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Editorial note: Book reviews are edited for typographical errors, and otherwise are printed as received.



## Reviews

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. By Edmund S. Morgan. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

So much has already been written about Benjamin Franklin, that it is difficult to imagine what more could be contributed to the story. And although written in the attractive, accessible style we have come to expect from this senior early Americanist, there is little new in this biography—a relatively brief biography given the book’s scope and the subject’s long, encompassing, and complex life. As have others before him, Morgan insists that Franklin consistently placed public interest before his own desires; he would have preferred the life of a scientist, but he accepted the role of statesman and public servant. What sets Morgan apart from many other writers who have developed this theme is his not shying away from the contradictions in Franklin’s life that at times called this commitment into question. By recognizing those contradictions for what they were, rather than ignoring them, Morgan presents a more human figure than most other biographers of this fascinating and often idolized figure.

In his preface, Morgan makes clear that “this book exists because of that disk”—the recently developed CD that contains the *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*. Its editor made an advance copy available to Morgan, which “enabled me to write it.” The result is a biography that is heavily reliant on the words of Benjamin Franklin—published and personal—but that is light on secondary literature, and that largely avoids or fails to address in any depth, the historiographical controversies surrounding this very public figure.

Further, although deceptively simple in his prose, Morgan assumes some previous knowledge of Franklin’s life. Readers would be well advised to review Franklin’s early life in Boston and reasons for moving to Philadelphia, his early years in Philadelphia, those trips to England that helped situate Franklin in the independence movement upon his return, his role in the Continental Congress, his diplomatic assignments abroad, and his final act as senior statesman at the Constitutional Convention in order to more fully appreciate this book which focuses on the reasons for his actions and public stances along the way.

A major, if not highly original, theme in Morgan's biography is Franklin's insatiable curiosity, which Morgan lists as his most conspicuous virtue. Franklin, Morgan insists, had that rare capacity for surprise that has made possible advances in human knowledge throughout history. It was his habit of not taking things for granted, his ability to look at everyday occurrences and wonder why, and his continually engaging in controlled observations and experiments to help him understand what he saw around him, that led Franklin to become not only a scientist, but also an author, printer, and diplomat. It was his determination to devote his life to usefulness in public service, and the pleasure he took in making life better for himself and those around him, that led him to form the Junto in Philadelphia, to establish the Library Company of Philadelphia, to found the country's first lending library, and to create a volunteer fire company—as well as to lend his considerable support to the paving of Philadelphia's streets, making them safe at night, providing health care for those in need, and establishing the Academy of Philadelphia, later the University of Pennsylvania. In all of this, Morgan insists, Franklin was the least doctrinaire of men. Rather than insisting that people do what he wished, he was convinced that people could be enticed to do what was best for themselves and those around them. Thus his belief in representative government based on popular sovereignty and the consent of the governed.

As noted, Morgan addresses contradictions in Franklin's personality, that nevertheless did not prevent him from becoming a celebrity—perhaps the leading celebrity of his time. He points out, for example, that although Franklin played a leading role in the major political controversies of his day, he was personally averse to public altercation. Similarly, although Franklin was reluctant to engage in public debate over contending scientific theories, he was quite willing to make public the results of his experiments which provided evidence for or against those theories.

On the other hand, Morgan allows, in certain matters—in religion, most notably—Franklin could be quite outspoken, even confrontational. Such was the case with Franklin's public stance in the Samuel Hemphill matter in the Philadelphia Presbyterian Church during the 1730s. It was a matter Franklin could easily have ignored—and in subsequent versions of his autobiography he sought to minimize his involvement—but he decided instead to engage in publicly branding the church's position in the matter an example of the type of religious orthodoxy he opposed. By way of another example, the ordinarily highly tolerant Franklin made clear his disapproval of the large number of German immigrants entering Pennsylvania. He stated publicly his fear that the colony would become “a colony of Aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them, and will never adopt our Language or Customs, any more than they can acquire our Complexion” (77).

Perhaps the most interesting pages of Morgan's biography focus on Franklin's life in London during the three years prior to Lexington and Concord. If John Adams was correct in asserting that “the Revolution was effected before the war commenced,” meaning that the true revolution was in the mind and hearts of the people, rather than on the battlefield, Benjamin Franklin provided his best example. As Morgan shows, the events of those years—in which Franklin was often a major player—were crucial in moving Franklin to the fore as leader of American independence. By May 1775, at which point he returned to the colonies, he may have remained hopeful that a change of ministry, if not a change of heart, might still reconcile the opposing parties, but he was increasingly convinced that the die had been cast. He continued to counsel moderation in the colonial response to British measures. He commonly sought to straddle the gap

between firebrands and conservatives at the Continental Congress. But in his heart, and behind the scenes, he quietly prepared to lead the colonies toward independence and encouraged their preparation for armed conflict.

Morgan concludes that even his contemporaries realized that Franklin, as much as any man of his time, shaped, as well as was shaped by, the world in which he lived. He knew how to value himself and what he did without mistaking himself for something more than one man among many. "His special brand of self-respect," Morgan writes, "required him to honor his fellow men and women no less than himself. His way of serving a superior God was to serve them" (314).

University of Missouri, Kansas City

Bryan F. Le Beau

RED, WHITE, AND BLUE LETTER DAYS: An American Calendar. By Matthew Dennis. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002.

A recent episode of "The Sopranos" centered around a violent argument between Italian Americans and Indian protestors who disrupted the Columbus Day Parade in Newark, New Jersey. The writers of "The Sopranos" used the conflict over Christopher Columbus and his role as a symbol of Italian-American pride as a foil to poke fun at real Italian-American groups who have criticized "The Sopranos" for perpetuating negative ethnic stereotypes. The mix in this current form of popular culture of politics, entertainment, and commentary on Christopher Columbus serves as an elegant example of the vibrant public discourse analyzed by Matthew Dennis in *Red, White, and Blue Letter Days*.

Dennis has produced a valuable contribution to the recent scholarship on festive culture, holidays, and the creation of identity in the United States, and his book should join works by David Waldstrieher, Leigh Schmidt, Mary Ryan, and Len Travers as a standard work in the field. Dennis analyzes celebrations of Independence Day, Thanksgiving, Columbus Day, Presidents' birthdays, Memorial Day, Labor Day, and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday to show how the "performance of public holidays" allowed Americans to practice "their social, cultural, and political identities in the public sphere...over the several hundred years of the American past" (7).

The wide scope and chronological sweep of Dennis' project constitutes its great strength, although not all chapters are equally convincing. *Red, White, and Blue Letter Days* analyzes holidays from their inception to the year 2000, which allows readers to compare festive practices over time in a way few other works do.

Dennis' strongest analysis concentrates on the contested meanings of public celebrations such as Independence Day and Memorial Day. He has a keen eye for regional difference and manages to incorporate political subtlety despite the wide sweep of his chronology. Dennis' careful research gives his work depth, and he provides some fresh perspectives, for example, on the participation of Indians in a whole array of American patriotic holidays.

Dennis' approach is least successful when he veers away from a focus on celebratory practice and the specific meanings of holidays. The chapters on President's Day and Columbus Day each contain sections about the reputations of the men being celebrated that seem truncated and out of place. Dennis does a better job in the chapter on Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Birthday of using King's life as context for celebrations of his holiday. The chapter on Thanksgiving makes some sweeping claims about Thanksgiving being the most malleable of all holidays that do not seem to be borne out by the evidence.

Dennis shies away from making any striking overall conclusions about holidays beyond that Americans have used them to negotiate multiple identities. But he does argue provocatively in several chapters that the commercialization of American holidays has not represented a “decline” from previous celebratory practices.

Dennis’ work is well-written and thought-provoking, and it should make an excellent addition to many American studies and history courses.

Grinnell College

Sarah J. Purcell

RACE AND REUNION: The Civil War in American Memory. By David W. Blight. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2001.

Small wonder, given the massive destructiveness of the Civil War, that the reunification of North and South required such a long painful struggle. David W. Blight adds to our understanding of the half-century following the war by examining the role of public memory in the struggle toward reunion. He has concluded that race was “the central problem in how Americans made choices to remember and forget their Civil War” (2). Tragically, Blight argues, most Americans valued sectional peace above racial justice. As they reached out and shook hands over the “bloody chasm” that had separated them, whites chose to forget the emancipationist goals of the 1860s as part of a successful effort to restore their racial supremacy. They allowed a lost-cause vision of blue-gray courage to trump the Union cause’s ideology of black freedom.

Ironically, no group was more crucial to the process of sectional healing than the former combatants themselves. Widely perceived as models of masculine courage and patriotic devotion in an age of political corruption, social unrest and materialism, Civil War veterans wielded significant influence in defining the terms of reunification. Memorial Day rituals celebrated the mutual valor of Billy Yank and Johnny Reb. Veteran memoirs submerged the bitter politics of the war in a mass of anecdotal details. Organizations such as the Grand Army of the Republic segregated the races and participated in blue-gray reunions that understandably held little appeal for African American veterans. Soldier monuments placed generic white figures on pedestals throughout the land. Famous and powerful old Union soldiers like Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Ulysses S. Grant, Ambrose Bierce, and William McKinley all in their own ways contributed to an unjust culture of reconciliation.

An eloquent few spoke out against this consensus. Carpetbagger judge and writer Albion W. Tourgee attacked the sentimental and apolitical nature of Southern literature about the war. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, in his sculpted monument to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, reminded Americans that black men also wore the uniform of blue and fought for their freedom. By far the most important dissenter was Frederick Douglass. Until his death in 1895, Douglass raged against those who forgot that the Civil War was a moral conflict whose righteous goal was not only to reunify the nation, but also to regenerate it through emancipation of the slaves.

Blight has surely given us the definitive account of race as a factor in the cultural reconciliation of the North and South, but there were other important dimensions to the story. Nina Silber’s *The Romance of Reunion* (1993), for example, examines gender as a metaphor for postwar sectional relations. We still await a study of the middle-class nature of the reunion, especially as a response to the labor movement, immigrant workers, and the Populists. Furthermore, our understanding of the central role played by the veterans could be extended and deepened by reconstructing their activities at the state and local levels.

If, as Blight contends, “the conflicted memory of the Civil War lived at the heart of American political culture” (93), then we must continue to pursue this theme and fully incorporate it into our histories of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.

Bethany College

Bruce R. Kahler

AMONG WOMEN: From the Homosocial to the Homoerotic in the Ancient World. Edited by Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz and Lisa Auanger. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2002.

*Among Women* presents both new evidence and new interpretations about homosocial and homoerotic relationships between women in “antiquity,” a period that the contributors define expansively, from pre-Classical Greece to 5th century CE Egypt. They make their arguments through an examination of a variety of artifacts, including frescoes, vase paintings, tombstones, monastic and sophistic writing, poetry, and myth. *Among Women* will be a welcome corrective to earlier scholarship on same-sex love in antiquity which presented female homoeroticism as a parenthetical investigation. Many of the contributors argue that although it clearly did not attain the public status of male same-sex love, female homoeroticism during the eras in question was very much a part of everyday life and ritual.

The essays fall along a spectrum from implicit to explicit with regard to the evidence. The opening essay, for instance, by Paul Rehak, examines frescoes from Bronze Age Greece which appear to suggest coming-of-age rituals for girls. They contain no depiction of sexual activity or even personal affection between the female subjects, but the author considers the implications of initiation and hypothesizes a homoerotic connection between the participants. The final essay, by Terry Wilfong, examines a 5th century CE monastery document that prescribes punishment for two nuns who have been caught pursuing their “physical desire” for one another.

That most of the essays between the first and the last must hypothesize about female homoeroticism from evidence that is not explicit cannot, of course, be taken to mean that such homoeroticism did not exist. Nancy Rabinowitz cogently points out in her introduction to this volume that the question of “how you can be sure” is simultaneously homophobic (in its requirement of proof) and masculinist (in its insistence that what constitutes proof is a sexual act modeled on intercourse). In a heterosexual context, she argues, “the assumption of sexual significance often requires little more than a glance” (4). These essays provide many glances.

One of the most interesting of them, Lisa Auanger’s “Glimpses Through a Window: An Approach to Roman Female Homoeroticism through Art Historical and Literary Evidence,” convincingly insists that we cannot assume that for the ancient Romans the dominant form of female homoeroticism was manifested in cultural institutions with which our era is familiar, such as formal domestic partnership or challenges to gender expectations (short hair, men’s clothing, etc.). Auanger examines Roman visual and literary materials that express female homoeroticism through images of women touching, gazing, and appreciating one another’s beauty. Such iconography and latent symbolism, she argues, present an intimacy that would seem to indicate an “informal institution” (214) that is no longer extant or never *officially* existed. Auanger draws a convincing parallel between that institution and the bygone relationships between women which eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe and America dubbed “romantic friendships.”

As many of the contributors to this volume readily admit, there is much that we don’t know and will never know for certain about female same-sex relationships in

antiquity. But the authors do fine work in offering evidence about which we can speculate, and they make intelligent, persuasive guesses of their own.

California State University, Fresno

Lillian Faderman

POLITICS OF MASCULINITIES: Men in Movements. By Michael A. Messner. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press. 2000.

*Politics of Masculinities: Men in Movements* is an insightful and progressive sociological analysis of the wide range of men's movement discourse and practice in the contemporary United States. As such it serves as an excellent introduction of its subject for students and scholars, and it will likely become a standard text in undergraduate courses on critical studies of masculinities.

Michael Messner, author or editor of several texts on American masculinities and long a fixture in the now well-established pro-feminist camp of men's studies in the United States, offers here a clear, useful framework for distinguishing among the several strands of men's movement activity. As his subtitle suggests, the men's movement is not singular but plural, not a single movement characterized by an overriding political imperative, but an array of often contradictory and competing movements, each most easily understood in its specific relation to second-wave feminism, about which Messner sometimes generalizes too much.

Nonetheless, Messner historically contextualizes the emergence of men's movements enough for readers to grasp that they must go well beyond Robert Bly's early 1990s bestseller *Iron John* to begin to understand the politics of masculinities. Messner's work is largely a categorizing and framing of individual men's movements, based on an triangular analytical model privileging three themes as constitutive of the "terrain of the politics of masculinities": institutionalized privileges, costs of masculinity, and differences/inequalities among men. He uses this model, itself based on the larger objective of social justice in all social relations (not only those of gender), to locate, analyze, and critique seven varieties of men's movements emergent in United States culture since the early 1970s: the two "essentialist retreats" of the Christian Fundamentalist Promise Keepers and the (Bly-inspired) Mythopoetic Men's Movement; the 1970s Men's Liberation Movement and the (ongoing) Men's Rights Movement; a Socialist Feminist Men's Movement (largely composed of "pro-feminist" academic men and inclusive of the National Organization for Men Against Sexism, of which Messner is a member); Racialized Masculinity Politics (which in Messner's discussion prominently features the 1995 Million Man March and its contradictory discourses), and, finally, the Gay Male Liberation Movement (treated in only nine pages and, unfortunately, slipped into the same chapter that treats the Million Man March).

One might take issue with the book's loose definition of "movement" or its organizational scheme—is the Million Man March and its aftermath a "movement" or is it not? Does placing "Racialized Masculinity Politics" and "Gay Male Liberation" in the same chapter inadvertently de-racialize and de-sexualize the other five movements, which happen to be composed primarily of white, heterosexual men? However, Messner is a consistently astute observer of the politics of masculinities and a constructive critic of the seven movements he identifies in the book's 135 pages. His concluding chapter's call for the centering of multiracial feminism in analyses of masculinity politics makes eminent sense, even as it complicates his preface's rather tired, humanist claim that it is only "through the empowerment of women that men will become more fully human."

St. Lawrence University

Joel J. Morton

THE DEATH PENALTY: An American History. By Stuart Banner. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002.

In this sober but easily readable work, Professor Stuart Banner sets out to describe our country's engagement with capital punishment. Beginning well before the Declaration of Independence, and ending with the execution of Timothy McVeigh, the book recounts our country's national ambivalence.

The book succeeds on a multitude of levels. Banner begins with a compelling and richly detailed explanation of the social meaning of executions in colonial America. Using verbatim accounts, he describes vividly the religious and public ritual—condemnation, penitence, suspense, and, occasionally, last-minute pardon—that made executions one of the most important and well-attended of public events. He then recounts the gradual change in the meaning of capital punishment as executions moved from the public square to behind prison walls, with a chapter on methods of execution that describes the history and technology in as much detail as anyone could possibly desire. Banner explains convincingly the changes in public sensibility that prompted these alterations and their consequences for the death penalty debate.

The work also recounts the debate between abolitionists and retentionists that has gone on in our country since its founding. For anyone who follows the debate today, it should be a fascinating reading to discover how much of the argument has stayed the same and to learn that opposition figures included such luminaries as James Madison and DeWitt Clinton. Banner's superb account of the evolution of the law of capital punishment also convincingly demonstrates some of its continuity. For example, he shows how review of capital verdicts now undertaken by the judiciary was accomplished a century ago by the use of pardon power by executive officials.

The book is thoroughly researched and very well written. It fills an enormous gap in what is otherwise a very dense literature. Although the pared-down footnotes may be a disappointment to some scholars, the work does note the original material upon which the author relies. Banner deserves special praise for his ability to present this material in an even-handed way. The author clearly cares about the subject, but he scrupulously avoids any polemics. Professor Banner is to be commended for producing a valuable and interesting contribution to this important subject.

University of Kansas

David Gottlieb

CAPTIVES AND COUSINS: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands. By James F. Brooks. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002.

Few topics have enjoyed such a wealth of historical and comparative study as that of slavery in the Americas. Nearly all works to date—whether produced by United States or Latin American historians—explore the “horrid institution” through the prisms of the African trade, its connection to the Atlantic world economy, and its accompanying significance for racial categorization. James Brooks offers a fresh and insightful new perspective by examining Spanish-Indigenous slaveowning practices in the southwestern borderlands of North America from the late pre-Columbian era to the end of the nineteenth century. According to Brooks, the region's relatively late integration into the Atlantic political and trade network allowed for the development of an ethnically heterogeneous frontier society where captives acquired in raiding expeditions played important roles as cultural mediators between diverse groups.

For Brooks, these groups were unified by a common faith in patriarchy. Iberian and indigenous peoples shared a mutual understanding of the stealing and trading of women and children—usually acquired in war or enemy raids—as symbols of power. Careful to avoid moral excuses for such practices, Brooks does emphasize the system’s difference from Atlantic-based slavery. In the small, typically endogamous communities of the Southwest, acquiring captives served as an acceptable means of economic and cultural exchange that preserved the dignity of men on all sides. Unlike southern black slavery that perpetuated myths of absolute racial categories, the establishment of fictive kin networks in the Southwest allowed for the incorporation of captives into their captors’ societies, either through marriage, adoption, or some form of serf status. Through decades and centuries of intermarriage, captives and their descendants contributed to cultural and racial *mestizaje* (mixing) that helped border peoples accommodate themselves to abrupt military and economic changes.

Geographically, Brooks centers much of his attention on colonial New Mexico, but his application of “borderlands” extends much further. He provides a sweeping ethnographic inspection of the social and political structures of nearly all the Southwest’s major groups, and even some on the Central Plains; Navajos, Spanish colonists, Utes, Comanches, Apaches, Cheyennes, Pawnees and others are all examined quite thoroughly. His concluding chapters deal with the early decades of United States occupation, when long-standing kinship ties were sundered and replaced with state-imposed ethnic identities.

The positing of slavery as a seminal feature of kinship and community is an ambitious thesis that, unfortunately, often distracts the author from his framework, straying into narrative details that have been well-covered by previous scholars. At times, Brooks casts his definition of “slavery” pretty wide, treating various “social marginals” as synonymous with commodified people. A theoretical chapter could be included that compares cultural concepts of “freedom” and “slavery” across multiple groups, perhaps even employing an etymological analysis to determine if the contemporary meaning of “slavery” should be appropriately applied to this topic. Though many historians will likely disagree with Brooks over this, they cannot afford to ignore him, for he has produced a synthesis of borderlands history that is relevant not only for students of northern Mexico and the American West, but for all who are interested in the interconnections between slavery, race and ethnicity.

Johnson County Community College

James N. Leiker

SIFTERS: Native American Women’s Lives (Viewpoints on American Culture). By Theda Perdue. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001.

One needs first to understand prior to reading this book that the chapters are “viewpoints on American culture” as opposed to straightforward or Western traditional biographies of American Indian women. Within the fourteen chapters, each author contextualizes the blended and tensioned social developments that were/are pervasive for each woman discussed. These contextualized biographies span time from pre-Revolutionary War periods to the recent twentieth century. The primary structural component in each essay forms a contextualized evolution of interactions between the individual, as a representative of her Nation, and the greater socio-historical milieu. Some may disagree, understandably, with the actions and behaviors of the women as described. There are scant records available to document and inform the academic

historian's story as developed from such documentation. While most chapters are rigorously researched, meeting high academic standards, the four chapters of most interest to an Indian reader may well be those that also rely on oral histories and personal interviews with friends and relatives. While writing styles and formats selected by particular authors in this volume are widely varied, the essays describing Lozen (Chiricahua Apache), Mary Montoya Martinez (San Ildefonso Pueblo), Delfina Cuero (Kuumeyaay) and Anna Mae Pictou (Mi'kmaq) reveal new information about their lives and the socio-historical contexts in which these women lived.

There has been a dearth of information about American Indians in general and more especially a crucial lack of accurate portrayals and empathetically drawn characterizations of American Indian women. *Sifters* stands alone as a prestigious attempt to remedy that situation. Taken as a whole this book presents a well reasoned, well-researched account of a selected group of women that meets historians' and academicians' needs for information regarding specific American Indian women and their interactions with the larger socio-historical period as well as the consequences of their existence in that larger framework. This book will represent a strong addition to courses focusing on issues in Women's Studies programs or departments as well as departments of Native American Studies, Centers for Indigenous Studies, and American Indian Studies. Many of the essays primary contributions to the education of Euro-Americans can be described as depicting in a more realistic manner than has been done, the subtleties of American Indian engendering of roles and expectations, the fluidity and independence that many American Indian women had/have in defining their cultural, social, and transitional roles, and the contextualized depictions of historical events in which these women played pivotal roles. In a similar vein, a recently published collection of essays by Bea Medicine, *Learning to be an Anthropologist and Remaining Native*. (University of Illinois Press, 2001) as well as Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, *Anti-Indianism in Modern America* (University of Illinois Press, 2001) also offer valuable reminders of issues in the contemporary lives of American Indians and American Indian women.

University of New Mexico

J. Anne Calhoon

AN EMPIRE DIVIDED: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean. By Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2000.

In nine chapters *An Empire Divided* offers a political history of the British colonies in the Caribbean in the era of the American Revolution. The contours of O'Shaughnessy's arguments are clearly defined and coherently articulated. For all the rigorous research the author draws on (and it is considerable), his central thesis is deceptively simple: the Caribbean colonies were not the same as those on the mainland. It is perhaps because this seems so straightforward, so blindingly obvious, that nobody has bothered to explore it fully before. And this is O'Shaughnessy's great contribution. In pursuing it, the author is able to highlight areas of profound difference; he offers a vision of a British Atlantic empire (as recognised by contemporaries) of twenty-six rather than thirteen colonies; and his book, by placing the American Revolution in a broader context, allows the refining of explanations of its causes and the war that followed.

The book begins with a discussion of the "Foundations of Loyalty" among white West Indians and argues that planter absenteeism, the lack of a clear "class" division in white society, the lack of a religious challenge to Anglicanism, and the geographical dispersal of the islands all contributed to an affinity with Britain that was not shared by

their northern cousins. Underpinning all this was the presence of thousands of enslaved labourers required by the sugar plantations. Fears about slave revolts meant that the plantocracy was dependent on British forces for defence. As a result the army was never seen as an occupying force that perpetuated tyrannical rule but instead as an essential bulwark. On this issue, as with many others, O'Shaughnessy demonstrates how colonists in the Caribbean were at variance with those in the Thirteen Colonies.

The author shows how the long-established, and occasionally belligerent, island assemblies were not hot-beds of revolt, and so takes issue with the notion that the rise of assemblies in themselves can explain revolution. Caribbean assemblies did not like the Stamp Act, or additional duties, or breaches of their prerogatives. But at no time did specific grievances (which they were more than happy to articulate) lead to wider disaffection with the colonial system. Caribbean assemblies recognised Parliamentary sovereignty, and sought to better order affairs in the islands in the context of the Empire. For them, the system worked.

With war looming, West Indians tried to intercede in the conflict between North America and Britain, to no avail. While they opposed the War, it was because it damaged them, not because they believed British action in America was unjust. The islands remained loyal, despite some terrible hardships from shortages and invasions. O'Shaughnessy argues these hardships were not a result of Britain's lack of commitment, but an over-stretching of resources. Indeed, British priorities were such that troops were moved from North America to garrison the Caribbean, so weakening their presence on the mainland.

The book concludes with a short chapter on "The Revolutionary Legacy." O'Shaughnessy argues the Revolution marked the beginning of the political, but not the economic, decline of the West Indies. He suggests the expectations of the enslaved and free people of colour who served in the War represented new challenges to social relations in the islands. The division of British America, he argues, also seriously weakened the planter lobby in London, particularly in the face of campaigns by the East India Company and abolitionists. But the planters did retain sufficient influence to secure concessions from London (Exchequer Loans in the 1790s, for example) and to maintain both the sugar monopoly and the slave trade into the nineteenth century. This point aside, Professor O'Shaughnessy's fine book is to be recommended to all who are interested in the American Revolution, and in the political contours of the British Atlantic Empire.

University of York (United Kingdom)

Douglas Hamilton

THE CULTURE OF CLASSICISM: Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life, 1780-1910. By Caroline Winterer. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002.

THE AMERICAN AENEAS: Classical Origins of the American Self. By John C. Shields. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2001.

It is hard to understand the myths that fuelled the American Revolution, or the political philosophy that came to America from France, or the memorials of the Revolution, without appreciating the impact of the image of Rome and Greece on the American imaginary. Caroline Winterer's *The Culture of Classicism* and John Shields' *The American Aeneas* follow the pioneering work of Gary Wills, J.G. Pocock, William Vance, Carl Richard, and others in exploring the role of classicism in American intellectual life. Shields starts from the first settlements, and focuses on rather neglected

early American poets and essayists, while Winterer is largely interested in the nineteenth century. Both are interested in the clash between classical education and the principles of the church, between the pagan and the Christian. Both are aware that there is a complex dynamic between the Christian and the Classical at work in the establishment of a distinctive American culture. But it is the differences between these two projects that are most telling.

Winterer approaches the topic through classical education in its institutional form. She looks at how the rapid growth of secular universities had a huge impact on American culture. She traces educationalists' commitment to classics (and the struggle around how the subject should be taught), and she moves from this institutional frame towards those educated by it. We meet the men of letters primarily engaged in elite intellectual life. She sets out to trace the cast list and the motivating principles that inform this history of classical learning. As such, she makes a genuine contribution to intellectual history at its gruttiest end—the classroom, the committee, the club.

Her project does not much try to look in broader terms at culture: at what happened to this learning in a wider artistic and political world, or how that world cut itself off from the University. But more worrying than this self-imposed restriction is Winterer's refusal of "thick description" even in her limited arena. Too many characters enter the story trailing no more than dates by way of contextualization. Too many incidents are skated over, when there is a vivid and revealing story to be told. Take Matthew Arnold's lecture tour of the United States. There was a huge range of responses to his visit. General Grant walked out of his first public lecture; some towns organized demonstrations against him for his religious views; he was cheered by students; he scandalized the Bostonians, and so on. This provides a mass of evidence that tells in detail of the cultural battle over classics and American identity. But neither Arnold's tour nor any other such occasion receives a full-scale account.

Shields looks mostly at literature, however. He offers the very grandest type of grand model: a titanic and all-embracing "clash between the myth of Adam and the myth of Aeneas," that is, a clash between ideas and images stemming from the Christian tale of Adam as the founder of a new Christian world; and the imperial story of Aeneas coming West to found a new empire. For Shields these are dominant elements of the American self, and he writes with a missionary's zeal to free the American Aeneas from the "cultural blindness" which has kept this Roman inheritance unrecognized.

The little known poets and essayists he collects will interest Americanists. His exemplary heroes include the black female epic writer Phillis Wheatley, the poet Edward Taylor, along with Cotton Mather, and more familiar names. But Shields, too, provides little sense of how these figures might be contextualized. There is little sense that *who* reads works might make some difference to their impact; that interaction *between* people affects culture; that there are institutions of power in which literature performs. The book wants desperately to be revolutionary. Like many would-be revolutionaries, it offers a grotesquely one-sided understanding of society paraded as the key to everything. It is appallingly written, with many ungrammatical sentences and a self-aggrandizing tone (from the seven pages of Oscar-speech acknowledgements onwards). It is a pity that a strong editorial hand was not applied; for the genuinely interesting claims about early American writing are well and truly buried.

It may be a fantasy to want to investigate the cultural impact of Classics on America and "see it clear and see it whole." But it is telling that neither Winterer nor Shields wants to investigate the personal politics of the historical actors other than in a superficial

manner, and each is happy to restrict the multiple perspectives which make up culture into a one-dimensional portrait. Cultural history needs more.

King's College, Cambridge

Simon Goldhill

INDIAN ORPHANGES. By Marilyn Irvin Holt. University Press of Kansas. 2001.

When one thinks, speaks, or hears about the placement on Indian children in homes or educational institutions outside of the traditional Native American family or tribal setting the words "Indian Boarding Schools" leaps forward in the mind and occasionally in the public consciousness. More rarely, the placement of Indian children under the provisions of the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) of 1978 may be discussed within the concept of what is deemed "best" for the Indian child. I must admit that I too have been tied to these institutional arrangements when thinking, talking, and writing about the placement of Indian children outside of their cultural and familial settings. In over fifteen years of working with Native people and Nations I had never, prior to reading this book, come across references to the existence of Indian orphanages. In *Indian Orphanages*, Marilyn Holt, former director of publications at the Kansas Historical Society and author of *The Orphan Trains: Placing Out in America* and *Linoleum, Better Babies, and the Modern Farm Woman, 1890-1930* makes a major contribution to the understanding of how Indian orphanages came to exist and why Native American families turned to Indian orphanages when in the past the family and extended kinship networks had cared for orphaned and destitute Indian children.

The exact number of Indian orphanages in the United States is unknown because of a number of factors. Records simply were not kept or have been destroyed over the passage of time. Holt does not attempt to answer this particular question but rather focuses on Indian orphanages among the Seneca, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Ojibway, and the Sioux from the 1870s to the mid-1930s. Indian children taken into these orphanages fit into a number categories ranging from true orphans, children with no living parents; half-orphans, children with only one living parent; destitute children, children who might be an orphan or half-orphan, or have both living parents; or neglected and abused children. After the Allotment Act of 1887 children who were deemed to be wards of the court were also numbered among the children to be found in these institutional settings.

In Indian cultures where there exists a long history of family, tribal, and extended kin networks, who for generations shared the joys and shared responsibilities of raising the Indian child, what is it that happened? What changed these traditions? Under what circumstances would an Indian tribe or family allow their most treasured possession, the Indian child, to be separated from the center of their world to be placed in an institution that appeared to be the opposite of all that they held dear. There is no one answer to this question. One answer provided by the author is that ". . . orphanages for Indian children and teenagers were visual reminders of Euro-America's attempt to eradicate Indian culture, if not the Indian." They [orphanages] appeared only after severe circumstances altered traditional values and kinship systems to the point that the orphan asylum became a viable mechanism for providing child nurture and education." This is only one of the answers provided by Holt in this well researched and valuable book. The author states that specific historical events had devastating effects on Indian tribes and the Indian family; the American Civil War, the reservation era, land allotment, military conflict, and the great depression. All of these things contributed to the American Indian's "discovery of the asylum."

It can be accurately stated that the destruction of Native American culture began very shortly after the arrival of European as on the American mainland. Policies of accommodation, acculturation, assimilation, and warfare worked hand in hand with European introduced diseases to decimate entire Native villages and tribal groups and to leave in their wake severely weakened kin networks. In the past these networks had been the strength of the family system and when necessary Indian children moved freely from parent, to grandparent, to uncle, or aunt, or in some cases to non-related tribal members. All of this was done without loss of history, culture, ceremony, language, or any sense of alienation or separation from the family group.

No one single event can be identified as the smoking gun that can be applied to all of the tribes and children identified in Holt's excellent manuscript. In fact it is an accumulation of all of these things that ultimately results in Indian children being voluntarily, or in some cases involuntarily, and still other cases, by fraud, into the Indian orphanage. What is evident however is that a clear distinction needs to be made, and is made by the author, between the Indian boarding school experience beginning with the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879 and the experience of Indian children placed in the care of the various orphanages presented in this book. In most of the Indian orphanages the children were allowed to grow their hair long in a traditional manner. Children were not punished for speaking their Native languages and in some orphanages classes were taught in the Native language. Tribal ceremonies, while not necessarily encouraged, were not forbidden and children were not punished for participating. The boarding school "military uniform" was not seen in most of the orphanages but rather the children wore clothing provided by the tribe, clothing donated, or clothing made on the orphanage site. A former resident, Virginia Snow, at the Thomas Indian School, an Indian orphanage in New York State, recorded happy memories of the school:

"Another nice thing at T.S. [Thomas Indian School] was the sleigh rides. It gave us a chance to get away for a while, and it was fun . . . I loved the horses and to hear the bells jingle. We had heavy bear rugs to keep warm. If they took us in the afternoon, we were given 25 cents or 50 cents to shop in Gowanda. We bought things for ourselves and managed to spread the money out so that we bought our relatives and friends a few presents. The moonlight sleigh rides were fun also. We'd sing as we rode along. When we got back to our building, hot chocolate and cookies were waiting for us." (68)

As the author points out, for the most part, Indian orphanages were staffed by and directed by Indian people. In most cases these supervisors were from the same tribal group as the children under their care. Additionally, most of the orphanages served specific tribal communities and only occasionally enrolled Indian children from other tribal groups. In even rarer circumstances, non-Indian children were enrolled in Indian orphanages or Indian children were enrolled in non-Indian orphanages when the Indian orphanages had been closed or became overcrowded. The author also points out that there were always waiting lists for admission to Indian orphanages and decisions had to be made as to who were the most needy children.

The author's chapter on tribal dissolution and allotment in Oklahoma is an excellent treatise on the corruption that ran rampant in Indian Territory and the later state of

Oklahoma. In this chapter Holt focuses on the period following the Allotment Act and the discovery of when dishonest land speculators, attorneys, and judges were bent on becoming rich from extraction of minerals found on land belonging to orphaned or dependent Indian children. These actions left hundreds or perhaps thousands of Indian orphans and destitute Indian children homeless and in need of orphan care.

This book is a must read for all Native American scholars and students interested in this little known chapter of American history. Advocates for Indian children and the placement of Indian children in Indian foster and adoptive homes will find this book to be an excellent source of information regarding the placement of Indian children prior to the enactment of the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978.

California State University, Long Beach

Troy R. Johnson

CREATING FREEDOM: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation, Louisiana, 1840-1950. By Laurie A. Wilkie. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2000.

Archaeology tells a complex story about life across the color line, one in which the distinctions between Africa and America, field and big house, and even White and Black are subtle and tangled. Laurie Wilkie's *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation, Louisiana, 1840-1950* ambitiously tackles these complexities of African American experience by focusing on consumer agency. Rather than interpret identity based on structural mechanisms like plantation economics, Wilkie champions a fluid, individual experience constructed through everyday consumption practices. Wilkie's Louisiana families emerge as a self-empowered community snared within enslavement and Southern economies yet always consciously using consumption to fashion personal identity despite such domination.

Wilkie unfolds this argument in the context of a Louisiana plantation where she conducted excavations that represent over 100 years of continuous occupation. Like most historical archaeology, Wilkie marshals other data sources alongside excavated material culture, especially a rich documentary record of the plantation. Most of her analysis focuses on determining what otherwise commonplace things meant in the hands of these particular consumers, which is quite different than assuming goods' consumed meanings were based upon dominant socioeconomic symbolism. Wilkie attempts to negotiate the tension between systemic domination and individual agency by building on Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, which in Wilkie's hands accommodates normative structuring practices without forsaking individual agency and experience. This is a potentially elegant approach to material symbolism, since things certainly can assume many different contextual meanings. Wilkie's attention focuses on the meanings African American consumers construct for otherwise commonplace goods, such as patent medicine bottles. Wilkie argues that consumption of mass-produced and folk medications reflects the interplay between African folk practices and ideologically driven mass marketing, an analysis that stresses how African spiritualities survived in White-dominated consumer space. Wilkie does not ignore racism and domination, but her analysis overwhelmingly concentrates on individuality and the identity formation that took place within African American households. Wilkie acknowledges sociopolitical struggle in everyday consumption, but it is conflict in which African American households struggle as individuals and not conscious collectives, so the goals of such consumer struggle are individual and manifold. To some extent this may actually be the political

nature of consumption, but it risks painting an overly individualized picture of African American politics against racism. Wilkie concedes that the Oakley families' relationships with Africa, plantation economics, and White racism are tangible influences on their lives; nevertheless, she accords significant power to consumers, who seem capable of redeeming goods from even the most disempowering ideological potential.

*Creating Freedom* successfully avoids fixating on domination or defining corners of the world in monolithic terms, delivering a picture of African American consumers as self-conscious, strategic, and creative. This is a lot like many consumers try to see themselves, but power ends up providing a subtle backdrop, rather than a tension surging through all social relations and consumption. *Creating Freedom* provides an interesting exploration of consumers' empowerment in the face of the most disempowering conditions. In the process, it illuminates the ambiguous distinction between the empowerment and disempowerment offered by material consumption.

Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis

Paul R. Mullins

MYTH, MEMORY, AND THE MAKING OF THE AMERICAN LANDSCAPE. Edited by Paul A. Shackel. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2001.

The importance of this volume of cultural landscape case studies perhaps lies not so much in the interesting details of its twelve individual essays examining particular historic sites and memorials as in the location of its intellectual production. Almost all of the contributors are public culture workers, and their essays come out of their experiences as contract archaeologists, public historians, and historic site managers and interpreters, among other public sector roles.

The collective argument, more explicit in some of the essays than others but saturating the volume as a whole, is that the public memory embodied in historic sites—landmarks, memorials, parks, battlefields, *et cetera*—needs to be open to multiple interests and interpretations. The full diversity of, and even contestation among relevant groups and stakeholders needs to be acknowledged and included in the public discourse of our historic landscapes. In other words, this book is a twelve-shot salvo directed against the forces of monochromatic, master narrative public history in the ongoing culture wars that pit the postmodernizing diversifiers and deconstructors against the advocates of the perspective that a single common heritage unites us as a nation and deserves primacy in public history interpretation.

That we witness in this volume a number of front line engagements by those posted in the trenches gives it its real strength and interest. In most of the chapters we get thumbnail histories of how the various sites and landscapes have been interpreted and presented for public consumption. Although there are many variations in the details, the changes in interpretation of the sites examined tend to move from top down, univocal, "official" views of the past to more flexible and contested understandings of historical process and meaning. Most of the essays conclude with a call for greater inclusiveness and tolerance for "alternative" versions in the interpretive process.

The twelve essays cover an impressive range of sites, monuments, and landscapes, some rather familiar in their controversies (e.g., the Japanese-American relocation camp at Manzanar, examined by Janice Dubel, and Wounded Knee, as explored by Gail Brown). Other cases are, at least for this reader, less well known. The history of the road system in Acadia National Park, Maine, discussed in Matthew M. Palus's essay, is an example of a site that offers interestingly complicated interpretive dilemmas that are probably unknown to most general readers.

Along with providing detailed histories of the various sites, the essays, taken collectively, accomplish two basic tasks. First, they call for and illustrate the process of recovery of the stories that have been ignored, or even actively suppressed, in the official interpretations. For example, Erin Donovan reminds us that beneath the nostalgic iconography of the Baltimore Orioles Camden Yards stadium lies the now mostly hidden story of late-nineteenth-century labor strife. The other valuable lesson taught in many of the contributions is how one and the same monument or historic site will inevitably be “claimed” by a variety of groups and in the interest of differing perspectives. Editor Paul A. Shackel’s discussion of the Robert Gould Shaw Memorial in Boston is an excellent example of how multiple, and even contradictory readings may reside together, however uncomfortably, within a single site. How to bring such complexity into general view and make it accessible (and acceptable) to a non-professional public is the challenge implied, if not overtly addressed, by this useful collection.

University of Wyoming

John Dorst

**DEADLIEST ENEMIES: Law and the Making of Race Relations On and Off Rosebud Reservation.** By Thomas Biolsi. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2001.

Generations of federal Indian policy have been justified by the enmity between Indians and their non-Indian neighbors. Federal law supposedly removes Indians from local oppression. Thomas Biolsi’s well-researched and theoretically informed book argues that, instead of defusing conflict, federal policy produces conflict between Indians and non-Indians and creates racial division. By pitting Indians against whites locally, law also hides the broader society’s role in the oppression of Indians and thus helps create “whiteness.”

Biolsi looks at the recent history of the Rosebud Reservation, focusing on four areas of extended litigation between the Lakota tribe and South Dakota. Because of federal policy vacillations over the last century—sometimes supporting Indian assimilation, sometimes supporting cultural diversity—litigants have two valid but fundamentally opposed bodies of law to support their cases. Decisions thus hinge on narrow technical questions, appearing arbitrary to the losers.

The legal process turns issues into competing race-based claims about sovereignty and jurisdiction—a “zero-sum political game in which wins for Indian people represent losses for whites, and vice versa” (18). Biolsi demonstrates that these legal struggles generate racial division by using tribal- and local-government archives, local and tribal newspapers, and local fieldwork.

Demonstrating ill feeling, of course, is different than showing its cause. Biolsi argues that federal law causes ill feeling because cases deal with questions far removed from the Indians’ experiences of oppression. Instead of addressing dispossession, alcoholism, and poverty, cases deal with whether the state can patrol reservation highways. Why? Because that is what is actionable in federal court. Tribes use sovereignty as a weapon in the struggle for social justice because that is the only weapon federal law leaves them, to the detriment of local race relations.

Biolsi suggests this is another way that race trumps class in America. Rural South Dakotans and rural Lakota might have common political ground, but the racial divide etched by struggles over sovereignty prevents meaningful cross-racial collaboration. Moreover, it enables the rest of white America to cast South Dakota as a racist villain, blinding the larger society to its stake in the continued racial oppression of Indians.

Biolsi's theoretical musings are interesting, but one wonders if he only found what he went looking for. Had he looked at federal policy outside the realm where sovereignty claims are adjudicated, he might have found something else. Poor South Dakotans and poor Indians, for example, have claims on federal money through anti-poverty programs like Medicaid and welfare. Do federal policies sow racial conflict here?

Biolsi also sidesteps the political history of the contradictory imperatives of federal Indian policy. The indeterminacy of Indian law may not be a discursive "product" but the actual result of a conflict between different views on tribal sovereignty. Finally, in such a theoretically informed book, one wonders about the almost casual use of racial categories like "Indian" and "white."

Theoretically interesting works leave readers pondering theoretical issues. Biolsi's book does so, and it simultaneously provides a too-rare glimpse into the modern history of Indian-white relations.

Louisville, Kentucky

Brad Asher

**RACIAL BORDERS: Black Soldiers along the Rio Grande.** By James N. Leiker. College Station: Texas A & M University Press. 2002.

*Racial Borders* presents a dramatic narrative of African American regular army soldiers between the Civil War and World War I. These men took an active part in subjugating Indian tribes, tracking cattle thieves and smugglers, and skirmishing with Mexican revolutionary groups under Juan Cortina, Pancho Villa, and others. The United States Army pursued its enemies deep into Mexican territory. However, the most dramatic struggles of the "buffalo soldiers," as they were familiarly known, were civil rather than military. They had uneasy, sometimes violent relations with the inhabitants of the Rio Grande frontier: unreconstructed Anglo-Texans, Hispanics with United States, Mexican, and sometimes dual citizenship, also Indians, African American civilians and Afro-Indians.

In south Texas, as David Montejano has shown, traditional American racial boundaries were often distorted and improvised based on varying economic and social conditions. In taking on a military perspective Leiker adds important themes of nationalism and imperialism to an understanding of this complex region. And by examining the border region from a black perspective, the book jumps squarely into the debate over the construction of race and racism by working people in their day-to-day lives—à la David Roediger, Noel Ignatiev and others. Recognizing that racism is a tenacious and pervasive force in America, the author nonetheless cautions us against taking an essentialist view of race. The buffalo soldiers, like everyone else in their turbulent milieu had to constantly make difficult decisions as to where they stood in terms of race, culture and national identity. These men acted in ways that were courageous, patriotic and broadminded, yet also manifested racism and brutality. The soldiers' relationships with Hispanics were sometimes harmonious, as fellow people of color, but more often charged with acrimony, as the soldiers carried out the expansionist goals of the United States and interfered with the freewheeling raiding and trading in the Rio Grande valley.

Anglo-Texans resented the "protection" afforded by the black troops and by comparison granted Mexicans honorary "white" status. However, when Pancho Villa was raiding southern New Mexico, the United States press portrayed Mexicans as unruly "Negroes," while border whites hailed black soldiers as American heroes.

From the 1860s to the 1910s black soldiers cast their lot increasingly with the imperial mission of the United States, taking up the “white man’s burden” and thereby increasing their own alienation from other nonwhite peoples. The book portrays this as partly a choice of the soldiers themselves. However, black soldiers gained very little from their collaboration with American power and, the book suggests, this very collaboration built up substantial barriers between African Americans and Hispanics that persist to the present day.

The story of the black soldiers is intriguing, but the thoughts and expressions of the soldiers themselves are fragmentary at best, and perhaps lost to history. If racism is as much lived experience as it is oppressive atavism, then we need more stories like those of the border soldiers and others living on the frontiers of race.

Bridgewater State College

Paul Foos

MARK TWAIN, TRAVEL BOOKS, AND TOURISM. By Jeffrey Alan Melton. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002.

Jeffrey Melton’s project is to situate Mark Twain’s *The Innocents Abroad*, *Roughing It*, *A Tramp Abroad*, *Life on the Mississippi*, and *Following the Equator* within the flourishing industry and genre of American travel writing from the 1830s on to the end of the nineteenth century, and to read these books as responses to the etiquette of bringing the adventure far-away to an audience at home. The opening sixty pages of this study are an informative survey and comparison of big-sellers in the trade, volumes by Fisk, Bayard Taylor, John Ross Browne, James Jarves, and William Prime—authors who hit the market successfully before Clemens did with *The Innocents Abroad* in 1869. With regard to works later in Clemens’s career, precedents and comparisons grow diffuse: Whymper’s *Scrambles amongst the Alps* is referenced briefly in the discussion of *A Tramp Abroad*, but Albert Richardson’s *Beyond the Mississippi* (from the American Publishing Company, which also produced *Roughing It*) is not mentioned; *Following the Equator* is presented as a “typical Twain travel book,” with only a glance at the fact that by the middle 1890s, tomes about India were practically a genre unto themselves. The lavish illustration of all of these Mark Twain books, a dimension important to Clemens as he wrote, and a key selling point for the subscription trade, receives little attention. As an analysis limited to text, however, this short study is poised, modest, and credible in its findings. Melton sees Mark Twain as working to give the American market what it wanted:

In reference to the Old World, many Americans felt a contradiction between wanting to respect the accomplishments of its cultures and wanting to debunk them, and travel writers often accomplished a balancing act of these impulses. Writers could not denigrate all that they saw and thereby risk losing the perception of objectivity. Likewise, they could not seem overly impressed with European grandeur, appearing subservient. The focus, then, most often became Europe’s past with an inherent confidence that the United States represented a more idyllic present and future. (55)

Accordingly, *The Innocents Abroad* enacts the temperament of an archetypal American tourist and guide: the narrator seeks exoticism, amusement, comfort; he mixes ridicule

with reverence, and stands in for multitudes who in those years could not expect to leave the heartland. With *Roughing It* the intention has evolved: the narrative “. . . offers a satirical look at how delusions of self and illusions of place work together to create a touristic failure” (98). *A Tramp Abroad* “. . . mocks the adventurer pose—and readers’ expectations, for that matter—by claiming the thrills and dangers of the experience for himself just as his readers would, vicariously” (87). In *Life on the Mississippi* “. . . Twain is not only forced to take readers along on his journey down and up the river but also along his journey [*sic*] into his own past and into the full meaning implied by the Mississippi River history and culture” (125). And *Following the Equator* “. . . is rather schizophrenic in that on one hand it reaffirms the imaginative core of touristic experience explored in each of his other travel books, while on the other hand it rejects the imperialistic component of the great popular movement that sets the stage for such touristic play. The tide of tourism has circled and, indeed, engulfed the world, and its affectations have remade it according to its simplistic and self-indulgent vision” (139). In sum, this is a straightforward review of these texts, and decently grounded, especially at the start, in the realities of contemporary American travel writing.

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Bruce Michelson

REIMAGINING INDIANS: Native Americans through Anglo Eyes, 1880-1940. By Sherry L. Smith. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000.

In this volume, Sherry L. Smith has assembled a fascinating collection of popularizers of Native American cultures: Charles Erskine Scott Wood, George Bird Grinnell, Walter McClintock, Mary Roberts Rinehart, Frank Bird Linderman, Charles Fletcher Lummis, George Wharton James, Mary Austin, Anna Ickes, and Mabel Dodge Luhan. (One imagines this as a guest list for a lively dinner party ca. 1920.) With chapters on each writer, the book is organized more or less chronologically and geographically, moving from the Northwest, through the Great Plains, and winding up in the Southwest. These men and women, who came mainly from the East and Midwest, were of disparate political stripes, but they were all drawn to the West, finding in the Native American cultures there a longed-for sense of authenticity. In their writings, which were for a general rather than a scholarly audience, they all “asserted Indians’ humanity, artistry, community, and spirituality” (5). Smith correctly sees these individuals as part of a long Anglo American tradition concerned with articulating the nature of “Indianness,” and, as critics variously of industrialization, urbanization, and immigration, they participated in the antimodernism of their time. Smith’s thesis is that collectively and very gradually, these writers “helped lay the cultural and intellectual groundwork not only for the Indian New Deal but also for deeper and more fundamental change in popular conceptions of Indians,” away from assimilation and toward cultural acceptance (5).

In her thoughtful introduction, she lays out the cultural and political currents in the years under consideration, as well as some of the dilemmas of her study, such as how hard it is to prove “influence” and how important it is to understand how Native Americans participated in this “reimagining process.” The well-researched chapters that follow give concise, evenhanded accounts of each individual. Well-chosen quotations provide a good sense of the flavor of their writing, and the biographical information is accurate and adequately detailed. While the profiles of these writers are interesting, Smith’s thesis is never quite compelling, in part because it is focused too narrowly on these writers and their “influence” while overlooking other important influences in the

discourse about Native Americans during this time, such as anthropology, literature, art, film, and especially tourism. However, she does a very good job of delineating her subjects' relationships with their Indian "collaborators"—recognizing the complicated issues of agency, authority, and power. Smith maintains an admirable respect for all of her subjects, but at times one wishes for a little less tact; some of the truly colorful and most eccentric individuals, such as C. E. S. Wood, Charles Lummis, Mary Austin, and Mabel Dodge Luhan never really come alive. One is left wishing to hear their voices at that imaginary dinner party. Still, *Reimagining Indians* is a fine introduction to these writers' lives and works.

Long Island University

Leah Dilworth

RACE ON THE LINE: Gender, Labor, and Technology in the Bell System, 1880-1980.  
By Venus Green. Durham: Duke University Press. 2001.

Venus Green has scoured the archives for this exhaustive, authoritative history of the relationship between technology, labor, class, race, and gender in the world's most influential communications company. The book also is the definitive study of labor and management relations in the telephone industry. Her coverage of a wide range of issues, from the technologies of switchboards through the emergence of racially-integrated work cultures, is thorough and well-informed. Green argues that differences of class, race, and gender were integral to the development of the work culture at AT&T from its beginning in 1876 to the divestiture of AT&T in 1984. Further, she notes that while management did not design technological innovations to gain more control over workers, they often led to that result.

One of the most striking things about Green's narrative is the balance she achieves between the complex details of technological change and the aspirations, successes and failures of the workers who dealt with those changes. She weaves these together without making either one deterministic. At various stages of the discussion, different elements take center stage, and no one engine drives the myriad changes she chronicles.

In the earliest years, for example, when technological change was most rapid, customers reluctant, and the industry's work culture new, the social skills of the all-white, native-born female operators were critical to success. Thus, early operators had a good deal of control over the pace and content of their work. New technologies were not introduced in order to make managing the workforce easier, and in fact operators' complaints forced company engineers to design ergonomically correct workstations. In the long run, however, the technological specialization of the industry fragmented the work, and gave management more control over workers' time.

Green also demonstrates the importance of race in the telephone industry from the very beginning. The earliest operators were young white boys, who proved to be too rambunctious for the service image the industry wanted to promulgate. As was the case with many other corporations at the same time, AT&T managers believed that young, white, native-born female operators would better communicate the "gentility" the business needed to win customers over. Young white women, by definition, were "literate and . . . possessed the social characteristics and skills that the Bell System required to monopolize the business" (58). Not incidentally, they could be paid less and exploited more easily than young white men. The "white lady" image became so integral to the Bell image that it took the labor shortages of World War II, and the deskilling of new technologies, to force racial integration. Green notes that the white operators also colluded

with management to use the “white lady” image to keep African American women out of “their” workforce from at least 1910, when black women first began to apply for operator positions.

University of Florida

Angel Kwolek-Folland

LADIES OF LABOR, GIRLS OF ADVENTURE: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century. By Nan Enstad. New York: Columbia University. 1999.

By now, the alleged excesses of American popular cultural studies in the late 1980s and early 1990s have been abundantly catalogued. Faced with—among other things—aggressive patterns of media corporatization in the 1990s, the relentless and agonizing globalization of capital, and the rejuvenation of environmental, indigenous and workers’ justice movements, scholars have found it increasingly difficult to sustain the naïve and disorganized populism that seemed to discern private moments of resistance at every prime time commercial break. As defenders of cultural studies have often emphasized, however, the so-called “uses and pleasures” media scholarship—the perennial straw figure for anti-cultural studies screeds—should not be misrecognized as a blueprint for other disciplines or interdisciplinary fields. Put simply, the fact that popular culture scholarship often failed to address “real” resistance (however that might be imagined) does not mean that scholars of “serious” social movements have nothing to learn from the study of ordinary pleasures that might be wrested from the capitalist marketplace.

Nan Enstad’s recent study, *Ladies of Labor; Girls of Adventure*, retrieves the most valuable insights from the last generation of popular culture scholarship in reconsidering one of the “classic” episodes in women’s labor history, the Shirtwaist Strike of 1909. Among other things, Enstad criticizes the intellectual tradition that artificially distinguishes a twentieth century “culture of personality”—rooted in commodities and self-creation—as distinct from (and less authentic than) a nineteenth century “culture of character” that stood mysteriously beyond the scope of the marketplace. By addressing the roles that fashion, dime novels and film may have played in the creation of young women’s collective (even political) identities at the turn of the century, Enstad claims that an emerging consumer culture “offered working women utopian promises and contained painful limitations”(2). Despite heinous work conditions in the garment industry, working women in New York embraced an industrialized popular culture and built new identities upon the contradictory roles available to them as women, as immigrants, and as workers. “Working ladyhood,” as Enstad terms it, was the fused identity that “engaged gender, class, and ethnic exclusions that working women daily experienced in a society that saw the heroic worker as male, the heroic woman as middle class, and the heroic American as a native-born Anglo-Saxon” (50). Cheap, fashionable clothing thus offered young workers the resources to imagine themselves as “ladies” and “workers” within a culture that usually posed those categories as mutually exclusive. Similarly, dime novels and film established scenarios through which audiences might identify with fictional adventurism and bravery and issue practical workplace demands for both justice and material reward.

Although outsiders often ridiculed or dismissed the cultural investments made by young women—judging their dress “immoral,” or their taste in fiction “immature”—Enstad argues persuasively and lucidly that working women drew imaginative resources from the worlds of fashion, fiction and film that were not available to them simply as

workers. Indeed, for the women in Enstad's account, the boundaries between work and leisure were indistinct, as dime novels and film fantasies mingled with the tedium of wage labor; when women resisted low wages, dehumanizing harassment from their bosses, and other workplace conditions, they assumed political identities that circuted through the cultural objects and practices that circulated on the shop floor. In making these claims, Enstad does not simply repeat familiar defenses of popular culture as a potential site of "resistance." Rather, *Ladies of Labor* attempts to reconstruct the complex political subjectivities of striking women, contrasting their own definitions of "working ladyhood" with dominant representations of young women that misrecognized their actions as anything but "political." By examining dime novel plots, workers' own narratives (including diaries, newspaper interviews, and articles written by workers during the strike), and other underutilized sources, Enstad dismantles various (mis)representations of working women and their alleged motives for striking—particularly those of middle-class observers (who often viewed them as immature and impulsive, striking only to gain more time for shopping and socializing), sympathetic reformers (who imagined the strike as a plea for charity by waifish and downtrodden girls), and labor leaders (who depicted the strikers as disciplined, rational actors). None of these fables, according to Enstad, offers a convincing sense of why 20,000 workers walked off their jobs in 1909, because none of these explanations can imagine a serious place for ordinary pleasures in the production of active political identities.

*Ladies of Labor* represents an important contribution to labor, immigration, and women's history that is anchored in the broader political economy of culture at the turn of the century. Enstad's skillful, multidisciplinary rendering of working women's lives should help us re-evaluate the ways we teach and write about popular culture and politics in America.

University of Alaska Southeast

David Noon

FROM ELLIS ISLAND TO JFK: New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration. By Nancy Foner. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000.

Nancy Foner demonstrates in her book, *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration*, that the more things change in immigration history the more they stay the same. Her title hints at part of her thesis—by identifying the two points of disembarkation for the twentieth century she observes that immigration remains a significant and continuing part of New York City life, and that travel technology continues to be an important part of the story. Indeed what Foner presents is a still vibrant immigrant culture in New York, but one that is more complex because the economy and community of New York are more mature and layered than a century ago. The immigrant community is also more diverse, not only because the airplane carries more people faster from farther away than the steamship, but because United States immigration law has changed so that the immigrant pool is more diverse ethnically, racially, economically, and culturally. As part of the immigrant picture, Foner includes the presence of the African American community in New York that grew in the first quarter of the twentieth century when Southern blacks moved North. This native population adds another dimension to her portrait of the immigrant experience and reminds the reader that New York is a destination for United States migrants as well.

In eight chapters Foner compares life for the Southern European migrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century with that of the migrants in the post-1965 period in New York when United States immigration law opened its doors wider to

Asian and Central/South Americans literally changing the complexion of the immigrant waves entering New York City. She looks at labor, education, gender, prejudice, housing, and transnational ties, challenging commonly held myths about the Italians and Jews and their success achieving the American dream. Her observations are provocative, particularly when she examines the experience of the current immigration population and the role of race in determining native and immigrant success. But her argument labors a bit when she tries to explain the poor education and economic achievement of inner city African Americans versus immigrant blacks and Asians. Her evidence suggests that negative performance and attitude prohibit success, but she concludes that racial discrimination is at fault. Her position begs for deeper exploration and will spark debate on the issue.

Foner's best researched and most thorough chapter is the one on education. She effectively argues that the mythological success of the earlier immigrants, particularly Jews, was just that—a myth—debunking current popular criticism of recent immigrants and their apparent inability or unwillingness to assimilate as earlier immigrants did.

What Foner has done for the student of twentieth-century immigration is pull together in one volume what immigrant specialists of turn of the century and contemporary immigration have understood independently about these two significant periods of immigration to New York City. That is her critical contribution to the scholarship and the current popular debates on immigration.

New York University

Linda Dowling Almeida

WHITE DIASPORA: The Suburb and the Twentieth-Century American Novel. By Catherine Jurca. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001.

In tracing the cultural meaning of suburbs (as reflected in works of the literary imagination), Catherine Jurca has written a short but seminal book. Even though the United States has been a suburban nation for more than thirty years, the flight from the cities towards the periphery has received scant critical attention as a cultural phenomenon. Harnessing an astounding array of sociological and literary sources, Jurca identifies a suburban paradigm to which all subsequent work on the topic will have to respond.

The suburb, as Jurca defines it, is both a bastion of well-guarded (mostly white) privilege and the locus of wide-spread middle-class discontent. In investigating an array of novels ranging from the 1890s through 1960, Jurca amply illustrates how the suburb, in any of its historical guises, fails to live up to its promise. Conceived of and marketed as “bourgeois utopia,” it comes across as a “split-level trap”, where people live empty and sanctimonious lives, suffering from what Jurca aptly calls “the anxiety of affluence.” The traditional role of the suburb is to *place* “its residents, physically and emotionally, within changing social and economic orders” (5). The suburb, in other words, is meant to provide spatial, mental and social stability. “And yet, beginning with Sinclair Lewis’s *Babbitt*, American novels typically point to the downfall of that dream” (6). Literary representations concentrate on “sentimental dispossession” (7) and the paradox of the suburb takes the form of a dramatic and dialectical reversal: in the suburban novel, “white middle-class characters are homeowners”, but they “are plagued by the problem of ‘homelessness’” (4). What was meant to be a *placing* in space and time becomes spiritual displacement and disorientation.

Jurca’s thesis is informed by an in-depth knowledge and a judicious application of current theories on gender, race and class. In particular, her affinity for ideology criticism

and a deconstructionist flair for paradox allow her to conceive of the suburbanite's sense of aggrievement as an empowering strategy of self-pity: by presenting themselves as victims of anomic and boredom, the affluent members of the middle-class are able to defend their unmerited privileges. Substantiating this insight with a wealth of critical insights and having dug deep into historical and sociological material, Jurca provides powerful readings of Sinclair Lewis's *Babbitt* (1922), James M. Cain's *Mildred Pierce* (1941) and Sloan Wilson's *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (1955), while a dense but useful epilogue indicates how self-justifying malcontentment remains the dominant pattern in suburban novels up to this very day.

The argument, however, occasionally suffers from the irksome (but by now *de rigueur*) practice of reading against the grain, of subverting the novel's ostensible meaning in an effort to reveal its (political) unconscious. To contend, for instance, that Edgar Rice Burroughs's *Tarzan of the Apes* (1912) "reproduces and justifies the emerging exclusionary logic of the twentieth-century American suburb" (21) is more clever than it is cogent. Similarly, when Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940), an urban text *par excellence*, is called into service to demonstrate the mutually destructive interaction of white suburb and black inner city, the study gives proof of the sort of intellectual brinkmanship that is sanctioned by New Historicist practice but that provides originality only at the cost of textual probity.

Ghent University (Belgium)

Kristiaan Versluys

RACE, REAL ESTATE, AND UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT: The Kansas City Experience, 1900-2000. By Kevin Fox Gotham. Albany: State University of New York Press. 2002.

The surge in residential segregation that trailed in the wake of the Great Migration was followed by a second burst of ghetto development and a deepening federal engagement in domestic affairs after World War II. This reshuffling of the metropolitan racial deck produced "hypersegregated" cities that have stubbornly resisted change. The coincidence of government involvement in that process has led to charges that otherwise well-intended and benevolent housing programs have been "perverted" or "abused." Kevin Fox Gotham takes a different view. In *Race, Real Estate, and Uneven Development*, Gotham delivers a blow to claims that the devastating racial consequences of United States housing policy—both private and public—were unintended or unforeseen.

Gotham thus joins a growing chorus in claiming that the concentration of impoverished minorities in the inner city and the subsidized flight of the white middle class to the metropolitan fringe resulted more from design than chance. Such uneven urban development is, according to the author, a "racialized" process that is organically linked to a discriminatory private sector that held public policy in thrall. Residential segregation became the "dominant organizing principle" within a broader capitalist framework and, subsequently, the "structural linchpin" to U.S. racial relations (3). Gotham refuses to concede the neutrality of the market's "hidden hand," and instead trains a bright light on elite components of the real estate "lobby," particularly the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB).

He details the production of racial turf in Kansas City between 1900 and 1930 by tracing the ubiquity of restrictive covenants, the influence of major builders such as J. C. Nichols, and a public relations campaign that fostered homeownership in racially

exclusive suburbs. The crisis brought on by the Great Depression politicized the private sector even as it legitimized federal intervention in the private realm. The result was a growing federal presence in a restructured marketplace and the appearance of compliant new agencies staffed by industry personnel who translated NAREB values into government directives. Slum clearance, urban renewal, highway construction, public housing, selectively subsidized mortgage insurance, and downtown development combined after World War II to expand that federal presence, further sanction the racialization of urban space, and, ultimately, “crystallize and harden racial stereotypes” (63). Such programs called forth a succession of practices—zoning, deed restrictions, blockbusting, steering, and redlining—that effectively limited minority housing choices to the inner city. In a signal contribution, Gotham examines the racial transition of southeastern Kansas City between 1950 and 1970, and assigns responsibility for the path and pace of black movement to the deliberate actions of a highly race-conscious school board.

This slender volume presents a tightly focused thesis that requires some amplification. It has usefully blurred the distinction between *de jure* and *de facto* segregation, but its laser-like treatment of policy necessitates further inquiries. As crucial—and overlooked—as residential segregation has been in the construction of racial identities, the negative images held of African Americans by the white working class have deeper and more tangled roots than can be exposed here. Recent work on the influence of ethnicity and religion on neighborhood change has also exposed a wider range of actors and forces that must be accounted for; there is more to housing, in short, than housing policy. Finally, though the cumulative, segregative impact of private and public actions in the housing arena is undeniable, the process was more contested than is portrayed here. That, however, simply reinforces Gotham’s conclusion that the ultimate consequences were more predictable than surprising.

University of New Orleans

Arnold R. Hirsch

WRITERS AND MINERS: Activism and Imagery in America. By David C. Duke. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2002.

David Duke is a scholar whose findings were confirmed before all the world just as his book came out. The Quecreek mine disaster and rescue of July 2002 once again focused wide attention on coal miners, and the journalists who descended on the rescue site arrived with scripts in hand, ready to portray miners as members of “a kind of reverse elite, a bluer-than-blue collar, hypermasculine subculture” whose exemplars “dip snuff, chew tobacco, drink beer and hunt,” speak (even in Pennsylvania) with an “Appalachian lilt,” and exhibit “fierce pride . . . in [what] remains a dirty, dangerous job, requiring considerable courage and skill.”<sup>1</sup> All this may be true, but it also represents a stereotypical view of miners that dates back to the early industrial age, according to Duke. In most of the novels, plays, short stories, poems, children’s books, films and television scripts he examines “miners . . . become one-dimensional social types defined by what they do rather than who they are. They are firstly miners and only secondly human beings” (5).

The audiences at whom these works are directed learn little about the process of coal mining (as the reports from Quecreek taught the public little about the miners’ safety training, the rescuers’ engineering skills or the government agencies that support and oversee both). We learn just as little about the interior lives of miner characters.

Rather miners are called upon whenever a plot needs a guy with manly integrity, hard-lived experience, and pro-union views. On the stage, settings may be realistic but characters “like the characters in a Japanese No drama, are often stylized” (14). This holds with remarkable consistency across the decades, across genres, among great and near-great writers, and in the fugitive writings of actual miners. Working miners differ only in a pronounced preference for poetry, a taste Duke attributes to miners’ lack of time for writing and to the importance of song in the vernacular culture that surrounds them, and in the attention they give to explaining the satisfactions they find in a job that repels or frightens nearly everyone else.

Interestingly, the writers who come closest to conveying a sense of miners as people are mostly women. Duke cites in particular a quartet of West Virginians: novelists Denise Giardina, Mary Lee Settle and Barbara Angle and playwright Paula Cizmar. Angle is the only one of the four who has actually worked as a miner. Duke closes his survey with analyses of her novels *Rinker*, a short work that portrays the working day of a male coal miner, and *Those That Matter*, about a woman miner who suffers an injury similar to the one that ended Angle’s mining career. All of these writers portray coalfield communities and people with a native’s sensibility, but only Angle takes her readers underground, coupling a realistic portrayal of work experience with characters who are “intricate, contradictory, and often fascinating human beings rather than tragic or heroic symbols of oppression” (214).

It should be pointed out that the miners in the title refer almost exclusively to bituminous coal miners who work underground, a dwindling share of the national mining workforce. This one limitation aside, *Writers and Miners* is a comprehensive, useful and readable guide to its subject. One can only feel gratitude to Duke for sifting through so much overburden to find the few gems worth knowing about.

Appalachian State University

John Alexander Williams

#### Note

1. Peter J. Boyer, “Rescue at Quecreek,” *New Yorker*, November 18, 2002, p. 59.

SELLING THE OLD-TIME RELIGION: American Fundamentalists and Mass Culture, 1920-1940. By Douglas Carl Abrams. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2002.

This book has less to do with American fundamentalists’ efforts to “sell” their brand of religion than with how they reacted to mass culture during the 1920s, and to a lesser extent the 1930s. Abrams, a professor of history at Bob Jones University, argues that fundamentalists engaged in a paradoxical relationship with radio, jazz, movies, and other novelties of the era. On the one hand, fundamentalists condemned them. On the other hand, they often incorporated mass culture into their churches, schools, and revivals. In the end, explains Abrams, fundamentalists’ uneasy acceptance of “secular strategies” helped reinvigorate the movement by attracting new followers, but also turned fundamentalism into a commodity that “looked and behaved increasingly like the modern world they decried” (63).

Abrams utilizes several primary sources in making his case. Fundamentalist periodicals reveal conservative Christians’ ambivalence toward business in the 1920s. Despite sporadic warnings not to compromise with encroaching worldliness, many editorials celebrated the union of religion and capitalism endorsed by Barton Bernstein’s bestseller *The Man Nobody Knows*. Abrams also draws upon manuscript collections in

demonstrating the diversity among fundamentalism's leaders. During the 1930s, for example, James Buswell, the president of Wheaton College, and Bob Jones Sr. and Jr. reacted quite differently to secular challenges at their schools. The Joneses encouraged the arts in part to "counter the stereotype of the crude fundamentalist" (82). In contrast, Buswell outlawed dramatics on his campus and chastised Bob Jones Sr. for "lead[ing] young people . . . into a worldly life of sin" (87). Yet, Abrams shows that Buswell's conservatism was out-of-step with Wheaton's student body which urged the administration to embrace more cultural offerings.

*Selling the Old-Time Religion's* emphasis on academic elites is also one of its weaknesses. Lost in Abrams' book is a sense of who made up the fundamentalist rank and file and why they believed what they did. Part of the problem is that Abrams' definition of fundamentalism neglects evangelicals and conservative Protestant denominations which shared fundamentalists' concerns with modernity. Abrams' discussion of fundamentalists' reaction to modernity also glosses over important factors of racism, anti-Catholicism, and anti-Semitism. Such prejudices, he explains, were not unique to fundamentalism. True enough, but as part of the fundamentalist tradition, they deserve more attention than he provides. Abrams admits that "racial and religious prejudice toward Catholic and Jewish immigrants . . . intensified the fundamentalists' anti-urban bias" and that inter-racial dancing associating with jazz music was a "cultural threat," but he fails to expound or provide supporting evidence or examples (68, 100).

Despite its shortcomings, *Selling the Old-Time Religion* is a welcome addition to the scholarship on American fundamentalism. Its readers will gain understanding of a movement too often misunderstood as backward and monolithic. By resisting, appropriating, and competing with mass culture, fundamentalists grappled with the changes of the interwar years much as other Americans did, although "fundamentalists," explains Abrams, "adapted to the world, ironically, in order to save it" (127).

Briar Cliff University

Eric Juhnke

ALFRED H. BARR, JR. AND THE INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS OF THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART. By Sybil Gordon Kantor. MIT Press. 2002.

Alfred H. Barr was the founding director of the Museum of Modern Art (1929-1943) and later the museum's director of collections (1947-1967). Noting that "no assessment has been made of the unique, pivotal role Barr played in the evolution of critical and philosophical precepts of modernism in visual art in the first half of the twentieth century," Sybil Gordon Kantor shows how Barr constructed the history of modernism in formalist terms, establishing a precedent for Clement Greenberg's formalist methodology of the 1950s and 1960s (xviii-xvix). "He functioned," Kantor writes, "as an educator through his sensitive scholarly writings, [through] his entrepreneurial exhibitions that were displayed with informative wall labels, and through the collections that he directed" (375). Barr "fashioned the Museum so that it was universally esteemed as a model of its kind" (376), including not only paintings, drawings, prints, and sculpture, but also architecture, film, industrial design, decorative arts, and photography.

Kantor traces the life that led up to the directorship: Barr's education at Princeton and Harvard; the courses on modern art that he taught at Wellesley College (1927; autumn 1928); his friendships with Alfred Stieglitz, Albert Barnes, Katherine Dreier, Lincoln Kirstein, Ezra Pound, Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Philip Johnson; his studies of the Bauhaus in Germany (October 1927) and his discovery in Moscow (1927-1928) of

the art of the Constructivists, especially Piet Mondrian, and the films of Sergei Eisenstein. The exhibitions on modern art that he organized and for which he wrote catalogues are discussed in detail.

Kantor clearly situates Barr as the first scholar to study modernism seriously and to provide a formalist framework through lectures, catalogues, and exhibitions that addressed style, stylistic influences, and techniques. “Barr’s ability to be precise and concise in describing and categorizing the various movements of the modernist period,” she explains, “and his obsessive habit of clarifying minutiae . . . propelled his pioneering catalogues . . . into the forefront of the historiography of the avant-garde” (xxii).

This biography leaves many questions unanswered, however, especially those that involve the “feminist intervention in the histories of art,” to use Griselda Pollock’s term. Such questions, she states, “demand recognition of gender power relations, making visible the mechanisms of male power, the social construction of sexual difference and the role of cultural representations in that construction.”<sup>1</sup> As Pollock shows, Barr’s mapping of modernist art history actually “canonized . . . the initiators” as men.<sup>2</sup> Nor does Kantor address Carol Duncan’s critique of the exhibition of canonical modern artworks in the Museum of Modern Art: “According to the established narrative, the history of art is made up of a progression of styles and unfolds along certain irreversible lines: from style to style.” As Duncan notes, works in “MoMA’s authoritative collection [amassed by Barr] . . . are often monumental in scale and conspicuously placed” to highlight “socially and sexually available female bodies.”<sup>3</sup>

Rather than questioning and exposing the ways in which Barr constructed “the masculinist myths of modernism,”<sup>4</sup> Kantor’s biography reads as a critically naïve homage that continually defends his single-minded formalist position. Kantor acknowledges, for example, Meyer Schapiro’s criticism of Barr in 1936 for ignoring art’s economic, political, and cultural contexts, but she merely defends her subject’s position instead of exploring this critique further. Elsewhere Kantor suggests that the phrase “International Style” of architecture adopted by Hitchcock and Johnson in their 1932 exhibition and catalogue, “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition” was “freighted with political implications” (293), but she fails to explain what these were. And why did Barr ignore American contributions to modernism until 1942 when his assistant, Dorothy Miller, brought the New York School into prominence? How did Barr’s friendship with Alfred Stieglitz contribute to his further canonizing photography as an art form through his exhibitions, catalogues, and purchases? These are just some of the questions and problems prompted, but not addressed in this biography. A more critical approach would assist readers in understanding how this white man, educated at exclusively male, elitist, Ivy League universities, constructed modernism as a linear progression that eliminates women and people of color and canonizes monumental, sexualized, nude female bodies for the masculine gaze.

Vanderbilt University

Vivien Green Fryd

## Notes

1. Griselda Pollock, “Feminist Interventions in the Histories of Art: An Introduction,” in *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988), 9.
2. Griselda Pollock, “Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity,” *ibid.*, 50.
3. Carol Duncan, “The MoMA’s Hot Mamas,” in *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, edited by Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: IconEditions, 1992), 47-348.
4. Pollock, “Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity,” 50.

COMIC BOOK NATION: The Transformation of Youth Culture in America. By Bradford W. Wright. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001.

*Comic Book Nation* offers an overview of the development of comic books in America from the 1930s through to the 1990s with a primary focus on superhero comic books. Wright thinks comic books worthy of study for what they tell us about the world of the young and the forces that have shaped that culture in that comic books offer “a fun-house mirror of life” (xiv).

Wright’s style is crisp enough and the narrative from the advent of Superman, through the post-World War II crime and horror comic books and psychiatrist Fredric Wertham’s campaign against them, to the 1960s rebirth of superheroes in Marvel comics, their hip jaunty social liberalism, later replaced by jaded darker figures, and a mid-1990s decline due to an overheated market, is familiar enough. Wright’s original research reading thousands of comic books and as his use of fan and general periodical literature grounds the book in a wealth of detail often alluded to by other writers, but seldom documented. Nonetheless the book reads like a synthesis of the coffee table histories aimed at fans and academic works such as Amy Nyberg’s *Seal of Approval*. Comic book fans and the growing number of academics studying the media might find the book a disappointment. On the other hand it has already found wide acclaim in newspaper book reviews and may well become a standard history of comic books.

Perhaps comic books can tell us much about American society, but I feel they do more than reflect the culture albeit in a fun house fashion. I think comic books helped shape the culture. I suspect Wright does as well, but he never manages to build his assertions along these lines, and his descriptions of comic book plots, into a convincing argument. For instance, he suggests that Superman in his first few years “affirmed the young alienated and dispossessed ‘Clark Kents’ of society in their desire to commit to an inclusive national culture” (11). Wright then describes some early adventures of Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster’s social reform-minded Superman without making explicit how these stories could have affected readers in the manner he suggests. Instead he leaves the impression that the stories simply reflected depression-era concerns for the common man. Wright gives no answer as to why Superman shifted from a social activist to what he calls his “befitting role as the conservative elder” superhero (60). Likewise, Wright observes that Superman and Batman continued to sell comic books after World War II whereas others such as Captain America did not, but offers no explanation why.

Wright’s method is to relate comic book stories to general events in American society. To wit there was a war in Vietnam, at first comic book stories supported the war; later as opposition to the war grew comic book heroes were more circumspect in their opinions. His observations might be sharp, but they do not build into explanations.  
National University of Singapore Ian Gordon

SWINGIN’ THE DREAM: Big Band Jazz and the Rebirth of American Culture. By Lewis A. Erenberg. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998.

The last decade has produced a variety of texts analyzing the rise of swing music during the Depression era. Some tie the music to its jazz ancestry while others examine the music from a more social and political lens. Lewis Erenberg locates the rise and popularity of big band jazz, or swing, within the larger American cultural renaissance that took place during the Depression and World War II eras to show how the music

spoke to its generation. In doing so, he traces the ideals of the musicians and the fans to understand how swing's popularity defined the general mood of the country during these dual crises. In the end, *Swingin' The Dream* argues that because of its interconnection to the dominant ideology of the era, the swing revolution "brought jazz to the center of American music and culture" (250).

Erenberg begins by outlining how jazz evolved from the late twenties to become the voice of a generation by the mid-thirties. Central to this process was the musician's desire to better speak to their audience and help create a more usable American musical culture. This cultural democratization was encouraged by FDR's New Deal, whose programs helped rebuild the economic foundation and brought a sense of hope to the American people. As part of the rebirth and redefinition process, swing became "the center of a national youth culture" (38) because of its ability to reach and identify with a diverse and modern audience. Benny Goodman and his band opened the musical floodgates and helped swing become a leader in American music. Goodman's band also reflected the diverse nature of the music and the hot tunes they performed allowed for young people to express themselves on the dance floor. African American performers like Ellington, Basie, Lunceford and many more were instrumental in creating the sound of swing, and by their acceptance, helped refine the new democratic space carved out by the ideology of New Deal America. It also reflected the subtle move to the left that accompanied the creation of "an authentic 'people's culture'" (122). However, the forces of capital made this new democratic space difficult to navigate and both the artist and the audience continued to negotiate the limits and confines of their culture.

Swing began its decline as the war drained most of its valuable players, exemplified in the section on Glenn Miller. The high costs associated with travel and paying for the large dance bands began to erode the hold the music had over its followers, and combined with divisions between purists and contemporaries, bebop groups and commercial bands, and the American Federation of Music's recording strike from 1942-1944, swing emerged from the war in a difficult position. The sudden retirement of many of its principals left a hole in the big band industry. The final blow to swing came as an increasingly paranoid Cold War America sought to purge the leftist associations and moral limitations of the musicians.

*Swingin' the Dream* examines the production of swing and projects it onto the larger society. But one wonders where these ideas began and how the people suddenly came to accept the democratic nature of the new order? In his analysis of swing, Erenberg seems to follow the pattern established by other jazz scholars in arguing that jazz became *the* American music during the 1930s and 1940s and so his focus is more on the reasons for this occurrence rather than arguing why this is important. But, since big band jazz declines or becomes canonized in the post-war era, what does this suggest about American music? What about the other popular music—country & western—and its claim on being America's music? Given the confines of both commerce and society, there is scant discussion of those who did not share the "utopian promise" (89) of this more urban music. Yet, *Swingin' the Dream* is an interesting and well-written book and one can tell that Erenberg enjoys the music he writes about. But like many books on popular music, the difficulty of separating the love of the music from the context of its creation and acceptance leads to a one-dimensional, almost canonical monograph.

Kent State University, Trumbull

Kenneth J. Bindas

BROWNSVILLE, BROOKLYN: Blacks, Jews, and the Changing Face of the Ghetto. By Wendell Pritchett. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002.

For a moment—parts of two decades, the 1940s and 1950s—Brownsville, an impoverished Brooklyn, New York enclave, was the scene of a unique experiment in interracialism. Then, it was gone, and Brownsville became a classic embodiment of urban decline. Wendell Pritchett explains why this moment occurred, and why it ended. In doing so, he offers provocative insights into the patterns of racial change, class mobility, and neighborhood formation in urban America during the twentieth century.

Imbued with traditions of radical politics, Brownsville developed a host of strong community institutions. These permitted blacks and whites to live peacefully, and often cooperatively, during and immediately after World War II, in contrast to the poisonous racial atmosphere found in other poor New York City neighborhoods. One of the most important was the Brownsville Boys Club, a youth organization founded in 1940. There, Jews and African Americans forged bonds that carried over to the community at large. Thanks to the club and institutions like it, Brownsville, while no interracial paradise, featured an impressive level of intergroup harmony.

But this began to change in the early 1950s, and Pritchett's account of the end of Brownsville's period of racial amity is most compelling. Here, he seeks to answer what is probably the central question of twentieth-century American urban history: Why did whites flee the neighborhood? Pritchett traces the end of interracialism, and Brownsville's subsequent decline, to structural factors such as municipal housing policies that "dumped" thousands of destitute African Americans into local housing projects, and the disappearance of industrial jobs, which could have provided employment to these new arrivals. He also cites the anti-communist hysteria of the 1950s, which drove a wedge between progressive whites and blacks wary of "guilt by association." By the mid-1960s, few whites lived in Brownsville, and the neighborhood's crime, unemployment, drug use, dropout, welfare, and out-of-wedlock birth rates were among the highest in New York City. Although its fortunes improved somewhat during the prosperous 1990s, the community never recovered its white population. Black and white alumni of the Brownsville Boys Club now stage reunions in separate locations.

Brownsville's story is filled with the sorts of might-have-beens that dot the landscape of American race relations in the twentieth century. But, to its credit, *Brownsville, Brooklyn* is not solely about victims and villains. Pritchett refuses to use racism alone to explain the neighborhood's abandonment and decline, although he might have placed more emphasis on the classic American impulse toward upward mobility, since Brownsville's residents, regardless of skin color, left as soon as they could afford to. He instead tells a complex story, in which race, economics, policy, and culture intersected to make Brownsville the neighborhood it was, and is. Could Brownsville's interracial "moment" of the 1940s and 1950s be repeated? Pritchett is justifiably doubtful, but leaves the door slightly ajar. One can only hope that the arc of race relations in the Brownsvilles of twenty-first-century urban America will bend in different directions.

Lawrence University Jerald Podair

HOLDING UP MORE THAN HALF THE SKY: Chinese Women Garment Workers in New York City, 1948-92. By Xiaolan Bao. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 2001.

Xiaolan Bao has written an impressive contribution to the growing literatures of Chinese American studies, labor history, and women's work. *Holding Up More Than*

*Half the Sky* is an engaging, meticulously documented investigation of the social circumstances that led to the 1982 labor strike by 20,000 Chinese American women garment workers in New York's Chinatown.

The book is organized into three parts. The first section focuses on the creation of New York City's garment industry and the growing presence of Chinese immigrants in this trade. Bao's treatment of this fairly familiar subject is fresh and insightful. The author's inclusion of the perspectives of Chinese women (Bao's fluency in a number of Chinese dialects is instrumental here) who remained in China as wives of immigrant men provides an invaluable opportunity to better understand the transnational and gendered impact of Chinese labor migration to New York City's garment industry.

The second section is perhaps the most powerful in its retelling of the experiences of Chinese immigrant women workers during the Exclusion Era through World War II to the events leading up to the 1982 strike. Bao presents her analysis clearly and convincingly. She makes it seem almost easy. The author's strength as a writer is particularly evident here as she presents some very complicated issues such as the intense connection of work and family and the fluidity of boundaries between race, class, and gender in the lives of working class Chinese American women. There are no simplistic stories of good vs. bad, but rather sophisticated, historically grounded arguments that avoid the much too common patronizing or sensational renditions of the "poor, simple Asian peasant woman." The lives that Bao describes are about survivors, both courageous and fallible, who come from diverse backgrounds with their own distinct characteristics.

The third and final section discusses the strike and its impact on Asian Americans. Bao argues that this strike is important not only for its place in labor history but also as a crucial illustration of Chinese American women's continued resistance to gender and labor exploitation. Here again, Bao does a remarkable job in presenting a complex story. She does this by outlining the delicate relationship among the women garment workers, the union (ILGWU), Chinese garment shop owners, Chinese contractors, industry manufacturers, and the retailer, while maintaining the focus on the lives of the women workers.

There are a few, relatively minor issues that are missing or hinder the book in some way. First, the introduction is relatively weak and does not do justice to the contents therein. Second, a stronger treatment of the impact (or lack) of the larger civil rights movement in promoting organized protest by the Chinese garment workers is needed. Third, there is no consensus that the working class (Chinese or otherwise) experience greater incidents of domestic violence. However, the book as a whole is a valuable and much needed study of Asian America that brings together the best disciplinary attributes of history, sociology, and anthropology.

University of California, San Diego

Lisa Sun-Hee Park

DRIVING VISIONS: Exploring the Road Movie. By David Laderman. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2002.

David Laderman sees the road movie as a distinctly American film tradition that combines "the rugged individualist mythology of the Old West" with an emphasis on "postwar mobility" (13). Though he does discuss European road movies, for Laderman, the cinematic road is a decidedly American *topos*. *Driving Visions* is organized into six chapters, each of which maps the genre's development through discreet sections in which Laderman offers focused analyses of individual films. This makes the book read

like a road trip—episodic and punctuated by frequent section breaks, as if Laderman is constantly pulling over to show us something. The structure occasionally keeps the book from gaining momentum, but it does allow for easy reading.

Laderman begins by locating the road movie in relation to modernist aesthetics and classical Hollywood precursors. He then moves historically from nascent 1950s manifestations to the genre's high water mark in the late 1960s, and ultimately through discussions of films from the 1970s, 1980, and 1990s. The final section focuses on European examples.

Laderman has a well-traveled knowledge of the genre. However, his framework, which holds that the “road movie’s modernist engine is the countercultural unrest of late-1960s America” (5), is overly restrictive. Fastened as it is to such a specific historical moment, his argument regards films like *Bonnie and Clyde* and *Easy Rider* not only as the earliest, but also the best, examples of the road movie. Thus, he sees subsequent films failing to enact the genre’s original investment in the “visionary rebellion” of 1960s counterculture, even though such a vision might be anachronistic for more recent films. Too often read in relation to touchstone films like those just mentioned, Laderman sees the twenty year period following the late 1960s as generally depoliticizing the genre, whether through the 1970s focus on “existential loss rather than social critique” (83) or the “ludic irony and tongue-in-cheek posturing” (135) of the postmodern 1980s.

Defining “visionary rebellion” through 1960s angst and protest similarly problematizes the author’s reading of 1990s road movies, which he credits with offering a “repoliticized, reinvigorated cultural critique” that results not from a return to a bygone counterculture but from “new drivers—notably gays, people of color, and women” (177). The section on the 1990s seems a welcome shift in focus from earlier sections which, like the objects of his study, revolve around a less heterogeneous group. Still, needing to explain how these films are “politicized” despite bearing no tacit connection to the 1960s, Laderman makes recourse to a facile sense of identity politics, as when he describes *Thelma & Louise* as embodying the “independent spirit of a woman’s perspective” (179) or *My Own Private Idaho* as projecting a “gay outsider point of view” (206). Although they take to the road for different reasons, occasionally Laderman risks treating these subjects—marginalized both by history and the genre—as being a coherent group invested in a common project, and thus more unified than the straight, white men driving earlier films.

Readings of both earlier road movies and recent installments might benefit from a more developed, evenly distributed discussion of race, gender, and sexuality. Ultimately, students should find this book highly instructive as a case study of the genre, and as an example of how to compose a focused analysis of a film. However, those more familiar with the genre might find themselves wanting a more synergistic discussion that incorporates current scholarship in areas such as racial formation, modernism and postmodernism, genre studies, industrial history, and cultural geography.

Wheaton College, Massachusetts

Josh Stenger

GIs AND FRÄULEINS: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany. By Maria Höhn. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002.

Maria Höhn’s book is a study of the reception that Germans accorded American soldiers who began arriving in the largely rural state of Rhineland-Palatinate shortly after the outbreak of the Korean War. The residents of Rhineland-Palatinate had

necessarily adjusted to the French military forces that effectively occupied the area during the years 1945-1950, but the arrival of American soldiers in the 1950s and “the unprecedented degree of contact between Germans and Americans” brought the residents face-to-face with a dramatically different circumstance. Relying on archival sources, newspaper accounts, oral histories, and interviews, Höhn explores the German-American encounter with particular attention to the counties of Birkenfeld and Kaiserslautern, and within each of them, to the “garrison communities” of Baumholder and Kaiserslautern respectively. *GIs and Fräuleins* describes the culture that the American GIs brought with them—freedom, democracy, consumerism, big cars (*Straßenkreuzer*), jazz, mixed drinks, and “American ‘cool casualness’ (*Lässigkeit*)”—and the reactions to that culture by the Germans living in “one of the smallest and poorest of the newly created West German states.”

By the mid-1950s many of the residents of Rhineland-Palatinate had come to terms with the American soldiers—or, at least, with the white GIs—and the prosperity they brought with them. Most of Höhn’s narrative addresses “the face-to-face interaction of Germans and black GIs” and, more specifically, the reactions of Germans in Rhineland-Palatinate to the African American troops, the German women who socialized with them, and the Jewish DPs whose bars provided many of the venues for that socialization. The author points out that in the early years of the American presence African American soldiers were able to do in Germany much that racial codes in the United States had not permitted them to do back home, and, consequently, “black GIs experienced their military service in Germany as a time of liberation.” Höhn characterizes German attitudes toward African American soldiers as “multifaceted.” Thus, while *GIs and Fräuleins* describes a grudging acceptance of African American troops and their dependents, the author emphasizes that “most Germans condemned as unacceptable the relationships between German women and black American soldiers.” Höhn argues that the German reception of black GIs was conditioned by “the complex manner in which German and American racial attitudes interacted during the 1950s.” These American racial attitudes allowed Germans to reject “the language of Nazi racism” and, instead, to draw “on the example of American racial segregation to justify their own opposition to interracial relationships.”

Each of the book’s chapters is a self-standing treatment that addresses a relatively discreet aspect of the larger story, though taken together one occasionally gets the sense of reading once again themes and arguments presented earlier in the book. And while the author’s story is more than the “gender history” anticipated by the book’s introduction, it is not entirely successful in situating “this extraordinary cultural encounter” within the scholarly debates on modernization, Westernization, and Americanization. Nevertheless, *GIs and Fräuleins* tells an interesting and important story, and with it Höhn makes a valuable contribution to the burgeoning literature on post-World War II Germany.

National Endowment for the Humanities

Joseph B. Neville, Jr.

The opinions expressed in this review are those of the author; they do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

DISSENT IN WICHITA: The Civil Rights Movement in the Midwest, 1954-1972. By Gretchen Cassel Eick. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 2001.

This book about the civil rights movement in Wichita, Kansas, is an excellent example of how to write local history. The author artfully weaves together threads of

national and regional trends, events, and personalities into a tapestry that demonstrates the necessity of looking at both at the same time. While this account is one that is based on the contributions of grassroots organizations, Professor Eick does have a hero in Chester I. Lewis, Jr., a local leader and a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's "Young Turks," who, as she describes "came close to pulling off a revolution within the nation's largest civil rights organization, a veritable movement—within-the-movement and a story not told in the scholarly literature."

Professor Eick argues that historians have placed the beginning of the civil rights movement in the South, when, in fact, students held a sit-in at Dockum's drugstore in Wichita, Kansas, two years before the more famous one in Greensboro, North Carolina. Throughout the next decade, African American activists and their white allies in Wichita both led and reflected national trends in their efforts to desegregate America's most powerful institutions and organizations—from public schools and fair housing to government agencies and private industry. *Dissent in Wichita* is the result of the author's prodigious research and it presents a moving depiction of the power of ordinary people working together in extraordinary ways. Based on numerous oral interviews and the use of local and national manuscript collections, Professor Eick discusses the influence of a wide variety of Kansans in the civil rights movement and the subsequent war on poverty. For example, a month before national civil rights leader James Forman interrupted Sunday services at New York City's Riverside Church and demanded reparations for African Americans, Matt Greene, from the Wichita Area Community Action Program, made the same demands during services at the First Methodist Church. Senior Senator Robert Dole sponsored legislation for the Food Stamp program after the same Matt Greene provided information about elderly Wichitans who were living on cat food. Yet she does not ignore the presence of a group of black men who met at Milford "Skeeter" Johnson's barbershop for "intellectual discussions about Malcolm X and . . . revolutionaries like Franz Fanon and Mao Zedong" as part of the collective identity that blacks developed in Wichita. And while this book is primarily a tribute to the courage of local African American activists, the author acknowledges the role of sympathetic white citizens like Anna Jane Michener who embraced the value of racial equity and created the Community Committee on Social Action and others who supported efforts to desegregate Wichita's elementary schools, encourage minority hiring in private industry, and tear down barriers in racially exclusive neighborhoods.

Many readers will find Eick's discussion of Chester Lewis, lawyer and civil rights activist, and the Young Turks in the NAACP an extraordinary story of missed opportunities and repression on the part of President Roy Wilkins. Rather than welcoming the energy and enthusiasm represented by these outspoken younger black leaders who understood better than their elders the importance of economic issues for contemporary urban blacks, Wilkins and his peers chose to shut them out of positions of power within the organization. Many of these Young Turks, including Lewis, left the NAACP and chose to join forces with the National Black Political Convention, whose members called for black citizens to become involved in all levels of public activity—from local to international organizations. In the early 1970s, the NBPC advocated American withdrawal from the war in Vietnam and urged the adoption of President Nixon's first term proposal of a guaranteed minimum annual income for all as well as President Harry Truman's proposal for national health insurance. Wilkins branded the group too radical and refused to support them and, in the author's words, left the civil rights movement "crippled by the absence of the group best endowed with the resources needed for national impact."

Finally, however, this is a book about local people who worked, for the most part, quietly, earnestly, and patiently to make their community a better place. In Wichita as elsewhere, many of the black men who took part in the movement were veterans of World War II who fought for democracy abroad and again at home. And like women in other parts of the country who led efforts to help others, Wichita had its share of educated and dedicated black women—like Vashti Lewis (a Ph.D. in American Studies, by the way) who joined the struggle because they didn't want their children to face the same kind of discrimination that they had experienced. Professor Eick points out where the movement in Wichita resembles the “civility” model outlined by William Chafe in *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (1980) and she analyzes the similarities of Wichita's political strategies of poor people with those outlined by Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward. Professor Eick points out progress where it has been made and the core problems that still exist: persistent poverty in America's underclass and housing segregation. Drawing on Vincent Harding's description of movement leaders as runners in a relay, Gretchen Eick concludes that the history of the civil rights movement is a “heroic story, a relay race that requires retelling for the baton to be passed on.” Amen.

University of Missouri, Kansas City

Mary Ann Wynkoop

THE BULLDOZER IN THE COUNTRYSIDE: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism. By Adam Rome. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001.

Historians and political scientists have assumed that somehow the growth of environmentalism has been related to suburbanization. Just how the two post-World War II trends are related has been largely left unexplored—until now. Historian Adam Rome's important book, *Bulldozer in the Countryside*, focuses on postwar suburban homebuilding and begins the process of fully describing the relationship between the growing suburbs and the calls for environmental protection.

Rome begins with a bold assertion: “the postwar building boom was an environmental catastrophe on the scale of the Dust Bowl” (3). Rome does not ignore the positive aspects of the boom—the nation desperately needed housing, the production of which helped fuel remarkable economic growth—but what stands out about this story are the missed opportunities to create better, less environmentally destructive communities. Rome does not give a full accounting of the damage wrought by postwar development, preferring instead to trace the public debates as they evolved. If there is not enough evidence here to convince all readers that postwar suburbanization was a catastrophe, Rome does include enough to reveal how the multifaceted problems later subsumed by the term “sprawl” began to influence environmental politics.

After a lengthy introduction that discusses the many significances of this work, Rome addresses the hopeful developments of William Levitt and mass production. He then delves into a rather quirky chapter on the failure to adopt solar options in the 1950s, which also contains a discussion of the more important development of national housing types, produced without regard to environment and costing the nation excessive energy, particularly through air conditioning. A very successful chapter on the widespread use of septic tanks gives ample evidence of “the folly of unplanned growth.”

The real strength of the book lies in the later chapters as Rome connects continued suburban growth with concerns about land use planning, wilderness protection, and

that rather meaningless catchall term—“open space.” Even before the environmental decade of the 1970s, suburbanites on the front lines of development’s destructive works asserted that communities had a stake in protecting wetlands, hillsides, floodplains, and other threatened and valued lands from private development. In the process, as Rome asserts, they began a revolution in the nation’s philosophy of private property rights, developing, as Aldo Leopold had proclaimed in the 1940s, a new “land ethic.”

Throughout the book the central irony of the suburbs becomes clear: they seem idyllic when they do not grow. They begin as convenient, green, and clean places. But, they do grow—they must. The very growth that ushered in the first, happy residents, brings in subsequent waves, and the convenience, the green, the clean, all gradually disappear. As they do, environmentalism grows, though often in disappointingly myopic forms. This is a process still very much underway, obviously, and the post-1970 story is of great interest. Unfortunately, Rome does not address the last three decades of the twentieth century, but we can hope that an historian with Rome’s skills soon will.

University of Cincinnati

David Stradling

ROCK OVER THE EDGE: Transformations in Popular Culture. Edited by Roger Beebe, Denise Fulbrook, and Ben Saunders. Durham: Duke University Press. 2002.

The editors introduce this book with a sort of “once upon a time.” Not so long ago there was a relatively unified musical and cultural space called “rock.” As this segment of popular culture fragments (while remaining in denial about it), its degeneration implies a corresponding fragmentation of popular music studies. Together, these thirteen essays (nearly 400 pages of text) are offered as an exploration of the critical consequences of this process.

That, anyway, is the editorial justification for binding together an interesting but heterogeneous collection. A few make genuine contributions to cultural theory (especially those by Lawrence Grossberg, Michael Coyle, and R. J. Warren Zanes), and most would be strong additions to the journal *Popular Music*. But do they make sense collected together as a book? After all, five (including Grossberg’s “Reflections of a Disappointed Popular Music Scholar”) are revisions of previously published work. Given Grossberg’s lead slot and the copious references to him in so many of the essays, it’s tempting to think that the real editorial unity is a *Festschrift* for Grossberg.

Grossberg sets the stage by complaining that the field of popular music studies is overly complacent, with insufficient theoretical anxieties: “the study of popular music has not undertaken the necessary theoretical project in a serious and collective way” (40). Worse, “from a theoretical perspective, it seems to make little or no difference that we are talking about music” (41). So why have the editors bundled Grossberg’s denunciation with ten confirmations of his “disappointment?” (The two exceptions are musicologist Robert Fink’s challenge to incorporate serious musicology into popular music studies and Zane’s piece on the implicit homophobia underlying discussions of male fans of male musicians). Much of the theorizing here involves illustrating a familiar idea in general cultural theory by applying it to a few handpicked, confirming examples. As Grossberg grouches, much of the time it’s happenstance that the subject is music.

I should also mention my odd sense that the book was assembled in 1997 and then put on a shelf until 2002. Three authors acknowledge presenting at the same conference on rock music in 1997; perhaps they all attended, but the editors don’t want to acknowledge that this volume documents that conference. In any case, four essays are

grouped as “History” and offer new readings of canonical figures such as Elvis, Aretha Franklin, and the Beatles. Seven of the other nine concentrate on music or videos from the years 1994-1997, and another concentrates on American punk rock from the 1980s. In short, the book concentrates on genres and styles that seemed interesting in the mid-1990s, some of which seem less compelling in the wake of more recent events (e.g., internet music sharing, a new wave of teen pop music, and corporate consolidation).

Given the brevity of the index (covering the text but not the copious endnotes), the absence of a bibliography is unfortunate. There are occasional factual errors that the editors should have fixed, most notably the claim that the Police had a hit record called “Every Move You Make,” a mistake endorsed by the index.

Minnesota State University, Moorhead

Theodore Gracyk

PUT YOUR BODIES ON THE WHEELS: Student Revolt in the 1960s. By Kenneth J. Heineman. Chicago, Ivan R. Dee. 2001.

If Newt Gingrich ever decides to teach a course on the American Sixties, he will want to use this book. Gingrich, who built a political career excoriating “the sixties,” would find that Kenneth J. Heineman’s *Put Your Bodies on the Wheels: Student Revolt in the 1960s* conforms to most contemporary conservative interpretations of the era. Heineman condemns and dismisses sixties-era student protest as little more than the thrill-seeking antics of spoiled, irreligious, often communist-influenced, middle-to-upper-class dilettantes. In contrast, he celebrates working-class urban, unionized, Catholic Cold Warriors. Consequently, *Put Your Bodies on the Wheels* too often reads as less than a history of student protest than a rationalization and explanation for the disintegration of the New Deal coalition.

Framing his argument around the class conflicts between wealthy students and the working-class residents of college towns or neighborhoods (places like Buffalo, Ann Arbor, or Kent, Ohio), student protest becomes, according to Heineman, the catalyst for the rise of the conservative movement. This argument is hardly new. Conservative politicians (like Gingrich), historians of conservative politics, and even a few repentant ex-leftists have made similar claims. Most of these arguments, however, are couched within narratives describing the rise of modern conservatism and do not masquerade as a scholarly history of student protest.

The main problem with *Put Your Bodies on the Wheels* is that Heineman does not seem to take his subject seriously. He refuses to acknowledge the authenticity of the motivations behind large-scale student movements or the legitimacy of students’ goals. Civil rights for minorities, equality for women, exploring alternatives to bourgeois consumer society, and ending the war in Vietnam, appear too often in Heineman’s text as merely excuses to party or seek sexual conquest. By focusing primarily on the negative, radical, and prurient aspects of the sixties, Heineman loses his objectivity and produces less a work of history than a politically conservative polemic.

Consider for example Heineman’s treatment of Berkeley’s Free Speech Movement (FSM), long recognized as the catalyst for student protest across the nation. In his thirteen-paragraph account, Heineman downplays the significance of the protest and the widespread student support for the FSM. Instead he expends his energies describing the communist backgrounds of a few FSM leaders (some were Red-Diaper babies—a recurring theme in the book) and denying the widespread support the movement had on campus. Nowhere does he mention the fact that the college Republicans and Democrats

and even the Young Americans for Freedom were active within the FSM; nor does he describe the massive rallies and success of student protests. Instead he focuses on the sexual escapades of FSM participants. In one of the most embarrassing sentences in a book full of them, he states: “Not surprisingly, sexually-transmitted diseases, as well as incidents of rape, mounted in the wake of the Free Speech Movement” (110). For evidence, he compares the reported cases of gonorrhea in 1960 with those reported in 1965. (Throughout the book, Heineman actually seems shocked that college students had sex or took drugs.)

Here’s what’s missing from Heineman’s treatment of the FSM (and other student activism)—why students were protesting. According to *Put Your Bodies on the Wheels*, the FSM began only when Jack Weinberg set up a table to distribute political literature outside Sather Gate at Berkeley. There is no discussion that the location of Weinberg’s table was the traditional place for political groups to pass out flyers and recruit members. Nor does he mention that the administration had only made a decision to outlaw political activities earlier that summer (in response to civil rights protest the previous school year). There is no discussion of the administration’s decision to arbitrarily stifle particular organizations. Instead, according to Heineman, when local police arrested the lone wolf Weinberg, a few students took the occasion to crush a police car and make some speeches. He does not explain, discuss, or analyze the impetus for the protest or even relate the subject of many of the speeches. He does take care to note that many took advantage of the protest to “have sex on the street and sidewalk” (107). From there, Heineman goes on to explain the background of the leaders, their appetite for sex and drugs, and their talent to coin a phrase (“never trust anyone over thirty”). At no point does he mention the primary issue—whether or not students are guaranteed the right to free speech. There is no chronological narrative describing the real events or issues of the FSM nor is there any analytical argument devoted to the goals and aims of the movement.

Unfortunately, Heineman repeats this trend with every movement and event covered in the book. In his hands, 1964’s Freedom Summer was not about self determination for southern black voters, the break out of SNCC, or even the radicalization of factions within the Civil Rights Movement; it was about young people taking advantage of opportunities to have interracial sex and smoke dope. The Columbia University takeover becomes an SDS stunt that spiraled out of control. The tragedy at Kent State University becomes the fault of a few radicals who had whipped the campus into a frenzy between 1967 and 1970.

Heineman concludes his book with a chapter on the “legacies of the 1960s.” Anyone who has heard a Republican candidate speak in recent years should know how this goes, stop me if you’ve heard this before. As a result of the culture engendered by black radicals, feminists, antiwar protestors, and the New Left, the United States has, as my great-grandmother used to say, “gone to hell in a handbasket.” The State Department, responding to threats of war protests rejected Cold War saber rattling and initiated a doomed foreign policy. Liberals on college campuses have formulated a Newspeak of political correctness and have alienated everyday Americans. The media has come to be dominated by liberals out to name the national agenda. The moral moorings of the nation have come loose and we are adrift in a sea of abortion and homosexuality. Violent crime and drug use are rampant. And, the political culture created by student protestors has introduced mean-spiritedness to American politics.

College of Wooster

Jeff Roche

STEELTOWN U.S.A.: Work and Memory in Youngstown. By Sherry Lee Linkon and John Russo. University Press of Kansas. 2002.

Half a century ago David Riesman, in *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character*, wrote cogently of the ages of production and consumption. I witnessed both on my first visit to Youngstown, Ohio, in 1953: my father-in-law had just taken a job at Youngstown Sheet and Tube, and my mother-in-law insisted I visit a shopping mall. In those years steel seemed to have an indefinitely prosperous future, while the mall appeared (to me) a fad, despite my reading of Riesman.

Not only Sheet and Tube; but Republic, U.S.; Jones & Laughlin; and several regional companies had steel mills—sixteen altogether—in Youngstown and vicinity. By 1969, as the authors tell us, “when Youngstown Sheet and Tube was taken over by the Lykes Corporation, all of the local mills were owned by outside corporations, none of which were committed to reinvestment. Rather, they seemed content to run the old mills into decay and disrepair. . . .” Most were closed, but not without resistance from the communities of the Mahoning Valley, led by historian-turned-attorney Staughton Lynd. On the other hand, the shopping mall business is flourishing, as is Youngstown’s other well-known consumption industry, crime.

Heartless national corporations milking and then deserting local workers while faceless malls and politics-connected crime successfully preyed upon consumer-victims makes for an absorbing story, but the authors have chosen a different message: “*Steeltown U.S.A.* explores the struggle over memory in Youngstown. Memory is important because it helps to shape both personal and communal identity. . . .how Youngstown remembers its past plays a central role in how it envisions its future.” How rigorously do the authors examine struggle, identity, and the future?

Using the rubric of changing landscape, the authors review the conflict between labor and management over the century preceding the 1977 closing of Sheet and Tube’s Campbell works, the formation of the Lynd-led Ecumenical Coalition, as well as the creation of GM’s Lordstown plant on the outskirts of Youngstown and a prison industry in and near the city. Images of work from pamphlets to paintings, editorial cartoons to sculptures, set forward the identity of the steel town, a public memory which deindustrialization has tended to erase and replace with “images of crime, political corruption, and corrections.” How Youngstown’s past relates to its future is left unclear.

Indeed, this book is pervaded by murkiness. Too often narrative which would have lent coherence to the story is sacrificed to a sketchy presentation of events and statements by local participants. Also lacking is reference to the national scene—whether it be the rise and decline of industry, labor organizing, crime as an American way of life, or urban housing—which would have placed the Youngstown tale in clarifying context.

Capturing the memory of a community, its acquisition and its loss, sounds an admirable goal. But what this book mainly shows is how elusive that goal must be.  
San Francisco State University Joseph E. Illick

OUR ELDERS LIVED IT: American Indian Identity in the City. By Deborah Davis Jackson. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2002.

Tempering traditional ethnography with what she calls a “semiotic” approach to group identity, Deborah Davis Jackson, an Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Earlham College, achieves much that is of value. As a participant-observer in a primarily

Anishanaabe (also known as Ojibwe or Chippewa) urban community, Jackson was able to attain the confidence of many Indian people. She presents their stories in a good deal of depth in this book; this alone marks an important contribution to the too-small existing literature on urban Indians. As she defines it, the semiotic approach allows her to comment on the ways that identity is always historical.

Her study focuses on “Riverton,” a small city in the upper midwest whose socio-economic fortunes have been powered by the single motor of the automobile industry. When we think about the rustbelt, in important texts like Michael Moore’s *Roger and Me*, we tend not to see Indians. One of the strengths of this book is its inclusion of Indians into the narrative of postwar economic development, and Jackson’s insistence on seeing the development of urban Indian community in Riverton as linked to broader regional and national transformations.

Engagingly written, *Our Elders Lived It* is organized around a story from Jackson’s extensive ethnographic research. A 1994 meeting of the “Birmingham County” Indian Association was pervaded by tension between recently elected board and powwow committee members and the Indian community they were supposed to represent. As this tension led inexorably to the charged question, *Who is an Indian?*, many of the older people present held up their tribal enrollment cards. “*Our elders lived it!*” asserted one of the cardholders.

In Jackson’s thoughtful hands, this incident becomes an inroad to understanding elusive questions about identity and community membership. She traces the tension at the meeting to conflicts between the following three groups: “grassroots people”, or rural-born Anishanaabeg; their urban-born (after 1940) offspring, who were often the recipients of extremely mixed messages about their heritage from parents who struggled to make a life in an urban context charged with racism; and “wannabees”—individuals possessing few links to a rural, Indian past, who have recently uncovered their Indian ancestry and have come to dominate many Indian institutions in Riverton. Almost exclusively, Jackson focuses her attention on the first two groups.

Because she is interested in authentic Indian identity, Jackson dismisses the “wannabees,” whom she nonetheless charges with infiltrating and transforming the character of Indian institutions in Riverton. This is understandable in light of her interest in an authentic Indian identity. Jackson engages postmodern anthropology briefly, only to dismiss its broader claims for a process of identity construction that is less focused on an originary location. Because of this theoretical bias, however, Jackson ignores an interesting story about the very identity she seeks to understand. The “wannabees” become straw people—destroyers of Indian identity. A related problem is that none of Jackson’s informants are younger than thirty years old. Therefore, we do not hear about second-generation urban Indians, who come of age in an era of deindustrialization, and whose very Indian identity is often mixed with markedly non-native, often African-American, cultural strains. This is a loss, but it should not stop readers from enjoying and teaching this readable and engaging first book.

Bowling Green State University

Rachel Buff

ROCKY MARCIANO: *The Rock of His Times*. By Russell Sullivan. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 2002.

Russell Sullivan’s *Rocky Marciano: The Rock of His Times* explores the boxing career and, to a much lesser degree, the social significance of the only undefeated

heavyweight champion in the sport's history by focusing on Marciano's fights, their press coverage, and his opponents. Boxing matches are the central texts around which the narrative of this crossover book is constructed, and scholars of ethnicity and culture may be disappointed by the lack of explicit analysis of such themes. However, both fight fans familiar with Marciano and historians seeking a basic introduction to one of this century's most important pugilists will find it to be full of useful information not available in previous biographies.

The most impressive methodological element of the book is its eleven interviews, particularly those with legendary New York newspaper columnist Jimmy Breslin, longtime boxing manager Lou Duva, former promoter Truman Gibson, and Marciano's brothers Peter and Sonny. Sprinkled throughout the work, these conversations present unique and original stories and perspectives on the Brockton Blockbuster. They introduce readers to some of the differences between the public and the private Marciano, and clarify some of the controversies surrounding his career, like whether or not his 1955 bout with light-heavyweight champion Archie Moore was fixed, if he was given an unfair decision victory in his first match against Ted Lowry, and to what degree organized crime influenced Marciano's rise to prominence and his championship reign. Importantly, however, these things will be of far more interest to serious boxing fans than to scholars of American history and culture. A related strength of *Rocky Marciano: The Rock of His Times* is its use of local newspapers like the *Boston Traveler* and *Brockton Daily Enterprise* to uncover little-known details about Marciano's early career. Also refreshing is Sullivan's understanding and explanation of the differences between press coverage of Marciano and public opinion of him.

These strong points notwithstanding, Sullivan's work fails to place Marciano's career within a larger and more important context. With the exception of a few chapters that tackle Marciano's career thematically, the book is dominated by a chronological and formulaic approach that sacrifices serious analysis of American society for the presentation of insignificant minutiae about his bouts. In his haste to cover all of Marciano's title fights, Sullivan breezes over topics like race and masculinity. These lacks are disappointing because when Sullivan chooses to approach such concepts, he does so interestingly. Ultimately, though, within this narrative framework, Marciano is neatly reduced to a symbol of an age of simplicity in which complex realities like whiteness, class conflict, politics, and racism seemingly did not matter much. These flaws downgrade what could have been a fascinating account of the life and times of one of heavyweight boxing's most celebrated champions into just another biography.

St. Cloud State University

Michael Ezra

NEW JACK JOCKS: Rebels, Race, and the American Athlete. By Larry Platt. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2002.

Larry Platt's *New Jack Jocks: Rebels, Race, and the American Athlete* is a collection of thirteen short essays which examine three postmodern athletic archetypes: new jack jocks, anti-heroes, and entrepreneurs. Platt tackles a wide range of subjects related to sports in his hometown Philadelphia in an attempt to analyze how fans and media construct and define athletic heroism at the turn of the twenty-first century. At times, Platt's work, particularly his analysis of Michael Jordan's influence on American race relations, creatively and convincingly challenges traditional readings of athletes and their meanings. In other places, however, Platt's commentaries contradict his thesis that

“when it comes to the hot-button sociopolitical issues of our time, the sports subculture has been and continues to be ahead of the culture at large.”

Platt’s greatest strength is his understanding of the relationships between athletes and their historical eras, and how these things correlate to public perception. In his best essay, Platt argues that the growing criticism of Michael Jordan’s apoliticism is a remnant of an outdated civil rights mentality that judges the basketball legend through the same criteria by which 1960s athletes like Muhammad Ali, Jim Brown, and Bill Russell were measured. In the post-civil rights era, Platt claims, Jordan’s success must not be defined by his accomplishments as a race man, but through his influence as a capitalist.

Perhaps the biggest weakness in Platt’s book is his failure to consider whiteness as an analytical category. His essay on John McEnroe’s brutish on-court behavior would be improved by a more careful look at how the tennis star’s race and class status have affected his actions. Similarly, pieces exploring then Philadelphia 76ers owner Pat Croce, ultra-tough former heavyweight contender Randall “Tex” Cobb, and Hall of Fame third baseman Mike Schmidt, all of which examine blackness as a racial category, ignore how whiteness has contributed to the constitution of these people’s private and public personae.

Also frustrating is Platt’s tendency to make wholesale declarations about the nature of American culture and society without providing evidence to bolster such claims. Although Platt’s work is best described as journalism rather than scholarship, his cases for progressivism in sports, particularly in terms of race and gender, would be improved by more careful historical examinations. For example, it is difficult to see how “a few recent appearances of female placekickers [*sic*] on collegiate football teams” reinforces “[t]he case for progressivism in sports.”

Overall, *New Jack Jocks* is an uneven effort. At times, it soars above traditional scholarly and journalistic accounts of what makes a modern sports hero. In other places, it is compromised by a lack of nuance and substance. While sports fans of all kinds should find the book to be an enjoyable read, it is probably not a foundation upon which more groundbreaking studies of race and sports in America will be assembled.

St. Cloud State University

Michael Ezra

ROADSIDE CROSSES IN CONTEMPORARY MEMORIAL CULTURE. By Holly Everett. Denton: University of North Texas Press. 2002.

This slender volume, based on the author’s recent master’s thesis, appears at a particularly opportune time. The events of 9/11 called into being large numbers of what might be called vernacular monuments dedicated to the memory of the heroes and the victims of that day. In New York City, photos of the missing and posters requesting information about them morphed into sidewalk shrines marked by heaps of flowers, candles, greeting cards, and stuffed animals. Similar markers appeared in Washington and in Pennsylvania. Indeed, many of the recent acts of violence, especially against the young, have elicited similar responses. The sites of horrific traffic accidents, murder scenes, the husk of the Murrah Building, the knoll outside Columbine High: these places, too, have become hallowed ground with the addition of objects associated with innocence, loss, commemoration, and remembrance. The Viet Nam Memorial Wall, observing its twentieth anniversary this year, received the same kind of additions from visitors who felt compelled to humanize and personalize its stark black surface.

Holly Everett’s book comes at an historical moment when Americans are caught up in the task of deciding what ought to be commemorated and in what form—or should

the ad hoc memorials be removed, superseded, or institutionalized in some manner? Somehow, the rows of chairs in Oklahoma City and even the neo-classical World War II Memorial planned for the Mall in Washington seem too banal to stand for the heroes, the losses, and the emotions of those left behind. Perhaps the best way to study the possibilities is by looking at Everett's fine-grained study of the wayside crosses erected in Austin, Texas, by friends and relatives of those who died on the highways. Most often, these too are shrines, at least for a brief period of time following the death. And Everett has sought out the people who made or bought the crosses, who tend the little plots of ground on which they stand, who come to these spots to reflect upon those whose spirits left the earth right there. Clearly, some evil is purged by the appearance of roadside crosses; in parts of Europe, shrines have been erected at forks in the road, at spots where kings and saints are said to have stopped, all for the purpose of protecting and reminding wayfarers that the road is a place of danger, decision, and death. Texas crosses sponsored by Mothers Against Drunk Driving become something other than religious symbols: X marks the spot! Beware!

Holly Everett has tracked down the histories of the crosses she photographs. She has talked to those who built them and use them and tend them. And, at the same time, she reminds us of the political, folkloric, religious, and personal meanings of such markers over the course of history. The result is a splendid and useful case study of a phenomenon that ought to be of great interest to students of American culture both for its own sake and for its methodological rigor.

University of Minnesota

Karal Ann Marling

TEAM SPIRITS: The Native American Mascot Controversy. Edited by C. Richard King and Charles F. Springwood. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2001.

American history is rife with episodes in which American colonists—or their government—have affronted the Indigenous People of this continent while claiming that it was for their own good. Indian removal was touted by its staunchest proponents as a way to separate Natives from the acculturative stress of encroaching whites. Land allotment would promote individual responsibility needed to survive in an individualistic society. Boarding schools would teach Natives the skills needed to assimilate into American society. And of course, having someone dress up in turkey feathers, buckskin and face-paint, prancing and gyrating like a TV evangelist at half-time while drunken fans applaud is intended to honor American Indians. In each of these cases, objections raised by Native People were (or are) ignored.

*Team Spirits* is a diverse collection of chapters on the mascot controversy, edited by anthropologists C. Richard King and Charles F. Springwood. Most chapters focus on a particular mascot/name combination: The Central Michigan University Chippewa, the Arkansas State University Indians, and the Washington Redskins, for examples. Although the book is divided into sections that suggest entirely different topics (Inventions, Whiteness, Activism, Interventions, and Complications), the various chapters are more alike than appearances might suggest.

The greatest contribution *Team Spirits* offers to the literature on mascots is the excellent histories most chapters include on the origin of particular mascots and efforts taken to change or eliminate them. For in these histories—and the defenses mascot supporters proffer when challenged—lies the potential for understanding why people concoct mascots in the first place and why they grow so fond of keeping them in the face of opposition.

Ellen Staurosky's chapter on the Cleveland Indians is illustrative. Cleveland management maintains that the name "Indians" was the choice of a fan who won a contest to name the team in 1915. The alleged fan selected the name out of respect for a Penobscot man. Louis Sockalexis, who once played for the Cleveland team. Staurosky's research into franchise history reveals nothing of the sort—no contest, no fan who selected the name "Indians," no mention of Sockalexis as the inspiration for the name in any of the Cleveland newspapers that covered the naming of the franchise over the 1914-1915 off-season. Yet management stands by its creation myth, insisting that the name was "a noble gesture to honor a noble man" (Staurosky, 99).

At least Cleveland had a real Indian in its history. As Donald Fisher explains in his chapter, virtually everything about Syracuse University's Chief Bill Orange is fictional. The mythmakers of Syracuse, though, didn't stop with a mythical Onondaga "Chief." They invented a mythical Jesuit explorer who was handy with a paintbrush and fashioned an image of the mythical Chief Bill. They even conjured a mythical archaeologist who unearthed evidence of the Onondaga, the Jesuit, and the painting, and published it all in a Syracuse University magazine, the *Orange Peel*. "Such was the birth of the legend of Chief Bill Orange" (Fisher, 30). In the face of opposition to the mascot, many Syracuse alumni and students continued to support the Chief, even though the whole thing had been a hoax.

*Team Spirits* should appeal not only to scholars but to activists in mascot disputes around the country. A chapter by Ann Marie Machamer is a veritable guide to waging a successful intervention. Her chapter outlines arguably the most important victory in the overall mascot battle, for an entire school district (Los Angeles) banned the use of Indian mascots and names, thereby "setting a precedent for the nation" (Machamer, 218). Written by a leader in the organization that secured the victory (American Indian Education Commission), the chapter is written with humility and grace.

Suzan Shown Harjo's chapter recaps a legal precedent, the Trademark Trial and Appeal Board ruling that expunges the Washington NFL football team's trademark of the name "Redskins," on the grounds that the name is offensive and therefore violates federal trademark law. Harjo notes with irony that, during the trial, the Washington team's attorneys called the Harjo team names like "militants" and "fringe activist groups," "without seeming to notice that the entire case is about name-calling" (Harjo, 204).

Several authors search for possible motives that underlie the tendency for mascot supporters to cling so tenaciously to their mascots. Chapters by David Prochaska, Patric LeBeau, and Donald Fisher delve into concepts of personal identity and group cohesion in efforts to explain the powerful attraction many Americans have toward playing Indian (also see Deloria, 1998). Mary Landreth concludes that "the Indian athletic team names and mascots are really honoring ourselves, the conquerors" (60).

King and Springwood have done an admirable job of editing this varied collection of chapters on a complex topic that changes almost daily. They also contributed, individually or collectively, three chapters to the book. Those chapters broach some of the nuances that complicate the mascot issue, among them support for mascots by some Native People. King's chapter tells how American Indian students at Marquette University lobbied for a "dignified warrior symbolic of our culture" (294) after Marquette abolished its original Indian mascot. Springwood's chapter recounts "the decidedly visible involvement of some Native Americans" (307-308) in protests against Eastern Michigan University for banishing its Huron mascot from campus, claiming "that the decision to retire the logo was a form of oppression that victimized the Huron people" (308).

King and Springwood relate the partnership that has evolved between the Seminole Tribe of Florida and Florida State University. Shayne Osceola, a Florida State graduate and great-great-great-great-grandson of Seminole leader Osceola, said of the University's Seminole mascot: "I never took the Tomahawk Chop so seriously I could be offended by it. I never thought about it as anything but a bunch of kids out there having a good time—and I was one of them" (in Wheat, 1993, quoted by King and Springwood, 152).

A highlight of the book is Cornel Pewewardy's chapter on "Educators and Mascots." Pewewardy argues that "the real issues are about power and control" (267), and "Sometimes the powerful have no clue that they have power" (264). He calls on a very powerful group—educators—to familiarize themselves with the issues and to become proactive in educating students about the racism inherent in mascots. Our silence in the face of racism teaches children to tolerate racism.

While *Team Spirits* is not apt to appear on a best-sellers list, it really should. Its value, according to King and Springwood, is "to problematize mascots and the cultural fields producing them" (328). "Perhaps *Team Spirits* can serve best as conversation starter" in a discussion of these cultural fields (334).

Educators (and their students) clearly could benefit from the book. So could sportswriters (and their readers). And so could anyone who fancies racism in this country to be a thing of the past. The days of Indian Removal, Land Allotment, and Boarding Schools are past, but there remains a malevolent facet of American culture that demeans Native Peoples and dismisses their points of view on issues directly applicable to them. The mascot controversy is one of those issues. *Team Spirits* is, perhaps, a place to begin a conversation.

Xavier University of Louisiana

David P. Rider

I WANNA BE ME: Rock Music and the Politics of Identity. By Theodore Gracyk. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2001.

Theodore Gracyk raises all the right, which is to say, the most vexing, questions about popular music in contemporary American society. His most recent work, *I Wanna Be Me*, inquires into the relationship of mass art to the formation and revision of identity. Arguing between traditional musicologists who dismiss rock as worthless and cultural studies practitioners who evaluate rock's implication in or subversion of dominant ideologies, Gracyk proposes some interesting new and old ways of thinking. Among them is his suggestion that we treat rock as "mass art," by which he means "the art of mass societies, predicated on addressing mass audiences by means of the opportunities of mass technologies" (19). The understanding of mass art requires little or no familiarity with esoteric musical codes; it's a characteristic which will likely please traditional musicologists, as it preserves a hierarchy of artistic seriousness. Cultural studies partisans will be comforted here by Gracyk's assertion of the validity of rock music as a rewarding object of close textual analysis, and by his understanding of the act of listening as producing multiple, often contradictory, interpretations.

Many readers, however, will find problematic Gracyk's somewhat overextended argument that musical texts—a guitar sound, a rhythmic or instrumental structure—are empty; that literally, their sound and fury need not signify anything beyond what the musicians and audiences intend. While this claim echoes many theorists' emphasis on the liberatory indeterminacy of popular texts, it challenges recent work on the racial and gender coding implicit in various popular music genres and paradigms. Asserting

that “mass art texts will be compatible with a variety of interpretations, with different interpretations valid for different audiences” (79), Gracyk appeals here to the impossibility of contextualizing the experience of consuming the popular music text, and therefore of fixing its meaning once and for all.

While this theoretical strategy can have the salutary effect of freeing musical sound structures and individual interpreters from customary ways of hearing, *I Wanna Be Me* too often demurs on how and why patriarchal and homophobic communities have deployed rock as the sonic manifestation of patriarchy. At the same time, Gracyk, in his discussion of gender identity in recent rock music, optimistically points to an emerging rock aesthetic, evident in the music and personae of performers such as Ani DiFranco (who, tattooed and guitar in hand, graces the cover). This emancipatory aesthetic is distinguished by “a refusal to respect the current signifiers of ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’ qualities” (199).

*I Wanna Be Me* is most helpful in its insistence on moving beyond a simplistic notion of “appropriation,” commonly understood as that process through which those with greater social and economic resources have stolen the musical texts and stylistic practices of the powerless—a type of cultural imperialism. Gracyk argues forcefully against this standard narrative, arguing for a greater sophistication in apprehending the interrelation of cultures and cultural production, and challenging readers to take seriously “the degree to which each individual can make a claim to diverse cultural identities” (x). *I Wanna Be Me* is certain to promote debate on such questions among scholars of popular music and cultural studies.

Dickinson College

Cotten Seiler

TABLOID CULTURE: Trash Taste, Popular Power, and the Transformation of American Television. By Kevin Glynn. Durham: Duke University Press. 2000.

A survey conducted by a respected media research center during the summer of 2002 produced disturbing news for journalists. According to the Pew Research Center, many Americans currently give the news media—both print and broadcast—low marks for credibility and professionalism.

While so-called “mainstream” news organizations—ranging from the national agencies like the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, and CNN to the local newspapers and broadcast outlets—face intense criticism, another journalistic form stirs even greater antipathy. As Kevin Glynn says, “Numerous academic and journalistic critics have devoted countless printed pages and endless hours of discussion to the ‘problem’ . . .” presented by tabloid media.

But while tabloid organizations like the *National Enquirer* and television’s *A Current Affair* frequently draw scorn from many academics and journalists, Glynn sees them as sites that challenge the hegemony of socially powerful groups with an “openness both to socially marginalized topics . . . and to socially excluded voices” (216). This provides the foundation for Glynn’s thesis that tabloid media generally operate in opposition to the “mainstream” or “official” media owned by dominant social groups, and, as such, “matter because they constitute an important site of on-going cultural politics” (227). According to Glynn, the tabs provoke and encourage “some of the popular forces” opposed to “imperializing power-bloc knowledges” (10).

Glynn provides a well-organized and well-researched narrative. He bases his project on established research by scholars like Jean Baudrillard, S. Elizabeth Bird, Stuart

Hall, and John Fiske. He offers a particularly interesting discussion of “fantastic” tabloids like the *Weekly World News* and the *Sun*.

However, several flaws undermine the project. At least three issues demand additional discussion.

First, Glynn appears to ignore the watchdog role of “official” journalism. Coverage of issues in business and government frequently place news organizations in opposition to powerful groups. According to Bourdieu (1977), this opposition represents one way a dominant group may frame an issue to reinforce its hegemonic position. At the same time, the nation’s history offers numerous examples where news coverage played a role in undermining the position of the powerful.

Second, he ignores the convention of television journalism—especially local television news—that encourages the inclusion of “common voices” in important stories. These voices typically appear in opposition to the dominant position and frequently provide representation for marginalized people.

Finally, Glynn acknowledges that an undetermined percentage of tabloid talk show narratives are fiction portrayed as reality (222). He sees this fictionalization as of little consequence for “talk shows depend on a certain media role playing” (222).

However, while fiction may bring “official truth” into question, we must ask if fiction revealed as a premeditated lie will eventually grant greater legitimacy to the “official truth” and eventually reinforce a hegemonic position. This issue—which lies at the heart of *Tabloid Culture*—demands far fuller discussion than to simply dismiss it by saying one need not attempt to discern truth from fiction when it appears on a tabloid talk show.

Northwest Missouri State University

Doug Sudhoff

AFTER THE WORLD TRADE CENTER: Rethinking New York City. By Michael Sorkin and Sharon Zukin, eds. New York: Routledge. 2002.

I am writing this review on the anniversary of 9/11, an event that has spiraled away from the point of impact between hijacked plane and structure, producing a vertigo of war hysteria, xenophobic suspicions, and memorial/development schemes. Amid the excesses and self-indulgences of the past months, culminating with the patriotic tableaux of Date Zero commemorations of the moment that United States culture changed “forever,” this slim volume demonstrates what cultural analysis and intellectual clarity of vision can add to the consideration of what must be one of Gene Wise’s “dense facts”: not the attack on the World Trade Center but the ways in which that visual, structural, and temporal space must be assimilated into the living, urban fabric of New York and the cultures to which this cosmopolitan city belongs.

Be careful to understand how people remember, Marshall Berman and Christine Boyer remind us. Look again at the function of such buildings in the dense stratigraphy of urban life, Michael Sorkin, Sharon Zukin, and Setha Low admonish. Take a deep breath and place the epicenter of absolutes—the biggest, the most dense, the most vulnerable, the most horrible, the event that will live forever—in the context of New York history Mike Wallace and others admonish. Remember, Eric Darton mutters, that these hulking buildings were not a beloved part of the New York prospect, but only longed after as the centerpiece of national retrospect. Pick up this book, I recommend; it will reassure you that intellectuals should have a voice in public debates over what is to be done.

Listen especially to the intimate voice of Moustafa Bayoumi, who reminds us of the neighborhoods that the WTC displaced and skillfully introduces the voice of Arab Americans into these stentorian times. Take a look, in particular, at the articles by colleagues who have spent a good deal of time in that ideal off-shore viewing platform, Great Britain: David Harvey (above all), Neil Smith, and Andrew Ross. Listen, they tell us, these guys committed these acts for a reason. The World Trade Center is a symbol all right, but, in our introspection, grief, and habitual self-absorption we haven't a clue as to its meanings in the world. A particular kind of capitalism, a logic constructed of money and media as much as steel and glass, raised this target above its Lower Manhattan footprint. We dismissed these elements just as quickly as the steel girders of the WTC were sold for scrap but we need to analyze these details as carefully as this twisted rubble was surveyed, after the fact, just before being shipped off to scrap yards in Malaysia and other portions of the world.

This is extraordinary work produced within sight and sound and smell of the site under discussion. It stands alone. I am left to wonder: why has the United States academic community been so silenced over the past months? Is critical patriotism an oxymoron? Why has such a valuable book as this one not been given wider visibility? Sorkin et al. have invited us to collaborate on what comes after the World Trade Center. That is a charrette worthy of the most visionary of American studies scholars.

University of Wyoming

Eric J. Sandeen