

foreign based, as Roger Clark has so clearly demonstrated in the case of the Channel Islanders and Bostonians operating around the Gulf of St Lawrence.

The same theme of metropolitan dominance serves well in Warkentin's further discussion of the western interior. The Hudson Bay Company is, of course, the implement and it is portrayed as having a surprisingly sensitive approach to conservation and to Indian lifestyles; though clearly a self-interested one. The subsequent claiming of a new peripheral relationship to Canada is sketched in; so too is the attraction of the American core, a theme sounded for the Maritimes, reiterated for southern Ontario and echoed for the nascent far west, but nevertheless left curiously undeveloped.

The conclusion is presented in terms of individual and collective pragmatism in face of a wilderness situation. This, it is argued, in almost all cases in British North America was not a result of the lure of the region itself so much as a response to limited opportunities, primarily in highland Britain. Thus little room is given to the idealism of the Calvinist whose sense of suffering on earth to purify the soul can only be matched by the spirit of the French Canadian coloniser-priests who already, in this period, were marshalling the faithful to lead them to the north and west from the materialism of New England and the swamping numbers of new arrivals from Europe.

As the first book-length historical geography of Canada, this work is almost bound to be used as a text within Canadian universities, where a rising concern over national content in undergraduate courses is understandable. It is to be hoped that the courses in which it is used will be at an advanced undergraduate level, where original sources and research theses can be used to flesh out the narrative. In the United States or elsewhere, one can only hope that it will be ignored as a text, at least until a more sophisticated and detailed knowledge of contemporary Canada than that which is commonly acquired by undergraduates, is general.

Finally, for those who are looking for a new historical geography based on mathematical precision and the aridity which so frequently follows it, this work should be avoided. As far as these authors are concerned, the Kentish hop industry might never have been subjected to quantitative analysis. No doubt the haven of sanity they provide will not long go unchallenged, and cryptic numeric tautology will shortly replace elegant prose on even the broad Canadian horizons of historical geography.

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D. M. KATZMAN, *Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973. Pp. xii+254; plates. \$10.00)

*Before the ghetto* is a well-written social and economic history of life in nineteenth-century black Detroit. The aim of this work is to present a chronological interpretation of the course of events which helped shape modern Detroit's black ghetto. It is Katzman's contention that contemporary black Detroit can only be fully understood in light of nineteenth-century political, social, economic and demographic events which are building blocks providing the foundation upon which Detroit's black community evolved. Throughout his work the author faithfully pursues this theme in a scholarly manner.

Written in a moving and engaging style, the text is organised into two major parts followed by an epilogue, several interesting explanatory appendices, and a useful annotated bibliography. Part 1 'Before the Fifteenth Amendment', consists of a single lengthy chapter entitled 'Beginnings'. This part covers those legislative and political events occurring during the period 1787-1870 which had a direct bearing upon the degree to which black Detroiters participated in city life and shared in the public welfare. Beginning with the adoption of the Northwest Ordinance which prohibited the extension of slavery into the territory where Detroit is located and ending with the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment which extended the franchise to freedmen (black Americans), this part of the book provides a clear analysis of the history of these two significant events.

Katzman cleverly opens chapter 1 with a scene depicting black Detroiters celebrating the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. To convey the spirit of the times, he introduces points and themes through the eyes of prominent black Detroiters as they focus their attention on the morass of legislation and events—national, state and local—which affected the degree to which they participated in community affairs. The author also draws attention to other catastrophic events such as the 1833 riot, clearly illustrating the city's social climate and the community's attitude towards blacks. Data on demographic characteristics of black Detroiters are also presented, and occupational differences among black workers are discussed. The black population distribution by political ward is indicated, providing a general picture of black residential locations.

The social climate for black Detroiters was not Utopian during the nineteenth century, and the author does not imply that it was. Blacks were discriminated against in employment. They did not share equally in the city's wealth or fully enjoy the amenities offered, nor did black Detroiters fully interact with the larger white community; they were never considered or treated as first-class citizens. Nevertheless, black Detroiters were optimistic about their future and determined to improve their lot regardless of cost. This determination and resolve on the part of black Detroiters is well documented by the author by his emphasis on selected black individuals who are presumed to have been representative of various segments found within the black community and by his description of how these individuals coped with the many social inequities through enterprising political action.

Overall, part 1 is laden with information and easy to read. Not only does it contain a review of that portion of American history which had a direct impact on the development of black Detroit, it also sets the stage for a more detailed examination of topics such as residential distribution, class and caste, work activities, and political participation which are central themes in the chapters comprising part 2 of this book.

Part 2, 'Black Detroit', is divided into five chapters: 'Patterns', 'Caste', 'Work', 'Class', and 'Politics'. Of particular interest to geographers is the chapter on 'Patterns' which is concerned with the distribution of the city's population. Much of the chapter is devoted to a description of Detroit's neighbourhoods stratified by race and ethnicity. From this discussion, which is supplemented by three maps (the only maps to appear in the entire text), the reader is left with a very generalised view of ethnic and racial neighbourhood arrangements. It can be easily ascertained that most black Detroiters resided on the city's lower east side. Furthermore, the chapter reveals that there was some residential stratification within the black community based primarily upon occupation but also influenced by religious affiliation and place of birth.

The author places great emphasis on the fact that blacks resided in nearly all of the city's wards; however, they were most heavily concentrated on the lower east side. Katzman further points out that although blacks have concentrated on the lower east side, they did have white neighbours residing on the same block. A map is used to illustrate this neighbourhood racial mix on a block level. The presentation of these data leaves the impression that neighbourhoods were more racially mixed in nineteenth-century Detroit than they are now. This may be true; but it should be pointed out that during the nineteenth century Detroit's black population never exceeded five per cent of the city's total.

Obviously residential concentration of blacks would be more easily recognised as their numbers increased. The map Katzman used to illustrate neighbourhood racial mix is based on the 1880 manuscript census supplemented by data drawn from a period property atlas. The assignment of racial character to the residential locations on this map could not have been achieved without the use of a city directory or a similar source because the manuscript census gives names of persons enumerated and not addresses. The block selected to illustrate this point has twenty-six residential units, fifteen of which were occupied by blacks, raising black occupancy to approximately fifty-eight per cent. This level of black occupancy is clearly a concentration; and in the contemporary

literature, the block would be designated black, for such designation usually follows the dominant group. Students of black residential segregation have shown that when a block's black population exceeds fifty per cent, it is well past the "tipping point" and a nearly irreversible racial occupancy trend is established. In fact this did occur in Detroit, particularly on the lower east side which has remained a black core area for nearly a century.

If blacks appear to have resided in more racially mixed areas in the nineteenth century this can be attributed to the small number of blacks in the community. To emphasise the point that blacks were in more racially mixed areas in the nineteenth century is not particularly relevant, especially when it is noted that the core of twentieth-century black Detroit is in the same location as it was in the nineteenth century. Blacks first occupied the lower east side in the mid-eighteen hundreds; they remained there; and with the accretion of black population mainly through migration, there was neighbourhood coalescence and eventual expansion from the nineteenth-century core area.

In the remaining chapters, occupational structure, black entrepreneurship, caste and class, and political participation are examined in a thoughtful, concise manner. The content is interesting and well expressed; the reader is given a sense of the city's social climate and of how black Detroiters responded to adverse circumstances in their quest for equality.

In the 'Epilogue', the author states that "little of black Detroit after 1915 was new, no other group had changed so little in more than a century". He further concludes that "there is—as this study notes for Detroit, and as Allan Spear noted for Chicago and Gilbert Osofsky for New York—a tragic sameness in the lives of black people today and in the past". These conclusions cannot be easily disputed. Given this finding, the title *Before the ghetto* must be questioned. First of all, the title implies that there was something about Detroit's black community in the nineteenth century that was decidedly different from contemporary black Detroit. In the author's own words, this is not so; and other urban historians and sociologists have arrived at the same conclusion from examination of black communities in other cities. Nowhere in the text does the author define "ghetto" or make direct reference to the definitions of other writers. No mention is made of Louis Wirth's classic work on this topic. However, the title indicates that the author had a definition in mind. Although ghetto is not defined, it is implied that there was a ghetto in Detroit after 1915 and not before, although relative social and economic experiences of the black community apparently did not change over time. Apparently the author has subconsciously followed Spear who, in *Black Chicago*, indicated that ghettos did not appear in U.S. cities until after World War II, the defining criterion being easily identifiable black residential concentrations generated by increased numbers.

The logical inconsistency between the book's title and its content detracts from an otherwise excellent research effort. If this inconsistency can be overlooked, the content is useful as a source for scholars investigating black Detroit. Katzman has given us some insights into the historical underpinnings of Detroit's black community; however, he has only provided us with findings which are consistent with those of other studies on urban black America. He has not given us new interpretations nor led us to new directions for problem resolution. In perspective, *Before the ghetto* is another urban history which can be accepted within the ranks of recent works on this topic, particularly Spear's *Chicago*, Osofsky's *Harlem*, Green's *Secret city*, and Blassingame's *Black New Orleans*, all of which follow the earlier tradition established by Johnson's *Black Manhattan*, McKay's *Harlem*, Drake and Cayton's *Black metropolis*, and Warner's *New Haven Negroes*.