if one believes Dumper's examination. And his book is convincing. It is packed full of statistics and footnotes (sometimes to the detriment, it seems, of the author's actual opinion). The title of Dumper's book is misleading as it looks extensively at the period before 1967, and ranges away from politics to look at the history, geography, economics, demography, religion, local government, international relations and servicing of a conurbation central to three world religions.

Dumper's book is about paradoxes. Israel by 1967 had filled West Jerusalem so the victory of Israeli arms in 1967 allowed expansion into the Jordanian half. Israel had to expropriate and settle. However, by expanding the municipality of Jerusalem and allowing Jewish settlement, Palestinian villages were incorporated into the city and with the higher Arab birth-rate Israel was 'running to stand still' (the title of chapter three). To build the new Israeli settlements required cheap labour. Consequently Arabs from the West Bank migrated in to build the high rises and many stayed, serving to increase the Palestinian proportion of the population. Short of 'ethnic cleansing', what was Israel to do? Demography would defeat Israel. Despite all Israel's exertions 'the Palestinian presence in the

city continues to remain significant' (p. 272). Israel felt that for her security she must take the West Bank, but in doing so she had to contend with discontented Palestinian inhabitants whose presence was a security risk. As Dumper shows, the Israelis wanted to get the Palestinians of East Jerusalem 'on-side', but the gentle and considerate policies that would ease the Palestinians of East Jerusalem away from the West Bank were made impossible by the rush to settle Israelis on this strategic and religiously vital piece of real estate. In their haste to move in, the Israelis ignored the Arabs' need for basic services and political rights. The sewage system turned East Jerusalem into a 'giant toilet' (p. 152) as effluent was pumped out east and on to Arab land. Services and town planning were consistently manipulated to give Jewish settlers an advantage. This was unlikely to create a spirit of goodwill among the Arab residents. The provision of electricity, kept to some extent in Arab hands, showed what might have been as co-operation replaced confrontation.

Efficient town planning disappeared as politics and control came to the fore. 'Military and strategic value' (p. 114) replaced traditional notions of how best to service and plan for a city. New settlements took priority over developing core areas of Jerusalem: 'one can safely conclude that geopolitical considerations overrode town-planning considerations' (p. 88). Inner-city areas such as Seam and Mamilla were neglected as available funds went to the strategic heights east of Jerusalem.

In a Catch-22 situation the Palestinians were unable and unwilling to represent themselves. Any attempt by Palestinians to partake of appeals procedures was seen to confer legitimacy on the Israeli occupation and so was usually resisted. If Dumper is correct, it would not have made any difference as Israel always turned down appeals: one judge remarked apropos expropriation orders for Palestinian houses seized in the old city 'that to the best of his knowledge all attempts to get the expropriation order rescinded had failed' (p. 177). The Jordanians provided little succour to the hapless Palestinians of East Jerusalem caught in the middle. The Jordanians promoted Amman as the national capital, so from 1948 to 1967 East Jerusalem was left as a backwater with a sluggish economy and a stagnant population. Israeli occupation provided job opportunities.

For what is obviously an emotive subject Dumper employs cool analysis over invective, leaving the reader to decide. Having said this, one wonders if *lebensraum* (p. 97) is the most appropriate term for Israeli policy towards East Jerusalem. Dumper might also have looked in more depth at the current situation with Israel determined to hold on to the city in the face of Palestinian assertions that East Jerusalem is the capital of their fledgling state (Dumper does comment on this in the conclusion). The chapters are thematic and the footnotes, backed by periods living in Jerusalem, detailed. There are Arab as well as the usual English-language sources in the bibliography. The conflict over Jerusalem shows no signs of abating. Jewish 'North American roughnecks' (p. 195) pushing the Christian Patriarch to the ground and a general upsurge in Jewish, Christian and Muslim fundamentalism in Jerusalem in recent years makes one despair of a solution where all Jerusalem's inhabitants can live in peace, and prosper. It will be a challenge considering Dumper's latest book to argue the case of benign Israeli rule over Jerusalem.

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