

GOTHAM

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GOTHAM: A History of New York City to 1898. By EDWIN G. BURROWS and MIKE WALLACE. xxiv and 1,383 pp.; maps, ills., bibliog., index. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. \$60.00 (cloth), ISBN 0195116348; \$24.95 (paper), ISBN 0195140494.

By destroying the World Trade Center towers in Lower Manhattan, the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 reminded us yet again of the fragility of great cities. Their concentration of people and activities has always made cities vulnerable to disruption by terrorism, warfare, natural disaster, technological breakdown, social disruption, and other forces. As a preeminent global symbol of U.S. financial power, media influence, and cultural dominance, the very skyline, the profile, of New York City became a prime target in the acts of savagery directed against America, eclipsing even the assault on the Pentagon, near the seat of national government. New Yorkers reacted to the 9/11 tragedy with an emotional outpouring of solidarity for the victims, often reflected in the poignant memorialization of public space (Figure 1).

In addition to the carnage of nearly 3,000 lost lives, the World Trade Center attacks destroyed or severely damaged nearly 30 million square feet of office and retail space in Lower Manhattan, forcing 100,000 of the area's workers to relocate to other areas (Figure 2). The crippled public transportation infrastructure, which will take years to rebuild, put the Financial District's remaining 270,000 jobs at risk. New York City's economy stands to lose roughly \$83 billion and 57,000 jobs over three years, according to an economic impact analysis by the New York City Partnership and Chamber of Commerce (NYCP 2001). As the Lower Manhattan Redevelopment Corporation debates various proposals for rebuilding "Ground Zero," it serves us well to ponder the historical geography of America's largest city.

In recent decades a growing literature has focused on the role of New York City as one of the dominant "command centers" in an integrated world economy (Abu-Lughod 1999; Godfrey and Zhou 1999; Sassen 2001). The "global-city hypothesis" posits that such transnational centers articulate financial transactions, corporate decision making, advertising campaigns, mass-media networks, legal and other services, and other political-economic functions (Friedmann and Wolff 1982; Friedmann 1995). The increasing dependence on such leading financial and corporate service sectors has come to dominate redevelopment agendas in restructured downtowns (Fainstein 1994; Godfrey 1995, 1997). An associated "dual-city hypothesis" asserts that the rise of the financial and corporate service sectors, along with the decline of urban industry and union employment, has exacerbated socioeconomic inequality in this and other global cities (Mollenkopf and Castells 1991; Sassen 1998).

The disruption of the stock market and financial services in Lower Manhattan after

9/11 raised questions anew about the viability and even the desirability of concentrating corporate activities in such pivotal central business districts. In fact, New York's international visibility masked a long civic preoccupation with the city's economic viability in an age of urban flight and corporate decentralization. Since World War II corporations have been leaving New York for lower-cost regions, and by the time of the city's virtual bankruptcy in the mid-1970s many pundits had written off America's largest center as a decaying, if somehow quaint, relic of the past. The subsequent financial revival and cultural efflorescence, which now appears to have peaked in the late 1990s, partially obscured the prolonged periods of economic stagnation, political ineptitude, crime, and social unrest of the past. At the current moment of transition in New York City's fortunes, it is instructive and even reassuring to review a series of notable books and an epic-length public television documentary calling our attention to the city's historic tragedies and transformations.

Recent urban histories remind us that New York's contemporary prominence was never assured in advance. In fact, the city's saga exhibits a variety of unpredictable twists and turns. The 1999 winner of the Pulitzer Prize for History, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*, by Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, is the first of two planned volumes on New York by a pair of local academic historians. An encyclopedic reference of 1,383 pages, *Gotham* is a skillfully written narrative of the city's past, starting with the native peoples and colonial origins and ending with the not-so-joyous union of the five boroughs in 1898. Crammed with facts and details, the book reads surprisingly well and even proves highly entertaining at points. One learns initially that *Gotham*, the city's nickname, which served as Washington's Irving thinly veiled pseudonym for New York in the early nineteenth century, was drawn from the name of an old English village and means "Goat's Town." The original Gothamites, known for their block-headed plots, used the subterfuge of dim-witted ploys to throw their rivals off balance, not unlike modern New York con artists!

Gotham covers the kaleidoscope of the city's unsteady growth and evolution before the twentieth century with a keen eye to political, economic, cultural, and other implications. Those concerned with contemporary urban problems may find solace in learning that the city has seen it all before. Burrows and Wallace frequently regale us with the sad state of New York City at various times. Take the contemporary uneven distribution of income: In 1789, as President Washington began his first term, the richest 2 percent--only eighty-eight individuals--of the New York population owned 25 percent of the city's wealth, and the top 20 percent possessed 75 percent, whereas the poorest 20 percent of New Yorkers possessed only 7 percent of the local assets; by 1800 the disparities of wealth and poverty had grown even worse (p. 351). Or crime: In 1749, "one local paper reported that it had 'become dangerous for the good People of this City to be out late at Nights, without being sufficiently strong or well armed'" (p. 185). *Gotham* emphasizes the complexity of an enormous range of such issues, rather than accepting easy answers.

This magisterial volume has benefited from the findings of contemporary social and urban historians, who have plowed through new types of documents and records--tax bills and financial ledgers, liquor licenses and arrest records, real estate assessments and

historical photographs in local archives--to enlarge our understanding of the city's past. The richness and range of such contemporary social research had become evident with the appearance of the Encyclopedia of New York City (Jackson 1995), and Burrows and Wallace make good use of that monumental work. Although an extensive bibliography is provided, Gotham lacks citations in the text, which will frustrate scholars intent on following historical debates. Surely the volume's popular aspirations would not have been damaged by discreet, numbered endnotes! Despite the vague documentation, Gotham is a major achievement. It will be a prized reference work for any urban scholar or keen observer of New York City.

A recent seven-part public television epic, *New York: A Documentary Film*, along with the companion book, *New York: An Illustrated History*, present timely and sweeping chronological narratives of the city's four centuries of history. Directed, cowritten, and coproduced by Ric Burns, the documentary and tie-in book follow his previous collaborative documentary on *The Civil War* (1990). In fact, in both its film and book formats, *New York* repeats the tried-and-true approach to making a historical documentary both educational and entertaining on public television: Historical events become relevant precursors to current issues; an authoritative voice narrates the continuing story, with occasional flashy elements of human interest, while interviews with famous and lesser-known experts and commentators punctuate the account with particular, often opinionated, points of view; and in the film version musical background provides an undercurrent of continuing emotion, interspersed with sound effects to make history seem "real." Broad aerial views of the city's contemporary skyline--probably too many of them, in fact--repeatedly reinforce the impact of sweeping interpretations of the city's past and present. Produced before 9/11, *New York* provides innumerable vistas of the since-fallen Twin Towers of the World Trade Center, which lend a particular air of poignancy and volatility to the urban tableau.

To capture a vast city's ups and downs is a tall order, even in a fourteen-hourlong film documentary and its weighty partner book. Yet *New York* succeeds in achieving an overall balance, breadth, and diversity of perspectives. Despite a tendency to rhapsodize about New York's superlative qualities, a narcissistic city is presented with its warts in full view. In segments like "The Power and the People, 1898-1918" and "The City of Tomorrow, 1929-1945," *New York* is presented for better and for worse. Filmed interviews feature notable public figures--such as filmmaker Martin Scorsese, former mayor Ed Koch, ex-senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and developer Donald Trump--among a wide array of academic historians and literary scholars, politicians, businesspeople, and others. Sometimes such observers state the obvious, but often they do give a sense of the city's complexity. The urban historians Mike Wallace and Kenneth Jackson, in particular, convey a vivid and nuanced sense of the diverse human forces at play in the city's unsteady evolution.

The book is able to expand on the points made in the film documentary, and short articles by notable observers supplement each chapter. At points *New York* may be faulted for a seemingly teleological reading into events with an ultimate civic purpose. Initially we learn, for example, that the Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam was

destined to become a future great city dedicated to the "exhilarating, often harrowing experiment to see whether all the peoples of the world could live together in a single place" (p. xiv). The notion that a commercial city like New York had a preordained multicultural purpose, or a moral calling of any kind, is even more dubious than it is hopeful; the constant cycles of urban change probably most reveal the indifferent power of capital in shaping the urban landscape. Even if New York history cannot be considered a moral cause, recent events do intensify a sense of human tragedy and ongoing transformation that makes this sweeping documentary all the more relevant to discussions of the city's future. The emotional impact of 9/11 comes across most poignantly in the final segment, "The City and the World, 1945-Present," which explores contemporary urban renewal, community decay, and inner-city revitalization in the context of the New York's national and global roles. Instead of being seen as an exceptional case of a cosmopolitan East Coast metropolis, New York ultimately reveals the city's story to be a parable of the United States itself.

Given the continual demolition and redevelopment of modern New York City, relatively little of the past remains to be seen today. It is difficult to envision the natural environment or early forms of settlement in such a dynamic business center, where "creative destruction" of the urban form has been the rule: Countless structures, both humble and grand, have been flattened to permit upward expansion in ever taller, more profitable buildings. (The destruction in 1965 of the neoclassical facade of the historic Pennsylvania Station, designed by McKim Mead and White at the turn of the twentieth century, prompted formation of the city's Landmarks Preservation Commission.)

Fortunately, the city's changing urban geography is preserved in a rich collection of historic maps. In fact, the historical cartography of New York City is probably unparalleled among North American cities, thanks to the efforts of prolific Dutch and English cartographers of the colonial period in documenting the city's early settlement and morphological change. *Manhattan in Maps* has reproduced the most notable New York cartographies of the past, beginning with the Maggiola Map of 1527, made just three years after Verrazano's brief reconnaissance of New York Harbor and the earliest map to represent the site of the future metropolis. The book concludes, appropriately, with the SPOT satellite image of 1990. Along the way, this erudite volume presents more than sixty historic maps, arranged by chronological periods and annotated with informative scholarly commentaries on their cartographic history and significance. Comprehensive and balanced in its selection, the exquisitely produced collection includes maps never previously published, such as Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux's 1858 plan for Central Park, along with new and improved images of such classics as the Commissioners Plan of 1811. Also of enduring historic interest are the Costello Map of 1660, the best depiction of the late Dutch settlement (Figure 3); the Croton Water Map of 1842, recording a monumental technological development; the "Red Scare" depicted by the Lusk Committee Map of 1920, with its demarcation of "radical" ethnic areas; and the Bollmann Map of 1962, providing a detailed pictorial map of Midtown Manhattan. Readers who are interested in the historical geography of New York City, and historical cartography generally, will treasure *Manhattan in Maps*.

Of a less academic nature, but probably more useful as a pedagogical tool, is *The*

Historical Atlas of New York City. This popular history, organized chronologically in eight chapters, includes artistic renderings, photographs, charts, historic and thematic maps, and other illustrations of the city. Its readable narrative supplements Manhattan in Maps by filling in the city's historical evolution with a contemporary interpretation of key episodes. Particular attention is given to such issues as ethnic succession, political history, popular culture, the evolving urban form, and contemporary districts. The Historical Atlas provides a comprehensive introduction to New York City's historical geography and is recommended for students and the general public, if not for scholars already versed in the subject.

The growth of New York City has depended on the construction of largely hidden infrastructures that provide the transportation, water, electricity, sewage, and other services crucial to the functioning of a modern metropolis. Although such infrastructural development is often taken for granted, two recent works point to the complicated battles to build and maintain these essential public services. Invisible New York provides a haunting photographic survey of the city's physical infrastructures, including fifty-two luminous black-and-white plates. Photographer Stanley Greenberg highlights a remarkable behind-the-scenes city: water tunnels 300 feet underground and other ingenious features of the municipal water system; the deeply recessed anchorages for the Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Verrazano Narrows Bridges; the deteriorating ruins on Ellis and Roosevelt Islands; railroad yards and transportation facilities; crumbling warehouses; and other monuments to civic life. In his introductory essay, Thomas H. Garver appropriately calls such infrastructures "serving places," referring to architect Louis Kahn's ideas about "servant" spaces and spaces that are "served."

Assembling this collection took Greenberg years, given official reluctance to grant him access to restricted sites. In a preface that now sends shivers down one's spine, Greenberg notes: "Recently it has become nearly impossible to gain access to many of the sites I have photographed, as government officials have been more worried about terrorist acts. Their response has been to make these places more secret. My response has been to make them more visible since I believe that the more we know about the infrastructure, the more we will do to ensure its survival" (p. x). As much as I enjoy Greenberg's work, recent events make me feel, sadly, that government officials are indeed prudent to hide the city's vital infrastructure from public view.

Although New York City now boasts abundant and high-quality fresh water, for much of its history the island-city was plagued by a lack of this vital resource. Drawing on an exhaustive examination of primary historical sources, Water for Gotham tells in quite readable fashion the tale of New York City's long and tortuous struggle to obtain fresh water. Gerard Koepfel recounts Manhattan's early physical geography and settlement history to show how the shallow wells of New Amsterdam were quickly rendered inadequate and polluted, leaving the English colonial settlement and the new American city filthy and at constant risk of epidemics and fires. It is amazing how many important events were determined by the shortage of potable water. For example, in 1664, Dutch Governor Peter Stuyvesant reported to his West India Company superiors that surrender to the British was inevitable, because the fort at the base of Manhattan was "without

either well or cistern"; the excuse sounded "very strange" to the company (p. 16). The pollution of local water sources forced late colonials to rely on imported "tea water" from springs on the fringes of town, although a rumored conspiracy among black slaves and servants to poison the water resulted in the murder of many of the African Americans water bearers and a decline in the city's use of the springs. Despite plans of early authorities to deliver mainland water to Manhattan, self-interested business groups long conspired against such efforts.

Enter "Fools of Gotham," an entertaining chapter on the Manhattan Company, masterminded by Aaron Burr, which gained a monopoly on water provision but actually served as a ruse to raise funds for a bank--today's Chase Manhattan. The Manhattan Company held the rights to water provision for more than three decades but did little to address the problem. After recurrent bouts of yellow fever and other epidemics, two tragedies in the 1830s dramatically illustrated the Manhattan Company's folly and finally prompted heroic actions to remedy the city's waterborne problems.

In 1832 a cholera epidemic devastated the city of a quarter of a million, leaving an official death toll of 3,516, though many more died from the disease, either undiagnosed or New Yorkers who died after fleeing the city. In fact, Koepfel informs us, "the death toll would have been much higher, but over one hundred thousand New Yorkers decided to flee" (p. 3). Although the etiology of cholera was as yet unknown, the lack of clean water was widely cited as a contributing factor. As they had for years, doctors recommended avoiding the local water and drinking wine or hard spirits to prevent falling victim to disease, which may be how New York City earned its reputation of being such a hard-drinking town! Three years later the disastrous Great Fire of 1835 spread quickly, due to a lack of water with which to fight it. Such tragedies forced municipal leaders to overcome years of infighting and corruption and to cooperate in the construction of the Croton Aqueduct, whose chief steward was the engineer John Bloomfield Jervis. As water from Croton filled the city's reservoirs in 1842, New York City rejoiced and subsequently grew even more rapidly. In the epilogue to this riveting saga of the "world's oldest continuously running urban water supply," Koepfel briefly follows subsequent efforts to expand water supplies as the city reached Croton's limits in the late nineteenth century: Addition of the immense Catskill and Delaware systems in the early twentieth century completed the municipal water system. Water for Gotham succeeds in providing a vivid case study of the vision and cooperation required to overcome entrenched political corruption and to build the physical infrastructure required of a great city.

In recent years an obvious urban renaissance has taken place in various districts of New York City, most notably in Manhattan but also as a spillover effect in newly trendy areas of the other boroughs. Various neighborhoods, once seedy and rundown, have shed their negative images and become sought-after locations for affluent city residents and visitors alike; in some cases, the threat of displacement has sparked heated social movements of resistance to gentrification (Abu-Lughod 1994; Smith 1996). Recent books analyze the vivid transformations of the Lower East Side and Times Square in terms of the historic processes involved in their contemporary makeovers. Despite distinctive trajectories of neighborhood change, these works highlight the importance of cultural

politics in redevelopment: Artists and the arts industries played vital roles by depicting the storied pasts of the neighborhoods. This focus on cultural capital and local politics is a useful complement to the common preoccupation with disinvestment, property speculation, and other economic forces in explaining urban revitalization.

Christopher Mele's *Selling the Lower East Side* recounts more than a century of the neighborhood's history, with an emphasis on ethnic, social, and cultural matters. Throughout his sweeping historical sociology, Mele explains how the Lower East Side first declined and then overcame its image as a dangerous, drug-infested neighborhood to become a chic area for the young, hip, and professional sets. The way outsiders, such as the media, developers, potential residents, and tourists, perceived the area contributed to both its downfall and its subsequent renaissance.

As a center of working-class tenement life at the turn of the twentieth century and as one of the city's prime destinations for Puerto Rican immigrants beginning in the 1950s, the Lower East Side developed a reputation as a slum neighborhood. Yet, as artists and the counterculture began to trickle into what became known as the "East Village" in the 1960s, real estate interests and developers became interested in the neighborhood. A struggle over space ensued, as "real estate capitalists" and "state actors" battled working-class and minority residents for control of the area. Once developers determined that they could profit from neighborhood redevelopment, they determined to promote the arts as a strategy to draw more affluent residents. In fact, Mele asserts, the main reason for reinvestment lay in the "symbolic representation of the East Village as an alluring arts district" (p. 223). Artists of the late 1970s and early 1980s created a "rebellious art genre" that appealed to wealthy patrons and developers, leading to a steady gentrification and the displacement of original residents (p. 228). As opposed to simplistic political-economic analyses of neighborhood change, Mele stresses the importance of cultural perceptions as "local stakeholders manipulate images of class, ethnic, racial, and sexual differences over time to facilitate neighborhood change and to prevent it" (p. 30).

Reconstructing Times Square also focuses on the importance of changing neighborhood images in urban decline and revitalization. Alexander Reichl emphasizes the changing cultural perception of Times Square in his explanation of the area's historic rise in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, its mid-twentieth century deterioration, and its contemporary commercial revival. After a series of false starts beginning in the 1960s, the city and state redevelopment agencies, in partnership with private developers, gradually replaced an emphasis on high-rise office construction with a focus on historic preservation of the theater district. Forcible removal of the area's many adult bookstores, peep shows, streetwalkers, and drug dealers in a notorious but vibrant vice district--occupied buildings and social spaces, by no means "abandoned"--vacated West 42nd Street in the early phases of urban renewal. Yet redevelopment forces succeeded in transforming the tawdry zone into an area safe for Disney-style "family entertainment" during the mid-1990s. In fact, the decision of the Disney Corporation to renovate the decaying New Amsterdam Theater, facilitated by a sizable state subsidy, ensured the creation of the contemporary urban "theme park" (Sorkin 1992). What is most interesting in Reichl's work is his analysis of how state agencies and probusiness

forces effectively used urban imagery to set the stage for redevelopment. The manipulation of cultural history proved instrumental in the discourse of urban renewal: "The image frequently used likened Times Square to a 'cancer' that must be removed in order to save the economic health and social fabric of the city's West Side" (p. 61).

In addition to ridding the area of its vices, developers built on the district's historic image as an entertainment district, thus re-creating a contemporary vision of the "Great White Way." By envisioning a return to the glory days of Broadway theater, the city justified closing, restoring, and reopening adult theaters as "legitimate" establishments. Reviving the century-old image of Times Square was essential, because "restored historic areas are manufactured as objects of consumption, forming the type of urban spectacle that attracts affluent residents and visitors and nurtures commercial activity" (p. 8). Before big-time investors like Disney could be lured into the Times Square area, it was necessary to boast an image other than that of a lewd vice district catering to adult patrons. As was true of the Lower East Side, marketing Times Square as an arts-oriented area was crucial in bringing it back to economic health. After successfully promoting this image, Times Square and the surrounding areas attracted legions of affluent visitors. With its "historic" theaters and innumerable new venues now offering socially acceptable entertainment, new high-rise office buildings and hotels have arisen in ways only dreamed of a few decades ago. Thanks to the artsy image fostered by redevelopment, Times Square is again the "Crossroads of the World," as it was in the early twentieth century (Taylor 1991). Now we can sit back and watch the struggles of the Lower East Side counterculture in Rent, amid the flashy extravagance of the "New 42nd Street" (Figure 4).

Taken together, these contemporary works on New York City serve to reaffirm the resilience of this urban center in the midst of its recurrent difficulties. History shows us that the city has withstood military occupation, deadly epidemics, devastating fires, crippling blizzards, declines in public safety, tumultuous riots, disinvestment, and physical deterioration. New York's ability to recover from such adversity is shown repeatedly in Gotham, as when Burrows and Wallace recount the havoc of the two-week fire in freezing temperatures that burned down much of Lower Manhattan, including what is now known as "Ground Zero," during December 1835 (pp. 596-598). Although that "13-acre ocean of burning waves" destroyed 674 buildings, some 500 new structures were erected within a year. Somehow the city has survived and even thrived after such catastrophes. As public planning proceeds to redevelop the World Trade Center site, the city's historic resilience will be tested again in the wake of the devastating impacts of 11 September 2001.

ADDED MATERIAL

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FIG. 1--New Yorkers spontaneously expressed their grief over the victims of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in countless public memorials featuring photographs of missing loved ones, as in this mural on Avenue B in Lower Manhattan. (Photograph by the author,

November 2001)

FIG. 2--The demolition and removal of the World Trade Center ruins created a gaping 16-acre crater at "Ground Zero" in Lower Manhattan, as seen in March 2002 with the surviving World Financial Center in the background (Photograph by the author)

FIG. 3--The Costello Map, depicting the irregular streets of New Amsterdam in 1660, shows the nascent forms of what became Broadway leading to the Dutch fort and Wall Street stretching across the island as a defensive line. Source: Cohen and Augustyn 1997, 39.

FIG. 4--The "New 42nd Street," sanitized and revitalized with new theaters and cineplexes, Madame Tussaud's Wax Museum, a Disney store, and numerous restaurants, as it looked in November 2001. (Photograph by the author)

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