Reviews of books

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R. Morelli, E. Sonnino and C. M. Travaglini (eds.), *I territori di Roma. Storie, popolazioni, geografie*. Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma La Sapienza, Tor Vergata, Roma Tre, 2002. 701pp. Figures. Tables. Maps. Black and white photos. Index. Cd-Rom [containing all the articles and additional material]. 45.00 euros pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804212159

Collective research projects often produce 'non-collective' outcomes, as each individual researcher treads his or her own path around a common subject. This huge volume is no exception to this general rule, but such an observation should not detract from the many merits of this wide-ranging and original collection of pieces concerning contemporary and not-so-contemporary Rome. The success of this project in bringing together scholars from different disciplines and across the various sections of Rome's huge university system should not be underestimated, and much of what is here will be useful to readers looking from very different backgrounds. For example, there is some fascinating and useful material on the mapping of Rome, property relations in the Rome province and beyond, land use in various periods and monuments in the area of Italy's capital city. In addition, contemporary interest in the city, and its dynamic populations, can be sated through an examination of chapters and research articles on recent and previous immigrations to the city, both at a general and a neighbourhood level. Other chapters deal with subjects as diverse as nineteenth-century sport and leisure, the image of Rome and tax policies in previous Roman epochs.

The sheer diversity and eclectic nature of the material on view here points towards a pleasing shift in Italian urban history, towards a new cultural studies approach which has begun to break down the previously rigid and usually damaging departmental and disciplinary barriers within the university system. Moreover, it is encouraging to see that Italian urban scholars are continuing to work within one of the great local historical traditions, that of micro-history. There are some excellent micro-studies here on the micro-zones of San Lorenzo (close to the Termini station) and on the Esquilino neighbourhood. Sources are also eclectic, mirroring a shift away from purely archive-based work towards a much wider appreciation of the whole nature of 'sources'. Whilst much of this work is more geographical than historical – and the role of real people in the history of Rome is somewhat lacking in this volume as a whole – the sheer weight and detail

of the material available here will provide an essential reference point for many scholars who are already familiar with the capital city's history or, on the contrary, are approaching some of these subjects for the first time. Finally, this volume's usefulness is greatly enhanced by the democratic decision to make available a Cd-Rom with not just the whole volume in searchable and downloadable form, but also additional material as support for the various texts.

Whilst the final judgment on such a volume is that it may please nobody thanks to the breadth of the subject-matter and the wide periodization of the book as a whole, the project should be applauded for its audacity in bringing such diverse work together under the 'Rome' banner. Only a wide conceptual and bibliographical introduction could have brought the pieces here together, but such an attempt would have been against the eclectic spirit of the whole project, aimed at promoting diversity and not imposing conformity. Urban history is necessarily an umbrella which encompasses all manner of research, analysis and opinion, and the success of the nascent Italian urban history association is testimony to the popularity, but also the wide-ranging nature, of projects of this kind.

John Foot
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Most town-dwellers now live in suburbs, but urban history has been principally concerned with the central districts in which the heart of the city could be said to beat. Edgbaston stretches from the edge of the old centre of Birmingham outwards into the mid-nineteenth-century countryside, and was deliberately developed as an upper-class residential district, so that for much of the nineteenth century this was the smartest address for Birmingham's wealthy elite. For much of its past, beginning with a Roman fort, Edgbaston was a thinly populated parish of well-wooded but rather poor farmland. The expanding wealth and size of industrial Birmingham brought the built-up area to the edge of the parish by the late eighteenth century. Then the distinctive structure of landholding in Edgbaston became crucial, for most of its acreage lay in the control of a single owner, the Calthorpe estate. The development of residential streets for 'independent persons and the wealthier classes of professional men, merchants and traders' began in 1786 and proceeded at a genteel pace through the first half of the nineteenth century, accelerated, and then slowed down after 1880, as rival locations, often encircled by genuine countryside, opened up, and transport facilities improved. While some concessions were made to less affluent residents, commercial development and workshops were assiduously discouraged. But in 1958 Calthorpe became the first private urban estate to commission its own development plan along modern town-planning principles which enabled it to redirect its policies to accommodate the changes dictated by the post-war city environment. In such a suburb fine houses attracted fashionable architects and Edgbaston contains splendid examples of all the fashions of the nineteenth century. The attractiveness of suburbia owes much to gardens and gardeners, and Dr Slater is at his best enlarging on this theme, another neglected one. Other chapters deal with churches, the principal public buildings

of most suburbs, transport, schools (this is more richly endowed with educational establishments of all sorts than most suburbs) and sports and recreation. An all-too brief final chapter outlines the very striking developments which have taken place in the last half century, during which the world with which (one suspects) the author sympathizes most has been largely swept away. The dominant single influence which has replaced rich residents is now the University, and the author summarizes the leviathan growth of this cuckoo in the suburban nest. Modern Edgbaston is impossible to treat as a 'typical' suburb since it has developed so many disparate aspects which reflect the wider growth of Birmingham in the twentieth century; indeed, part of it now belongs to the central business district and is not suburban at all. Dr Slater is an historical geographer with strong urban interests, so this is a very accomplished account displaying all his professional skills. But it is primarily an accessible, short and well-illustrated story aimed at local residents, so modern urban historians should not expect a detailed, dry academic analysis. All the same, there is something here for them, from the illustrations as much as the text.

Alan Dyer
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Gillian Cookson (with contributions by Christine M. Newman and Graham R. Potts), *The Townscape of Darlington*. Victoria County History Series, 1. London: Boydell Press and University of London Institute of Historical Research, 2003. x + 198pp. 51 illustrations. Bibliography. £16.99/$29.95 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804232151

This is the first publication to emerge from the revived Victoria County History of Durham, and the first in a proposed series of 'VCH Studies' paperbacks. At the time of its suspension during the First World War, the Durham VCH consisted of three completed volumes plus notes and some proofs for further publication. However, while the unfinished manuscripts may have served as a starting point, this Darlington pilot project indicates a contemporary approach. *The Townscape of Darlington* is a scholarly piece of historical writing, combining solid research with an accessible style. It outlines the physical development of the town as the key to all 'aspects of the town's history', using material evidence either to suggest or to corroborate a wide range of documents and interpretations. What has been too easily categorized as a 'Victorian Quaker railway town' emerges as more believably complex – a layered urban environment, with a very specific history embedded in its fabric. The narrative unfolds according to a locally determined chronology: pre-1600, 1600-1800, 1800-1914 and 1914-2000. Each section benefits from specialist knowledge and expertise; all three of these authors are successful local and regional historians, and their interests and skills complement each other here. Much of the rather elusive early history has been diligently pieced together through careful reading and interpretation of a wide range of church and court records, antiquarian accounts and archaeological findings. Medieval layout and building also helps to make sense of the present-day town. The size and shape of the spacious central market place, for example, still gives Darlington much of its specific character. During the eighteenth century, coal, leather and textiles were

the basis of Darlington's increasing prosperity, and the implications of this are again firmly tied to the speed, quality and directions in which the town began to expand. Local Quaker businessmen played an important part in all of this, as well as providing the infrastructure required to make it all work. As one might expect there is a strong emphasis and detailed focus on nineteenth-century growth, including the town's industrial and technological base, its architects, its building trade and the materials they all used. The number of architects supported by a town the size of Darlington at this time provides a good indication of its wealth, complexity and civic sensibilities.

The Townscape of Darlington is a good-looking production with an attractive cover, a well considered layout and a number of newly discovered, and some especially commissioned, illustrations. My one complaint, that the illustrations are not as well produced as they might be, is perhaps an unfortunate sign of the times. But in a book about 'townscape', using visual and material evidence, illustrations have a fundamental role to play. Neither architecture nor urban character is enhanced by murky black and white images, and one can only hope this will encourage readers to seek out the originals wherever possible. However, this is a thoroughly researched, well-organized and very readable account of Darlington's growth from its pre-medieval origins, which makes very good use of previously overlooked or disparate material, while correcting a number of widely held 'creation myths' along the way. As in the past, the VCH are committed to providing reliable, well-documented county histories which will appeal to academics as well as to the general public. This is a more difficult balance to strike today than it was in 1899, not least because of the often conflicting demands of the publishing market. However, in this book that balance has been achieved, and I have no doubt that *The Townscape of Darlington* will become the starting point for anyone interested in the history of any aspect of the town.

Linda Polley
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Melitta Weiss Adamson (ed.), *Regional Cuisines of Medieval Europe: A Book of Essays*. New York, London: Routledge, 2002. xviii + 254pp. Bibliography. Index. £ 55.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804242158

This is Professor Adamson's second contribution to Routledge Medieval Casebooks. Following her *Food in the Middle Ages* (1995), the editor focuses on regional cuisines from Rome, Britain, France, Italy, Spain, Germany and the Low Countries. As usual, her Introduction to the various contributions is a model of the genre. She not only gives a percipient content of each article but also establishes connections between the regions presented in terms of evolution, production, preparation and consumption of the cuisines under review. The bibliography (so often omitted in collections of essays) gathers all the titles appearing in the articles. Five of the eight contributors are based in Canada (Adamson, Hieatt, Lambert, Salloum, Scully); two in the United States (Chabrán, Varey) and one in the Netherlands (van Winter).

The foci of the various contributors are sometimes disparate, reflecting the individuals' personal interests. For authors who have already published widely in the field, the articles tend to focus and refine on some aspects of previous

publications (Scully, Lambert, Hieatt) and in this they represent an important contribution to this collection. Others choose a particular aspect of the region they study, thus Salloum insists on the Arabic influence of history and of linguistics on Sicily. This is a short but excitingly informative contribution to a subject and a region little studied until now. The same remark applies to Chabrán who involves the reader in the history, geography, literature and religion of Spain. The result is a fascinating tapestry, adroitly woven and highly informative.

We owe a special debt of gratitude to Professor van Winter for introducing us to the cuisine of the Low Countries, sadly neglected until now. The merit of her article resides mainly in the close study of primary sources: several kinds of household accounts which are, for her scholarship, a trigger to understanding the production of certain foodstuffs and the historical relations with other countries. This enables the reader to appreciate a particular source: the meal plans of the St John's Commendam of Haarlem.

Two more authors contribute to the attraction of this volume: Dr Varey and Professor Adamson. Dr Varey carries us on a breathtaking tour of Italy. His contagious enthusiasm is backed by a scrupulous and detailed scholarship. He juggles with Apicius and Platina yet he warns us against approximate and erroneous translations. We travel with him to Tuscany and the Piedmont; Venice, Milan and Naples with their specific produce, seasonings, cooking methods, dishes and tours-de-main. The recipes are exciting and, for him, Italian food is not food unless it is enjoyed in good company. How true!

The fascination of Professor Adamson's presentation of the cuisine of the Greco-Roman world is her enormous scholarship which she carries so lightly. Her study of primary sources is a springboard for a host of information on produce and their origins; on their preparation and consumption, influenced by climate and foreign connections; the simplicity of some preparations; the remarks that fruit and vegetables so often started and ended meals, as well as the elaborate preparation of stuffed suckling pig: a new vista on this so often hackneyed presentation of the cuisine of the Roman world. But, of course, this author is the acknowledged specialist of medieval German cuisine. Through her familiarity with primary sources, chronicles and literature, account books and cookbooks, she creates a fascinating link between these and archaeological finds of food-offerings, grains and fruit as well as animal and poultry remains. It enables her to throw a new light and interpretation on medieval German cuisine.

This series of essays fills an important gap in the study of European food and cuisine. It makes exciting reading and is highly recommended.

Nicole Crossley-Holland
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> **M. Boone, K. Davids and P. Janssens (eds.),** *Urban Public Debts: Urban Government and the Market for Annuities in Western Europe (14th–18th Centuries)*. Studies in European Urban History (1100–1800) III. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2003. 221pp. No bibliography. No index. 57.00 euros.
> DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804252154

Thirteen essays, contributions to a conference in Ghent in 2001, address what the editors describe as a 'somewhat neglected part of financial history' – the ways that

European urban governments managed their debts during the late middle ages and the early modern period. This is a notably neglected part of urban history, although the evidence from all over Europe is copious and fascinating. Then as now, taxation provided a regular income while unusual levels of expenditure had to be met by borrowing. In the short term that could be from bankers, but long-term debt was financed by the public – as forced loans everywhere in the middle ages, though most effectively by some more acceptable means that would moreover tap into the resources of more than just the most wealthy. From the late thirteenth century in the towns of northern France, and thereafter elsewhere in Europe, we see the introduction of regular systems of redeemable bonds and of annuities – guaranted annual payments to individuals for their lifetimes, in return for an initial gift to the city treasury. Both were popular with those who had money to invest: the redeemable bond protected capital, which could nevertheless be redeemed at any time; the annuity gave lifetime security and high proceeds.

The individual essays deal with public debt in Venice, Rome, Amsterdam, Bruges, the Swiss towns and elsewhere. The contributors were well chosen, and every study is a valuable part of the whole picture of the sophistication of the borrowing systems supporting the complex financial structures of these wealthy urban communities. Two general chapters, an introduction by the editors and an impressive study of the history of long-term debt in medieval Europe by James Tracy provide the overview that volumes of this sort really need. But why was London the oddity? Vanessa Harding's interesting study shows how London failed to develop any proper way of managing its debts during most of this period; instead, the city government muddled along by drawing on the capital fund of legacies held in trust for the city's orphans and irresponsibly allowed its liabilities to mount, until the 1680s when it could no longer meet the enormous burden of interest it owed. The problem was compounded by the city's failure to develop an accounting system that could reveal the true position; instead, it relied on a medieval accounting system that lumped together all movements of money in and out which made it nearly impossible to identify true income and expenditure. British urban historians could profitably address the question why not only London but also other towns lagged behind their continental counterparts in the sophistication of their finances. Part of the answer will be, as Harding points out, the different financing policy of the English state after the sixteenth century; clearly also the far greater liabilities of many European towns – particularly but not only the Italian city-states – forced them to seek solutions beyond what was necessary in England. Equally clearly, that is not all the answer.

Richard Holt
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If there was a city in sixteenth-century Spain that attracted the attention of outsiders, it was Granada. Foreign visitors made a beeline for what was generally regarded as western Europe's most exotic city. The largest and virtually the only

Islamic redoubt left in western Europe, Granada occupied a distinctive berth in the early modern imagination thanks to its abundant Muslim population, with its unusual dress, dances and customs. (That the *moriscos* still continued to be Muslim after their nominal conversion to Christianity in 1502 was something doubted by very few 'Old Christians', in Spain or elsewhere). The most recent generation of Spanish historians has lavished considerable attention on the evolution of Granada following its conquest by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492. Nevertheless, until now no account has been available in English of the uneasy transition from Islamic to Christian rule, and the consolidation of a new, settler society that wound up expelling the native population of Muslim origin.

David Coleman's book fills the gap quite nicely. His is an orderly and level-headed summary of the emergence of a frontier society forced to create from scratch not only all the institutions of a Catholic city, but also a *modus vivendi* with a large ethnic and religious minority whose basic loyalties were never taken for granted. The relations between Christian immigrants and *moriscos* is the first of the two main themes of this study. Coleman resists the temptation to cast this story in terms of the stark opposition between newcomers and natives that has long dominated historical analysis. He devotes attention instead to the points of contact and interaction between the two groups, many of whose members seized the varied local opportunities for mobility and promotion of individual and familial interests. Coleman's nuanced approach reveals substantial resistance to the process of polarization that would eventually separate the city into two, and which convinced the hard-liners in power that the *moriscos* were irreconcilable opponents of the faith of the Christian majority. Following a large-scale revolt in 1568–70 – a largely rural movement in which the city's new Christian population hardly participated – most of Granada's *moriscos* were expelled. The final solution that created Christian Granada meant considerable long-term demographic and economic loss for the city, which did not regain its earlier levels of dynamism until the tourist boom of the twentieth century.

The other focus of Coleman's book is the movement for internal reform within the newly Christianized city. Sixteenth-century Granada was the home of a number of charismatic spiritual leaders, both within and outside the church establishment. Their proposals for change ranged from a network of charity hospitals – the brainchild of a poor book peddler known locally as Juan de Dios and founder of what would soon be known as the Order of the Brothers Hospitallers – to the proposals for church-wide reform of the famed preacher Juan de Avila, which wound up having a considerable impact on the Tridentine decrees of 1563. Coleman skilfully reconstructs the intricacies of the city's ecclesiastical organization, and the sort of conflicts set in motion by reformers bent on making Christian Granada live up to its name. He also details the important role rank-and-file laymen played in the construction of local religious practices, especially through the foundation of the numerous devotional confraternities that helped bridge the gap between a cathedral and parish clergy more attentive to their income and privileges than to the practical tasks of evangelization and ministry that proved especially pressing in the 'frontier' content.

Creating Christian Granada is a well-written and balanced introduction to some rather complex matters. Its author's flair for crisp, efficient summaries is perhaps most visible in the concluding pages on the 'lead seals of Granada', a bizarre episode of forgery of relics and sacred documents that represented a desperate

(and unsuccessful) attempt by surviving *moriscos* to defend themselves against a mounting tide of opinion calling for their definitive expulsion. Admittedly, Coleman's own archival findings are stronger for the chapters on the city's religious as opposed to social history. However, throughout he makes effective use of the burgeoning Spanish-language research on Granada and its environs. Thanks to his efforts, a unique period in the evolution of an equally unique city is now much better known.

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Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500–1670*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002. xvi + 343pp. 10 plates. 2 maps. Bibliography. £50.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804272157

This book – which was carefully prepared for by the publication of a number of important papers and articles (see pp. 321–2) – will become a landmark in the fast-moving urban historiography for three main reasons. First, the kind of cross-history of towns – here Paris and London – practised by Vanessa Harding successfully inserts a new stratum of observation between the town monograph and the extensive synthesis. The dynamic of the comparison between the two cities provides a new insight into each of them and a better understanding of the way the early modern town was working. Secondly, she gives us a book entirely devoted to the social uses of an urban space, a very fashionable theme amongst historians but rarely so justified and so well done. Thirdly, she contributes to the current investigation into the 'networks of order' which organized and stabilized early modern cities, and she strongly demonstrates that the dead – a population as uneven as the society of the living with its leaders (the householders) and its dependants (children, wives, adult servants, pensioners) – are as important as the living in this matter.

Moreover, Vanessa Harding brilliantly masters the English and the French sources (even if the former are more deeply investigated, see p. 4), and her bibliography is up to date with numerous references on sociology and ethnology. While the historiography in France seems to be still ruled by the authoritative, but rather old books of Philippe Ariès (*L'homme devant la mort* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1977), Jacqueline Thibaut-Payen (*Les morts, l'église et l'état* (Paris: Editions Fernand Lanore, 1977)) and Pierre Chaunu (*La mort à Paris, XVI–XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1978)),[1] her book reveals the growing interest in Great Britain, in the United States and also in Germany in the history not of the perceptions of death but of the 'actions and procedures surrounding the dead body'.[2] The main point of these works is that

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[1] French historians have made very few attempts to review their approaches. See nevertheless Olivier Zeller in *Histoire Urbaine*, 5 (June 2002).
[2] It could be usefully related to the recent publications by Steven Bassett (*Death in Towns. Urban Responses to the Dying and Death, 1000–1600*, Leicester, 1992), Margaret Cox (*Grave Concerns. Death and Burial in England, 1700 to 1850*, York, 1998), Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (*The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, 2000) or K.D.M. Snell, 'Gravestones, belonging and local attachment in England, 1700–2000', *Past and Present*, 179 (May 2003), 97–134.

a ceremony is a language and that a rite always epitomized the values of a society. The way a corpse is looked after is a cultural process defined by rites, therefore funerals are a very good point of observation and comparison in understanding early European modern societies.

The book is organized in nine chapters and three parts. The first part (chapters 1 and 2) presents its main themes and the scene: two metropolises – London and Paris – with an ever-growing population, though regularly struck by strong demographic crises. London and Paris experienced at the end of the sixteenth century disruptive religious upheavals which led, in the first case, to Protestantism and, in the second case, to the conservation of Catholicism. The annual death toll went in both towns from less than 5,000 burials per annum around 1600 to around 20,000 in the 1670s. All these corpses were a huge source of disorder that the political and social body must absolutely deal with.

The second part (chapters 3 to 6) studies the place of the dead in several urban spaces: the parochial churchyard; the civic and non-parochial churchyards, which generally received the corpses of the members of the lower groups of the society or of the heretics, nonconformists and criminals; and the parochial church and, especially, the vaults or the chapels of the great families in the church, which were a sign of a private appropriation of a public space.

The third part (chapters 7 to 9) shows that the funeral conventions were more and more a part of the market economy. Death summons around the corpse a world of parents but also of priests, sextons, churchwardens, heralds or *jurés crieurs de corps et de vin*, who make sure to establish the level of respectability of the dead and of his heirs and successors. Burial costs and the commercialized funerary procedures played a great role: social distinctions were established for example by the use of a mere shroud, a wooden coffin or a lead one.

Vanessa Harding reminds us that the location of the dead was essentially determined by the age, the sex and the wealth of the deceased. The burial brings to him, or sometimes her, a spiritual benefit linked with the closeness of the sacred but it also symbolizes his or her individual feelings in the face of death and his or her social status. It powerfully expresses also his or her link to a community and the ceremonies must find a balance between all these secular and spiritual, individual and collective dimensions of burial. Vanessa Harding insists on the flexibility of the rituals of burial, which allows them first to meet the social needs and secondly to change slightly with the time.

She shows that, despite religious and cultural differences, the ways corpses were handled were really similar in London and Paris (see, for example, the burial intervals or the use of hangings or hearse-cloths). But she argues that the system, as a whole, worked better in London than in Paris, especially for social reasons. She insists on the fact that the bodies of the Parisian poor were considered like objects: they were often buried in mass graves or transferred to remote burial grounds like Clamart. In Paris, the procedures around the dead did not serve to strengthen the sense of community, which was so important in the London parishes as demonstrated by Ian Archer or Jeremy Boulton. On this point, one might regret (and be astonished by) the paucity of studies on Parisian social structures and social relations during the seventeenth century which could have made possible the confrontation with her observations about the polarization of the society of the dead.

To conclude, our hope is that she will, in a next book, continue her exploration across the Channel until the beginning of the nineteenth century in order to examine

in the same fascinating way the transfer of the churchyards out of the towns and the foundation of the modern cemetery.

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Until recently, studies in urban musical history have tended to focus upon well-known centres of excellence. In doing so, they have lagged behind many urban histories which, for some time, have reconstructed life in the so-called periphery of many countries.

It is the periphery that exercises the mind of the Spanish musicologist Miguel Ángel Marín in his brilliant study *Music on the Margin*. Here, from the 'perspective of the boundary', as he puts it, he considers the small town of Jaca in Spain close to the French border, a town that for years was the only urban settlement in the primarily rural Aragonese Pyrenees. But while he views with microscopic detail every aspect of the town relevant to its musical past available to him through extant documents, he does so with the aim of enabling other scholars to use it as a foil for studies of other, similar settlements in other countries. To him Jaca is 'the locus of study, rather than the object of study', chosen in part because its limited size has enabled him to sift through what happened with a fine-tooth comb before describing it.

All too often, books in one discipline are written in a manner that make them seem addressed chiefly to those schooled in that discipline. In this respect the book is exceptional, and a model of its sort in a number of ways. The author has the rare gift of allowing us, the readers, to be more than mere onlookers. He conveys to us the feeling that we are accompanying him as equal partners on a journey that is enabling us to experience, as if we were there, the soundscape as well as the institutions, the muscians involved with them and the music performed: the total urban musical ambience. It is not necessary for us to be music historians to appreciate what he is trying to convey to us not only about the cathedral and its musicians, the various religious orders and their collaboration and interdependency but also the musical repertory in the cathedral music archive, the continuity and change in the local repertory and the transmission and reception of music.

From the start it is clear that the author has not only approached his topic with a respect for scholarly standards that is exemplary. Comprehensively and assiduously he has examined what has been available to him, consistently questioning the assumptions of other scholars as well as himself. He has done so with an obvious love for the locale and an unusual sensitivity to the urban context of the particular musical institutions and practices and everything human that implies. 'Human' is the operative word here. Not for once does Dr Marín fail to project the humanity of it all and its reality. Ideas never seem to take precedence over the people living and working with the town and involved with those ideas in one capacity or another. The two are beautifully integrated and balanced in

the most insightful sort of way and Jaca is omnipresent on every page. To add to this, everything is presented in a style that makes even the plethora of fact and challenges about longheld assumptions delicious, not merely palatable. Here is an exciting book, one of considerable aesthetic as well as academic value. Skilfully it attests to the point of view expressed in the quote by Pierre Vilar that Dr Marín has chosen to insert just before the Table of Contents: 'The history of the world is best observed from the frontier.'

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Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill (eds.), *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris 1732–1780*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. xliv + 1212pp. 4 plates. 15 figures. 3 appendices. Bibliography. Index of persons. General index. £120.00.
Bath History, vol. IX. Bath: Bath Archaeological Trust in Association with Millstream Books, 2002. 184pp. £8.99.
Trevor Fawcett, *Bath Commercialis'd: Shops, Trades and Market at the 18th-Century Spa*. Bath: Ruton, 2002. £8.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S096392680429215X

In trying to recover the life-styles and mental attitudes of those who lived in the past, diaries and letters are particularly attractive to the historian. They appear to offer a degree of access to the multiple layers of the private and public self that is scarcely paralleled in other documents. This seems particularly so in the eighteenth century, when corresponding and diary-keeping combined elements of sociability, civility and self-improvement that were at the heart of elite society's image of itself. Modern scholarly editions of such material are therefore always welcome. However, the publishing of the Harris family papers seems a case for special celebration. In James Harris (1709–80) of Salisbury we have a man whose career, according to his modern champion, 'touched almost every aspect of Augustan culture and successfully bridged its provincial and metropolitan contexts' (Clive Probyn, *The Sociable Humanist* (Oxford, 1991), p. 2). Moreover, we are not dealing here with the odd diary or a few scattered letters, but a voluminous archive, compiled by a wide range of hands. Added to these advantages we have the considerable skills and knowledge which the editors themselves have brought to bear on the material, with extensive and illuminating commentaries on each document, potted biographies of correspondents and diarists and substantial indexes of persons and general themes – all contributing to well over a thousand pages of text.

A starry collection of eighteenth-century figures flit across the documents (the Harris family were extremely well connected), but the key writers are James Harris the elder, author of philosophical treatises, passionate amateur musician and member of parliament, his wife Elizabeth and his three children James (later earl of Malmesbury), Gertrude and Louisa. For the historian of urban life the volume poses two key problems. First, where are we to locate the Harris family socially? We may be tempted to classify them as 'pseudo' or 'town' gentry, but such categorization seems inappropriate. For though James comes from a Salisbury family with a professional background, he is a man of substantial independent

means (including the ownership of country property) and a member of the county elite. That he continues to occupy as his main residence the (admittedly handsome and modish) family home in the Close at Salisbury, and to be at the heart of the city's cultural life, speaks volumes for the cultural sophistication and appeal of towns, particularly polite towns, in the period. A second problem emanates from the nature of the editorial project itself. Despite the length of the volume, it is only a *selection* from the archive, focusing on music and theatre. This means that an unknown quantity of other material is omitted, and that some (perhaps much) of the wider crucial social and cultural context for music and theatre is lost. That said, with a correspondent like the voluble and socially acute Elizabeth Harris it is impossible not to convey something of this context, and the material on music and drama – provincial and metropolitan – is of exceptional interest.

The Harris family operated in a multi-centred urban world, that included not only Salisbury and London, but also Bath, and there are many references to the spa. The latest number of *Bath History* contains two contributions based on diaries. One, which reproduces the Bath entries for the 1790s in Lybbe Powis' journals, occupies much the same world as that of the Harris family, but the 1840s diary of journeyman engineer Edward Snell reaches a social sphere rarely accessible in this type of document. Architecture features in four of the contributions; an exploration of the heraldry of Bath Abbey, a review of the career of John Pinch (1770–1827), 'the last of the Georgian architects of Bath', an examination of the building of the city's gaols between 1772 and 1842 and an account of the travelling exhibition (containing models of famous buildings) of the Victorian showman John Bellamy. One of the edifices displayed was the fabulous Fonthill Abbey, whose builder the aesthete William Beckford (1759–1844) had the foresight to sell before it collapsed, and move to Bath. The city's reputation as a location of culture and beauty continued to attract those of artistic sensibility, including Walter Sickert, the subject of a further piece, who spent the final years (1938–42) of his life at Bathampton, playing 'the grand old man of British contemporary painting' and ministering to students at the Bath Art School. An educational institution of a very different type appeared in the City two decades or so later. Angus Buchanan's piece on the complex history of the new university is of particular interest because of his own long association with it. What clearly puzzles (and one suspects pains) him is the seeming chasm between the city of culture and the university of utility, or as he puts it, the 'conceptual gap enduring between the City of Bath, with its long traditions centred on culture, leisure industries and tourism, and the University of Bath, with its dominant commitment to technology and applied science'. One suspects that the origins of this split owe much to the tensions in the 1960s between the City Council and heritage lobby, notably the National Trust, and that the City's welcome to the new technological university, designed in uncompromisingly modern materials and style, was a gesture of defiance. A final word for another in Trevor Fawcett's excellent series of booklets on aspects of eighteenth-century Bath. On this occasion shops and trades (especially of a luxury nature) come under the spotlight, and as before a great deal of learning and work in the local archives is concealed beneath an easily accessible format. Arranged under alphabetical entries, there is a substantial item on shops in general, alongside shorter pieces on specific subjects, such as that on pastrycooks and confectioners, which gives the impression of Bath as a city replete with fine and fast food outlets, catering to

customers eager to taste the latest fashions in international cuisine. Not much has changed.

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D. Morris, *Mile End Old Town, 1740–1780: A Social History of an Early Modern London Suburb*. London: East London History Society, 2002. iv + 21pp. 17 figures. 9 tables. Appendices. Indexes. £9.60.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804302154

Over the last couple of decades, urbanists have been rethinking concepts of place and locality. Instead of seeing places as being locally bounded and internally formed, geographers like Doreen Massey have argued that they are shaped through their relationships – economic, social, political and cultural – with other places. Local uniqueness does not stem from any essential, intrinsic quality of a particular location, but rather is a product of wider contacts that stretch across a range of geographical scales from the local to the global. Local historical studies undertaken by local historians rarely adopt such a perspective; they frequently rely upon what Massey and others have termed an 'essentialist' notion of place and offer inherently conservative accounts of the past. While not explicitly concerned with these intellectual debates, Derek Morris' study of eighteenth-century Mile End Old Town, part of the larger, ancient parish of Stepney, is an exception to this perspective. He is keen to show the ways in which the hamlet was the product of many global networks and linkages, concluding, for example, that there were 'more connections between Mile End Old Town and the West Indies than with Kent' (p. 100). While, like other local histories, there are elements of this study that academic urban historians might find frustrating – the absence of a sustained argument, a sometimes fragmented writing style and an occasionally manic obsession with detail – the book's concern for the way that eighteenth-century Stepney was 'globally constructed' as a place makes this an engaging study.

Morris certainly presents a meticulously researched account of Georgian Mile End Old Town. He draws on a wide range of sources, but central to the study is his mining of local land tax records. These are supplemented by a range of other familiar sources including deeds, wills, diaries and newspaper records alongside institutional archives of City livery and trading companies. Morris paints a picture of a relatively wealthy London suburb, buoyed in particular by its strong commercial and maritime connections. Indeed, tracing Mile End Old Town's global linkages is not a difficult task as so many of its inhabitants were involved in shipping and overseas trade to which the nearby Thames gave access (Captain Cook lived there), or were active in the developing financial and insurance markets of the City which lay a short way down the Great Essex Road. Ropemaking was a key trade within Mile End Old Town which, along with brewing, market gardening and other activities, added to a thriving local economy. The book, however, ranges beyond an economic history of the hamlet, to examine poverty, crime and punishment, as well as education, religion, leisure and politics. In each case, the discussion is marked by an impressive and colourful level of detail and there is an attempt, through brief acknowledgment of key writers and the provision

of an 'additional reading list', to situate the material within wider historiographical concerns.

In summary, this book offers a thoroughly researched discussion of an eighteenth-century London suburb by a local historian of note. What it lacks in style and intellectual coherence is made up for by the depth of the material presented (made accessible by three very thorough indexes of people, places and subjects). It is a volume that anyone who wishes to study Stepney's long global history should read.

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Marjatta Hietala and Tanja Vahtikari, (eds.), *The Landscape of Food: The Food Relationship of Town and Country in Modern Times*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2003. 232pp. 31 euros.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804312150

The growing spatial and cognitive distance between a good's production and consumption is by no means a recent phenomenon, but the heightened tension provoked by issues such as GM crops and BSE have made us all too aware of our ignorance of the origins of the food we eat. Partly in response to this, scholars have turned their attention to production and consumption and the interrelations between the two. The contributions to Hietala and Vahtikari's *Landscape of Food* are therefore to be welcomed as they demonstrate the varied roles food has played in the wider sphere of urban development and industrialization. The editors offer no new interpretative framework of the history of the relationship between town and country, though they provide an appropriate summary of the main developments over the last two hundred years. While many of the individual chapters do usefully set out case studies of the main issues, one consequence of such a summary is to point to the areas only briefly touched upon in the collection (for instance, the importance of the nineteenth-century market hall, food shortages and the more recent turn to the countryside by city dwellers through the popularity of farmers' markets, etc). To the editors, all areas are 'interesting to . . . cogitate' and none, at this early stage in the project, are to be taken as more weighty than others.

However, the papers are united in a collective sense in their refusal to accept established interpretations and myths about the divisions between town and country, urban and rural, or industrial and agricultural. As such, Peter Atkins demonstrates well the existence of urban and peri-urban agriculture in British cities at the turn of the twentieth century. John Burnett kills off the myth of the self-sufficient agricultural worker and suggests instead that commercialized foodstuffs affected both town and country dwellers since the village shop was a low-cost distribution system throughout Britain. Annemarie de Knecht points to the survival of allotments throughout the Netherlands in the twentieth century as tenants sought either to use the land for agriculture or for recreation (or both). And Marjatta Hietala highlights the continued practice in Finland of picking berries and mushrooms (invoking Everyman's Rights), reinforcing a wider myth about the centrality of the forest to Finnish identity. Inevitably, not all the papers seek to complicate our understanding of the interaction between town and country, though

they nevertheless provide fascinating case studies in themselves, be it on Dutch veterinarians, Slovenian vegetables or Greek cookery books. There is, though, a good balance throughout the book as the sixteen chapters cover a reasonably representative area of Europe and range from the more detailed analyses of specific research areas to the more general overviews provided by the well-established and well-published historians of food such as Derek Oddy. Food itself is a potentially endless subject and the editors have done well to restrain the contributors to the subject of town and country. That some chapters seem to wander from the central concern is occasionally fortuitous and the book as a whole offers itself as a commendable testament to the diversity of a subject well established within history but now open to a number of new approaches from a broader range of scholars.

Matthew Hilton
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Richard Rodger, *The Transformation of Edinburgh: Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. 560pp. 59 half-tones. 53 figures. 21 maps. £60.00
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804322157

Richard Rodger provides an extensive survey of Edinburgh's physical transformation in a monograph that is the culmination of many years of research. Like most other major towns and cities in Victorian Britain, Edinburgh's urban expansion was rapid and voluminous, a fact which led to increased state intervention in matters of housing, health and public utilities. Here, development of Edinburgh in this period is shown not as a planned civic expansion, but as a result of a collection of private enterprises, mostly outwith the direct authority of the state, which used a reinvented form of feudalism as finance for building projects. From the introduction, the reader is guided towards the role played by trusts, educational establishments, charities, the church and other agencies in shaping Victorian Edinburgh.

This book is split into three parts: Urban frameworks; Building enterprise and housing management; and Complementary visions of society. Each part contains numerous sections, each with myriad themes. In part one, the account of George Heriot – the founder of one of several remaining and powerful trusts in Edinburgh – is placed in an historical context to enable the reader to follow the continuity of an institution set up in the centuries before the nineteenth. Heriot's example typifies the genesis of a charitable trust, which continued to function throughout the nineteenth century, relying on 'interdependent investment strategies', which 'had significant implications for the growth and development of Edinburgh' (p. 37). Rodger explains that the constitutional rigidity attached to such institutions was enshrined in legal structures, which prevented the primary aims of the benefactor from being subverted, therefore all money made in property and building transactions was reinvested, thus preserving and perpetuating the founder's original intent. The term 'Victorian feudalism' is therefore asserted to describe the manner in which finance could be raised for building purposes through feuing and sub-feuing trust land. The complexities and technicalities of the Scottish legal system are usefully explored and explained in relation to the 'feuing' of land, and

provide a useful reference for other researchers in this field as well as illuminating the discussion at hand.

The central focus of part two, entitled 'Building enterprise and housing management', is James Steel, a builder who rose to the position of Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1900–03 and who was knighted in 1903. An insight is supplied into the strategies employed by Steel in the unstable world of the nineteenth-century building industry, which saw the growth of Victorian tenements and villas that inundated the city's Georgian façades, during the building boom of 1860 to 1914. Particular attention is paid to Steel's close business connections with the Heriot trust, with whom Steel signed numerous feu contracts. Networks and their tentacles are exposed throughout the book, which illustrate how much business was transacted through the auspices of civil society.

Part three looks at 'Complementary visions of society', where organizations such as the Edinburgh Co-operative Building Company are discussed, along with other principal building, co-operative and friendly societies. The role of such organizations in providing quality, low-cost housing for workers is highlighted, but done so in the context of the environmental and health issues which accompanied the density and overcrowding associated with urban expansion in this period. The symbolic role of visual aspects of Victorian architecture is another theme covered in part three, which is enhanced by complementary archival photographic material. This section discusses the use of adornments on tenements such as shields, crests and other decorative motifs, which were the cultural expressions of those who built them. Throughout the book tables and figures are employed to complement the discussion. Rodger's work on the *Transformation of Edinburgh* is vast in the scope of the research employed in its creation, and the breadth and depth of the topics that are covered within each of its three parts make an overall synthesis within the remit of this review problematic. It is evident that all of Edinburgh's major archives have been fully exploited in the production of this work, and that the research included is freshly culled. This book is the definitive statement on building and property development in Edinburgh within this period and will remain so for many years to come.

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University of Edinburgh

> **David M. Scobey**, *Empire City: The Making and Meaning of the New York City Landscape*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002. xi + 352pp. 73 halftones. 8 maps. 2 tables. $40.00 hbk, $24.95 pbk.
> DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804332153

At a time when New York City's spatial and architectural future is being publicly debated, David M. Scobey's book, *Empire City: The Making and Meaning of the New York City Landscape*, appears as a timely and apt historical lesson. Steeped in the literature and perspective of cultural geography, Scobey places the spatial organization (and disorganization) of nineteenth-century New York at the centre of his brilliant tour de force that connects emergent urban planning to the very core of state and nation building and a definition of moral progress. This is an exhaustively researched, creatively argued and beautifully written book that deserves to become an immediate standard for students and scholars of urban and cultural history as well as those of New York history. Scobey makes use of an abundance of first-rate

illustrations, all of which he analyses for the reader, making explicit the cultural framework of his argument. As a hook, Scobey uses a question posed by William Cullen Bryant in an 1868 New York *Evening Post* editorial: 'Can a city be planned?' *Empire City* seeks to analyse and answer that question. With an appreciative and respectful nod, Scobey differentiates his argument from works that flowed from modernization theory – classics by Sam Bass Warner, Kenneth T. Jackson and Robert Wiebe – that emphasized the 'enabling effects of technological progress' (p. 4). Rather, Scobey looks earlier to the third quarter of the nineteenth century and the development of the metropolitan real estate economy for the source of New York's spatial reorganization, making a significant shift in periodization. Here he finds the institutionalization of practices such as a centralized real estate exchange, the inauguration of a weekly trade journal, the *Real Estate Record and Builder's Guide* (a researcher's gold mine) and a network of property owners, politicians and reformers working towards shared goals, if for different reasons. Together these factors contributed to an accelerated commodification of space, a process that not only determined the spatial organization of the greater New York metropolitan area, but influenced ideas and policies about public health and safety, produced ideologies about city and suburban life and framed cultural arguments regarding urban landscape and land use.

Scobey's argument is complex and multi-layered. He admits to a top-down approach that gives primary agency to elite groups, yet these he limns with subtlety, highlighting surprising alliances and contradictions. Thus, one finds Boss Tweed, representing the democratic political elite, supporting the same goals of reformers and intellectuals or 'bourgeois urbanists' such as Frederick Law Olmsted, the former prospecting for jobs building the thoroughfares and parks designed by the latter. Added to the mix are civic-minded capitalists, whose financial interests in city-building made them skilled at brokering deals, and developers and boosters who viewed the new urbanism as a means to save New York from the disorder of older haphazard patterns of growth. Situating his argument within the global capitalist economy that actively shaped the city's destiny, Scobey exposes the contradictions of capitalist development: that the orderly and virtuous civilization visualized and promised by the most sophisticated planners and developers was not only still vexed by the disorder exemplified by gridlocked traffic jams, densely packed tenements, the daily waste from 40,000 horses and class conflict, but, in fact, was the source of that disorder. These problems were not New York's alone. The city served as a metaphor for the nation, carrying the nation's meanings for empire and civilization on its back, re-casting not only its own local map, but that of New York as the centre of the universe. *Empire City* is a densely packed, deeply thoughtful study of a city in the throes of change. Despite a spirited and convicing analysis, Scobey ends his study with the disappointing failure of bourgeois urbanism, a process done in by the double whammy of the Tweed frauds and the debilitating economic depression of the mid-1870s. Yet that failure is measured perhaps unrealistically against a goal nothing short of utopia and within a time frame of 25 to 40 years. Scobey draws a picture of contested power relationships, economic development, cultural ideologies and class interests, with the spatial organization of a great American city at its centre. It is a picture that is revealing and significant as much as for what it says about the past as what it could mean for the present and future.

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Ian J. Shaw, *High Calvinism in Action: Calvinism and the City –
Manchester and London, 1810–1860*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
viii + 413pp. Bibliography. £55.00.

Harry W. Dalton, *Anglican Resurgence under W.F. Hook in Early Victorian
Leeds: Church Life in a Nonconformist Town, 1836–1851*. Leeds: Thoresby
Society, 2002. 158pp. £15.00, £1.50p&p, from Thoresby Society, 23
Clarendon Road, Leeds LS2 9NZ.

These books are concerned with religious life largely in the early Victorian period
in three urban locations: Manchester, London and Leeds. That said, however, they
are very different in scope and focus. Shaw's work is the more ambitious and
wide-ranging. High Calvinists in the first half of the nineteenth century have
frequently been perceived as isolated in their theology and indifferent to the
social issues of the age. The author aims to produce a more nuanced account
of a neglected group by bringing together in a single study 'people, places and
theology'. He concludes that high Calvinism was attractive to the poor but it also
attracted university men, professional and business people. Adherents, straddling
various denominations – Anglicans, Baptists and Independents in particular –
were to be found in significant numbers in most major towns. Misrepresented
and marginalized they may have been both at the time and by historians since
but Shaw finds that they in fact constituted a remarkably attractive vehicle, as
he puts it, for the expression of the popular religious views of one component
of the urban working class. He recognizes, however, that it is extremely difficult
to make broad generalizations about the response of high Calvinists to the city.
He reaches his conclusions not by attempting a comprehensive account of their
activity across urban England but by selecting a small group of ministers in
Manchester on the one hand and in London on the other (three in each). He
has gathered together a remarkable collection of information about the careers
of relatively obscure men, the congregations to which they ministered and their
interaction with the communities in which they lived. Unsurprisingly, he finds
differences of emphasis and activity among the men he studies, sometimes in
large measure deriving from the circumstances of their own social backgrounds
and formal education (or the lack of it). That said, however, he firmly rejects the
notion that high-Calvinistic doctrine only issued in an escapist spirituality. Just
what 'high Calvinism' actually constituted is subjected to very thorough analysis.
Urban historians will find their understanding of supralapsarianism, amongst
other matters, enhanced in the process. Suffice it to say that Shaw expounds the
doctrinal subtleties involved with a firm conviction of their importance. Yet he has
not written a 'dislocated' history of doctrine. He attaches equal weight to seeing his
men in their urban locations. To this end he sketches 'the Manchester context' in a
specific chapter, though one which pays particular attention to the transformation
of its religious life in the period under review. 'London', for this purpose, means
Camberwell, Southwark and the East End. The author is surely right to attempt
'total history' of this kind and, while urban historians might look for even more
attention to the implications of urban development, they should acknowledge
what can be gained from the biographical/theological insights advanced by Shaw.
Even so, we must still wonder whether the meticulous case-studies presented here
do provide sufficient justification for replacing one set of broad generalizations
about high Calvinists by another.

Dalton's volume does not set out to establish or disprove any general hypothesis but further enhances our understanding of ecclesiastical change in Leeds in this period. He already has one study of W.F. Hook to his credit – also published by the Thoresby Society (1990). The focus of this present work is provided by the sub-title. Quite properly, there is again substantial attention to Hook himself, but Dalton emphasizes more than others have done the extent to which the 'Anglican Resurgence' in Leeds was not simply the story of one man. There is, therefore, ample information, culled from various sources, on church extension, entailing, as it did, the process of parish division. There is a full account of the rebuilding of (and paying for) the new parish church. Given the strength of Hook as a High Churchman, it was inevitable that there would be some tension with Evangelicals. Dissenters, in what could be claimed indeed to be 'a Nonconformist Town' (90 chapels to 36 churches in 1858) asserted their rights with vigour. Hook showed no disposition, however, to allow Nonconformist ministers to masquerade as 'Reverends'. Dalton has to admit, however, that in spite of strenuous efforts the ratio of inhabitants to churches was little different in 1855 from what it had been in 1815. In this sense, the 'resurgence' should not be exaggerated, though he is probably right to conclude that under Hook's influence the quality of church life in Leeds was greatly improved.

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Ralf Roth and Marie-Noëlle Polino (eds.), *The City and the Railway in Europe.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003. xxxvi + 324pp. 56 figures. 8 tables. Bibliography. £45.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804352156

This set of fourteen essays examines the relationship between urban development and railway transport in Europe covering a period from the 1840s through to the present. Essays are pitched at a variety of scales from the development of national networks and the social impact of railways on individual cities to the architecture of specific station buildings. Transport history is undergoing a process of revitalization at present. The combined effects of the extensive interest in travel within literary and cultural studies and the recent upsurge of theoretical interest in both mobility and technology within sociology and social theory is clearly working as an effective catalyst. This book is a manifestation of the renewed transport history. It engages with new issues and rediscovers some of the discipline's early interdisciplinary vitality, whilst developing a comparative and international dimension countering the longstanding Anglo-American bias in the discipline.

The book is divided into two sections, Part 1: Line, region, city-system, is a series of review chapters covering Germany, the Netherlands, Romania, Turkey, Russia, Portugal and Italy. Part 2: The metropolis and the railway, provides specific case studies of Paris, Prague, London, Dublin, Helskini and Berlin. The essays themselves are of mixed quality ranging from rather sketchy literature reviews to thoroughly researched and well-rounded pieces of research. In a review such as this it is impossible to do justice to the multiplicity of themes and issues raised; however, I would like to highlight three individual contributions. Nevgodine's essay 'The

impact of the trans-Siberian railway on the architecture and planning of Siberian cities' (chapter 5) concerns the impact of the railway on the planning of railway settlements and the creation of new cities. He shows how the Russian government adopted techniques from experience in the USA to plan the efficient development of the region. At the same time, the railway played a role in disseminating imported building styles, including the development of Howard style 'Garden cities'. In Railways, plans and urban politics in nineteenth-century Dublin (chapter 11), Campbell examines plans to build a central station and a line across the city linking those of a number of private railway companies. Setting his study within the context of Dublin as both a national capital and a city of the British Empire, he demonstrates the central role of politics in urban railway development. Key to this argument is the extent to which the urban political and commercial elite in Dublin perceived the plans as an instrument of British rule designed to exploit the colonial economy and facilitate the movement of troops. Swett's study 'Political networks, rail networks: public transportation and neighbourhood radicalism in Weimar Berlin' (chapter 13) demonstrates the place of the railway in shaping social life, community and identity at the neighbourhood level. The author argues that in Berlin urban railway and tramway networks did not break up and fragment the experience of community, but rather formed one of a number of highly potent symbols providing individual suburbs with a sense of identity. Swett shows how in this context we can better understand why railway stations and other communal spaces constituted physical and ideological battlegrounds between communists and fascists during the depression years of the early 1930s.

This book is refreshingly pan European in scope with an international list of contributors. I have learned a good deal from reading about the impact of railway development in such diverse locations as Siberia, Transylvania, the Levant and Portugal. Yet this is also a book with many shortcomings. With a couple of exceptions all the essays require thorough editing for structure, style and typographical errors; all the essays require maps which are legible and contain only relevant information. The two-part structuring of the book is at best a matter of convenience. Though this is a book about 'impacts', the complex and problematic causal relationships between technology and society are never addressed. A comparative European dimension to the relationship between railways and urban development remains entirely implicit. Nevertheless, irrespective of these shortcomings I prefer to value this collection not for the opportunities missed but rather for the fascinating field it opens up.

George Revill
Oxford Brookes University

This new history of the Russian popular theatre addresses two distinct, though interconnected issues. On the one hand, it is an account of working-class theatres and of the working-class audience for the theatre; on the other, an analysis of the theatre as an instrument of 'colonization' (to use a word employed by Swift

himself on p. 238) of the Russian people by the intelligentsia. This second part of the discussion is considerably more familiar from extant secondary literature, though Swift's analysis is unusually thorough, and effectively captures the different shades of opinion espoused by participants in debates on the popular theatre. He shows that, though Russian intellectuals were all committed to a didactic or moral theatre, and had a fairly low opinion of working-class tastes, they varied in, for instance, whether they saw this taste as autonomous, or subject to easy and direct influence, and also in the beliefs that they held about the preferences of worker audiences in a concrete sense (as to repertoire and theatrics, for instance). Swift is able to demonstrate in detail how the theatre expressed the *mission civilisatrice* of the late imperial Russian intelligentsia, while never losing sight of the fact that the social anxieties involved were prevalent in other cultures at the time as well – as exemplifed, for instance, in the removal of the traditional seasonal fun-fairs to a site beyond the city centre, in a move typical of urban planning all over Europe.

A larger task in the book is to provide a broad and integrated history of the popular theatre itself – extant treatments of which have tended to divide themselves between those concerned with institutional history (censorship, the development of a commercial theatre sector in the late nineteenth century) and those dealing primarily with repertoire. Swift uses understudied published sources (for instance, audience surveys), alongside a selection of archival material – for example, censorship reports – to produce a systematic and well-thought-out discussion that confronts head on various hitherto neglected areas, including, but not limited to, audience response. The discussion of the popular entertainments organized by Vladimir Vargunin in St Petersburg during the 1880s, for instance, or of workers' amateur theatres, goes far beyond the references en passant in published material so far. So too does the cogent and well-supported discussion of the reasons behind the demise of the traditional St Petersburg Easter and Shrovetide festivals, which Swift tracks to changing popular taste as well as a desire by bureaucrats to clean up the capital.

Naturally, a fairly short monograph of this kind that is in significant respects pioneering, and so has to cover a lot of ground (including the pre-history of the Russian popular theatre) cannot cover everything. Discussion is more or less limited to the popular theatre in Moscow and St Petersburg, but – setting considerations of available space aside – Swift may well be right to argue that the popular theatre in the countryside and in provincial Russian towns was so atomized and disparate in character that it represented a quite different phenomenon from the urban entertainments. More regrettable is the absence from discussion of the original questionnaires completed by workers attending popular spectacles – here the fault lies not with Swift, but with the labyrinthine organization and opaque cataloguing of Russian archives, which made locating these materials impossible. As it stands, in any case, this book is an impressive achievement. As well as contributing to the history of popular entertainments, the discussion illuminates the peculiarities of modernization in the late Imperial Russian capitals, and has much of interest to convey about Russian workers' shifting sense of identity as well. Handsomely produced, and containing some fine contemporary illustrations of set designs and theatre layouts, as well as performance and cast photographs, it allows room to the visual features of the genre that it considers as well as to the verbal texts performed. As an authoritative but readable survey of Russian popular culture, it can be set alongside Louise

McReynolds' very differently oriented recent study of popular entertainment, which concentrates on slicker and more commercial artefacts. Together these two books have retrieved much of the history of the late Tsarist world of entertainment from the 'condescension of posterity'. Perhaps now we can hope for studies of this thoroughly researched and well-rounded kind to do justice to the state-supported civilizing mission of the post-Soviet era, which – for all its pretensions to specificity – was in signal respects a continuation of the well-intentioned but at times rather repressive efforts of intellectual popular theatre activists before 1917.

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Maureen A. Flanagan, *Seeing with their Hearts: Chicago Women and the Vision of a Good City, 1871–1933.* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002. xiv + 319pp. 25 figures. 2 Appendices. Bibliography. Index. $35.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804372159

According to Maureen Flanagan, we have made a serious mistake. Flanagan, in her book *Seeing with their Hearts*, goes to great lengths to show us that we have too readily allowed the male perspective to define urban development and either overlooked or too narrowly interpreted the contributions of women – particularly white middle-class women. She argues that the significance of women's activism does not lay in the individual battles won, but that women showed up to fight at all. 'Activist women' in Progressive-era Chicago brought an agenda distinctly different from that of their male counterparts; they asked fresh questions about what a city ought to do and whose interests it ought to serve, and while, as Flanagan readily admits, they lost on many fronts, their activism helped to reshape institutions and expectations for urban government. Where others have put ethnic, racial and especially class differences first in discussions of contentious Chicago politics, Flanagan puts gender first. She takes Progressivism apart, showing us, for example, that the 'good government' campaigns generally associated with the movement as a whole actually better represented the male reformer agenda. The concept of social housekeeping receives similar treatment. Flanagan argues that to assume that women's only interest was in children or women (as both contemporary men and historians have done) would be to miss women's interest in the bureaucratic and administrative issues of the school system or their desire for political power in order to reconceptualize urban government. In general, the women Flanagan studied espoused a strong commitment to municipal government for the common good, broadly conceived democratic rights and public discussion and decision-making on issues related to the welfare of the city's residents.

This distinct women's agenda emerged in the wake of the devastating 1871 fire. While men focused on property rights and traditional private charity, women called for a massive public response to equal the magnitude of the disaster. In the decades following, women began organizing around this vision of increased government responsibility for the general welfare, making their first real foray into Chicago politics in a fight to improve the school system. Women's organizing blossomed in the first two decades of the twentieth century, as they again tackled the school issue, took up the rights of workers and jumped into the political

ring to argue for better recreation, public health and housing. Once armed with the municipal vote, women focused their energies on entering formal politics in order to enact their civic vision. Decades of activism outside the system, however, and the hostility of men within it, limited women's effectiveness in this arena in the 1910s. Their fortunes declined further in the 1920s, a decade that fully exposed 'how difficult it was for them, no matter how unified they might have been, to combat men's domination and the notions of the city and the purposes of government that men had embedded into urban life long before Chicago women learned how to exercise political power' (p. 147). In the 1930s, women's political culture unravelled; older activists increasingly sought venues outside of municipal politics and younger ones, who had not participated in the heyday of women's organizing, found themselves mere 'foot soldiers' in Chicago's male-dominated party politics (p. 191).

Flanagan's study shows great sensitivity towards these women and what they attempted. When she does note their faults, in mentioning white women's failures to bridge fully the racial divide, for example, she downplays the impact of the criticism by noting that they did take 'a much stronger stand against racial discrimination than did white men' (p. 167). She also suggests in the conclusion that American cities may have paid the price, in the form of the post-Second World War urban crises, for not acting on the vision of these reformers. The book is very much about Chicago – Jane Addams, Florence Kelley and Ida B. Wells-Barnett are all central characters in this story – but it does raise serious questions for how we might look at women's relationship to formal politics and urban development in any US city, particularly in the Progressive era. While Flanagan makes no direct claims that historians of other cities in this period got it wrong in their treatment of activist women, she excels at placing the parts of their arguments that obviously trouble her up against what she has found in Chicago and leaving the reader to sort it out. So why did we miss the contributions of women? Flanagan's most compelling answers to this question are that men of the day, deliberately or not, underestimated the power of activist women and felt rightfully threatened by the political agenda they represented.

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Mark Clapson, *Suburban Century: Social Change and Urban Growth in England and the United States*. Oxford: Berg, 2003. ix + 235pp. Bibliography. £50.00 hbk, £15.99 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804392151

Anyone familiar with his equally excellent book, *Invincible Green Suburbs, Brave New Towns*, will not be surprised by Clapson's comparative study of twentieth-century suburban society in Britain and the United States. *Suburban Century* develops many of the ideas behind the earlier work, and also highlights some new problems for the historian of suburbia. The book contains useful chapters on urban dispersal; suburban aspiration; black suburbanization; Jewish and Asian suburbanization; women and suburban sadness; community and association; and politics in suburbia. Clapson provides a synthesis of suburban trends in each of these areas, with discussion of the similarities and contrasts between

the two countries. Perhaps the most important original contribution is, however, the treatment of race. Clapson reveals that the multicultural history of suburbia has been neglected by academics, who have tended to assume that suburbia has contributed to the racial segregation of the city: he concludes that suburbia was not the monopoly of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. In this case, as elsewhere in the book, Clapson provides an essentially 'postive' view of suburbia, an approach which also finds expression in those chapters dealing with women and politics. The latter provides a particularly convincing analysis of the inadequacy of the view of suburban politics as predominantly middle class and right wing, observing that parties of the left have had success when tailoring their policies to the 'suburban populist instinct' that Clapson sees as characteristic of 'Middle Way' politics.

Suburban Century provides an important and accessible new approach to suburbia for which both political and social historians will be indebted, and a number of critical questions do arise from its approach. First, Clapson assumes that suburbanization was peculiarly advanced in the Anglo-American world in contrast to the 'more compact European city'. The notion of Anglo-American peculiarity is, however, surely questionable: after all the 'single-family house lifestyle' is widely spread in both Belgium and Holland. Similarly Parisien suburban form must surely bear comparison with 'Anglo-American' suburban projects. *Suburban Century*'s necessarily narrow remit reveals the necessity for 'Anglo-American' historians to engage in study of European suburbanity. Secondly, Clapson's overwhelmingly positive interpretation of suburbanization raises some important questions. There is not doubt that it is right to argue that there were enormous social and material benefits of suburbia, and that suburbs were more than just middle-class havens of conservatism. Yet, one need not accept these simplistic criticisms of suburbia to have doubts. How, for instance, might an environmental history of suburbanization assess the impact of mass commuting or the voracious appetite of suburbia for rural landscapes. Can one not object that the 'Middle Way' really constituted an intellectual surrender by the left to suburban consumerism? As Clapson observes, 'Middle England did not like policy extremes and high taxation.' Clapson has provided another thoughtful contribution to suburban studies which dispels many myths. However, it may be that future assessment of its merits will also require judgment of the social and environmental costs of suburbanization.

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Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003. 567pp. $35.00.
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In *Making a New Deal*, Liz Cohen offered a cutting-edge synthesis of how race, class, gender, ethnicity, politics, culture and the state interacted to produce a grassroots demand for a New Deal. In *A Consumers' Republic*, she works on a larger canvas and asks if there are unifying themes that make sense of American life across the twentieth century? Her answer: the evolution of American encounters with mass consumption. Cohen argues that 'that in the aftermath of World War II a fundamental shift in America's economy, politcs, and culture took place, with major consequences for how Americans made a living, where they dwelled,

and how they interacted with others, what and how they consumed, what they expected of government, and much else (p. 8). She uses the term consumers' republic as shorthand for 'a strategy that emerged after the Second World War for reconstructing the nation's economy and reaffirming its democratic values through promoting the expansion of mass consumption' (p. 11). At the heart of her narrative is the ongoing struggle between two competing visions of the best way to promote consumer interests. 'Citizen consumers', who wear the white hats in this story, were 'responsible for safe-guarding the general good of the nation, in particular for prodding government to protect the rights, safety, and fair treatment of individual consumers in the private marketplace' (p. 18). 'Purchaser consumers', the black hats, belived that 'free enterprise – functioning in a free market, free of government intervention – would collaborate with purchaser consumers pursuing individualistic goals to secure a larger prosperity for the nation' (p. 101).

Cohen tells her story in four parts. In Part I, The origins of the postwar consumers' republic, Cohen describes how farsighted women, politicians and grassroots groups in the Progressive era 'seized upon the citizen consumer role as a new way of upholding the public interest' (p. 13). The consumer movement accelerated during the Second World War as government agencies institutionalized the link between consumption and citizenship. Part II, The birth of the consumers' republic, shows how these early movements generated a vision of post-war America in which mass consumption 'would not be a personal indulgence, but rather a civic responsibility designed to provide "full employment and improved living standards for the rest of the nation"' (p. 113). However, the expansion of the consumers republic was limited by anti-labour legislation such as the Taft Hartley Act, a GI Bill that offered only limited upward mobility, a declining public role for women activists, an increasingly regressive tax structure and evolving residential and commercial patterns that promoted class and racial segregation rather than integration. Focusing on the physical landscape of mass consumption, Part III, The landscape of mass consumption – the section of greatest interest to readers of this journal – examines how post-war suburbanization initially 'promised to create a more egalitarian and democratic society as more Americans than ever before would own a stake in their communities' (p. 14). But these hoped-for changes fell short as suburbanization led to more exclusion, not greater democracy. Using New Jersey, the 'quintessential postwar suburban state', as her microcosm for change, Cohen reveals how public space in post-war America was increasingly restructured and segmented by class and race (p. 12).

The emergence of privatized suburban shopping centres played a central role in reshaping ideas of community and the physical arena in which consumption would occur: in more isolated, segregated private centres rather than in integrated public downtowns. While African Americans and their supporters were 'prodding courts and legislatures to eliminate legal segregation in public and private places, real estate developers, retailers, and consumers were collaborating to shift economic resources to new kinds of segregated spaces like shopping centers' (p. 287). White suburbanites' desire to protect property values led them to advocate policies that shifted power to state and local governments. 'The landscape of mass consumption', she concludes, 'created a metropolitan society where people no longer left their residential enclaves to enter central marketplaces and the parks, streets, and public buildings that surrounded them, but, rather, were separated by class, race, and less so gender in differentiated commercial subcenters'

(p. 288). Cohen's final section, The political culture of mass consumption, shows how concepts of public space and a unified public interest were further eroded in the 1950s as politicians utilized mass marketing and market segmentation practices in ways that led to greater separation between social and racial groups and contributed to a more fragmented and less democratic America.

Whether one agrees or disagrees with her specific findings, Cohen's magisterial grand synthesis will shift scholarship in myriad areas. For her, consumerism is not simply an economic arena in which Americans share goods, but also a political arena in which citizens, especially minorities, have achieved greater rights. Consumption, not class, is the common denominator of twentieth-century American life. Cohen may assume too much about the essential nature of consumption. She portrays it as a byproduct of an increasingly prosperous society. Yet how natural are consumer desires? Where does the impetus for consumption come from and why does it change over time? Cohen does a fine job of examining the evolving links between consumer groups and the state. But there is surprisingly little discussion of the role mass media played in shaping American consumerism and its political meaning. Indeed, ideological struggles over the meaning of consumerism were far more prevalent in the first half of the twentieth century than she suggests. These struggles were fought out in films of the 1920s and in the bitter battles between business and organized labour over who could best provide workers with what both referred to as the longed for American Standard of Living. Likewise, while she is correct in suggesting that building multi-unit housing (rather than private homes) would have created a more integrated suburban America, it would have undermined longstanding republican ideals of homeownership – a consequence she acknowledges but does not adequately address. Small criticisms aside, Cohen has produced a major book that will engage scholars in lively debates for decades to come.

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Carola Hein, Jeffry M. Diefendorf and Ishida Yorifusa (eds.), *Rebuilding Urban Japan after 1945*. Basingstoke, Hants, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. xvi + 274pp. 39 illustrations. 3 tables. Select glossary. Select bibliography. £50.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926804382155

At the end of the Second World War, the United States launched a sustained bombing campaign against Japan, attacking some 215 cities, both big and small. The resulting death and destruction was enormous. The fates of Hiroshima and Nagasaki quickly became well known around the world, but many other places suffered almost equally serious catastrophes. Overall, some 331,000 people died and 2.3 m houses were destroyed. Many neighbourhoods were reduced to ashes. Some places lost as much as half of their built-up area almost overnight. This book is the first substantial attempt in the English language to examine how the Japanese tackled urban reconstruction in the years that followed, focusing especially on the first decade or so of peace. Much ground is covered. There are five case studies of particular locations (Tokyo, Osaka, Hiroshima, Nagaoka and

Okinawa) and three chapters on related themes – the legacy left by Japan's pre-war colonial planning in China, Japanese architectural culture in the 1950s and the comparison with what occurred in post-war Germany. The editors provide stimulating observations by way of introduction and conclusion, and also a very useful glossary. For those who value planning, the general tenor is downbeat. A variety of planners and concerned citizens wanted to rebuild imaginatively after 1945, and there was a good deal of debate about what this might mean and how it could be achieved. But the constraints pressed in on every side. The US occupation authority was for the most part unhelpful, and certainly hostile to anything that might be construed as in any way extravagant. The Japanese government ministries maintained their traditional stance of being both highly conservative and determined to get their own way. The popular clamour was for housing at all costs, and not civic improvement. There were continuing shortages of every resource. The legacy of militarism discouraged dialogue between planning experts and ordinary people. And even the basic re-planning tool, land readjustment, though useful in the past, now too often produced only dissension. The results were predictable. There were a few successes, for example small areas that were rebuilt sympathetically, and some innovative discussion about both necessary legislative reforms and architectural aesthetics which had a positive impact in later years. Yet for the most part the forces of planning were defeated. The new Japan, as one of the contributors, Junichi Hasegawa, remarks, was essentially a place of 'irrational patterns of streets and land plots, poor quality housing and lack of open space'. All of this is argued with impressive clarity and interest. Of course, as in any undertaking of this type, there are quibbles. Some contributors describe problems with sources – documents destroyed, lost or still uncatalogued – and the editors might have discussed this issue at greater length. More generally, while the book is very convincing about what did *not* occur in Japan, it is less so about what did. There are tantalizing glimpses of private enterprise in action – the 12,000 bars, cafes and restaurants that had sprung up in Osaka by 1946, or the *danchi* (huge apartment complexes) that began to ring Tokyo from the early 1950s. But there is no systematic discussion of what drove such rebuilding forward, nor any real consideration of the developers, construction companies and local politicians who were clearly at its heart. Nevertheless, this is unequivocally an important collection, which will interest a wide audience, and no doubt provoke further fruitful scholarship in the years to come.

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