

Book reviews

Allan Mitchell, *The Great Train Race: Railways and the Franco-German Rivalry*, Berghahn Books, Oxford and New York (2000), 344 pp., £47.00 (US\$69.95), ISBN 157181 166 4

The aim of producing a comparative history of various nations' railway systems has been a goal in railway history from the earliest days. In *The Great Train Race* Allan Mitchell provides a comprehensive yet comprehensible vision of the development of the French and German railway systems, from their inception in 1815 to the outbreak of the First World War. Mitchell focuses on the role the railway played in the growth of economic and military rivalry between these emerging European powers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *The Great Train Race* also provides a highly integrated view of the emergence of these nations' railway systems; presenting a vision of railway history where the railway is seen in its wider context and not just as a purely technological or physical force working in isolation. As a result, Mitchell's comparative vision encompasses more than the rivalry between the two nations' railway networks in the years before the war, it also provides a detailed understanding of how the two very different railway systems emerged from the wider political, institutional and economic histories of these two states.

Commencing his analysis by posing the question of how 'comparative history' might be conducted in this context, Mitchell argues that the railway systems in France and Germany were of a 'mixed' type, combinations of private and public enterprise and investment, being neither virtually 'unfettered private enterprise', as in Britain, nor 'unified, tightly [government] controlled' systems as was the case for Belgium. The types of railway system adopted in France and Germany were also products of changing

government structure: in France, the rise and fall of different monarchies and republics; in Germany the tension between the various states and their unification under Prussian hegemony.

This mix between private and public in France and Germany was, however, significantly different, a result of their varying political and economic fortunes in a century that saw dramatic transformation for both nations. In this, national economic and military rivalries were of key importance. The realisation that the railway would be of vital importance to national defence and waging war was not immediate, however, emerging only gradually as each nation built its railway network. Despite the title *The Great Train Race* and subtitles such as 'The signals are set' and 'Internal and international tensions', references to the arms race and the role that railway development played in it, Mitchell's analysis is never teleological. He makes it clear from the start that the rivalry took time and wider circumstances to emerge, the outcome being uncertain until later in the nineteenth century.

Skilfully setting his study within a wider understanding of the changing nature of the French and German states through three periods (1815–70, 1870–90 and 1890–1914), Mitchell produces a typology of the structure, organisational form and economic/financial nature of the two nations' railway systems, commenting on how railway technology was adopted and adapted in these different scenarios. He also defines the changing relations between state and railway companies in France and Germany, envisaging a complex pattern of 'attack' and 'counter-attack' between government and railway enterprise as they rival one another for the degree of control (and level of investment) they provide for their nations' railway systems. In this the changing military needs of the two nations play a vital role as German unification with Prussia at the helm led to

increased friction and the invasions of France in 1870 and 1914.

Throughout the book Mitchell's work is based on painstaking and difficult research. (His account of investigating the history of the two nations' railway systems at record offices in the capital cities and out in the provinces, both before and after the 'Fall of the Wall', is illuminating and a timely reminder of the vicissitudes of historical research.) It also draws on a voluminous and highly integrated understanding of political and economic history.

The Great Train Race may neglect to consider the role of the railway in shaping the city, especially the capital, in its focus on the relationship between centre and periphery, but it does present a rich and understandable overview of the emergence of France's and Germany's railway systems and their links with government and military needs. The book provides an excellent model for researching and writing comparative railway histories. Such analyses of the relationship between state and railway are rare events in railway historiography, where monographic studies of railway companies abound and the development of railway systems in specific countries is relatively neglected. An account where the impact of political and economic factors, the adoption of technology, the organisational structure and the changing fortunes of nations' railways and their support for the nation's military endeavours is even rarer.

Di Drummond, Trinity and All Saints'
College, Leeds

John E. Clark, Jr, *Railroads in the Civil War: the Impact of Management on Victory and Defeat*, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge LA (2001), 290 pp., US\$34.95, ISBN 0 8071 2726 4

The Confederacy would have won the Civil War had it not been for the incompetence of a small number of inept southern railroad officials. In September 1863, as the fate of Chattanooga Tennessee hung in the balance, the Confederacy moved Longstreet's Corps from

Virginia to northern Georgia by rail, while the Union responded by transporting its 11th and 12th Corps from Virginia to southern Tennessee. Railroads thus became a crucial element in modern warfare. According to John Clark, Jr, this particular rail movement may have been the critical event of the Civil War, ultimately allowing Union forces to capture Atlanta before the 1864 presidential election. In his analysis, skilled northern railway officials mastered both the theory and the concept of logistics, itself a key element of modern warfare. Their southern counterparts understood neither logistics nor the basics of railroad operation, and their failure cost the Confederacy both the battle and the war. While Clark provides a well researched and provocative account of rail transport in the Civil War, his heavy counterfactual emphasis (there are a great many 'could haves' and 'should haves' in this book) places too much importance on one event while paying too little attention to the broader context of American railway development.

The book is at its best when describing the Union and Confederate railroad mobilisation efforts. Under the direction of Secretary of War (and railroad executive) Thomas Scott, the north received priority treatment for military personnel, and in turn guaranteed generous profits to the railroads. Confederate payments fell short of the cost of transport, however, and southern railroads were neither forced nor inclined to interrupt their regular traffic for special military movements. He notes that the Confederacy made a number of other serious mistakes in organising its railroad network for war. Military service drained away skilled railway workers. More significantly, the absence of physical connections at key railway junctions required laborious transfers of troops and supplies, and prevented railroads from loaning each other locomotives and cars.

The ultimate responsibility for all of these problems rested with southern railroad executives who failed to coordinate rail transport, failed to share equipment, failed to allocate sufficient space for troops and war materiel, failed

to keep their railroads in good working order, and failed to operate trains in a safe and efficient manner. The Confederate government in Richmond was equally inept, understanding little about mobilisation and transport issues, and unwilling to impose a co-ordinated rail transport policy.

At the other extreme, Clark is clearly in awe of the no-nonsense practicality and the can-do efficiency of northern railroad officials. They met the needs of the Union army without allowing military officers or politicians to control rail movements; they demonstrated seamless co-operation between military and railroad personnel; and they assembled equipment with astonishing speed, moving thousands of troops quickly and safely.

There can be little doubt that the Union moved its soldiers to Chattanooga with far more skill and efficiency than the Confederacy, but inept management may have been the least of the Confederacy's problems. By 1860 northern railroads had evolved into a heavily capitalised and high-throughput system that linked together major urban markets. In the South, railroads generally augmented river transport as a mechanism for moving bulk agricultural commodities from the interior to the coast. Since southern railroads interchanged relatively little freight, they had scant incentive to overcome the economic and political obstacles that retarded the construction of connecting lines in urban areas. (Many similar gaps existed in northern cities as well.) Clark asserts that the Confederacy should have closed these short gaps. This would have facilitated troop movements, but Clark misses the larger problem with the southern rail network. Tracks and equipment were in such poor condition that trains moved at a low rate of speed; this drastic reduction in 'throughput' required a corresponding increase in equipment. Using connecting lines to transfer equipment from one railroad to another would only have aggravated the problem by clogging the southern lines with even larger numbers of slow-moving trains. In other words, the failure of southern railroads in wartime had little to do with 'inept' management and

everything to do with the pre-war financing and construction of the railroads. Far from excoriating the southern railway executives who 'lost' the Civil War, we should acknowledge their remarkable effectiveness in moving anything anywhere at all.

Clark does acknowledge the differences in northern and southern railway development during the antebellum period. But much of this information is superficially drawn from secondary sources. Clark seems to want to get this background material out of the way, so that he can get on to the business of moving Confederate and Union troops to Chattanooga. And that is a thrilling story, and a well researched narrative (Clark must have consulted every letter, diary, newspaper article, and military account of this troop movement), but his evident knowledge and enthusiasm perhaps get the better of him when he suggests that the outcome of the Civil War hinged on the one event, and that the outcome of that event in turn hinged on the actions of competent northern railroaders and their incompetent southern counterparts. While Clark is to be commended for the thoroughness of his research, the book would benefit immensely from a close and careful interweaving of wartime troop movements with a detailed analysis of the organisation, promotion, financing, and construction of southern railroads, and from a deeper understanding of the complex relationship between railroads and the political economy of the antebellum South. It requires a comprehensive treatment of the political, economic, and social implications of southern railway development before the Civil War to fully illuminate what went wrong during the Civil War.

Albert Churella, Southern Polytechnic
State University, Georgia

Corey T. Lesseig, *Automobility: Social Change and the American South, 1909–1939*, Routledge, New York (2001), 142 pp., US\$80.00, ISBN 0815333439

Scholars of the South will be misled by the title. The book is not so comprehensive but rather shows how the automobile found a home on the streets and rural roads of Mississippi, and the ways in which the new technology affected public policy, economy, and social life statewide. To Lesseig's credit, each step of Mississippi's adaptation to the automobile, and acclimatisation to the ensuing new environment shaped by it, is placed in the larger contexts of southern experience with the automobile and the national discussion of the auto's place in everyday life. The aim of the book is not to argue for uniqueness of Mississippian automobile experience, but rather to demonstrate the variety of ways the auto brought about change to this southern state.

This slim volume examines Mississippi's automobility by first understanding the automobile's transformation from 'oddity to ordinary' in the perception of Mississippi residents. Some readers might take issue with an approach that intertwines Mississippians' memories of their first encounters with an auto, often humorous or calamitous events, with fictional descriptions from Faulkner that appear to draw on those same events. All of the stories point to a way of life that was changing, in no small part due to the new technology, and Lesseig excavates the anecdotes and finds in the record the cases, the policies, and the public debate surrounding these incidents. Issues of safety were of primary concern, but Lesseig argues that also at stake was the way of life. As he writes of one passage from Faulkner, 'the automobile serves as the embodiment of the fast-paced, violent, impersonal, mechanized modernism invading the placid Old South' (p. 18).

Throughout the rest of *Automobility* Lesseig shows how change came to Mississippi in many forms and how those forms were shaped by the automobile. In

the third chapter, entitled 'From buggies to Buicks', Lesseig traces the role of the car dealer in brokering the new technology to a horse-and-buggy public. This fascinating account of dealership history shows that while Mississippi did have some automobile dealers relocate from out of state, local businessmen often provided the community link between new car and consumer. The next chapter presents the tricky question of which came first, the automobile or the road. According to Lesseig, the 'Good Roads' campaign in Mississippi arose in response to the demands of automobilists in the state. *Automobility* puts Mississippi alongside other states in showing that a combination of auto-owner political power and federal funds finally put a network of paved roads on the state map.

In a very provocative chapter Lesseig discusses the change brought to Mississippi schools by the new technology. Rural schools and one-room schoolhouses were consolidated as a result of a new ability to bus children to larger schools. Money spent maintaining multiple buildings at multiple sites could now be pooled to offer better education to the students. And, while education did improve in Mississippi after the introduction of the automobile, Lesseig shows, however, that the new consolidation policy benefited white upper-class children in the richer parts of the state and had a deleterious effect on poor white children in poorer parts of the state, and on, especially, poor black children in all parts of the state. It is an argument that speaks to the liberating capabilities of the new technology as well as the automobile's potential to isolate and restrict.

Automobility also shows how the new technology expanded Mississippians' social practices. The isolation of rural life could be ameliorated with a visit to friends or shopping in the nearby town. Rural churches experienced a decline in number as automobiles allowed people a wider selection of churches, sometimes in the nearby town. The few farm labourers who could save enough money to purchase a car – although some would pool money with other workers – were

able to seek work in other areas of Mississippi or leave the state in search of better jobs elsewhere. And the even fewer blacks that obtained a car found the road to be the only space where they had any sense of equality, however limited that space might be.

The book would benefit from more discussion of the automobile's effect, or lack thereof, on black Mississippians' living conditions. The chapter that focuses on school consolidation goes to great lengths to discuss the lack of significant benefit of busing for black children, but the other social areas covered in the other chapters need similar coverage as well. Information on black automobile ownership and more discussion of the auto's role in assisting Mississippi blacks defeat Jim Crow through out-state migration would be very welcome.

Still, *Automobility* provides scholars of the American South detail and insight into the automobile's role in transforming early twentieth-century Mississippi. Automobile historians will welcome the contribution of a focused investigation of its introduction in a new context. Scholars in both fields will come away wanting similar volumes on the other states of the American South as well.

Francis Desiderio, Emory University

Glenn Lyons and Kiron Chatterjee (eds), *Transport Lessons from the Fuel Tax Protests of 2000*, Transport and Society series, Ashgate, Aldershot (2000), 364 pp., £55.00 (US\$99.95), ISBN 0 7546 1844 7

As a contribution to knowledge this book is outstandingly welcome and its value will remain substantial for all who seek to understand 'what happened and why'. Sponsorship of the research by the Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council was matched by readiness to underwrite the costs by the Transportation Research Group of Southampton University. The twenty-four people who carried out the work deserve every compliment, not least in producing a very readable study.

It is divided into three sections: 'An appreciation of the roots of the fuel tax crisis' comprises five papers, followed by 'Empirical evidence of the impacts of a fuel shortage', with five more, and to conclude there are four papers headed 'Learning from crises'. The team earn every respect for producing the results of their work within two years of the event, and the editors and publishers are to be congratulated for bringing the book to the market so promptly. Neither is the work limited to the United Kingdom; insights into Irish and especially French experiences are most welcome.

This is a good example of how important it is to turn to reliable 'contemporary history' when we seek to understand what has happened in the way things have developed at some stage in the past. If there is one period that transport and social historians of the future will study with the greatest need for insight it is surely the Age of the Motor Car, which has seen changes in society that have so much exceeded those that accompanied the age of steam. From being a plaything of the rich the private car had become the status symbol of the middle classes by the 1930s as mass production made it more widely affordable. After 1960 the low unit costs associated with ever greater output combined with the growth of hire-purchase to make the car an all-purpose mode of transport and a working-class necessity. Ownership of a car, which has become normal for the great majority of households in Britain and elsewhere in the developed world, has led to the breakdown of local communities, the severance of families, the development of supermarkets and 'outlets' sited away from areas of settlement and, symbolically in a way, the demise of the corner shop. Choice of employment has been greatly widened. Ironically, the continued existence of 'museum lines' by railway enthusiasts depends entirely upon access by car.

When the end of the twentieth century saw vehement protests as fuel taxes were sharply increased, the social importance of the private car was brought into focus. There is a certain anti-car attitude today which seems to regard this vital part of

the existing transport system as a middle-class luxury. In the background there lies the disputed problem known as global warming, which gave rise to the tax increase, and in their papers 'Stages of change in drivers' willingness to reduce car use' (Part 9, pp. 183–204) the authors address this. There they refer to Goodwin's analysis of 1995, which identifies the number of journeys that do not of necessity require the use of a car.

The volume of research that went into the preparation of the fourteen papers that comprise the book is most impressive. The strength of the fuel tax protest caught the establishment and the media largely by surprise, and the book reflects this in many ways. In Part 2 ('Pro-car or anti-car? Environment, economy and liberty in the UK transport debates') the issues are debated in some depth. The situation for freight transport and logistics is the subject of Part 10 (pp. 205–19, 'Effective fuel management in road transport fleets') but the main emphasis of the research concerns the use of the car.

Ample statistical data and good referencing make the book a most valuable record of what actually happened in September 2000, and the underlying causes of the problem are addressed. The political issues concerning a regressive and sumptuary tax which itself accounts for some three-quarters of the retail price of petrol will concern economic and social historians for some time to come. For the transport historian the contribution of the fourteen papers that make up the book may perhaps seem to be limited, inevitably, by the focus of the researchers upon a part of the industry at a crisis point in time, but when seen in a wider context it comes to the centre of attention.

The transport industry has been changed much more substantially since the 1960s than ever before, but everyday wisdom has yet to recognise that the car is just another means of transport and not 'something else'. Bus industry managers failed to see that the car was to be their main competitor, and resorted to managed decline until great harm had been done. The downward pressure on prices for new and second-hand cars and the low labour cost that cars require

make for their continued popularity, while for the average motorist with a full tank of petrol the next trip will be seen as having zero marginal cost, over and above that which applies to the actual use of the scarce commodity of road space. Historians may regret that these issues were not foreseen, but the investigation of what eventually happened will be able to make good use of this praiseworthy work of analysis.

John Hibbs, University of Central England

Colin Divall and Winstan Bond (eds), *Suburbanizing the Masses: Public Transport and Urban Development in Historical Perspective*, Ashgate, Aldershot (2003), 327 pp., £57.50, ISBN 0 7546 0775 5

This well illustrated and wide-ranging collection of articles on urban transport history is another indication that insularity among British transport historians is rapidly waning. The introductory essay by Colin Divall and Barbara Schmucki is required reading, both as a guide to recent American and European sources on urban transport history and for its account of cutting-edge transport historiography. Among the recent trends highlighted are the treatment of urban transport as a system of competing modes rather than a succession of discrete technological innovations, and the aspiration to consider it from a consumer rather than a producer perspective. Above all, the notion of the 'mutual shaping' of transport and society suggests a much needed Hegelian resolution of the thesis of technological determinism and the antithesis of social constructionism; it could well prove a sharper tool of analysis than the prevailing multi-factorial contextualisation that can indeed risk 'discounting altogether the constraints and possibilities inherent in the material reality of any technology' (p. 6).

This historiographical prospectus necessarily looks somewhat ahead of the sum contribution of the papers, most of which have a traditional producer emphasis, though usually with a well developed

sense of national, cultural and economic context. The first paper, by Paolo Capuzzo, on the lead theme of the relationship between transport innovation and suburban growth stands out for its sweep of the European stage, a comparative *tour de force* that matches specific mixes of urban transport to differing national economic, cultural and political conditions. Dieter Schott offers a more focused comparative explication of the political, economic and ideological influences on urban transport provision in three cities of the Rhine valley. Contexts are sometimes less evident: this reviewer, mindful of the dramatic impact of Soviet ideology on urban transport choices and urban planning, looked expectantly to the contributions on Poland by Jacek Wesołowski and (in a comparative way) East Germany by Barbara Schmucki. Schmucki's analysis is strikingly contemporary in its insistence on the primacy of (male-dominated) discourse paradigms in explaining the similarity of traffic engineering practice on both sides of a divided Germany. Despite the communality of practice demonstrated, contexts, admittedly international rather than national, are nevertheless necessary to explain shifts in the shared paradigms. Less convincing is the near inaudibility of the tumult of twentieth-century Polish history and political change in Wesołowski's account of suburban railways.

Some topics that are more traditionally single-mode, and sometimes single-city, are nevertheless fittingly contextualised: for example, Lesley Whitworth's comprehensive account of the local politics of bus services in 1930s Coventry, Robert Post's engaging debunking of the 'juice-fan' sentiment lurking behind the fashionable revival of tramways in Los Angeles and Ralph Harrington's original cultural study of the various means by which urban identities were invested in public transport systems (mainly tramways). Instances of a more inter-modal approach, adding to Capuzzo's and Schott's papers, are found in Tomas Ekman's study of Stockholm and Tony Carr's of the industrial new town of Middlesbrough. Ekman fruitfully contrasts the political and economic dimen-

sions of two widely separated transport schemes intended to solve Stockholm's congestion problems: an underground railway in 1941 and then motorway construction in 1992. Tony Carr not only reminds us of the contribution to urbanisation of ferries, steamboats and bridges but also shows how prior transport choices could adversely affect the implementation of subsequent innovations.

Exploration of Ruth Cowan's 'consumption junction' turns out to be somewhat restricted, understandably, as a deafening silence is the usual historical legacy of urban transport customers. Inference from producer and official records often has to suffice, as Whitworth points out. The consumer viewpoint, partly derived from oral history sources, is certainly present in her own study of Coventry in support of a critique of the Transport Committee's gender-blindness; it also informs Post's similarly gender-aware treatment of the Los Angeles streetcars, which juxtaposes male nostalgia for the mode with female passengers' distrust of this 'menacing male space' (p. 200). But the outstanding contribution in the collection on the consumption of urban transport is surely the revisionist piece by John H. Hepp IV on middle-class use of the Philadelphia tramways to create congenial spaces within the limits of the city; this is intended as a corrective to the standard account of middle-class flight to the suburbs fuelled by electricity and by prejudice, of a class and ethnic stamp. Hepp's exemplary trawling of diaries, memoirs, oral histories, maps, photographs, city guides and directories and census data enables him to reconstruct the journeys of individuals and their families, and points the way for scholarship in the challenging field of the social history of transport. Readers should not be led by the main title of the volume to expect a comprehensive treatment of the relations of transport and (sub)urban development. Only the first (but largest) of the three parts is explicitly devoted to this theme, though the later article by Hepp is also closely connected with it. The final two contributions, by Margaret Walsh on US intercity bus terminals and Jilly Traganou on multi-

purpose Japanese railway stations, while fascinating as studies in the *urban history* of transport, may be overstretching ordinary conceptions of the *history of urban* transport. Of the articles directly on the theme of urban transport and (sub)urban development, analyses sometimes hinge on rather different definitions of a 'sub-urb' and 'suburbanisation' (Capuzzo, p. 24; Wesołowski, p. 101; Carr, p. 123; Hepp, somewhat at odds with himself on pp. 233 and 248). Monographic depth is also unavoidably lacking on the causal pathways between the collection's two main variables. Wesołowski characterises as 'chicken and egg' (p. 102) the contribution of cultural preferences and technological choices in the perennial contrast between compact, high-rise European cities and low-rise low-density English settlements. Further, more fine-grained research, within a comparative framework, such as that offered by Capuzzo, is required to elucidate this crucial relationship. The welcome arrival of this collection should provide a fillip to further research into this and other important issues it raises – for example, Winstan Bond (dealing with the United States) versus Capuzzo (comparing Amsterdam with Vienna) on the relevance of flat and graduated fare structures to the spatial manifestation of suburbanisation. It signally augments and updates the literature pioneered by Theo Barker, who back in 1997 opened the conference at York from which most of the book's contents issued but sadly failed to see the end product that is dedicated to his memory.

Colin Chant, Open University

Ralf Roth and Marie-Noelle Polino (eds), *The City and the Railway in Europe*, Ashgate, Aldershot (2003), 324 pp., £45.00, ISBN 0 7546 0766 6

Relations between the city and the railway are so complex, difficult to measure and underrepresented in urban studies that every initiative aimed at tackling the problem is welcome. The book comprises fourteen papers written by scholars from eleven countries. The papers deal with a wide range of economic,

social, political and spatial aspects of railways in the urban realm. Pleasingly, they step beyond more familiar areas to include the Levant and Siberia, for instance. There is also a well referenced analysis of present-day research in the introduction.

Roth examines railway development in German cities, particularly Berlin, while Swett discusses the role of Berlin's railways and stations in the city's social life; the *Hochbahn* was originally conceived for better-off patrons. But, while reading how railways changed urban life, one cannot refrain from observing they were not the only factor. Railway historians tend to overlook the importance of trams and buses, and it may be argued that street transport was as effective in stimulating urbanisation. The effectiveness of railways in stimulating urban expansion was a result of physical accessibility and relative competitiveness in journey times and fares. The longer the distance the greater the role they played as a catalyst. The reader may feel confused when trying to understand the 1927 patronage data: there could not have been 600,000 passengers on the *U-Bahn* and *S-Bahn* combined and nearly a million on city and regional lines. It is the latter that were actually called the *S-Bahn*, but not earlier than 1930, when the name was coined.

The chapter on Portugal shows that in some socio-economic circumstances railways did not exert much impact on urban development. Porto and Lisbon grew substantially but, judging from the map, only Lisbon was the true focus of railway construction. Indeed, there were cities like Łódź in Poland that became manufacturing centres while being provided with just one branch line. On the other hand there were countryside junctions that never developed beyond the rank of railway servicing townships. Generally the book offers no clear diagnosis of what caused the disproportion of railway development and traffic between the richer and poorer nations of Europe. Although railways were built in every corner of the continent, they were not the same.

Likewise the book sticks too easily to stereotypes. One is the belief that cities

could not develop freely because of the railways. Giuntini refers to Milan's first Centrale Station and its facilities actually 'squeezing' the city, while on the map one can see the abundance of space for development in the proximity of the medieval structure. This suggests the railway stimulated growth, instead of arresting it, with stations acting as magnets. Also, claims that lines became spatial barriers need more proof – one can think of numerous cities, such as Edinburgh and Berlin, where viaducts or cuttings worked successfully. Milan's experience was by no means exceptional – it was the solution of relegating the railway to a distant terminus that was curious.

The Prague chapter sheds light on railway planning at the advent of the Motor Age. Modernist thinking pushed the railway from the centre and eventually gave rise to the Holešovice station, a big suburban structure of the 1970s, whose doubtful use has been proved with time – it now serves only a few trains daily. Elsewhere in the chapter the reader may find some oddities: as the Czech Jubilee Exhibition was held in 1891, it could not have been related to the second station in Prague, built as the terminus of the Franz-Josephs-Bahn around 1872–73. The first railway to reach Prague in the 1840s was called the State Railway and the first railway station Státní dráhy (Station of the State Railway). The description of its layout lacks detail on the separation of incoming and outgoing passengers: the building described served the latter, while the former had another structure erected at the head of the station. This made the overall layout unique for an early railway station.

As most chapters were written in languages other than English, translation difficulties are obvious. The biggest lapse, however, is the spatial form of structures based on the railway and its stations. We read there were some interesting layouts, even in towns built on the Trans-Siberian Railway, but our curiosity would have been better satisfied had some plans been provided. Though Haussmann's famous street axes in front of Parisian rail termini were not able to ease congestion around the stations, it is

unfair to diminish their pioneering role in adjusting urban tissue to railway geography. Many other developments of this kind followed, not only in French cities but also in Italy and Germany. They all require further study.

Railways changed the image of Europe dramatically, but our knowledge of them tends to be based on facts from a limited number of countries and well known cities. The rest, even where they have been well researched and described in less accessible national languages, have hitherto been a grey area. Publications such as these broaden our understanding of European development and, at the same time, prompt us to ask more questions.

Jacek Wesołowski, Politechnika Łódzka,
Poland

Tomas Ekman, *Spår i vägen: teknikval, politik & spårvägstrafik i Stockholm 1920–2002*, Stockholm Papers in the History and Philosophy of Technology TRITA-HOT 2044, Kungliga Tekniska Högskolan, Stockholm (2003), 323 pp., ISBN 9172835575

From the late 1870s to the early 1920s the tramway system in Stockholm expanded from a few horse-drawn lines operated by small private firms to an electrically powered, publicly owned traffic system, with a vast network covering the inner city and its neighbouring districts. Even though buses were introduced in public transport in 1923, and the first underground railway lines were opened in 1950, the tram traffic flourished. In 1957, however, the decision was made to close down the tram system. In 1967 the tracks along the streets were either ripped up or paved over. However, in spring 2000 a new tram route was opened, linking the south-eastern and north-western parts of Stockholm.

In this dissertation, the English translation of whose title would be 'Politics and Tram Traffic in Stockholm, 1920–2002', Tomas Ekman sets out to explain the rise, fall and potential revival of tram traffic in Stockholm. In doing so he uses the theoretical frameworks of

LTS and SCOT in the analysis of how the technological system is interpreted throughout the century. The concept of flexibility of interpretation is here used to label different policy regimes. The methodological implication is to identify the main actors and to analyse how their evaluation and interpretation of tram traffic, and that of other modes of transport, influenced the development of the tram system. The actors chosen are mainly the local politicians, technological experts and representatives from the public tram company. The main emphasis is to analyse the critical decisions made by the actors and their arguments in favour of or against tram traffic.

The fluctuations 1920–2002 are explained by the diametrically opposed interpretations made by actors. In the first part of the twentieth century most actors held the view that its technological features made the tram system a necessary part of public transport. This opinion slowly shifted towards a more rigid position where the tram system was considered obstructive, hampering motor traffic in Stockholm. Later on, in the 1990s, congestion and pollution, together with a growing impact of environmental issues in policy making, revived a more positive attitude towards tram traffic.

Ekman presents an interesting picture of the technological shifts in the transport market in Stockholm. Unfortunately the reader is left in the dark when it comes to the explanations behind the changes. The transport system at large and the tram system are not put in the context of its changing importance in the processes of urbanisation and industrialisation in twentieth-century Stockholm. Nor are population growth or urban sprawl discussed. The main conclusion, that the choice of a technological system can be understood by slowly changing values held by the main actors, would have been strengthened if Ekman had discussed these values in a broader context.

Lena Andersson-Skog, Umea University,
Sweden

Martin Staniland, *Government Birds: Air Transport and the State in Western Europe*, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham MD (2003), 305 pp., £57.00, ISBN 0 7425 0123 X

The rapid growth of air transport, in terms of both passenger numbers and cargo figures, and in terms of technical and organisational achievements, has been one of the more striking contributors to the globalisation of world society in the twentieth century. In the past decades the image of the departing jet plane has become one of the icons of modern cosmopolitan life. Not many observers, however, will immediately associate air transport with statism. Yet, from their inception, airlines have operated in an environment that was strongly regulated. This was the case at the level of national institutions and policy making, and also internationally, through the exchange of landing rights between governments exercising national sovereignty in the air space above their territories. Professor Staniland examines these influences on the development and corporate culture of four major West European airlines, Air France, British Airways, KLM and Lufthansa, after 1945. By looking at the changing nature of government–business relations over time, he tracks the process of ‘statisation’ (i.e. the growing influence of the state) in the air transport enterprises of the four countries concerned, *and* their deregulation and subsequent privatisation as a result of the liberalisation of European air transport from the 1980s onward. He does so against the backdrop of the internal politics of the airlines involved, which he analyses on the basis of the conceptual framework offered by the Canadian management theorist Henry Mintzberg in *Power in and around Organizations* (1983). Thus he traces the political, social and organisational cultures of the respective national ‘flag carriers’. The four examples were chosen to contrast airline development and policy making between a large and centralised state (France), a bipolar political environment (Britain), a decentralised federal state (Germany) and a small country with an open economy (the Netherlands).

The author shows that the involvement of the state was logical at the inception of air transport – indeed, indispensable – in the first four decades of its development. ‘Statisation’ emerged in the 1920s from the necessity of subsidisation of an economically inviable new form of transport, and evolved through states’ national interests in security, imperial logistics, foreign prestige, and industrial and transport policies. Over the next two decades states either became (majority) shareholders (Air France, KLM) in private air transport companies or assumed full legal responsibility under the law (Britain). Germany followed this trend in 1955, after its aerial sovereignty had been restored, and reinstated Lufthansa with the participation of the federal government as a major shareholder. These developments made for the continued existence of a regulated, protected and production-driven industry. Staniland asserts that, as a result of this, the European air transport environment remained essentially passive, despite the entry of charter airlines in the market and the introduction of reduced fares from around 1960. Real changes did not occur until the 1980s, when the European Commission decided to use its strengthened regulatory powers to follow the example of airline deregulation in the United States and embarked upon a policy of liberalisation and increased competition in air transport. In the 1980s and 1990s this policy brought a crisis for the national airlines in the need to adapt to increasing competition, both within Europe and *vis-à-vis* the emerging megacarriers in the United States. To attract international partners, it was recognised in airline circles, some degree of privatisation was necessary, which meant that important supporting conditions for state intervention in the European airline industry fell away. Building on these historical developments, Staniland goes on to explain the markedly different corporate responses of Air France, British Airways, Lufthansa and KLM to the new competitive challenges of the latter two decades of the twentieth century.

This is not the first book to link national political and regulatory develop-

ments with the development of Europe’s major flag carriers, but Staniland does offer important new contributions to our understanding. The novelty in his approach lies in the way he combines air transport’s regulatory politics with organisational theory to explain the varying responses of the major European ‘flag carriers’ to the changing environment of air transport as brought about by deregulation and liberalisation. Moreover, he manages, in his historical account of the period up to 1980, to blend a comparative approach into thematic rather than geographically separated chapters. This, however, also brings out the principal flaw in the book: the story of governmental involvement in creating an air transport infrastructure, in the sense of airports and air traffic control facilities, is notably absent, as is the states’ role in the supervision of safety standards. Nonetheless, *Government Birds* is a must for scholars of air transport.

Marc Dierikx, Institute of Netherlands History, The Hague

Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*, twentieth anniversary edition, University of California Press, Berkeley CA (2003), 327 pp., US\$19.95, ISBN 0520239334

To mark twenty years since the publication of Arlie Hochschild’s study of Delta Air Lines flight attendants, *The Managed Heart*, University of California Press has released a new edition with an additional afterword from the author. Re-reading it today, it is clear the book remains of vital importance, and is one of few academic works to cross over successfully into the mainstream market. It influenced researchers in sociology, geography, psychology, labour and gender studies, business studies and human resource management. Indeed, at the 2003 American Sociological Association conference in Atlanta one presenter claimed that the book was one of the most cited works across the entire span of the social sciences. Readers of this journal, however, will want to know

what Hochschild's book offers transport historians. The new afterword consists of a literature review of related work from the past two decades and a brief update on the author's more recent concerns about work/home balance. Though important, this is of limited interest to *JTH* readers and I would advise those already owning a copy of the first edition to stick with it. For those who are new to the work, however, *The Managed Heart* remains the template for scholars seeking to understand the complex world and image of flight attendants. It also offers much to transport historians concerned with gender and also to those interested in labour. Though the focus on flight attendants is quite specific, Hochschild's approach and analysis can be usefully transposed on to other transport sectors.

Hochschild's main argument centres upon the construction of 'emotional labour'. Developing the Marxist tenet of labour power becoming commodified, Hochschild argues that flight attendants are perfect examples of how emotion itself becomes reified in the work place. Airlines have adopted the scientific management of worker emotions that was first seen in Ford's automobile plants. More than a question of being merely being polite, Hochschild suggests emotions are managed and manipulated into a distinct marketing asset by requiring certain behaviour of an employee. 'The emotional style of offering the service is part of the service itself,' she argues. Most obvious is the flight attendant's smile, which is used to create a caring and comforting environment in the cabin. Indeed, Delta flight attendants were told to 'Smile. Really smile. Really lay it on,' to imagine the aircraft cabin as their home and to treat guests accordingly.

Hochschild is concerned with emotional labour's implications. On the one hand, flight attendants struggle to maintain their identity and lose track of their 'real' selves; on the other, they are more likely to engage in 'surface' than in 'deep' acting, displaying insincerity, which is surely not to the advantage of the company.

In retrospect *The Managed Heart* documents the frenzied experience of American airline workers in the period

following deregulation in 1978, with more strenuous work schedules, a greater sense of company exploitation and a more demanding group of passengers to keep happy. But the book suggests that these developments built on trends that were already visible in the 1970s. Passengers who were once treated to individual attention were now herded into the back of a Boeing 747 or a DC-10 in such numbers that the original notion of service evaporated. Equally, flight attendants since the early 1970s challenged their roles more vociferously, partly through nascent trade unions such as the Association of Flight Attendants (AFA) and partly due to the wider impact of the feminist movement.

What is fascinating about Hochschild's account is that it provides historical analysis, a contemporary view and an accurate forecast. It traces the connection between gendered labour and marketing, most blatant in the National Airlines 'I'm Margie. Fly me' campaigns of the 1970s, while suggesting that by 1983 organised chaos had become the norm. And, argues Hochschild, the downgrading of the profession would continue; this has proved accurate in terms of pay and conditions. At the same time, sexist imagery had been exported abroad, a trend continuing up to the present day at airlines such as Singapore International and Virgin Atlantic.

Hochschild spent months at the Delta training centre in Atlanta, watching and talking to flight attendants, their supervisors and other company officials. A problem for historians could be that the documentation of these exchanges is virtually non-existent and there is little contextual information provided on quotations. Moreover, critics may claim that the book – like Marx's *Capital* – is highly deductive and essentially tautological: if one rejects its hypothesis, the entire work collapses (see, for example, Cas Wouters, 'The sociology and emotions of flight attendants: Hochschild's *Managed Heart*', *Theory Culture and Society* 6, 1989, pp. 95–123). If, though, one accepts the premise of emotional labour as a key feature of service industry work, to which other transport fields

may this approach be applied? From personal experience, this reviewer has little doubt that the management of emotions is a key factor for Revenue Protection Officers (formerly known as guards) on the privatised British rail system. Equally, cabin crew on ocean liners share similar experiences to their counterparts in the air. There are also intriguing parallels with tour guides. Almost any employee who has put on a uniform and worked in the transport industry has engaged in emotional labour of some sort. However, it would be interesting to consider how far Hochschild's construction of the term 'emotional labour' specifically addresses a service-obsessed American phenomenon, and whether its dissemination abroad can be conceptualised within a wider pattern of 'Americanisation'.

Ironically, the reissue of *The Managed Heart* coincided with that of *Coffee, Tea or Me? The Uninhibited Memoirs of Two Airline Stewardesses*, by Trudy Baker and Rachel Jones; it was this fictionalised sex-and-frolic bestseller that did much to popularise the 'Barbie Doll' flight attendant myth. It was Hochschild's work that helped to demolish this myth and, in the process, opened up new vistas for the understanding of gender, emotion and transport history.

Drew Whitelegg, Emory University,
Atlanta GA

Guenther Dinhobl, *Die Semmeringbahn. Der Bau der ersten Hochgebirgsbahn der Welt*, Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, Vienna; Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, Munich (2003), 229 pp., €24.80, ISBN 3486567438

The Semmering Railway line has been on UNESCO's World Heritage list since 1998. The railway began service in 1854 as part of the main line from Vienna to Trieste, but more importantly held further significance within the context of the great north-south rail union through Europe. A major discussion was taking place at the time concerning the three routes that competed against each other for rail traffic: Calais via Paris to Mar-

seille, Ostend or Antwerp through southern Germany to Genoa, and Hamburg via Vienna to Trieste. It was clear that whoever had the technical skill to cross the Alps had the best chance to influence the great European trade routes. As it turned out it was Carl Ritter von Ghega, the designer of the Semmering Railway, who successfully met this challenge. In the construction of the Semmering he entered new territory in the field of innovative civil engineering, creating a new kind of climbing railway embankment, curved railway viaducts, new standards for tunnel construction, and the need for new and more powerful locomotives.

Dinhobl describes Ghega's study of English and American railway construction on several journeys to Britain and the United States. It was the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in particular that attracted his attention. After two years of planning, Ghega finished his concept for the Semmering Railway in 1844. His superiors on the board of directors of the Austrian Railway Directory needed longer to scrutinise his proposal and thus construction became entangled with the revolution of 1848. The necessity of putting dissatisfied workers to work on railway construction was as clear to the Austrian authorities as it had been to their counterparts in Germany. While the revolutionary Ministry of Camphausen and Hansemann was beginning the construction of the Eastern Railway in Prussia in order to shift volatile workers out of Berlin, the Austrian Ministry of Public Works initiated the construction of the Semmering Railway in order to do the same thing with Vienna's rebellious workers. After the political situation had settled down, critics of the Semmering Railway began a campaign that forced Ghega to defend his project. One of the main arguments against it was that powerful locomotives to operate at a height of nearly 1,000 m on steep climbing tracks did not exist. Ghega countered by initiating a locomotive competition in 1851 and a model proposed by the Munich locomotive builder Krauss Maffei was successful, even though normal locomotives proved strong enough for

the service. In 1853 construction of the line was completed and it was visited by the Austrian emperor in 1854. Ghega had achieved a masterpiece of railway engineering. His line climbed its way to the 896 m high Semmering station over bridges and viaducts such as the Schwarza viaduct, the crooked bridge near Küb, the Höllberg viaduct and the viaduct over the Kalte Rinne. It also passed through tunnels like those at Eichbergtunnel and Weinzettlwand. The proliferation of hotels and villas in the village of Semmering is proof that the railway attracted a lot of tourists. Following the success of Ghega's achievement, further mountain railways were constructed over Alpine passes and lines traversing the Brenner Pass (1867), the Mont Cenis Pass (1871), the Gotthard Pass (1882) and the Arlberg Pass (1884) illustrated that the Alps could be surmounted.

Gunter Dinohbl has written a book that is not only insightful and rich in detail, but provides its readers with an impressive documentation of a significant technical achievement of the nineteenth century.

Ralf Roth, Johann Wolfgang Goethe
Universität, Frankfurt

Bernhard Neuner, *Bibliographie der österreichischen Eisenbahnliteratur von den Anfängen bis 1918*, Walter Drews Verlag, Vienna (2002), three volumes, 1,600 pp., €398, ISBN 3901949003

This bibliography, which was compiled by Bernhard Neuner within a decade, is an essential basis for investigations into railway history in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (not just Austria, as the title suggests). It stops at the end of the First World War, when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was dissolved.

Railways within this area are important not only for regional railway histories, but also for a European or global view. The first public railway – admittedly horse-drawn – on the European continent was opened from Budweis to Linz in 1832 and the mountain railway over the Semmering Pass, which opened

in 1854, was designated a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1998. Also, publications that refer to other topics of interest can be identified easily, for instance those concerning railway and transport issues during the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, beginning in 1878. There is also literature dealing with the railways of other countries, but which was published in Austro-Hungary.

Engineers from outside Central Europe have written some remarkable material, for instance *Die inneren Communicationen*, a report on American railroads in the early nineteenth century by Ritter von Gerstner (one of the engineers of the Budweis to Linz line), which was translated into English by Frederick C. Gamst in 1997. But von Gerstner was not the only one who travelled to other countries to gather knowledge of foreign railway-building activity, and with the help of this bibliography it is easy to identify numerous other travel reports.

One of the book's merits is that the author collected not only the usual bibliographical data (author, title, volume, edition, place and publisher, year, number of pages and illustrations, format) but also information on access in libraries and a short content description of each publication. It is structured and subdivided into twenty-six chapters, arranged in chronological order. The chapters contain general literature; periodicals; railway history and politics by region – from Bucovina to Moravia – publications concerning legislation and administration of railways; technical and operational issues; the organisation of railwaymen; particular railway lines (including lines not actually built); the geography of traffic (including maps); station lists and timetables. The bibliography concludes with an extensive index, numerous illustrations showing the covers of publications, and biographies of several authors.

The value of this bibliography will be demonstrated by future research. Some of the qualities of the three volumes are easy to see, for instance in an inventory of numerous libraries in Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary and Switzerland. Although it is not usual in bibliographies to note library shelf

marks, this information makes investigations easier, especially for scholars from other countries. The shelf marks of the former extensive library of the Austrian Federal Railway were taken over by the Austrian State Archive, where the library is actually preserved. Such a printed bibliography is still of importance because the catalogues of some libraries will very probably not be digitalised or available via the Internet in the foreseeable future.

Care should be taken with the national connotations of some titles and commentaries in the first volume, as not everyone from Austria-Hungary was 'Austrian'. But this criticism is only a reflection of the practice of writing railway histories according to national categories. A continuation of this bibliography up to the beginning of the twenty-first century would be welcome, especially if it helped avoid the usual, romantic railway historiography of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

Neuner's bibliography is an excellent aid to organising the cultural memory of railways; more important, it is a useful source for everyone who is interested in the railway history of Central and Eastern Europe.

Guenter Dinhobl, Fakultät für
Interdisziplinäre Forschung und
Fortbildung, Vienna

Dick White, *The Windermere Ferry: History, Boats, Ferrymen and Passengers*, Helm Press, Kendal (2002), 112 pp., £9.50 (paperback), ISBN 0 9540497 1 3

This is an interesting booklet. It deals with the history of the ferry across Windermere, England's largest lake at about ten miles long. The direct route between two market towns, Kendal and Hawkshead, is blocked by the lake, about one-third of a mile wide at that point, so a ferry cut off a detour of about ten miles. From at least the sixteenth century a large rowing boat provided a service on demand. In 1870 the first steamboat using chains, and later wire ropes, was inaugurated. This was retired in 1915 and one nearly twice as long was substituted which in turn was superannu-

ated in 1954. Leyland diesel engines were installed in 1960 and this vessel was scrapped in 1990. Initially in monastic hands, then in private ownership, the ferry was taken over by the local county councils in 1920.

The book is profusely illustrated with more than seventy-five photographs and several maps. There are brief chapters on the accident of 1635, when forty-seven drowned, on the ferrymen and the landing places, the frozen lake, the police and wardens, and famous (and some unknown) passengers. We even get a page or so on people who did *not* write about the ferry – is this the ultimate counterfactual? It is an easy read and some of the pictures are extremely evocative. In places it is amusing, such as the Regency running race, presumably prior to cheap elastic, where one of the runners completed it with his shorts around his ankles, to the ladies' horror, the author suggests.

I have two criticisms of omission. Given the long period in which this area was a jewel in the crown of tourism, we get no impression of how the influx of holidaymakers affected it, or if it was seen as a tourist attraction in its own right. The second omission is that there is almost nothing on what goods were carried via the ferry. We are told cattle were ferried across and carriers' carts went several times a week but there is no evaluation of its importance to the local economy. One or two pictures have turned out rather strangely, and it does not pretend to be an academic piece, though it does have a useful list of sources. A light read, convenient to while away a ferry crossing.

John Armstrong, Thames Valley
University

Dorothy Denneen Volo and James M. Volo, *Daily Life in the Age of Sail*, Greenwood Press, Westport CT (2001), 352 pp., £49.95, ISBN 0 3133 1026 2

In this somewhat uneven book there is a wealth of information. Quite a bit of it, as the description claims, tells what 'life was like for those who chose to sail the high seas', though it does not deliver so

well on 'those who did not choose to be on board, like slaves on their way to the auction block'. They are merely dealt with by mentions in the chronology and a plan of a French slave ship, captured in 1822, with 345 slaves crammed on board. In a book so focused on the United States and so clearly aimed at an American market this is surprising.

Other surprises include the chapter headed 'Sea lanes', which includes a lot about the development of knowledge of the world by the early European explorers, the complexities of Spanish rivers and the whaling industry in New England. Unexpectedly, the book also gives a history of navigation and explains latitude and longitude. There is a chapter on ship recognition and marine design, another on the great trading fleets of Europe, one on the Age of Fighting Sail which gives the authors' brief analysis of the wars of the eighteenth century, one on the American revolution, and one called 'The sea and the States', i.e. the United States.

All these digressions, covering such a broad range, mean that in the fourteen chapters only four really focus on life at sea. These chapters do provide fascinating detail about the different categories of crew members, from shipmasters to boys, with details about social and geographical origins, pay and press gangs. Seamen's clothing is also described. In another chapter the living environment of ships is discussed, along with accommodation, food, the problem of scurvy, discipline and punishment. The actual work done, covered in only a couple of paragraphs, is included in a chapter on pastimes, but there is more about scrimshaw, decorative ropework and music. Drawing, reading, writing, entertaining and gaming ships meeting at sea are treated, as are women and the sea, wives, sea widows and hen frigates. Their diversions, chores and accommodation at sea and management of business ashore are discussed, as well as various aspects of bearing and bringing up children. Cross-dressing women also appear.

The descriptions in these chapters are referenced from a wide range of sources, but not all the information is reliable,

and the authors are weak on English geography. Sheerness has slipped its moorings on the Thames estuary and become a 'northern port', Woolwich is usually Woolrich here and Deptford is sometimes Deptforth. Plymouth is described as 'Atlantic-facing' and lies on the Lizard. Other errors are sprinkled about, some raising a smile. In the chronology, mutinies occurred at Spithead and the Noire, and Charles II, having been executed in 1649, miraculously returns to the English throne in 1660. French geography suffers too: Rochefort has become Rochforte. Still, despite these disfigurements, it is an otherwise well produced volume, with interesting illustrations and a useful bibliography.

With the rich mixture of detail on the lives of seafarers and their wives, descriptions of the waterfront and backwater on North American seaports, summaries of the many wars and discussions of developments in navigation, shipbuilding and trade, it is unclear for whom this book is intended. Other work by these authors has been welcomed by practitioners of the art of 're-enacting' and perhaps this is the audience they have in mind, though it's to be hoped that no one puts themselves through the rigours of life as an eighteenth-century whaler or those below decks in the Napoleonic Wars. For an understanding of the surrounding political and broader context, this is not a reliable guide. However, on daily life it has much to offer and will, no doubt, do well in the popular market.

Joan Ryan, University of Greenwich

Ruth Macrides (ed.), *Travel in the Byzantine World: Papers from the Thirty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, April 2000*, Ashgate, Aldershot (2002), 316 pp., £49.50 (US\$84.95), ISBN 0 7546 0788 7

This volume gives an insight into the long tradition of Byzantine studies in relation to travel, suggesting it has more influence on contemporary transport historians than vice versa. This research tradition involves the constant and fruitful search for new methods and openness to other

perspectives, with a strong emphasis upon inter-modal approaches. Also, other conference volumes in transport history could adopt the arrangement of the book, with its four clear sections.

In the opening chapter McCormick, using a broad definition of 'communication', gives an overview to the proceedings, while Pryor discusses the speed and range of Byzantine dromons, arguing for a range of three days or 170 miles and an average speed of three and a half knots. Gautier Dalché, in 'Portulans and the Byzantine world', stresses that portulans are not maps but tools for navigation and the preparation of voyages. Although they are rarely preserved, their practical role should not be underestimated. Belke shows the importance of secondary roads for local everyday life, which, unlike the imperial roads, were administered locally. McCabe, in 'Horses and horse-doctors on the road', gives a short insight into the texts of two Byzantine horse doctors, Apsyrtos and Theomnestos, while Stathakopoulos, in 'Travelling with the plague', shows that communications in the mid-sixth century worked nearly as well as in today's world of SARS. In 'Maritime trade and the food supply for Constantinople in the Middle Ages' Koder tries to quantify important features of this network, especially the number of transport vessels, Günsenin discusses the many details to be learned in the studies of one wreck in the eleventh century, and van Doorninck focuses on amphoras, the places where, and the purposes for which, Byzantine ships were manufactured.

Kuelzer's 'Byzantine and early post-Byzantine pilgrimage to the Holy Land and to Mount Sinai' uses narratives of pilgrimages to provide insights into aspects of daily life, such as the condition of roads or tales connected with 'holy places'. The social or cultural life of the Arabs is not mentioned at all. Ciggar distinguishes between glossaries and phrase lists, the former of which he claims are used only in teaching, not for travelling. The respective contributions of Berger, Macrides and Angold deal with reports of travellers to the capital. Arab travellers described a lot of 'things' or 'treasures'

not preserved through later history. Macrides interprets the text of Robert of Clari to suggest that he pictured Constantinople as a Greek city 'long after it ceased to be Greek'. According to Angold, the Western view of the 'failing' of the Byzantines to preserve the classical past explains the lack of Western support for Byzantium in its last decades and so its decline. Brubaker, in 'The conquest of space', discusses the Madaba mosaics and images of journeys in the Byzantine world. He argues the mosaic is not used as a map, and that 'images of travel come to celebrate the virtues of staying at home'. In contrast, Mullet argues against the opinion of a general 'abhorrence of travel'. In his interpretation of novels, letters and saints' lives he distinguishes between the personal and the 'textual reality'. For the latter, he states, the texts are 'phrased for a metropolitan audience accustomed to different models of adventure-space in which travel fundamentally broadens the mind'.

The stimulating book could have done with a bibliography, and those seeking one should consult the article by McCormick.

Michael Hascher, Chemnitz

Len Holden, *Vauxhall Motors and the Luton Economy, 1900–2002*, Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society 82, Woodbridge and Rochester NY (2003), 249 pp., £25.00 (US\$39.95), ISBN 0851550681

Len Holden's book is concerned with the history of Vauxhall Motors and its impact on Luton, an industrial town halfway between London and the Midlands. It is the second volume in a series of local history surveys, the first of which dealt with Luton's nineteenth-century development as 'Strawopolis', dominated by hat manufacturing. Holden's book traces Luton's further growth as a city that became synonymous with the name of Vauxhall.

Vauxhall was originally an ironworks and engineering company based near Vauxhall Bridge, in the London Borough of Lambeth. Its relocation to Luton in

1905 was encouraged by the New Industrial Committee searching for new industries to compensate for the adverse effects of declining employment in the hat industry. Vauxhall was not the only firm settling in the town, but from the 1930s it would become by far the most dominant enterprise. The importance of the firm became quite clear when Vauxhall went into decline during the 1980s and car production finally ceased in March 2002. Though Vauxhall has remained, other jobs had to be created on a considerable scale, at the airport, university and a variety of small business concerns.

Based on a broad array of sources ranging from local and company records, books and articles to contemporary periodicals and interviews, Holden describes in detail the rise and fall of Vauxhall. Its acquisition by General Motors in 1925 and its further existence as the British subsidiary of GM are the crucial points in the story. The first chapter deals with the origins and growth of Vauxhall up to 1925, analysing the reasons for its initial success in the years before the First World War as well as the subsequent troubles, which eventually led to its acquisition by GM. The second chapter examines the take-over by GM and shows GM's relationship with the British subsidiary, with special reference to the amount of autonomy accorded by the parent company. The third chapter charts the expansion of Vauxhall in the 1930s and 1940s, and explains how Vauxhall joined the other members of the Big Six (Morris, Austin, Ford, Standard and Rootes) in British vehicle manufacture. The following chapter reinforces the analysis through a detailed examination of Vauxhall's performance in finance, marketing, and exports. Chapters 5 and 6 are devoted to labour relations, assessing the aims of Vauxhall management from the late 1920s to gain direct control over the work force and their performance by proper efficiency measures. These were of special importance, as they helped the company's image as an attractive and reliable employer within a wider world of unemployment. Chapters 7 and 8 shed light on the company's impact on Luton itself and

upon the corresponding policies of other local employers.

All these chapters make up the greater part of the book. They do seem, however, to have been written twenty years ago; work by Wayne Lewchuk and Steven Tolliday from the 1980s is mentioned but not their more recent publications. The concluding chapters are then conceptualised as a second and rather independent part of the text. In them Holden tries to bring the Vauxhall story up to date, starting with the 1950s and ending with the cessation of Vectra assembly in March 2002. Here he contrasts the expansion of the 1950s, when Vauxhall could increase its production from 219,000 cars in 1946 to one million in 1958, to the decline of the 1980s. Though Vauxhall, alongside Ford, Chrysler and British Leyland, was still one of Big Four, during the 1980s it would suffer mass Opelisation. Between 1953 and 1955 American managing directors replaced their British counterparts and direct American control of labour relations and car design policies would become more and more evident. Eventually Vauxhall at Luton was nothing more than a pawn of GM's European marketing strategy, which aimed at the more profitable 'European car' than one geared towards a purely national market.

Though adequate in his focus on Vauxhall within Luton's community and economy, Holden touches only briefly upon the wider context. Further questions do emerge, however, for instance the role Vauxhall played over the years within the British vehicle industry as a whole, as well as in relation to GM's commercial vehicle branch, based up the road at Bedford. There is also the question of the relationship between Vauxhall, Bedford and Opel in Germany as well as the GM affiliations established after the Second World War in Belgium, Spain and, since 1990, in Eastern Europe. A closer examination of the differences in terms of engineering technology with Opel would also have been useful. Thus the book can be only cautiously recommended.

Michael Mende, Brunswick School of Art

James A. Ward *Three Men in a Hupp: Around the World by Automobile, 1910–1912*, Stanford University Press, Stanford CA (2003), 256pp., US\$60.00, ISBN 0804734607

The three men in a Hupp were Joseph Drake, secretary of the Hupp Motor Car Company, Thomas Hanlon, the Irish American company mechanic and an experienced driver, and Thomas O. Jones, a reporter on a Detroit newspaper. The Hupp was a small vehicle that designer, Robert Hupp, hoped would succeed in the US low-price car market. When this was captured by Ford's Model T he switched attention to the potentially huge export market. The three men drove around the world in a small Hupp model 20 open-top car, a feat the company hoped would give them publicity and secure overseas demand. The trio set off on 3 November 1910. Drake was the main city driver and appeared in official photos but Hanlon mostly drove on longer and tougher routes. Ward has made use of the huge collection of photographs taken by the group during the trip and the majority show Hanlon at the wheel.

This work, while appearing to be a travel book about a motoring circumnavigation, gives insight into the early US automobile industry and embryonic global capitalism. Although written by an academic historian, it often feels antiquarian or journalistic, though its limited subject matter perhaps leads to a more anecdotal text. The Hupp company provides most of the sources, along with its world-tourist representatives' letters and press releases. The introduction examines early twentieth-century America's economic, cultural, political and international context, which, for me, was the book's strongest part. Elsewhere it would have benefited from setting the Hupp-mobile's promotional tour more into this broader historical context by using and integrating more secondary sources in social, economic and transport history. As this is the story of a world tour, the use of some international analytical literature relating to the places visited would have been helpful. At times the

descriptions of the three men's destinations are superficial tourist-style impressions. As Ward is using US sources supplied by the tourists themselves this is perhaps how they saw the world, from the white American perspective he describes in the introduction. The many illustrations, too, reflect this. The Hupp-mobile and its passengers are posed in front of instantly recognisable tourist sites and situations. The car is seen in front of Castle Rock, Wyoming, the Coliseum in Rome, Shanghai, Java, Indian and Japanese street scenes, oriental pagodas, temples and tombs, statues of the Buddha, the pyramids and the half-excavated Sphinx, the Vatican, the leaning tower of Pisa, the Eiffel Tower and the Invalides in Paris. The three travellers record themselves doing typical tourist activities, riding an elephant in India, arms draped around Japanese geishas, standing beside the world's southernmost gas lamp post, dressing up in grass skirts in the South Pacific. Where these familiar images differ from modern holiday photos is that the Huppmobilers were the only visible tourists in these places. Nowadays being on a motoring tour and passing through a country would not qualify anyone for meetings with local dignitaries and an audience with the Pope but, such was the originality of the trip, this is how the travellers were welcomed. The commercial aspirations of the tour are also illustrated; the car frequently appears posed in front of motor dealers and Hupp agencies.

What I found particularly interesting were the threesome's eyewitness reports that show that driving conditions in the United States were the worst of all the places they visited. American roads were not made up and no road maps existed, so it was difficult to find the route. They left and returned in winter, so often encountered deep snow. The Hupp had neither roof nor windscreen to offer any protection and its passengers had to wear all the clothes they carried at once underneath huge fur coats. The technical limitations of the car made the journey a remarkable feat. To cross the Rocky Mountains the car had to be driven backwards in reverse, as it had no petrol pump and fuel was

carried to the engine using gravity. It was an awkward job to light the car's lamps, as they were powered by carbide gas, which had to be carried on the vehicle. As the wear and tear of the journey took its toll, the car and its occupants were dependent on the exceptional skills of Hanlon as a mechanic and technician to keep moving. Ward shows how driving was a skilled and technically demanding task in those days. No wonder so many early car owners employed chauffeurs rather than learn to drive themselves.

After the challenging American part of the journey the car and its occupants were shipped from San Francisco to

Hawaii and from there to Fiji, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, the Philippines, Japan, China, Egypt, Italy, Germany, France, England and Ireland before crossing the Atlantic to the New York Motor Show and before the arduous drive through the snow back to Detroit. More than a travelogue, Ward's book illuminates commercial aspects of the early motor car industry and gives some idea of how adventurous early drivers were, pioneering a new means of transport which at the time was not easy or even comfortable to drive.

Susan Barton, Leicester