BOOK REVIEWS

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GO: On the Geographies of Gunnar Olsson. CHRISTIAN ABRAHAMSSON & MARTIN GREN, editors. Surrey / Burlington: Ashgate, 2012. Pp. xiii+398, reprints, diagrams, illustrations, index. \$144.95 hardback. ISBN 978-1-4094-1237-3.

This book masterfully traces Gunnar Olsson's journey as a major geographical thinker from his early years as a "space cadet" of the quantitative revolution to his ontological conversion and contemporary explorations of the semiotic landscape and the abyss of Western cartographic reason. Lovingly cultivated by Christian Abrahamsson and Martin Gren, this homage places the esteemed Swedish geographer mapping "the taboo-ridden territory of the taken-for-granted" and entering "lands not yet discovered," somewhere in between the certainties of modernity and the ambiguity of postmodernity (p. 22). As a doctoral candidate, Olsson was influenced by Esse Lövgren whom he described as a "brilliant man obsessed with the idea of translating the vagaries of human behavior into the precise language of mathematics" (p. 8). However as a practicing geographer, it soon became apparent to Olsson that mathematical models applied to social issues were problematic, particularly as identical spatial forms could be generated through drastically different processes. To Olsson this revealed more about spatial distribution models themselves and less about the intricacies of human behavior and interaction. As a citizen of a modern Nordic welfare state buttressed by the ideology that a better and just society was based on the exact scientific knowledge, he soon began to believe that planning based on spatial interaction models not only created ethical and political dilemmas but was also scientifically questionable as well. Olsson concluded that social engineering approaches were "far more geared towards the growth and maintenance of its own bureaucracy than towards the interest of those sick and disadvantaged which it is supposed to serve" (p. 11) and tended in his view, to conserve rather than diminish existing inequalities—an ironic outcome contrary to the political intentions of the social democratic state. In Servitude and Inequality in Spatial Planning, penned for the journal Antipode in 1974, Olsson writes:

In retrospect, it appears that the majority of spatial analysts—among whom I certainly include myself—have confined ourselves so thoroughly within our inherited concepts, within our categorical frameworks, within our particular mathematical language, and within our artifacts that we thereby have helped perpetuate the functional inequalities of the past (p. 106).

This recognition presaged and served as a catalyst for Olsson's ontological transformation in which he viewed human "power" as inseparable from language. Influenced by Samuel Beckett's

observation that James Joyce's writing was "not about something, but is that something itself" (Samuel Beckett, quoted in GO, p. 21), Olsson invoked Joyce's "map of the soul's gruopography" to guide his conceptual expeditions in the 1970s, '80s and '90s through intangible fields of "invisible geographies" to establish a semiotically influenced cartography of thought (p. 21). Accordingly, Abrahamsson and Gren's text presents Olsson's papers in their original typefaces, font sizes and journal template styles. Their text also charts via companion pieces and pen profiles by Olsson's colleagues and former students of his mental and physical travels from Uppsala to the University of Michigan, and back to Sweden in 1977 where he was appointed chair of economic geography and planning at the Nordic Institute in Urban and Regional Planning in Stockholm. It can be seen that his teaching strongly informed his research perspectives. Olsson's trans-disciplinary and trans-cultural pedagogical experiences informed his vision of lecturing in "neither a scientific laboratory nor a government-sponsored Center for Brainwashing [but] rather an open environment in which the grafting proves to be so successful that everyone can develop one's own personality" (p. 20). In "Chiasm of thought-and-action" (Environment and Planning D, volume 11, 1993), Olsson states "I prefer the term 'imagination' to that of 'theory'" and declares "social realism is bad art for the same reasons social engineering is bad ethics, less because knowledge is power, more because power is knowledge" (quoted in Abrahamsson and Gren, p. 190).

He then goes on describes the evolution of his ontological transformations, and the questions provoked, in terms of his own work:

My own imagination has emerged gradually, in stages without breaks. This there are clear affinities between my current concerns and the etchings of *Birds in Egg/Egg in Birds* [1980], the watercolors of *Antipasti* [1990], and the oils of *Lines of Power/Limits of Language* [1991]. How do I know the difference between you and me and how do we share our beliefs in the same? To which extent is it I who speak through language and language speaks through me? How are we made so obedient and so predictable?¹

Such musings and observations contain seeds which would bloom fully in 2007's *Abysmal: A Critique of Cartographic Reason*. In 1994 Olsson noted "any artist worthy of the name tries to render not the visible but the non-visible, not what catches the eye but what hides in the taken-forgranted" (p. 21). It can be argues that Joyce successfully did so in *Ulysses* (1922). In this instance, *Abysmal* is both Joycean and Biblical in its scale and scope, with Olsson apocalyptically stating, "Plato's Sun is setting," and declaring in manifesto:

The current truth is in fact that the fix-points, scales and mappa of cartographic reason have lost much of the power they once had. Immersed in a world which is neither solid nor stable we are beginning to suspect that the excluded of the excluded middle might have escaped from the Renaissance lines of modernism and taken refuge in the Baroque folds of postmodernism.²

Olsson advises to approach *Abysmal* "as a minimalist guide to the landscape of western culture" (p. ix), and draws upon theology, mythology, cartography, aesthetics, philosophy, geometry and semiotics to exegetically braid strands of thought rooted in seminal pieces of literature, art and scripture. Giving voices to Biblical, classical Greek, enlightenment and modern philosophers, modernist artists, linguists and novelists among others, Olsson's critique gives lie to the emperor's new clothes of modern cartographically parsed reason. Abrahamsson and Gren, who open their text with a dialogical "Preamble," have done a great and invaluable service for geographical

scholarship. Acting as conductors they skillfully orchestrate pieces by Reginald G. Golledge, Michael Dear, Michael J. Watts, David Jansson, Jette Hansen-Möller Chris Philo, Gunnael Jensson, Alessandra Bonazzi, Ole Michael Jensen, Marcus Doel, and Franco Farinelli into a coherent overarching multi-perspectival intellectual symphonia, which interspersed with critical tones and colors from Olsson's own *oeuvre* over the past thirty years, provides an Arcades-like impression of one of the most innovative geographical thinkers at work on the planet today.

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NOTES

1. Gunnar Olsson, *Abysmal: A Critique of Cartographic Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 247. Gunnar Olsson's question: "How are we made so obedient and so predictable?" struck this reviewer as a perfect description of the human landscape of recent Association of American Geography meetings where conference attendees sit peering obediently into the predictably soft glow of their iPads, laptops, and cell phones—perhaps instigating digital ecosystems and networks, or more ominously braiding their synaptic structures into complacent electronic straightjackets. The reviewer is also guilty of this obedience and predictability.

2. Ibid.



Life on a Rocky Farm: Rural Life near New York City in the Late Nineteenth Century. LUCAS C. BARGER, transcribed and with an introduction by Peter A. Rogerson. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013. Pp. xxv+163, maps, appendices. \$19.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-4384-4602-8.

Life on a Rocky Farm is a captivating first-hand account of agricultural life in nineteenth and early twentieth century Putnam County, NY. The account, written by Lucas Barger (1866-1939), demonstrates the impacts of industrialization on "traditional" agricultural life through a series of vignettes. A typewritten version of the manuscript was discovered at the Putnam Valley Historical Society by Peter Rogerson, a geographer and relative of Barger's. Rogerson's research also led him to the New York State Library where he discovered a copy of the original handwritten manuscript and a series of letters between Barger and his daughter. Both Barger and his daughter had intended to publish the manuscript but failed to do so before Barger passed away in 1939. The Barger family's efforts are here recognized by Rogerson, who has painstakingly transcribed and edited the manuscript. His preface describes the curious history of the manuscript's discovery and transcription, and his editor's introduction and notes throughout the book situate Barger's account historically using maps, US Census Non-Population Schedules and other documents.

Barger's vignettes provide a unique commentary on farm life, though they do not often name specific characters or family members. The manuscript is divided into several chapters such as "Incomes Directly from Nature" or "Life of the Rocky Farm Women," and subdivided into descriptions of aspects of farm life such as making apple cider, planting, making soap or candles, basketry, raising sheep, and even women smoking. Three appendices at the end of the book list words and their phonetic spelling as pronounced in the regional dialect, and then provide example conversations between named individuals (though it is unclear what their relationship is with Barger, if any).

Barger describes tasks vividly and colorfully in his own unique style, as if he were an older relative recalling fond memories. An air of nostalgic yearning is present in most of the

stories, and these are described in detail only to end with a wistful and disappointing statement of how that particular task, profession, or tool was replaced by industry or an invention. For example, Barger meticulously describes an old woman drying apples in her kitchen, but ends the story with "Several women got to doing this, and then, as usual, some inventor got wise as to what was needed, and produced an 'evaporator' that dried not only apples, but any old kinds of fruit, vegetables, or what have you! The old apple peeling machine was thrown up in the garret to rust out" (p. 35). It must be remembered by the reader that this is not a diary, but a conscious attempt by Barger not only to describe the past, but to make certain the reader understands the impact of industrialization on small, rural farming families and their daily tasks. He consistently references the advent of industry and invention, and how these socio-economic impacts forever changed life on rocky farms in Putnam County for the worse.

Barger's resistance to technology and change is not surprising given his history and geographic location. His perspective mirrors other first-hand accounts of nineteenth-century life in Putnam County as well as other areas in the Northeast. These accounts dovetail with the broader historical processes that permeate Barger's writings. For example, Field Horne's article "Life on a Rocky Farm 1862-1902" in The Hudson Valley Regional Review (1990, vol. 7 no.1) summarizes the diaries of Isaac Oakley, a farmer who lived near Lake Oscawana in Putnam County, NY during the nineteenth century. The article complements Barger's manuscript by situating Oakley's daily activities within broader regional socio-economic processes, such as the transport of butter or apples from Putnam County to New York City. Lynn Bonfield's article "The Work Journal of Albert Bickford, Mid-Nineteenth-Century Vermont Farmer, Cooper, and Carpenter" (Vermont History 72, Summer/Fall 2004) discusses Bickford's diaries and their relationship to broader regional patterns as well. Jonnycakes and Cream: Oral Histories of Little Compton, R.I., edited by Carlton Brownell (1993) is a compilation of oral histories from a small agricultural town on the Rhode Island coast. Many stories are similar to Barger's (for example, farming flint corn); others describe region-specific tasks, such as collecting seaweed from the beach. Finally, Janet Nylander's Our Own Snug Fireside: Images of the New England Home, 1760-1860 (1994) compiles other accounts from diaries that mirror Barger's resistance to change and industry.

The broader processes occurring during this time period include industrialization and the advent of the railroad, the migration of young adults from farmsteads to cities or the Midwest, and the eventual abandonment of farms and farming altogether as the countryside and coast became an escape for wealthier city-folk (see The View from Vermont: Tourism and the Making of an American Rural Landscape by Blake Harrison, 2006). Barger's microhistorical account describes the impact of all of these processes, most notably with an anecdote of a young man who left the family farm and returned twenty-five years later. He found the cornfields grown over, the house rotting away, and a lilac bush "fighting for its life" amidst a second-growth forest in the dooryard. In his characteristic style, Barger says of the man, "He said it made him feel sad" (p. 4). These processes are visible today to any resident of the Northeast who finds stone walls, building foundations, and other reminders of our cultural history in the forest. This landscape gave a specific identity to Barger and those who lived near him, just as it did (and continues to do) to others in the Northeast who described the stoniness of their own glacial till, and who built miles and miles of stone walls for which the region is now known. In addition to these widespread historical processes, Barger also offers unique insight on ecological events that occurred during the time period, such as the extinction of passenger pigeons, the American chestnut blight, the introduction of Paris Green to kill potato bugs, and the 1868 bee die-off. Barger not only encapsulates these events with his own commentary and perspective, but also describes the repercussions of these events for farmers.

This book is unique, and imparts Barger's own sense of nostalgia on the reader. I found myself wistful for my own childhood while reading his appeal for a time when there was no need

to use pesticides in apple orchards, pumpkins still tasted good, and baskets and barrels were still made by hand. Unfortunately the account does lack a good sense of the exact time period that many of these events might have transpired; and with the exception of scattered place-names throughout, and what is known about Barger living in Putnam County, NY, there are few hints as to whose farm or in what town these events occurred. Despite these small drawbacks, this book will interest a broad range of individuals from historical geography, historical archaeology, rural sociology, environmental science, and history itself. It would also be suitable for non-academic use as well, and would be of interest to any individual intrigued by the agricultural or rural history of the Northeast.

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Greening the City: Urban Landscapes in the Twentieth Century. DOROTHEE BRANTZ and SONJA DÜMPELMANN, editors. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011. Pp. 246, site plans, photos, notes, index. \$45.00 cloth. ISBN 978-08-1393-114-2.

Greening the City is an edited collection of ten essays that examine the production of urban green spaces in Europe and America during the twentieth century. The collection is the result of a conference at the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C. For editors Brantz and Dümplemann, the aim of this collection is to investigate how the use of urban "natural elements" evolved "as many industrial cities were transformed into postindustrial landscapes" (p. 7). To do this, the editors draw on a rich interdisciplinary body of knowledge from urban and environmental historians, architects and landscape architects, planners, anthropologists, and geographers.

This collection does not attempt to present a unifying definition of "nature." Instead, it provides examples of the various approaches scholars have used to examine the historical relationship between the built and natural environments. The essays in this collection examine the wide-ranging ways in which cities have employed nature in the planning process. Throughout the four sections of this collection—"Constructing Green Spaces," "Nature and Urban Identity," "The Function of Nature in the City," and "Ecology and the Urban Environment"—the "nature" the authors refer to includes individual plant species, open spaces (including parks, sporting grounds, forests, and nature preserves), and "countercultural ecotopias" found in the urban public realm (p. 8).

The two essays in Part 1 explore the influence of politics, Western European planning schemes, and modernization on the planning of green spaces and park systems in Sofia, Bulgaria and Mexico City. Sonia Hirt compares the ideological visions behind the use of green space in the master plans of pre-Communist, Communist, and post-Communist Sofia. Alfonso Valenzuela Aguilera examines the ways in which planning regimes in Mexico City used green spaces to improve public health and promote environmental awareness.

In one of the strongest sections, the three essays in Part 2 highlight the ways in which nature was used to forge both urban and regional identities in Barcelona, Berlin, and Los Angeles. Gary McDonough analyzes the plans and designs for the 1992 Summer Olympics and the 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures, to explore the social construction of nature and identity in Barcelona. He argues that the city used its unique physical geography and cultural landscape—its "Mediterraneanness"—as the foundation upon which to shape the city's (and Catalan) identity and sense of place (p. 67). Stefanie Hennecke examines the ideologies behind the 1907 design of Berlin's Schiller Park to show that park was a conservative reaction to modernization where

"modern cities were not reconcilable with nature" (p. 75). She notes that the park's designer called for the strict use of native German plant species since they embodied the noblest dimensions of the German character. Shifting from Europe to the United States, Lawrence Culver examines the increasing privatization of Los Angeles' public spaces throughout the twentieth century. Culver highlights the ways in which city boosters marketed the city's suburbs as places of recreation and leisure for white middle-class Angelenos, which "prioritized a private conceptualization of nature and recreation over a public one" (p. 109).

While the intention of Part 3 is to focus on the function of nature in the city, the essays in this section lack coherence. The weakness of this section comes from its inability to define the "function" of nature. The first essay examines the development of green spaces for sport in London and Helsinki. The authors try to assess the impact of these highly mechanized and modern landscapes on ecological function and biodiversity. Unfortunately, other than making broad claims about chemical fertilizers and monocultures in golf courses, it does not show specific ways that these spaces have altered the functioning of ecosystems. Highlighting the lack of coherence in this section, the second essay uses the notion of the "function" of nature to show that ways in which nature functioned as a "civic landscape" around which European cities could promote recentralization of the city and promote community life (p. 134).

The essays in Part 4, another strong section, explore the ecological dimensions of the city. Zachary Fakk examines the disagreements and legal disputes over what constitutes a "weed" in St. Louis, Buffalo, and Chicago to note that the creation of a tidy and orderly popular ecology, especially the "animosity" toward weeds and other unregulated plants, led cities to create a variety of nuisance laws that required the eradication of weeds (p. 175). Jeffrey Sanders examines the ways in which the cohousing, food co-ops, recycling programs, and community gardens in 1970s Seattle attempted to transform the city into an "ecotopia" (p. 183). These initiatives provided the basis for the "Jane Jacobs-meets-Rachel Carson vision" for urban growth (p. 184). Shifting to Germany, Jens Lachmund shows how the erection of the Berlin Wall separated naturalists and biologists in West Berlin from their previous fieldwork sites, and therefore, they turned their attention to the flora and fauna found within the isolated green spaces in the shadow of the wall.

Overall, despite lacking a broad theoretical focus from one section to the next, the essays in this collection are solid. They are well-written, short, and consumable in one sitting. Geographers seeking a theoretical argument along with a good narrative will enjoy many of these essays. However, conspicuously absent is a conclusion to this collection, which ends abruptly after the last essay. A short discussion of the findings presented in the essays, as well as the connections to the dilemmas facing the neoliberal cities of the twenty-first-century, would have been a welcome addition, and might have provided some coherence to the overall collection.

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Bloomberg's New York: Class and Governance in the Luxury City. JULIAN BRASH. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2011. Pp. xii+344, maps, b&w photos, notes, index. \$24.95 paper. ISBN 978-0-8203-3681-7.

Brash dissects the events leading up to and the first nine years of the Bloomberg administration, which started January 1, 2002 and ended on December 31, 2013. His thesis is that the Bloomberg Way, as he calls it, was a unique form of neoliberalization of urban governance rooted in the recent experiences and conditions of New York City (hereafter referred to as the

City). The Bloomberg Way relied on postindustrial elites, whom Brash identifies as members of the Transnational Capitalist Class and of the Professional-Managerial Class. The ascendance of the Bloomberg Way depended on an urban imaginary of the City as a corporate entity that should be governed by a CEO mayor, who would lead in battle against urban-corporate competitors.

Brash, an anthropologist, relies on a methodology that combines neoMarxian class theory with intense ethnographic research in the City. He assumes class is determined in relation not only to production, but also is constituted by race, ethnicity, gender, space, and a complex lived reality in a place. For the ethnographic investigation Brash attended city council and planning commission meetings, met with neighborhood activists, conducted interviews (some off-the-record) with stakeholders, and perused a wide array of secondary sources.

The book is divided informally into three parts. In chapters 1 and 2 Brash, with an eye toward explaining Michael Bloomberg's rise to mayor, provides a history of the City's post World War II governance, especially after the fiscal crisis of the mid-1970s. In chapters 3 through 5, focusing on the early years of Bloomberg's first term as mayor, Brash discusses the assembling of the Bloomberg administration, the commodification of the City as a luxury product, and the Bloomberg Way. Chapters 6 through 9 detail the Bloomberg administration's efforts to gain support for and approval of the Hudson Yards plan, a project to develop Mid-town Manhattan's far west side. In the conclusion Brash ruminates on the broader implications of the Bloomberg Way to the City after 2005, its role in understanding City politics, and its significance to neoliberal governance in general.

The City's near bankruptcy of 1974 meant that bonds could no longer be sold to finance popular liberal redistribution policies. That crisis paved the way for neoliberalism with an emphasis on capital formation associated with entrepreneurialism. The rise of neoliberalism in the City, but its imperfect realization in City administrations through 2001, set the stage for Bloomberg to run for office as a "CEO mayor." He would be the anti-politician, the businessman with entrepreneurial and managerial experience who would govern the City effectively and independently of special interests.

Brash assesses Bloomberg's corporatization of City governance, treatment of businesses and citizens as clients and customers, and rebranding and marketing of the City as a luxury product. The reader is introduced to Daniel Doctoroff, the Deputy Mayor for economic development, Andrew Alper, the head of the Economic Development Corporation, and Amanda Burden, the chair of the City's planning commission. They were critical players in the Bloomberg Administration.

Rebranding the City involved creating an image of it as a peerless place to live and work that had great economic value for the right companies and ambitious, well-educated professionals. The City was to be transformed into its image via the Bloomberg Way, which involved trying to get everyone to support the new urban imaginary.

Brash highlights the Hudson Yards plan as the epitome of Bloomberg's urban and economic development strategy. Both the City Planning Department and NYC2012, a private organization crafting a bid for the 2012 Summer Olympic Games, planned for the redevelopment of the Hudson Yards. These rail yards were to be covered and then topped with an extension of the Jacob K. Javits Convention Center, a stadium for the Jets and the Olympics, tall office buildings and hotels, and related facilities. This area had evaded redevelopment since the 1920s, but the Bloomberg administration was confident that it could use the Olympics bid to whip up enthusiasm for the execution of its plan. The stadium, however, was controversial among various constituencies that either deemed it unnecessary or better located elsewhere in the City.

The author captures the charade as the City invited public participation in the planning process, made some small concessions in building design and size, and then approved its plan

as representing "best planning practices." To avoid having to fight for local legislative approval of the proposed stadium, the Bloomberg administration subjected the financing of the stadium side of the project (east of Eleventh Avenue) to approval by New York State's Public Authorities Control Board (PACB). Various community planning associations offered counterplans that opposed locating a stadium in Hudson Yards and proved sufficiently persuasive that unanimous approval by the PACB, a prerequisite for stadium financing, never happened. Brash argues that the coup de grâce for the west-side stadium was the Bloomberg administration's last ditch resort to urban patriotism; that is, the argument that any *real* New Yorker would never oppose the proposed stadium. That tack raised the ire of stadium opponents from all corners of the City.

Brash concludes with a discussion of how neoliberal urban governance has spread across the nation. Anyone in the academic world also can see this model of corporatization being applied relentlessly to colleges and universities by their governing bodies.

The book is a piece of solid scholarship, but is not without a few shortcomings. Cablevision owned the Madison Square Garden during the years covered in the book and did everything in its power to block the proposed stadium, a potential competitor for events, yet Brash only touches on Cablevision's machinations. The one map, of the Hudson Yards plan, is insufficient in detail in that it shows none of the proposed multi-use redevelopment east of Eleventh Avenue, and other maps are needed to show the reader the locations of various places and buildings referred to that are beyond the Hudson Yards. Some of the black and white illustrations are too small to be entirely legible. Finally, I would have liked more fleshing out of the main actors in this story. Brash's characterizations of Bloomberg and Doctoroff are very one-dimensional public personas—single-minded entrepreneurs.

This volume would make a good reader in a course on contemporary urban governance and is a valuable resource for any scholar interested in neoliberal urban governance, urban imaginaries, and the relationship of class formation and mobilization to neoliberal governance.

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Approaching African History. MICHAEL BRETT. Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, 2013. Pp. xi+356, maps. \$90.00 hardcover. ISBN 978-1-84701-063-6.

Approaching African History is a formidable book. In his own words, Brett describes the aim of the book as providing "a narrative outline of African history over the past ten thousand years, as it has been established over the past sixty years, to describe on the one hand the growth of the concept of Africa, and on the other to show the ways in which the narrative itself has been constructed and its content understood" (p. x). In itself, any one of the three themes probably warrants a book on its own; combined, they constitute a monumental undertaking.

Brett divides the book into five parts. In Part I (The Problem of African History), he discusses the problem of defining African history and how to solve the problem of sourcing information and writing African history. In Part II (The Making of African Society), he uses archaeology and ethnography as tools to construct the African past, while in Part III (Africa in the World), he discusses African history as captured by the written word and the role of religion on the continent. In Part IV (The Unification of Africa), Europe enters the African narrative in a discussion of European colonization of the continent and the reactions among African societies to this invasion. In the last part (The Arrival of African History), Brett brings his account to the present in a discussion of the resurgence of Africa and gives his views on the contemporary history of Africa. The book is concluded by the last section, which mirrors the title of the book.

Brett has three aims in *Approaching African History*. First, he seeks to provide a narrative outline of the continent's history over ten thousand years. He highlights the problem of a sketchy (at best) written record, at least for most parts of the continent over the expansive time period he engages. His way of dealing with this problem is to take an interdisciplinary route. Borrowing from ethnographic analogy, archaeology, and oral tradition, he tries to peer into the distant past and then move from there to the more familiar ground of historical analysis of text. In so doing, Brett accomplishes two things: he fills in the gaps that undoubtedly would have existed had he relied solely on text, and he encourages historians confronted with the same limitations to emulate this interdisciplinary approach. In this way, Brett's work reflects the growing importance of interdisciplinary approaches to historical understanding. A recurring theme in this section is how changes in the Sahara desert influenced the course of African history. His discussion of the Sahara forms one of the book's most valuable contributions and underscores the complex relationships between the continent's geographical and historical developments.

The second aim of the book is to provide a historiography of Africa. To this end, Brett surveys sources from the earliest writers up to the contributions of contemporary authors, which, in turn, enables him to accomplish his third aim, an understanding of the development of Africa as an idea. Historical narratives, in short, have developed "Africa" as a coherent concept, a distinctive place that requires its own modes of explanation and understanding—a conceptualization that has grown in sophistication and importance over time, and continues to do so. In the final chapter of the book, Brett ties together his three themes into a coherent whole, as evident in the repetition of the book's title. He concludes the work by discussing the impact global warming and high population growth might have on Africa's future, indicating new avenues for research and debate in the unfolding history of this complex continent.

Does Brett accomplish the ambitious aims he sets out at the beginning of the book? My answer is a qualified "yes." Obviously, in taking on the entirety of African history in a single book, it is inevitable that important themes will be underrepresented or even completely absent. State formation, agriculture, and iron working are among the most notable of these. But these absences do not necessarily detract from the overall value of the book. Brett manages to give a reasonably comprehensive account of African history over the past ten thousand years, and his narrative is enriched substantially by the interdisciplinary approach. At the same time, his analysis of how Africa developed as a distinctive conceptual domain for historical study, and how this conceptualization has changed over time, adds valuable perspective to our understanding of African history as a whole. My only criticism is that the project is just a bit too ambitious. While Brett achieves the three aims he sets for himself, the discussion of each would have benefitted from expansion. I was left feeling that I wanted to know more about each theme long after I finished reading the book, and also that the narrative would have flowed better had each theme been given more space for elaboration. This, of course, would have added to the volume of the book, already long at 356 pages, and added to the problems of coherence. The ambition of Brett's undertaking is at once the strength and the weakness of the work.

Historical geographers should find the book a worthwhile read. The robust bibliography makes it possible to find a source on most themes related to African history, and as such adds to the value of the book. On a personal level, the book made me aware of some of the strands of African history I had little knowledge of, even though I lived on the continent my entire life. It also inspired me to read more about some of the issues addressed in *Approaching African History*. To me, a book that can do that has served its purpose.

Properties of Violence: Law and Land Grant Struggle in Northern New Mexico. DAVID CORREIA. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2013. Pp. xiii+220, maps, photographs, index. \$69.95 cloth. ISBN 978-0-8203-3284-0.

Last year, the rugged landscape of the Manzano Mountains near Chilili, New Mexico stood in for Afghanistan in the Hollywood film *Lone Survivor*. The production company paid \$30,000 to the Chilili Land Grant to film at the location. However, the land was held by deed as private property and the landowner was not aware of the filming. The president of the Chilili Land Grant argues that the entire land grant, which was awarded by the Mexican government in 1841, remains common property and all deeds for private property within the grant are invalid (KRQE News, Albuquerque, New Mexico). This case is notable only because of its ties with big-budget filmmaking. Contentious claims of land ownership in New Mexico's land grants are common and date to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848. The Treaty ended the Mexican-American War and ceded what is today New Mexico to the United States, including millions of acres of Spanish and Mexican land grants that were occupied by smallholders as common property. Between 1848 and when New Mexico gained statehood in 1912, land speculators and corrupt public officials had conspired to dispossess the grantees and their heirs of roughly 80 per cent of land grant areas. David Correia's *Properties of Violence* reveals for the first time how land grant heirs have actively contested this dispossession in a struggle that continues up to the present.

Properties of Violence presents a case study focused on the social and legal history of a land grant in northern New Mexico called Tierra Amarilla. The title derives from the violence that Correia argues is inherent in property law because enforcement of legal interpretations necessarily results in the forcible removal of people from their land. The simmering violence in Tierra Amarilla that Correia describes thereby challenges the conventional view among historians that the land grant heirs lost their land rights due to the incompatibility of common property and private property wherein the law is an apolitical fact. "Rather," Correia convincingly argues throughout, "law is a site of social struggle where claims over property are constructed and contested" (p. 7). Correia also advances the historiography of New Mexico land grant studies by adding intellectual depth to the one-dimensional view that common property was quietly lost in a series of discrete legal events. As Correia details, this "social struggle" has rather been ongoing since the nineteenth century within and without the court system.

The book's historical sweep begins in 1832 when the Mexican government awarded the Tierra Amarilla land grant to settlers. This expansion into what is today northern New Mexico lands already occupied by Ute and Apache Indians – sparked Indian aggression that continued into the 1860s. In the twentieth century, violence broke out between land grant heirs and Anglo ranchers in Tierra Amarilla. A clandestine group known as La Mano Negra (The Black Hand) cut the fences of private ranchers and razed their homes and outbuildings. Some ranchers fled after receiving death threats. Later in the twentieth century, resistance to the enclosure of private property in Tierra Amarilla transitioned into legal challenges. In 1937, land grant heirs founded a broad-based membership organization called La Corporación de Abiquiú, Merced de Tierra Amarilla (the Abiquiú Corporation, Tierra Amarilla Land Grant). La Corporación collected and organized deeds, wills, letters, and other documents with which to assert the heirs' claim to communal property and rid the grant of private landowners. The chapter on the legal geographies of resistance is perhaps the book's most important. This is because other historians have largely ignored or overlooked the title and ejectment lawsuits filed by La Corporación between the 1930s and 1950s. As Correia explains, these lawsuits are critical for comprehending the sophisticated agency of local people in their ongoing struggle to defend their right to common property use. The courts ruled against La Corporación, however, by finding that common property use lies outside the law and so their ownership claims were dismissed.

Following their defeat in the courts, in the 1960s land grant heirs began to engage in more confrontational tactics such as sending eviction notices to Anglo ranchers and issuing their own fishing and hunting licenses on the grant. Correia contextualizes this continuing resistance to land dispossession not only as being about property rights but also about a struggle against racial inequality and economic injustice, which provoked state-sponsored violence. He recounts how the New Mexico State Police and federal law enforcement agencies targeted land grant heirs for surveillance, harassment, and arrest, and labeled some prominent activists as domestic terrorists.

After writing with impressive historical detail about the conflicts among social groups — Mexican settlers, Indian societies, Anglo ranchers, and law enforcement agencies — in the epilogue Correia extends his gaze into the present and finds irony. He notes how market forces are now shaping the (social) landscape of Tierra Amarilla. Sheep trails are being turned into hiking trails, and million-dollar vacation homes are popping up on the ridgelines. Correia recognizes that this new wave of property development "follows the logic of the market in which property is merely a technical problem of land use and an object wholly legible to the state" (p. 173). *Properties of Violence* thus adds to the scholarship on legibility that examines the ways states have engaged in top-down approaches to social ordering that disregard local knowledge and practices. In the case of Tierra Amarilla, common property use was illegible to the state in its myopic pursuit of high-modernism.

Properties of Violence is a powerful contribution to land grant studies and historical legal geography. Correia's long perspective introduces fresh factual information and interpretations that expose how tightly linked violence and property have been in the Tierra Amarilla land grant. A small improvement would include the addition of an orientation map. Also, the dramatic cover photo of an Uzi submachine gun hanging off a tree trunk misrepresents most of the book's content, although this curious design choice may have been the publisher's.

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Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America. ERIKA DOSS. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2010. Pp. ix+458, figures, notes, index. \$40.50 hardcover. ISBN 978-0-226-15938-6.

Organizing memorials by the emotion they commemorate, Doss argues that contemporary memorial mania is characterized by an "obsession with issues of memory and history and an urgent desire to express and claim those issues in visibly public contexts" (p. 2). Memorials serve as a source of symbolic capital that are readily visible on the natural landscape. The transition from monument to memorial mania is characterized by increasing acknowledgement of diversity, leading to American commemorative landscapes that personify public sentiment and emotion at significant moments and structure social narratives of identity and national purpose. These narratives are particular to today's "Prozac nation" where memorialization becomes a method for mediating multiple and sometimes coterminous efforts to manage emotional tensions (p. 59). In successive chapters, Doss uses five emotions—grief, fear, gratitude, shame, and anger—to categorize memorials and exemplify the contemporary tradition of memorial mania.

A discursive analysis of memory management revealed that control is a pervasive theme in contemporary memorials. According to Doss, efforts to commemorate the victims of terrorist acts symbolize a need to control meaning, manage memory, and alleviate fear. Four security narratives are pervasive in contemporary terrorism memorials—naming, assumptions of innocence, survival, and the heroic sacrifice—and together they present a very specific frame.

Through this conceptualization, Doss shows how the national narrative presents a positive and unified front that is focused on survival instead of loss and that praises heroic sacrifice, diverting attention from critical examinations of causal factors. The lack of critical examination in American memorials is a pattern identified throughout the book. However, Doss never confronts this issue directly or offers insight into how we might better incorporate the causal factors leading to these events into memorials.

Somewhat oddly placed in the chapter on fear is a discussion of the minimalist architectural revolution in commemoration. In a fascinating discussion of several international memorials, Doss describes a link between minimalism and the interpretation, participation, and engagement with memorial landscapes. The importance of minimalist sculpture is "what the sculptural object does—in terms of [our] response—rather than what it is" (p. 125). Instead of pressing a particular narrative, minimalist art allows the public a sense of ownership through interpretation and participation. While her discussion of minimalism and artistic symbolism in commemoration is thought-provoking, she does not provide much in the way of a semiotic analysis of the actual text that appears on the memorials. Her discussion is not lacking in examples and analysis of memorials from an artistic perspective, but a more detailed examination of memorial text would have added greater depth to her arguments about the primacy of certain frames in American commemoration.

Unique to the contemporary commemorative landscape in the United States are memorials representing shameful acts. In an accessible psychological analysis, Doss borrows principles from Freud and Sartre to discuss the contentious issue of how to adequately memorialize shameful events through the visual act of looking. Commonalities among these types of memorials include re-humanizing victims and perpetrators (seen through the lack of abstract art and the renewal of human subjects in the commemoration process), the concept of bearing witness, and reflecting on past violence. These memorials have become a symbol of obligation and responsibility (bearing witness) in the face of any atrocity. The return to human subjects in shame memorials (versus the more popular minimalism) is linked to the relationship between the body and shame. Doss could have expanded her analysis of memorials via the geography of the body and included a productive discussion of how abstract forms of the body are used in commemoration.

Anger as memorialization is presented in the unique way in which antithetical accretion is displayed on the landscape. Anger at injustice is presented as a strong motivator for commemoration. Anger incites questions of representation and agency, dominant cultural assumptions which can lead to counter-memorials, anti-thetical accretion, or the toppling of memorials. In this chapter Doss begins to acknowledge the complexity of emotions represented by and invoked through memorials. Her discussion of the many types of anger alludes to this idea. However her analysis never goes so far as to discuss the multiplicity of emotion that can be elicited by any one particular memorial.

While Doss identifies and explains components of memorials, little attention is given to the surrounding landscape or location of the memorial. Her artistic perspective is valuable in understanding the motives and methods of commemoration, but misses some of the more intrinsic geographical concepts. Although structuring the book by emotion is logical, in reality memorials evoke a series of emotions, not just one. This complexity is never made explicit, however. In addition, Doss addresses but does not fully articulate the role of globalization in memorialization fervor. In a globalized world where memory (like news-media attention spans) is fleeting and individuality is often subsumed, the memorial mania of today describes the most basic desire: to be visible, gain power, and be remembered. The monument is a human creation designed to keep single human deeds or events alive in the minds of future generations. The shift from the monument to the memorial, from official national narratives to subjective and symbolic

expressions of disparate American sub-national collectives, underlines this concern with loss of identity. In the face of globalization and loss of communal identity, issues of ownership and belonging become particularly relevant. "Increasingly," Doss writes, "self-interest groups view the nation's memorials as the direct extension of their particular causes" (p. 34). This desire for public ownership is part of the contemporary popularity of functional public art. Art that invites public participation, exists as functional part of the environment, and has multiple purposes; allowing individuals to claim emotional (if not legal) ownership of that memorial and the concepts it embodies. Without a substantive conclusion to *Memorial Mania*, we are left with the impression that America has failed to implement commemorative justice. Unfortunately there is little information on how to mitigate this failure in the future.

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Political Migrations on Polish Territories (1939-1950). PIOTR EBERHARDT. Warsaw: Polish Academy of Sciences (Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization Monograph No. 12), 2011. Pp. 225, maps, tables. €26.00 hardcover. ISBN 978-83-61590-46-0.

This book focuses on an event that transformed the demography of Poland during a short period of sixteen years, from the beginning of World War II in September 1939 through its aftermath in 1950. It is written by one of Poland's leading historical geographers, Piotr Eberhardt of the Polish Academy of Sciences, who in 2003 provided us with his 560-page book called *Ethnic Groups and Population Changes in Twentieth-Century Central and Eastern Europe* (published by M.E. Sharp). In 2011, he published this new book dealing with the historical events that changed the demographic situation in Poland from a multinational country with more than 39 million people in 1939, only two-thirds of them Poles, to a true nation-state occupied by only 25 million people in 1950, about 97.8 of whom were Polish people.

The book is devoted to the forced resettlement of the population in the years between 1939 and 1950 within the territory of the Polish state, before and after the Second World War. The resettlement involved 30 million inhabitants, among them 13 million Poles, 11 million Germans, around five million Jews and about one million Ukrainians. The population migration that occurred during this short period finds no precedent in world history. The forced migration which took place in 1947-1948 during the establishment of independent India and Pakistan brought about the resettlement of about ten million people, about one-half million of whom died during that event. Here we deal with a phenomenon roughly three times bigger than that. The uniqueness of the migration event in Poland also derives from the ethnic and linguistic complexity of the people involved. This large-scale movement began in September 1939 when the German army attacked Poland. One of the aims of the attack was to conquer new territories for the German population by exterminating and deporting ethnic groups found "unfit" according to racial ideologymainly Jews but also Poles. After nearly six years of bloodshed, about six million people died, including nearly all of the three million Jews who lived in Poland before the War. The defeat of Nazi Germany then brought about the forced exodus of about nine million Germans from the newly established Poland, with its new boundaries imposed by the Soviet Union, Britain, and United States.

Eberhardt's book is a historical geography of the largest population movement to have taken place in modern Europe. In the past, scholars have dealt with fragments of the event, mainly in books and monographs published in Polish and German. For exceptions to this trend,

English readers can refer to E. M. Kuliscer's *Europe on the Move: War and Population Changes*, 1917-1947 (Columbia University Press, 1948), Yehuda Bauer's *The History of the Holocaust* (Franklin Watts, 1982), and a few other books concerning the Jewish component of this history. Eberhardt's book, however, is the first to provide an account of the entire migration event on Polish territory in English. Eberhardt draws from an exhaustive array of source material on the evacuation of the Polish people during and after the war, the Jewish Holocaust in Poland, the Germans who settled in occupied Poland and fled during the last stage of the War, and finally the evacuation of the remaining Germans from new Poland, established in 1945 east of the Oder-Neisse Rivers. Eberhardt synthesizes these sources to create one complete work that examines the phenomenon from the perspective of historical geography.

Eberhardt uncovers the underlying decisions, strategic operations, and ultimate results of the migrations that occurred from the opening of the Second World War to the last evacuation of the Ukrainians from southeast Poland. The account proceeds stage by stage, area by area, each section focusing on a different segment of the population involved. The cartography is completely original to the book and drafted by Eberhardt himself; these 23 maps provide more than illustration but serve as tools for understanding the explanations presented in text concerning the resettlement activities undertaken in Poland during the period. Collected from different sources, more than fifty tables provide visual arrangement of the numbers needed to understand the magnitude of the resettlement process: about three million Polish Jews murdered; more than one million additional Jews brought to the death camps in Poland; the flight of about six million Germans before the approaching Soviet Army; and the evacuation of more than three million Germans resettled in Potsdam.

As this book was written originally in Polish and later translated into English, one can find here and there some unconventional sentence structures and even some mistakes, mainly in syntax (the definite article "the" often is missing as this word does not exist in Polish). The translation may hinder its accessibility for English readers, but it does not undermine the book's contribution as a near-comprehensive compilation and interpretation of source material related to the resettlements. Nor does the quality of the translation undercut the book's ability to convey the sheer magnitude of the event and the roles taken by leaders of some of the most advanced countries of the world at the time—German, British, American, and Russian heads of state whose decisions led to the evacuation of millions of people, Poles and Germans, during and after the War. This book will be of interest to scholars whose work focuses specifically on wartime demography and the historical geography of World War II, but also those who are interested in military history and modern Europe more generally. At the same time, because many people are connected by relation to those who lived and died in Poland at this tragic period, this book will find a second audience by providing research that can shed light on the events that changed their lives forever.

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The Maximum of Wilderness: The Jungle in the American Imagination. KELLY ENRIGHT. Charlottes ville: University of Virginia Press, 2012. Pp. xii+187, illustrations, index. \$29.95 cloth. ISBN 9-780-8139-3228-6.

One hundred pages into *The Maximum of Wilderness*, Kelly Enright lists tips given by the naturalist William Beebe in 1958 for observing animals in deep forest. In addition to advice on breathing styles and clothing colors, Beebe instructed *National Geographic* readers to keep their

eyes half closed around wild creatures. "Animals," Beebe noted, "do not like to be stared at." This is an apt metaphor for studying "the jungle in the American imagination." If we look too intently, the subject threatens to slip away. Is the jungle a place, or a reaction to a place—a spot on the map or a state of mind? Enright manages to center her subject, for the most part, and in doing so, she has written a lively study of tropical wildness in both mass and specialist media in the twentieth century. The major development that Enright chronicles is the semantic and perceptual shift from dangerous jungle to vulnerable rainforest. She organizes her material chronologically, with seven figures standing in for particular perceptions. When linked in a chain connecting the 1910s to the 1960s, these subjects add action to introspection to show how abstraction and practice mixed under the trees.

The first two figures are Theodore Roosevelt and John Muir, both of whom experienced Brazilian forests as what H.J. Fleure might have called "regions of difficulty." Roosevelt hacked, shot, canoed, and mapped his way along the Amazon's tributaries in 1913. He believed the Amazon was destined for human conquest. By contrast, Muir appreciated the way in which the forests seemed to resist human effort in 1911, even though they scuttled his attempt to see a rare water lily in its natural setting. Through these hoary, malarial men, South American forests emerge as places of severe struggle. Their reactions to these difficulties are telling for Enright: one gritted his teeth and planned future triumphs, while the other relished the unknowable tropical expanses. The intellectual transition that Enright detects in the wider culture appears here as a difference between Roosevelt, representing nineteenth-century adventuring, and Muir, who attained the ecological mindset, but not quite the vocabulary, of his successors.

Next, Enright follows the traveling filmmakers Martin and Osa Johnson between the World Wars. This married couple produced movies that straddled the lines between "adrenaline-filled adventure and serious scientific undertaking" (p. 36) and between exaggerations of wildness and claims of domestication. Martin cut his teeth as a photographer for Jack London's *Snark* voyage before filming with Osa in a variety of tropical locales. Between 1916's *Cannibals of the South Seas* and 1937's *The Jungle Depths of Borneo*, the Johnsons depicted tropical forests as appealing milieux with their fair share of hazards but also precious, intriguing animals. Enright shrewdly imagines that zoologists and biologists watching these films recognized the value of winning the hearts of the mass audience. Proto-ecology in Muir becomes proto-rainforest conservation in the Johnsons.

Enright's fifth subject, William Beebe, evangelized a style of patient observation to find the hidden rhythms of tropical forests. His innovation, seen best in books about British Guiana, was to describe immersion in the wild both from a scientist's point of view and in the context of a spiritual journey. Beebe stressed the harmony, even community, he witnessed in the jungle. Enright's presentation of Beebe suffers slightly from a lack of trajectory. It is hard to get a hold of him as a thinker, perhaps because his activities between World War I and the late 1950s remain hazy here. Enright does a better job of fleshing out the jungle visitors in her last chapter, on the botanists David Fairchild and Richard Evans Schultes. Fairchild looked to bridge American agriculture and the "vast storehouses of utterly unknown material" (p. 116) that he found in the tropics. He grew such plants on his property in South Florida in the 1930s, believing that the taste of fresh bael fruit or "strange little pineapples" connected him directly to the experience of the wild. Schultes, too, saw a link between using tropical plants domestically and experiencing the forest firsthand. His trip to Colombia in 1939 yielded insights on the hallucinogenic, healing, and anesthetic qualities of flora that were unknown to even well-read botanists. For Enright, Schultes represents the flowering of rainforest advocacy, devoted to the protection of tropical biodiversity and the people who lived with it.

Throughout *The Maximum of Wilderness*, Enright focuses on "interplays between scientific information and cultural narratives" (p. 5) to show how jungle concepts have been more about

notions of transcendence and authenticity than about land. The book's argument rests on the connection between experts and audiences; together, they form the "American imagination." The phrases that Enright uses to describe that dialogue, however, are strategically vague. Her figures "pointed the next generation" forward; they "inspired" others; they "fostered sympathy" for faraway places; and they "struck a chord with the public." This comes close to willing a population with particular ideas into existence, or, at least, conflating accessibility with popularity. On page 76, the "popular image" of the jungle appears, and from that point, Enright treats it as if it is something she has demonstrated. She describes certain viewpoints as holding "currency" in the United States, but it is never clear how popular any of those ideas were, or if Enright's septet had anything to do with it. That said, her analysis of these individuals works well as an intellectual history, released from the burden of representing the consumers of films, magazine articles, and tropical super-foods.

Although the book may not directly address American interests in (or ignorance of) tropical forests writ large, it has much to teach us about practitioners' divergent views on tropical zones. It also shows how illuminating professional biography can be in the hands of a skilled writer. Another of Beebe's dozen lines of advice from 1958 was to speak in a "low monotone" while in the field. Enright disregards this suggestion in her prose, to the great reward of her readers. She skillfully brings to life a half-century of thought about the distant jungles that fueled fascination and fear.

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Migration: A World History. MICHAEL H. FISCHER. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. xiii+149, maps, images, chronology, notes, further reading, websites, index. \$75.00 cloth, \$19.95 paper. ISBN 978-0-19-0766433-4.

Migration remains one of the most debated issues facing humanity today. It touches on such a range of vital concerns, including demography, economic development, national security, environmental sustainability, and basic human rights, to name a few. The centrality of migration should hardly be surprising given that migration has been intertwined with most of the seminal events in human history stretching from the earliest humans to move out of Africa to contemporary movements of peoples. Indeed, migration is one of the most fundamental ways in which people make and remake places and ultimately transform the Earth into our home. This is a central theme in Michael Fisher's *Migration: A World History*. As Fisher explains at the end of the preface: "From the earliest Homo sapiens to all of us today, migration, in its many forms, has remained central to world history" (p. xiii).

Fisher's book is one of the most recent entries in the *New Oxford World History* series. The series is situated within the recent shift toward so-called "big history" perspectives and covers a mix of chronological (e.g., *The World from 1450 to 1700*), thematic (e.g., *Democracy: A World History*), and geographical volumes (e.g., *China in World History*). Fisher's book fits among the thematic volumes, but it follows a rather straightforward, chronological approach to examining migration over the course of human history divided across five chapters. The first chapter covers the migration of early humans stretching from 200,000 BCE to 600 CE. Initially, humans organized themselves into nomadic and semi-nomadic bands that coalesced and divided based on population size, ecological conditions, and seasonal shifts, among other factors. Some of these bands began moving out of Africa around 70,000 to 60,000 BCE, and in a comparatively

short time, had fanned out across most of Eurasia, and somewhat later the Americas. Already by around 10,000 BCE, humans had reached most of the planet's land surface, excluding a few remote locations such as Greenland and New Zealand. Around 1000 CE, the first Scandinavians from the Old World arrived in Newfoundland and made contact with Amerindian groups, marking the point at which humanity had finally encircled the Earth. These migrations were more than a simple process of diffusion as they were interlinked with the discovery of agriculture, permanent settlements, writing, and more generally the beginnings of civilization. It is here that Fisher succeeds in weaving together a sweeping portrait of the interaction between migration and topography, climate change, demography, genetic change, technology, and the rise and fall of successive dynasties, empires, and civilizations.

Chapter two is largely framed around the rise of Islam, spanning 600 to 1450 CE, roughly from the life of Muhammad to the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. This alone covers nearly half of the chapter, while developments in other parts of the Old Word fill much of the remainder. Only the last couple pages address events in the Americas. Regardless of the region, the power of migration as a point of mixture and conflict between peoples is the main theme. Chapter three continues the story up to 1750 and generally coincides with the age of exploration and early colonialism. This period witnessed some of the first migrations possessing the speed, volume, and reach to begin connecting far flung places around the globe within a single lifetime. This new period of interconnection coincided with some of the first systematic efforts to restrict migration, such as declaration by Japanese rulers that the country was closed to outsiders or the Ming Dynasty prohibiting subjects from undertaking sea voyages abroad. Chapter four covers the late colonial period up to World War I. This period saw the peak of migration to the Americas. The chapter emphasizes the varied conditions accompanying these migrations, especially focusing on African slavery and indentured servants among some Europeans. Perhaps predictably, attempts to close off countries from migration and the wider world foundered and were eventually abandoned. The final chapter covers the relatively brief time since 1914, yet the brevity of this period still managed to entail massive, and unfortunately often very destructive, migrations. The World Wars and subsequent decolonization across much of Africa and Asia are major foci, as are more recent topics, like the plight of guest workers in the wake of the Libyan civil war or the establishment of freedom of movement within the European Union. After recounting the prominence and impact of migration since our earliest times, Fisher concludes that "...we are all migrants and migration history is the core of the world history" (p. 125). The book ends with brief chronology of major migration events in world history, a list of further readings, and websites related to migration.

Fisher is to be commended for producing a well-written and easy-reading piece while managing to cover much ground in a slim volume. Fisher contextualizes the broader narrative by drawing upon travel accounts, memoirs, and autobiographies to integrate firsthand accounts of migrant experiences, especially in the later chapters. These stories remind us of the intensely personal and emotional aspects of migration, something easy to lose when examining events far removed from our time. The book features several helpful maps and attractive images. Given the broad swath of time covered and the intent of the series to keep the volumes short and to the point, it would be unfair to criticize that this or that migration event was omitted while ones of seemingly lesser consequence were included. Those are rather subjective decisions that authors have to weigh against other considerations, like ensuring relatively balanced geographic coverage, in a book such as this. At times, the book could have made the linkages between migration and specific historical events more explicit. For example, the book succinctly summarizes the litany of territorial changes following World War I, but then simply concludes "all these changes in government led to many emigrations and immigrations" (p. 106). The book could have dug a bit

deeper into the assumptions and motivations of the Allied Powers during the peace talks that resulted in widespread territorial restructuring, although this too might be an unfair criticism given the prescribed length of the series.

Perhaps the most substantive critique would be that the book never explicitly defines migration. Instead, the book adopts a rather vague notion that nearly all of us are migrants, since "very few people remain in their parents' home throughout life, never spending significant time away" (p. xiii). This leads to the characterization of Napoleon as an immigrant from Corsica and his military campaigns as migration events. Similarly, Stalin was also a migrant from Georgia, while the Chinese communists enduring the Long March were emigrants. In many ways, the book is more about mobility than migration, at least as migration is traditionally defined. Regardless, Fisher is to be commended for producing an excellent introduction to the role of migration through human history that will prove useful for those seeking a quick, broad overview of the topic.

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California through Russian Eyes, 1806-1848. JAMES R. GIBSON, compiler, translator, and editor. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. Pp. 492, photographs, tables, glossary, bibliography, index. \$45.00 hardcover. ISBN 9-780-8706-2421-6.

Volume 2 of the University of Oklahoma Press series of Early California Commentaries, *California Through Russian Eyes* is a compilation of thirty-two translated reports, journals, letters, and memoirs written by Russians who visited Alta (New) California in the first half of the nineteenth century. Active in Alaska since the mid-eighteenth century, advances in shipbuilding allowed a growing number of Russians to visit California shores for trade and restocking of provisions. Detailed accounts tell of not only the landscape of Alta California, but of Spanish garrisons and missions, relations between colonists and the indigenous population, the cultures and outward appearances of the (Native) Americans, and the potential for trade in the region. As scholars of the U.S. West seldom have access to Russian materials, this volume is of particular value for the access it provides beyond Spanish—and later English—language sources. As scholarly disciplines are often divided by country, this volume reveals the interconnectivity of the Pacific, as ships continued on to Hawaii, Manila, Calcutta, or Canton. The collection documents the decline of the Spanish empire and the tumultuous transitions of the territory from Spain to Mexico and finally the United States.

One of the most compelling documents in the collection is an excerpt from Russian state official Nikolay Rezanov's report on his six-week visit to San Francisco Bay in 1806. Rezanov is known best for his ill-fated romance with the beautiful Conceptión Argüello, daughter of the commandant of the local *presidio* (fortress). More significant than the officer's love interest, however, was his confidence that trade with California could provide abundantly for Russia's possessions in Alaska and the Far East. Rezanov reported enthusiastically on Alta California's potential to supply wheat, cattle, wool, horses, and wine. Warning the Minister of the Interior that he had to act quickly—"For God's sake, gracious sire, examine patriotically the circumstances of this territory" (p. 56)—Rezanov proposed building granaries and organizing regular trade with Canton. (The Minister evidently listened, since in 1812 the Russian Fort Ross was founded to the north of San Francisco.) The Alta California portrayed by Rezanov was a paradise on earth. He praised the Spanish for their efficient administration.

A very different picture emerges in documents that follow. While Rezanov focused on the achievements of the Spanish, subsequent Russian visitors witnessed a California in decline. California was expensive, several visitors noted, bringing no gain to the Spaniards "except the conversion of several hundred heathens into Christians" (p. 90). Fewer and fewer Spanish ships visited, leaving missions unprovisioned and salaries unpaid. Future visitors agreed with Rezanov that the land was abundant, writing excitedly of "watermelons, muskmelons, peaches...grapes... wheat, beans, peas" (p. 112), as well as various trees, animals, birds, minerals, and precious metals (pp. 200-205). Yet this abundance did not bring prosperity to the "half-wild, sleepy, and indolent Spaniards" (p. 168) who lived there in 1821. The situation only worsened when Mexico gained independence, cutting off Spanish aid to the territory completely. The ensuing decades saw frequent uprisings, adding chaos to poverty, neglect, and soon drought as well. "What remains of niggardly nature is being destroyed by internal strife and violent anarchy!" (p. 354) remarked a visitor in 1830. When the Mexican government decided to secularize California missions in 1833, entire settlements fell into disrepair. It was clear to the Russians that not California, but Californios [California-born Spaniards] were to blame.

While Californians today imagine kind friars and peaceful Indians coexisting in harmony at the region's twenty-one missions, a recurrent theme of the Russian reports is the misfortune of the California indigenous population. Already in 1806, Rezanov was told by the governor that nearly all the Indians perished in Baja California, and that since the establishment of missions, two-fifths of those in Alta California had as well (p. 70). Later visitors referred to the melancholy of the Indian converts, their inability to adjust to a European way of life, and their often premature deaths. Since the Indians did not understand the Catholic rituals they practiced, a Russian who visited in 1816 supposed that "the deepest gloom must rule the minds and hearts of these poor people, who can only mimic the external ceremonies by eye and then copy them" (p. 89). Some visitors described an even worse scenario: "Even the situation of Negro slaves cannot be worse," an 1824 visitor lamented. "The Indians are subject totally to the unlimited arbitrariness and tyranny of the friars" (p. 286). To guard their chastity, young Indian women were kept locked up, while the men faced "corporal punishment, imprisonment, and shackles" for unpunctual fulfillment of the friars' demands (pp. 292-93).

Russians themselves demonstrated a variety of attitudes toward the Indian population. While they lamented their mistreatment and forcible conversion, they shared European stereotypes of the natives as "wild," "half-savage and savage tribes" (pp. 252, 255). One Russian visitor made reference to the Indians' "extreme backwardness," declaring that "this stupid and plain people...ranks even lower than the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego and Van Dieman's Land" (p. 293). Yet they consistently reported positive relations with the Native Americans, and remained hopeful about their civilization. Commenting on the region's agricultural potential, an 1821 visitor suggested that the Indians could be taught to work industriously ("without the necessity of having to buy black slaves to do so" [p. 155]). "Many travelers compare the Indians ...to cattle on account of their [i.e., the Indians'] marked stupidity," a frequent visitor from Alaska noted, but he explained that it was not the Indians' fault, but that the land's abundance incited no need for mental engagement (p. 348).

The 1830s saw the beginning of the end of Mexican California. Once the government began granting land to non-Catholic settlers, Russians reported (U.S.) Americans moving westward and settling near the Russian Fort Ross. There was concern about a possible American takeover. By the 1840s, visitors encountered Europeans and Asians, blacks and whites, who lived not at missions, but in towns with taverns, mills, fine homes, and large trading houses. The document collection ends in 1849, following the cession of the territory to the United States. Referring to the discovery of gold in the region, the final report describes Alta California as "an enchanting land," a "New

Eldorado" (p. 459), lamenting Russia's sale of Fort Ross in 1842. Despite the hardships the visitors witnessed, the message they transmitted to St. Petersburg can perhaps best be summed up by a Russian saying: *vsegda tam luchshe*, *gde nas net!* It is always better where we are not!

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Roads to Power: Britain Invents the Infrastructure State. JO GULDI. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012. Pp. 297, b&w illustrations, index. \$42.00 hardcover. ISBN 978-0-674-05759-3.

Roads have long offered an attractive topic for research in historical geography, for they combine and concretize many broad questions through their linking-together of the landscape. Indeed, few historical geographers have made it to the end of their career without managing to comment on the importance of roads, and the field is therefore well-covered by a diversity of works ranging from Carl Sauer's "The Road to Cíbola" (1932) to J. B. Jackson's "Roads Belong in the Landscape" (1994).

Yet even a thoroughly studied topic can yield important new insights when subjected to a fresh draw of primary sources, as Jo Guldi proves in her fascinating book *Roads to Power*. While many scholars of landscape have recently turned their attention to the phenomenological kinetics of mobility (well-summarized in Merriman et al.'s roundtable "Landscape, mobility, practice" [2008]), Guldi reminds us that roads still run through structures of power, finance, technology, and politics. By closely scrutinizing the forces which drove a wave of Parliamentary road construction in Britain from 1726 to 1848, Guldi demonstrates how turnpike authority, centralized in London under the aegis of expert engineers, was a key component in the construction of British unification and hegemony in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. She couples this political story of a massifying "infrastructure state" with an attention to the social experiences of travelers, who alternately welcomed and detested the new roads, and who fashioned new class behaviors to suit an increasingly interconnected nation.

The book targets the conventional wisdom that Britain's ascent on the world stage during this period was characterized by a *laissez-faire* politics in which Parliament allowed the Industrial Revolution to follow its natural course. To the contrary, Guldi argues, "both the construction and finance of the transport revolution were set in gear by government funding, made possible by the emergence of a state bureaucracy" (pp. 28–29). The consolidation of Scotland and England – and later Ireland – into the new political confection called Britain led the burgeoning "fiscal-military" state to preempt local turnpike trusts and begin constructing a national transportation network which allowed troops, commercial wagoners, and mail carriers to stitch the formerly disparate regions together. Guldi is particularly effective at showing how Scottish representatives to Parliament, through strategic control of infrastructure committees, were instrumental in drumming up the political support necessary for the new road-building projects. The national roads therefore become financial transfer mechanisms from England's wealthy core to the poorer, newly-integrated British peripheries.

A new class of technical professionals also formed an important bloc of political support for the "infrastructure state," even as their use of measurements and formulae made their arguments seem apparently apolitical. The engineers Thomas Telford and John Loudon Macadam, through their personal competition and their rubbishing of vernacular turnpike-maintenance techniques, popularized the idea that British roads should be standardized, centrally planned, and nationally

financed. Thus, even when their projects vastly overran cost projections—as in the Menai Straits Bridge on the Holyhead Road—they enjoyed generous financial support from the state throughout this period.

By 1848, Guldi argues, a backlash against the Parliamentary roads brought this first era of state infrastructure support to a close. She traces two main currents of discontent. On the one hand, radicals and proto-socialists such as William Cobbett and Richard Milnes worried that the roads intruded on local customary rights and served little use to the poor, for whom the national commercial trade carried by the roads brought more oppression than opportunity. On the other, economic libertarians such as Edward Knatchbull and Joshua Toulmin Smith resented the way that centralized roads redistributed wealth, and argued for a return to local management. Ultimately the rhetoric of the former group was swallowed up by the more powerful political position of the latter.

Here it becomes clear that Roads to Power is not just a work of historical geography but a political parable for the present day-a hunch confirmed by the blurb from the electronic media activist Tim O'Reilly, who calls the book "required for those who aim to shape the twentyfirst century." Guldi is straightforward about the symmetry which she sees between Britain's infrastructure age and the late twentieth-century digital age: "History was repeating itself," she says in the conclusion (p. 208). Both then and now a period of state-financed, nationalistic infrastructure investment gave way to a hostile backlash against centralization, articulated in both radical and libertarian terms. Guldi furthermore cautions that the participatory utopian prospects of infrastructure-driven connectivity are not automatically guaranteed by the march of technology. In a fascinating (though somewhat orphaned) final chapter, she shows how Britain's national roads, far from ushering in a hopeful era of sociability amongst a newly-united people, in fact became the scene for a renewed entrenchment of behavioral distinctions along class lines. Citizens who had once walked together on the same mud roads now traveled in total isolation from one another, with the new middle class developing a polite and privileged world consisting of private coaches and hotels. Guldi's implication – that our digital era faces the same forces of centrifugal class fragmentation and political mistrust – is self-evident.

One difficulty with *Roads to Power* is that it is in some parts ineffectively signposted, and thus, within the impressive mass of primary material which Guldi has accumulated, it is sometimes difficult to discern any given paragraph's relative subordination to the larger argumentative arc. Scholars of an internationalist bent may also find the book's meager comparisons between Britain and other contemporary infrastructure state projects frustrating. However, in its impressive depth of research, its careful reading of history, and its deft delivery of an important and relevant political lesson, *Roads to Power* is a valuable new look at a favorite topic for the historical geographer.

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Pastoral and Monumental: Dams, Postcards, and the American Landscape. DONALD C. JACKSON. Pittsburgh, PA: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013. Pp. x+332, images, index. \$34.95 hardcover. ISBN 9-780-8229-4426-3.

Donald C. Jackson's book examines Americans' relationships with dams and damming projects as recorded and interpreted through the medium of picture postcards. Focusing on a period from the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, Jackson approaches both dams and postcards as part of a larger trends in American history. The book is clearly a passion project,

and does a fine job repackaging some of the more abstract points about the human-environment relationship that can be found in cultural geography, environmental history, and science and technology studies (STS) scholarship. The key to the book, as many might suspect, are the illustrations.

Jackson identifies a two-pronged thesis for his book which links together the subjects of dams and picture postcards. He argues that postcards represent a very particular social and cultural medium, capturing many different elements of a rapidly industrializing and technologizing United States. Dams, ranging from small local "crib" dams to major New Dealera projects, are a similarly unique infrastructural representation of "America's technologically-driven political economy" (p. 10). For these reasons, Jackson asserts that dam postcards are far more than "souvenirs of an antiquarian past," but rather "an entrée into understanding how Americans have used hydraulic technology to transform the environment" in both positive and negative ways (ibid.).

The book is organized into eight chapters and postscript along with bibliographic notes and an index. In addition to introducing the major arguments of the text, chapter one provides a lengthy overview of the entire book. Crucially, it is here that Jackson makes a number of connections between the social history of the first half of the twentieth century and the history of dam technology and design, illustrating how specific choices were made in the dam design and construction process to send a particular ideological message to the general public. Subsequent chapters examine different components of this connection while also discussing the role of picture postcards. Chapter two in particular examines the production of these "texts" and how changing materials and techniques contributed to new types of images. Jackson focuses on a "Golden Age" of U.S. postcard culture—perhaps, a "Golden Age" of U.S. postal culture more generally—culminating shortly after the end of the First World War.

Subsequent chapters offer studies of various elements of this dam-picture postcard hybrid culture, and are all richly illustrated with examples drawn mainly from the author's personal collection. Chapter three offers a useful primer on dam construction, explaining how engineers made choices about materials and design. While certainly the most engineering-heavy part of the book, this chapter does a fine job of illustrating the "Monumental" nature of dams referenced in the title. Chapter four offers a look at when dam projects fail, focusing on significant disasters of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most of which (for better or worse) were also documented with picture postcards. Though interesting in its own right, this chapter may have benefitted from drawing connections to the geographic literature on disasters and memorialization, as there are several points in this section of the book which suggest that dam disasters and other engineering failures may hold insights to scholars studying other types of catastrophes.

Chapter five looks at the reasons for using dams in the first place. Although this chapter feels out of place organizationally, like chapter three it offers a strong primer about the reasons for damming along with good illustrations of dams built for that specific purpose. The longest of the book, this chapter would be excellent accompaniment to any course focusing on environmental technologies. Chapter six shifts gears to focus on the meaning of major damming projects constructed during the New Deal, including the Hoover Dam, Norris Dam and the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Bonneville and Grand Coulee Dams, dams in the Central Valley of California, and the project at Fort Peck. This chapter combines well with the previous two for looking at the specific circumstances—both historical and technological—that surrounded each project. Of course, more detailed studies have been completed of each project, but the text makes for an interesting synoptic case.

Chapter seven is the first in the text to directly approach the environmental concerns associated with hydraulic projects. This chapter is certainly one of the more potent and discussable

parts of the text, tracing opposition to dam projects since the late nineteenth century, but focusing on the controversy surrounding Hetch Hetchy. Again, and most curiously, this chapter features illustrations of the controversy itself illustrated with picture postcards. This chapter could have been longer, or perhaps integrated more closely with chapter five on the uses of dams; however, the purpose of the book is not to focus on such controversial issues, either.

Chapter eight and the postscript both look at the demise of postcard culture amidst the rise of amateur photography in the U.S., a culture which has undoubtedly been even further impacted by digital and smartphone photography. These sections and especially chapter eight would have been strengthened with a discussion of contemporary photo culture and how dams figure in. This is perhaps symptomatic of the book's main shortcoming, which is that it doesn't always deliver on the promise to trace dam history as part of a broader techno-cultural history of the U.S., and in particular readers are left hanging as the book ends when strong and organized public concern with environmental protection began in earnest around the time of the Viet Nam War. Perhaps these connections are missed due to the organization of the book's chapters, which feels a bit random at times. The index also would have benefitted from a geographic sorting of the dams featured in the book's many illustrations, which would aid in locating projects with local or hometown significance.

The strengths outweigh these minor issues, however, and in particular the book's ability to literally show students how visual imagery contributes to the formation of environmental discourse. These images in the book (and those like them, related to a range of U.S. environments like National Parks, forests, shorelines, aerial photography, etc.) are critical to informing what we think of as "natural." As such *Pastoral and Monumental* is an interesting and unique project that could be useful to scholars and courses in environmental history, cultural geography, and STS.

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Native and Spanish New Worlds: Sixteenth-Century Entradas in the American Southwest and Southeast. CLAY MATHERS, JEFFREY M. MITCHEM, and CHARLES M. HAECKER, editors. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2013. Pp. xii+382, maps, tables, appendices, index, references. \$60.00 hardcover. ISBN 978-0-8165-3020-5.

In recent years universities, federally funded granting agencies, and research institutes have increasingly encouraged (and outright pushed) scholars to engage in high-profile, interdisciplinary research projects. Under this scenario a collection of experts from cognate fields convene to answer some of sciences' most compelling and complex questions. There are obvious challenges when trying to mesh research from disparate fields (e.g., background, approach, and terminology), but all too frequently the published product of such collaborative work is a collection of disjunct essays where editor(s) seldom make connections across chapters in the anthology. I am pleased (and relieved) to report that *Native and Spanish New Worlds* is an exception. The book is a tightly woven collection of essays that are well integrated around a central theme and unified purpose. If interdisciplinary research is the wave of the future, here is an example of how to do it correctly.

Starting at the 2009 Society for American Archaeology meeting, an aggregate of scholars from anthropology, archaeology, geography (dendrochronology), and history met numerous times to engage in dialog that would help us better understand the "interactions between sixteenth-century Native and European communities in what is now the Southwestern and Southeastern

United States" (p. 2). Although the book considers all of the major Spanish colonial expeditions that trooped around the greater Spanish borderlands, the focus is on the interactions between Francisco Vázquez de Coronado (1540-1541) and the Puebloan peoples of present-day New Mexico as well as between Hernando de Soto (1539-1543) and the Mississippian cultures of the Southeast (extending from modern Florida and the Carolinas to eastern Texas).

The book begins with an introductory chapter that explains how the edited volume was intellectually conceived and discussion about the incomplete nature of existing data sources. The remainder of the book is divided into seven sections each addressing a specific aspect of Native-Spanish interaction. Section I (Native Perspectives) is a single chapter that attempts to bring to light a Native American perspective on the Spanish entradas. The authors draw out active Zuni voices to interpret Spanish presence in North America, but sadly the chapter is largely anecdotal and incredibly underdeveloped. It is no wonder that this chapter is largely forgotten in the concluding section. Sections II through VI carefully consider such topics as history of contact, climate change, introduction of diseases, political organization, and external conflict. Each of these sections follows a predictable pattern beginning with a relevant discussion of conditions in the American Southwest followed by a look at the same issue in the American Southeast. Clearly the individuals selected to write each of the chapters in these five sections are luminaries in their field, however it is understandable if readers find some of the chapters less gripping than others. This is not a criticism leveled at any of the authors' work, rather it is simply the nature of the beast; the book is not everything to everyone. In Section VII (Discussion) most of the loose ends are tied up. Chapter 14 does a superb job of comparing and contrasting the regional Colonial Spanish entrada strategies. For example, in the Southeast the Spanish transitioned from a militaristic approach to missionizing activity, whereas in the Southwest they relentlessly pursued the accumulation of wealth. The last chapter is by far the best and should be read first. Not only does it outline the entire book, but it helps explain the key findings within each chapter.

An underlying theme coursing through the book (sometimes subtle, sometimes overt) is the questioning of conventional wisdom and a call for more critical debate. Readers are repeatedly reminded that because most data available on the Spanish Colonial period are incomplete (e.g., one-sided historical accounts and limited archaeological evidence), conclusions reached by early scholars are mistaken at best. Within each of the book's four main themes (climate, diseases, political organization, and conflict) there are ample examples to illustrate that a new perspective is needed if we are to fully understand early Native-Spanish interaction. For example, Chapter 5 shows that climate variability (annual fluctuations between hot and dry to cold and wet) had a more significant impact on the success and failure of the early Spanish entradas than once believed. In Chapter 9, Richard Chapman asserts that instead of the Pueblo peoples living in large concentrated settlements year-round, they dispersed throughout the greater American southwest between early spring and late fall because it was a more sustainable way to use the land. My favorite example is found in Chapters 7 and 8 where readers learn that there was no pandemic during the sixteenth century and the Native American population did not readily succumb to European diseases as once believed. Instead, diseases were but one of many variables that led to population decline over centuries of interaction with the Spanish. Collectively the authors have effectively demonstrated that a new perspective with new dialog is needed if we are to fully understand Native-Spanish interaction.

With the exception of Chapter 2 (as explained above), the book is a tremendous success and a very enjoyable read. It is well organized and free of jargon. Scholars of various backgrounds and experience will benefit from reading it and the dense bibliography will undoubtedly serve as a valuable resource. The volume would be very appropriate for a graduate-level seminar, spawning many healthy discussions. My only complaint as a geographer is the lack of high-quality maps to

support the text. Sure, there are maps, but they are of poor quality and very limited value. Setting aside this relatively minor criticism, I commend the editors and the authors for a great example of how to bring together scholars with diverse backgrounds and publish an anthology that works as a unit. In this case, the whole really is greater than the sum of its individual parts.

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They Saved the Crops: Labor, Landscape, and the Struggle Over Industrial Farming in Bracero- Era California. DON MITCHELL. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012. Pp. ix+529, notes, bibliography, index. \$26.95 paper. ISBN 978-0-8203-4176-7.

In *They Saved the Crops*, Don Mitchell provides a history of the California bracero program that is both richly theoretical and solidly grounded in extensive archival research. Providing a narrative that will appeal to both geographers and historians alike, Mitchell draws explicitly from the work of classic cultural geographers such as Carl Sauer and Pierce Lewis to emphasize the constructedness of the California landscape, reframing agricultural land as a site of struggle between competing versions of social development. In practice, a theoretical emphasis on economic and spatial systems leads Mitchell to focus on California braceros' stark daily working and living arrangements, demonstrating that growers intentionally allowed desperate living conditions and facilitated job instability in order to ensure braceros' relative powerlessness in the face of grower exploitation.

Backing up his arguments with an array of government documents, union correspondence, and oral histories, Mitchell argues decisively that growers invented the domestic labor shortage that justified the establishment and continuation of the bracero program. Expanding on this point, Mitchell begins his narrative in the 1930s and argues that the turn to bracero labor was due to a combination of factors: the systematic rationalization of the rural landscape and agricultural labor; the consolidation of California agriculture under a few anglo growers; and the prevalence of racebased assumptions that led growers to decide that domestic workers would not be interested in farm labor. With this list in mind, Mitchell argues that growers understood the bracero program not as an emergency, wartime boost in the labor force, but as a way to ensure a steady supply of "just in case" (p. 138) labor that could serve as strikebreakers and depress wages for both domestic and foreign workers.

Mitchell goes on to offer a largely familiar history of the bracero program populated by greedy growers, apathetic government administrators, and protracted labor strikes. However, within this discussion, Mitchell emphasizes that growers used the bracero program as an opportunity to change the very landscape of agriculture, reducing farm workers to pure labor power — to predictable factors in the system of production. Upon gaining control of Works Progress Administration camps after World War II, California growers set about replacing family residences with bunkhouses and dismantling worker community centers and social organizations. Mitchell spends a great deal of time describing the degrading working conditions that followed the early WPA system. Growers allowed camps to deteriorate, with workers lacking access to flush toilets, heat in the winter, and, at times, even potable drinking water. As California agricultural expanded and growers imported more and more braceros, these factors, along with the camps' extreme geographic isolation, meant that almost all domestic workers were driven out of agricultural employment. In this way, Mitchell argues, growers were able to create a self-fulfilling prophecy in which domestic workers refused farm jobs due to bad infrastructure and worse pay even as growers claimed that there just was no domestic labor pool available to do the work.

For Mitchell, the structural changes wrought by the bracero program were ultimately so fundamental that it was almost impossible for either union activists or the state and federal government to conceive of any viable labor alternative. Although a series of strikes led by groups such as the National Farm Labor Union and Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee were mounted against big growers, Mitchell argues that these strikes only succeeded in achieving minor improvements in wages, not the needed structural change. At the same time, growers successfully appealed for public support, citing the very landscape of labor they had constructed as an explanation for the seeming lack of options. Buying into these explanations, as well as the regional economic importance of big California growers, Congress again and again extended the life of the "emergency" bracero program and responded to calls for its disbandment with a series of largely-ignored, investigative studies. Mitchell sees the tide turning, with government inspectors arriving at bracero camps to punish the worst offenders, only after broad public sentiment turned against the bracero program in the late 1950s.

Mitchell's theoretical argument is most compelling when paired with the individual stories of braceros, activists, and labor leaders. To this end, he relies heavily on correspondence from labor leader Ernesto Galarza to describe worker experiences and document the complex relationships between regional labor unions. Similarly, he incorporates the personal narratives of colorful figures such as doctor-cum-labor-activist Ben Yellen and Henry Anderson, a Berkeley graduate student who advocated on behalf of braceros. In contrast, however, a surprisingly small number of individual braceros make it into his narrative, giving Mitchell's otherwise exceedingly well-researched study a lopsided feel. Similarly, while Mitchell makes passing reference to the systematic discrimination of women in agricultural jobs and the importance of family housing to labor patterns, greater theoretical attention to the gendered nature of the agricultural landscape would add further depth to his argument. All this said, Mitchell provides a nuanced, complex study within what is already a lengthy volume. His thoughtful theoretical engagement with issues of landscape, power, race, and class offers a useful, new perspective on a well-studied period in the history of labor in America.

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American Capitals: A Historical Geography. CHRISTIAN MONTÈS. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014. University of Chicago Geography Research Paper, No. 247. Pp. iv+394, maps, halftones, diagrams, index. \$65.00 cloth; \$7.00 to \$52.00 e-book versions. ISBN 978-0-226-08048-2 cloth; 978-0-226-08051-2 e-book.

The fifty state capitals in the United States seem to include oddities. Eight are small cities (under 40,000 people) in states that have larger cities; others are somewhat larger but pale in comparison to other cities in their state. Some are remote from parts of the population. Dalhart, a town in Texas, is farther from Austin than it is from Santa Fe, Denver, Oklahoma City, Topeka, and Cheyenne (the last two in states not even bordering Texas). Juneau is a small city in "Southeast Alaska," which is a large region (about six percent of the state) but connected to the rest of Alaska by a strip of U.S. land less than 20 miles wide at one point. You can't reach Juneau by car without a ferry ride. When Alaska became a state in 1959, Juneau remained the capital even though Anchorage was more than four times as big. Many think Juneau is the most beautiful capital, but its capitol less beautiful than many a post office.

There's much more to America's capitals than all that. In his book Christian Montès shows us general patterns—locations, sizes, economic structures, recent economic successes and failures, senses of identity—and explains the patterns make sense considering how the nation and its states have evolved through history. His book is a solid achievement, and I recommend it heartily to historical, regional, and urban geographers. Some ideas are original, and certainly the book as a whole is an original assemblage. Teachers will find it a valuable source for lectures, discussions, and student research. They can ask students to study a city in the light of Montès's generalizations, and to challenge him on various points. The exposition is not technical, so one can use the book with beginning students.

Montès, a French geographer at Université Lumière Lyon 2, covers many topics, has a wealth of quantitative data, and jam-packs the book with *petit faits vrais*. He draws on archives and a wide range of secondary literature, including state and city histories and interpretations by geographers and other social scientists. He cites 372 references. He applies standard concepts like the urban hierarchy and trade centers, and although I don't remember him using the phrase, one may see a sophisticated use of "site and situation." Cartographer Marie-Laure Trémélo provides useful diagrams illustrating the author's arguments.

Much that seems odd isn't, really. A lack of centrality is generally the result of choices made by small populations at the time of statehood (earlier, for the original thirteen). Montès examines those choices in chapters 3 and 4. From the initial conditions, patterns of locations, sizes, and other features emerged from historical processes that in no way resembled periodic spatial optimization by social planners. Economies changed radically, but path-dependence was enormous. At statehood (1864) Nevada's population (under 40,000) chose their territorial capital, Carson City, to be the state capital. Now, Nevada has about 2.8 million people, Las Vegas—400-plus miles away—is more than ten times as big as Carson City, Reno is more than four times as big, and the capital is ... Carson City. In Texas any remoteness of Austin is due more to Texas's retaining its enormous size throughout history than to Austin's location. My own capital is Boston. Four other capitals—Albany, Montpelier, Hartford, and Concord—are closer to me. I often feel remote from "Boston" (a.k.a. as "Big Dig") as political complex, but Boston was a coastal port of entry long before my town existed, and history kept us in a corner of Massachusetts rather than in New York or Vermont (the town abuts both states) or Connecticut (origin of some early settlers) or New Hampshire (which escaped from Massachusetts in 1691).

Three successive chapters (5, 6, and 7) are of special note: one is on history up to the 1950s, the next on history since then, and the third has three case studies that represent important categories for Montès. The cases are: Columbus, which grew from small size to overtake Cleveland and Cincinnati and become a player on the national scene; Des Moines, which became Iowa's most important city yet remains medium-sized on the national scale; Frankfort, which has remained a small place ("the ever-small capital" (p. 275)). It is a real plus that Montès puts the history of each city (and metro area, for Columbus and Des Moines) in the context of its *state's* evolution in the national economy. However, he slights the income and employment effects of medical centers and branches of state universities (what Tim Bartik and George Erickcek call "eds and meds" effects).

As we would expect, a major theme in Montès's history is the role of a capital's economic hinterland. It couldn't develop a sizeable hinterland on its own, there being so many forces largely beyond its control: railroads, airline routes, the spread of various industries (manufacturing, higher education and medical care, high level producer services), internal and international migration, and the later decline of manufacturing. State boundaries were not trade area boundaries, political centrality and political power didn't necessarily imply economic centrality and economic power. Being "central" in a state was not sufficient—a nearby city in another state could have better situation.

Other chapters show Montès's remarkable range. We find cultural geography in a nice chapter on capitals as "places of memory" (p. 14). He brings in place names, sites, plats, architecture of capitols, public spaces. He describes states' frequent moves of capitals in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (the "migration of capitals" (p. 62)). When Sherman captured Atlanta in 1864 he wasn't capturing the capital of Georgia; Atlanta did not replace Milledgeville until 1868 (Sherman devastated Milledgeville, too). Of more general interest is a chapter on the fate of cities that were once capitals but then displaced—87 of them, in 44 states. Some did quite well, for example New Castle (Delaware), Williamsburg, Iowa City, Golden (Colorado), and Monterey. Heritage tourism and favorable situation in a metropolitan area were major factors.

Montès ventures sweeping generalizations, and some are wrong or at least seriously misleading. Teachers may use them as openings for student discussion, but they need to correct them before class ends. I mention just two here. He says that in a capital "[M]ost state employees live in the suburbs or nearby metropolises, where they pay almost no taxes, leaving the inner city to crumble" (p. 311). What about state income and sales taxes, and redistribution (through "state aid formulas") to local governments? He also says, "[A] capitol is not a factory" (p. 83) and "[A] capital primarily produces laws rather than goods" (p. 309). That misses the point that a state government produces *services*: education and research, medical care, highways, law enforcement and justice, information, tourism marketing, and more. Many of the main bureaucrats that manage production work in the capital city, and state universities are not unlike modern factories.

Montès thanks his editors. I can't say "Amen." There are many writing problems. They don't reduce the book's value drastically for most readers, but one must use it with caution. It is too long and too crammed with minutiae that will interest only narrow specialists, yet specialists will know that Montès couldn't help but pick out facts selectively. The proofreading is less meticulous than we expect from Chicago.

A map showing all 50 capitals is small and hard to read. In each state it shows only the capital if the capital is the largest city, otherwise only the capital and the largest city. My own choice would be to show San Diego, San Jose, and San Antonio, which are in the U.S.'s top ten in size, and San Francisco, Fort Worth, and El Paso, in the second ten, and also Reno, Tulsa, Tampa, Orlando, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Charleston (South Carolina).

Finally, there are real clinkers, which provoke frowns as they pile up. One example: the number of presidents and vice-presidents from the state of New York (p. 212). Montès misses one president and *ten* vice-presidents; surely his "fact" screamed "Check me!" On the other hand, why is that fact there in the first place? Other examples: where the Civil War began (p. 236); the extent of insurance business in New York City (p. 243); the origin of the firm Delco (p. 259); mixing up two different museums in Albany (p. 237). Three involve state universities: the names of those in Madison and Lincoln (p. 230); the location of Texas A&M (p. 227); when SUNY came to Albany (p. 51). Finally, embarrassing in a geographer's book: Salt Lake City is "the largest city between Denver and the Pacific Coast" (p. 244). Even if by "between" we mean at roughly the similar latitude, Reno and Sacramento are larger.

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Arcadian America: The Death and Life of an Environmental Tradition. AARON SACHS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013. Pp. xi+368, maps, notes, figures, index. \$35.00 cloth. ISBN 978-0-300-17640-7.

One of the challenges of teaching nature-society relationships in geography is provoking students to think beyond a dualistic notion of nature and society. The challenge is compounded when attempting to explore how nineteenth-century Americans thought about and acted upon nature. The Arcadian tradition in American environmental thought provides an outstanding avenue for considering these complex ideas. In Arcadian America, Aaron Sachs explores the middle landscapes that Arcadian thinkers and artists attempted to capture and create as they wrestled with the borderlands of nature and culture, life and death, and wilderness and modernity. The cast for Arcadian America includes well-known nineteenth-century American writers and thinkers such as Henry David Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Walt Whitman, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Washington Irving, and Margaret Fuller, as well as those who may be less well-known to history and geography majors, such as Andrew Jackson Downing, William Cullen Bryant, Ignatius Donnelly, Horace William Shaler Cleveland, Hamlin Garland, Henry George, and Edward Bellamy. As important as the writers, activists, and planners to the story are the works of artists such as Thomas Cole, Winslow Homer, and Albert Bierstadt and the Civil War photographs of Timothy H. O'Sullivan. What these diverse figures have in common is their attempts to contemplate - perhaps comprehend - modernity, mortality, and morality at the intersection of society and nature, civilization and savagery. Central to and representative of this tradition are the garden cemeteries, such as Mount Auburn near Boston, that were established in antebellum New England.

Yet Arcadian America is not simply a review of literary and artistic works of the Arcadian tradition. Sachs weaves together the lives and thought of nineteenth-century Americans with a memoir of his own experiences with death, illness, self-doubt, sadness, regret, friendship, anxiety, familial relationships, aging, parenthood, and identity. This combination of history and memoir is what makes Arcadian America a creative and unique contribution to the literature on nineteenth-century American environmental thought. Sachs humanizes the figures of the past by juxtaposing their life stories with his own. There is a danger, of course, in attempting to draw parallels between past and present lives, but Sachs avoids forcing explicit comparisons while offering the juxtaposition as a way of illuminating the broader human condition. The "lessonfrom-the-past" that is proposed for readers to contemplate is how nineteenth-century Arcadians both imagined and established landscapes that synthesized the tensions of urban and rural, work and repose, motion and rootedness, life and death, and nature and society. The narrative arc drawn is from the antebellum height of Arcadianism, to reconciliation with the trauma of the Civil War, to the decline of Arcadian thought with the ascendance of Progressivist efficiency, rational management, and utilitarianism. Yet the decline of the tradition did not spell the death of the consciousness cultivated by antebellum writers and artists. Sachs explains, "The Arcadian tradition, though it lost momentum in the last third of the nineteenth century, never died or disappeared, because Americans remained undecided about modernity, and about its tendency to wipe the slate clean and plow under the past and rebuild from the ground up...We have never been entirely modern" (p. 350).

The historical geographer will spot important geographical concepts — cultural landscape, iconography, nature-culture, identity — but these ideas are mostly implicit rather than explicit in the narrative of *Arcadian America*. Sachs acknowledges his debt to the work of William Cronon, but he does not recognize or apply the analytical and theoretical perspectives of relevant geographers such as Denis Cosgrove, John Brinckerhoff Jackson, Wilbur Zelinsky, Donald Mitchell, Robert

David Sack, and the like. Yet it would not be fair to criticize Sachs for not following disciplinary pheromones outside of his area of interest and expertise. Sachs is an American Studies scholar with a rich knowledge of literary and artistic sources, and the historical geographer has much to learn from the touchstones of his field. Hamlin Garland's A Son of the Middle Border (1917), for instance, is rarely on the radar in American historical geography, yet Sachs' exploration of Garland's life and work suggests that such sources can inform geographical understandings of the construction of cultural and symbolic landscapes. In A Son of the Middle Border, Garland "takes a grimly honest look at both the triumphs of frontier development – which were always fleeting, and always fraught – and the clear difficulties of pioneering, the disadvantages of coming of age under a regime of oppressive agricultural labor, far removed from centers of urban culture and intellectual diversity" (p. 215). Similarly, geographers will benefit from greater familiarity with H.W.S. Cleveland. In his treatise Landscape Architecture as Applied to the Wants of the West (1873), for example, Cleveland "went beyond aesthetics, to consider labor conditions, housing patterns, ecology, economics, sanitation, recreation, transportation, and the troubling rise of a distinctly American consumerist capitalism, which seemed likely to have a massive impact on spatial dynamics" (p. 246). Sachs proposes that Cleveland's work represents the first urban planning textbook.

Through his scholarship on the likes of Garland and Cleveland, Sachs reveals the richness of the Arcadian tradition and its potential for application to the field of historical geography. More common to the geographical tradition is the fieldwork that Sachs employs. As he visits cemeteries, Indian burial mounds, and Civil War battlefields, Sachs demonstrates the importance of interacting with such constructed spaces of commemoration. Sachs' use of memoir to reflect upon these spaces is likely to be the most controversial aspect of *Arcadian America*. Sachs is remarkably candid in sharing his personal life as fodder for reflection. Some might question whether this approach is self-indulgent or tangential. At his best though, Sachs offers a model for geographers who strive to incorporate everyday spaces into an understanding of nature-society relations. Sachs provides geographers with a reminder of the need to personalize and reflect upon such experiences and to draw upon the humanities more thoroughly.

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Maps of Paradise. ALESSANDRO SCAFI. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013. Pp. 176, maps, illustrations, index. \$40.00 hardcover. ISBN 978-0-2260-8261-5.

Maps of Paradise is a distillation of Alessandro Scafi's larger 2006 work Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth. Gone are pages of explanatory text, numerous examples, scores of black-and-white illustrations, and scholarly apparatus like endnotes. In their stead is a shortened book with enough verve for a wider audience yet enough scholarship for students and academics. In nine chapters Scafi—lecturer in medieval and Renaissance cultural history at the Warburg Institute, University of London—demonstrates how the idea of paradise was conceived, illustrated, and mapped from ancient times to the present. Each chapter contains several sections of exposition with an array of images, a "Visual Interlude" discussing a particular (and exemplar) map in more detail, and, finally, a short bibliographic essay. The result is a visually impressive and thought-provoking study showing how people perceived, situated, and mapped Eden over time.

The first chapter explores how the ideas of Eden, gardens of delight, and golden ages in the Judaeo-Christian, Greco-Roman, and Islamic worlds blended together to create the notion

of a terrestrial paradise. Scafi scrutinizes and analyzes the Bible, the Quar'an, and classical texts demonstrate the evolving concept of paradise. The word itself is traced from its Median roots as pari-daiza ("a walled enclosure") through Persian, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and the languages of Europe. The second, third, and fourth chapters take paradise from the written word to the cartographic image, describing how mapmakers placed past paradise, an event in space-time (the temptation and fall of Adam and Eve), onto a spatial representation of the world. Scafi contends that though the idea of placing an event on a map may seem odd to the modern mind, it is no different than the idea that satellite map exactly represents the ever-changing surface of the earth. The latter is, like the former, merely a snapshot in time; a representation of the earth, not the earth itself. Scafi uses examples like the 1442 Mapa Mondi of Giovanni Leardo (which shows "paradixo terestro" as a walled city in the farthest east); eleventh- and twelfth-century Beatus maps showing scenes from Genesis in the orient; and the walled Garden of Eden scenes on the easternmost reaches of the Ebstorf world map from the thirteenth century.

It is on these medieval maps of the world (the *mappae mundi*) where Scafi's explanation and analysis really shines. He notes that "On a medieval mappa mundi, a place took its importance from the event that had occurred there" and the location of an "event-place" was "governed by the rule of contiguity, not mathematically measured distance or direction" (p. 56). Thus, the mappae were not meant for travel or exactness, but were storytelling devices, with the beginning out East, at the top (the map is properly "orient-ed"), the more recent past in the middle, and modern times in the West. This is why the terrestrial paradise of Genesis was usually placed on the eastern edge of the landmass. Moving west, many mappae mundi depicted scenes from Persian or Alexandrine history. Around the Holy Land, in Jerusalem, the center of the map, references to Jesus and the crucifixion abound: it is the central event of Western Christian history. Finally, the western edge of the earth shows Europe of the day. The Hereford map, as an example, portrays Eden at the top and then progresses, as the eye moves southward through biblical and secular history with representations of such things as the Tower of Babel, Alexander the Great's camp, and the crucifixion of Jesus. In Europe, contemporary cities and kingdoms dot the landscape. The map also portrays the end of time, with references to the Christian end times and the return of Christ. Such maps, then, were spatial and temporal representations of the world, and the paradise of Eden can, without contradiction, coexist coterminously in time and space with those still living.

Chapters five through eight discuss the mapping of paradise during eras in which maps became more scientifically produced spatial representations of the landscape. As the Renaissance was dawning, mapmakers were incorporating notions of Greek climatic zones, Ptolemaic latitude and longitude, and nautical rigor into their cartography. Where was the Edenic paradise to be exactly placed in such geographies? As maps began to incorporate rhumb lines, graticules, more precise renderings of coastlines, and contemporary knowledge of faraway places, paradise was moved around or removed from the charts of the day. On Fra Mauro's ca. 1450 world map, for instance, Eden is moved to a roundel vignette in the lower left corner of the work. It is divorced from the map itself, as "Fra Mauro's intention was to map the regions of his own day, not to chart the process of humankind's history" (p. 94). Beginning in the late sixteenth century, scholars, theologians, and mapmakers placed the historical paradise in historical Mesopotamia, ferreting out proof in the biblical text and ancient authors. Others used the same clues to advocate for Armenia or the Holy Land as the location of Eden. By the nineteenth century, the paradise of the Bible was seen by many not as a factual truth, but a spiritual metaphor. Historians and archaeologists now sought the sources of Eden in the myths of the ancient civilizations of the Middle East. Although most scholars had abandoned the notion of ever finding the physical paradise, fundamentalist and fringe scholars still came up with theories, and maps, about the location of paradise. Some posited that it was the land under the Indian Ocean, under the Mediterranean Sea, or even in the sky.

Scafi ends his book with a short meditation on maps of Thomas More's *Utopia* and the popularity of a good place ("Eu-topia") that is also no place ("u-topia"), i.e., paradise. Scafi's contention is that the cartography of paradise reveals more about the cultural and intellectual lives of the peoples involved in mapping the place than it does about Eden itself. *Maps of Paradise* is another in a long line of works that portray maps not as just illustrations but cultural artifacts. Because the notion of paradise is so long lived in Western thought, Scafi is able to write both an intellectual history and a history of cartography following one idea through time. *Maps of Paradise* serves as a wonderful and colorful adjunct to those who already have his similar 2006 work *Mapping Paradise*; it is a great introduction for those who are unfamiliar with Scafi's earlier work.

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Women and the Everyday City: Public Space in San Francisco, 1890-1915. JESSICA ELLEN SEWELL. University of Minnesota Press, 2011. Pp. xxxiii+232, maps, diagrams, illustrations, index. \$75.00 cloth. ISBN 978-0-8166-6974-5.

How does a social movement use and shape urban space? How is the movement, in turn, shaped by the space it inhabits and moves through? In *Women and the Everyday City*, Jessica Ellen Sewell approaches these questions at the level of a single city—San Francisco—and sometimes even at the scale of the city block. Combing through diaries, memoirs, city directories, photographs, and advertisements from the period 1890 to 1915 (which covers the 1906 earthquake and aftermath), Sewell invites readers to roam the streets of downtown San Francisco in a woman's boots, learning to read the public built environment for signs of respectability and welcome (upholstered seating, flowers, tea), or their opposites (smoking, alcohol, dark wood). For the first several chapters, Sewell explores the details of women's increasing presence on sidewalks, on public transportation, in shops, in restaurants and cafeterias, in theaters and movie houses, and at parades and public rallies, along with the changing shapes and locations of such places, and the evolving etiquette applied to behavior within them.

Sewell makes good use of women's personal writings, and this grounding in actual everyday experiences is important to her central argument. Throughout the book, the imagined or ideal version of a public space, the built physical version, and the experience of being in that public space, are all held as distinct, but all influencing each other in a complicated dance, which continues into the present. "Women in public are, to an extent, still a source of collective anxiety today," notes Sewell (p. xxiii). Similarly, abundant but carefully selected illustrations (including clear, well-labeled maps) support her arguments throughout, in ways that geographers will certainly appreciate.

Perhaps Sewell's rigid, repeating structure of ideal-built-experienced makes these chapters feel more dissertation-like than some readers might prefer. It is no doubt difficult to make a chapter titled "Errands" (Chapter 2) much more exciting than actual errands are, for most of us. But the cumulative effect of so many well-presented details creates a convincing landscape for the penultimate (and the most successful) chapter, "Spaces of Suffrage." Here, the individual elements are finally added together, and the reader immediately grasps the subtle differences between a "parlor tea" and a "precinct meeting," and how a residential threshold might become a powerfully symbolic location. The clever strategies of suffragists to promote their cause (messages on napkins in ice cream parlors, lectures to the captive audience of passengers on a ferry, for two examples) become more than clever when seen geographically, as efforts to claim public

space. While this reader wanted to know more about how other movements such as labor and temperance compared to (or even informed) the suffrage movement with their own uses of public and private spaces, "Spaces of Suffrage" is a standout chapter that might easily be read on its own, but which draws considerable richness from the chapters that precede it.

Sewell's main actors are all white women in middle adulthood, middle-class or elite in social status. This has obvious limitations. Other researchers have found that age is an important factor in how cities are experienced, but that subject is not raised by Sewell's sources. For classroom use, this book might best be assigned with a book that has a stronger emphasis on race and marginalized women. Susan Craddock's *City of Plagues: Disease, Poverty, and Deviance in San Francisco* (Minnesota University Press 2004), for example, might make an excellent companion reading. Although the focus of Sewell's work is squarely on (some) women's experiences, there is much here to interest scholars beyond feminist geography. Street car design, public transit planning, culinary history, and the history of advertising all play a part in this story. The nearly car-less San Francisco described here may seem alien, or even utopian, to some students, and (like so much in this book) should promote discussions about how cities change, for whom, and why.

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Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans, and the Construction of Difference. JENNY SHAW. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2013. Pp. xv+251, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 paper. ISBN 978-0-8203-4662-5.

In the decades prior to the emergence of the plantation complex characteristic of so many European-held islands in the Caribbean, the region, like many other Atlantic locations of encounter, settlement, and development, was marked by social, cultural, and racial fluidity. Jenny Shaw's study of Irish Catholics in the nascent period of England's Caribbean empire captures this notion perfectly. She begins with the premise that in this shifting social environment, most Irish migrants were viewed as "others" by English elites and consequently accorded a status little different from Africans; both groups were marginalized, and by many measures would fit into the category of unfree labor. How the Irish confronted and worked within long-established English social structures, Shaw contends, allowed them to navigate hierarchies and, ultimately, separate themselves from Africans.

The alltagsgeschichte methodology Shaw employs requires reading into the empty spaces left by archival sources which primarily represent the views of English colonial elites. The daily experiences of both Irish and Africans are, for the most part, missing from the record, and she relies on a creative reading of the sources to build her narrative, focusing on the "presence of absences" and a reliance on an "informed imagination" (p. 9). While the problems with such an approach are evident, happily there are few, if any, instances in which Shaw's suppositions push beyond responsible argument. Telling the story of the lived experiences of Irish West Indians whose ethnicity and social status located them in the nebulous space between freemen and slaves also requires confronting the overriding problem of the institutionalization of the plantation system in the eighteenth-century British West Indies, which set out clear markers of difference based around race and demography: black and enslaved versus white and free. Discovering the Irish space in this didactic world, and reading backwards into the everyday life history of this group, Shaw argues, is essential to illustrating the larger processes through which such a two-tiered hierarchy was created. In so doing, she also calls attention to the smaller, but no less important, social gradations that persisted long after slavery and race became the defining characteristics of otherness.

Shaw begins her study with a look at how the Irish were defined as different by English elites, who accorded them a status of inferiority based on dress, sexual mores, and religion. The same categories were applied to Africans, with the object of preserving a particular labor hierarchy in the pre-slavery period. Before the mass importation of Africans, both they and the Irish were equally critical to the success of the plantation enterprise and thus were viewed similarly insofar as justification of their roles as laborers was concerned. Even so, Shaw traces the beginning of the creation of difference between Irish and Africans to planters' anxieties that both groups might make common cause in rebellion and the creation of separate laws governing slaves and servants. Chapter two is a further elucidation of this argument, exploring the role of the census, and how European races were merged into the singular category "white." While this erasure of European difference served the needs of imperial elites by implying an orderly colonial population, it also provided the Irish with a legitimized means of separation from Africans with whom they shared common life and labor experiences.

Why such an intentional creation of difference seemed necessary is detailed in chapter three as Shaw explores the plantation communities in which both Irish and Africans lived and worked in a creolized milieu of shared experiences. Woven into this tapestry of similarities were shared living spaces, labor activities, and most probably, sexual interrelations. While superficial variances between Africans and Irish existed, such as tastes in food and clothing, this commonality of everyday life sparked English fears of a solidarity that might threaten the established order. To reinforce the concept of difference, Shaw contends that aside from census categories, elites also created disparate regulations and punishments for servants and slaves. By distinguishing Irish servants from African slaves in this fashion, elites began the process of co-opting the Irish through the use of blackness as the primary sign of difference. For the Irish themselves, their whiteness provided a path away from inferior status, and Shaw asserts that the Irish largely accepted this framework, even going so far as to reject extant similarities with Africans in order to free themselves from the label of "white slave."

Yet even with assimilation into the English power structure, the Irish found avenues of resistance that ultimately enhanced their pursuit of societal distance from African slaves. In chapters four and five, Shaw shows how the maintenance, however surreptitious, of Roman Catholic belief, and occasional alliance with rebelling slaves, encouraged the fears of English planters of French or Spanish invasions abetted by Irish Catholics, or slave revolts in which Irish laborers might participate. As such, Shaw argues that the English had more to gain by emphasizing Irish difference from slaves, even at the expense of tolerating a quiet Catholicism and often sparing the Irish from the exceptionally violent reprisals directed against rebellious slaves than enforcing rigid, impermeable social categories. For Shaw, this indicates Irish success at self-definition and status assertion within the spaces created by colonial power structures.

This fascinating study is one of the latest in a decade-plus body of literature on the colonial Caribbean which acknowledges the towering place of race, slavery, and imperialism in its history but also manages to explore the subtleties and nuances that shaped the region's historical experience. While the Caribbean Irish population has received some scholarly attention, notably in works by Hilary Beckles and Donald Akenson, Shaw's study elevates their importance by casting them as lead actors in the shaping of English West Indian culture. Suitable for specialized upper division and graduate courses on the Caribbean or Atlantic World, or courses dealing with race and identity, this work is a welcome addition to the growing scholarship on marginalized populations in one of the most important sites of colonial activity in the Americas.

Imprints on Native Lands: The Miskito-Moravian Settlement Landscape in Honduras. BENJAMIN F. TILLMAN. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2011. Pp. xi+187, maps, photographs, diagrams, tables, appendices, index. \$45.00 cloth. ISBN 978-0-8165-2454-9.

This is a work firmly fixed in the classic tradition of Latin American cultural and historical geography that draws explicitly on the approach of Sauer, West, and Jordan. Based on Tillman's extensive field work in the Honduran Mosquitia, this work serves as one of the best examples of "doing" cultural and historical geography in recent years. Its wellspring is the monograph approach championed by Sauer and others, which identifies the geographer's task as being to choose a piece of territory and study it in detail, becoming intimately familiar with it in terms of the physical, cultural, and historical dimensions to answer the fundamental question "how did this place come to look like this?" Tillman addresses this question, and much more, in this study of the cultural encounter beginning in the 1800s between the Miskito Indians of Honduras and the German-based Moravian Church.

Tillman breaks his study down into six themed chapters, clearly addressing each theme in a comprehensive fashion. After a brief introduction to the field methodology employed in the study, the author begins with a description of the physical environment and the historical background of Mosquitia, which incorporates the Caribbean coast of both Nicaragua and Honduras. This savannah grassland stands in sharp contrast to the tropical highlands that dominate most of Middle America, and has historically been relatively isolated from the influence of the Spanish during the colonial period, opening the door to influences by other European powers. After his description of the physical landscape, Tillman shifts his focus to the Miskito themselves, discussing the various notions of the origins of this people, which incorporates Caribe as well as African influence through the escape of slaves from Caribbean sugar plantations and wrecked slave ships. This historical background is well presented and clearly lays out the ethnogenesis debates concerning the Miskito, as well as their very interesting form of governance. This chapter also introduces the Moravian Church, contextualizing it as part of the Protestant dynamism of Europe in the fifteenth century in general and its growth in Germany, and illuminates the proselytizing drive that brought Moravian missionaries to this corner of Middle America.

With the physical and historical setting laid out, Tillman then explores the various aspects of Miskito culture that have been affected by the arrival of the Moravian missionaries, focusing almost exclusively on the Miskito of Honduras. The treatment follows the classic cultural and historical format of a Berkeley School monograph, including chapters on the settlement landscape, sacred places, house types, the agricultural system, and cemeteries. Using as many primary sources as can be found, each chapter describes and then discusses changes brought about by the arrival of Moravian missionaries. In most cases, the author also discusses changes to each particular aspect of culture—whether settlement form, house types, cemeteries—that have been further affected by changes that have come to Mosquitia due to its encounter with the global economy as well as with the movement of mestizo culture from western Honduras to the east, as land hungry ladinos move into the relatively sparsely settled Mosquito Coast.

To illustrate the various aspects of culture and history in which Tillman is interested, he employs a wealth of photographs, data, and sketches that fully illustrate unique aspects of the Miskito/Moravian landscape. The author also includes appendices that lay out his field work data, including population data, plant names, settlement names, toponyms, and other data, all of which can serve as a touchstone for future researchers. There is even an appendix on the names of house parts used in Mosquitia, including the English, Miskito, and Spanish terms, which will be very helpful to researchers following in Tillman's footsteps.

The greatest strength of this study is its close adherence to the style of the Berkeley/ Louisiana State University/University of Texas cultural and historical geography as practiced by Sauer, West, and Jordan. But, just as this is its greatest strength, it also represents it greatest weakness. Drawn from that classic monograph style of cultural and historical geography, Tillman does not engage at all with the so-called "cultural turn" in geography, which sought to read into the landscape issues of class, gender, race, ideology, and power. Thus, writers critical of the Sauerian approach, including Duncan, Gregory, Jackson, Cosgrove, and Mitchell, are not given a nod. At one level, this is understandable, since those writers can make the formulation of an historical/cultural approach to a place like the Honduran Mosquitia more problematic, but the work represented by these authors could have informed Tillman's conclusion. In particular Tillman implies that in many ways the Miskito of Honduras are undergoing a new colonial encounter as the ladinos move from the highlands to the savannah, demanding access to land and resources that have been held by the Miskito for hundreds of years. How will this new colonial encounter play out? What will be the role of the Catholic Church as it displaces the traditional religious entities, including the Moravians? In addition, the narrative could have been enriched by an encounter with postmodern cultural and historical geography, which in many ways provide a framework for the indigenous mapping projects that Tillman quite rightly states will be critical to Miskito resistance to the encroachment of outsiders into their land.

Theoretical criticisms aside, this work is wonderfully written, clear and cogent, and well-illustrated, which brings the words on the page to life. More importantly, this work serves as a reminder of what field work can accomplish and how it can be presented in a way that sheds light on a place that may have been neglected. Moreover, the author has laid out the historical and landscape changes that have occurred due to movement of Moravian missionaries into the region, and the further changes that may well occur as that influence wanes. This book, then, serves two important purposes: first, as a description of the fascinating cultural and historical geography of a place, and second as a model for how to conduct and present fieldwork to a wide audience. The author makes the Honduran Mosquitia come alive and does something that all well written geography should do: it makes you want to go and see it for yourself.

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Sea Monsters on Medieval and Renaissance Maps. CHET van DUZER. London: The British Library, 2013. Pp. 144, maps, index. 20.00 hardcover. ISBN 978-0-7123-5890-3.

Chet van Duzer boasts an impressive background of cartographic analysis, and in his newest work he turns his attention to the eye-catching but woefully understudied topic of sea monsters on Medieval and Renaissance maps. He defines sea monsters as "an aquatic creature that was thought astonishing and exotic," noting that most originated from the classical idea that each land creature its equivalent in the sea (pp. 8-9). The underlying argument of the work is that cartographers used sea monsters on their maps for two main purposes, to serve as a graphic record of literature, and as decoration (p. 11). In this regard, Duzer offers a sublime examination of the genealogy of individual sea monsters and the artistic techniques of placing them on maps, but ultimately fails to place his analysis in a broader framework which would make the book more accessible to a wider historical audience. As such, the book suffers from a bit of an antiquarian feel.

Sea Monsters is divided into roughly forty distinct topics ranging from the analysis of individual maps, to "How to buy a Sea Monster," and "The Curious Career of the Flying Turtle." Inserted throughout are excursuses which provide an examination of a type of sea monsters, such as whimsical or dangerous ones. These excursuses aside, the book follows a strict chronological order beginning with a brief discussion of classical antecedents before moving on to an analysis of the medieval Mapppaemundi T-O maps, ending at the seventeenth century when sea monsters began disappearing from maps. One wonders, though, if Duzer would have been better served if he was less rigid in this temporal approach, and opted for a geographical or thematic organization. For example, he analyzes two works by the famous cartographer Gerardus Mercator, a 1541 globe and a 1569 world map, but in between these two discussions are sections on remoras, a possible forged globe, sawfish, the Flying Turtle, and a Giacomo Gastaldi map (pp. 86-103). Additionally, two sections on whales are interrupted by a section on "A Nest of Sea Monsters at the Bottom of the World" (pp. 50-54). As most of these sections are rather short, the overall cohesion suffers as the reader darts from topic to topic and location to location.

The organizational issue points to a larger concern, specifically that Duzer could have done better placing his analysis of the maps within a broader framework. Throughout the work there is superb discussion of individual maps, but he does not draw back his lens to focus on the larger picture. There are references to broader implications throughout, but they are only hinted at, and often superficial. For instance he observes a strange paradox where sea monsters were often located on the least explored areas of map, and thus often hindered map improvements as they served to impede travel and exploration (pp. 12-19, 118). He observes that the 1569 Mercator map has no sea monsters positioned above 50° N and most of them were placed in South America and the Pacific as these areas became the new "realms of marvels" (p. 105). Duzer offers these insights without much discussion but it raises obvious questions. How well were these areas explored as of 1569 and how effective were sea monsters in preventing exploration? It is undoubtedly a difficult question to answer, but it is not even addressed.

The above critiques are not intended to be overly critical as the work demonstrates some superb examples of erudition and research. The highlight is Duzer's ability to trace the lineage of these sea monsters, not only from other maps, but from contemporary written sources specifically. Throughout the work he shows how cartographers often incorporated the latest "scientific" publications as the basis for their sea monsters. This is evident with a sea pig depicted on Olaus Magnus' 1539 map. Duzer is able to distinguish this sea pig from similar ones found on a Genoese world map and a Madrid manuscript on Ptolemy's *Geography*, instead he traces the true source to a 1537 pamphlet published in Rome which describes a creature found in the "German Ocean" the same year (p. 85). He employs this standard of scholarship for the all the maps under consideration. It is also refreshing that Duzer is completely transparent about that which he does not know. He concedes that an image of Jonah on a medieval mappamundi "is something of a mystery" and that a nest of sea monsters on a fifteenth century map "is a startling innovation that defies ready explanation" (pp. 19, 54). The other trait which is sure to catch the eye of the readers is the beautiful images. The author and the British Library both deserve great praise for creating such a visually stunning work.

Duzer notes that his work is the first one to treat the topic of sea monsters because of the difficulties associated with the primary sources, so one can sympathize with his struggles. Nevertheless, one feels that this may have been a missed opportunity to really lay the groundwork for future analysis. It is clear that he has the skills necessary for this, as he displays such scholarship and erudition in his treatment of individual maps. A great example of the missed opportunity is in his discussion on Magnus' map of northwestern Europe which contained "the most important and influential sea monsters" of any Renaissance map (p. 81). The Italian scholar Luigi de Anna

has suggested that these monsters were intended to scare off foreign fisherman from Scandinavian waters. Duzer comments only that, "if this intriguing suggestion is correct," then this map had economic significance not shared by other maps (p. 86). The analysis stops there, and the fact that he perceives the idea as "intriguing" rather than profound or insightful hints that he has his reservations, but he fails to elaborate. His conclusion also points to an economic element. Citing a 1625 map which depicts whale fishing he concludes, "whales, the largest creatures in the ocean, are no longer monsters but rather natural marine storehouses of commodities to be harvested" (p. 118). Throughout the work Duzer hints at the connections between sea monsters on maps and broader economic and social trends, but ultimately decides not to expand on their relationship. In short, cartographic specialists will value the erudition, general audiences will appreciate the great imagery, but a general historical audience may not be satisfied.

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Company Towns: Corporate Order and Community. NEIL WHITE. University of Toronto Press, 2012. Pp. xiv+229, index. \$49.50 hardcover. ISBN 978-1-4426-4327-7.

A historical "company town" featured a single corporate employer that owned or managed virtually all local institutions. Company towns were usually established in economically peripheral regions, and while no exact definition of a company town exists, most company towns were closely tied to some extractive industry, such as logging or mining. Existing scholarship on company towns argues homogeneity: the company possessed a legal, economic, and social stranglehold on the day-to-day life of a town's residents, and corporate interests always trumped personal power. The life cycle of a company town around the world would follow the same basic plot: "capitalist expansion, corporate control, and resident dependence" (p. 3).

Neil White challenges this view of uniformity, contesting the "stereotyped view of company towns" (p. 5) that has defined the structuralist approach since the 1970s. White argues that company towns were not at all homogenous, and that individual decisions and decision-makers across the class spectrum played an enormous role on the historical development of a town. The author does not ignore the power of a company or the dependence of a town's residents. Rather, White is able to divorce the corporate displays of power from the everyday experiences of residents.

His thesis is argued through a comparative examination of two company towns: Corner Brook, a pulp and paper mill town in western Newfoundland, Canada and Mount Isa, a remote mining town in the outback of northwestern Queensland, Australia. These two towns were selected for a variety of reasons: both were founded in the early 1920s, both were located in countries that relied heavily on exporting raw materials, both were founded in former British dependencies, and both were closely associated with British capital.

Wider global systems of economic development are apparent. For example, in the first few decades after Corner Brook's founding, a British armament firm, the U.S.-based International Paper, and the Bank of England were just a few of the power brokers financially involved with the town's mill enterprise. Both Corner Brook and Mount Isa were initially dependent on foreign investments for profit, yet in the midst of such palpable external influence, the residents of both company towns possessed agency. This agency was apparent in the decisions made by individuals associated with the town, and White explains additional influences upon each place that were never codified in a formal business plan. Local topography, managerial stubbornness, community reaction, local politics, and even chance shaped future events in each town.

Geography also played an essential role in influencing company towns. Corner Brook was established by a last-minute change to secure better port access to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Mount Isa's mining potential was initially stymied while waiting for a railroad to reach the outback interior. Similarly, both sites were surrounded by unplanned, unaffiliated "fringe towns" beyond the company's authority. Of additional interest is the fact that while the "company" associated with each company town often changed over the years, individual and community actions were mostly unaffected by corporate ownership transactions. Eventually, the companies began to sell company-owned homes and turned away from paternalism by the 1960s as part of a wider global trend towards more efficient corporate systems.

The book contains six major chapters, each with a dominant theme: Corner Brook's industry, Mount Isa's industry, urban morphology, labor, civic life, and personal relationships. The powerful role of the company is seen overtly (in reactions to labor unrest in both communities) and symbolically (in the naming of town streets for corporate executives.)

White's prose is engaging. The narratives of changing commodity prices, economic conditions, and industrial regulations were surprisingly readable. The author is at his best when describing the complex network of social and personal interactions, including the conflict at Mount Isa through the eyes of labor, entrepreneurship and community in Corner Brook, and the demographic situation of Mount Isa and its resulting gendered atmosphere. Intertwined with townspeople's concerns about prohibition or recreation is a retelling of social power that crosses class borders and avoids a simple taxonomy. White notes that "social processes made company towns, and made them distinct from one another" (p. 30), and the author has done a commendable job at expressing these diverse perspectives.

Academic scholarship of company towns has increased in recent years. Margaret Crawford's notable *Building the Workingman's Paradise* (1996) set the stage for the current wave of broad scholarly investigations of company towns, including Hardy Green's *The Company Town* (2010), and *Company Towns in the Americas* (2011), an edited volume by Oliver Dinius and Angela Vergara. Important regional-focused approaches include Linda Carlson's *Company Towns of the Pacific Northwest* (2004). Additionally, many works exist that analyze the history of a single company town, with varying form. White's book artfully finds its place between these broad surveys and specific town histories.

While White has an exemplary approach, the book's overall effectiveness could be enhanced with a wider analysis of additional company towns. Corner Brook and Mount Isa are divergent in location, economy, and social environment, but these sites might benefit from comparison to experiences from company towns in the United States or Latin America. A broader inclusion would enable additional analysis of towns with similar resources: for example, a comparison of Mount Isa to Arizona copper mining towns. However, the author's preemptive rebuttal that a two-town analysis "allowed for a broad and deep engagement with the history of each place" (p. 6) is borne out in the text, and a reader should not object to the two-town model.

White notes that the structuralist approach to understanding company towns "is woefully silent on the human agents and social processes that created community..." (p.7). If the purpose of this book was to rethink the old image of company towns, the author has succeeded. Neil White has effectively argued the diversity in community of the historical company town, and this work holds valuable significance for scholars of historical geography.

The Last Days of the Rainbelt. DAVID J. WISHART. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2013. Pp. xviii+202, maps, charts, graphs, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth. ISBN 978-0-0832-4618-8.

In this twenty-first century it is hard to imagine the central High Plains, part of the western Great Plains, as a region of dense agricultural settlement with booming population growth. Traveling across the region, one is struck by the endless prairie horizons, the smallness of the towns, which are few and far between, and the thinness of the population density. Many counties average less than two people per square mile and most have for decades experienced an overall population decline.

In *The Last Days of the Rainbelt,* David J. Wishart presents a different picture of the High Plains and in the process brings to life a seldom-told story in the region's history. Professor Wishart, a historical geographer at the University of Nebraska – Lincoln, is a highly respected scholar of the Plains. *Historical Geography* readers may already be familiar with his earlier works, including *An Unspeakable Sadness: The Dispossession of the Nebraska Indians* (1994), *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains* (2004), and *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains Indians* (2007). If so, readers will be pleased to know that this new study continues the high-quality scholarship that Wishart is known for.

In the introduction, Professor Wishart explains that during the late nineteenth century, a prevailing scientific notion held that the climate of the Great Plains was being transformed by the process of pioneer settlement. In other words, the semi-arid plains were becoming wetter because farmers were tilling the prairie soil – hence the saying "rain follows the plow." Today, this type of thinking seems preposterous, but in the 1880s, overconfident settlers used it to justify their movement onto the dry, High Plains. Settlers referred to this area as the "Rainbelt" because they expected the rains to come shortly after their arrival.

Following the introduction are four chapters arranged in chronological order. Chapter 1, spanning 1854-1885, details the movement of settlement up to the edge of the Rainbelt. Professor Wishart divides the central Plains into four settlement zones, and focuses his study on the Rainbelt counties of southwestern Nebraska, western Kansas, and eastern Colorado, which are in zone four. He explains that the eastern zones were basically the Midwest extended, especially in terms of farming techniques, which proved woefully unsuited when transferred to western zones. Chapter 2, spanning 1886-1890, details the mad rush by setters into the Rainbelt. It took just five years for Rainbelt counties to triple, and even quadruple, in population. In many areas, new towns and farming communities were founded literally overnight.

Chapter 3 provides a glimpse of life in the Rainbelt around 1890. Professor Wishart describes how settlers found water, built rudimentary homes, planted their first crops, and socialized with distant neighbors. Chapter 4, spanning 1890-1896, details the inevitable failure of Rainbelt settlers and the desertion of their communities. The early 1890s were terrible drought years in the Rainbelt and farmers quickly went under due to repeated crop failures and burdensome debt. Wishart devotes a considerable portion of this chapter to the stories of rainmakers. These men were charlatans and hucksters who, using secret rainmaking machines, defrauded desperate farmers and communities out of tens of thousands of dollars. A short epilogue concludes the study and brings the story of the Rainbelt up to the present time.

Professor Wishart thoroughly mines an impressive collection of sources. Period newspaper accounts, historical climatic data, land office records, county histories, census returns, period government reports, and settler diaries all contribute to his story. A central and indispensable source, though, is a collection of old Rainbelt settler interviews conducted during a five-month period in 1933 and 1934. They were part of a short-lived New Deal program called the Civil Works Administration (CWA). Wishart explains that he came across their leather-bound volumes many

years ago while searching dark corners of the Colorado Historical Society archives. It was that "discovery" which piqued his interest in the Rainbelt. All sources are thoroughly documented with endnotes.

The research in the book is impeccable and Professor Wishart does a masterful job of weaving an engaging narrative out of the many disparate sources. This, I think, is the book's main strength. The value of the CWA interviews cannot be overstated and Wishart acknowledges that they are what differentiates his book from earlier attempts to tell the story of the Rainbelt. For instance, without the CWA interviews, most of what appears in Chapter 3 would have been impossible to recount. The pioneer settler interviews are the best information about the Rainbelt experience and Wishart skillfully weaves facts and insights from them into a cohesive narrative that brings the communities back to life.

Another strength of the book is its presentation. The University of Nebraska Press produced a small (16cm x 24cm) and attractive volume, and priced it affordably. This was probably because of its short length (only 202 pages, plus front matter). I can easily picture this book for sale at a plains historical attraction gift shop or for checkout at a public library. The price, subject, writing quality, and size make it attractive to an educated, popular reader. I regard this as a strength because it always benefits the historical geography discipline to have some of its best work accessible to as wide an audience as possible. And this book accomplishes that.

The one shortcoming of the book that I can identify is, unfortunately, a result of its attractive presentation. Sixteen custom maps are used in support and all are critical for understanding the research. But because of the small format, they are printed at a very small scale and therefore can be hard to read. The same is true of fourteen period photographs. My eyesight is better than someone of advanced age (though I am no longer a teenager, either) and even I had difficulty reading the small text and details. But this shortcoming is relatively minor and easily outweighed by the book's numerous strengths. I highly recommend it.

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