

Reviews of books

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Liliane Hilaire-Pérez, Dominique Massounie and Virginie Serna (eds.),
Archives, objets et images des constructions de l'eau du Moyen Âge à l'ère industrielle. Lyons: ENS Éditions, 2002. 392pp. 75 figures and plates.
2 tables. 33 euros.

DOI: 10.1017/S096392680421183X

Archives, objets et images des constructions de l'eau is a collection of 21 essays, arising from a conference organized by the Centre d'Histoire des Techniques du Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers and the Musée National de la Marine, in December 1999. The conference and volume were founded on a growing interest in the history of technology and they aimed to exploit the inter-disciplinarity and multi-disciplinarity necessitated by studies in this field. Hydraulic constructions and installations were chosen as a lens through which to study technology in the past, because of the great importance of water supply, transport and technology to people in all communities and all periods of the past (and present). The main focus is on France, although there are contributions on Polish and Russian/Ukrainian history; all periods, from the middle ages to the present day, are covered, although the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have pride of place. The contents will be of greatest interest to historians of technology and of material culture; there is, however, a strong urban component in the collection, and the essays most directly relevant to urban historians will be described here.

There is a useful introductory essay by the editors, on heritage resources and research directions for water constructions and technology. The volume is then divided into four sections. Primacy is given to the use of material evidence, buildings, models and pictures as well as texts, in studies of water construction. Section 1 is on 'Hydraulic construction in national collections' and comprises papers on material evidence and heritage sites, museums, archives and waterways. Two essays may be of interest to urban historians: Frédérique Chapelay's piece on the construction of a dry dock at Toulon in 1774–8, using evidence from models kept in the Musée National de la Marine, and that by C. Demeulenaere-Douyère and M. Lardit, on the archives of the Académie des Sciences. The Académie had an important role commissioning competitions as well as judging proposals and technical projects in the eighteenth century; the authors take the case-study of schemes for improving the water supply to the growing Parisian population, to show the nature and uses of their archive.

Section 2 is on 'Theory and practice of construction: the role of drawings and treatises', particularly in the Renaissance, Enlightenment and the industrial revolution. Three essays have an urban focus. Philippe Bourges used judicial records created in a dispute between the bishop and cathedral chapter of Beauvais in the eighteenth century over the use and improvement of town mills; Patrick Fournier's study of the technical writings of the engineer Antoine d'Allemand includes discussion of proposals for aqueduct building at Carpentras in the eighteenth century, and Dmitri Gouzévich writes on the construction of the dry dock at Sebastopol in the 1820s, using drawings made by Antoine Raucourt.

Section 3, on 'River constructions and improvements' is probably the least useful for urban historians, for it concentrates on watercourses rather than towns themselves. Section 4, however, is on 'Water and its architecture in towns' and is therefore the most useful collection of essays for this readership. Two themes dominate: hydraulic engineering as a political tool and a symbol of power, from aqueducts, bridges and docks to fountains, and the problems faced by growing cities with regard to water supply and the drainage of waste. Urszula Sowina writes on sewerage facilities in Polish cities at the end of the middle ages, using documentary and archaeological evidence; H. Chambon and D. Massounie examine the provision of drinking water in eighteenth-century towns, including the design and construction of fountains in Paris; Pierre Housieaux contributes an essay on the maison du Fontanier of Paris and the fountains of the Palais de Luxembourg, while Guy Lambert examines the bridges of Paris from the perspectives of their relationship to urbanism, their technical properties, architectural ambitions and cultural role in the perception of the city under Napoleon III.

So, there is something for everyone in this collection, although it is diverse in its composition. Each article has a useful short bibliography. On the negative side, however, while most of the articles have plans and figures, these are of very poor quality: the place names on maps are hardly legible.

Elizabeth Tingle

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Alexander R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents Relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002 (The Anglo-Saxon Minsters of Winchester, III). xxiv + 253pp. 5 plates. 13 figures. £120.00.

DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804221836

Alexander Rumble's volume is one of a three-book study on the Anglo-Saxon minsters of Winchester to appear in the Winchester Studies Series. As the General Editor's preface indicates, this is the first time that the Anglo-Saxon charters of a city have been brought together in one volume: there are thirty-three such documents, and they are here collected and translated with extensive commentary. This is a volume which has something for everyone. For the codicologist and palaeographer there is an extensive description of the manuscripts which have been used for the edition and discussion of their authenticity. For the topographer there is discussion of how the documents illuminate the physical environment of medieval Winchester, and the chronological development of the town is clearly described (pp. 23–9). The scope is then broadened to take in general aspects of

the history of Winchester that are highlighted by the documents: as a royal city, as an ecclesiastical centre – both before and after the monastic reform of the tenth century – and as a national and regional centre. There is a wealth of interest in these documents, and it is only possible here to highlight a few. Document I, preserved in a ninth-century prayer book of Mercian origin, contains the boundary of a tenement held by Ealhswith (died in 902); the text and translation are accompanied by a plan of the area of Winchester marked by the bounds. Document II is the acquisition, by Edward the Elder, of land on which to build the New Minster. There is also the grant by King Ethelred to Queen Aelfifu Emma of a tenement in Winchester (Document XXVIII), part of which was granted by the queen to the Old Minster and confirmed to the church by King Edward the Confessor (Document XXIX). The volume contains the first modern edition and translation of King Edgar's refoundation charter for the New Minster in 966, quite rightly called here 'one of the most important surviving contemporary records of the Benedictine Reform' (p. 65). There is evidence here for many features – walls, gates, streets, mills, churches, etc. – of the physical environment of medieval Winchester. This is a fine volume in which discussion of the documents is informed by the latest archaeological research and placed in topographical context.

Janet Burton

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Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris. Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001. xiii + 198pp. 7 figures. 3 maps. Bibliography. £22.95.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804231832

In 1271 Amelot of Chambly was cured at the tomb of St Louis at St-Denis. For the previous three years Amelot had crawled about the streets of St-Denis, a possible victim of spinal tuberculosis, holding her chin no more than eighteen inches from the ground, dependent upon the charity of strangers for her support. On the seventh day of her prayer and devotion at the tomb of the saint, her body underwent severe convulsions and, calling out her thanks to the saint, Amelot threw away her walking stick and walked without assistance. This is one example of over 300 individual evidences gathered in the late thirteenth century by an inquest established to investigate the sanctity of the late king; only a fragment of the inquest survives but a summary of the evidence was compiled by a Franciscan friar, Guillaume de St-Pathus, in the first years of the fourteenth century and included in his *Life and Miracles of Saint Louis*. The summary provides information on the social status of over fifty of the beneficiaries of the miracles, as well as the place of origin of over thirty of the beneficiaries and witnesses. Farmer uses this information, alongside other available evidence 'on the working and nonworking poor of thirteenth-century Paris', to explore the ways in which poverty was conditioned in medieval Paris and of the complexity of categorization in medieval society. While Farmer is at pains to admit the difficult nature of her principal source – 'the narratives are not transparent windows into the lives of the poor' but are 'shaped by prejudices and assumptions' (and what source is not?) – she is keen to employ it to explore a series of issues addressed by historians interested in, *inter alia*, urban demography, poverty and charity, gender roles and medicine and

morbidity. On occasion, it is clear that the inquest material will not sustain all that Farmer intends and, not infrequently, sections of her book, though prompted by this main source, eschew it in favour of other, more immediate material. Thus, a detailed discussion of gender roles and a plea that historians avoid simple gender stereotype is founded largely upon sermon literature but makes attempt also to relate it to the less yielding record of miracles. Here Farmer, not altogether convincingly, concludes that distinctions within gender categories, based upon relative wealth, are played out in the ways in which the experience of rich and poor were represented by the beneficiaries and recorded by the inquisitors. Farmer's approach is generally characterized in this way, an interdisciplinary moulding of history and literary/gender theory. It provides a series of potentially intriguing questions, and will be of interest to urban historians, especially those interested in urban migration, the discrete roles of men and women within towns and the range of institutional support available within the largest of medieval cities.

Phillipp R. Schofield

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Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis (eds.), *Guilds, Society and Economy in London, 1450–1800*. London: Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, 2002. xviii + 186pp. 9 plates. 4 figures. 5 tables. Index. £14.00.

DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804241839

Not least among the subjects attracting interest in the current renaissance in early modern London history are the City Companies, the city's 100 or so (their numbers fluctuated) trade guilds, membership of which was required to be 'free' of the City and to engage in economic activity there. The volume edited by Ian Gadd and Patrick Wallis, which is based on conference papers delivered in 2000, continues that revival of interest, adding new material to our knowledge of the guilds' roles. Earlier historians such as William Cunningham and George Unwin examined the economic and social positions of the Companies, and more recently Valerie Pearl and Robert Ashton studied them in their political aspects. These and other historians have raised a number of questions about the trade guilds, for which answers are still not wholly clear. First, did they provide avenues for upward social mobility, or were their members mainly of the elites? Secondly, in their regulative role, were the Companies supportive of economic innovation or were they opposed to change? In this area, how far did their authority extend beyond the City and how extensively was it enforced? Thirdly, beyond regulating trading, what institutional roles did they play in the City? On the whole, did they strengthen London government, or were their interests so disparate and divisive that they weakened it? Fourthly, an old chestnut that still gets raised in the collection reviewed here: did the guilds rise or fall in influence over the period?

The volume under review focuses upon several themes: the regulatory or 'search' authority of the Companies in the metropolis (chapters by Matthew Davies, Patrick Wallis and John Forbes); their images in early histories and prints (Ian A. Gadd) and in plays about Dick Whittington (James Robertson); their impact locally and nationally through charities (Ian W. Archer) and search powers (Ronald F. Homer); and their changing roles, especially in the eighteenth century (Perry Gauci on

links with overseas traders; Giorgio Riello on the Cordwainers). The chapters are followed by comments by three authorities on metropolitan history, Mark Jenner, Derek Keene and Joseph P. Ward.

The book sheds new light on the roles of the Companies. A number of contributors suggest that the guilds were the most important metropolitan institution after the parish. The advantages of the freedom were great, including social and political benefits as well as economic ones. The social ones included charity to members which, although it declined over the period and was outstripped by bequests to parishes, Archer shows was substantial, standing at 58 per cent of parochial collections in the mid-1590s. Their giving extended, moreover, beyond the capital to provincial schools and charities. As the study of the Whittington legend shows, the Companies enjoyed an image of opportunity open to the world at large, although whether the myth contains much truth remains to be determined. Their search powers probably undermined their popularity in the larger community, but Wallis suggests the effects were symbolic rather than punitive. Moreover, a substantial number of offenders were actually Company members, for whom punishment was apparently little deterrent. A number of authors argue against the thesis of inexorable decline, pointing to their transformation into bodies with a greater social role and the guilds' continued importance to London's elites, including overseas traders.

While providing new information based upon impressive original research, the collection tends to flatter to deceive. Admittedly there is an inherent difficulty with the project, which is the challenge of forming conclusions about 100 institutions which, despite similarities, often had quite differing histories. Perhaps for this reason the overall impression is a lack of coherence. For instance, while some contributors question the thesis of decline in the Companies' authority, others appear to endorse it (compare statements on pp. 2, 60–1 and 127 with those on 87, 111, 115, 118, 121, 141–2, 143–4, 152 and 163). Such contradictory results may be inherent to the subject and to a collection written by various hands. But the editors might have considered giving the reader better guidance by attempting syntheses of the Companies' roles in the political, economic and social life of London in the period. Many contributions are brief, only a few surpassing twelve pages of text (excluding endnotes). One sympathizes with authors limited by space – and, probably, by the economics of publishing – but the unfortunate result is that their contributions tend to be limited in scope and rather inconclusive. This is doubly unfortunate because the subject is an important one and because they are undertaking significant new research on it.

Lee Beier

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Beat Kümin and B. Anne Tlusty (eds.), *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002. 249pp. 9 figures. 3 graphs. 3 tables. £45.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804251835

It is now some time since Alan Everitt wrote about the English urban inn (1973) and Peter Clark gave us his masterly survey of the English alehouse in 1983. The time is now ripe for revisiting such hospitable premises, and this collection of diverse

papers brings the topic back to our attention. Inns and alehouses were not merely places of refreshment; they were vital social centres in early modern towns and villages, and provide for the historian a point at which all sorts of issues converge, such as popular culture, the determination of the elite to control the lower orders and the growth of leisure facilities in a world which travelled more and had more money to spend on conviviality. The papers printed here cover the period between the later fifteenth century and the eighteenth, and range over Britain, the German-speaking continent and Russia. Although the focus is not particularly concerned with specifically urban history matters, it is inevitable that towns figure largely, because taverns were much commoner in urban settings. The British papers are, first, by Judith Hunter, who outlines the legislative basis for the regulation of the various drinking establishments to be found here, inevitably influenced by a strong fear of disorder and a desire to raise revenue; and Janet Pennington, who analyses the inns and taverns of western Sussex, using local history sources to give a detailed description of the surprisingly modest facilities of this area. John Chartres provides a subtle and wide-ranging account of the English inn system in the eighteenth century, which flourished on increasing travel and the pivotal role of the inn in the expanding economy of the period. For continental Europe, Beat Kümin seeks to categorize the patrons of drinking houses, mostly in Germany and Switzerland (as varied as one would expect, especially over such a diverse region), while Michael Frank investigates in detail the reputation of German publicans in the eighteenth century, showing that the blanket condemnations of Authority were only part of the full picture. Fabian Brändle shows how in a Swiss catholic district with a substantial protestant minority, the licensing of taverns became a weapon of sectarian politics. Alison Stuart dissects the image of the tavern as it appeared in German prints, and B. Ann Tlusty surveys the role of the public house in the life of the military forces which were such a common feature of the years before 1648 in Germany while regional studies look at the Tyrol, Switzerland (where noble investment in inns and taverns is investigated), and Russia; here the expansion of state revenues was a major function of places of refreshment. One is impressed by the similarities which exist between most of the territories with which this volume is concerned – at this basic level, the satisfaction of human need led to solutions, and problems, which were much the same wherever we look. Some of the essays in this collection do not appear to make a very substantial contribution to our knowledge, but they all serve to show in their different ways how these hospitality centres served both early modern people and the modern social historian by shedding light on a sometimes unpredictable variety of issues, as a simple wish for relaxation led to threats to the order of a compulsively orderly age.

Alan Dyer

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Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600–1800*. New York and London: Routledge, 2002. xi + 339pp. 7 tables. Bibliography. £55.00 hbk, £16.99 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804261831

Recent years have witnessed considerable growth in interest in consumption, with numerous studies of consumers and the material goods they owned. Until recently,

though, there have been fewer attempts to link these to broader frameworks of economic, social and cultural change – to outline the contexts of and reasons for changing patterns and priorities of consumption. More specifically, Smith's analysis is prompted by the question of why European consumption of a range of 'exotic' goods grew so strongly during the long eighteenth century. He answers this question partly through tracing the chains of commodities from their place of production (in Asia or America) to the sites of their consumption in Europe; and partly through the construction of a series of 'cultural contexts' which, Smith argues, both framed and promoted the growing demand for consumer goods. These cultural contexts provide an important attempt to theorize rather than merely describe changing consumption. They also serve to structure his book. In the opening chapter, Smith sets up five contexts: gentility, luxury, virtue, rational masculinity and feminine domesticity (a list which bears resemblance to Amanda Vickery's categories in her excellent *The Gentleman's Daughter* (1998)). In subsequent chapters, each is matched with the supply and consumption of key goods: respectively, silk and calicoes; spices and sugar; tea, coffee and sugar; coffee and tobacco; and tea. Smith's argument is that these newly emergent cultural contexts grew from and further promoted the consumption of these goods. Moreover, he argues, these various contexts were themselves part of a wider cultural construct: respectability, an ideology that came to its fullest fruition in nineteenth-century bourgeois culture, but which has deep resonance in the eighteenth century.

All this forms a welcome attempt to link economic with cultural history, and tie consumption firmly into both. Yet there are problems with this approach and with the cultural contexts that Smith highlights. Throughout, there is a tension between telling the story of trade and commodities (the economic) and exploring the changing social milieu of consumption (the cultural). At times, the dualism is effective, as with the discussion of gentility and its links with the consumption of calicoes and silks. The importance of these fabrics as status markers is convincingly linked with the development of trade with India and the later emergence of the British cotton industry. Elsewhere, the contexts become semi-detached from consumption: the discussion of rational masculinity, for example, focuses more on the institution of the coffee-house than coffee as a commodity being consumed. Moreover, there is no place in Smith's taxonomy of cultural contexts for leisure (central to Borsay's analysis of cultural change in English towns) or utility (emphasized by Berg). Neither is there any attempt to assess the impact of topographic or geographic context. The urban is not seen as an important analytical category, although most of the consumption and cultural change that Smith describes was taking place in towns and communicated through urban networks. And, whilst material is drawn from an impressively wide range of countries, their diverse values and attitudes, politics, economies and cultures are largely neglected in favour of a placeless pan-European analysis.

It would be wrong to finish on such a negative note, however: this is an important book and one which deserves to be widely read. Smith links processes and ideas too often detached from one another, and constructs an argument that should stimulate much thought and discussion, taking studies of consumption beyond questions of what and how, and to those of why and even so what?

Jon Stobart

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Alistair Lindsay and Jean Kennedy (eds.), *The Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr, 1647–1846*. Ayrshire Records Series, 2, 2002. xvi + 310pp. 4 plates. £22.50 (UK, incl. postage); £27.50 (overseas, incl. postage). Available from Rob Close, Craighrae cottages, Drongan, Ayr KA6 7EN.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804271838

This volume lists the names of all those granted the rights of burgh and guild brother in the burgh of Ayr between the years 1647 and 1846, as specified in the Ayr Burgh Council Minute Books. From 1647 there is an unbroken run of minutes and 1846 saw the reorganization of local government and the abolition of the privileges of burghers.

The volume, with over 8,500 names, offers important insights into Ayr and its community – from life spans to the networking with nearby towns; Ayr admitted to its freedom from such towns as Mauchline, Greenock, Straiton and Maybole. But the records go further afield. The entry of merchants from Aberdeen and Perth indicate trading contacts; the burgh-ships of the Professor of Chemistry from Edinburgh University and the Professor of Philosophy from Glasgow University imply municipal munificence. Ayr's position as a west coast port drew others from beyond Scotland. Men from Dublin, Belfast and Tandrogie in Ireland, for example, feature; as does a Mr John Stowell, a student of medicine from the Isle of Man. Entries from such as Bordeaux and Cadiz indicate even further contacts.

The political state of Scotland is reflected in this volume. In 1715, 75 men were honoured for enlisting in the town's company of infantry, 'in consideration of the danger to His Majesty's person and government'. Regiments posted to the barracks at Ayr can also be identified. In 1789, for example, the officers of the 39th foot regiment of the British Army were recipients of the town's honour. Ayr may be seen as very much a garrison town.

The records often give indications of the trades or occupations of new burghers. Not only does this highlight the economic state of the burgh, but it also gives important glimpses into contemporary life. Thomas McClelland, for example, was admitted burgher as an agent of the Bank of Scotland, a position his father had held before him; John McDermeit, on the other hand, had moved greatly in social status as a surgeon, with a father who had been a lowly stocking maker.

The volume has two indexes: one for burghers; and the other for fathers, father-in-law and other relatives. Both are useful and scrupulously detailed. It would seem, therefore, a little churlish to ask for more. The urban historian would, however, benefit from a further, general, index, itemizing such aspects of town life as occupations, for example tobacco roller and cork cutter, and place names, such as the Turnberry saltpans, Govan colliery, Demarara, Antigua and Xerris. This would offer a more effective vehicle for the urban historian and would provide a greater insight into burgh life and Ayr's connections overseas than that given by these more genealogically driven indices. This caveat apart, the volume is a welcome, meticulous production.

E. Patricia Dennison

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Richard Lawton and Robert Lee (eds.), *Population and Society in Western European Port-Cities c. 1650–1939*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002. Liverpool Studies in European Population, 2. xx + 385pp. £49.95 hbk, £18.95 pbk.

DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804281834

This study of European port cities brings together ten different contributions, together with an introduction by the authors. Most of them deal with all or most of the nineteenth century and are wide-ranging in terms of geography: Glasgow (Gibb), Liverpool (Lawton), Malmö (Fridlitzius), Trieste (Cattaruzza), Bremen (Lee and Marschalck), Hamburg (Wischermann), Nantes (Fahy). John O'Brien's study of Cork starts a little earlier, Felloni's study of Genoa covers the years between 1750 and 1939 thus giving the book its finishing date (everything else finishes by 1914) while Stapleton, whose study of Portsmouth commences in 1650, provides a starting date a century before anybody else but also discusses the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century is clearly at the core of the book. The studies are all well written – anybody who has ever edited a book where English is not the first language of many of the authors will bear the scars on his back, but one would not know this from any of these chapters. Most of them are of roughly comparable length. They are all well researched; the editors have taken considerable trouble to guide their authors on to parallel tracks and in many ways have been successful. The introduction attempts to knit everything together, with some success. Good introductions, where editors set out their arguments, show how the various chapters in the book fit into an overall structure and where these arguments progress considerably further than a brief summary of the chapters in the book are all too rare. They are particularly rare in the difficult and not overpopulated field of comparative urban history and this is an excellent example of the genre.

A short review can do little more than discuss the general rationale of the book. As the editors point out in their introduction, for some time now research has shown that simple 'explanations' of the demographic costs of rapid urban growth cannot be applied across the board, hence the role of ports as a useful category of historical analysis. In 1989 Lawton and Lee suggested that the particular typology of various types of cities – for instance capital cities, seaports or cities with a particularly heavy involvement in heavy industry or textiles – could provide a framework for further demographic analysis. This volume seeks to take this suggestion further. It is not difficult to agree that ports are likely to be useful categories of historical analysis for historical demographers and for students of social structure. The problem, of course, is that ports can be so different from each other. They can be capitals, such as Lisbon or London; they can be naval stations; they can be self-governing states. Inevitably, they depend heavily upon their own hinterlands, wider transport networks and the urban development of wider regions. It is not, in practice, easy to analyse common characteristics. The book confines itself predominantly to commercial ports. These do have quite a lot in common, such as unusually large foreign communities and high proportions of unskilled labour. They were not noted for the employment that they gave to women, outside domestic service. There was probably also a greater degree of poverty than in many other towns. The merchant elites who usually governed

them were inclined to be oligarchic, penny-pinching by any standards as well as averse to any planning and regulation outside their immediate horizons. This can be contrasted with at least some manufacturing towns. In other respects ports were typical of other towns but with greater contrasts: residential segregation could be compounded because sailors tended to reside in their own particular areas of town as did ethnic groups, particularly those with low economic status, while ports had more ethnic groups than other towns. All this made for a higher death rate, compounded by the fact that infections as well as goods arrived through ports. There is a rich field for analysis.

In short, a good collection and a good springboard for further comparative studies that deserves to find its way on to reading lists and bookshelves.

Leonard Schwarz

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Nick Prior, *Museums and Modernity. Art Galleries and the Making of Modern Culture*. Oxford: Berg, 2002. 240pp. 40 b&w illus. Bibliography. Index. £14.99.

DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804291830

In recent years, it has come to seem almost as if the museum did all the work of governance and hegemony formation in modern society. Nick Prior's book offers a valuable check on that trend by pointing out the contradictory nature of art museums particularly, and their competing tendency towards becoming instruments of Bourdieu's distinction. In a study that is thoroughly and pertinently theorized, Foucault and Foucauldian studies of the museum are demoted, as Prior points out the restrictions in access and lack of an educational stance which would have been needed for nineteenth-century art museums to function as moral regulators and reformers of popular manners. The study, which is very clearly and systematically organized, aims to trace the development of the national art museum in relation to changing state and government structures from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century, treating each century broadly as exemplifying one mode of government: pre-modern absolutism; eighteenth-century Enlightenment; and nineteenth-century 'bourgeois modernity'. At the same time he looks at three models of the relationship between art and the state: the Continental, English and Scottish. This structure clearly highlights the way in which elites have used and developed art institutions as a means to shape an exclusive social identity, and the mechanisms of exclusion. It also points up the differences between what has come to be seen as the 'classic' form of the modern museum, embodied by the Louvre; and the English, and even more the Scottish, experiences. Without the revolutionary impetus of France, or the nationalist agendas of other continental countries, it seems, the public was only reluctantly allowed into British national spaces for art, whilst educational impulses were even more grudging.

It is probably obvious that this is a very historicized study, despite the author's own doubts about the tendency for museum histories to trace the institution back to ancient Greece. The section on the development of Scotland's National Gallery, opened in 1851, for example, starts in 1540. I am not convinced that this approach is the most fruitful. The heart of his case is clearly the relationship of 'bourgeois

modernity' in Britain with the art museum, and this could have been given greater prominence if coverage of the seventeenth century in particular had been curtailed, without any great violence being done, as far as I can see, to the argument. One of the weaknesses of the book is the brevity with which it deals with questions such as why state spending on cultural initiatives was resisted so strongly in Britain, and these could have been explored in greater depth if the focus had been narrower. It may be objected that a narrow focus is the curse of current historical scholarship; but while an attempt to provide a broader geographical and chronological span should be applauded, if it detracts from what is a valuable and stimulating argument it is not helpful. In essence, this book suffers somewhat from an over-schematized, extremely broad approach, but nevertheless its closely argued thesis does move the debate away from even more over-schematized theories of museum development, in fascinating new directions.

Kate Hill

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Friedrich Lenger (ed.), *Towards an Urban Nation: Germany since 1780*. Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002 (German Historical Perspectives, 16). ix + 186pp. 18 figures. 3 tables. £45.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804301835

Towards an Urban Nation is the sixteenth volume in Berg's 'German Historical Perspectives' series. Closely associated with the German Visiting Fellowship at St Antony's College, Oxford, the aim of the series is 'to present the results of research by German historians and social scientists to readers in English-speaking countries' (p. vii). However, like its sister volumes, *Towards an Urban Nation* is not an historiographical companion. Rather, as Friedrich Lenger makes clear in his short introduction, this collection 'offers a selection of articles that represent a broad variety of recent approaches' (p. 6) to German urban history since the late eighteenth century. Hence, Gisela Mettele and Sylvia Schraut provide complementary essays on the role of the middle classes in the shaping of urban society, politics and administration between the 1780s and 1880s, including important perspectives on women's contribution to these processes through their activities in voluntary associations. Friedrich Lenger picks up on Georg Simmel's observations about the psychological effects of metropolitan life on the individual to explore how the big city was built, experienced and perceived around 1900. Hans-Ulrich Thamer looks at the politics of local welfare administration during the inter-war years. Axel Schildt examines urban development and urban reconstruction after 1945, focusing primarily on planners' pursuit of the 'orderly structured, low-density' city in the Federal Republic, but also offering some useful comparisons with East Germany. Stefan Zappe, a practising architect, considers the possibilities for urban development in contemporary Berlin, a city whose centre and periphery have shifted frequently over time. Without exception, these are insightful essays, but it is the two remaining articles, by Klaus Tenfelde and Franz-Josef Brüggemeier, that are the best in the collection. Tenfelde provides a stimulating overview of urbanization and the spread of urban culture during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, arguing that the latter cannot be viewed simply as a function of urban population growth. Indeed, as Tenfelde points out, urban

culture has continued to spread, even as cities have ceased to grow. Brüggemeier also offers a long-term perspective in his account of industrial pollution, above all in the Ruhr. Focusing on the key concepts of 'zoning' and 'local standards', he demonstrates a continuity in environmental policy that sought 'to create a nature fit for industry' (p. 108) from the nineteenth until the late twentieth century. While *Towards an Urban Nation* certainly succeeds in introducing readers to a variety of key problems in German urban history, there are nevertheless a number of surprising omissions. In particular, anyone interested in recent approaches to the history of the Third Reich or the urban working class will be disappointed. Thamer and Schildt at least offer some morsels with regard to the Nazi period in their respective articles; the same, though, cannot be said of the working class. Instead, Lenger simply notes that 'it was not possible to include an additional article on the urban working class' (p. 11 n. 31). And this in a book with fewer than 200 pages! These omissions aside, *Towards an Urban Nation* is nonetheless to be welcomed for the perspectives that it does shed on current developments in German urban history.

Graham Ford

University of Teesside

Jane Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space and Architecture in Regency London*. London: Athlone Press, 2002. xiii + 248pp. 28 figures. Bibliography. £60 hbk, £17.99 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804311831

A stimulating methodology has emerged over the past decade in relation to the application of critical theory, philosophical enquiry, spatial and social geographies to urban and architectural history. Jane Rendell's *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space and Architecture in Regency London*, skilfully utilizes this approach, with a decidedly feminist perspective from which to explore the symbiotic relationship between gender construction and spatial manifestations. The urban scene with its varied social sites of desire and the physical surroundings of the city's architecture, which composed the space for these social interactions, acted as the impetus for locating the diverse gender identities in the early nineteenth-century metropolis. Rendell utilizes two key texts in her investigation to reveal these multi-faceted and dynamic social practices and their venues in Regency London: the feminist theories of Luce Irigaray as they relate to gendered spatial practice and Pierce Egan's contemporary narrative of the exploits of single urban males, *Life in London* (1820–21).

The focus of this exploration is upon the assertion of masculinity through the contemporary figure of the upwardly mobile urban male in the form of the 'rambler'. By interweaving the narrative of the 'rambler' with a patriarchal theoretical framework, the author argues that the key function of London's primary entertainment venues was the exchange, display and consumption of gendered social relationships. Rendell skilfully reasons the flexibility of the 'public/private' spheres approach to the gendering of space by analysing the manner in which public venues such as the clubs of St James's, the city's assembly rooms and the Italian Opera House presented women as commodities. In each of these locales, the form of exchange takes a different format, such as the trading aspects found in the marriage market of the assembly rooms and the controlling and pleasurable aspects

of the male 'gaze' evident in the city's theatres. This evidence points to an 'attempt to reduce the presence of women in public spaces' (p. 21), controlled in part by the architectural surroundings of the urban environment and the manner in which social capital was exchanged between the sexes. This thoughtful examination enriches our current understanding of the functioning of urban spaces in the consolidation of gendered roles. In conclusion, the rich, varied and abundant compilation of source material relating to a diversity of subjects from feminist and psychological theory, urban and architectural studies to drawings, maps and other visual materials will provide both a model and a tool for the continued exploration of this dynamic and fluid subject.

Julie Schlarman

University of Southampton

Stephen Mosley, *The Chimney of the World*. Cambridge: White Horse Press, 2001. 271pp. 15 illustrations. 2 figures. 8 tables. Bibliography. £35.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804321838

The history of air pollution in Britain is exceptionally rich. In the case of Manchester there are a handful of interesting papers on the development of air pollution in the city. Stephen Mosley's book adds to these with a view of environmental history as story telling, enriched with images from our own experience, which gives meaning to our world. In this way Mosley follows Bill Cronon's approach to history, but the story here is very much ordinary people's views of their smoky surrounding in nineteenth-century Manchester. It self-consciously uses this approach as a backdrop to the actions of reformers. He argues that there was a kind of acceptance of smoke by Manchester's citizens even in the face of the reformer's view that smoke was undesirable. Citizens seemed to accept the industrialist notion that smoke equated with wealth creation. Furthermore, the coziness of the hearth indoors, while it added to the outdoor pollution, was the only antidote to a degraded and grimy urban environment. The book leaves us with a stark vision of the terrible state of the air at the end of the nineteenth century. Mosley's account rightly examines the apparent lack of success of smoke reform. He argues it was the piecemeal approach that was a failure and much more could have been done by local government to bring about rapid improvement. Evidence derives from court actions and their failure. However, the size of fines for smoke pollution or the frequency of successful prosecutions seems to me very doubtful evidence as to whether things were improving or not. The difficulty is that we know little about the pollutant concentrations in the air of Victorian cities. The Clean Air Act of 1956 would also be judged as equally unsuccessful if our interpretations were based on the size of the fines resulting from this Act although the success of the 1956 Act is, of course, also difficult to establish.

The great value of the book is its interest in domestic matters. It also touches on other important questions. Manchester's architecture was draped in smoke. This was an architecture so important, and owing much to the new constructional methods, that the city saw itself as becoming the Florence of the North. Indeed by the end of the century this meant that architects such as Basil Champneys, working on the new John Rylands library, decided that the Gothic style should be replaced by neo-classical forms more resistant to the smoke. Mosley also mentions

the poor training of early Inspectors of Nuisance. This had long been a problem although they could get training from the Sanitary Institute and by the early 1890s applicants for inspector's positions were increasingly expected to be certificated. The work offers two key interpretations of smoke: smoke as waste and inefficiency and smoke as a source of danger, gloom and ill health. In Victorian England to restrict what you could burn in your fireplace seemed an invasion of one's privacy. This seems no more so than our current desire to control what people emit from their cars.

Peter Brimblecombe

University of East Anglia

Kenneth L. Kusmer, *Down and Out, On the Road: The Homeless In American History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. ix + 332pp. 14 plates. 5 tables. 10 graphs. Bibliography. \$45.00 hbk, \$19.95, £13.99 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804331834

This is a smart, pioneering book. Kenneth Kusmer has written the best survey to date on the history of homelessness in the US; along the way he provides a number of innovations as well. The most important of these is his use of the Vagrancy Dockets of the Philadelphia House of Corrections in 1874–75. Persistent civil servants recorded a wealth of detail, creating a powerful data base on transient homeless in a late nineteenth-century city. No one has worked on this data before, so Kusmer joins the small group of individuals who provide us with, not just a new interpretation, but an original source of information for future historians to explore. His results confirm some of what we already know, while leaving the door open to further inquiry. Males were generally unmarried, although to a lesser extent than other studies indicated; instead of the traditional view that almost all homeless men were single, Kusmer found this tally to be only 63 per cent, the rest of the population being married, widowed or divorced. His subjects were also highly literate, predominantly native born and surprisingly local; over half were already residents of the City of Brotherly Love. African-Americans made up a small but significant element, and just under 20 per cent of the vagrants were women. Their profiles differed significantly from those of the men, with females suffering from higher rates of illiteracy, and with a much higher percentage of immigrants, roughly two-thirds being born overseas, mostly in Ireland.

Another of the book's strengths is its inclusiveness. Kusmer has set out to do a true survey of historical American homelessness, pulling together a variety of elements, some of them quite original. His treatment of blacks and women provides a fuller portrait than previously delivered in a book of this kind, and includes a number of subtle touches, such as the insight that African-Americans became attracted to a mobile lifestyle because of the relative freedom it offered, in contrast to their experience in conventional society. He notes how the world of hobos and tramps was amazingly tolerant of racial differences, citing, for example, a Polish immigrant and a black who travelled together, an unlikely combination in most steel mills or meatpacking plants at the time. The book includes a full description of women riding the rails, and their place in hobo culture. In his discussion of other sub-cultures in American society, Kusmer shows how Southern and Eastern European immigrants responded to beggars in a manner drawn from

their homeland culture, rather than Victorian tenets, even detailing how Chinese-American citizens – intensely aware of their status as outsiders – were extremely sympathetic to the homeless, and rarely refused food to strangers. Finally, Kusmer moves the discussion out of the confines of social history to the realm of cultural history, examining how various kinds of artists portrayed the homeless in popular media. His investigation covers not only literature but also vaudeville and then the movies, including an analysis of the kind of values Charlie Chaplin conveyed with his depiction of the Little Tramp.

Robert A. Slayton

Chapman University

Steven W. Usselman, *Regulating Railroad Innovation: Business, Technology, and Politics in America, 1840–1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. xv + 398pp. 27 plates. £50.00 hbk, £18.99 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804341830

This superb book should be required reading for anyone with the slightest interest in understanding the transformation of the United States from its predominantly rural condition in the mid-nineteenth century to the urbanized and industrial society found in the immediate aftermath of the First World War. For many historians the willingness of Americans to embrace technological change and direct it first to entrepreneurial and later corporate ends was responsible for much of this metamorphosis. As the first large-scale network technology, railroads presented Americans with novel challenges deriving from both the system's growing internal complexity and its far-reaching social, political, cultural and economic effects. Once the transformative potential of the iron road had been grasped, the enduring issue was to find ways of controlling technical and organizational change to secure the desired benefits without choking new ideas at birth. As such, as Usselman points out, the problem of regulating railroad innovation was but the first instance of the perennial dilemma faced by any society that pins its hopes on network technologies.

Responsibility for building the basic railroad system, up to the mid-1870s, lay largely with local initiatives usually intended to promote parochial, often mercantile, interests. In this period 'regulation' was largely a matter of creating political incentives for entrepreneurs to experiment and bring the basic technology of steam locomotion and iron road to any place that might derive economic benefit. The resulting railroad industry was not only localized and highly diversified but also characterized by high levels of technical innovation driven by a burgeoning market in patented devices sustained by close-knit personal networks of industry insiders. During the following quarter century both government and the industry were faced with the task of bringing some kind of order to this sprawling machine-network. In a highly successful move, economically and politically, railroad corporations developed a routinized body of engineering knowledge and operational procedures which allowed them to 'run the machine' at high levels of efficiency while maintaining a steady flow of incremental improvements to boost efficiency still more. Government and public were generally supportive of such moves and came to view this 'engineering' approach to management as one applicable more generally to the regulation of the industry in matters of safety and

pricing, and indeed social and political affairs. But by the opening decade of the twentieth century the railroads had become victims of their own success. Changed market conditions and mounting levels of concern from government and labour, particularly with regard to safety, required something more innovative from the industry than 'more of the same'. Trapped by their own rhetoric and practice the railroads proved incapable of radical technical or organizational change and started the long decline that characterized them for much of the last century.

Usselman's magisterial command of the sweep of American political debate on technology over the best part of a century brilliantly contextualizes his myriad detailed insights into the evolution of the railroad machine. This book deserves to become a classic text on American history in the modern period.

Colin Divall

University of York

Hollis Clayson, *Paris in Despair. Art and Everyday Life under Siege, 1870–1871*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002. xxxi + 485pp. 36 colour plates. 181 illustrations. £38.50 hbk.

DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804351837

With *Painted Love*, a study of prostitution in the Paris of the 1860s and 1870s published in 1991, Hollis Clayson explored the seedy side of metropolitan pleasure. As its title suggests, *Paris in Despair* takes on a contrasting dimension: the city under siege over the autumn and winter of 1870–71. While the book deals confidently with the political and military circumstances of the siege, its focus is predominantly on the imagery produced during this intense but extraordinary period of 133 days. It divides into two halves, the first considering the representation of generic issues such as the food shortages, and the second specific case studies of various artists and their responses to the startlingly new circumstances.

One of Clayson's key lines of enquiry is to establish how the siege conditions made Parisian life novel and different, and how artists responded to this. She establishes that people's spatial and temporal perceptions were thrown out of kilter by the sense of enclosure and the boredom. This was a jolt to a population geared to the new expanses of Haussmann's Paris and the consumerism of the Second Empire. Café-concerts were used for political meetings, and the trees of the new Bois de Boulogne were felled. Modernity, one might say, was frozen. The trains sat idle in the stations; lack of gas necessitated a return to candles. So Paris reverted temporarily to an almost pre-modern state. Clayson points out that in Puvis de Chavannes' allegory of the carrier-pigeon modernity is implicit, as the birds carried thousands of messages thanks to the new technology of microphotography. The irony, which she does not evoke, is that it was modernity – his industrialization of campaigning – that led to Moltke's triumph. Clayson's astute eye for issues of class and gender is ever active. She points out that prostitution continued undisrupted by the siege. Parisian women, she argues, came out well in the varied imagery produced during the 133 days. In a series of large paintings commissioned as a living record of the siege, the constant presence of bourgeois women provided reassurance, while in the cheap prints that proliferated women served as vital images of Paris or France, while men were frequently rendered effeminate. In caricatures and illustrations of the bread queues the 'moral

woman' emerged, a symbol of female grit which covered the failure of the armed sorties and the insurrections of October and January. Masculinity, on the other hand, was in crisis; there was little fighting, just waiting, and for artists creativity was constrained.

The second half of *Paris in Despair* selects contrasting artists as case studies. Clayson's typical close attention to objects pays off here – we are shown for the first time that there are caped soldiers in Manet's celebrated etching of the food queue – though on occasion the work of art is made to bear more significance than it can support. A modest oil sketch made on the southern fortifications is indeed a 'soldier's picture', recording the grim winter conditions with necessary urgency, but it is less easy to see it as Manet's portal into impressionism. Clayson writes less, and more convincingly, on Degas' portraits of women, shrewdly admitting them to be contingent and elusive. She effectively argues that the figure of *Resistance* made out of snow by the sculptor Falguière had a powerful identity in its transitory form on the fortifications, but that when he tried to rework it in traditional media after the siege clichés of eroticization crept in; the moment had passed. Two other case studies are fascinating but not quite convincing. Henri Regnault managed to make highly finished watercolours of sensuous harem scenes before his untimely death, images of escapism and nostalgia for North Africa which sit uncomfortably here. And it is difficult to be convinced by the inclusion of the animal painter Rosa Bonheur, outside the siege lines on her estate near Fontainebleau, and the interpretation of her painting of a wounded eagle as an allegory of politico-religious machinations in Germany is brittle. But in this illuminating and energetic book Clayson always engages the reader, even if we cannot always agree, with the combination of close looking, historical and gender consciousness and personal commitment to her arguments.

Richard Thomson

University of Edinburgh

Gábor Gyáni, *Parlor and Kitchen: Housing and Domestic Culture in Budapest, 1870–1940*. Hungarian edn, Budapest, 1998; English edn, Budapest: Central European Press, 2002, trans. Miklós Bodóczy. \$49.95, £28.95.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804361833

Gyáni sets out to depict life in Budapest between 1870 and 1940, using what he terms a 'macro and micro' approach that succeeds in portraying the 'general and specific' (p. 4). The focus of the book is the housing of the city's middle and working classes in two comparative periods: 1870–1914 and 1918–40. Their dwellings were principally flats or tenements – upper-class single-family villas are not included. The first of the book's three chapters provides background on the demographic and spatial expansion of Budapest and the impact that this expansion had on dwelling types and the building industry. The remaining two chapters diverge from a traditional housing and urban history approach to focus more on the specifics of living in flats. The second considers the 'private' spaces of the middle-class dwelling while the third examines 'community' and 'private' spaces in working-class dwellings. Both cover similar material: tenancies, rents, housing shortages, size of dwellings and the arrangement of space within them, domestic facilities, interior decoration and furnishings. Gyáni utilizes a variety of sources in order

to achieve the 'macro and micro' approach. Some of these would be the envy of British historians of the home, for example middle-class inventories of household goods that run into the 1910s and one-off gems such as an 1885 survey of books in private homes and institutions. Analysis of the latter provides an especially fascinating section for the book, linking to the wider issue of a rise in Hungarian national identity during the second half of the nineteenth century. The inventories suggested gendered priorities in room allocation: although men spent far less time at home, eight out of twelve of the inventories mentioned studies while only three mentioned boudoirs. The homes without studies were all inhabited by single men and widows. These sources on furniture are not matched in the same depth in the section on working-class interiors. Here Gyáni utilizes existing secondary work, such as that by Mária Mialkowszky.

Gyáni provides detailed analysis of contemporary surveys and inventories. He also uses autobiographical material, but not to the same systematic extent. This is a pity because inhabitants' memoirs demonstrate how they interacted with domestic space and household goods in a way that inventories and surveys cannot. However, when Gyáni does use memoirs it is to good effect. This is the case in his discussion of the early use of telephones in middle-class homes (though description of the telephone as a broadcasting medium is tantalizingly unexplained) and the section on the uses of the drawing room. The latter had a similar function to the British working-class parlour: it was filled with the most showy pieces of furniture and reserved for special occasions. Memoirs are certainly harder to locate, especially for the earlier period and for the working class. The latter's experiences were featured to a limited extent in petitions from working-class families against eviction which provided information regarding living arrangements. In-depth analysis of this data would have also added to the micro picture. A second weakness is the discussion of middle- and working-class emulation of the classes above them. Gyáni's conclusions about the significance of emulation appear slightly contradictory. For example, in discussing working-class furnishing he states that they did not have their own style but followed 'a middle-class interior design style and taste' which was apparently 'complete by the 1920s' (p. 171). However, he then suggests that working-class furnishing was more than just a reflection of that of the middle classes: 'Nevertheless, the formal similarities should not let us forget that the same material items were used for entirely different purposes' (p. 172). This leaves the reader uncertain as to the importance of emulation in practice.

Spatial analysis features prominently throughout the book. Gyáni considers access to space not only in terms of number of rooms and room size, and how flats for varying status groups were found within the same block, but also how social segregation within the city increased during the period. The common practice of taking in sub-tenants had a considerable impact on domestic space. Although all classes took in tenants, the working class were particularly affected by this. Tenants were important to domestic economy and during the inter-war years could reduce the high rents by at least a half. Gyáni also shows how demographic and social factors such as status and occupation, generation, gender, occupation, lifecycle (widowhood, family size) and ethnicity (German and Jewish) affected the experience of, and access, to housing. This anthropological and ethnological perspective demonstrates well the complex factors which affected the living conditions of Budapest citizens during this period. For example, in the chapter on working-class housing, Gyáni criticizes historians who use the worst

housing conditions to represent all working-class experiences. Instead, he shows the differences between housing conditions of the industrial working class and the subculture of the working-class camps. Within the group of industrial workers the public works employees fared the best. This translation of Gyáni's work is a welcome study of domestic space, providing as it does a central European point of comparison and is one which should inspire further research on the topic.

Lucy Faire

University of Leicester

Mary Lethert Wingerd, *Claiming the City: Politics, Faith, and the Power of Place in St. Paul*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002. xiii + 326pp. 39 illus. Notes. Index. \$29.95.

DOI: 10.1017/S096392680437183X

Mary Lethert Wingerd's *Claiming the City* challenges the assumption common in much urban history that religion was epiphenomenal in creating modern city life. Writing about St Paul, Minnesota, between 1880 and 1940, Wingerd depicts a remarkable Catholic power in the city first shaped by Archbishop John Ireland between his arrival in 1884 and his death in 1918. Ireland bridged ethnic and racial divisions among St Paul Catholics, used an awkward but profitable relationship with railroad magnate James J. Hill to finance Church initiatives, created a welter of charities and social service agencies for Catholic immigrants and provided critically important support for the labour movement. The result was a distinctive 'civic compact' in St Paul by 1910. In contrast to Protestant Minneapolis across the Mississippi River, with its bitter strikes, tighter moral regimen and Republican politics, St Paul businessmen accepted union contracts, a more relaxed moral climate (e.g., saloons and prostitution) and Democratic party politics in exchange for relatively peaceful labour relations.

The Great War very nearly destroyed St Paul's 'civic compact'. Minnesota's notorious Public Safety Commission led the nation in suppressing both German sympathies and union activism, and a 1917 streetcar strike shattered St Paul's business-labour accommodation. Feeling forced to choose, Archbishop Ireland supported St Paul's businessmen and the Safety Commission against (usually Catholic) strikers; Ireland refused at one point to bury Catholic labour militants. Meanwhile, unknown conspirators (anti-Catholic, anti-German, or both?) blew up the rectory of the German Catholic St Agnes church.

Teetering at the brink of a civic collapse as the war ended, St Paul resuscitated Ireland's earlier achievements, thanks to the initiatives of Ireland's seemingly tepid successor, Archbishop Austin Dowling, and a rise in labour's political fortunes. Dowling allowed greater ethnic expression in Catholic parishes and supported St Paul's trade unions while opposing socialism. The new Farmer-Labour party, with its strong labour base in St Paul, dramatically recast Minnesota politics, capturing the governorship, legislature and one of the state's US Senate seats in 1922. Well into the 1960s, Catholic leaders continued to negotiate St Paul's peculiar 'civic compact'. They restrained far left politics, moved ethnic constituencies into the cultural mainstream and, above all, nourished St Paul's image as a distinctively Catholic city. Even in the 1990s St Paulites asked newcomers "What parish are you

from?" (p. 269) because they believed the answer still revealed who you were, what you believed and how you behaved.

Wingerd makes a persuasive, often eloquent case for religion's importance in creating twentieth-century St Paul. The 100 pages on the politics of the Great War might have been shortened to probe local parish life in greater detail, since Wingerd's analysis frequently points to the parish and neighbourhood, rather than the archdiocese, businessmen's associations or even the union halls, as the nexus of ethnic, religious and political awareness. Still, Wingerd's wonderfully researched book should caution historians who write about the modern city as though religion was an anachronism irrelevant to citizens' lives and urban culture, whether in America or even Europe.

Jon Butler

Yale University

Pierre-Yves Saunier (ed.), *Contemporary European History, Special Issue – Municipal Connections: Co-operation, Links and Transfers among European Cities in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, XI, 4, 2002. 167pp. £39.00 annual individual subscription for four parts.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804381836

This special issue is the result of discussions by a working group on 'The international municipal movement 1900–1960' between 1998 and 2001. The six contributors take 'municipal connections' as their starting point, which Saunier helpfully defines as 'a series of linkages – formal and informal, permanent or ephemeral – which bind together entities that are geographically far apart, either in a single country or across boundaries'. The other contributors could have made more reference to these 'connections'. For example, how were they manifested between interested institutions and how were language problems overcome both in terms of meanings ('local', 'municipal' and 'commune') and the practicalities of translation? Saunier's introductory conspectus goes some way to accounting for these difficulties, yet this could be explored further. Furthermore, if meetings constituted the main way of circulating information and facilitating international co-operation, how do the contributors account for the growing post-war input of central governments and unelected quangos within municipal policy negotiations? One is also left wondering whether 'connections' are the same as 'networks' or 'relationships', in which case more could be made of intergovernmental interactions and the growth of the civil service. Payre's paper on 'communal science' in France, for example, considers the growth of professional and bureaucratic networks, likening local government to the management of industry, with the town councillors acting as the board of directors (reminiscent of Joseph Chamberlain's description of Birmingham's ratepayers as shareholders). One suspects, however, that the contributors would argue that 'connections' are entirely different, in which case the definitional ambiguities need ironing out.

The authors, to their credit, retain the 'municipal' dimension of their papers despite the increasing pressures from ideological interests, the impact of war on political relationships and the convergence of the European federalist movement with municipal associations. Thus, Gaspari successfully traces the influence of the International Union of Local Authorities from its 'birth' in 1913, through the

inter-war leadership challenges from the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, to its usurpation by the pro-federalist Council of European Municipalities in 1951. Similarly, Dogliani grapples with the increasing influence of partisan interests on the international municipal movement, notably the Belgian socialists whose power was derived from their municipal roots. Vion, meanwhile, in a fascinating study of town twinning during the Cold War, notes the ideological tensions inherent between the federalists and bilingualists in seeking to twin French cities with those of Britain, America and the Soviet bloc. Notwithstanding his dubious claim that twinning was 'the first step taken by municipalities to define their interests on the international stage', Vion's argument that its ultimate aim was to bring about a 'lasting peace' cannot be disputed. It is unnecessary to disentangle the tensions and interactions prevalent within central-local government relations during the period. Rather, Kozińska-Witt's informative study of the Union of Polish Cities during the inter-war years, a country with few traditions of local government, rightly identifies the inherent antagonisms between regions and cities. Twentieth-century local government was increasingly reflective of such tensions. Proposals for the regionalization of English local service delivery during the 1940s reflected this shift in state attitudes towards 'best value' practice. This brings the review to a final point: England's absence from the collection. This was not owing to England's absence from the IULA. In 1932, for example, London hosted the 5th International Congress of Local Authorities, backed by central government, local authority associations and academics. Three years later English local government celebrated its centenary of municipal reform. English local government must be incorporated in future research into the municipal movement to add to the high standard of existing research published on other countries in this periodical and elsewhere.

Shane Ewen

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Hal K. Rothman and Mike Davis (eds.), *The Grit Beneath the Glitter: Tales from the Real Las Vegas*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. 388pp. Index. \$50.00 hbk, \$19.95 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804391832

In the not-so-distant past, few presses were likely to publish a collection of essays about Las Vegas. Here was a city that tested traditional notions of history, where 15-year-old buildings were outmoded and targeted for dynamite. In the popular imagination, this was a one-industry town whose sole reason for existence was based entirely on the hope for greater wealth; a place whose reality was rooted in fantasy, embedded in the glitter of the neon along the Las Vegas 'Strip' and the promise of dreams fulfilled inside its casinos. If the reality of Las Vegas was fantasy, how could it be worthy of serious inquiry? Editors Hal Rothman and Mike Davis do not deny the city's fantastic attributes, but they explain that an oft-overlooked reality of 'grit' is hidden beneath and away from the Strip's fantasy and glitter – the reality of ordinary working lives that makes Las Vegas more like the rest of the nation. By implication, Las Vegas was due the sort of historical treatment scholars for years have lent cities like New York, Chicago, and San Francisco – and this volume is a step in that direction. Serious studies of Las Vegas are now becoming

more common, and *The Grit Beneath the Glitter* is one of the more serious to date. As Rothman and Davis point out in the introduction, for too long analyses of Las Vegas have focused either on the spectacle of the Strip (the glitter) or the tourists and gamblers enraptured by this glitter. They promise a wider scope; they claim that their contributors provide 'alternative narratives and biographies that give the lie to the overtorqued prose that refuses to see the grit beneath the glitter' (p. 6). These are also essays from an insider's perspective. Most of the 21 essays – organized loosely within five general sections – are written by locals, over a third of whom are faculty at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

As a collection of 'alternative' stories, this book is a success. Readers will not trudge through another tiring analysis of the city and the Strip as an illusionistic exercise in fantasy, simulacra and 'hyperreality.' Instead, we learn about the pitfalls and opportunities for women in Las Vegas (essays by Joanne L. Goodwin, Amie Williams and Kathryn Hausbeck), the strength of the Culinary Union (essays by Davis and Courtney Alexander), the lives of residents at work and play in the interviews and photographs of Kit Miller and, in an essay by Jon Christenson, the recent efforts of the heretofore little-known Patricia Mulroy to secure a steady water supply for the city. But far more is here than simply 'grit', which renders the book's content somewhat at odds with its title. It includes an interpretation of the city as a land of opportunity for its residents and workers, who find (and have found) greater economic opportunity and personal freedoms in Las Vegas than elsewhere. Indeed, the collection does not feature 'grit' *per se* but what the popular imagination may *perceive* as grit: that is, everything and anything that either muddies or strays from the spectacle and corporate 'family entertainment' of the Strip. By this token, problems faced by nearly every major metropolitan area in the United States become part of the 'grit' (and, thus, contained within the 'real' Las Vegas – part of the book's subtitle). This includes traffic, pollution, sprawl, social inequities, racial strife, state prisoners in the nearby town of Jean, the flows of capital that keep the city tied to outside markets and render it a 'colony' – even the everyday working lives of casino food service workers and 'showgirls'. All of these issues are covered either in whole or in part by essays in the collection.

Yet with few exceptions, the essays do not venture geographically or imaginatively beyond the Strip or beyond issues that affect the Strip in direct ways, suggesting that a fine line separates glitter and grit, fantasy and reality. This is not surprising, considering that gaming is far and away the city's principal industry and that it touches the lives of all the city's residents. What, then, is the 'real' Las Vegas? Are washing pots at Jerry's Nugget, the segregation of African-Americans in West Las Vegas and the social, economic and environmental consequences of suburban development somehow more 'real' than all-you-can-eat casino buffets, the sphinx and pyramid of the Luxor casino and the incessant ding-ding-ding of slot machines – spectacle which contributes heavily to the city's economy and, hence, affects the lives of regular Las Vegas who are the book's principal subjects? If this question remains unanswered (and one wonders whether the title and subtitle were selected by the publishers), the fact that Rothman and Davis have collected a number of 'alternative' perspectives is enough in itself to render this collection a worthy addition to histories of Las Vegas. Perhaps this volume firmly establishes the city's place on the urban history bookshelf.

J. Philip Gruen

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