

Waller, P.J. *Town, City, and Nation: England 1850-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983. Pp. 339. \$14.25

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life of the town's residents that documents cannot reveal. Excavations in a variety of house lots, the parish church, and a former Indian settlement, reveal fascinating details of everyday life, diet, social customs, community relations, Indian life, and burial practices. Often the archaeological data permit the scholar to correct (and certainly to augment) the documentary record by the colonists. As one example: the settlers frequently complained in reports to Spain of the necessity of eating dogs, cats, and rats when food supplies were low. Yet the archaeological study of household trash pits reveals no evidence of consumption of such unappealing fare. It does reveal, however, considerable monotony of diet and the absence of preferred foodstuffs, at least for the poor. It was not so much that people were starving, rather, they had to eat indigenous products such as fish and corn rather than "Hispanic" foods such as beef, pork, and wine. St. Augustinians, like many other Spanish colonists, faced the need to convert from what in Mexico is called the "wheat culture" (meaning European) to the "corn culture" (meaning American), and this was socially less desirable. Excavation of the parish council and its yard, which was used by both the Spanish and later the British settlers, shows fascinating differences between Spanish and English burial practices, reflecting religious distinctions.

Much of the information about social relations between the classes is facilitated by the fact that eighteenth-century maps reveal the ownership of each city lot. When the cession to Britain occurred, all of the Spanish and even the Indian residents of St. Augustine withdrew, and it was necessary to establish ownership for the purpose of transferring deeds to the English settlers. This makes it possible, after the study of parish records which indicate the individual's ethnic status, to compare the lifestyle of colonists from differing social levels.

Thus the archaeological artifacts from a poor mestizo or creole household can be compared to those from a wealthier creole household. It is even possible to trace the process of acculturation and adaptation in this racially mixed society by comparing household artifacts between the various classes. The Indian women who married the Spanish garrison soldiers were, of course, the instruments of acculturation, and this study reveals differences between the kinds of adaptation of men compared to women. Anything "Spanish" was socially more acceptable than anything indigenous. Each household exhibited a distinction between its street face and its inner face. The front rooms uncover European ware, such as Spanish or Mexican majolica ceramics, brass buttons, jewelry; while the kitchen areas that stood separate from the houses in the back yards reveal Indian ceramics and indigenous cooking techniques. As Deagan points out, historical archaeology permits us to observe both what people did and what they said they did.

The volume is well illustrated with photographs, maps, drawings, and tables of data. The archaeological methodol-

ogy is clearly explained, and frequent comparisons are made with archaeological findings at early colonial British settlements in Georgia and South Carolina. Though somewhat marred by repetition, this book is a satisfying and convincing example of the uses and value of historical archaeology in the urban setting.

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Waller, P.J. *Town, City, and Nation: England 1850-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983. Pp. 339. \$14.25.

P. J. Waller begins this book by asking whether a distinct urban history is possible: "How can the study of towns and cities supply a sharp focus for the discrimination of particular trends when the urban condition was common to most people at this time?" (p. vii). He answers that, as pervasive as urbanization was in England during the post-1850 period, it is still an open question how far it went in various areas — geographic, economic, cultural, social, and political. Furthermore, urbanization was not monolithic: urban experiences, influences, functions, and dysfunctions varied within and among towns. The most persuasive argument for the viability of urban history is, of course, this book itself: "History is concentrated in towns quite as obviously as in courts, cabinets, and parliaments. The history is there: it is another matter to extract and interpret it" (p. 318). Waller extracts much and his interpretations question prevalent stereotypes in English historiography and advance the definition of urban history itself.

This is true despite the fact that Waller does not succeed in defining the unit of his analysis — the town. In chapter one he tries various numerical measures: "In 1901 there were 361 towns each with 10-15,000 people, 39 large towns each with 50-100,000 people, 23 cities each with 100-200,000 people, 14 large cities each with populations of between 200,000 and a million, and one, London, with a population greater than a million" (p. 6). But such definitions ignore "places which remained small and relatively undeveloped, that nonetheless furnished for their dependent rural areas some urban services, primarily a market, additionally specific industrial or technical facilities" (p. 4). Throughout the text, Waller skillfully introduces relevant statistics, but these are always only a first step toward discerning "similar entities, common functions, and shared problems amid the singular histories" (p. 11) of towns and cities. In many cases the problems that urban historians examine have been posed by sociologists (especially the rural-urban dichotomy), geographers (spatial form, site choice, transport change), and economists (fiscal policies of central and local government). This appears to be a definition of towns by specifying the

disciplines that have studied towns, an obviously circular beginning. But it is a virtuous circle that spins off the set of problems to be considered.

The inquiry proper begins in chapter two, on London, "a plural city which encompassed almost every type of city and was supreme in each" (p. 24). Much of the story concerns the disaggregation of political authority in London, with its seven central bodies (such as the London City Council) and 94 local bodies. As Waller argues "increasingly controlling others in social and economic concerns, Londoners were incapable of controlling themselves politically, in the sense that one big authority was unrealized" (p. 66). Moreover "the root problem was that inability to marshal London opinion which was at once the attraction of London socially and its curse politically" (p. 58).

Chapter three, "Great Cities and Manufacturing Towns of the Conurbations" (using Patrick Geddes's term for town aggregates) identifies forces toward amalgamation, federation, and cooperation in business, society, and government, as well as partisan forces of class, religion, politics, and local patriotism. According to Waller, Jane Jacob's claim that diversification rather than specialization causes sustained growth is not true in every case. Waller makes forays into literature in relation to the ethos of a place: "Townscapes animated art and literature with fresh perspectives and, it may be, threw them into moral confusion" (p. 99). Sports was a focus of urban experience, and politics had the task of purging "two ugly features — cliquish and self-elected wire-pullers, and atomized and directionless mobs" (p. 110). The Labour Party, trade unions, female employment, and political education are discussed as overthrowing traditional distinctions and setting up new forces of social organization.

Chapter four, "New Growths," covers the history of pleasure resorts, "more complicated than a study of property tycoons or corporations sniffing ozone and cashing in on an inevitable boom" (p. 139), and the growth of suburbs, railways, and satellite towns. The fault with planning for all these was that planners were one-dimensional: "Architects concentrated on house-building, engineers on roads, and so forth" (p. 171). Chapter five traces a continuum between urban and rural areas. A treatment of local and central government in chapter six leads to the conclusion that it is in the context of "expanding functions and straitened resources that debates about centrism versus localism should be focused, because this in many respects decided the distribution of authority" (p. 255). Waller believes the central government not only "insufficiently stimulated negligent authorities and fastidiously dampened enterprising authorities," but also lacked "nerve" dealing with local authorities (p. 280). Chapter seven, on municipal councils and municipal services, concludes: "It seemed that half the citizenry was wanting the municipal authority to do what it could not do, and the other half was wanting it to stop what it could do" (p. 316).

Much of the force of Waller's arguments lies in his forceful opposition to existing generalizations. He calls for a variety of types of cities and broader classifications than single-category theories, but his particularistic consciousness defeats him in any effort to propose typologies. Generalizations are hardly tenable, he says, and theoretical hypotheses, even less so: Waller aggregates phenomena primarily by a subtle play of comparison and contrast, continuities and distinctions. Such functional interrelations are doubtless an advance over atomistic and positivistic urban theories on the one hand, or more purely theory-driven accounts on the other, but further advances in urban history will require a more complex interweaving of social-science theories with the data. This book is a comprehensive view of its subject, but its scope does not allow for depth on all points: only about six pages are devoted to crime, for example.

Waller calls this a work of "synthesis, constructed chiefly from the labours of many scholars" (p. viii), but it has few textual references, no notes, and a skimpy bibliography that does not include all scholars mentioned in the text. The creation of social coherence and community, so much a preoccupation of the book, would have been aided among urban historians by a fuller scholarly apparatus.

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Daunton, M. J. *House and Home in the Victorian City: Working Class 1850-1914*. London: Edward Arnold, 1983. Illustrated. \$65.00 U.S.

A feast of excellent books has appeared over the past few years on various aspects of land and housing in Victorian and Edwardian England: Cannadine, Offer, Swennarton, Muthesius, Englander. All of them should be read not just by urban historians of Britain, but by every historian of modern Britain. They have made it impossible to ignore any longer the political, economic and social centrality of their subject. Non-British urban historians cannot of course be expected to perform this task, but fortunately here is one book which incorporates much of the very latest work, taking issue with it at times, as well as making its own significant and original contribution.

Daunton argues that most approaches to the history of housing in modern Britain have been informed by the assumption of the inevitability of subsidization. What happened to happen has been presented as an almost unavoidable outcome. The result has been a teleological history which has tended to ignore the way the housing market actually functioned, and how people actually lived under what has come to be seen as a somewhat pathological system — land-