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# Reviews of books

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**Gaynor Kavanagh and Elizabeth Frostick (eds)**, *Making City Histories in Museums*. London: Leicester University Press, 1998. xii + 212pp. 16 figures. 9 tables. £57.50 hbk.

As an integral part of the urban experience, many city museums have shifted, over the course of the twentieth century, from being museums *in* cities to museums *about* cities. As a consequence, the making of city histories in museums is gradually becoming a more self-critical, politicized and democratic process. This collection of papers charts the social history of this important museological transition, and examines its implications for existing city history museums and their public.

The first three chapters are primarily regional surveys. Gaynor Kavanagh provides a useful overview of the social history of the making of city histories in museums in the United Kingdom (and Scandinavia) from the mid-nineteenth century to the present day. Her penultimate section also attempts to establish a more theorized statement of the processes involved in the interpretation of city histories, but one which is compromised by its confusing combination of post-structuralist critique followed by a structuralist systems diagram. Michael Wallace begins with a detailed social history of the rise and fall of New York's first urban history museums, and a useful review of democratizing initiatives being pursued by similar museums across the USA. He also provocatively calls for urban history museums to participate in debates about politically-sensitive contemporary urban issues, optimistically claiming that herein lies the potential for urban regeneration. I wonder if his citizens agree? Bill Maguire provides a useful introduction to the socio-political history of city museums in Belfast and (London)Derry, and to the debates and decisions involved in setting up urban history exhibitions. Interestingly, his curatorial attitude is much less interventionist than that of Wallace.

Next come a pair of local case studies. Sally MacDonald presents a detailed report on the decision-making process involved in the establishment of a museum in Croydon, designed to deal with its particular identity problem. Carol Scott provides a valuable introduction to recent issues and methodological developments relating to visitor evaluation and research amongst multi-ethnic urban populations, with particular reference to problems faced by the Powerhouse Museum in Sydney.

Then there are three chapters of a more discursive nature. Max Hebditch offers 'a brief survey' of city history museums in Europe. Unfortunately, his patchy geographical coverage and limited research offer little support for his attempts at

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generalization, with the exception of his obvious point about the diversity of such museums. Catherine Ross provides a well-informed and wide-ranging discussion of city museum collecting, with particular reference to the history of the Museum of London. David Fleming attempts to predict the future for city history museums. He makes some interesting suggestions, but it is difficult to take them seriously, given that they are presented in an authoritative voice, through a succession of speculative generalizations which refer to a future with an unspecified time-scale.

The following three chapters summarize the results of broader social studies of cities. Raj Pal outlines a detailed study of the social history of post-war immigration in Birmingham. Disappointingly, given his stated concern with reconstructing power relations between museums and their public, he fails to connect his research to ongoing community museum projects in Birmingham. Roy Porter presents an enjoyable social history of urban encounters in the urban spaces of London and offers suggestions for London in the new millennium, but without any direct reference to museums. Rachael Unsworth provides a useful overview of urban geographers' approaches to the study of cities and highlights their relevance to museological representations of cities.

In the final chapter, Elizabeth Frostick outlines plans to create a new city museum of the twenty-first century in Birmingham. It is an interesting example, but it reads like a company manifesto, with its emphasis on the 'positive' and its portrayal of all difficulties as 'challenges'.

Overall, the book is a compromised attempt to deal with an important topic. There is plenty of interesting information, and a couple of outstanding papers, but there is also a serious lack of coherence. The editors have attempted to incorporate too great a diversity of themes and perspectives relating to cities and museums, without any clear statement of their aims. This problem is compounded by the lack of an introduction to the book, which is not made up for by the brief preface. Nor is it helped by the essentially descriptive narrative style of many of the authors, none of whom make their theoretical perspectives explicit. The book also lacks originality, many of the papers having been published in one form or another elsewhere.

**R. Skeates**
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**Anita Joussemet (ed.)**, *La recherche sur la ville au Brésil: Actes des journées franco-brésiliennes du PIR Villes*. Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1997. 284pp. Bibliography by chapter. No price stated.

This is a very good book, encompassing historical and contemporary accounts of the Brazilian research and thought on cities. It is the result of a workshop on the subject held in Paris between 28–29 November 1994. The work is divided in parts and contains articles written by Brazilian geographers, architects with a training in sociology and political science as well as sociologists. Indeed, the authors belong to different regions of the country, escaping the vice of books concentrating on the so-called axis Rio de Janeiro-São Paulo.

Part I deals with the history of urban research and urbanistic thought. Here one finds a masterful essay by geographer Mauricio de Almeida Abreu from the

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Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (hereafter Rio) entitled 'Thinking on the city in Brazil: sixteenth–eighteenth century' (pp. 13–36). Abreu divides his history into basically three stages: the role of military engineers during the colonial period (until 1822, the independence), the hygienists in the nineteenth century and the growing role of civil engineers from 1870 until the developments that originated the urban renewal of Rio during the administration of mayor-engineer Francisco Pereira Passos, an episode which is by now classic in Brazilian urban history. The article shows a knowledge of recent scholarship in the field such as the discovery that Brazil had planned cities in the colonial period and there was a territorial policy, a fact that has been denied for several decades in Brazilian history because of the influence and importance of the work of Sergio Buarque de Holanda (a kind of Brazilian Braudel): *Raizes do Brazil* (The Roots of Brazil). These findings were already pointed out by Nestor Goulart Reis Filho (*Evolução Urbana do Brasil*, 1968) and most recently and in more detail by Roberta Marx Delson (*New Towns for Colonial Brazil: Spatial and Social Planning of the Eighteenth Century*, 1979). Indeed, Abreu is updated with new turns in Brazilian historiography such as the discovery of the urban economic dynamism during the same period, a fact equally denied for a long time. From the nineteenth century onwards, the essay concentrates mostly on Rio, the consultation of a medical commission in 1798, the medical preoccupation with urban epidemics in the context of the miasmatic theory and the rise of the importance of civil engineers after the implementation of the first railway in 1850.

Chapter two is a statistical analysis of urban research between 1940–80 undertaken by Licia Valadares, an urban sociologist from Rio who got her Ph.D. from the University of Toulouse in France and is well known for her works on *favela* (slums) cleaning and literature reviews. Valadares is the co-ordinator of URBANDATA – a database on Brazilian urban research which is based at her institution, IUPERJ. The author shows the decline of geography and anthropology as the leading disciplines on the city in the 1940s and the rising of disciplines such as sociology and planning as the most important, although she acknowledges that Brazilian urban research has become very interdisciplinary nowadays. Indeed, the reader will perhaps be surprised to know the importance of the national production compared to the foreign, 89 per cent of the output being in Portuguese, 6 per cent in English and 3 per cent in French, although part of the literature not in Portuguese was also written by Brazilian scholars. However, the classifications used are a bit unclear or too vague. The kind of subjects or approaches used within categories such as urban planning, social movements or urban evolution are not discussed.

Part II deals with urban policy and local government, the first article being on recent history, urban spoilation, social struggles and citizenship. This is a piece by one of the leading urban sociologists in Brazil, Lucio Kowarick, a specialist in marginality and social exclusion from the University of São Paulo. The author deals mainly with his previous scholarship and discusses the non-correspondence of poverty and social exclusion with political militancy, concluding that marginality is growing and political participation is not fostering social change, a great disappointment given recent events such as the civic movement for direct elections in 1984 and the official end of the military regime in 1985. The conclusion is that Brazilian citizens, the few that deserve this title, earning more than ten minimum salaries (*c*. $120.000) paying taxes and not using public

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services because of their quality (*c*. 10 per cent of the population according to him), are *citoyens privés* (private citizens) in the double sense of the French phrase: deprived of social benefits and socially isolated in a country which 'does not find the direction of its own development' (p. 82).

Chapter two in this part was written by two architects and planners (Norma Lacerda and Sueli Leal) and sociologist Breno Souto Maior, all of them from the Federal University of Pernambuco, Recife. The article treated with local government in the north-east and the new paradigms, discussing alternatives in the context of globalization and showing that clientelistic and corporatist practices are dominant in the relationship of city halls and councils with the population. This feature is particularly strong in small municipalities where the budget is almost a secret. The Brazilian north-east contains 20 per cent of the Brazilian population and 55 per cent of the indigents. Other sources point out that this region encompasses one-third of the population. The conclusion suggests popular participation, administrative transparency and the progressive introduction of pedagogic improvements in the local culture. Therefore, Robert Cabanes, who wrote the introduction to this part, is right to say that all the articles share a 'lack of optimism with social movements' (p. 70).

**Joel Outtes**
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**David Lloyd**, *The Concise History of Ludlow*. Ludlow: Merlin Unwin Books, 1999. 174pp. Illustrated. £9.99 pbk.
**David Lloyd (comp.)**, *Ludlow: The Archive Photographs Series*. Stroud: Chalford Publishing, 1995. 160pp. £8.99 pbk.

Ludlow began its urban life as a twelfth-century planned new town attached to a great castle, and flourished in the later Middle Ages as a cloth making and wool dealing centre. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries its major role was administrative, as the headquarters of the Council in the Marches. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it became one of the leading members of that select group of towns which were chosen by the gentry as places of leisure activity, residence and retirement. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it reverted to what had always lain behind these earlier faces, that is, a prosperous market town with some industry, combined with tourist and residential success. It is endearingly off the beaten track in the picturesque Welsh borders, yet close enough to the English midlands to avoid the poverty and obscurity of real isolation. It has gained from enjoying prosperity when fine building was the natural consequence of an inflow of money, but has avoided the damage done by an excess of cash at architecturally disastrous periods such as the late Victorian or the 1960s, with their ruthless demolition and redevelopment of old buildings. Ludlow has had a more varied and interesting history than most market towns of its size; its records are good from the sixteenth century onwards; the physical fabric, regarded as either a documentary source or as an unending visual feast, is rich in both intrinsic quality and range of date and type. All things considered, a good deal has already been written about the town, stimulated perhaps by the presence of a good-sized group of residents who care deeply about the place and try to preserve its character and learn more about it.

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Ludlow is also fortunate in having David Lloyd as its local historian, bringing enthusiasm, commitment to the community, historical learning and a ready pen to a series of publications about the town: these books are his latest. Both are aimed at a popular market, rather than the typical reader of this periodical – they are inexpensive, well illustrated and are admirably successful at taking academic history and re-packaging it for a popular readership without a trace of 'dumbing down'. The *Archive Photographs* volume is typical of many similar offerings, with their fascinating glimpses of an everyday world now strangely unfamiliar; this one is done well, with historical points deftly made in every caption, but is chiefly of interest to locals and visitors. The *Concise History* will interest a wider audience, for it tells a continuous tale from prehistory to the present which is full of points which illustrate the general run of English small-town history as manifested in one town of particular character. It is stronger on the period before 1800, but that presumably reflects the material available and the author's enthusiasms – and that is where Ludlow has most to tell us. Most pages have one or more small illustrations, all adding greatly to the material in the text. Castle, buildings, setting, three Michelin rosettes, David Lloyd: lucky Ludlow!

**Alan Dyer**
University of Wales, Bangor

**Roger Price with Michael Ponsford**, *St Bartholomew's Hospital, Bristol*. CBA Research Report 110: York, 1998. xix + 251pp. £28.00.
**Michael J. Jones (ed.)**, *The Defences of the Lower City. The Archaeology of Lincoln Vol. VII–2*. CBA Research Report 114: York, 1999. xvii + 286pp. £36.00.
**J.R. Hunter and M.P. Heyworth**, *The Hamwic Glass*. CBA Research Report 116: York, 1998. xii + 139pp. £28.00.

These three handsomely-produced reports represent the sort of detailed research publication for which the Council for British Archaeology is to be justly commended. Production values are high, but there is no compromise to the priorities of research presentation: attention has been paid to things which matter, such as providing scales in illustrations and indexes to all the volumes – including the Hunter and Heyworth volume, which is primarily a catalogue.

The report by Ponsford, Price and several minor contributors into the excavation of St Bartholomew's Hospital, Bristol, is a contribution to the understanding of a type of site for which there is substantial documentation, but which has rarely enough been the subject of thorough excavation. The report has a clear and considered rationale: it combines the close analysis of a medieval hospital with a controlled study of other regional hospitals (pp. 198–231), with due attention to their evolving and changing use across three centuries. Most pleasing for urban historians is the full integration of historical data into the interpretation. The thesis that there was a narrowing of focus of hospitals to specific functions in the fifteenth century is specifically tested (pp. 15–16; 228–9 for summary) and the entire report has much to offer the historian wishing to test models against archaeological data.

The second of the reports is more of a mixed bag, principally concentrating on the excavation of two sites on the line of the lower, or 'extended', circuit of the

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city wall at Lincoln between 1968 and 1974. For all its disparate origins, covering excavations over several decades, this volume provides an admirable synthesis of complex and intermittent excavation of a comparatively poorly-understood segment of this Roman and medieval town. The report has a complex history: being drafted mostly in the 1980s on the basis of material collected from as far back as the 1940s – then delayed to incorporate further work in the 1990s. The range of methodological changes which affected excavation policy across these decades is considerable and it is praiseworthy that such a coherent and well-conceived report was able to be assembled out of this body of material. The report on the excavation of The Parks (1968–72), by Michael J. Jones, contains useful critique of the methodology of site reports (p. 7) in the light of the evolution of method between the 1960s and the 1990s. This report, unlike so many recent reports, has resisted being swamped by its specialist contributions on the finds; it provides clear sectional drawings (pp. 15, 16, 18, 24, 27, 28) which aid the discussion (pp. 1–43) and conclusion (pp. 179–81) in presenting a picture of the centrality of this site for understanding the history of Lincoln's defences. The specialist reports on the finds are nonetheless weighty (pp. 44–178) and air much new research. The report on the West Parade (pp. 183–204) by Brian Gilmour includes specialist reports on the West Parade site, especially on the late Roman material which promises to revolutionize dating perspectives.

The final volume, a report by Hunter and Heyworth into a large sample of Middle Saxon glass (1,735 fragments) from Middle Saxon Hamwih, is a well-documented study which allows for the further testing, through a larger sample, of theories developed on the basis of the smaller Melbourne Street assemblage (*c.* 100 fragments). The volume is aimed at those already concerned with late Roman and 'Merovingian' glass studies: the introduction rehearses, I feel too briefly, the taphonomic problems posed by the comparison of vessels from continental and early Anglo-Saxon grave fields with the more fragmentary evidence from insular urban contexts. The method of 'vessel quantification analysis' used here may be new, but the broad approach is that employed by Hunter and Sanderson over more than two decades. That the pioneering work of Alcock, on the basis of Harden's hypothesis, on the possibility that cullet was used in 'industrial' activity at Dinas Powys in Glamorgan, is cited here is notable (p. 1): the recent revision of this hypothesis, especially by Ewan Campbell, has noted what is also confirmed by this report (p. 59) – that the 'cullet' hypothesis is not supported by the evidence and we must conclude that it has been overused as a working model.

**Jonathan M. Wooding**
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**Simon Thurley, with contributions by Alan Cook, David Gaimster, Beverley Nenk and Mark Samuel**, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240–1698*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with Historic Royal Palaces, 1999. xv + 185pp. 171 plates and figures. 4 appendices. £50.00.

Although it was condemned by the duc de Saint Simon as 'the largest and ugliest palace in Europe', Whitehall, as the principal residence of the monarch from 1529

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to 1698, played a central role in English public life for almost two centuries. Even today its name is synonymous with national political power and the layout of the vanished palace has determined the topography of the complex of government offices which now occupy the site. As a palace it never achieved the architectural coherence that marked the creations of the French and Spanish monarchies. The inability of successive English kings and queens to assemble the necessary funds for a comprehensive rebuilding saw to that. Instead they had to be content with making piecemeal alterations and additions to suit their changing needs and ambitions. By the time of the catastrophic fire on 4 January 1698 which destroyed all but the majestic Banqueting House of Inigo Jones, it was a rambling, haphazard mess spreading over 23 acres; its final form testimony to the unfulfilled dreams of Cardinal Wolsey, Henry VIII, Charles I, James II and William and Mary. Its great size, a result of the unique relationship between the departments of state and the domestic accommodation of the monarch in the governance of the nation, was its main distinguishing characteristic.

The evolution and development of the palace from its thirteenth-century origins as the London residence of the Archbishops of York is an immensely complicated story and it is a measure of Simon Thurley's command of the archaeological, documentary, topographical and illustrative material that he has produced an integrated monograph that is unlikely to be superseded. The weak link in this impressive assembly of evidence is the archaeology. The excavations carried out in advance of redevelopment at various dates between 1937 and 1964 are of crucial importance in re-creating the developing form of the palace. They were directed by scholars of great stature. But, unfortunately, the excavators did not have the benefit of modern techniques of systematic recording and analysis. The circumstances of rescue archaeology even in the 1960s were in their infancy and many of the finds and site notes have been lost. Thurley has done a magnificent job on what he calls 'the archaeology of the archaeology' but nevertheless the surviving archive was insufficient to sustain a discrete archaeological account. Consequently, the partial excavated evidence has been incorporated in the main text apart from short appendices on some of the ceramics and a valuable discussion of the stone waterfronts. This has the merit of bringing the wide variety of sources together in a chronological form but it interrupts the flow of the narrative. Thurley's vivid prose partly compensates for the disjointed structure but the full value of many of his insights on room function, decoration and the architectural context are muted by the intrusion of the supporting evidence which might have been better placed in an appendix. It does not diminish the importance of this book but it makes the information that it contains less digestible to the wide readership that it deserves to attract. It is handsomely produced and the large format allows for the clear reproduction of the visual evidence with which it is generously illustrated. Despite the shortcomings of the archaeological evidence, both author and publisher can be proud of this painstaking reconstruction of the most magnificent urban palace in the kingdom.

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**Alain Ruiz (ed.)**, *Présence de l'Allemagne à Bordeaux du siècle de Montaigne à la veille de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale*. Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 1997. 488pp. 28 illustrations. 4 colour plates. 220 FF.

Only in recent times have French historians abandoned their traditional reluctance to study non-French influence and migration on national demography and culture. With the relentless development of the Franco-German axis at the centre of the 'ever-closer union' of Europe, interest has grown in tracing the encounters between France and her closest neighbour. Yet Bordeaux is not the obvious place to search for German influence. South-western France is distant from the Rhine and France's fifth city, with its surrounding viticulture, faces the Atlantic. This book begins by pointing out that the first relationship that probably comes to mind is from those distant times from up to 1453, with Plantagenet kings masters of the region 'when the English gathered in the wine harvest of the Aquitaine'. More recently Bordeaux has been 'the tragic capital of France'. In the winter of 1870 the French government fled there from Paris and the advancing Prussian army. The government arrived again in 1914, and ministers passed through the city in June 1940 on the way to Vichy to capitulate to another German invasion. There followed the 'black years' of occupation of the city, providing little to celebrate and hardly mentioned here.

Yet this volume, edited by the professor of German literature and civilization at one of Bordeaux's three universities and including articles, memoirs, pictures and poems, argues eloquently for the depth and importance of other local Franco/German encounters, economic, financial, cultural, intellectual and political, extending over almost five centuries. It has to be said that some of the German links seem tenuous. The case is weak for much of a connection with two figures with local connections – the great writer and mayor of the city Michel de Montaigne in the sixteenth century, and that extraordinarily influential diplomat and poet of the twentieth century, Alexis Léger. Nor is it very convincing to pluck people from the 'circle' of Goethe or to speak of links with Nietzsche or Richard Wagner when all we find is books sold and short pieces of music performed. Individuals from the world of geology, theology and natural science had a local presence, but they cannot be said to reflect much of a general trend.

Rather more can be made of a locally celebrated visit of 1802 by the German romantic poet Frederick Hölderlin to work for the German consul. He at least expressed enthusiasm for Bordeaux:

*There along the vines*
*Where the Dordogne descends*
*Where it combines, full as the sea*
*With the magnificent Garonne . . .*

It is at this point in the book that the author begins to make a case for a more than passing relationship dating from the eighteenth century. There was a German consulate in 1802 primarily because of a small expatriate community of wine merchants from the Hanseatic towns. These migrants in turn contributed to the various branches of Protestantism, and created a lasting network of trade and financial contact which has since only been spasmodically interrupted by revolution and war.

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The families of German wine merchants gave their names to local companies and to Bordeaux streets. Other Germans, especially Jews, have since before the Great Revolution become essential to the international financial arrangements with their own country, and were centrally associated with imperial trade in tea, coffee and sugar. Following the Revolutionary War and trade blockades of the early nineteenth century, many German migrants became integrated into Bordelais society. There was Henri Barckhausen, a 'perfect example of assimilation', who published an edition of the essays of Montaigne and was appointed prefect of the Gironde *département* before his death in 1914. Various members of the Kressmann family donned the uniform of the French army in 1914 and again in 1939.

Despite the nationalist rivalries of the early twentieth century, a two-volume study of *The German Colony of Bordeaux* by Alfred Leroux appeared in 1918. The successor volume under review contains interesting memoirs from later years including from Pierre-Paul Sagave, who came as a schoolboy in 1931, and did not want to return to Hitler's Germany. As the descendant of an eighteenth-century Huguenot refugee, he could obtain French citizenship and was subsequently a member of the French army of occupation in Germany.

The collection also includes an account of the Goethe institute of Bordeaux, which since 1972 has been explaining to the Bordelais the joys of German civilization. No doubt this has helped in cementing understanding between peoples who have not always been on the best of terms, but whose friendship now is of central importance to the peace and prosperity of Europe. Perhaps another volume tracing links with Britain and Ireland would have something to tell us also about the culture of this great French city and its wine-producing hinterland.

**Alan Clinton**
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**Geoffrey Timmins**, *Made in Lancashire: A History of Regional Industrialisation*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998. xiii + 365pp. 27 figures. 25 tables. Bibliography. £50.00.

The abundance of books on the economic history of Lancashire indicates the county's status as an exemplary archetype, even perhaps the bell-wether, of industrialization and its aftermath. Timmins has mixed some fresh and appetizing ingredients into the familiar fare of the rise and fall of King Cotton. The stark tartness of his statistical relishes will jolt even jaded palates from the customary response to familiarity. Weaving already accounted for 43 per cent of occupations in Radcliffe parish in the 1650s and for 49 and 50 per cent in Bolton and Blackburn in the 1720s. Cotton imports increased from 4.2 million lbs in 1772–74 to 452 million lbs in 1839–41. In 1818–21 over half of the occupied population in seven districts, and between 30 and 50 per cent in 32 of the 55 others, were handloom weavers. Two decades later 40 per cent of the county's labour force were in cotton manufacturing, 20 per cent in other industries, and a quarter in services. That was only a platform for population growth from 1.7 millions in 1841 to 4.8 millions in 1911, record cotton cloth exports of over 7,000

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million yards, and coal output of 28 million tons in 1913. Since 1950 cotton cloth and yarn production have collapsed at between 37 and 60 per cent per decade. In 1950 nearly 60,000 coal miners raised over 15 million tons a year through about 70 pits. In 1993 the cotton industry employed fewer than 4,000 people, the last deep pit closed, and only 21.5 per cent of the region's labour force were occupied in manufacturing and mining, with 73.3 per cent in services.

The statistically spiced ingredients are presented as the usual four courses: before the industrial revolution (1500–1770); the industrial revolution (1770–1840); mature industrialization (1840–1914), and industrial decline and readjustment (since the First World War). Each of the first three parts contains three chapters. Outlines of the extent of growth are followed by discussions of influences on growth, then by synoptic chapters relating generalizations about, respectively, proto-industrialization, the nature of industrial revolution, and English entrepreneurial failure, to what happened in Lancashire. These references to theories of economic growth are really garnishes rather than substantial ingredients. It is inevitable that some items in lists of simplified characteristics drawn from complicated theories can be matched by selected instances from Lancashire (or anywhere else), and that others (or even the same ones) can be contradicted by counter-instances. It is not obvious what this tells us about the validity of the generalizations or the reasons for what happened in Lancashire. The fourth part of the book treats the decline of coal and cotton fully, with due attention to government policies on the old staples and the attraction of replacement industries. It is rather meagre compared with the earlier parts. No third chapter relates Lancashire's experience to generalizations about the growth of services in erstwhile industrial economies. Their expansion is mainly dealt with in terms of shifts within broad statistical categories, and there is little explanation of the astonishing post-war efflorescence of Lancashire's globally successful service economy – which is surely as intriguing as the (not unrelated?) causes of decline in manufacturing?

Timmins' treatment of the definition and nature of his 'region' is again more of a garnish than a substantial ingredient. Introductory discussion of the regional nature of economic growth is largely aimed at justifying the use of pre-1974 county boundaries, and an extension into north-east Cheshire (as it was before 1974). This reflects the usual bias towards textiles: no similar extension of Merseyside into the Wirral is considered. Given the book's subtitle, the lack of any discussion of whether and in what senses historic Lancashire plus one bit of Cheshire was an industrial region, or a number of regions, or a congeries of parts of regions, is obtrusive. It also leaves the traditional concerns of industrial history unleavened by recent ideas about the importance of culture in the dynamics of economic regions: that is, the sorts of people, as well as machines and factories, that made goods and now provide services with such remarkable success.

Timmins has provided some very nourishing, piquantly spiced and cleverly garnished traditional fare, but something nearer to nouvelle cuisine might have been even better.

**John Langton**
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**Paul Slack**, *From Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England*. The Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford, 1994–95. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999. viii + 179pp. £25.00.

Do we inhabit a 'post-welfare' as well as a post-modern world? One might be excused for thinking so given Britain's privatization of council houses in the 1980s and the current vogue of 'welfare to work' in the US. If we are witnessing modern welfare's demise, why should we read the published version of Paul Slack's Ford Lectures? Is a book on early modern welfare of more than antiquarian interest in a post-welfare world? The answer is a resounding 'yes'. Slack shows that rethinking and experimentation were common in welfare provision between the mid-fifteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. More recently, we should remember that after the New Poor Law of 1834 cut outdoor relief it was restored – along with much more – in the 1940s after the Beveridge Report.

Slack's lectures are valuable because they represent the mature thinking of an established scholar in the field. Building upon earlier research on towns, plague, poverty and government management of dearth, he now reflects on how they all fit into the larger picture of English social institutions and their evolution over three centuries. The result is impressive for its depth of research and for its ability to provoke thought. The author defines reformation as radical change, which characterized the period from 1500 to 1560, and improvement as the gradual development of policies thereafter. He also notes that certain decades saw especially high levels of activity – the 1520s, 1540s and 1590s; the 1620s, 1640s and 1690s.

*From Reformation to Improvement* makes significant contributions to our understanding of early modern social policies. In a chapter on early Tudor commonwealth thinking and policies he argues that Cardinal Wolsey rather than Thomas Cromwell should be considered the founder of Tudor social paternalism. He questions, moreover, the view that policies were simply reactions to economic and demographic pressures. Although these triggered action, they did not determine the ideological framework in which policies were constructed. In the 'godly cities' of the sixteenth century the concern was mainly about suppressing sin, while from the mid-seventeenth century improvement meant a more secular, profit-oriented view of the poor. Once established by statute, the Tudor labour-based definition of poverty – work or punishment for the able; relief for the unfit – was remarkably durable. So was the parish-based scheme created by Tudor legislation, which survived attempts to extend absolute control under the early Stuarts, pushes for bigger and better Corporations of the Poor in the 1640s and 1690s, and the proliferation of new institutions that included almshouses, workhouses, infirmaries and fire insurance, many of them under private control.

Slack is particularly adept at relating English social policies to developments on the continent, showing how numerous institutions drew on cross-channel examples, from Henry VII's Savoy hospital, which followed Italian examples, to the Foundling Hospital, which reflected Parisian ones. His mastery of the primary sources is impressive, allowing him to flesh out as no one has previously done the connections between the authors of pamphlets and sermons and those in authority at local and national levels. There are even some *bons mots* such as that on the inability of voluntary associations of varied religious affiliations to

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co-operate: 'There were simply too many contenders for the high moral ground for any comfortable joint occupation of it.'

The book's weaknesses are few and greatly outweighed by its strengths. Although richly documented and highly informative about English towns, it gives limited attention to rural parishes. Yet most people lived in the countryside, and it was there perhaps that the creation of public welfare schemes was most impressive, because the achievement was unmatched anywhere in the West until modern times. This story of rural social institutions remains to be told, although important work by Anthony Fletcher has made a good beginning. The author might also have given more attention to a striking paradox; that is, that public welfare was extended in the seventeenth century, a time of political upheaval according to historians whatever their historiographical stance, when one would have expected local government to be troubled, if not chaotic, rather than taking on the major new responsibilities of the Old Poor Law. 'Symbiosis' is an unhelpful, catch-all description of central and local government relations in this seemingly paradoxical situation. These blemishes aside, *From Reformation to Improvement* is an outstanding piece of social history; it should be required reading for anyone who thinks institutions of public welfare were once-and-for-all creations of the twentieth century.

**Lee Beier**
Illinois State University

**Catherine F. Patterson**, *Urban Patronage in Early Modern England: Corporate Boroughs, the Landed Elite, and the Crown, 1580–1640*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1999. xii + 337pp. Bibliography. £37.50; $60.00.

In this fascinating and important book, Catherine F. Patterson explores the complex relationship between the incorporated boroughs of late Elizabethan and early Stuart England, and those individuals who acted as their patrons. The account is richly researched in both manuscript and printed records relating to over thirty towns and their patrons, and it gives us by far the most sophisticated and nuanced reconstruction of such relationships so far published. Throughout, Patterson stresses the reciprocity of the links between boroughs and patrons, and argues that such relationships provided a 'network of personal connection' (p. 8) that greatly reinforced the stability of government. The first five chapters examine various aspects of how these relationships worked in practice, and look in turn at how patrons were secured and retained, the role that they played within the localities, the important work that patrons did in preserving peace in the boroughs, the ways in which corporations handled the competing demands of alternative local authorities, and the role of patrons in mediating the relations between boroughs and the Crown. The sixth and final chapter offers a detailed case study of Leicester and its relationship with successive Earls of Huntingdon. This neatly complements Tom Cogswell's recent study of Leicestershire, not least in exploring the longstanding rivalry between the Hastings and Grey families.

Throughout, the interdependence of boroughs, patrons and government is demonstrated very clearly, as is the vital role that this played in fostering social and political stability. Much of the interaction between boroughs and patrons

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took the form of ceremonial language and actions, such as mutual gift-giving. The book is full of colourful details and vignettes, such as the gift which the corporation of Nottingham sent to the Earl of Shrewsbury, while courting his patronage in 1605: 'a veal, a mutton, a lamb, a dozen of chickens, two dozen of rabbits, two dozen of pigeons, four capons, wine and sugar' (p. 21). Similarly, in 1627, while attempting to renew their charter, the city of Exeter sent a £20 gift to Lord Keeper Coventry for his 'many honourable favours', and a piece of plate worth twenty marks or £15 to the Earl of Dorset to 'secure his Honour's favour in the city's business' (p. 173). Boroughs often needed all the help they could get. For example, the city of Chester had a long-running jurisdictional dispute with the bishop, dean and chapter which led one dean to liken the aldermen to 'railing Rabsach or destroying wicked Ishmael' who 'had his hand against every man . . . like swelling toads railing at God's holy priests and trampling the poor under their feet like slaves and villains' (p. 134). In such situations, a patron (in that case the Earl of Derby, Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire) played a crucial part in resolving the dispute.

This book presents an immense amount of detailed research in a highly readable and elegant manner. It can be warmly recommended for its detailed and persuasive account of an important and hitherto relatively under-studied dimension of early modern English urban history. In the process, it tells us much about the nature of English society and government in the years prior to the Civil War.

**David L. Smith**
Selwyn College, Cambridge

**Susan Whyman**, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660–1720*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. xiv + 287pp. 22 plates. 6 appendices. Bibliography. £45.00; $55.00.

This handsome volume should be welcomed by urban historians as a work which transcends the traditional dichotomy of town and countryside. Across many disciplines, historians have recognized the interdependence of city and hinterland, but rarely can that relationship have been more sensitively portrayed than in this book. The agency for such insight is the remarkable Verney archive at Claydon House in Buckinghamshire, which Whyman has exhaustively mined to produce a riveting portrait of a family which keenly felt the social, economic and political transformations of late Stuart Britain. Students of the period will find much to interest them here, but historians of the family and metropolitan culture will yield particular benefit from this work.

The richness of the Verney papers, which provide some 12,000 papers in the 1660–1720 period, permits a challenging methodology, whereby the social networks of the family can be reconstructed according to the density and content of correspondence between individuals. Such rare precision enables the author to show how a gentry household increasingly looked to the capital for entertainment, financial services and contacts. These developments have been discussed by several other historians, but they are explored with subtlety and verve here. In particular, the Verney women are shown to have been somewhat liberated by London society, and Whyman convincingly demonstrates the inapplicability of a public-private division in terms of gender-specific 'spheres'. Most interestingly,

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she suggests that women could play an important role as cultural intermediaries, schooling their male kin in the rules of metropolitan sociability. Analysis of the dynamics of the London 'visit', and the significance of the coach as a vehicle of status and connection provides fresh and illuminating evidence of the impact of London's associational culture on elite activity. As the Verneys flitted between the City, West End and their Buckinghamshire home, their sociability aided the achievement of more traditional objectives, especially the basic priority of dynastic security. The greatest of these cultural amphibians remains John Verney, a younger son who established himself as a successful Levant merchant, only to inherit the ancestral estate in 1696. The author ably demonstrates how his career enabled him to seize the opportunities presented by a changing society, and how he managed to adapt his metropolitan values to the differing requirements of gentry life. The contrast between the outlook of John and his father is indeed striking, and highlights the dynamic changes of the late Stuart era.

Such is the privileged access provided by the Verney archive, that it seems churlish to raise the issue of typicality, although the author happily embraces it. She is always concerned to compare the Verney experience with other gentry studies, but doubts must be aired concerning the extent to which most landed families were imbued with commercial and metropolitan values. For certain, John Verney is a rare beast, and one wonders whether rural elites further from the capital experienced the same degree of social osmosis. The author rightly calls for more work on such issues, having shown the rewards to be reaped from an imaginative and thorough study of cultural transmission. This stimulating volume remains an important contribution to our understanding of the politely commercial people of late Stuart and Hanoverian Britain.

**Perry Gauci**
Lincoln College, Oxford

**Peter Thompson**, *Rum, Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999. 265pp. £34.95.

Taverns and drinking houses in eighteenth-century America (as in so much of the English-speaking world) served as the essential hub of a universe of economic, social, cultural and political activities. As the inhabitants of Nazareth, Pennsylvania, declared, a community without a public house was like Hamlet without the Ghost. Surprisingly, however, drinking houses have received relatively little attention from American colonial historians until the last few years. Peter Thompson's book on Philadelphia follows hard on the heels of David Conroy's study of Massachusetts establishments.

Philadelphia by the time of the American Revolution was the largest and most prosperous of the provincial capitals in North America. In subsequent decades it was often compared to London, Bristol or Liverpool. The number of taverns rose steadily from about 20 in 1693 (1 to 175 inhabitants) to 176 in 1767 (1 to 150). But, according to Thompson, up to George II's reign the city's establishments were distinctive for their relative homogeneity, in terms of their facilities, landlords and customers. The study begins with the origins of the trade in the early Quaker settlement: the founder, William Penn, recognized that some drinking houses

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were necessary, though their numbers were to be kept low. Despite this, there was a steady growth of both the licensed and illicit trade, with substantial numbers of poorer people taking up the trade – compared to their declining presence in England after 1700. In terms of regulation, the city's magistrates seem to have been less strict than those in New England (or in Old England for that matter). In addition to taverns, there was a surge of dramshops, whose keepers were often women (shades of Mother Gin).

The book then examines the running of public drinking houses and suggests that the price controls on drink retailed (up to 1778) discouraged competition among landlords and limited the evolution of that broad hierarchy of drinking premises one finds in early modern England. Although taverns varied considerably in size, the victuallers were generalists, slow to build up specialist functions for their houses. Small premises sold more beer than some bigger houses (though possibly the latter sold much more wine).

Landowners 'encouraged social mixing in their taverns'. Not all townspeople and visitors frequented them, of course: 'awakened' Protestants and respectable women were notable exceptions. Customers went there not just to drink and eat and sometimes to sleep, but also for auction sales, settling accounts, to buy wares and obtain specialist services. Taverns were increasingly vital as cultural centres, with large numbers of clubs and societies meeting there (though no references are given to assemblies, concerts and sports meetings). Despite the variety of customers (more could have been said about travellers and migrants), social cohesion was encouraged by singing and toasting and other rituals of fellowship. This relatively integrated social world provided a mechanism for ventilating and defusing party tension in early Georgian Philadelphia. Electioneering was often organized at public houses with tavern companies such as the White Oaks and Hearts of Oaks mobilized to manage political events. Yet before the 1760s taverns were also places where differences could be reconciled. They emerged as important venues for a new politically conscious public sphere, but not in the strong oppositional, anti-government way that Conroy describes for New England.

During the decade or so before the Revolution, however, all this changed in Philadelphia. Two developments occurred. First, revolutionary fervour against the Crown led to a mounting politicization and factionalization of tavern life, as landlords and premises became identified with the patriotic or loyalist cause. Taverns remained cockpits of party conflict after the Revolution as well. Second, the same period witnessed increased economic and social differentiation between taverns, the emergence of new large-scale premises catering for the better-off; by the last decades of the century taverns also faced competition from more select hotels and pleasure gardens, further fragmenting the political and social landscape.

All this is no doubt fresh, original and important for American colonial historians. For a European urban historian, however, there are some puzzles about the methodology. First, little is said about the urban context. True, a great deal has been written about Philadelphia in this period, but this makes the failure to reflect about the changing physical shape of the city, the flows of migrants, the growing poverty levels all the more surprising. It means that some key issues such as the social topography of drinking houses and the relationship to urban processes is barely discussed. Also absent is a comparative perspective.

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Apart from references to Conroy's work, there is no attempt to buttress or qualify the argument with references to other North American towns. Nor for that matter is there any meaningful or accurate comparison with what was happening in England. Did the English really embark on a policy of licensing drinking houses in 1676 rather than 1552? Were English controls so lax in the early eighteenth century for all the efforts of the excise? Surely Peter Borsay suggested a decade ago that the advent of hotels and pleasure gardens was already widespread in Britain under George III? As this book makes plain, American and British historians still have much to learn from one another.

**Peter Clark**
University of Helsinki

**Eric Hopkins**, *The Rise of the Manufacturing Town: Birmingham and the Industrial Revolution*. Stroud: Sutton, 1998. xvii + 222pp. 16 plates. Bibliography. £14.99 pbk.

The blending of economic and urban history is brought into focus by this study of Birmingham during the Industrial Revolution, first published in 1989 and here reprinted with minor revisions. The first half of the book explores the preconditions for Birmingham's economic growth in the period from 1760 to 1840, focusing on the importance of simple and incremental technological change, together with the growing division of labour, as the main characteristics. Put simply, Birmingham's economy boomed as a result of rising domestic demand and incremental changes in manufacturing processes. No wave of gadgets transformed Birmingham's industries in the way that machinery revolutionized cotton production in Manchester. Nevertheless, the cumulative effect of incremental change allowed Birmingham to grow at an exceptional rate whilst at the same time managing to preserve relatively harmonious class relations.

The second half of the book, entitled 'The People 1760–1840', is an attempt to examine the living conditions and cultural practices of the population, albeit largely a male one. Just as the first section dealt with economic continuities, so here the author argues that class relations and cultural practices changed relatively little over the period. Though the classes had different interests, those differences were rarely metamorphosed into clearly demarcated lines of conflict. Indeed, the permeability of class divisions, stemming from the relatively small scale of production and low capital requirements for entry to many of the trades, meant that the boundaries between artisans and the middle class were by no means clear. This permeability in turn meant that class was rarely identified by conflict.

If the story is a fairly familiar one, it should hardly come as a surprise since Hopkins has always maintained that the Industrial Revolution was more complex than merely the introduction of machinery. However, much water has gone under the bridge since this book was first written and perhaps a greater attention to more recent writings would have helped locate this book more firmly in the current strands of scholarship. There is precious little on gender roles other than in relation to working-class women, nor is there much attempt to engage with more recent economic history on the growth of the British economy during this period. Local politics is largely conspicuous by its absence and we get no

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feeling for how the urban landscape was shaped or, indeed, who shaped it. Whilst there is no doubting the depth of scholarly research that underpins this book, nevertheless the approach to urban history is fairly traditional. Those who are looking for insights into the relationships between urbanization and industrialization will find this a useful though hardly novel case study.

**D.R. Green**
King's College London

**Péter Hanák**, *The Garden and the Workshop: Essays in the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998. xxiii + 249pp. 24 plates. £20, $29.95.

This volume represents the collected essays of the late Péter Hanák, and its contents first appeared in a variety of (chiefly Hungarian) publications between 1973 and 1994. Like the majority of such collections, this is something of a curate's egg. In his introduction Hanák himself concedes that the essays 'do not form an editorially or thematically coherent whole'; while Carl E. Schorske in his largely laudatory foreword admits that they are 'not uniformly successful'. Indeed, the chapter on the early literary career of the poet Endre Ady is somewhat overlong, and lacks sufficient context to be easily accessible to the non-Hungarian reader. Taken individually, however, some of these studies are of obvious merit.

The book is largely concerned with the two capital cities of the Dual Monarchy. In the title the 'garden' is Vienna and the 'workshop' Budapest. In each city the response to *fin de siècle* intellectual crisis and political stagnation was different. For the Viennese the artistic Secession could also be taken as a retreat from public life into the actual garden of the suburban villa or the interior garden of the soul. For the intellectuals of Budapest there was no such abdication; rather, they sought activity and employment in the workshop of the newspaper office. Such a conceit is intriguing, and the terms were used contemporaneously ('workshop' being coined by Endre Ady). The distinction is not absolute, however. A large number of European intellectuals took to journalism as a profession – or at least, as a means of earning a living – including not only Ady himself, but Karl Kraus in Vienna and Edvard Beneš in Paris. Equally, Ady sought refuge from city life in the fens, and even fled as far as Paris to escape his cultural and political frustration.

While some of the essays are intellectually speculative, others are based on more solid empirical research. The first chapter, 'Urbanization and civilization: Vienna and Budapest in the nineteenth century' is largely an account of housing conditions and furnishings, based on inventories and other archival sources. Chapter four, 'The alienation of death in Budapest and Vienna at the turn of the century' is eminently satisfying. Though he treads familiar ground – the transformation by which the dead, formerly buried in the midst of the community, were banished to cemeteries on the outskirts – Hanák uses material from the Budapest and Vienna archives to provide local detail and to demonstrate the sanitization of death and the standardization of mourning and its monetary cost. Quite striking is the chapter on 'The cultural role of the Vienna-Budapest operetta'. This genre, the author claims, is 'one of the most rewarding topics of

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cultural history'. Though sentimental and at times silly, operetta 'effortlessly cuts across regions, countries, and nations, and across social strata; it is interregional, international, and transpersonal. Its success is really an intriguing question for cultural historians'. Hanák accounts for this success by identifying three factors: the 'freshness and wit' of the music; the combination of escapism with gentle satire; and the grand spectacle it afforded.

By far the most valuable essay in the book is the last, which examines letters intercepted by the Austrian and Hungarian censors during the First World War. These truly embody 'vox populi', the seldom-heard voice of the ordinary woman and man. Excerpts, abstracts and whole letters are printed, which paint a vivid picture of emotional sadness, material privation and political anger. Women at home write tenderly or bitterly to their men at the front; soldiers in Russia write home about the revolution there and the hopes that it seems to afford for the future. Most poignant is a letter from a young peasant woman confessing to her absent husband that she has slept with the landowner in order to get feed for the cattle, and has had a child by him: 'I didn't do it because I am a bad woman, or perhaps a whore, but because I tried so hard to do everything for the best and now I am so unhappy'. Given the paucity of testimony from such women in the era, this is revealing indeed.

Despite the uneven quality of the different essays, *The Garden and the Workshop* offers stimulating and often unusual insights into the cultural history of central Europe. Though executed on a smaller scale, it forms an elegant pendant to Carl E. Schorske's *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* and William A. Johnston's *The Austrian Mind*.

**Maria Dowling**
St Mary's, Strawberry Hill

**Perry R. Duis**, *Challenging Chicago: Coping with Everyday Life, 1837–1920*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998. xiii + 430pp. Illustrations. Select bibliography. $29.95 hbk.

Chicago, a city which grew from a lakeside settlement of some 4,000 people to a sprawling metropolis of nearly 3 million in the period covered by this book, posed many challenges to its citizens in their day-to-day lives. These are Perry Duis' concern in this sparkling, highly readable book. Duis' theme, as his title implies, is that of coping with the multiple problems which rapid urban growth threw up. He divides his account into six parts dealing respectively with movement, housing, food, recreation, work and, finally, with individual or institutional provision against failure to deal with the challenges of city life. Coping involved competition for space in crowded streets amongst property speculators, city planners, teamsters, railroad and streetcar operators (including the infamous Yerkes), storekeepers, peddlers, and latterly, the drivers of automobiles. Car theft was the fastest-growing crime in Chicago by 1910.

Even when space in which to live had been found, the urge to move house (sometimes literally to move the house) proved irresistible. Moving day on 1 May became an established ritual in which as many as one-third of the city's inhabitants took part. Despite this, ethnic neighbourhoods formed in which the newcomer might be regarded with hostility. The game of house moving might also leave some with no roof over their heads when the music stopped.

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Food vied with shelter as an urgent necessity. Separation of work and home brought the need for lunch pails and downtown restaurants. Food supply on a large scale brought problems, especially for the poor, of contamination and resulting ill health. Milk became an urban hazard when demand outstripped self-sufficiency (p. 139). Mrs O'Leary's cow might burn down Chicago in 1871, but its hay-fed milk was safer than the swill-fed variety which was increasingly being imported.

These challenges met, there might be time for leisure. Chicagoans moved from the dime museum (Jo Jo, the Dog-Faced Boy or Krao, the Monkey Girl) to the more specialized amusement park with its Ferris wheels, roller coaster rides, vaudeville acts and political rallies. Leisure too brought its challenges, not least to the public moralists, who campaigned against juvenile smoking, nickleodeons and dance halls. Dancing might reflect 'the desire for predictability in the lifestyles of the elite', but, 'for many sensitive Chicagoans dancing represented a society out of control' (p. 400).

Dance halls, baseball parks and Ferris wheels demanded money of their customers; money earned by hard work. Eschewing the more familiar territory of stockyard or construction site, Duis gives a lively account of African-American waiters, and of the problems of race which added to their difficulties of finding a job.

Finally, for those who failed to cope, there was the institution. Cook County Hospital for the sick in body or mind, Dunning for the pauper, and the Bridewell for the criminal, although some took the quicker way out by jumping off Lincoln Park's High Bridge.

This is a complex story clearly told with attractive illustrations and a wealth of footnote detail. The individual is viewed within the city swarm. Amos Snell's violent death, Lucy Page Gaston's cigarette war, the Piszazeks' stolen house, Nellie Novak, Margaret Johnson and the failure of the Milwaukee Avenue State Bank, all provide personal examples of the city's challenges and of the attempts to cope with them. *Challenging Chicago* ranks with William Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis* and with Liz Cohen's *Making a New Deal*, in its contribution to the historical understanding of one of the world's most fascinating cities.

**Michael E. Rose**
University of Manchester

**Bruno Dumons, Gilles Pollet and Pierre-Yves Saunier**, *Les élites municipales sous la IIIe République: Des villes du Sud-Est de la France*. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1997. 210pp. 11 tables. 1 graph. Bibliography. No price stated.

One common view in French historiography is that the power of the central state administration over local municipalities, at least until the 1980s, had been global and monolithic. There has also been a related focus in the historical literature on the national state bureaucracy and administrators, obscuring the significance of municipal bureaucratic elites. In this rigorous and richly documented book, the authors study municipal structures and elites in six south-east French cities (Annecy, Chambéry, Grenoble, Lyon, Roanne and Saint-Étienne), the innovations and contributions that emanate from local government, and the operation of political and administrative power at the local level. The authors, who very

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productively adopt the comparative method of analysis and present their findings in a refreshingly jargon-free language, also construct a portrait of municipal elites using a prosopographical approach. The significance of this study is the finding, carefully and painstakingly demonstrated, that municipal administration was an important space of creative administrative practice as well as the training ground for municipal elites who became important pillars of support for republican and democratic institutions under the Third Republic.

Comparing administrative practices and the internal operation of power in these six municipalities, the authors show how a modern rationalized and democratized bureaucracy emerges in the local arena but not, as in Max Weber's model, in any simple linear fashion. Matters like public health, city architecture, municipal budgets and city planning required technical expertise, and in these domains meritocracy for the most part determined the choice of municipal personnel. Yet there remained spaces in the municipality, more administrative than technical, where an elected mayor could and did take into consideration traditional criteria, like patronage, in the choice of municipal bureaucrats. In terms of administration, the growth of cities necessitated the elaboration of norms and regulations, and in this sphere municipalities had considerable freedom in drawing up their own administrative regulations until the 1930s when the state began to impose its rules. It is significant too that in some instances the local municipalities were ahead of the state administration in the evolution of public services such as, for example, those deemed essential to public health.

With respect to the prosopographical analysis of municipal bureaucratic elites, the authors explore the personnel dossiers of 178 men (municipal bureaucratic elites were mostly male until the 1930s) across three municipal bureaucratic sectors, the cultural (archivists and librarians), the administrative (the secretaries general of the municipality), and the technical (the city architects, the directors of planning and of the department of health). Information thus revealed – birthplaces and dates, examinations passed, progress of careers, salaries, marital and family status, living quarters in the city, professional status of fathers, and social position as gleaned from death notices – opens an important window on to the world of these elites. We learn, for example, that the largest majority of high-ranking municipal administrators were recruited from the urban middle classes, although a significant number were sons of peasants or workers (20 per cent). Only about a quarter of the fathers of these bureaucrats came from the upper ranks of society (industrialists and lawyers, for example). This democratization process at work in municipal administration was especially significant in that local municipal elites were an important recruitment source for the national administration and an important urban base of support for republicanism. On the other hand, while there was a genuine opening up of careers to those from the lower middle and popular classes there was also a social hierarchy in municipal administration based upon what the authors call 'the tyranny of the diploma'. Nevertheless, what characterizes the life of the municipal administrative elites generally was social mobility and integration into the larger world of urban elites.

In this pioneering, highly suggestive work, original in its approach and focus, we enter deeply into the life of municipal government and its elite administrators. As such the study succeeds admirably in bringing to the centre of socio-

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historical analysis the municipal factor in French democratic politics and modern administrative practices. The authors are to be commended for packing so much into one book.

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City University of New York, Brooklyn College

**James L. West and Iurii A. Petrov (eds), with the collaboration of Edith W. Clowes and Thomas C. Owen**, *Merchant Moscow: Images of Russia's Vanished Bourgeoisie*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998. ix + 189pp. 31 plates. 200 figures. 2 maps. Bibliography. Index. $45.00.

Coffee-table volumes of photographs of pre-revolutionary Russia have become quite common since the mid-1980s. Many have been well produced, and some have featured a lot of previously unpublished images from the Russian state archives. In the opinion of this reviewer, they have helped to make the pre-revolutionary epoch more accessible to historians as well as to the general reader. However, as these publications have been intended primarily for non-specialists, they have often dwelt excessively on the royal family at the expense of economic and commercial activity, urban life and similarly less glamorous yet obviously significant themes. The tragic and violent deaths of Tsar Nicholas II, his wife and their children at Bolshevik hands in 1918 seem merely to have increased the modern temptation to equate marketability with royalty.

This intriguing book, however, is refreshingly different. Adopting an academic format, it focuses on the personalities, business activity, private life and achievements of Moscow's entrepreneurial bourgeoisie in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The substantial introductory section commences with a useful discussion of the historical context, recent historiography, methodology and the reliability of photographs as historical evidence. Also included are notes on the close links between entrepreneurship and religious dissent, photography in tsarist Russia, and the provenance of the selected photographs, together with two maps of merchant Moscow and thirty-one photographs. The main body of the book is divided thematically into five sections, which analyse business culture and practices; merchant culture, ritual and daily life; social hierarchies; aesthetics, voluntary associations and leisure; and issues of self-image and visions of the future. Each section contains two or three chapters, each of which consists of up to eighteen photographs and a good if relatively short commentary by one of the sixteen American and Russian contributors. A concluding chapter addresses the disastrous fate of merchant Moscow in the 1917 revolution and beyond, and the short bibliography is followed by a helpful index.

The illustrations naturally form the heart of this book. They have mostly been provided by a Russian collector, Mikhail Zolotarev, and are well reproduced. The thoughtful wide-ranging selection depicts not just people and places but also less obvious subjects such as advertisements and bond certificates. Some of these illustrations are postcards, but many are photographs which Zolotarev collected from family archives and which have not previously been published in the West. The limitations of photographs as an historical source are discussed on several occasions, but if anything the authors may even be too defensive on this matter.

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Their approach of identifying principal themes and providing short commentaries works extremely well. My only criticism here is the unexplained and puzzling decision to treat the introduction's photographs as 'plates', most of the remainder as 'figures', and several others as 'illustrations'.

The book addresses an impressively wide range of issues. But its definition of merchant Moscow is perhaps a weak point. Though inclusive in the sense of covering traders, industrialists and other entrepreneurs, it generally excludes foreign-born entrepreneurs. The Russian bourgeoisie, then, is the subject of this book, and Moscow is presented as its home 'far removed from the foreign influences and bureaucratic controls of Petersburg' (p. 4). Yet Moscow did have its own important contingent of foreign entrepreneurs – a fact recognized in Potkina's essay (pp. 40–1) – and with regard to, for example, the British community, a substantial photographic legacy survives in the collections of the Leeds Russian Archive at the University of Leeds. The absence of a chapter portraying the foreign community is thus rather a shame.

Also disappointing is the brevity of the bibliography. In particular, one would expect it to complement the introduction's note on photography with at least a few references for further reading about Russian photography, and perhaps also with some of those popular compendia of photographs mentioned above.

Overall, however, this is a very informative and enjoyable book. It should appeal not just to specialists in Russian history but also to anyone with a general interest in Russia or in socio-economic modernization on the eve of the First World War.

**A.J. Heywood**
University of Bradford

**Jean Laloum**, *Les Juifs dans la banlieue parisienne des années 20 aux années 50*. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1998. 447pp. Illustrations. Tables. No price stated.

The last two decades have seen, following on from the groundbreaking work of Marrus and Paxton on the Jews in Vichy France, a growing volume of research on French complicity in the 'Final Solution'. Jean Laloum adds a new dimension to this debate by undertaking an exhaustive, local study of the Jewish inhabitants of Vincennes, Montreuil and Bagnolet, three communes in eastern Paris. Laloum's research, carried out over a fifteen-year period, utilizes a vast body of archival sources, private letters, photographs and interviews to provide a minute reconstruction of the experience of the three to four thousand Jews who fell victim to anti-Jewish legislation, arrest and deportation during the Second World War.

The book is divided into four chronological periods, the first of which provides a detailed investigation of the urban location, occupational structure and social and associative networks of the Jews between *c*. 1920 and 1939. Most of the 3,342 Jews recorded by the census of 1936 (2.2 per cent of the local population) were refugees or economic migrants from Central and Eastern Europe, primarily Poland, Hungary, Russia, Austria and Romania. This was a typical working-class community which, apart from a few wealthy industrialists, gained an often precarious living as street hawkers, rag merchants, tailors, shoemakers, machine-

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knitters, barbers and cabinet-makers. Although poor and living in overcrowded tenements, the Yiddish speaking Jews enjoyed a rich and strongly supportive social and cultural life based on inter-family aid, the Synagogue, Jewish shops and cafés, and – above all – Jewish friendly societies. In spite of the activities of the fascist leagues during the 1930s – which were locally contested by the International League Against Anti-Semitism (LICA) – the Jews appear to have been well integrated, via the Republican school, membership in the Communist Party, and close friendship with French neighbours and workers.

The second part looks at the first phase of anti-Jewish legislation and repression between July 1940 and July 1942. The exploration of anti-Jewish bureaucratic and policing procedures, especially of the French *Commissariat général aux questions juives* (CGQJ), provides a claustrophobic sense of the complex administrative machinery that slowly and inexorably closed in, identifying and locating each individual. Laloum makes particularly good use of the extensive files on economic 'aryanization', the seizure of Jewish business and its management, liquidation or sale by provisional administrators, to explore French attitudes towards the Jewish plight. Many French people, who appear to have shown little sign of a doctrinaire or racial anti-Semitism, were driven by greed to lay their hands on as much Jewish property as possible, sometimes through acts of denunciation. The seizure of 401 businesses or properties necessarily disrupted local services, but French responses to this were singularly uncaring and egotistic: typical was the woman who wrote to the CGQJ complaining that she was unable to recover the trousers of her son, left for repair with a Madame Benvenisp who had been arrested. In general the immense volume of individual and administrative correspondence reveals a total absence of concern for the fate of the Jews, but rather a bizarre and obsessive concern with the correct application of legal and official procedure – even when these regulations led directly to Drancy and the gas chambers. Laloum concludes that it was above all the wide and automatic acceptance of the legitimacy of state decrees, no matter how repressive, which made French collaboration in the 'Final Solution' possible.

However, the general indifference towards 'official' acts of spoliation found a distinct limit during the third period, from July 1942 to the summer of 1944, when mass arrests and deportations – particularly the '*rafle*' of the Vél d'Hiver – led to widespread public disquiet and protest. Finally, Laloum examines the post-war revival of the community, a process of psychological recovery which centred with intense optimism on the regrouping and support of orphans. In all 874 Jews, or about one quarter of the total, were deported from the three communes. It seems remarkable that three-quarters of the Jews of eastern Paris were able to escape the genocidal dragnet, but this – apart from some rare exceptions – was not due to French aid, but rather to the tenacity and remarkable survival skills of the Jews. This study, hauntingly illustrated with nearly 400 photographs, provides a meticulous insight into the lived reality of a vibrant Jewish community as it passed through, and survived, the horrors of systematized extermination.

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**Mario Maffi**, *Sotto le torri di Manhattan. Mappe, nomi, storie, luoghi*. Milan: Rizzoli, 1998. Bibliography. 3 Maps. L. 29.000.

**Mario Maffi**, *Gateway to the Promised Land. Ethnic Cultures in New York's Lower East Side*. New York and London: New York University Press, 1995. 343pp. Bibliography. 35 illustrations. 29 tables. 1 map. No price stated.

**Mario Maffi**, *New York. L'isola delle colline. I luoghi, la vita, le storie di una metropoli sconosciuta*. Milan: Il Saggiatore, 1995. 174pp. 16 photos. L. 22.000.

Mario Maffi has spent much of his academic life studying the Lower East Side of New York. These three very different volumes are testimony to the richness, variety and fascination of this crucial zone of the most extraordinary city in the world. The Lower East Side has always been an immigrant zone and a working-class area. Maffi's historical work – collected above all in *Gateway to the Promised Land* (first published in Italian with the title *Nel Mosaico della città* in 1993) – maps out the incredible mixture of cultures, peoples and languages which have inhabited this small section of New York since the late nineteenth century. *Gateway*, as its 42 pages of bibliography show, is a labour of love and based on an incredible collection of documents, interviews, photographs and primary and secondary material of all kinds. It is a mixture of historical analysis, urban history, literary research and political polemic. Maffi underlines at all times the ways in which immigrants shaped the city, and resisted the seemingly inevitable pressures from above to move out, bow down or keep quiet. Maffi also shows the contribution of these very different immigrant groups to the rich cultural legacy of this zone, which continues to this day, despite the onward march of gentrification and Mayor Giuliani. The text is complemented by a series of original documents, photographs, art works, murals and posters. Maffi reconstructs with verve the street life and pulsating heart of the various micro-zones which made up (and still make up) the Lower East Side – Little Italy, Chinatown, the Jewish zones, the Germans and the Ukrainians. Maffi's sociological analysis takes in the housing forms which dominated the zone – the tenement – and the epic union struggles over pay, conditions and safety. Maffi rejects the 'melting-pot' type approach to immigration and argues, throughout the book, that this 'process is rather more complex than a one-way one and that such neighbourhoods play a crucial role in it . . . immigrant communities are living organisms. They stimulate creative inner ferments, and they exercise a powerful attraction on the outside' (p. 8). Immigrants both were formed by and helped to recast mainstream cultures. This book is a testimony to this process and should find a place on every contemporary urban history reading list, both as a general study of the immigration process in cities, as well as a specific study grounded in the incredible laboratory of the Lower East Side. The only criticism I have of the volume is a structural one, the lack of an index.

In contrast, *L'isola della colline* is a far more personal book. It is both an account of Maffi's own relationship with the Lower East Side and its personalities, and a series of further reflections on the history of the city and this particular zone. Maffi recounts his encounters with various neighbourhoods, historians, actors and artists through a historically-based account of the changes which have characterized New York through this century and the cultural ramifications of

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those changes (as well as the attempts to resist change, gentrification and poverty). This is both an interesting account of one person's (an outsider's, Maffi is based at the University of Milan) relationship with a city, with a series of elegant passages describing the rhythms, problems and micro-changes to the urban environment. There is even a chapter describing Maffi's own confrontation with the dominant phenomenon of modern New York – petty crime – described again with the irony and thoughtfulness which characterizes the whole book.

Finally, *Sotto le torri di Manhattan* is no longer a book of pure history or autobiographical discourse, but a highly original form of guidebook. *Sotto le torri* is divided into eleven thematic chapters: Names, Maps, Underneath, Villages, Museums, Words, Images, Sounds, Prism, Bridges, Places and Books. Maffi takes us through an alternative city (replete with maps and indications of the places mentioned). The city of immigrants, not the Metropolitan Museum or the Frick Collection, the city of alternative museums, of bridges (this chapter is particularly interesting and original), of militants and poets, of musicians and murderers. Maffi recommends bars which were once upon a time speakeasies, or gardens created and torn away from rampant urban speculation, or the boats and islands which characterize the city, from the immense ex-fun fair at Coney Island to the Garibaldi museum at Staten Island to the enormous mosaic of neighbourhoods, tensions and traditions which makes up contemporary Brooklyn. This is a book which draws from the most up to date work on the city, and from a vast knowledge of the research and past of New York to present a volume which can be used both in academic environments and as a guide to the city itself, beyond the traditional tourist trails which attract so many visitors every year. New York is a city which is best seen on foot, and Maffi's account allows the interested tourist to do just that. Many of us who have worked on particular cities (especially as outsiders) have such a deep knowledge of the histories and sedimentations of particular areas that they already have a guidebook of this kind in their heads, ready to be written. Maffi's volume is, I hope, the first of many such works which may allow urban historians to bring their profound knowledge of certain cities to a wider public.

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**Carl-Jochen Müller**, *Praxis und Probleme des Lastenausgleichs in Mannheim 1949–1959*. Mannheim: Institut für Landeskunde und Regionalforschung der Universität Mannheim, 1997. xvi + 392pp. 3 figures. 50 tables. Bibliography. DM 57.

The aid given to those German citizens who had lost out in the Second World War is usually seen as one of the pillars of the (peculiar?) social aspect of the West German post-war mixed economy. Müller's book, its subject as well as the way it is written, conveys accurately the possibly major image most contemporaries formed: one of bureaucratic nightmare.

Müller concentrates on the administrative history of the programmes, and here in more detail with the lower levels of the bureaucracy in the city of Mannheim. The first decade of the programmes, which comprised welfare for elderly and disabled persons, aid for lost household goods and for the purchase of new

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housing, education for children of victims, and help in setting up independent businesses as well as the creation of employment, are all covered in separate chapters. Much detailed information about not only the history of these programmes, but also about how Mannheim tried to deal with some post-war problems that were specific to the city, is given. We learn for instance that, in comparison with the payments at federal level, more was paid out in Mannheim for housing and related costs, and less for pensions: Mannheim had been heavily bombed, which explains the first, and had severe restrictions on migration into the city just after the war, which explains the latter.

Apart from these detailed studies, brief summaries raise some wider questions. It can clearly be seen, as the author argues, that the programmes were neither meant as redistribution, nor as full replacement for lost property or opportunities. Also, if successful, most of this success of integrating those who had lost property or work back into West German society was due to the great boom which started in the mid-1950s rather than the programmes studied here.

However, the aid programmes were initially meant to provide fast relief. This largely did not happen, though, and the reasons for this form the main impression from this book. The *Perfektionierungstendenz* of the legislator, who introduced more new laws than the administrators could cope with, and the enormous bureaucratization which followed this attempt to consider each case until the claim was 'perfectly' researched, led to huge delays in dealing with many cases, many of which were looked at several times over. No surprise then that the administration swallowed about 11 per cent of the programmes' total budget. Again not surprisingly, criticism from clients was severe. These reactions are dealt with in a chapter that does not get fully integrated into the overall story.

The reader might wonder if Müller has not portrayed the bureaucracy he looked at in too positive a light. No doubt they had to struggle with demands by their superiors, continually adjust to new laws in an area that they had not been trained for in the first place, and face complaints from their clients who did not, and could not, understand lengthy delays. However, it also seems that the administrators on the job cleverly did play the clients' discontent against their superiors' demands and vice versa. This relationship between the 'state', administration and clients in a 'welfare state' is not fully analysed. As a consequence, the role of bureaucracies in shaping as well as delivering policies is, despite all the detail, not really looked at.

Müller's book is a valuable contribution to the nitty-gritty history of the administration of a programme that is seen as a symbol for the successful post-Second World War reconstruction, but which was somewhat lost in the legal perfectionism and administrative correctness. A less precise handling might have led not perhaps to more fairness, but possibly to a more compassionate approach. As the author also mentions, the *Lastenausgleich* continued well beyond the first decade covered in this study. In the 1960s and 1970s, the offices dealt with those who arrived in West Germany from Eastern Europe, and the programme got a new lease of life after reunification: former aid had now to be offset against restitution of property in the former GDR: surely all those well-kept files from the 1950s come in handy for this.

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