Reviews of books

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John Cannon (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to British History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. 1044pp. Maps. Subject index. £30.00.
S.J. Connolly (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. 618pp. Maps. Subject index. £25.00.
Trevor Fawcett, *Bath Entertain'd: Amusements, Recreations and Gambling at the 18th-Century Spa*. Bath: Ruton, 1998. £6.00.

Historical companions and dictionaries are all the rage. Publishers like them because they are seen to appeal to the library reference market, and more broadly to a deep-seated public thirst for knowledge that is simultaneously fragmented and encyclopaedic. They come in a variety of shapes and sizes, demarcating their territory around the variables of time, place and location. The two Oxford companions, arranged in a dictionary-like format, take on overlapping briefs. 'British' appears to include the British Isles as a whole, 'Irish' to embrace both the present Eire and Northern Ireland. Given the wide-ranging canvases of these two volumes, it would be foolish to imagine, or probably to expect, that towns might occupy some privileged position. Nonetheless, they are, directly or indirectly, significant elements in both compilations; more so, one suspects, than would have been the case thirty years ago. The British volume specifically claims to 'have devoted considerable space to "local history", with ... entries ... on most important towns'. By and large the editor does his best to keep to this objective, though quite where the line is drawn between 'important' and 'not important' is inevitably hazy. Bradford, Brighton, Gloucester, Winchester and Chichester make the grade; Blackpool, Derby, Preston, Sunderland and Wolverhampton miss out. Perhaps on a criteria of size it is inevitable, but it seems a pity that apparently only five Scottish and two Welsh towns earn a place. Each volume has a general entry on the urban field, the British under the heading 'towns', the Irish under 'urbanization'. Both in their own ways are models of conciseness, though the greater length permitted the Irish entry allows for a more sustained analysis. Differences in length are most dramatically highlighted in the treatment of Dublin, where the sparse entry in the British volume compares with the impressively argued essay in the Irish one; it must also be said that there are significant interpretative differences in the two treatments of the city. London receives two main entries, a lengthier one on 'government and politics', and a briefer one on 'growth'. Both are informative and analytical, but an integrated essay, along the lines of the Dublin entry in the Irish volume, introducing a wider range of subjects, might have been more effective. Much of the most interesting material, from an urban historian's point of view, is of course contained under

headings which are not specifically urban. So, for example, the British companion contains items on 'seaside holidays', the 'theatre', the 'water industry', the 'rail system' and 'rail stations', and the Irish one on 'linen', 'overseas trade', 'street lighting', 'music', 'musical institutions' and 'musical venues'. It may be these incidental items that urban historians find most helpful. Both volumes contain a subject index, which includes the heading 'towns', and for the longer entries provide a brief but useful bibliography. What ultimately underpins the value of these companions, and lifts them above the run of the mill publications of this type, is the impressive range and academic expertise of the teams of contributors both editors have recruited.

In the British volume the entry for Bath is longer than that for either Edinburgh, Glasgow or Manchester. To Bathonians, or Bathophils like myself, this is perfectly understandable; to others it might seem a little curious. Does this reflect the operation, to some degree, of a heritage criteria? The item rehearses the well-established twin-centred classical vision of the spa's history, with the emphasis on the Romans and the Georgians. Those interested in the latter might turn with some profit to a miniature version of the companion genre, Trevor Fawcett's guide to the leisure industry in eighteenth-century Bath. Arranged in the manner of a dictionary, its popular format conceals considerable scholarship in the primary archives, and several of the entries, such as those on 'assemblies and assembly rooms' or 'pleasure gardens', are short articles in their own right. Historians of eighteenth-century urban leisure will find here much to interest them.

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Jack Simmons and Gordon Biddle (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to British Railway History. From 1603 to the 1990s*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. xvi + 591pp. 28 maps. 21 figures. 10 tables. Bibliographical references. £45.00.

As the editors of this magnificent work observe, writers on railways mostly belong to one of two, quite separate, camps: the 'outsiders', historians with an interest in railways but frequently no great understanding of their technology or working; and 'insiders', professional railwaymen or amateur enthusiasts who often combine a deep knowledge of railway minutiae with little grasp of history. The subject has suffered greatly from this divide, as is obvious from the work of both types of author.

This book, almost wholly original in concept and virtually faultless in execution, does its utmost to overcome this weakness by bringing together the work of nearly a hundred writers, including historians, engineers, surveyors, librarians, museum curators and railwaymen, as well as amateur enthusiasts. The sheer number of contributors adds greatly to the stature of the volume, as does the way in which the editors have divided up the huge task before them. The historical articles have been written by historians and the technical entries by specialists in the appropriate discipline. Both types of contribution are accessible to the lay reader, while at the same time remaining authoritative. Any idea that this is some kind of 'Bedside Book of Trains' aimed at the popular end of the enthusiast market can be dismissed out of hand.

There are articles on a large proportion of the pre-1923 railways (including some of the early tramroads and also the Underground companies); on London and all the main provincial railway centres; on engineers, architects, directors and managers; on writers on railways (excluding those alive when the book went to press); and on professional and amateur bodies devoted to the study of railways. Technical articles range from short definitions of terms to detailed discussions of civil, mechanical, and electrical and electronic engineering as they concern railways. There are entries for all the main types of traffic (including passengers), as well as sources for railway history and the preservation of artefacts. Some of the specialized articles are themselves surveyed in more general essays, mostly by Biddle or Simmons, of whom the latter has also written several discursive pieces on the relationship between the railways and other aspects of Victorian and later society. There is no index, but an extensive system of cross-references.

Most articles have a short bibliography, providing a useful supplement to Ottley, while an absence of references may suggest neglected topics worth pursuing. Throughout the text (of over half a million words) the editing appears virtually faultless: the only silly mistakes I spotted were conveniently grouped together in the article on the iron and steel industry, which contains three elementary dating errors and a bizarre bibliography.

More serious criticism can really only be confined to suggestions that would have lengthened the book and increased its price, or special pleading for personal favourites. A larger number of diagrams to elucidate the technical articles might have been helpful; by contrast, the maps, although plentiful, are rather crudely executed compared with the text figures, and the series showing the system in 1922 are too small to be very useful. The chronological coverage is commendable, with a good balance between periods, but the exclusion of Ireland from a book that includes the Isle of Man (the handful of lines on the Channel Islands are not treated separately) seems unfortunate, since the whole country belonged to the United Kingdom during the central period covered here, and there is still a railway in Northern Ireland.

Every reviewer will find more specific gaps. I am disappointed that neither the Cromford & High Peak Railway (one of the most ambitious projects of the 1824–25 boom to have been completed, and today one of the best preserved), nor the Lancashire, Derbyshire & East Coast Railway of the 1890s (the last major cross-country independent line) has been accorded an entry of its own. The discussion of writing on railways might have been extended to include articles on publishers, such as Ian Allan, David & Charles or the Oakwood Press, who have had considerable influence (not always beneficial) in this specialist field.

Minor criticisms, however, cannot detract from the importance of this path-breaking volume, which will immediately become an indispensable reference work for a wide range of users, and should itself have some influence (wholly good, I have no doubt) on the way in which railways are studied in the future.

Philip Riden
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T.P. Hudson (ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of the County of Sussex. Vol V, Part I: Arundel Rape (South-Western Part), including Arundel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press/Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 1997. xxii + 279pp. 57 plates. 14 figures. £70.00.

The latest Sussex volume of the VCH covers the town of Arundel and a compact bloc of eleven other parishes west of the river Arun, stretching south to the coast, an area partly on the dip slope of the South Downs but mostly on the coastal plain. The river was formerly a wide estuary, dominated first by an Alfredian hill-fort at Burpham, and from the eleventh century by the more accessible, but still defensible, Arundel, which takes pride of place in this well-produced and informative volume.

Arundel was, by the modest standards of Sussex, an important town, the third highest-taxed town in the county in 1334 outside the Cinque Ports. It had in the Middle Ages a castle, a major church (minster, then priory, then college), town defences, a Jewish community, a Dominican friary, and a bridge on the main road from Lewes to Chichester. It was a significant port, and although the town slipped to about tenth in the Sussex rankings in the early modern period, it was then that its shipbuilding industry flourished, while its greatest period of prosperity as a port lay between 1793 and 1830.

The dominant influence on the history of the town for most of the last nine centuries has, however, been that of its lords – successively earls of Arundel, and then earls and dukes of Norfolk – from their hilltop castle. Although the borough had mayors from the thirteenth century, and a close corporation from 1554 to 1835, 'the town never broke completely free from the lord before the 19th century'. In the late eighteenth century the dukes extended the castle grounds at the cost of demolishing many houses, and in the nineteenth they transformed the skyline in a striking but very un-English way with a French Gothic cathedral and a rebuilding of the castle. The cathedral is of course Roman Catholic, for the dukes were by then the acknowledged leaders of English lay Catholics. When disfranchising the borough was proposed in 1859, Disraeli pointed out that though there were few electors, the one remaining MP effectively represented all 900,000 English Catholics. The editor well describes the unique blend of deference, patronage and conflict in town-castle relations, and notes that as late as the 1980s the castle's racing stables were the largest single employer in Arundel. Altogether his account is a welcome reminder of how varied and distinct are the fortunes of many English small towns.

The account of the borough is naturally of most interest for readers of this journal, but it is worth adding that not all the other parishes covered are wholly rural. From the late eighteenth century Felpham developed as a small seaside resort, and in this century it has been outstripped by its neighbour Middleton-on-Sea, where the 'New City' of 1922 was one of the earliest self-contained holiday resorts. Inland, between Arundel and Chichester, the so-called 'five villages' have developed since the 1960s as expanded communities with a characteristically twentieth-century mixture of market gardens, farm shops, riding stables and suburbs. Is this town or countryside?

D.M. Palliser
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Paul Dijstelberge and Leo Noordegraaf (compilers), *Plague and Print in The Netherlands. A Short-Title Catalogue of Publications in the University Library of Amsterdam*. Rotterdam: Erasmus Publishing, 1997. 359pp. 22 plates. Bibliography. No price stated.

What do Ovid, Bocaccio, Pieter van Foreest and Willem Teellinck have in common? They all wrote about history's greatest killer, the plague, they all wrote in or were translated into Dutch and they are all included in the meticulous catalogue Paul Dijstelberge and Leo Noordegraaf have compiled on the subject. Dijstelberge and Noordegraaf are very much qualified to do so: whereas the former is a book historian, the latter is an economic and social historian; both have published on the plague. The product of their combined efforts is an important contribution to the historiography of the plague, a subject of great interest to urban historians of the early modern period.

Between 1348 (the year of the notorious Black Death) and 1720 (the year of the last plague epidemic in southern Europe), every inhabitant of Europe witnessed a plague epidemic at least once during his lifetime. The plague left an enormous mark on the public life and collective consciousness of late medieval and early modern society. This applied to the Dutch Republic as well as elsewhere. At the time, nobody knew the epidemic of the years 1664–66 would be the last one and fear of the disease remained alive long after 1666. Not only physicians took an interest in it, studying its etiology and therapy, it occupied the minds of secular and religious administrators, theologians and men of letters as well. They all published on the plague, each from their own perspectives and with their own motives. Urban historians of today, taking the plague as a point of departure, will be able to bring many urban groups back to life, using the printed source material that has become easily accessible thanks to the compilers.

The task Noordegraaf and Dijstelberge imposed on themselves has been a very laborious one. In order to facilitate the broad cultural historical approach to the plague they are advocating, they did not restrict themselves to learned medical treatises. Instead, they included every publication that pays attention to the plague in a more or less substantial manner: medical advice literature for laymen, religious tracts, moralizing poems, literary evocations of the plague, town chronicles and ordinances, placards and instructions. For this reason, the catalogue is of use not only to historians of medicine and health care, but to historians of religion, demography and books as well.

The fact that the compilers have restricted themselves to the collection of only one library – the University Library of Amsterdam – is hardly an objection. This library is especially rich in the field of medical history, due to the fact that it houses the important historical collection of the Royal Dutch Society for the Advancement of Medicine (KNMG). This leads one to suspect the catalogue offers a complete – or at least representative – image of early modern Dutch plague literature. The opening up of the collection has been done according to the latest book-historical criteria: using the so-called STCN 'fingerprint' method (Short-Title Catalogue Netherlands), every single edition of a given title can be identified accurately. Indices on authors, printers, publishers and places of printing add to the accessibility of the collection. To summarize: the use of the abundant source material that is included in this

catalogue can only lead to an enormous enrichment of our understanding of early modern urban society.
Frank Huisman
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> **Andrew Spicer**, *The French-Speaking Reformed Community and Their Church in Southampton, 1567–1620*. Stroud: Sutton, 1997. xi + 198pp. 6 tables. Bibliography. No price stated.

Sixteenth-century Europe witnessed refugee movements on an unprecedented scale, as the victims of religious persecution fled their homelands in search of environments where they might practise their faith freely. England was one of the most popular destinations for Calvinists uprooted by confessional conflict in France and the Netherlands. Recent years have seen the publication of several studies devoted to the largest English exile communities and London's stranger churches, and attention has now begun to turn to the many congregations based in provincial centres. Andrew Spicer's monograph represents an important contribution to this emerging field.

Spicer defines Southampton's French-speaking community as a 'planted' settlement. By this he means that it was established in collaboration with the host authorities, rather than as a response to random migration. The congregation was made up of both religious refugees (from the southern Netherlands and France) and economic migrants (from the Channel Islands). At its core, however, was a tight-knit group of Walloon exiles from Valenciennes, Tournai and Armentières. Their dominance was reflected in the church's organization (more reminiscent of Netherlandish than French Calvinism), and in its continental links (primarily with the Walloon churches of Holland and Zeeland).

Other work on refugee communities has highlighted their role as catalysts for economic development and Spicer's study suggests that the Southampton exiles conformed to this pattern. Their impact on the economic life of the town was most profound in two areas, overseas trade and textile manufacture: not only did the exiles introduce the 'new draperies' to Southampton and its hinterland, but they developed a thriving export trade in the cloth these enterprises produced. When the Southampton authorities agreed to the establishment of an exile congregation in their town, they did so in the expectation that an influx of foreign capital and skills would boost its flagging economy; the Corporation ought to have been well satisfied with the results.

One of Spicer's most important findings concerns relations between the exiles and the indigenous population of Southampton. Compared to other towns with stranger churches, these seem to have been remarkably untroubled. The small size of the refugee community (7 per cent of Southampton's population) and the virtual exclusion of its members from trades which might have brought them into competition with locals probably account for the lack of serious tension. In any case, by 1600 the social barriers between exiles and natives were fast breaking down. Integration was accompanied by a decline in the size and finances of the French congregation.

The Southampton exiles, and communities like them, offer a unique perspective on relations between England and the continent during the early modern

period. As French speakers, they participated in a network of congregations spread across south-eastern England; as Calvinists, they formed part of the transnational community of Reformed believers; as residents of Southampton, they interacted on a daily basis with their English hosts. Showing an impressive mastery of local sources, Spicer illuminates all three areas of the refugees' activity and charts their gradual assimilation into Southampton society. His work will be of interest to anyone concerned with the phenomenon of exile in the sixteenth century.

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William Beik, *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France: The Culture of Retribution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. xiv + 283pp. 14 plates. 3 tables. Bibliography. £35.00.

In explaining the pattern of popular protest in early modern France, recent historians have used models of the confrontation between two antagonistic sacred communities and of the moral economy, developed for sixteenth-century religious disturbances and for eighteenth-century subsistence disturbances respectively. Beik finds these models inappropriate to the urban tax disturbances of the seventeenth century which lie at the heart of his study, and argues that the actions of the crowd were determined by what he calls the 'culture of retribution'. This entailed not only the removal of a perceived injustice from the community, but also some kind of selective physical sanction against its perpetrators. Rioters would seek revenge by beating up tax agents, subjecting them to humiliating expulsions from the community, and pillaging their houses or estates. This culture was deeply embedded borrowing the gestures used in day-to-day private quarrels and speaking to popular conceptions of honour. Second, Beik offers a very convincing account of how riots actually came about. He emphasizes the fragility of the structures of order; the sensitivity of individuals and urban sub-communities to affronts from those perceived as outside agents; the spectrum of responses from murmuring about shared hardships, through ostentatious cursing and physical threats to stone-throwing and more concerted action against persons and property; and the role of neighbourhood, parish and occupational solidarities organized by community brokers in focusing grievances and identifying targets. Third, his exploration of the relationship between rioters and the municipal elites makes an important contribution to our understanding of social relationships in this period. Urban magistrates were not, as they are often depicted, sympathetic to riots which ultimately threatened their own authority, but they were acutely aware of their limited capacity for manoeuvre, given the unreliability of the urban militias in dealing with disturbances. Almost invariably magistrates in towns subject to revolt found themselves personally confronting rioters and having to use the full personal authority of their offfices to defuse disturbances. Any hesitancy they may have shown in the face of rioters was due therefore to the limited coercive resources at their disposal. Fourth, the taxonomy of disturbances is clarified by the distinction between these popular riots and factional conflicts where the elites did sometimes mobilize popular followings. These latter were very different in form from the popular distur-

bances, involving a lot of theatrical display but a much lower level of actual violence.

Although Beik is at pains to suggest that there were limits to the scale of popular violence – the twenty-four killed in the protest against a wine tax at Agen in 1635 were closely involved with the tax – what strikes an English observer of this material is the scale of the violence. Hardly anyone was killed in seventeenth-century English popular disturbances (whether over taxes or anything else), and one does not find the same desire to physically harm or mutilate the enemies of the crowd. This raises the question as to whether the culture of retribution was distinctive to France, and if so, what circumstances had given rise to it. Was it the legacy of the religious wars? Was it the product of a popular appropriation of distinctive elite modes of punishment? Did it reflect a lower level of penetration of legalistic values among the populace? What we need are some comparative studies of violence, comparative both between time periods and between societies. Beik has provided us not only with a splendidly documented, beautifully written and richly suggestive exploration of critical issues in seventeenth-century French social history, but he has raised questions which should concern a wider historical audience.

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Rosemary Sweet, *The Writing of Urban Histories in Eighteenth-Century England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997. viii + 356pp. 4 figures. 1 table. Bibliography. Index. £45.00.

Rosemary Sweet draws on a large number of urban histories and a considerable body of correspondence between authors and their colleagues and patrons to construct a fascinating picture of eighteenth-century urban histories. Whilst including detailed material from a number of towns, the author places emphasis on what these histories tell us about urban society as a whole: its dynamism and particularly its diversity. Indeed, the focus throughout is on the process and intricacies of the writing and reading of urban histories, not the towns which they describe. The context provided is thus literary, historiographic and political. This is made explicit through the organization of the text, with successive chapters discussing the influence of antiquarianism, the chronicling tradition, the burgeoning tourism and travel literature, historiography, the political dimension and questions of identity and provinciality. All of these are sensitively explored and seen as powerful in shaping the purpose, style and content of urban histories, but what emerges most clearly from this book is that the motives of the authors and the histories themselves varied enormously through space and time. In this way, Sweet strongly counters some of the stereotypes of urban histories as being little more than civic boosterism or pedantic localism. Their authors were conscious of national trends in economy, society, politics and culture, and were not uncritical if their town failed to come up to the mark. However, they were not enthralled by London (comparisons were often made with neighbouring towns rather than the metropolis) and they did not slavishly serve the needs and tastes of the elites (although these did form important markets for their work). Nor did they merely chronicle past events. Urban histories naturally formed an important

link to the past, but the writers exploited that link to many different ends: to assert the town's independence from the gentry in Stamford; create or counter the popular image of a town (Liverpool); advocate political or social reform (Tiverton); bolster the prestige of the corporation (Colchester); reinforce the identity and self-worth of the urban community (Hull), and so on.

In exploring the complexities of context and meaning, Sweet by no means ignores broader issues. She questions the extent to which the 'improvements' of the urban renaissance and the influence of London were universally accepted and applauded, and argues persuasively that many corporations (though by no means all) remained effective and vigorous forms of government. On a more practical level, we are provided with an exhaustive bibliography of urban histories published before 1820 as well as listings of eighteenth-century guides, descriptions and directories. Unfortunately, apart from four maps and a single table which chart the geographical spread of urban histories through the century, there is no attempt to classify or categorize the histories or their authors. Clearly, such sources do not sensibly lend themselves to extensive quantification, but there is little systematic analysis – an omission which leaves us without an overall *urban* context for the detailed case studies which form the body of the text. These make for compelling reading, but inevitably mean that we have considerable insight into a small number of places rather than a clear overview of the national picture. With each case study presented, the question arises: how representative are the chosen places? At the risk of hypocrisy, this is nicely illustrated by reference to the analysis offered of Hull. The town is examined as a community whose identity and urban histories were consciously independent of county society. As such, it is contrasted, in terms of commercial cities, with Leeds, where landed interests were much more significant. The conclusion we are offered is that 'a study of urban histories sheds additional light on the way in which merchant elites perceived themselves in relation to supposedly dominant landed society'. If Hull is typical of commercial towns and Leeds the exception, then this may be true. On the evidence of these two places alone, however, such generalizations are problematic.

It would be wrong to end on such a negative note. This is an impressive piece of scholarship and a remarkably wide-ranging work – certainly the broadest and most comprehensive study of urban histories to date. More importantly, in focusing on the authors and readers, and the context and purpose of these histories, Sweet not only provides a salutary reminder against simplistic readings of what are complex and intensely political texts, she also does much to enhance our understanding of the nature of provincial urban communities and the mind-set of their residents in the eighteenth century.

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C.Y. Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial Newspaper Trade in the Eighteenth Century.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997. xiv + 258pp. 9 maps. 2 tables. Bibliography. £40.00.

This is one of the most successful studies of the press in recent years, not least because it is securely anchored in a particular context, a study of the *Salisbury*

Journal and the multifaceted entrepreneurialism of the resourceful Benjamin Collins. The absence of his correspondence creates problems but, despite this, Ferdinand is able to reconstruct the world of the provincial press and also that of provincial culture in a dynamic setting. She reveals a consumer revolution documented in the paper's advertising columns: first, in the record number of advertisements; then in the overall greater diversity, most obvious in a comparison with the press of the previous century; and finally in the shifts within each category of advertisement. Services hitherto considered luxuries were now advertised widely. Ferdinand argues that an established weekly paper meant for its readers not only regular and dependable access to the paper but also to a range of periodicals, books, medicines and other goods and services. As a result, newspapers provide ample evidence for the wide availability of printed material, the existence of numerous educational establishments, local interest in cultural events, and the marketability of political and military news.

Ferdinand also offers much of interest on the mechanics of the paper, especially on the complex administrative network that radiated from the hub of the newspaper printing office. Underlying that was an associated system of smaller news-agency centres with radii extending to most of the towns, villages and major houses in the area. Other than with major cities, towns of publication did not offer a large enough market. Thus the provincial press had to be regional, not local, for commercial reasons, and this process was helped by the limited nature of local news and the role instead of the provincial press as regional vehicles of national and international news. The commercial health of most newspapers depended on a well-run comprehensive distribution system. Ferdinand charts and maps shifts in the latter. In general, there are indications that the network of agents of individual newspapers became more dense and comprehensive as the century progressed. Local networks of circulation were integrated into national networks of information, for both news and advertisements. The development of newspapers in the Home Counties was stunted by the ready accessibility of London newspapers, but this was not the case further afield. However, competition was a problem and Ferdinand is interesting on the relationship between the *Salisbury Journal* and the Southampton-based *Hampshire Chronicle* which was launched in 1772. In contrast to papers serving the London market, provincial newspapers generally sought exclusive sway over an area, or at least a sway that was shared as little as possible. A crucial aspect of this was dominance of the advertising market, for, by acquiring all or most of the advertising of an area, it was inevitable that most of the newspaper readership would follow. The pressure for exclusivity was further increased by the high cost of rural distribution networks, which could be lessened if a newspaper served all the readers on a particular route.

Ferdinand's book is based on a doctoral thesis of 1990 and benefits from the close focus which that can offer. Her work needs to be supplemented by some important recent literature on the general situation including Bob Harris's *Politics and the Rise of the Press. Britain and France, 1620–1800* (London, 1996) and my own 'Continuity and change in the British press 1750–1833', *Publishing History* (1994).

Jeremy Black
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Phyllis Hembry, *British Spas from 1815 to the Present: A Social History*. Edited and completed by Leonard W. Cowie and Evelyn E. Cowie. London: Athlone, 1997. x + 292pp. 7 plates. 3 tables. Bibliography. £50.00.

We needed a good book on the social history of British spas. We still do. This is little more than a compilation, bogged down in muddled detail, devoid of wider perspectives, contexts or arguments. Phyllis Hembry's first volume on spas, covering 1560–1815, suffered from these defects to a significant extent. This posthumous successor is overwhelmed by them. It is a shame that the efforts of her colleagues and friends to pull her notes and drafts together should result in such an academically disastrous outcome. But in these days of straitened library budgets and stratospheric prices, it would be wrong to pull punches. This book is little more than a collection of antiquarian local histories. Potential purchasers need to think long and hard before they buy.

After a brief, descriptive and chronologically confusing introduction, the book plunges, without explanation, straight into an account of the fortunes of Leamington Spa from 1814 to the mid-nineteenth century. The following chapters give similar self-contained accounts of Cheltenham and Bath, before the book moves on to 'minor spas' (we are not told what is 'minor' about them) and surveys of the south, the midlands (including Clifton) and the north of England. A chapter headed 'Victorian finale' takes the story on from mid-century, and a short chapter on Scotland, Wales and Ireland is followed by an even shorter one on the spas in the twentieth century. The conclusion summarizes and offers a banal epilogue. There is no overall shape to the book, and arguments and items of significance have to be hewn from the unyielding prose.

Part of the problem is that the spas are not placed in a context. No real attempt is made to reach out to what was happening around them, apart from bland and uninformed generalities about the role of railways or competition from seaside resorts and the continent. The authors show no interest in or even awareness of recent historical research in these adjacent fields, and their comments, although reiterated, are academically worthless. The bibliography is suitably impoverished, with no account taken of (for example) Jack Simmons' work on railways and tourism, and no mention of any work on the seaside since Pimlot in 1947, apart from specific local items on seaside resorts which were also spas. Social unrest is caused by population growth and urbanization, in so far as it has causes which go beyond mere naughtiness. At times the scholarly apparatus breaks down altogether, as when the footnotes to chapter 2 lose contact with the text. Some of the statistics occasion astonishment: males over twenty engaged in agriculture apparently accounted for 90 per cent of Matlock's population in 1821, but only 60.9 per cent ten years later (p. 122). Throughout the book many assertions go unsubstantiated. The fog of detail thickens when topographical precision is offered without benefit of map, and those maps which are offered come from the late twentieth century and are dominated by car parks and one-way systems. Misprints are rife: I enjoyed the 'Mendacity Society' at Tunbridge Wells, no doubt a haven for local Tories. At this price the production standards are indefensible.

The pity of it is a fascinating subject, and items of interest which cry out for contextualization and serious explanation continually surface. Harrogate's great success in late Victorian times, fuelled by sustained municipal investment, is a

case in point, whose treatment here would have been transformed by comparison with other resorts and other kinds of town. Beyond this, the new social history of consumption and consumerism is conspicuously absent. At its chosen level, however, this book fails miserably. Its only redeeming features are in the detail.

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> **James Hodsdon (compiler)**, *An Historical Gazetteer of Cheltenham*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd for the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society (Gloucester Record Series vol. 9), 1997. xiv + 208pp. 4 maps incl. 3 facsimiles in end pocket. Bibliography. £30.00.

This is a strict account of Cheltenham street and place names in dictionary form, more in the vein of Gillian Bebbington's or Sheila Fairfield's books on London's streets than, say, John Field's discursive study of the same topic. But where London gazetteers are bound to be selective, ignoring for example many of the streets 'rolled out like matting' (Fairfield's phrase) in the huge metropolitan expansion from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, James Hodsdon could be far more exhaustive with manageable Cheltenham. He covers therefore not merely every existing street within the present boundaries but also former streets and superseded names, minor alleys and passageways, developments hopefully named but never realized on the ground, and even certain natural features, field names perpetuated in later usage, and notable buildings, around 3,000 toponyms altogether. Even so a few entries that might have been expected are lacking: thus for the Georgian growth years the Cambray Theatre, Hughes' Assembly Rooms (though Miller's Ballroom does appear) and Sheldon's Hotel. Neither does Cheltenham Ladies' College rate an entry while that for Prestbury race course seems rather perfunctory. Whether the pure dictionary format is always the most helpful for urban historians might also be questioned. Certainly it provides instant reference to any given street or site, but only at the expense of scattering streets that were originally laid out to a concerted plan and which relate stylistically. The arguably better option is exemplified in Bebbington's *London Street Names*, which treats the streets of each estate as a whole, even providing family trees to illuminate the naming process. A similar strategy for Cheltenham might have better explained speculations like Montpellier and Pittville or more recent builders' developments and council estates. Some hint of how schemes evolved does appear in several entries, but the overall aim has been simply to locate, date and interpret every local place-name, past or present, without much context. Architects and developers are identified when known, but otherwise the reader gets little feel for the pecking order of neighbourhoods, the social and economic character of streets, their notable residents, or events that took place there. Under Leckhampton, for instance, its *Domesday Book* name-forms are given, yet the importance of its stone quarries is passed over in silence. This is a fairly dry list, then, unrelieved by illustrations though usefully accompanied by facsimiles of Cossens' 1820 and Merrett's 1834 maps and another of 1897 showing the town sprawling outwards towards its surrounding villages. The informative but all too brief introduction (which just touches on the phases of Cheltenham's historical growth and its urban administration) refers to the

penchant for thematic naming of streets. Royal and aristocratic associations are inevitably well to the fore at Cheltenham, but other sets of names patriotically include English poets, rivers, hills and Gloucestershire Regiment battle honours, as well as 'Welsh counties, southern counties, birds of prey, honorary freemen, council officials, and butterflies'. This suggests the scope for wider comparisons in street-naming. A start nationally has been made in Adrian Room's *The Street Names of England*, but analysis could well take an international sweep. Acacia Avenue is all very well, but rue Pasteur, Corso Vittore Emmanuele II and Washington Square are also signalling something.

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> **Kathleen M. Slack**, *Henrietta's Dream: A Chronicle of the Hampstead Garden Suburb – Varieties and Virtues*. London: Hampstead Garden Suburb Archive Trust, 1997. 157pp. No price stated.

The nineteenth-century phrase 'a strong-minded woman' is an apt description of Henrietta Barnett. After living and working in the East End of London with her clergyman husband Canon Samuel Barnett in the social settlement, Toynbee Hall, she became the inspiration behind Hampstead Garden Suburb, cutting the first sod in 1907. The first houses were in a rural setting; snakes, sheep and foxes abounded.

Henrietta Barnett is remembered by the early occupants as a commanding woman, despotic but courteous. She ruled the suburb through an oligarchic trust and was adept at manoeuvring in an era when being a woman made her ostensibly of little account. She knew that the trick was to collect imposing gentlemen's names for her causes and had learned all about networking at Toynbee Hall. She disapproved, however, of the suffragettes: 'naughty, daring and faithless ladies' who did not endear themselves by attempting to burn down Hampstead Garden Suburb's Free church. The suburb did attract several notable feminists and socialists, including the writer Rebecca West, the preacher Maude Royden and trade unionist Margaret Bondfield.

Henrietta Barnett's dream was never to be completely realized – though the suburb was an impressive achievement. The original architect was Raymond Unwin, who, influenced by William Morris and ethical socialism, sought to combine the advantages of rural and urban life and allow for individuality and communality in his design. Henrietta Barnett, true to the Ruskinian influences which had permeated Toynbee Hall, aspired to beauty in the everyday environment and the interconnection of classes. Slack points out that 'fellowship' did not imply the abolition of inequality; Henrietta Barnett's social reforms assumed superiority – the results were charitable but stern. For instance a former occupant of one of her cottage homes for poor children remembered in 1987 the severity of the discipline and being lined up in a row, clean and tidy, to greet the remote figure of Henrietta Barnett when she arrived to inspect them.

She evoked respect rather than affection and was to be best known for her ban on pubs. Slack observes, however, that she met needs in the suburb which were generally overlooked. For example, there was a house for tired young servants between posts, a Nursery Training School and flats for ladies earning their own living. The latter were so carefully chaperoned they were called 'Adamless Edens'. In the early 1920s sleeping outdoors became the craze – the ladies were

admonished to group their camp beds together and to be indoors before the milkman came at 8 a.m.

Slack focuses on administration, the churches and the social projects. I would have liked more on daily life and more than the tantalizing last chapter on the context of Henrietta Barnett's social vision of community and class fellowship. Slack mentions that Hampstead Garden Suburb was seen as interconnecting with the rest of London, unlike earlier utopian schemes which had been separate entities. This is a fascinating point which could have been developed. The social settlement played a similar role. Leonard Montefiore had been influenced by American utopian communities when he set up Toynbee Hall, and the settlement can be seen as the bridge between utopia and municipal reform. Nor was the garden suburb envisaged as an enclave of the well-to-do. Unwin tried to extend the model of the Oxbridge quad and indeed his concept of the garden city passed on into council house design. In the 1990s it is immortalized in Brookside. Visions have some odd outcomes, growing away from their originators, and Kathleen Slack's study shows that 'Henrietta's dream' was no exception.

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> **Helen Meller**, *Towns, Plans and Society in Modern Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. vi + 138pp. Bibliography. £7.95. US$12.95.

Surveying the state of the city in the generation and a half between 1860 and the outbreak of the First World War, Helen Meller ruminates on how town-dwellers were persuaded to 'live in a new kind of environment created by gifted individuals' (pp. 31–2). Reverting to the same general theme towards the end of her study, she expresses herself unconvinced that the 'manipulation of the physical environment at the end of the twentieth century [will] reflect the needs and aspirations of all members of society ...' (p. 104). These are large and important questions which are all too rarely confronted by historians of planning. Indeed, specialists in urban, social and economic history could be forgiven for thinking that, not unlike Whiggish practitioners of an earlier variant of medical history, scholars concerned with 'towns and plans' have concentrated far too intensively on great names and the relatively non-problematic development of technical expertise. An undoubted strength of Meller's introductory overview is that it eschews precisely that kind of self-referential internalism, thereby allowing her to make revealing connections between the core findings of a still inward-looking subdiscipline and larger processes of cultural change.

Major figures – Le Play, Geddes, Howard, Unwin and Abercrombie – receive due notice but the bodies of thought associated with their names are more closely linked to shifting social, economic and governmental developments than the onward march of theory and practice. Meller adopts a broadly empathetic stance towards those who have attempted to bring hope and equity to the urban environment during the *longue durée* between Chamberlain's Birmingham experiments and post-Thatcherite plans for urban regeneration. She is implicitly sceptical of the Foucauldian notion that, since knowledge is power, public

spheres have been repeatedly redrawn in the discursive interests of post-Benthamite social engineering rather than unmediated communal enjoyment of urban space. In this respect, Meller probably underplays the explicitly evidential problems faced by researchers seeking to substantiate high levels of historical consumer dissatisfaction with urban architectural innovation. Nevertheless, *Towns, Plans and Society in Modern Britain* undoubtedly illuminates recurring mismatches between reformist intentions and achievements, and the extent to which cycles of concern have themselves been culturally rather than technically or academically determined.

Two chunky chapters, on the inter-war period, and the 'golden age' between the publication of the Beveridge *Report* and the beginnings of an identifiable anti-planning ethos in the mid-1960s, lie at the heart of the book. Deeply embedded and potentially regressive ruralist ideologies during the earlier period are succinctly summarized. So, also, is the process whereby post-Geddesian conceptions of 'amenity' came to be redefined against a background of changing patterns of land-use, the escalating replacement of rented accommodation by home ownership, and the increasing ubiquity of the private motor car. Meller describes and interrogates this 'Peacehaven syndrome', defined, as it was, by the establishment of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England in 1926, Clough Williams-Ellis's twin-denunciations of *England and the Octopus* (1924) and *Britain and the Beast* (1937) and Patrick Abercrombie's less splenetic and social scientifically-oriented panaceas. Already, Meller notes, 'the internal combustion engine, electricity . . . and the telephone [were making] modern living possible almost anywhere' (p. 57).

Authoritatively evoking the progressivist ethos which underwrote the Barlow, Scott, Reith and Dower *Reports*, Meller tellingly cites G.M. Young's Brideshead-tinged introduction to *Country and Town* (1943). 'It is a brilliant prospect', the social historian enthused: 'to think of the towns of England vying with one another in dainty and comfortable houses, splendid piazzas, town halls surpassing Flanders and river embankments like those of some old French city' (p. 68). Meller awards the new town corporations a relatively clean bill of health. But, revisiting the linked themes of democracy, environmental equality and social justice in the post-war era, she criticizes local authorities for failing to 'cater for those who did not fall neatly within the stereotype of two adults and two children in each family unit' (p. 80). The chapters on 'Thatcherism and cities' and urban regeneration hint at over-compression. Not even the iron lady believed that it would be possible to dismantle 'the *whole* framework of government that had evolved since the foundation of the welfare state in 1945' (emphasis added) (p. 96). As Shirley Letwin and Hugo Young have pointed out, Mrs Thatcher pondered long and hard before embarking on a radical restructuring of the health and state pension systems. Willing to experiment with extreme Euroscepticism or the astonishingly disruptive community charge, she remained convinced that thorough-going reform of these bastions of the 'Beveridge settlement' would invite sudden and savage electoral retribution. Urged on by politically inept heirs to the Thatcherite tradition, the 'moderate' John Major grasped the nettle and paid the penalty.

This is an excellent addition to a continuously sprightly and provocative series.

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Kevin Hetherington, *The Badlands of Modernity. Heterotopia and Social Ordering*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997. x + 164pp. Bibliography. Index. £14.99 pbk.

This slim book aims high. Setting out to synthesize much of the currently fashionable literature about 'spatialized' social and cultural history to illuminate eighteenth-century urban settings, its goal is to shed light on processes of social ordering that are characteristic of modernity as such. Central to this purpose is the conceptual duality opening up between, on the one hand, Michel Foucault's term 'heterotopia' and Louis Marin's use of the term 'utopia'. In Hetherington's use, the former is defined as a space 'of alternate ordering' (p. 9, developed fully in chapter three), while the latter characterizes spaces that are capable of defining 'the good' while remaining nowhere in particular (see chapter four). Used together and against the explicit background of Jürgen Habermas' historical analysis of a bourgeois public sphere (itself splendidly portrayed in chapter five), both 'heterotopia' and 'utopia' come to define a core characteristic of modernity, one which Hetherington examines in some detail by focusing on three particular spaces: the Palais Royal in pre-revolutionary Paris (chapter one), the space of masonic lodges (chapter five) and early eighteenth-century factories in Britain (chapter six). Each of these spaces would, of course, warrant an analysis of its own, but the particular strength of Hetherington's approach lies precisely in his ability to bring together the abstract with the concrete, read material.

The argument thus attempts to bridge a growing gap in the literature between those interested in all things marginal and those attempting to reconstruct the big picture; in other words, between structuralism and post-structuralism. As the author – himself a member of the well-known and respected Centre for Social Theory and Technology at Keele University – admits, between the two positions there is only ever space for messy and ambiguous processes, rather than for static states to be represented as such. Like others before him, attempting to develop some middle ground in a host of otherwise different discourses (Anthony Giddens and Bruno Latour in particular come to mind), the author thus faces the task of making this argument both coherent and plausible. Does he succeed? As is to be expected, one's answer to this question depends entirely on the chosen measure for success. The book shines with creativity, is logically structured and progresses fluidly. The chapter on the masonic lodges in particular is a good example of how to interweave theoretical thoughts and historical analysis, although historians and like-minded people might well lament the absence of primary research and scholarship.

What the book doesn't provide is the glue that would bind or otherwise 'order' society in this splendidly differentiated modernity. To assert ambivalence is one thing, to use such ambivalence as an ordering principle without prior derivation of its ordering capabilities – without a thorough reconciliation of otherwise opposed tendencies – could well be seen to mock the efforts of structuralists and post-structuralists alike. What is theoretically (or even practically) desirable is not therefore attainable through academic labour. Take the Palais Royal as an example. As Hetherington constructs it, the Palais Royal emerges as a space characteristic of eighteenth-century modernity because it is both, a marginal, at time carnivalesque, public space and capable of ordering society at large. But is not the fact that the decline of the Palais Royal as a public

space of importance coincided with the rise of the new after the events of 1789 proof, if any was needed, of precisely the lack of such a spatially tied ordering faculty? Of course, the author is correct to invoke the processural character of social order, but does not this render any subsequent spatial fixation of whatever provides for order in societies – especially in the case of allegedly heterotopical spaces – arbitrary at bottom?

If this is a problem of the book under review, the problematic as such is characteristic not of the ambitions or indeed the skills of the author and instead defines a publishing policy *in toto*. In other words, the book is a typical Routledge publication which aims to provide its readership with a synthetic entry point to a diverse body of literature at the expense of intricate arguments and critique. The advantages of this approach, as well as its problems, are obvious and need not be spelled out yet again. An urban historical geographer such as myself will find chapter two, with its discussion of current trends in cultural geography and its overt reliance on the work of Rob Shields, superficial; but then, other readers might well profit from these pages. If what you are looking for is an account of current problems and attempted answers to modernity in its urban and public manifestations, this well-crafted book is as good a point of departure as you are likely to get today. Just do not expect too much of it by way of solving predicaments that have plagued past generations of historical sociologists and social theoreticians.

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David P. Jordan, *Transforming Paris: The Life and Labors of Baron Haussmann*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996. xxii + 455pp. 9 maps. 16 pp. of illustrations. Bibliography. $17.95; £14.25 pbk.

A city may be approached in many ways: inhabitants, property, buildings, streets and squares, monuments, traffic and trade; as a set of functional and symbolic systems or a complex of social problems. Haussmann (the assumed title of Baron has stuck better than his given names of Georges-Eugène) seems to have cared nothing for people – he was a snob when he could be bothered – and little more for buildings. He continually fought with property owners while adding to their collective wealth, and approached monuments strictly from the point of view of sightlines, as visual foci. His real interest was in streets and squares as arteries of movement and as connectors and delimiters of the parts that make up the urban fabric. It is fair to say that he thought in terms of systems. As for social problems, David Jordan makes clear that Haussmann interpreted them almost wholly in hygienic terms. Dirt was the enemy, the source of social and political as well as physical disease. It is no wonder that the Paris water and sewer systems rank among Haussmann's unalloyed successes.

Armed with these values and predispositions, Haussmann (1809–91) set about cleansing, aggrandizing and embellishing Paris between 1853 and 1870. If ever a man succeeded because of his flaws rather than despite them, he was that man. Persigny, who chose him on behalf of the new emperor, knew that he had, to invert a French cliché, the (good) qualities of his defects. The present book seeks to combine the life and the work, but the order might better be reversed.

Haussmann proves as tough a nut for the biographer as he was for his contemporaries, both because what one sees is not very attractive and because the sources offer no hope of getting below that surface. Indeed, for someone so public and dead just over a hundred years, there is astonishingly little archival material to go on. Both personal and official papers have been destroyed. Even the original map on which Louis Napoleon sketched the vision he entrusted to his prefect is missing. What remains of the man, besides his energy, his passion for action and his total lack of self-doubt, is a mind furnished with the ready-made, a *parfait* bureaucrat.

Thus, to the work. Haussmann found a city in crisis, since medieval clutter still choked the centre, while the fringe expanded steadily outward and the railways promised a great increase in traffic. Earlier regimes had lacked the leisure (the First Empire) or the will (the Restoration and July Monarchy) to tackle the problem on the requisite scale. Only two serious projects to open up the clogged centre had even been begun, the east-west rues de Rivoli and Rambuteau.

In breaking out of the crisis, Haussmann harnessed the first flush of financial capitalism and the unqualified political support of Napoleon III in the author-itarian phase of the Second Empire, and drove them for all they were worth. These mounts would gradually fail him in the second decade, until he was forced out just before the end of the regime. For all his drive and accomplish-ments, Haussmann failed to generate either financial or political allies, while a legion of adversaries gathered against him. It is true that most of the specific projects he initiated were completed after the terrible break of 1870–71, but it would be many years before any comparable remodelling would again stir up both construction dust and passions.

What Haussmann did is familiar enough to Parisians, resident and visitor alike: the great cross of roads through the centre, the 'urban removal' in the *Cité*, the many boulevards and squares, the new parks on the periphery, the (mostly ugly) new churches at focal points, the great opera house … So is what he failed to do: connect Montparnasse through to the Seine, remove the Halles market from central Paris, make provision for the area outside the walls … Almost everybody, then and since, has bestowed praise and criticism, signalled errors of omission and commission, been thankful for change or permanence. Jordan is as concerned with the how as the what of Haussmann's remodelling, and the reader will find the gist of both in the core chapters, VII and VIII. There are not many surprises, though it is worth noting that strategic concerns were not so dominant as often alleged. Indeed, the Commune proved no easier to put down in 1871 than earlier large-scale urban rebellions. I would also comment that the social contrast between the eastern and western halves of the city, while real, was never quite so sharp as here reiterated, even before recent gentrification.

While the entire book is readable and informative, some of the run-up and sequel to the key period are over long. I would rather Jordan had passed up some scraps of biographical matter and expanded his closing insights about the relationship between what planners do and how people actually use the city. One key, of course, is that streets and even buildings last a long time, while technology, tastes and patterns of activity evolve. The rise and decline of boulevard life in Paris (pp. 348–9) is an excellent example. People often complain, as elites did before Haussmann, that boulevards are today the haunt of the vulgar, even the dangerous: aggressive hawkers, delinquent youths from the suburbs, pickpockets

and beggars. And the old streets, while no longer smelly or sinister, are so clogged with vehicles that the pedestrian once again runs an obstacle course.

As we await another Boileau, the seventeenth-century poet of urban disamenity, let us enjoy Jordan's fine account of the 'haussmannization' of Paris. Warts and all, the man and the city virtually define western urbanism in the first industrial era, not the least accomplishment of the age.

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> **Oliver Karnau**, *Hermann Josef Stübben. Städtebau 1876–1930*. Braunschweig/Weisbaden: Friedrich Vieweg & Sohn Verlagsgesellschaft, 1996. 663pp. 165 plates and figures. Bibliography. DM 168.

From 1876 Hermann Josef Stübben made a rapid and impressive career as a town architect and theorist of urban development. He has already been much praised in literature on architectural history, but never before in a comprehensive monograph and documentation (with an extensive bibliography and a catalogue of all designs and reports) as Oliver Karnau has now done.

The significance of Stübben arises from his enthusiastic start on the practical problems of urban development at his places of work (especially in Aachen and Cologne) and his devotion to the task of general planning in towns, out of which he developed an urban development doctrine. This places him at the forefront of the history of town planning around 1900, along with R. Baumeister (his teacher), Karl Henrici (his competitor) and Camillo Sitte (his rival). In his main work and numerous essays (this book lists a total of 856 publications) Stübben addressed the exact problems which his colleagues in building administration faced every day: town expansion and street building, the building of new schools, canalization and water pipes, the problems of financing the clearing of the old towns and the building of flats for town employees. His work was based not on any one single doctrine, but more on a variety of differing and flexible ideas. Accordingly Stübben wanted to demonstrate exemplary problem solving, which could be taken and adapted to individual situations by practicians of town building. What he called general standards and norms far exceeded those descriptions, but at the same time did not demand too much of them. He was therefore a great pragmatist, who both systemized and further developed the possibilities deemed to be 'practical'. He was in no way fundamentally a critic of society, but instead Stübben accepted the development of Wilhelmian society, and in the same way did not criticize urbanization in general but only wanted to steer it in the right direction. This made him a great reformer of particular details (p. 273). His work reflects therefore not just the history of urban development theory, but also the complete urban development right up to the First World War, in particular as regards the adjustments to growing traffic, urban extension and underground construction. Stübben could not really get to grips with the new age following the war, even though he still published in his later years.

As early as 1890 Stübben could not ignore the influential aesthetic of Sitte, with his picturesque concept of how a town should look. Somewhat unsuccessfully, he tried partly to revise this and partly to add it to his rational principles. The popular author and speaker concerned himself extensively with the problem of

'curvy streets', which he studied in Brussels and Paris and which he partially included in his designs.

Stübben involved himself particularly with the construction of communal buildings, particularly small houses for workers, but this contributed little to the problem of housing shortages in cities. In 1898, as the most senior building official in Cologne, he came into conflict with the powerful mayor Becker, and had to back down to him, a point only tentatively and briefly mentioned by Karnau (p. 51, for example).

Stübben was a man who happily attached Prussian decorations to his lapels, but who sought and found friendly relationships with French colleagues. Not only was he active as an expert for various European cities, but he made numerous designs for Belgian cities too, and was influenced by Belgian town construction (for example, the work of Hubert Guillaume Blonden). He paid little attention to the importance of English garden cities for the general planning of housing estates, even though the publications by Howard and Fritsch forced him to formulate somewhat more abstract principles on urban development.

Karnau relates all of this quite extensively, if in a somewhat academically-pedantic manner. This book is not only an immense accomplishment of research, but also an historical study, which includes the problems of hygiene, political structure and the housing question. It is not a mere rehashing of past theories – Karnau also demonstrates the networks of architects and practical local government politicians in organizations and in committees. The author therefore contributes not only to architectural and urban history but also to the history of society in general.

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W.G. Huff, *The Economic Growth of Singapore: Trade and Development in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. xxi + 472pp. 12 figures. 97 tables. Bibliography. £50.00 hbk; £16.95 pbk.

This is, essentially, a book about economic growth which explicitly sets out to make a contribution to the study of economic, rather than urban, development. Because Singapore is overwhelmingly an urban municipality – in effect a large modern city on an island – it is, however, also a book about the development of an urban economy.

The book is organized into three chronological sections – pre-1900; 1900–39 and 1947–90 (the era of the Japanese occupation is not considered in detail). Singapore's pre-1959 growth is presented as resting on its emergence, development and then resurgence as a staple port rather than on its operation as an international entrepôt, and well over two-thirds of the book is concerned with tracing the details and the uniqueness of this somewhat neglected phase. Like all great ports development stemmed from distinct locational advantages which enabled a highly productive hinterland to be linked with world shipping routes. Trade expansion rested on a small number of commodities (tin, rubber and then petroleum) but, by providing mercantile, processing, financial and marketing functions, Singapore was able to become the commercial (though not cultural or political) capital for both Malaya and the Dutch East Indies. What made

Singapore unique was its people. British colonization and Chinese migrant labour combined to create a particularly favourable human resource endowment and generated the openness and the almost intuitive aptitude for rapid adaptability to changes in the world economy which have remained Singapore's hallmark. The rapid growth of the labour force (the population of the Municipality grew annually by 3 per cent to exceed half a million by 1940) was provided by immigration from China rather than from Singapore's hinterland and this ethnic distinctiveness contributed significantly to its economic advance.

The continuation of the economic success story after the Second World War rested on the high threshold that had already been reached and the ability to capitalize on a set of favourable international forces. The same economic, demographic and political factors which had made Singapore unique kept it so, and contributed not only to its economic advance but to its self-governing status in 1959 and its subsequent separation from Malaysia. From the mid-1960s an independent Singapore benefited from an influx of capital from multinational enterprises (MNEs) in search of cheap and convenient assembly locations and it was this that underwrote the diversification from its staple port orientation. After the briefest of flirtations with import substitution Singapore moved decisively to an export oriented strategy with MNEs in the vanguard.

Huff is right to point out that the rise in the share of manufacturing in gross domestic product (GDP) (to almost 24 per cent by 1980) was not based exclusively on the unique qualities of Chinese businessmen and their Confucian values. Rather it was foreign – i.e. multinational – entrepreneurship which provided the momentum. Singapore adopted the full MNE package and MNEs came to account for four-fifths of exports. The decisive factor was the favourable environment that Singapore offered, or was perceived to offer, to the MNEs. In the 1980s a further diversification into services – shipping, financial and business – provided the final dynamic element. It was this development that took Singapore away from the other Asian Tigers and reinforced its distinctive character. Trade, now in the form of a combination of staples, manufactures and services, remained the engine of growth. Singapore's ratio of trade to GDP was the highest in the world (at between 3.5 and 4). And, again, it was overseas immigrant labour (the West included) that was responsible.

Although the focus of concern is not with the nature and dynamics of urban development *per se* and there is little attempt to explore Singapore's development as a physical urban entity, this should not detract from the analysis or the book's usefulness for urban historians. It sets out to explain the economic growth which made the transformation of Singapore's urban environment possible. By providing a detailed demonstration of the achievement of growth-through-trade development and in presenting a remarkably comprehensive collection of statistical material in such an eminently accessible way in the 40-page Appendix, Huff not only offers a range of immediate insights on the history of one of the great world city-ports but an accessible and indispensible context within which urban historians can work.

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Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin. Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997. x + 271pp. 56 illustrations. Bibliography. $29.95.

The reunified Germany is witnessing an ongoing debate about its national identity. Historical consciousness is an important part of national identity, and monuments as well as architecture more generally have given visible expression to diverse attempts of Germans to define Germandom in the twentieth century – nowhere more so than in Berlin. In a masterly and richly illustrated overview Brian Ladd surveys many of the highly politicized contemporary debates on Berlin monuments and architecture. In every case he carefully delineates and disentangles the complex and often overlapping issues to do with aesthetics, urban planning, historical preservation, national identity and party politics. His prime concern is, however, with the politics of what Germans have grown used to calling 'coming to terms with the past' (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*).

Chapter one is dedicated exclusively to the history of the Berlin wall, its physical disappearance in 1989/90 and its ultimate survival as 'wall in the heads' of contemporary East and West Germans. Ladd perceptively points out that the wall was not only the foremost symbol of the divided Germany and of the Cold War era, but that it was also one of the few unproblematic nationalist symbols post-1945, because it conveniently linked the Federal Republic's continued national ambitions with strong anti-communism. The failure of every attempt to preserve part of the wall as an historical monument has much to do, in the author's view, with the overwhelming desire of Germans to forget a troubled and troublesome past.

We move furthest backward in time with the onset of chapter two which deals mainly with three restorations: first, that of the medieval Nikolai quarter which is described as part and parcel of the German Democratic Republic's (GDR) attempt to rediscover all aspects of German history in the 1980s. Second, the attempts in 1993/94 to win public opinion over to restoring the Berlin palace are linked to the debates surrounding the 'Palace of the Republic' which was built by the GDR at the very site where the remains of the old palace were destroyed by the GDR government in 1950. And third, we are treated to an account of the controversial restoration of the quadriga on top of Brandenburg gate (complete with Prussian eagle and Iron Cross).

Chapter three is dedicated largely to the discussion of some of the most important symbols of the inter-war metropolis. There is a brief history of the Reichstag culminating in an account of the debates surrounding Christo's wrapping of the building in 1995. Furthermore, Berlin is presented as a place of architectural modernism in the 1920s which saw the attempt to replace the ill-reputed 'rental barracks' (*Mietskasernen*) of pre-First World War times with modern housing estates such as Siemensstadt or the Britz Horseshoe Estate.

Architecturally speaking, Nazi Berlin, which is the subject of chapter four, was not so much a reaction to modernism than an authoritarian version of modern 'technocratic rationality' (p. 139). Ladd discusses in particular Albert Speer's plans for the new Nazi capital 'Germania'. Amongst the buildings with a special architectural-political legacy he picks out the chancellery, the Olympic stadium and Tempelhof airport. Yet this chapter also deals with the memory of the Third Reich in contemporary Germany introducing the reader to two important exhibitions: the 1989 one on the German resistance which provoked controversy

over the question whether communists should be included, and the Topography of Terror exhibition first shown in 1987 and dealing with the perpetrators rather than the victims of Nazi crimes. Furthermore the reader learns about Plötzensee prison, where many of those who took part in the attempt on Hitler's life in 1944 were executed, and Grunewald railway station, from where 36,000 German Jews were transported to Auschwitz. Finally, much room is dedicated to the ongoing debate about a Berlin holocaust memorial.

When dealing with the divided Berlin after 1945 in chapter five, Ladd puts more emphasis on East Berlin with an extensive discussion of Stalinallee (which marked the communists' rejection of modernist architecture as characterized by 'Western capitalist decadence' in the 1950s), the creation of satellite cities out of prefabricated concrete panels such as Marzahn or Hohenschönhausen in the 1980s, and GDR monuments such as the Soviet war memorials, the Lenin statue on former Lenin Square, the Ernst-Thälmann memorial or the Marx-Engels Forum. The chapter concludes with a discussion of attempts to purge communists from all East Berlin street names.

The final chapter of the book discusses Berlin as the 'capital of the new Germany' (or should it rather be: 'the new capital of Germany'?). The extensive debates surrounding the creation of a national memorial in the form of Schinkel's 'Neue Wache' are summarized as is the debate over the capital itself. Ironically, and this is one of the few things that Ladd fails to mention, the narrow majority in the Bundestag in favour of making Berlin (rather than Bonn) capital of the reunified country was only brought about by the votes of the former East German communists, the PDS. The 'critical reconstruction' of Berlin as capital, which has progressed under the Social Democratic city building director Hans Stimmann, has *de facto* led to an orientation towards Wilhelmine Germany around 1900 as the one period least burdened with the 'ghosts' of history. Of course, critics of such a conception rightly point out that even Wilhelmine Germany can hardly serve as a role model for the democratic Germany of today.

Overall, Ladd's book clearly demonstrates that Germans take the many burdens of their history very seriously, and that every attempt to push the more unpalatable aspects of that past into the background has so far met with rigorous opposition. And yet, change the prism only slightly and this volume is also an impressive summary of all the diverse attempts of the liberal-conservative establishment to redefine German national identity in a more positive light and allow Germans to develop an alleged 'normal', i.e. Westernized and political rather than ethnic, national consciousness. And here we arrive at last at what is, in this reviewer's opinion, the greatest shortcoming of the book. It too often reads like an admittedly excellent tourist guide to politically contexted architectural landmarks in contemporary Berlin. The author is largely content with describing one controversy and moving on to the next. The panoramic narrative lacks not only in the depth of analysis but in the, at times desperate, attempts of the author not to commit himself to one or the other side of an argument. This means ultimately that the book lacks a coherent argument itself. There would have been a unique opportunity to link the various debates on national symbols and look for the common denominators (or the changing political alliances, for that matter). It is fascinating to see how many of these controversies are related and how key proponents have participated in almost all of them to varying degrees. What do all these debates about the history of the Berlin landscape mean for

German politics and, more specifically, for German historical consciousness today? Unfortunately this is a question not answered by Brian Ladd's book.
Stefan Berger
University of Wales, Cardiff

> **John Stretton**, *The Counties of England Past and Present: Leicestershire and Rutland*. Wadenhoe, Peterborough: Past & Present Publishing Ltd, 1997. 160pp. 329 plates. 1 table. £19.95.
> **Will Adams and Tricia Adams**, *Great Cities of the World Past and Present: London*. Wadenhoe, Peterborough: Past & Present Publishing Ltd, 1997. 160pp. 319 plates. 1 figure. Bibliography. £19.95.
> **Geoff Price**, *A Nostalgic Look at Llandudno and Colwyn Bay Trams since 1945*. Wadenhoe, Peterborough: Silver Link Publishing Ltd, 1997. 132pp. 318 plates. 7 figures. Bibliography. £19.95.
> **Steve Palmer and Brian Martin**, *A Nostalgic Look at Liverpool Trams 1945–1957*. Wadenhoe, Peterborough: Silver Link Publishing Ltd, 1997. 132pp. 318 plates. 7 figures. Bibliography. £19.95.

These attractive and reasonably-priced volumes represent a small part of the output from two related publishers which has considerable relevance for urban history. True to their name, 'Past and Present' maintain an emphasis on change by presenting pairs of photographs which enable the present situation to be compared with conditions in the same place several decades earlier. The books covered in this review provide a wealth of detail on town life, showing how lifestyle and architecture has changed. In the Leicestershire and Rutland album, a cycle of redevelopment is brought out very clearly by the photographs of Leicester featuring Belgrave Road and Humberstone Gate, while elsewhere a diverse range of building alterations can be seen; nowhere more so than at St Peter's Church where the spire was taken down after storm damage in the 1950s, but in a way that would hardly be apparent to newcomers to the district because of the castellations that avoid any impression of truncation.

The changing use of the central area of Leicester, and the smaller towns of the two counties, can be seen not only through changes to individual buildings (including some churches) and also along whole streets. Thus Sanvey Gate, once a residential thoroughfare in Leicester with busy shops, has been reduced to a backwater following the demise of Central Station. Traffic is another indicator of transformation; not only through the changes in the vehicles, but in the management of traffic at busy junctions and the growth of pedestrianization. Notes on local industry and photographs showing individual buildings, like the former Corah and Wolsey factories, are yet another reminder of the scale of change over half a century.

The frontispiece to the London album gives an excellent impression of redevelopment following bomb damage at the Barbican, setting the tone for a wide-ranging survey that compares the 1990s with the 1950s. Using a remarkable collection of photographs from several private collections, backed up by comparative material for the present day, the work is organized on the basis of a perambulation beginning at the site of the 1951 Festival of Britain (subsequently developed as the South Bank arts complex) and proceeding by the South Bank and the Thames Bridges to the City, St Paul's, Holborn and Charing Cross, before

passing through Westminster and Royal London into the West End to finish at Piccadilly Circus and Theatreland. In this way, the book stands as a valuable guide and need not by any means be restricted to the coffee table. The detail is impressive and the panoramic views, many of which take up a whole page, are particularly revealing. The rebuilding of London Bridge (1967–72) is well covered and the decline of shipping underlined by photographs of Hay's Wharf and Tower Bridge. The richness of the commentary makes this album a useful companion for any academic work on central London and it is to be hoped that the suburbs may also be covered in the future.

Turning to 'Silver Link', named after the famous express passenger locomotive that used to operate on the East Coast Main Line passing close to the publisher's home base, the emphasis is on nostalgia linked with transport history. Appealing not only to transport buffs, but to members of the public at large with a fascination for a changing way of life, the books cover maritime heritage, railway heritage, rivers and waterways as well as trams and buses. Much of the material is relevant to the study of towns, like the regional railway books in the series 'British Railways Past and Present', but the range of albums on the main tramway systems inevitably has the strongest urban bias.

The books covered in this review are similar in that they contain a wealth of photographic material about the tramways during the post-war years until their final demise in 1956 (Llandudno) and 1957 (Liverpool). There is also much interesting discussion about the competition between trams and buses, with a critical difference between the two case studies in that Llandudno trams actually succumbed gradually to bus competition (with the tramway company operating purely as a bus company from 1956 until 1961 when Crosville's offer for the company's 'goodwill' was accepted), whereas in Liverpool the city's Passenger Transport Committee opted for buses in 1945 and trams were phased out over a ten-year period. However, there is also a major difference in the two texts because the Liverpool album concentrates on the post-1945 situation whereas the work on Llandudno includes a concise historical review of the entire history of the Llandudno and Colwyn Bay Tramway, first conceived in the 1890s to provide a direct link between the two expanding resort towns that would shorten the rail distance via Llandudno Junction. Important questions like the impact of the tramways on urban expansion lie outside the scope of these books, but they provide a detailed record of an essential part of the urban infrastructure, including insights into the debates over the feasibility of tramways which are now being reconsidered.

All four books are splendid albums which offer quality photography (including a selection of colour plates) and remarkably detailed commentary at a reasonable price. They are obviously not primarily academic works, but they nevertheless comprise a useful resource for urban history. All contain an index and the tramway albums also include maps, with particular detail in the Liverpool volume. The 'Past and Present' books would have been improved by better cartography (completely absent – as are bibliographical notes – in the Leicestershire and Rutland book and limited to just one basic plan in the London study), but these are minor quibbles when set alongside the potential for interest and enjoyment.

David Turnock
University of Leicester

John Belchem and Neville Kirk (eds), *Languages of Labour.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997. viii + 222pp. £40.00.

Faced with an attack in recent years on their approaches, categories and methods by post-modernism and the 'linguistic turn', social historians have tended either to embrace wholeheartedly the new emphasis on discourse and the belief that the world is 'rhetorically constructed', or to ignore its implications altogether. This collection of essays, however, sets out to engage directly with, and to contest, the assumptions of post-modernism, while at the same time recognizing that the debates raised about language and discourse have a great deal to offer the historian. The contributors approach this issue in a variety of ways, but underlying all of the essays, and giving the collection coherence, is the concern to 'contextualise language – that is, to situate language within and investigate its complex and changing links with social structure' (p. 2).

The first two essays provide a direct critique of the epistemological and methodological claims of post-modernism. In a wide-ranging and stimulating article Richard Price both explains and also challenges the arguments put forward by some of the most influential post-modern theorists. What is particularly valuable for historians is his focus on the implications of post-modern theories for the practice of history. He explores the way in which post-modernism developed as part of a critique of the social history of the 1960s and 1970s and examines its links with political conservatism. Eileen Yeo also engages with post-modernist theories but through an examination of the term 'The People' and its different meanings and uses over time.

The subsequent chapters all explore aspects of language and the creation of multiple identities through specific case studies which are grouped under three headings: gender, community and workplace, and labour movements. These headings are perhaps unnecessary, since most of the articles could have been placed in more than one category. Two chapters deal with the American labour movement; Susan Levine examines the language of conflict over the 'living wage' during the 1922 shopcraft strike which was located in family and community concerns and which was a turning point in labour's definition of citizenship. In a very detailed article on W. Jett Lauck, which also concentrates on the inter-war period, Leon Fink discusses the role that intellectuals have played in helping to define the terms on which workers laid claim to inclusion in politics.

Roger Fagge's comparative study of the coalfields of West Virginia and South Wales in the early twentieth century provides interesting insights into the complex relationship between the type of community involved, the language in which protest was couched and the development of political identity. In a rather different community – the world of the Further Education College in the last decade – Melanie Tebbutt also examines the rhetoric of organizational change and how this was perceived by one particular group of workers in their use of gossip and the way in which the form that this took changed over time.

Although all of the articles adopt a fresh approach to their subject matter, two stand out for providing new insights and for stimulating new ways of thinking about areas of research which are familiar to labour historians. Karen Hunt's study of the language of British socialism, in particular of the Social Democratic Federation, before 1914 shows that although socialism was seen as a universal and emancipatory movement, it was also fractured by gender and race. She

argues convincingly that the primacy given to class-based issues marginalized debates around the 'woman question' and had implications for the involvement of women in socialist politics. John Belchem's study of scouse is a skilful exploration of the links between the economic and social development of Liverpool and its cultural and social identity. He raises questions about Liverpool's exceptionalism and argues that scouse, and the varied meanings and identities attached to it, is a recent tradition which developed in relation to economic decline and 'otherness', and then in turn helped to create that sense of being apart. Belchem argues that scouse managed to give a voice to Liverpool and to the casual worker, but that to be scouse meant to be white and working class and therefore other groups, in particular black people, were excluded.

As the editors suggest in their introduction, this collection demonstrates that labour history should not be seen as trapped in a time warp of 'old fashioned' concerns. Instead, the authors show a willingness to build on a long-standing interest in language and identity, pioneered by historians such as E.P. Thompson, and to develop this further by re-thinking the complex relationship between discourse, culture, political identities and socio-economic structures. At the same time emphasis is placed on the continuing importance for the historian of exploring the dialogue between concepts and evidence and the interaction between representation and the 'material world'. Throughout, people are seen as active creators of language rather than as passive 'carriers of cultural messages and discourses' (p. 2). Urban, economic and social historians, as well as labour historians, should find plenty to interest them in this book and will no doubt be stimulated to take a fresh look at their own approaches and research agenda.

June Hannam
University of the West of England

> **Richard D. Bingham and Robert Mier (eds)**, *Dilemmas of Urban Economic Development. The Urban Affairs Annual Revues Nr. 47*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1997. 344pp. £22.00.

The volume has its roots in the growing demand for knowledge which could bridge the gap between practitioners, academics and informed citizens. During the past few years interest and emphasis on graduate education in economic development has increased. There are study programmes at university level, publications and associations. According to the editors there are some 15,000 economic development organizations in the United States alone, employing between 25,000 and 50,000 practitioners.

The book consists of eleven chapters dealing with subjects from zero-sum games and incentives to indicators for quality of life and the relationship between infrastructure and economic development. Each article is followed by two or three commentaries by practitioners. The people to benefit most from the book will be evaluators, researchers who analyse the impact, cost, etc., of local development projects. Each evaluator should read at least the article 'Can economic development programs be evaluated?' by Bartik and Bingham, as well as Persky's and Felsenstein's article 'How do we know that "but for the incentives" the development would not have occurred?'. These articles present and analyse the central concepts of evaluation: alternative situations, comparison

and control groups, *ex ante* and *ex post* evaluation, evaluation on the levels of businesses and communities and so on.

Evaluation has come to stay. At this point in time we require a uniform body of concepts in order to achieve comparable results from different countries in different situations. From the basis of these results it will subsequently be possible to analyse the prospects for influencing urban economic development in a more universal manner. Attempts could also be made to make use of this analysis apparatus in urban historical research. If this were to succeed, history could provide our present needs with valuable information from the past. It is true that history teaches us lessons today, but these lessons could become even more detailed.

James A. Segedy's article 'How important is ''quality of life'' in location decisions and local economic development?' is interesting from the points of view of both researchers and planners who ponder on which factors of the quality of life are important while deciding the location of a company. Companies tend to shun cities with a high crime rate and to favour secure neighbourhoods with good schools, clean environment and cultural services. From traditional features of productive political economy quality of life has become very important. Segedy points out that industries are able to locate anywhere and that many variables, such as capital, labour and taxes, are now available universally. As more communities offer the same incentives, those incentives lose their power, and there is less emphasis on deal-making and more on those unique features that distinguish a community from its competitors. The planners also ought to pay attention to the community's special qualities and image, its culture. In her commentary, Signe Rich stresses that economic development professionals must learn to mobilize community resources as part of their task of creating a healthy investment climate. All communities should be encouraged to build on their unique strengths involving, for example, cultural development and local human resources. Michael I. Luger and Harvey A. Goldstein discuss this in their article 'What is the role of public universities in regional economic development?', maintaining that a region cannot rely only on a good physical infrastructure – an equally important factor is a *knowledge* infrastructure, typically including public schools, community colleges and universities, to grow creative and innovative individuals and organizations that can lead to sustainable economic development.

What is perhaps lacking in the book is a stronger emphasis on spiritual capital, the cultural sector and the perspectives of the spreading of innovations. Development is primarily dependent on know-how and related special features which could have been analysed more thoroughly. This provides challenges for urban history researchers, as a long-term analysis will also reveal how the economic and cultural components have progressed side by side. This fact manifests itself as clearly in northern Italy during the Renaissance as in The Netherlands during the seventeenth century.

Marjatta Hietala
University of Tampere

Kevin R. McNamara, *Urban Verbs: Arts and Discourses of American Cities*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996. vii + 310pp. 16 figures. Bibliography. £30.00; $39.50.

Kevin McNamara picks up on Richard Sennett's concern that the cultural potential of differences between inhabitants of American cities has become the malaise of defensive indifference. In an effort to explain what has happened in American cities, McNamara drops back to the turn of the last century to outline a debate between Progressives, who sought to order the city through the new discipline of planning as well as through slum clearance projects and urban politics, and sociologists of the city, notably Robert Park and Louis Wirth, who pursued a new, pluralist collectivity based not upon territorial communities but upon the communities of interest which arose with increased mobility.

Like Sennett, McNamara is a generalist. He wants to talk about 'cities *as wholes*, not of city life, particular communities, or the city as a setting' (p. 4) and so has to make a virtue out of the necessity of selectivity. The ideological clash which interests him and which Sennett has articulated could have been pursued in a hundred different ways but McNamara chooses to deal with American cities through paired aesthetic 'texts': Henry James's *The American Scene* (1907) and Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* (1900) from the first urban-industrial period; Hugh Ferris's *The Metropolis of Tomorrow* (1929) and William Carlos William's *Paterson* (1946–58) to exemplify modernist conceptions of the city; and, for signs of modernism in trouble and counter-proposals, respectively, the film noir, *The Naked City* (1948) and work by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown. Probably only an intriguing title and a portmanteau subtitle could contain this diversity while seeking to address generalist issues, but McNamara does have a consistent methodology which involves reading aesthetic texts alongside social theory and employing the notion of discourse to break down divisions between text and context. The inadequacy of these paired texts as comprehensive representations of 'American cities' is also converted into a bonus: since no representation – even the detailed 'bottom up' research of local historians – is adequate, McNamara reasons that one might as well focus upon how a few key texts structure and (just as important) fail to structure urban space. What James, for instance, cannot bring himself to represent straightforwardly but, instead, surrounds with the circumlocutions of his late style (namely, the opportunities which a dynamic American urbanism offers) can be as revealing as the minutiae of leisure-class pursuits or his own cultural and material discomforts which he details so successfully in the pages of *The American Scene*.

This approach will not satisfy some urban historians, but there are many compensations. The struggle between attempts to order the city and a willingness to go with its new, open-ended logic which probably does characterize the development of older American cities from the 1890s to the 1970s, emerges quite clearly by the third of McNamara's pairings. The influence of models of urban space derived from other discourses is very apparent in, for example, the curious mixture of European Expressionism and American mechanization in Ferris's *The Metropolis of Tomorrow*. And, throughout, McNamara expertly interweaves social and aesthetic theory while maintaining a definite preference for the optimism of the Chicago Sociologists over the pessimism of much contemporary urban writing. If there is a significant shortcoming in *Urban Verbs*

it is not the methodology but the range which such a freewheeling approach encourages. McNamara is so good on the period he marks by Dreiser and Williams that it would have been much more interesting to have more paired texts from the modern period. In the closing chapter on Venturi and Brown ('Popping the modernist bubble') it is as though McNamara feels he must complete the story and so has to justify their largely suburban focus and post-modern preoccupations. The book strains noticeably early in the final chapter, but the fault perhaps lies in the previous chapter on Jules Dassin's film *The Naked City* where the problems of the modern city get so entangled with Cold War fears that the new urban agenda – so different from that of Dreiser and James – requires 'solutions' from a post-modern perspective. Given the importance which McNamara rightly gives to the somewhat neglected theoretical perspectives of Park and Wirth, and his ability to combine discourses, he could have retained the strengths of *Urban Verbs* but buttressed them with more orthodox historical material by including some of the Chicago School case studies as well as plans and projects by Progressive reformers and 'reading' these alongside aesthetic texts. This would not have damaged the entirely valid methodological claims which McNamara makes when justifying an approach through discursive formations, but more 'history' or even more of the 'thickness' of description in the excellent chapters on James and Dreiser would have broached more successfully the important question, 'What resists discourse?'
Douglas Tallack
University of Nottingham

In-Jin Yoon, *On My Own; Korean Businesses And Race Relations In America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago press, 1997. 274pp. $45; £35.95.

As the title suggests, the author's objectives are twofold: to chart the development of post-war entrepreneurship among Korean immigrants in the US and to provide an analysis of current race relations (primarily between Koreans and African-Americans). Drawing on survey data compiled in Chicago (1987–88) and Los Angeles (1993–94), In-Jin Yoon offers a well-researched account of this largely neglected chapter in the history of immigration. In so doing, he challenges the received wisdom that both the success of Korean small businesses and ethnic solidarity have largely come about as a result of cultural factors. Yoon also objects to the positioning of Korean businessmen as 'middlemen entrepreneurs' and the consequent hostility of their minority (African-American) customers as primary sources of ethnic identity and solidarity. Rather than treating the Korean entrepreneurial community as an undifferentiated and homogeneous grouping, he emphasizes the impact of class and generational differences in the emergence of competing interest groups within the immigrant community (p. 163).

   In chapter one, Yoon provides a comparative analysis of immigrant and ethnic entrepreneurship in contemporary America. In a departure from conventional approaches to the study of ethnic entrepreneurship, he offers a syncretic model which focuses upon the interaction between three key variables: employment opportunity structures in the general labour market; business opportunity structures; and relative capacity to organize and mobilize resources for entrepreneurial activities (p. 43). Borrowing from Portes and Zhou (1992), Yoon dissects the final variable ('ethnic' resource mobilization) along ethnic, class and family lines.

Chapter two considers the structural (legal and economic) mechanisms which have facilitated Korean emigration to the United States. This is preceded by a summary analysis of emigration to the US during the first half of the twentieth century. Against a background of massive social dislocation, rapid export-oriented economic development, and under-employment among university-educated Koreans, coupled with significant changes in US immigration laws, Yoon provides an account of post-war migration processes, the motivation of immigrants and their adaptation to life in the US. Yoon identifies two distinct post-1945 migration streams: a pre-1976 stream, largely comprised of highly educated professionals and entrepreneurs, who have been successfully incorporated within the mainstream middle class; and a post-1976 stream, less well educated, lacking in economic resources and mobility, often employed by first-generation entrepreneurs, and more resistant to social assimilation (pp. 98–9). It is this second group which commands Yoon's attention in his subsequent analysis of conflict between Koreans and African-Americans.

Chapter three surveys the development of Korean entrepreneurship in Chicago and Los Angeles. Here, Yoon notes that urban demographic change, in particular outmigration among whites (Jews and Italians) from inner-city areas to the suburbs, coupled with the growth of export-oriented industries in Korea, created a window of opportunity for a generation of Korean entrepreneurs. Citing the 'golden era of wigs' (extending from the late 1960s through to the early 1970s), as an early example of ethnic succession and niche entrepreneurship, Yoon skilfully traces the emergence of Koreans as major providers of retail goods within inner-city African-American neighbourhoods.

Although, as he notes, relations between Korean retailers and African-Americans were initially amicable (p. 121), by the 1980s coexistence and interdependence had been displaced by growing mistrust and hostility on both sides. Chapter four is given over to an analysis of the deterioration of inter-group relations during the 1980s and 1990s. Drawing on survey data compiled in Chicago and Los Angeles, a depressingly familiar pattern of racism, exploitation, social and economic deprivation, and political manipulation emerges. While Yoon's interpretation of the data for this chapter is, for the most part, reliable, his conclusions are skewed by methodological inconsistencies and omissions. This reader was particularly struck by the absence of an African-American voice, corresponding to the detailed data obtained from Korean respondents. In light of the Los Angeles riots of 1992, and their impact on inter-group relations, access to African-American respondents may well have been closed to a Korean investigator, but this in itself does not excuse the one-dimensional analysis that emerges.

To summarize, this is a book of two halves; the first eminently successful, the second less so. In the first, Yoon provides an extremely effective and readable account of Korean entrepreneurship in the US, highlighting the existence of class and generational fractures, the relative value of ethnic and cultural factors in determining economic success and communal identity, and emphasizing the heterogeneous nature of the immigrant community as a whole. In contrast, Yoon's analysis of Korean-African-American relations is less successful.

Michael Weiner
University of Sheffield

Dyos Prize in Urban History

The prize consists of a cash sum and the publication of the paper as an article in *Urban History*. The prize is known as the Dyos Prize in Urban History to commemorate the innovative contribution made by H.J. Dyos to the development of the field. To reflect the catholicity and interdisciplinarity which Dyos encouraged, no temporal, geographical or thematic restrictions exist, except the paper must make a contribution to urban history. Scholars from outside the UK are encouraged to submit papers in English in the normal way.

Members of the adjudicating panel and Associate Editors of *Urban History* are ineligible for the prize. An announcement of the award will be made in the pages of *Urban History*.

Previous winners

1992

Mike Savage (Keele), 'Urban history and social history: two paradigms', *UH*, 20, 1 (1993), 61–77, jointly with Jeremy Boulton (Newcastle), 'Clandestine marriages in London: an examination of a neglected urban variable', *UH*, 20, 2 (1993), 191–210

1993

Philippa Mein Smith (Canterbury, NZ) and Lionel Frost (La Trobe), 'Suburbia and infant death in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Adelaide', *UH*, 21, 2 (1994), 251–72

1994

Andrew Brown-May (Monash), 'A charitable indulgence: street stalls and the transformation of public space in Melbourne, *c*. 1850–1920', *UH*, 23, 1 (1996), 48–71

1995

No award

1996

Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull (Lancaster), 'Changing home and workplace in Victorian London: the life of Henry Jaques, shirtmaker', *UH*, 24, 2 (1997), 148–78

1997

Martin Gorsky (Portsmouth), 'Mutual aid and civil society: friendly societies in nineteenth-century Bristol', *UH*, 25, 3 (1998), 302–22

1998

John Foot (London), 'From boomtown to bribesville: the images of the city, Milan 1980–1997', *UH*, 26, 3 (1999) (in press)