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Reviews of books

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Lionel Gossman, *Basel in the Age of Burckhardt: A Study in Unseasonable Ideas.* Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2000. 608pp. £28; $40.
Daniel Schläppi, *Die Zunftgesellschaft zu Schmieden in Bern zwischen Tradition und Moderne: Sozial-, Struktur und Kulturgeschichliche Aspekte von der Helvetik bis ins ausgehende 20. Jahrhundert.* Bern: Historical Association of the Canton of Bern, 2001. Tome 81. 566pp. Swiss Francs 58.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926803211354

Lionel Gossman, professor emeritus of Romance languages and literatures at Princeton University, has written three books rolled into one – as his title makes clear. The first book is a study of Germanic political ideas – unseasonable ideas – as characterized by the faculty of the tiny University of Basel which at times during the nineteenth century had only sixty students and in one particularly lean year only enrolled three candidates for the Greek literature course taught by the young Friedrich Nietzsche. But despite its paucity in numbers, the Basel faculty held out against a Prussian intellectual tide rising in the University of Berlin and led by Leopold Ranke. In Basel small was beautiful and the study of historical culture and art history were thought liable to be corrupted rather than defended by the rise of the super-state in the manner Prussian historians advocated. The Basel school was pre-eminently epitomized, as Trevor-Roper lucidly recognized a generation ago, by Jacob Burckhardt. The second of Lionel Gossman's enterprises is a 'double biography' of Burckhardt and his contemporary compatriot Johan Jacob Bachofen. Both belonged to grand families of the Basel oligarchy but whereas Bachofen was a gentleman scholar of private means, Burckhardt was an academic dependent on a university stipend who trained in Germany, taught at the polytechnic in the thrusting little industrial town of Zürich during the first years of Swiss unification and then spent the rest of his career teaching and researching classical art history in his home town of Basel, the largest and most gracious of the allied city-states of the Helvetian plains. It is the history of Basel which forms the third element of Gossman's great *opus* and the one likely to be of greatest interest to readers of *Urban History*.

Basel began to rise to fame with the opening of the St Gothard mule-track which, from 1230, gradually began to bring goods overland from Italy to Flanders, thus making its trans-shipment harbour on the Rhine elbow a centre of gravity between Europe's two great poles of economic growth. Two centuries later, as one of the 50-odd free cities of the Holy Roman Empire, Basel outstripped Frankfurt and the other towns of the Rhine corridor in size as well as in academic distinction. The university flourished, Erasmus made the city his home, the Roman Catholic church council sat there for several years, and Basel printers supplied many early books to great trade fairs as far afield as Leipzig. Thereafter, however, the rise of the colonial empires gradually turned much Dutch investment away from the European mainland along the Rhine and towards the American ocean as a result of which Basel was partially transformed from a medieval caravanserai into a city of skilled artisans and rich entrepreneurs. By the nineteenth century Basel was one of only four surviving free cities in the German empire, fiercely proud of its independence, hugely wealthy from its export of embroidered silk ribbon and bitterly fearful of the rise of liberalism, democracy and state unification. Crises came in relays as the oligarchic families tried to resist change. In the revolution of 1830 the city fathers so resolutely refused to give a political voice to Basel's subject provinces outside the city walls that farmers and piece-workers rose up in rebellion and the city lost its hinterland and much of its tax base. In the next revolution, in 1848, Basel very reluctantly decided to seek some shelter under the minimal federal administration which was being formed among the allied Swiss republics. In 1866 the fear of being cannibalized by Prussia became acute when the ancient free city of Frankfurt was punished and swallowed up for supporting the Austrian Habsburgs in the war of German unification. Basel's independence was finally surrendered in 1874, though not to Germany but to a newly emboldened Swiss Confederation. This union granted not only sovereignty over the city-state but also authority over its army.

Daniel Schläppi, a young librarian who lectures in music and drama, has written a very different book from that of Gossman. It is based on the records of one of the thirteen guilds to which Bern's aristocratic patricians, its *ancien régime* burghers, some of the restoration citizens and a few latter-day freeholders belonged and still belong. While some knowledge of Swiss history will enable any reader to savour the clear but oblique light which Gossman sheds on Basel's past, Schläppi's study of Bern is less easily used to discern the wider picture of a city's history. A full appreciation of the significance of the ancient order of blacksmiths will be gained by scholars more fluent than the present reviewer in German and in the Bernese Alemannic used for some of the work's more telling quotes. Schläppi's task was a mammoth doctoral one for which he was given uncensored access to the guild archives albeit with a request to adopt a literary style that would make the finished work accessible to the 2,000 modern-day guild fellows and their ladies. His quarter-of-a-million words of data, including 1,200 lengthy footnotes and 120 tables and graphs, explore a host of empirical minutiae. Topics range from the modification of political practice in the wake of the Swiss Revolution of 1798 to the differential rate of out-of-wedlock child-birth between guild members of the patrician class and those of the merchant oligarchy. The book ends with a photograph of the guild's heavy neo-baroque club-house, next to Bern's famous clock-bell tower. The reader's mind may revert to Basel, to Burckhardt, to art-history and to the much disseminated – but probably erroneous – thought that it was the Basel art historian who gave modern currency to the use of the term 'baroque'.

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Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001. xii + 387pp. 125 illustrations. £25.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926803221350

It was the argument of Philippe Aries that until the sixteenth century children led very different lives from their successors; adults were not conscious that a state called 'childhood' existed as a distinct phase of life; as parents they were unsentimental even uncaring, too used to the idea of infant mortality to grieve for lost sons and daughters. Despite works that have challenged them, as Nicholas Orme argues in his introduction, Aries' ideas have proved tenacious. Orme challenges them: 'Medieval people . . . had concepts of what childhood was, and when it began and ended. The arrival of children in the world was a notable event, and their upbringing and education were taken seriously' (p. 6). In this attractively produced and lavishly illustrated volume Orme draws on a wide range of material – documentary, literary and visual – to support his arguments. The book is ambitious in scope, covering the period from Anglo-Saxon to Tudor England. Chapter 1, 'Arriving', looks at birth, baptism and naming, the latter giving rise to an important discussion of the role and influence of godparents. Chapter 2, 'Family life', covers a wide range of topics, including the size of families, legitimacy, baby care, swaddling, weaning, care at night and attitudes to corporal punishment. Chapter 3, 'Danger and death', includes under its umbrella infanticide and abandonment, disablement, accidents, abuse, illness and death, in order to explore parents' and siblings reactions to the death of a child. Chapter 4, 'Words, rhymes, and songs', is concerned with children's oral culture, and Chapter 5, 'Play', demonstrates not only the difficulties of distinguishing children's games from adult interests (William Marshall recalling playing 'chevalers' as a five-year-old with King Stephen) but also the importance of the seasonal nature of many children's activities. Chapter 6, 'Church', returns to the role of godparents as well as the clergy in the education of children and the shaping of their attitudes, and asks 'was the medieval church child-friendly'? Two chapters are devoted to reading, 'Learning to read', and 'Reading for pleasure'. Finally, 'Growing up' looks at children seeking employment in the countryside, towns, aristocratic households and the church. The book is extensively referenced and has a full bibliography.

Orme argues persuasively that medieval people cared for their children. He does not seek to hide the dark side of their lives. Children were in danger of abuse; they might fall down wells when they were left at home as parents attended church; they could feel neglected and lonely when they were sent away from home. One of the strengths of the book is the way in which it attempts to see the world through the eyes of the child.

Janet Burton
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Michael Hicks (ed.), *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001. x + 198pp. 2 figures. 28 tables. £45.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926803231357

This extremely useful collection of articles is the second volume in Boydell's 'Fifteenth Century' series, the first volume being Curry and Matthew's *Concepts and*

Patterns of Service in the Later Middle Ages. The articles included here, written by a mixture of academics and postgraduates, come from a 1999 conference whose thiry-two papers have been reduced to eleven on the grounds of thematic coherence. Late medievalists will find all eleven pieces of interest and are unlikely to be concerned that this 'fifteenth-century' volume covers the period from *c.* 1377 to *c.* 1520. Alastair Dunn's examination of the estates which came into royal hands in the period of tenurial instability between 1397 and 1405, Shelagh Mitchell's study of Richard II's appointment of household knights to peace commissions and Alison Gundy's discussion of the Beauchamp affinity in the west midlands all throw light on Richard II's tyranny and deposition. For the fifteenth century, Jessica Freeman usefully locates her study of politics in Middlesex in the context of wider debates about the nature of the country community.

However, urban specialists are likely to focus on those papers linked to the theme of 'consumption' rather than of political 'revolution'. The generalizations about decline and prosperity which gave rise to the famous debate about urban decline are gradually giving way to a more nuanced picture of variety according to time and place. John Hare shows the variety of economic experience to be found in the sub-regions of fifteenth-century Wiltshire and warns against taking the recession of the mid-century as typical of the country's late medieval experience. John Lee's discussion of Cambridge in the fifteenth century also avoids polarized debate in balancing those factors encouraging a growth in demand for urban goods and services, such as the sharp rise in student numbers, with those creating problems for the town, such as the increasing dominance of trade by the Londoners. By contrast, Miranda Threlfall-Holmes uses Durham cathedral priory's purchases of wines and spices to argue that as the role of Durham men in supplying the priory declined, they were replaced by Newcastle traders, who were able to extend their trade even at the expense of merchants from the capital. If the university was central to Cambridge's late medieval fortunes then, as Winifred Harwood shows, monastic houses such as St Swithun's cathedral priory in Winchester were important generators of employment and demand within the urban economy. One of the central issues in the debate about urban decline in late medieval England was that of change in town government and, in particular, the views on oligarchy and urban political theory expressed in an important article by Susan Reynolds in *Urban History Yearbook* (1982). Here Peter Fleming develops and criticizes Reynolds' views, examining both those political discourses which reaffirmed the power of town rulers and those which offered a challenge to the urban elite. His claim that the urban mystery plays' 'trenchant critique of temporal power' could be seen as a critique of the town rulers who themselves organized such plays is a controversial one and will hopefully stimulate other urban historians to examine the social and political ideology of the mystery cycles.

Finally, two papers bring together the book's themes of economic consumption and political revolution. First, Christopher Woolgar uses the feasting at the enthronement of George Neville as archbishop of York in 1465 to establish exactly what was 'conspicuous' about noble food consumption in the later Middle Ages. Second, T.B. Pugh's study of Richard, Duke of York's income and expenditure reaffirms the case for a link between the financial difficulties of the magnates and the political upheavals of the 1450s. The papers here are of a consistently high standard. They are grounded in the detail of the primary sources whilst always remaining aware of the need to locate local studies in the context of wider historiographical controversies. Looking back to Postan's famous study of the fifteenth century helps give the book's economic chapters a thematic unity but its studies also look forward in suggesting how familiar debates can be developed in new directions.

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Richard Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism. Marriage, Family and Business in the English-Speaking World, 1580–1740.* Cambridge: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, and Cambridge University Press, 2001. xix + 505pp. 42 tables. Sources. £40.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926803241353

Richard Grassby's 'uncompromising empirical study' of the relationship between family and capitalism comes as a sequel to his previous work, *The Business Community of Seventeenth Century England*. Rejecting a theoretical approach to the subject, he once again based his work on his impressively large database of 28,000 business families, the fruit of more than 40 years of untiring archival research. Shifting from the whole of the business community to the core of the development of familial capitalism – family and kinship – has narrowed the focus of the analysis, and the final result is a work far more manageable than its predecessor. Unfortunately, problems in the definition of the central analytical category of businessman remain as in *Business Community*, and coupled with the vastness of a database in which everything is represented, this leaves the reader with a nagging sense of vagueness, evident also in the author's remarks at the end of each chapter.

The book aims at the reconstruction – both quantitative and qualitative – of both the public and private lives of families involved in business during the very long seventeenth century he studied. A lot has been done in correcting the previous overrepresentation of merchants – and of London – and now artisans, craftsmen and provincial families play a larger role; still, judging from the title of the book, there is less about America and the colonies than one is led to expect. Grassby's approach is more quantitative than in *Business Community*, and he has answered the earlier criticism which accused him of flattening the long period under analysis into an undifferentiated whole, by subdividing it into cohorts which aid the interpretation of his tables. Still, in places, one wishes that this wealth of statistical evidence would be put more into context with general population figures. Juxtaposed to the tables, and to add flesh to the quantitative bone, Grassby recounts example after example of particular merchants' behaviour. This heavily anecdotal style is sometimes not easy to follow, and makes it difficult to see any evolution or chronological change in the issues he deals with, particularly as the examples are not always dated even in the footnotes. Still, he shows here once again his uncanny ability in sifting through documentary material with an eye for the revealing episode and the telltale behaviour. Recounting fewer cases but at greater length would have eased the flow of the text, as can be glimpsed in his recounting of the adolescent problems of William Atwood's son (pp. 185–7) and in the courtship of Philip Papillon (pp. 369–73). However, doing this would have twisted the argument towards the better-represented cases, with all its corollary methodological problems, whilst his declared aim was to provide examples drawn from a large sample of cases.

The sections on the accumulation of capital, on women and widows in business are particularly full of interesting stimuli for social and economic historians, and will not fail to inspire future research in what remains the great unanswered question in the relationship between family and business, something that Grassby himself mentions in the closing paragraph: why some families seized opportunities and others stagnated.

Maria Fusaro
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T.C.W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660–1789.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. xv + 479pp. 21 plates. 5 tables. Bibliography. £25.00.

Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. xxi + 810pp. 23 plates. 5 figures. 2 tables. Bibliography. £30.00.

DOI: 10.1017/S096392680325135X

Although neither of these books focuses on urban history, cities provided the setting for much that they discuss. This is particularly the case with Blanning's well-written and interesting book which focuses on the spread of a public culture that facilitated the spread of public opinion in eighteenth-century Europe, and employs this to discuss political developments in a number of states. Blanning sees urbanization as important in the spread of this public sphere. He offers relevant statistics and considers the cultural infrastructure in the new urban spaces. These were far from unproblematic, both politically and culturally. Cities contained royal courts and ecclesiastical centres as well as the public institutions favoured by the middling orders.

Blanning carefully differentiates between cities and categories. He points out that it is mistaken to imagine that, because Hamburg was a large commercial city, its cultural arrangements were progressive. On the contrary, the conservative Lutheran piety of the city elders ensured there could be no concerts on a Sunday, while only guild members could perform music in public. Frankfurt was a financial centre, but was culturally conservative. Instead, the development of instrumental music, particularly the symphony, focused on cities dominated by courts – Mannheim, Salzburg, Berlin and, belatedly, Vienna – and where state employees made up much of the population. Blanning covers the diversity of public cultures. He sees the public as anonymous and unhierarchical, with access simply a matter of payment; although there was no equality among purchasers. Blanning delineates the self-image of this public in terms of openness, spontaneity and reasoned argument, although that can lead him to underplay the role of privacy, artifice and the irrational in the societies and cultures of the period. Blanning suggests that the rise of the public sphere required a new political culture. There was both opportunity and challenge for existing systems; and that takes him towards the role of the public in creating a crisis of legitimation in France.

Jonathan Israel does not engage so specifically with urban contexts and their consequences. Instead, he focuses on the development of the radical Enlightenment and, in particular, on the role of Spinoza and the international reach of Spinozism. This is a most impressive account of the contours and contents of radical intellectual developments, although their impact is less clear. Israel is disinclined to assess the writers he considers alongside the sway of traditional ideas. Nevertheless, there is a mass here of interest. For example, Israel points out the schizoid views of Islam held by radical enlightenment thinkers. Boulainvilliers' widely diffused *Vie de Mahomed* (1730) viewed Islam positively as a purified form of revealed religion, but other writers regarded Islam as a primitive, grossly superstitious religion, and linked that to the alleged propensity of Islamic societies for despotism. The intellectual battles within the radical tradition are treated with great care. For example, to argue that 'Régis' book is a notable landmark in the French intellectual crisis of Louis XIV's reign, above all because it marks the virtual withdrawal of Cartesianism from the battle to establish the core elements of religion philosophically, by means of reason. It represents a conscious abandonment of the central arena in the face of empiricism, Leibruz, Bayle, and the Spinozists', is to focus on an intellectual debate without considering such issues as how far the parochial clergy or the mass of believers were aware of any such crisis. That is not Israel's subject, but it ensures that his brilliant study of his subject can only offer so much to an understanding of the case.

Both books devote considerable emphasis to the culture of print. Israel suggests that, through the journals, Europe had, for the first time, amalgamated into a single intellectual arena, although it is unclear what he thinks about pre-Reformation Christianity in this context. These are two major works, each characterized by impressive scholarship, intellectual range and ambition, and a failure to address other interpretations adequately.

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Jon Lawrence and Pat Starkey (eds.), *Child Welfare and Social Action in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: International Perspectives.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001. vii + 294pp. No price stated.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926803261356

The figure of the slum or street child – as a focus for the anxieties associated with urban modernity – is crucial to accounts of the development of western welfare policies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This challenging and often revisionist collection of essays (which emerged from a similarly named conference held at the University of Liverpool in July 1998) is divided into four sections: (I) Gender and 'Delinquency', (II) Child Emigration, (III) Rethinking Philanthropy and (IV) 'Welfare States' and Child Welfare. Throughout, however, the collection juxtaposes child-savers' concerns about the corrupting cityscapes of Montreal, London and Glasgow etc. with their creation of 'cottage homes' and farm projects as supposedly rural restoratives. The significance of the social and symbolic ordering of space as a component of child welfare strategies is central to essays by Tamara Myers and Lydia D. Murdoch. Myers examines the cases of runaway daughters who appeared before the Montreal juvenile courts in the first half of the twentieth century on charges of deserting home and parents. Although Montreal's red light district was presented as dangerous to unchaperoned females, it provided opportunities for temporary refuge, adventure and anonymity for young women who were often escaping violence and abuse at home. In Murdoch's essay, the replacement of barrack-style schools with a cottage system that emphasized the familial is explained in terms of the desire to create an idealized domestic space for orphaned/destitute children in nineteenth-century Britain.

Whilst the abuse, injury and injustice of the past weighs heavy in any history of child welfare, this collection aims to explode myths and to offer a more sophisticated interpretation of experience than 'social control' frameworks have previously allowed. Geoffrey Sherington's examination of the work of the Fairbridge Society in emigrating British children to Australia challenges the notion that large numbers were abducted; in many cases, he suggests, parents actively encouraged the emigration of their children. Molly Ladd-Taylor argues that the sterilization of mothers in inter-war Minnesota was 'not simply a tale of victimisation': many resisted and some women tried to use it to their advantage as a form of contraception. Lynn Abrams' careful analysis of the experience of fostering in war-time Scotland provides an important child-centred account that has often been lacking from previous debates. A revisionist account of the relationship between the state and the voluntary sector is offered in an essay by Julie Grier, who argues that Barnardos and the National Children's Society played an important role in the development of post-war childcare provision.

The editors' introduction provides a useful summary of each chapter (all of which are of a high quality) although it is disappointing that there is no historiographical overview. Whilst it does not intend to set a new agenda or to shape an alternative paradigm for research, the picture that emerges in *Child Welfare and Social Action* is nuanced and complex, paying careful attention to issues of agency and the ways in which experience is mediated through perceptions of gender, class, religion, ethnicity and sexuality.

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K.D.M. Snell and Paul S. Ell, *Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. xvi + 499pp. 42 figures. 49 tables. 6 appendices. Bibliography. £60.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926803271352

The 1851 religious census has been condemned time and again over the decades for the unreliability of its picture of religion in mid-Victorian Britain. General social historians, convinced of the secularization of urbanizing and industrializing Britain, have required no second invitation to absolve themselves of the need to read any further in the subject. But social historians of religion return again and again to this one and only government census of churchgoing on that drizzly Mothering Sunday, 30 March 1851, when clergy all over Britain were asked by Horace Mann to count the attenders, the pews and a number of other categories at their own church or chapel. The census remains important to religious and cultural historians. First, it is the most geographically and denominationally complete and (bizarre as it may sound) reliable national census of a religious habit (as distinct from affiliation) ever undertaken in this country. Second, it provides returns down to parish level (excluding Scotland). Third, it allows for the modern statistical techniques of correlation and regression to be practised, permitting exploration of connections between religiosity indicators on the one hand and possible causal factors (measured for the same boundaries, usually in the same census year) on the other. This makes using the census nowadays extremely exciting, especially for nerdish students. Even with the census' national published data, it is possible within an hour or so to enter some data and drag age-old off-the-cuff hypotheses into the quantitative age with something like a finite conclusion (usually a negative one).

And this volume is a number-crunchers' picnic. Snell and Ell have pumped out both national and case-study findings to cover seemingly every conceivable method of data interpretation from the census. Though relatively few in this field are as statistically minded as the authors (thus reducing the ability of the specialism to absorb the findings), the results are conveyed generally well – though it is irritating that many of the tables have incomplete titles and legends so that only in the text is there to be found the explanation of what each is precisely showing. But as a specialists' book, there is much to attract in this primary research. There are results in all sorts of geographic, graphic and tabular presentation, and a greater nuanced understanding emerges of many features of the religious and denominational characteristics of England and Wales in 1851.

Yet, the book is disappointing. First and foremost, it provides a type of purist quantitative and social-science understanding of the nature of religion and secularization that only enjoyed a brief reign in the 1970s and early 1980s, and which is now rarely to be found in the rest of the literature. This is exemplified by some of the statistical exercises which seem of less than earth-shattering importance – such as the five pages (pp. 46–51) devoted to cross-testing denominational sittings against attendances. The marrying of quantitative and qualitative 'data' on religion may be hard, as the authors acknowledge, but the unreflexive statistizing of something as problematic as religiosity leaves this work feeling a little obsessive and oddly out of date. Second, the literature review, the statement of existing knowledge and reference to previous researchers will irritate many in the field. The authors constantly bemoan the state of scholarship in Britain with phrases like 'inadequate understanding' (p. 2), 'poor spatial understanding' (p. 3) and 'the most neglected' (p. 274), and yet offer poor and ungenerous acknowledgment of the work of other historians, especially those, like Hugh McLeod, who have vastly improved our understanding of cities and religion in Britain over the last three decades. This effect is compounded by the absence of reference to significant new work in the 1990s (by such as McLeod, Mark Smith, David Hempton) that problematizes, contextualizes and elaborates on the use of statistics in the social history of religion. Meanwhile, many readers may be a little surprised to hear that the book's research 'is the first to enter into thorough investigation' (p. 1) of the 1851 census. Third, the sheer under-referencing to other religious censuses and other non-quantitative perspectives on religion in Britain in the nineteenth (let alone any adjacent) century leaves the feeling that this is stand-alone snapshot geography. It appears rather out of touch with recent trends in the field, giving an impression that statistics are the only way to measure religion and its decline. Fourth, the book's conclusions on secularization in rural and urban societies (summarized on p. 418) explore patterns rather than causes, principally because the authors do not really acknowledge the big demerits of the 1851 census in comparison to others – its failure to provide significant data on the gender, social class and age of churchgoers. Within statistical studies of religion during modernity, these three categories of analysis are now (along with ethnicity) the most serious foci of scholarly attention. Outwith statistical studies, the rising foci are on folk religion, personal testimony and the construction of the religious self. This book feels disappointingly disjoined from central debates concerning each of these, reducing its contribution to up-to-date discussion of urbanization and religious change in nineteenth-century Britain.

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Sally Sheard and Helen Power (eds.), *Body and City: Histories of Urban Public Health.* Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001. xvi + 221pp. 18 figures. 13 tables. £49.50.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926803281359

This addition to the Ashgate series on Historical Urban Studies is dominated – indeed, over-dominated – by nineteenth-century preoccupations. Nevertheless, the quality is unusually high. Complementary articles by Paul Laxton and Gerry Kearns apply detailed research rather than progressivist semi-hagiography to the life and achievements of William Henry Duncan, Liverpool and Britain's first full-time medical officer of health. Following a predominantly biographical tack, Laxton sceptically notes that, despite Duncan's massive labours, the city remained 'as sickly and dangerous for the working class in the late 1860s as it had been in the early 1840s'. Kearns creatively focuses on relationships between capital and province and the under-investigated theme of the extent to which 'proud city governments formed an effective political network' in their own right. Cholera-stricken Zurich provides the context for Flurin Condrau and Jakob Tanner's paper on epidemiological representation and response: a major, Foucauldian theme here is the extent to which, during the later nineteenth century, bacteria and viruses replaced patients as objects of medical scrutiny. Marjaana Niemi's contribution on public health discourses in Birmingham and Gothenburg confronts under-explored early twentieth-century themes and suggests that, whereas specialists in urban Sweden became increasingly concerned with isolation of the infected, their British counterparts continued to emphasize one or another version of moralized self-help.

In the first of four predominantly quantitative articles, Robert Millward and Frances Bell assess the impact of public health investment during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and argue that a '44.4 per cent increase in the existing housing stock was . . . the factor in the physical environment most strongly influencing mortality patterns [in Britain] in the period 1884–87 to 1906–9'. They go on to suggest that 'improved *quality*' of accommodation probably constituted 'the more important aspect of housing's beneficial effect'. This addition to Millward and associates' publications on the relationship between patterns of local authority expenditure and the reduction in the urban death-rate ends with a plea for a more rigorous evaluation of changes in environmental regulation. John Brown's account of the impacts of household behaviour and public intervention on infant mortality in German towns between 1889 and 1912 is an ambitious and open-ended piece of work which self-reflexively concludes with the suggestion that more attention should now be given to the 'underlying aetiology of infant diarrhoeal diseases at the turn of the century in order to verify whether the faecal-oral path of transmission played the role that [Brown's] analysis implies'. In a complementary paper, Jorg Peter Vogele, Wolfgang Woelk and Silke Fehlemann investigate the reduction in the scale of the urban penalty in Germany between the

1890s and the 1920s by means of an investigation of standardized infant mortality attributable to an impressively wide range of causes. The authors are sceptical about the role that can have been played by infant welfare centres or improvements in the quality of milk supply during the period under review.

In a trio of essays devoted to the pre-1800 period, Colin Jones and Peter Christensen focus on plague. Succinctly addressing the Slack–Appleby debate, Christensen argues that, from the early eighteenth century onwards, the consolidation of Danish absolutism made a decisive contribution to a delimitation of the spread of the pestilence. In equally brief compass, Colin Jones argues for an interpretation of plague treatises which will 'involve us believing what contemporary texts have to say about [the disease] *less*, but looking to accept, and investigating their influence in society *more*'. This fragment constitutes a compelling but technically demanding agenda for future research. Peregrine Horden's 'Ritual and public health in the early medieval city' – a polythmathic rumination on urban and cultural space, authority and *communitas*, and purity and pollution – is masterly and will become essential reading for all those concerned with interractions between the city, the body, health and disease.

Deftly edited and introduced, this is an excellent volume which ought nevertheless to have been made available to a wider readership via simultaneous publication in paperback. Faceless adjudicators of the RAE are rumoured to look askance at allegedly random and non-refereed collections of essays, preferring journal articles, each of which has recently been calculated to be consulted by an average of 1.2 readers. Now is the time to refute philistine assumptions by making genuinely worthwhile projects of this kind more visible and more affordable.

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Zane L. Miller, *Visions of Place: The City, Neighborhoods, Suburbs, and Cincinnati's Clifton, 1850–2000.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2001. xii + 217pp. 9 figures. 14 maps. $19.95 pbk.
Tom Sitton and William Deverell (eds.), *Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001. xii + 371pp. 38 illustrations. $22.50; £15.95 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926803291355

Taking us deep into the fabric of their respective cities, these two books reflect the continued importance of the city 'biography' as a central genre in the writing of urban history. Yet their perspectives differ radically, and together the two volumes offer contrasting approaches to writing and understanding in the field.

Zane L. Miller has produced an example of what he terms the 'Cincinnati School' of urban history, focusing on the conceptual frameworks and typologies that groups and individuals have employed to understand their town and city environments. His subject is the Cincinnati district of Clifton, which first emerged in the mid-nineteenth century as a suburb for prosperous Cincinnatians seeking spacious residences on the hills overlooking their Ohio River metropolis. Miller traces the subsequent history of Clifton, taking as his main milestones the changes he has identified in perceptions of urban characteristics and functions.

Clifton's establishment coincided with the emergence of a view of cities as having distinct components whose different functions operated together in an almost mechanical way. Central districts, suburbs and other zones operated as interconnecting parts of a larger metropolitan whole. City governments like that of Cincinnati accordingly sought to incorporate politically independent outlying districts within their limits; in Clifton's case this was accomplished only after more than one attempt. Railroads and streetcar lines articulated the connections between the different functioning parts of the city. But by the early twentieth century the controlling metaphor for urban functions was shifting from a mechanical towards a more organic conception: each part of the city's complex fabric could be expected to evolve over time and experience a cycle of development and decline. This assumption guided the efforts of planners to anticipate changes within city districts as part of a wider master plan for a complete urban region. Though Miller does not say so specifically, it seems that highways, parkways and urban streets formed the ligaments of this complex structure; in his account the road and the automobile do not burst dramatically onto the scene, but subtly insinuate themselves into Clifton's fabric.

But after institutional and demographic changes had turned Clifton from an exclusive suburb into a varied and ethnically diverse neighbourhood, the mid-twentieth century brought a further change in perspective. In the 1950s and 1960s the dislocation of poorer, mainly African American citizens from other parts of Cincinnati confronted Clifton with the prospect of becoming part of the city's expanding ghetto. Its residents responded by adopting measures designed to conserve its diversity, and in doing so constructed institutions that would produce a shift towards locally focused city governance in the later decades of the twentieth century. Miller is writing about his own neighbours and avoids being judgmental, but goes as far as to point out that in the bodies they created, especially the Clifton Town Meeting, they trod a fine line between racial exclusivity and unlimited acceptance, managing a modest influx of African American families into the district, while resisting its ghettoization.

In the significant portion of the book that traces the efforts of the Clifton Town Meeting to regulate developments since the 1960s, Miller demonstrates how local residents secured a greater say in their local affairs than they had achieved since Clifton's incorporation into Cincinnati in 1896. While he illustrates some of the advantages of this accomplishment, he also argues the need for the renewal of a wider conception of the interests of the city as a whole. Without such an informing vision, he suggests, local planning and politics can devolve into limited, parochial expressions of self-interest. Clifton, in its mixture of urban and suburban life, epitomizes what Miller terms an 'outer-city neighborhood', a phenomenon very common in American cities but infrequently recognized by planners or urban sociologists. Such districts pose a challenge to simplistic top-down or bottom-up models of local governance.

Whereas Miller takes a longitudinal approach to a locality, the 15 essays collected by Tom Sitton and William Deverell provide a set of snapshots of Los Angeles during the 1920s, a potent decade in the city's emergence as major metropolis and field of dreams. Aiming to provide a collective discussion, the editors have assembled distinguished contributions from an array of Los Angeles historians, including some, such as Mike Davis and Steven J. Ross, whose work on the city is internationally known. Like all such essay collections, this one has uneven qualities, but most of the contributions are punchy and succinct. They cover a variety of topics, from the opening of new highways, to the influence of elites in city government, from capital and labour in the creation of 'Hollywood' to the competition and influence of religious groups and institutions. A lively concluding piece by David Charles Sloane on Forest Lawn cemetery rebuts some of the famous mid-twentieth-century critiques by Evelyn Waugh and Jessica Mitford while presenting evidence that concedes nothing to them by way of weirdness. Sloane's depiction of Forest Lawn as the projection, not of 'American' culture, but of a complex series of social tensions and anxieties, in some ways summarizes the views of the city of Los Angeles presented in these essays.

Together these two volumes pose one of urban history's classic questions. Is the city the subject of study, or is it the arena in which the subject manifests itself? For Zane L. Miller, local politics and the sense of place and neighbourhood are the central issues; in peoples' conceptions of the city lies the marrow of urban history. For the editors and contributors to *Metropolis in the Making*, the city itself has a more dynamic, yet also more incidental role. Rather than being a mechanism or an organism, it seems to have been the setting for the playing out of human dramas that the urban and suburban environment merely concentrates. In that sense, Hollywood and the paraphernalia of its film industry serves as a kind of metonym for the larger city system that provided its home. For the citizens of Clifton and tens of thousands of comparable neighbourhoods 'home' became a place to treasure and preserve, but the story of Los Angeles reminds us that cities do not just belong to those who live there.

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Angela Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism, and Modernity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. x + 298pp. £17.50.
DOI: 10.1017/S096392680330135X

The steamships that brought young middle-class Australians to London in search of personal or professional fulfilment exemplified the technology of a modernity that, from the 1870s, was shrinking the globe and bringing Australia closer to Britain. But the benefits of modernity were by no means one-sided, and although often invisible, white colonials have been, as Woollacott puts it, a substantial, shaping constituency of London for over a century.

In Woollacott's account, Australian women were not only benefactors but also agents of modernity. Being British but not of Britain gave middle-class Australians licence to criticize Britain from within, but these women also played leading roles in feminist organizations and progressive clubs, finding common cause with other white colonial women, and Woollacott traces the extensive involvement of Australian women as political activists prior to the Second World War.

Australian women were able to travel and yet remain respectable by exploiting the feminized space of the boarding house which Woollacott locates in St John's

Wood, Bloomsbury and South Kensington. Yet although she refers to shifting cognitive maps as Australians took advantage of new artistic or professional meeting places, lists of clubs and activities do not give a sense of how London was experienced. Tourist diaries are more sensitive than published autobiographies to the textures of imperial London, and by excluding Australians as tourists, Woollacott excludes the ways in which London's modernity generated its apparent antithesis, producing a display of British antiquity in tourist sites like Westminster Abbey.

Woollacott considers in some detail the voyage to London, tracing the effect of places like Colombo on the women's perception of London as an imperial 'home'. Perceptions of London were also affected, however, by travel within the UK, by experiences of the English countryside or visits to factories in competing imperial hubs such as Manchester and Glasgow. Beyond the UK, Australians who visited Paris or Berlin found them architecturally more impressive as imperial capitals, while those who visited New York or Chicago found their modernity brash and superficial. The freedoms offered not only by the steamship but by rail travel or the motor car challenged the bounded nature of Woollacott's metropolis.

There is a danger in overstating the significance in London of young Australian painters and writers when compared with, say, the influence of Australian judges, politicians and bankers. And there is a danger in grouping feminism, modernity and colonialism as transgressive forces when this excludes the experience of the majority of Australian women who came to Britain with parents or husbands. Accounts by such women may yet be read transgressively to reveal more subtle evidence of the effect of modernity both on Australian women and on London.

Such reservations aside, Woollacott's comprehensive study provides rich evidence that a newfound freedom and mobility allowed ambitious Australian women to have an influence in London disproportionate to their number, and this work will prove an influential contribution to our understanding of London, imperialism and the Australian abroad.

Andrew Hassam
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Anthony W. Lee, *Picturing Chinatown: Art and Orientalism in San Francisco.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001. xiv + 347pp. 8 plates. 155 figures. Bibliography. US$45; £29.50.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926803311356

This handsomely produced book sets out to explore the images through which San Francisco's Chinatown was depicted by photographers and painters between 1850, when the quarter came into being, and around 1950, when discriminatory anti-Chinese legislation was repealed. Most of the artists whose work the book features are white, some of them highly gifted and well known to historians of California art, others largely forgotten. One chapter is devoted to the Chinese Revolutionary Artists' Club, a collective formed by young Chinese in the 1920s, and another to ethnic Chinese show business in the 1940s. Anthony Lee reads the images he has collected as episodes in the construction by white America of an orientalized representation of immigrant and ethnic Chinese. He argues that the racialized picturing of Chinatown progressed through phases closely connected to the changing social and political context. At one level, his book can be read as a history of Chinatown.

The first phase, which started in the 1850s, was one of studio portraiture, whose mainly white practitioners did not yet systematically discriminate between Chinese and other races in terms of representational style. In the 1860s, Chinatown itself became a subject for white photographers, who depicted it in the manner of the survey photographs typical of the period – empirical, informational studies done more as an act of cataloguing than an exercise in imagination. According to Lee, these survey photographs, by turning Chinatown into an object of analysis, represented a form of colonialism. He argues that pictures of Chinese stores taken by Isaiah West Taber registered 'the desire by non-Chinese to take possession of the quarter's economy' (p. 46). He even interprets the blurring and 'erasure' of Chinese figures in some (but not all) photographs of a butcher's shop as Taber's deliberate 'dematerialization' of his subjects (by leaving the lens open while the men were moving) and an attempt to 'capture what it might be like to own a shop in Chinatown, devoid of the Chinese' (p. 51). The book contains several instances of such speculation, which I find implausible and annoying. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a new view of Chinatown took shape in photographs and paintings. Although Chinatown was more than ever despised by the racist majority in this period, with exclusionist agitation rampant, the quarter's 'barbaric gorgeousness' and picturesque exoticism allowed its transformation into the 'stuff of art' and the sentimentalization of its squalor. The turn of the century saw the invasion of Chinatown by great hordes of white amateur photographers, who took advantage of the unequal power relations between them and the Chinese to muscle their way into the quarter and pop their shutters at it.

Chapter 5, 'Revolutionary artists' reconstructs from the few available sources the remarkable but forgotten history of the Chinatown artists' collective, founded in 1924 and pledged to do modernist oil work 'that is essentially Chinese' (p. 201). In 1930 or 1931, the club hosted Diego Rivera, the revolutionary Mexican muralist. (Unfortunately, the reception they threw for him was inundated by white upper-crust gatecrashers.) The club's founder and star member, Yun Gee, had probably been influenced in China by the New Culture Movement of the 1910s, which paved the way for the birth of the Communist Party in Shanghai in 1921, the same year that Yun Gee reached San Francisco. Yun Gee's political sympathies were on the far left, but his vision remained utopian and ineffective. His group's style aped that of the Paris studios, thus failing to achieve a synthesis between 'essentially Chinese' art and the politics of Chinatown. The last chapter looks at the Forbidden City, a San Francisco nightclub founded in 1938 as an Asian-American ensemble which (says Lee) specialized in staging performances of 'Otherness' for white audiences. Lee describes the club as an early experiment by Chinese in the playful hybridization of cultures – and, at the same time, as their breakthrough into social visibility in mainstream popular culture in the United States.

This is not an easy book to read. Written in the mannered style of the cultural-studies school, it lacks clarity and sometimes descends into the abstruse. Although arranged chronologically, the chapters are not always well structured. They tend to lack clearly stated aims and appropriate conclusions. For the historian of Chinatown and the art historian, the book's greatest value lies in the collection of rare paintings and photographs from public collections and private scrapbooks that the author has assembled.

Gregor Benton
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Mary Lackritz Gray, with a foreword by Franz Schulze, *A Guide to Chicago's Murals*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001. xxviii + 488pp. Numerous plates. Bibliography. $25.00; £16.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926803321352

No less than 180 mural projects are recorded and illustrated – mainly in excellent colour reproductions made specially for this book – in Mary Gray's *A Guide to Chicago's Murals*. And this does not include lost works which are included as an appendix and illustrated where possible with old black and whites. It is an impressive record to which a number of factors contributed. The great Chicago fire of 1871 led to a massive rebuilding of the city at a time when large interior decorative projects were fashionable around the world, and Chicago was fortunate to have architects and patrons equal to New York and the east coast cities. Though little visual record of it survives, the huge Chicago's World's Columbian Exhibition of 1893, commemorating the fourth centenary of the Americas' discovery, gave a boost to decorative projects. Most influential, though, was the art section of Roosevelt's New Deal, the Federal Art Project, 1935–43 and related government financed projects, which paid unemployed artists to decorate public buildings. Behind the Federal Art Project lay the experience of Mexico, where the sustained drive of the inter-war government to decorate public buildings with celebrations of the freeing of its people from colonialism and the birth of modern Mexico acted as a stimulus in the United States where, indeed, Mexico's best-known muralist, Diego Rivera, carried out a number of commissions. In recent years, with the decline of modernist abstraction, and a desire on the part of some artists to reconnect with wider audiences, there has been new interest in the Federal Art Project, and murals long whitewashed over have been uncovered again. Some of these are illustrated here. Invariably figurative, their subjects are often connected with labour – though they are mainly downbeat compared with the Stakhanovite productions of Stalin's contemporary Russia – while subjects such as learning, religion and leisure are also common. The book is organized strictly as a dictionary or tour guide, and is non-judgmental, but it is not difficult to see that the early period up to the 1920s had major artist figures, like the neo-Byzantinist Henry Clay Bartlett (whose admiration for Seurat's La Grande Jatte which he purchased and presented to the Art Institute of Chicago is easier to understand when one has seen the stiff formality of his own painting). The results of the Federal Art Project are mixed, as one would expect given that many artists were employed. But there is a consistency to the results of the Project, as if participants knew what was expected and produced accordingly. Recent work, which is not confined in the same way to the local, and includes well-known living artists like Jim Dine and Sol LeWitt, is less even and reflects current uncertainty about what we mean by public art or even by public space. In respect of the last, though, it is interesting how few current owners of these works require that visitors make appointments to view in advance.

Andrew Causey
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Janet Ward, *Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in 1920s Germany.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001. xvi + 358pp. 63 figures. Appendix. Notes. Index. $19.95; £12.95 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926803331359

The word Weimar is heavily charged. It conjures up that experiment with republican democracy born of German defeat in the First World War which, because of its association with defeat, was doomed to fail. As if this was not enough, the fact that no important interests in Germany – not the army, Junker landowners, industrialists, civil service or the churches – supported the Weimar republic ensured its collapse. So Weimar means the nightmare inflation of 1923, when a cup of coffee cost millions of marks, rising tides of nationalism and anti-Semitism or the devastating depression after 1929 which helped bring Hitler's Nazis to power.

Yet the years between 1924 and 1929, the years of Stressmann and 'fulfilment', was a period of stabilization and remarkable cultural achievement. This is the Weimar of Bertolt Brecht, Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, experimental theatre, music and architecture, of George Grosz and modern art. This is also the Weimar that Janet Ward, professor of German Studies at the University of Colorado, Boulder, explores. I must confess that at first I was somewhat overcome by the Germanic heaviness of her approach. The introduction, weighed down with cultural references to other people's work, does her no favours. But once she gets into her stride the whole approach lightens and we get what in the end becomes a glittering survey of the urban visual culture of Germany in the 1920s – the time, before it allowed itself to be swallowed up in the horror of the Third Reich, when Germany led the world in design.

Ward places great emphasis on the importance of the Weimar period as a link between 'modern' and 'postmodern' cultural experiences. Throughout the twentieth century mass cultural phenomena grew in importance, taking over from elite structures of cultural expression and transforming capitalist industrialization into 'forms clad for modern consumption'. She quotes approvingly from Ann Douglas. 'The pace of change had not only accelerated but *peaked* in the 1920s . . . The modern world as we know it today, all the phenomena that to our minds spell the contemporary, from athletic bodies and sexual freedom for women, to airplanes, radios, skyscapers, chain stores and the culture of credit, all arrived on the scene then . . . [and] have not fundamentally altered.' From this perspective she places great emphasis on the word *surface*: literal and conceptual expressions which promote external appearence to us in such arenas as architecture, advertising, film and fashion.

The book then explores this idea in four long chapters on each of these arena. Architecture was key in this period. The work of Walter Gropius, of the Bauhaus school, and Le Corbusier, was most influential. Modernization meant that Germany was tearing down many of its old imperial buildings and constructing new. Though Germany had lost the war, she aspired to be leading nation in the world but, like Britain, had finally to accept that the United States was unreachably in front. Yet Weimar architecture was much more exciting than American although, as Ward points out, the art-deco movement actually began in France. The most intriguing chapter is on cinema. This is not just because cinema was the new, universal art form of the twentieth century, where surface and appearance was everything, but because the design of cinemas was so important in selling the products of dream factories like the gigantic Ufa studios, where Alfred Hitchcock served part of his apprenticeship.

The argument is helped along with scores of brilliantly presented figures, mostly photographs, that capture so vividly the style of Weimar. The photographs of cinema buildings, of the famous street set for the film *Asphalt* and the remarkable façade for *Die Frau im Mond* at the Ufa-Palast am Zoo, which shows a space rocket launched from a skyscraper city, are a powerful visual addition to the argument, in keeping with the thesis of the book. I began reading it with some reservations but by the end a text closely supported by carefully chosen illustrations had won my admiration.

Patrick Renshaw
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Alex Bruce, *The Cathedral 'Open and Free': Dean Bennett of Chester.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000. xiv + 286pp. 1 plate. Bibliography. £13.99 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926803341355

In 1928 the dean of Chester agreed with the mayor of the city that Armistice Day and Mayor's Sunday that year should be marked by a combined service in the cathedral 'where a new stand for the civic mace and sword, symbolically linking city and cathedral, would be inaugurated'. The stand had been presented in memory of a former mayor who had lost three sons in the First World War. After the service wreaths were laid on the city war memorial on the cathedral green. The local press commented on the 'thousands' who had been disappointed because they were unable to find a place in the cathedral and who wanted a simple out of door service to mark Armistice Day. The following year it was again decided to hold the service in the cathedral. Among the outraged comments that again appeared in the Chester press was the complaint that the ceremony was being transformed into 'an ecclesiastical function'.

These episodes are related in a chapter in a book that is, in effect, a biography of Frank Bennett, with particular reference to his work as dean of Chester between 1920 and 1937 and his significance in the development of cathedral life in general. It is a clearly written and, within its limits, a thoroughly researched piece of work, but like the Chester Armistice Day services it stays too closely within the institutional confines of the establishment to fulfil its real potential. Chester Cathedral was established in 1541, and its location in a dissolved abbey had located it firmly in a context familiar to urban historians, where relations between townspeople and the churchmen associated with it often provide a fruitful basis for study. Yet beyond the inclusion of episodes such as the Armistice services, discussed as an example of a situation where the 'considerable public-relations skills' of the dean seem to have deserted him, we are provided with little that enables us to move beyond the surface of Bennett's exemplary achievements in opening up Chester Cathedral or to examine the deeper implications of his work.

The Church of England continued to establish cathedrals in cities such as Bradford and Liverpool into the twentieth century, although these newer foundations have proved less attractive to historians than the great medieval cathedrals, many of which now have modern histories. The spiritual needs of the people of Chester, as expressed in their ideas of what they regarded as a fitting Armistice commemoration, appeared to be of a different kind to the sort of provision that even zealous deans like Bennett, who had ministered in urban and industrial parishes before moving to Chester Cathedral, were able to meet. Yet the increasing number of visitors with whom he attempted to communicate shows that cathedrals were still able to strike some chords in the hearts and minds of larger numbers of people than those who attended their worship. Such considerations raise questions about the place that cathedrals occupy in modern urban society – their investment in them into the twentieth century suggests that the authorities of the Church of England felt that they continued to have significance – but what they really meant to the people of the towns in which they were established is more problematical. It is a line of enquiry which opens up a number of important, indeed fundamental, questions about the place of the churches in modern urban society, but a fully satisfactory investigation of them will go beyond the role of individuals such as Dean Bennett, significant though they were.

R.W. Ambler
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Larry Keating, *Atlanta: Race, Class, and Urban Expansion.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001. xi + 232pp. 7 maps. 15 tables. Notes. $69.50 hbk, $22.95 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926803351351

The rise of Atlanta as a dominant regional urban centre paralleled the growth of post-war US Sunbelt cities. The US census of 2000 reported that the Atlanta metropolitan area had become home to 4.1 million people sprawling ambitiously over twenty counties. Proclaimed by its civic leaders to be 'the city too busy to hate', Atlanta long enjoyed a reputation as a progressive New South city that desegregated without much turmoil and offered a strategic regional location to national and international corporations. Larry Keating's book offers a deeply critical analysis of urban planning and policy making in Atlanta's recent history. In particular, he challenges Atlanta's generally positive reputation on such issues as race relations and municipal leadership.

Keating's book focuses primarily on the varied ways in which race and class shaped urban planning and public policy between the 1950s and the 1990s. In the immediate post-war era, a downtown coalition of elite business leaders and power brokers controlled Atlanta's government and determined policy directions. This group, which included Coca Cola executive Robert Woodruff and successive mayors William Hartsfield and Ivan Allen, Jr, was especially interested in redeveloping Atlanta's central business district, a common goal in most American cities in the 1940s and 1950s. As the civil rights movement strengthened in the late 1950s and 1960s, the governing elite assembled a strategic alliance with the black middle class, forming a biracial coalition. By desegregating downtown businesses and supporting black voting rights, the elite was able to secure black voting support for downtown redevelopment goals, such as expressways, slum clearance, urban renewal and rail transit. The biracial coalition persisted until the early 1970s, when Atlanta's first black mayor, Maynard Jackson, took a different path, promoting neighbourhood interests, especially those of the African American community, over those of the downtown business elite. In a second term, Jackson moved closer to white business leaders, but the earlier biracial coalition was firmly re-established in 1981 under a second black mayor, former Carter administration advisor Andrew Young. Keating argues forcefully that the governing elite, even when it included black leaders such as Mayor Young, single-mindedly promoted downtown planning and development goals.

Carrying out the governing elite's development agenda almost always came at the expense of Atlanta's large low-income black community. Urban policy was utilized to keep whites in political control and to move blacks out of the downtown area to more distant locations. For example, annexations in the early 1950s expanded the city's boundaries but more importantly served to dilute anticipated black voting power. Expressway building and urban renewal programmes in the 1950s and 1960s provided powerful tools to reshape urban space and its uses. Both programmes caused massive demolition of black housing and permitted white civic leaders to recapture central city land for business-related redevelopment. Numerous other projects contributed to the same purposeful outcome: a major-league baseball stadium for the Atlanta Braves, a civic centre and auditorium, hotel/office/shopping complexes, the Underground Atlanta commercial centre. In preparing for the 1996 summer Olympic Games, Atlanta leaders demolished still more black housing to provide space for sporting facilities, including another new stadium later turned over to the Atlanta Braves.

In an ironic twist, the same urban policies that displaced African Americans contributed to the commercial decline of the city centre. The expressway system stretching far beyond the city limits speeded the decentralization of white population to the suburbs. Policy makers and politicians thought that building an extensive mass transit rail system would help revitalize downtown Atlanta. As it turned out, they underestimated the American love of the automobile. Moreover, the failure to tie mass transit to land-use regulations requiring housing density near transit stations contributed to very low rates of commuter rail usage. Black citizens had contributed much to Atlanta's once thriving commercial core, but decades of black removal from the centre decimated downtown retail activity and street life. The rail transit system was routed to distant white areas where the automobile reigned, but it ignored densely populated black neighbourhoods. Consequently, downtown Atlanta had few residents and little nightlife, while convention goers rarely ventured from multi-purpose hotel centres. Atlanta power brokers had a long-term goal of saving the central business district, but the plans and policies they implemented produced just the opposite outcome.

Those same plans and policies, Keating contends, also produced two separate Atlantas – mostly white suburbia and a mostly black central city (according to the 2000 census, the city of Atlanta is now 61.4 per cent black). The city has a growing black middle class, but most black Atlantans are mired in poverty, with substantially lower incomes, higher rates of unemployment, inferior schooling and services, and highly segregated neighbourhoods with poor housing. Contemporary Atlanta was shaped, Keating writes, by an irresponsible 'anti-public-planning ideology' guided by a persistent racial and class bias. Keating's Atlanta is a city in trouble.

The book is based on a wide range of research in planning and policy materials. A professor of city and regional planning at Georgia Institute of Technology, Keating has been involved in neighbourhood and community development activities for over twenty years, thus providing the combined perspectives of social scientist and involved citizen. The social science theory underlying the book derives in large part from classic works on Atlanta by Floyd Hunter (1953) and Clarence N. Stone (1989). In many ways, the book also parallels historian Ronald H. Bayor's *Race and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century Atlanta* (1996), which provides a deeper textual account of Atlanta race relations. Keating's argument is persuasive and effectively presented, especially the details of elite policy and planning. However, much of the statistical material on black inequality is based on census data from 1980 and 1990. Thus, a sense of what has happened in the 1990s is missing, particularly the impact of recent Hispanic and Asian migration to the Atlanta metro area. In many respects, Atlanta is no longer simply a black and white city but a much more diverse urban centre, mirroring the impact of recent immigration on the nation as a whole. Nevertheless, Keating has provided an excellent study of post-war urban policy and planning in Atlanta, while at the same time challenging the booster image of a rising global city promoted by a succession of elite decision-makers.

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John Foot, *Milan since the Miracle: City, Culture and Identity.* Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001. xiv + 240pp. 20 figures. 2 maps. Bibliography. £14.99.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926803361358

Milan since the Miracle is essentially a collection of essays on related themes, not an organic whole. Practically every chapter is based, either wholly or partially, on already published articles. Given the very wide range of journals Foot's work has appeared in, there was very considerable merit in the idea of making all this material available in one volume to readers whose primary interest is in either Milan or modern Italian history rather than in migration, media studies or urban geography, but to fail to acknowledge the book's origins in any way struck this reader as a rather Berlusconian sleight-of-hand, unworthy of an author who affects to be such a severe critic of the television magnate. Like most collections, the book is somewhat uneven. The best chapter is the third, 'City of movement: Milan and mass immigration 1950–2000'. Here Foot makes a number of telling comparisons between Italian migration into Milan in the 1950s and 1960s and the more recent wave of non-Italian immigration in the 1980s and 1990s, rightly criticizing much Italian work on the latter topic for failing to acknowledge any continuity between the treatment of Southerners during the Miracle and that meted out to the *extracomunitari* in recent years. Whilst Foot's discussion of the second wave is more impressionistic than his nuanced analysis of the first, on which he has already published a substantial amount of serious and scholarly empirical research, none the less the polemic hits its target, exposing the patriotic myths around national identity. The sixth chapter, 'Capital of design; capital of fashion' serves as a very succinct and readable introduction both to Milan's centrality in industrial design before 1968 and to the city's more recent success in usurping Florence's old role as fashion capital of Italy. Foot shows considerable skill in putting aesthetic developments in their economic and social context, convincingly tying Milan into its Lombard industrial hinterland, with its long traditions in both the furniture and textile industries. Foot makes many entertaining and insightful points about both the initial impact of television on daily life in the 1950s and Berlusconi's role in Milanese life in Chapter Five, 'Television and the city: the history and impact of television in Milan, 1954–2000'. The narrative section (pp. 164–73) of the chapter 'From boom town to bribesville: the images of the city, 1980–2000', is a lively and informative account of the *Tangentopoli* scandal, even if I would dissent from his rabid hostility towards *Rifondazione Comunista* for making the perfectly legitimate point that the choice between two ex-industrialist Milanese mayoral candidates in 1997 was a choice between 'clones', when seen from a militant working-class point of view.

Having indicated those sections of the book which make a serious contribution to the social, political and cultural history of Milan, I am bound to observe that in much of the rest of the book Milanese historical realities are lost in a fashionable post-modernist fog, when not obscured by the poisonous smog of the 'linguistic turn'. Chapter Seven, 'The Milanese urban periphery: myth and reality, 1950–2000', showed none of the 'healthy disrespect for the Academy' with which the author's father allegedly inspired him (p. xi), unless it was intended as a parody of wilfully obscurantist self-referential academic discourse. Chapter One, 'Milan, city of fragments' is, I hope, a *post facto* rationalization of the fragmentary nature of the book; indeed, I would like to imagine that the unqualified advocacy of micro-history is slightly tongue-in-cheek. Chapter Two, with its assertion that 'Gribaudi's study has effectively crushed the idea that there was ever a unified, stable working class at Borgo San Paolo (and if it did not exist there, it did not exist anywhere)' (p. 28), soon degenerates into the kind of ill-informed anti-Marxist rant that makes a reviewer who is genuinely interested in working-class communities in Italian industrial cities notice that the lengthy bibliography, so meticulous in nodding to all the gurus of cultural theory, contains no reference to important works on Milan by Louise Tilly or Tom Behan, let alone the crucial works on Sesto San Giovanni by Donald Bell or Perry Willson, or indeed Carl Levy's recent work which casts a somewhat different light on Borgo San Paolo itself. Furthermore, post-modern solipsism is taken to extremes in the author's claim that his own house is 'a microcosm of the history of modern Milan', an assertion he elaborates on, not once but twice (pp. 16–17, and p. 177), in a book that omits to provide either any systematic census-based account of the city's changing economic, social and demographic structure or properly tabulated electoral statistics for the 1945–2000 period. In conclusion, Foot on Milan will never achieve the cult status in his adopted city that Allum's masterpiece has gained in Naples.

Tobias Abse
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