Book Reviews

Reviews

FABLES OF ABUNDANCE: A Cultural History of Advertising in America. By Jackson Lears. New York: Basic Books. 1994.

In the introduction to his long awaited and eagerly anticipated investigation of the cultural meanings of advertising, Jackson Lears says, "I have not tried to write a comprehensive historical survey of American advertising . . . Nor have I asked whether or not a particular advertising campaign has helped to sell a particular product . . . Instead, I have tried to explore what were, for the most part, the unintended consequences of advertisers' efforts to vend their wares: the creation of a symbolic universe where certain cultural values were sanctioned and others rendered marginal or invisible" (3). At the most serious level, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* is not a cultural history of advertising; but neither is it simply an investigation of the symbolic universe that advertising has created. It is, rather, more of an attempt to specify the origins and the maintenance of the feeling of weightlessness or emptiness that Lears finds throughout the culture of the late-modern United States. This book is most directly and literally about, not advertising, but the fables of abundance found in a wide variety of cultural forms. And, for Lears, all of these fables are false, each participating in an increasing "disembodiment of desire" that wrenches material objects and human wants out of their appropriate relational contexts, leaving them open to the cynical manipulations of twentieth-century confidence men and painted women.

Truly interdisciplinary, filled with surprising insights and compelling examples, *Fables of Abundance* brings together interpretations of graphic representations of the New World that were designed to entice colonial settlers to a land of fertility and plenty, the chromolithographs of Currier and Ives, Simon Patten's early-twentieth century theorization of a consumerdriven economy of abundance, modernist design strategies employed in magazine advertisements of the twenties and thirties, George Lippard's sensational popular novels of the mid-nineteenth century, the novels of Henry James and Edith Wharton, patent medicine, travelling peddlers, the "new psychology," Gibson Girls and child-rearing advice in the powerful narrative style we have come to expect from Jackson Lears. Throughout, advertising is treated synecdochally as a figure for the ever-widening

gap between promise and reality that seems to characterize the increasingly intricate intertwinings of culture and commodity. In the process, Lears presents most of the major themes that have appeared in his work throughout the past ten years: the longing for authenticity, the necessary contradictions that derive from maintaining a romantic worldview while functioning as a commercial artist, and the dangers incumbent upon a culture that seems to place the highest value upon bottom-line efficiency. At the risk of reducing a complicated argument to a simple moral, *Fables of Abundance* argue for the importance of a simpler world. It is must reading for all American cultural historians.

It is also the first full-length enactment of Lears's top-down model of cultural hegemony. Differing greatly from the Gramscian concept on which it is based, Lears's understanding of hegemony allows for no meaningful agency on the part of ordinary people. In this version of the crucial historical transformation to the culture of consumption, the educated elites who ran advertising agencies succeed quite easily in their efforts to deflect the productive urges of ordinary people into the distorted desires of commodity consumers. The only individuals who seem to have taken satisfaction in their work are advertising executives like H.A. Batten, who unabashedly extolled the importance of aestheticized persuasive communication. The only heroic individuals are artists like Joseph Cornell, who wrest mass-produced objects from their context in the effort to establish autonomy through a withdrawal from the marketplace. In one sad saga after another, mid-level corporate functionaries like advertising copywriters and commercial artists express their dismay at the world they have almost unwittingly wrought. The wants, tastes, and pleasures of the consumers of American mass culture appear in this study only as the raw materials out of which advertisers and other upper-middle class cultural workers forged a world of false desires and empty promises—a world where "presidents were test-marketed" yet "obsessions with 'productivity' had become ecologically dangerous." Neither the traditional critiques of Marxism nor conservative arguments about the immorality of expenditure have provided much of a guideline for dealing with this world.

Unfortunately, neither has Lears. In a world where marketplace values have almost eliminated the possibility for "plain-spoken" critique, within a model of society and culture that decries any engagement with the marketplace as a loss of autonomy and that understands autonomy as the only possible basis for establishing authentic cultural values, Lears leaves us lamenting the loss of those freedoms perhaps last enjoyed by the yeoman farmers of the Jeffersonian imaginary. If ever those farmers existed, the world they inhabited is no longer with us (for worse, or, for many, for better). Engagement with the current world of ordinary American consumers entails recognizing our mutual interdependence within the culture of consumption. While such an interdependence does result in a loss of autonomy, this loss is more than made up for by the real connections it enables with the actually functioning American polity. American intellectuals can no longer afford to continue basing our cultural criticism on a model of society that disappeared with the earliest days of the American republic. The battlefield for the hegemonic war of position in American Culture is the marketplace; we need to be developing new strategies for winning there, not repeating old laments over the location of the fight.

University of Kansas Barry Shank

VOICES OF PERSUASION: Politics of Representation in 1930s America. By Michael E. Staub. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994.

In an ironic twist, Michael E. Staub's *Voices of Persuasion* applies postmodernist strategies of literary criticism to the reassessment of 1930s realism. His focus on voice—how writers sought to render the speech of those usually unrepresented in published work—proves an adroit strategy for his selections and interpretations of 1930s documentary writing.

Staub argues that many 1930s writers themselves grappled self-consciously with problems of representation and authenticity. In particular, many were aware of the uneasy relationship of writer and subject; as they tried to give voice to people who themselves had little access to print, they recognized the impossibility of direct transcription and struggled to find forms adequate to their subjects. Staub makes his case through judicious selection and provocative juxtaposition. His reading of James Agee's prose in Agee and Walker Evans's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* opens up new layers of meaning in this complex work; especially interesting is his discerning argument about the work as deliberate parody of official agricultural surveys, and his analysis of Agee's uses of dialect and address. Staub strengthens his argument by showing how lesser known works participated in the same kind of self-reflexive discussion; for example, he enhances his discussion of *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* by pairing it with John Dos Passos's *Facing the Chair*, a pamphlet appealing the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti. In each case, he places the work in reference to related genres. Thus, he demonstrates the innovativeness of Zora Neale Hurston's *Mules and Men* by first analyzing the conventions and assumptions of 1920s and 1930s anthropological writing; and he reads Tillie Olsen's novel *Yonnondio from the 1930s* in the context of Communist party journalism and proletarian fiction. A chapter on three accounts of American Indian lives takes up the debate about ethnomethodology and argues that 1930s writers were asking the same kinds of questions about their work; here, though, Staub assumes a level of self-consciousness about representation that does not seem fully supported in his quotations.

Voices of Representation is itself strikingly emblematic of its own historical moment. By going beyond modernist commitments to subjectivity and aesthetic experience, postmodernism has reinvested realism with literary value: works judged plodding and didactic by modernist standards appear daring and experimental to postmodernist eyes, audacious in their efforts to represent the ever-elusive "real." Staub's fresh and provocative readings of these texts should bring new attention to this fascinating body of work, and his thoughtful use of recent literary theory on representation, address, and orality deepens his discussion. But even as he argues vigorously against the dismissal of this work, the terms of his own project betray a whiff of condescension. He recovers these texts as worthy of analysis by arguing that their authors were premature postmodernists, worthy of our attention because they anticipated and to some extent shared our contemporary preoccupations with representation. That rhetorical strategy speaks volumes about its intended audience, and about the ahistorical and arrogant bent of much contemporary literary criticism.

George Mason University Barbara Melosh

AS SEEN ON TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s. By Karal Ann Marling. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1994.

For the past fifteen years, no scholar in American Studies has been more prolific, innovative, and engaging in her publications than Karal Ann Marling, Professor of Art History and American Studies at the University of Minnesota. Because of its subject matter, abundant illustrations, and emphasis upon generational change, her latest work will be a highly welcome addition to our syllabi just as soon as it becomes available in paperback. Marling's energetic and highly accessible prose enhances the book's attractiveness. One sentence must suffice: "In the classic 1950s presentation, chicken à la king looked like Abstract Expressionist color drips applied to a dinner plate, so completely were its properties as food overwhelmed by its pictorial charm" (223).

The research that underpins this study, although meticulous and hard-earned, is presented gracefully and unobtrusively. The narrative is so compelling that some readers may scarcely notice just how many elusive scraps of information (and data from grainy program screenings) have been pieced together to form *As Seen on TV* as a mosaic. Marling makes it seem effortless because she is a consummate master at controlling details in making a presentation.

Her chapters use a person, a place, a hobby, or an artifact in attempting to convey a tactile panorama of American fads during the fifties: Mamie Eisenhower and women's clothing; amateur painters and do-it-yourself uses of leisure; how Disneyland came to be and exceeded everyone's expectations; the automobile in an age of streamlining and new highways; Elvis Presley's hair, personal taste, body language, and military service; Betty Crocker's Picture Cook Book and food for TV viewers as well as patio hosts; and finally, Richard Nixon in Moscow (1959) as chauvinist for free enterprise and shil for new American appliances.

Because Marling's emphasis is upon "looking and viewing," a lot of her information is from television programs and ads. She stresses the importance of color so much, and in so many ways, that our notion of the bland 1950s is redirected by repeated invocations of "sensual," "sensuous," and "sensuality." Marling's chosen decade, like her prose, is perpetually in motion—almost breathlessly so. The fifties may have been banal, but they are not boring in these pages.

Marling has never been enthusiastic about theoretical approaches to cultural studies: empiricism in the service of high-spirited skepticism is her forte. In this book, however, she has paid particular attention to specialists in various fields, and used their insights to good effect. Simon Frith and Greil Marcus are examples in popular music; and Marling is notably shrewd on the constant calculations and shifts of strategy required in advertising by manufacturers and designers. She is also wonderfully astute about the wider implications of TV: in providing the resources and symbiotic relationship that made Disneyland possible, for instance; or in changing when and where Americans ate their meals; or in shaping non-television advertising and how people looked at new products generally.

There do seem to be at least two conceptual problems in this book. First, for most of it the 1950s appears to be a decade of rapidly growing comfort and affluence, a time when few folks had significant social anxieties. As someone with fairly vivid memories of that decade, however, I recall civil defense drills and bomb shelters, polio scares, inadequate information about and means of contraception, fears of problematic "race mixing" after desegregation in 1954, and so forth, as anxiety-inducing public issues. Marling hints at a few of them on pp. 250-52; but for most of her Americans, the biggest questions they face

seem to be what kind of car to buy and where to align major appliances that now were square rather than round.

Second, in summing up (287) Marling concludes that this was an era when people did not need or want "the sorts of artists designated as such by faceless cultural authorities, when you could do it yourself." She thereby highlights a mood of autonomy. Yet her book is mainly about the extraordinary power of highly visible cultural authorities who determined, virtually unchallenged, what Americans wore, how they cooked, the configuration of their kitchens in particular and their homes in general, and the automobiles they proudly drove. Marling barely makes explicit what strikes me as a central tension in American culture: a curious blend of nostalgia with a strong desire for the new, colorful, functional, and correctly modern. The tension only surfaces clearly when she describes hobbies, or Walt Disney's beau ideal for his theme park: "To make a model was to construct or reconstruct one's own biography. To make a model of an ideal past was to reject an imperfect present" (112).

Overall, however, *As Seen on TV* provides a highly vivid reminder that the 1950s was perhaps the last decade when collective self-confidence in "the American Way of Life," went virtually unchallenged. I found it all easy to remember yet very hard to imagine that mood of smug self-satisfaction being revived. There are those today who would like to, of course, but their arrogance and lack of compassion do not go uncontested.

Cornell University Michael Kammen

FRONT YARD AMERICA: The Evolution and Meanings of a Vernacular Domestic Landscape. By Fred E. H. Schroeder. Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press. 1993.

The American front yard originated in Toledo, Ohio, in 1870.

Fred Schroeder argues this thesis in his entertaining and informative study of the distinctively American front lawn: the fenceless, street-facing yard of a one-family house that creates with others an ornamental belt of green stretching communally over an entire block. Schroeder's is a truly interdisciplinary study. He illuminates his subject using history, aesthetics, technology, economics, and hermeneutics. After tracing the aesthetic roots of the American front yard to the eighteenth-century English landscape garden, as modified and Americanized by figures such as Calvert Vaux and A. J. Downing, he explores the evolution of the front yard from private living space to public ornament. Schroeder focuses most on Toledo real estate developer Frank Jesup Scott, who articulated an aesthetic for the American front yard in his 1870 book *The Art of Beautifying Suburban Home Grounds of Small Extent* and then incorporated the theory in his own housing developments. These tracts provided the model for a vernacular landscape movement that spread across the country during the next thirty years, stimulated by real estate developers of the new suburbs.

Schroeder analyzes the multiple influences on the front yard: material inventions such as barbed wire, mass produced balloon-frame houses, and the lawn mower; social factors such as suburbanization and the spread of street cars; and such intangibles as the American goal of owning a single-family dwelling on one's own land. Beyond giving the history of an interesting phenomenon, Schroeder also explores the symbolic significance of the front lawn, "one of the main visual expressions of the American character" (102). He argues that "an unpredicted conflation of social, economic, technological, and aesthetic

developments and innovations had resonated with the American Dream . . . to reconcile the paradox of the equally cherished values of nuclear family independence and of community cooperation, of private possession and of public pride" (114). The book concludes with discussion of the lawn in light of current ecological concerns, changes in the American family, and factors (especially TV and air conditioning) that diminish traditional use of the front yard for play and socializing.

Front Yard America is written in a lively, engaging, informal style. While it is scholarly, copiously annotated, and complete with an extensive bibliography, the book avoids academic jargon and will appeal to a wide range of readers. It contains over seventy-six illustrations—many of them photographs of streets and lawns taken by Schroeder himself, but also fascinating materials from museums, historical societies, and periodicals. Occasionally Schroeder gives more information than is really necessary for his argument. "But we are drifting from the subject," he concedes at one point (102). The history of the lawn mower in Part Four is an example; we get more information than we need to comprehend the significance of this invention for the front yard. But these meanderings and side excursions are so interesting in themselves that occasional discursiveness seems not a flaw in the book but one of its charms. It will delight students of American landscape and culture.

University of Minnesota, Duluth Stephen Adams

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. Edited by Warren I. Cohen. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993.

Volume 1: *The Creation of a Republican Empire, 1776-1865.* By Bradford Perkins.
Volume 2: *The American Search for Opportunity. 1865-1913.* By Walter LaFeber.
Volume 3: *The Globalization of America, 1913-1945.* By Akira Iriye.
Volume 4: *America in the Age of Soviet Power, 1945-1991.* By Warren I. Cohen.

Warren Cohen, the editor of *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations*, sets himself and the three other authors of this four-volume work the monumental task of summarizing the vast literature of American diplomatic history in compact books and providing fresh insights from their own research. Each has succeeded marvelously.

The writers are eminent; each has written extensively before about the time period covered by his book, and each served as the president of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. All of the writers have an easy grasp of the subject matter and the massive literature on which each book is based.

This work is not a textbook. The individual volumes are too short to provide the kind of comprehensive coverage that graduate students would want and the narrative thread is not the kind of consistent chronology, spiced with the telling detail, that undergraduates need.

Instead, the audience for this work is the professional historian familiar in some way with the outline of the subject who desires to see how several of the foremost practitioners' past generation has assimilated the literature.

What each of the writers does is provide a chronological framework, which he then enriches with topics he finds especially telling. For example, the lively, well-written volume by Bradford Perkins on U.S.-Foreign relations from Independence to the Civil War—the longest period chronologically—includes a marvelous discussion of the Constitution and foreign affairs. Walter LaFeber's volume on the late nineteenth and early

twentieth century begins with an excellent survey of some of the recent theoretical literature regarding markets and race in foreign affairs. The highpoint of the book, however, are two biographical sketches of presidents—one well known, the other usually forgotten—Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft. Akira Iriye is generally regarded as having pioneered the study of culture and foreign relations. He adds fresh material from this area in his study of foreign relations from the First to the Second World Wars. He explains how the movement for international education helped set the stage for the growth of general international organization at mid-century. Finally, Warren Cohen's account of the Cold War benefits from his deep immersion in the history of U.S.-East Asia relations. Moreover, at the beginning and the end of his volume, he includes very important material about the changing character of the United States from the end of the Second World War until the end of the Cold War. In 1945 American culture was white, male, and Protestant. In a few pages of his conclusion, Cohen explains how the Cold War hastened the transformation of the United States to a more catholic nation. Not only were Roman Catholics more influential in foreign affairs at the end of the period than at the beginning, but Cohen shows how Jews, African Americans, and women also asserted their interests because of the Cold War.

Yet these are not idiosyncratic or personal essays. Each author has taken care to highlight the contributions that he considers to be the best scholarship of the last two decades. Obviously the best use that others will make of *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations* is the swift, sure footnotes and bibliographical citations.

So what is missing? Cohen, as editor, and the three contributors had to make some hard choices about inclusion. Otherwise this would be a work of several thousand pages. What each author has done is to select the most important themes in contemporary historiography, but often the authors are unable to develop them fully. Each volume notes how the story of U.S. foreign relations is part of the development of domestic politics and social trends. But there is too little room for the authors to elaborate. Rarely do the subsequent volumes pick up on Perkins's marvelous discussion of the invitation to struggle between the executive and congress over foreign affairs. The struggles within the executive departments over foreign affairs rarely appear. The relationship between military and foreign policy forms a key part of Cohen's treatment of the Cold War, but seems less important in Iriye's account of World War II. Iriye's discussion of educational policy does not reappear much after 1945. Both LaFeber and Cohen discuss domestic social developments, especially American notions of race and ethnicity. Again, however, these issues rarely appear in the narrative. International economic issues are treated well in the late nineteenth and late twentieth century, but appear less often at other periods. This is by no means a study of international history. The authors simply lack the space to devote much attention to what happened inside other countries or to address their foreign relations in detail.

Finally there is the perspective of time and the availability of original documents. The first three volumes covering the period to 1945 treat subjects with a rich historiography and mostly opened archives. When the new *Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations* appears in another forty years these three volumes will probably see the fewest changes. But Warren Cohen's account of the Cold War will be due for a massive overhaul. Cohen's book is necessarily stronger on the beginning than the end of the Cold War. Writing as it ended, Cohen did not yet know why. Nor could he predict what the end of the Cold War portended. He offers a highly suggestive insight, however. He predicts that historians of the twenty-first century will pay most attention to the "influence of the

American model . . . the McDonald's, Pizza Hut and Kentucky Fried Chicken franchises found all over the world, the blue jeans and rock and roll . . . the computers and fax machines that facilitate global interdependence."

When those historians of the twenty-first century produce their own comprehensive work, they will have a high standard to meet set by the 1993 Cambridge History.

University of Colorado, Boulder Robert D. Schulzinger

AMERICAN INDIAN LACROSSE: Little Brother of War. By Thomas Vennum, Jr. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. 1994.

Today, Indians are almost entirely absent from America's college lacrosse teams, and they constitute only 1 percent of those in the Lacrosse Hall of Fame. Contemporary players seem only dimly aware of the Indian role in a sport the eastern tribes played long before Europeans arrived in North America. This study, therefore, is a welcome contribution. It provides considerable insight into Indian lacrosse and its relation to religion and war, and carefully examines how whites usurped and transformed the game.

Lacrosse was not simply a diversion, but an integral part of tribal religion. Games were played to honor gods, ensure a bountiful harvest, and cure sickness. Tribes believed the game's outcome owed more to the relative powers of rival conjurors than to teams' playing ability. Players believed magical charms obtained from animals enhanced their athletic prowess. Hurons, for example, wore hawk feathers to acquire the bird's keen eyesight, important in a sport where players often lost sight of the ball. Because many tribes envisioned the male dead as involved in a perpetual lacrosse game, players were often buried with their sticks.

Many tribes viewed lacrosse as important in the selection of their military and political leaders. Playing lacrosse was believed to impart the skills of the warrior—the speed, dexterity, and endurance needed in hand to hand combat. Vennum notes that the rise of the great Mohawk chief Joseph Brant owed much to his youthful prowess at lacrosse. Of course, Indians are hardly unique in this regard. In contemporary America, athletic ability can serve as a springboard into politics, as evidenced in the careers of Jack Kemp, Bill Bradley, Jim Bunning, and Steve Largent.

Indian lacrosse games were accompanied by heavy betting among spectators, even more than in contemporary sports, where gambling remains common. Indians wagered not only goods and land, but also sometimes even their wives, or themselves for limited periods of service. By 1900, however, severe poverty undermined Indians' ability to gamble, and thus greatly diminished lacrosse's popularity.

Vennum could have provided a fuller analysis of why Indian lacrosse declined. He does indicate that missionaries condemned lacrosse because it enhanced the status of conjurors, encouraged gambling, and distracted Indians from attending church. But he does not adequately explain how white educators, missionaries, and government agents discouraged Indian lacrosse. He could have detailed, for example, how baseball was imposed as a substitute in schools and on reservations.

One strength of this book is its sensitivity to the limitations of the sources on lacrosse: missionaries' sketchy accounts, George Catlin's paintings of the 1830s, and late-nineteenth-century photographs. Catlin, wanting Indians to look untamed and exotic, provided Easterners with a "Wild West Show" on canvas. Photographs are more reliable, but it is often unclear whether the subjects were manipulated.

Vennum carefully traces the reshaping of the sport by whites in the late nineteenth century. Viewing the Indian game as too chaotic, whites introduced specialized positions, imposed rigid boundaries on the field, and promoted teamwork at the expense of the individual display favored by Indians.

The book does not systematically compare lacrosse with Euro-American sports, which would have been useful in identifying differences in attitudes toward violence, sensuality, and spontaneity. In claiming that Europeans were unfamiliar with team sports, Vennum overlooks medieval football, similar in many ways to lacrosse, crew, cricket, and rounders.

Nevertheless, this book provides an excellent survey of a largely ignored sport and a highly important social and religious activity among the eastern Indians.

University of Oklahoma Stephen H. Norwood

SEPHARDIM IN THE AMERICAS: Studies in Culture and History. Edited by Martin A. Cohen and Abraham J. Peck. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press. 1993.

Sephardim in the Americas provides students of American culture with both an important challenge and an intellectual disappointment. This uneven collection of twelve essays explores certain, if somewhat random, aspects of the history and culture of the Sephardim in the Western Hemisphere. It focuses on the Jews of Spanish origin, the first of their faith to venture across the Atlantic. This group came to the Americas, often indirectly through Amsterdam, after the 1492 expulsion of the Jews from much of the Iberian peninsula. They settled in the seventeenth century in several of the Dutch colonies, Recife in Brazil as well as Suriname, Curacao, and New Amsterdam, as well as in the French outpost of Martinique and the British plantations in Barbados and Jamaica. This initial group constituted the creators and subsequent elite of American Jewry, and in the United States, they served as the gatekeepers to the earliest congregations and their *minhag* (rite) dominated long after their small number had been eclipsed by arrival of the more numerous Ashkenazim from Central and Eastern Europe in the mid-nineteenth century.

The end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw another Sephardic influx. This group came to America via a long circuitous route. They had gone from Spain to various parts of the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and four centuries later emigrated to New York, still defining themselves as "Spanish." This group, unlike the earlier Sephardim, had to negotiate multiple *Jewish* adjustments to America. The Eastern European Jews who constituted the vast majority seem to have viewed these newcomers with skepticism and curiosity, and at least according to various hints in this book—although rarely substantiated with real, hard historical evidence—questioned their Jewishness. At the same time, the long established Sephardic old guard, associated with Shearith Israel in New York, the oldest congregation in the United States, also felt little connection to these immigrants from the Balkans and Greece. They indeed insisted that the new arrivals refer to themselves as "Levantine" and wanted to reserve the prestigious name "Sephardim" for themselves.

The contribution of this book, the analytic problem which it raises, inheres in the material itself. It forces scholars and more general readers as well to consider the complexity that the usual categories of analysis contain. Historians and others feel relatively comfortable writing about "Jews." Yet this book, particularly the individual essays written by Joseph Papo and Diane Matza, make it clear that such a term can, in

certain contexts, be unduly simple. Indeed the conclusion that can be derived from these essays, as well as several of the ones which focus on the European historical background, point out that even "Sephardim" cannot be understood as a singular category. The Papo essay, probably the best and more deeply contextualized one, shows how this name became a focus of contention as a small, entrenched elite and a mass of relatively impoverished newcomers struggled over the right to use a name and to claim the legacy of Spain and its cultural achievements of the Golden Age.

The volume tends to be uneven. Most of the essays have failed to develop any kind of analytic framework in order to understand the Sephardic experience. They present interesting information but avoid addressing any larger issues. Some essays tend to veer towards the celebratory and the fileopietistic and appear here as loving tributes to a family and communal past.

Material objects, music, language, and religious practice provide the stuff of which cultural history is made. The writers here have given us a good deal of data on these, but have not really gone the next and crucial step, to analyze and contextualize. As such the volume does not accomplish as much as it should have on such a complex and important issue.

University of Maryland, College Park Hasia R. Diner

ROOTS OF CHICANO POLITICS, 1600-1940. By Juan Gómez-Quiñones. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1994.
ETHNIC IDENTITY: Formation and Transmission Among Hispanics and Other Minorities. Edited by Martha E. Bernal and George P. Knight. New York: State University of New York Press. 1993.
BORDER PEOPLE: Life and Society in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands. By Oscar J. Martinez. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press. 1994.

Professor Gómez-Quiñones's work on the origins of Chicano politics is a skillful synthesis that fills significant gaps in the study of Americans of Mexican origins. The early history of the contemporary U.S. Southwest has been largely excluded from the official, national accounts of both Mexico and the United States. In Mexico, there seems to be no reason to study a territory that has not been part of the nation for 150 years. In the U.S., the pre-1848 history of the area has been ignored for similar reasons.

The early historiography of the region exists, but it is spread over dozens of specialized books, many of them out-of-print, and articles in regional history not easily available. The work by Gómez-Quiñones synthesizes an enormous amount of material and makes it available in readable form for students and scholars alike. I wish to note two important contributions among the many made in the work. First, Gómez-Quiñones utilizes the notion of transculturation to introduce the many changes taking place in the region as different cultures met and fused over a three-hundred-year period. The concept captures more aptly than others, such as acculturation and assimilation, the mutual nature of the interaction between various cultural formations in the area. Second, he demonstrates the mestizo character of the settlers that came to New Mexico in the late 1500s. This is important as other historians sometimes accept uncritically the self-referents of "Spaniard" and "white" utilized by those conquistadors, an attitude which misses and confuses the cultural significance of racial nomenclature in the early Southwest. Because of the mammoth task Professor Gómez-Quiñones sets for himself, sometimes the narrative is

excessively general. For example, it might have helped to periodize the years between 1848 and today rather than present the entire one hundred and fifty years as one seamless continuum. It can be argued persuasively that the histories of Mexican-Americans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries constitute two very distinct periods. Finally, gender issues are not well-integrated into the text but rather dealt with additively, usually under separate headings.

Bernal and Knight, in their volume *Ethnic Identity*, focus on a phenomenon that affects immigrants to the United States, and in particular, peoples of color. Whatever the basis of their identity before arriving in this country, a new identity develops in the United States, based for the most part on ethnicity. Thus, some Puerto Rican people, for example, undergo a process of "minoritization" to become "black." This volume is the end result of two conferences on the topics of formation and transmission of ethnic identity primarily among U.S. Hispanics. It explores the transmission of ethnic identity within families and across generations. Whereas most research and theorizing on identity formation is carried out by psychologists, while sociologists worry about its transmission, Bernal and Knight have put together a book where one can find theoretical perspectives and empirical discussion from both disciplines addressing issues of formation and transmission of identity. This is perhaps, the most salient aspect of the work. *Ethnic Identity* should be quite useful to social and behavioral scientists as well as to all those concerned with issues of cultural identity and human conduct.

In *Border People*, Oscar J. Martinez examines a region which is both a door to the United States and Mexico, as well as a zone with particular cultural, economic, and political characteristics. The volume stands out for its interdisciplinarity: Martinez moves effortlessly through discussions of economic, sociological, anthropological, and political matters. A most interesting aspect of the analysis is the separate treatment given to the different cultural actors whose specific way of life takes place in the border region, namely Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, and Americans. Equally important is the author's excavation of a number of sociological niches, specific to inhabitants of this border region. Thus, we find that Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, and Americans can be identified alternatively as biculturalists, binationalists, transnationals, "winter residents," immigrants, newcomers, etc. *Border People* goes beyond the usual generalities to provide the reader with a palpable appreciation of the border way of life. This book is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the U.S.-Mexico border.

University of California, Irvine Raul Fernandez

REPRESENTATIONS OF MOTHERHOOD. Edited by Donna Bassin, Margaret Honey, and Meryle Mahrer Kaplan. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994.

The aim of this collection, in the words of the introduction, is not merely to take a neutral look at the way "women appropriate, resist, and create a multiplicity of meanings about motherhood," but, more specifically, "to rescue the mother from her status as object" (8, 9). Its editors, in other words, see themselves as building on the project (a major stream in feminist thought since the 1970s) of "dismantling the ideology of motherhood by understanding its patriarchal roots and . . . underscoring that it [does] not represent the experiences of mothers themselves" (3) by making the attempt to reconstruct motherhood in its own terms. Measured against these objectives, I have to say that the book succeeds admirably. Its three sections, focusing respectively on the social, psychological, and

cultural aspects of its topic, provide a sufficiently multiplex vantage not only to convince us that the picture-pretty stereotypes into which "society" has boxed the mother are distorting, but to give us at least a glimpse of the true paradox and complexity of the thing-in-itself. The essays and stories *in* the sections, moreover, are not only interesting (I am particularly struck by the tactic, a formal counterpoint to the thematic concern with subjectivity, of intermixing "stories" and personal essays among the more conventional scholarly pieces), but remarkably consistent as to the quality of both their writing and their thinking. Before I voice any misgivings, therefore, let me make it clear that this is a good and worthy book that belongs on the shelves of anyone working in the area of gender representations. Having said that much, however, I also have to say that I *do* have some misgivings about it.

The editors explicitly disclaim any intention to produce a politically correct one-size-fits-all model for maternal practice. Their goal, rather, they emphasize, is to open up the field, produce "a range of inquiries" to set against the hitherto overdetermination of motherhood. The recurrent images of the beleaguered subject fighting to establish herself against the objectifying discourses of an oppressive social other, however, recuperate without doing away with the old binary thinking. And at some cost. Despite the invocation of "processes" and "conditions," there is a disturbing sense not only that this new subject is a singular one, but that the touchstone for "true" motherness is that old bogey, Nature. It is telling that the non-white and non-Western experience is invoked in several of these essays as an edifying example. In the last decade, note the editors, "white feminists have turned to African American representations of the mother in order to develop visions of maternal strength" (6). Whatever the intentions, such statements as this, in combination with the reiterant critique of the discursive formations of a patriarchal Western society, exude an unmistakable whiff of essentialism. Philosophically problematic, the strategy also undermines the ostensible attempt to demystify. A particularly weak point for me in the collectivity represented here is its elision or at least undervaluation of cross-cultural and historical specificity. If there is one thing that post-structuralism should have taught us, it is that the subject cannot be separated from the social forces which constitute it. Another is its rather impoverished view of the relationship between subjective and objective constructions of identity.

Ann Kaplan's penultimate essay on images of women in recent Hollywood films provides an interesting example of both of these problems. The first thing one would have to say about Kaplan's "uncovering" of the misogyny that subtends the idealized mother of the Reagan era is that it is not new. We find the same idealization and the same covert misogyny—even the same shifts and displacements—in the novels of James Fenimore Cooper one century and a half earlier. Not even the cinematic expression of the trend is a departure. The attribution of maternal characteristics to the horror monster, for instance, was already a cliche forty years ago. The second thing is that woman is not entirely a passive victim of all this bad press. It is notable that the periods in which the mother is most severely savaged, overtly *or* covertly, in cultural representations—the late-eighties -through-early-nineties, the late-forties-through-early-fifties, the pre-World War I Progressivist era—are the periods in which women have had, *and* wielded, the greatest social power. It is also notable that this power derives in large part from the same images of maternal moral ascendency by means of which, according to the feminist reading, the male establishment harnesses women to its own interests. This is not the time to get into the implications of this conjunction. For now I will merely point out that the view of the mother as no more than an "object" of repressive male-generated myths is at least simplistic. Not

to mention that the notion of an unpreconstrained (joyful, wholesome, self-regarding) maternal presence lurking behind those pernicious representations, waiting only to be recognized or released is a little too good to be true. If the earlier views of motherhood required to be leavened by the mother's own voice, it should not be at the price of reinforcing her otherness, no matter how positively.

Rice Polytechnic University Gaile McGregor

A LEGAL HISTORY OF ASIAN AMERICANS, 1790-1990. By Hyung-Chan Kim. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. 1994.

Hyung-Chan Kim has done a great service to those interested in Asian Americans by putting together the relevant laws and U.S. Supreme Court decisions that have affected Asian immigrants and their descendants. Kim divides the discussion into seven periods, covering briefly the colonial revolutionary periods before moving into lengthier treatments of the latter periods: federal control (1841-1882), regulation (1882-1920), restriction and exclusion (1921-1952), partial liberalization (1952-1965), and liberalized policy (1965-1990). While the trend is toward more open and fair treatment of Asian Americans, Kim is quick to note that the policies continued to create "major problems among Asian Americans" (11) in the backlog of cases for immigrant families and in the mixed messages sent by court decisions.

Kim aligns himself with Stuart Creighton Miller, *Unwelcome Immigrant* (1965), and Winthrop Jordan, *White over Black* (1968), in arguing that broader cultural perceptions shaped white Americans' attitudes and led to hostilities, not immediate economic or political motives. Kim's documentation of the push for exclusion, though, provides evidence beyond such sweeping explanations. For all the studies that have been done on exclusion, Kim's work stands as a reminder that this topic has yet to be fully explored. The real value in Kim's study is not the discussion of the origins of exclusion, but in the tracing of immigration policies and court decisions up to 1990 and moving the discussion beyond Chinese and Japanese who have received the most extensive examinations in the literature.

As a chronicle of decisions and policies, this work is strong. Still, some will want to dispute the theoretical stance Kim takes. Kim briefly discusses internal colonialism, middleman minority, and world-systems theories and models, but does not engage in a thorough examination of how his findings relate to these. Readers are left with the sense that studies that take up "conventional Marxist class analysis" have little explanatory power (4). Instead, Kim embraces a "two-category system" of superordinate and subordinate groups best expressed by Harry Kitano and Roger Daniels, *American Racism* (1970). More extensive and close examination of the various theories throughout the volume might have yielded good results.

Readers will be struck, too, by the contradictory statements that occasionally appear. In the forward, self-identified lawyer and community activist Angela Oh comments that Asian Americans "were destined to remain invisible, voiceless, and exploited for at least three generations" (ix) and even Kim writes that "the Asian American experience. . . is vivid testimony to America's treatment of its powerless minorities" (180). Yet the material in the volume demonstrates that Asian Americans fought oppression through the courts and by lobbying with the federal government for change. While certainly limited in their abilities to affect change, this is not a story of voiceless, powerless people.

Although excellent in revealing the decisions at the national level, the book points to the need for additional study at state and local levels. California's Proposition 187 drives

the point home for contemporary readers on how important state laws can be. District courts, local school boards, churches, as students of the African American experience have demonstrated, have been powerful sites of contestation and negotiation. Kim has provided a national portrait, but far too little remains known about the framework which supported it.

Western Washington University Chris Friday

AFRICAN AMERICAN THEATRE: An Historical and Critical Analysis. By Samuel A. Hay. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994.

Structuring the focus of Hay's book is the question posed in the Introduction, "What can be done to improve prospects for the further long-term health of this repository of African American life and history?" The search for answers takes the next five chapters and an insightful, retrospective examination of the theories and praxis of African American theatre in the last 170 years or more. The first two chapters present a socio-political analysis of the theories formulated by W. E. B. DuBois and Alain Locke in 1911 and 1922 respectively. Drawing on the experiences of notable theatre peoples, Chapter Three gives a "pep talk to the young and the tired." The next chapter analyzes the problems and strategies of various theatre organizations while the final chapter is a prescription for a healthier, more viable African American theatre; three appendices actually give practical examples on what can be done. The conclusion reviews the benefits of historical insights.

Hay's analysis provides a continuum of African American theatre spanning almost two centuries, 1816-1992. Beginning with William Brown's backyard TeaGarden entertainments, Hay establishes the socio-political and philosophical concerns that impact on the theories and orientation of African American theatre. The racist politics of New York City forced Brown to switch from the escapist African Grove Tea-Garden "exhibitions" to a politicized African Grove Theatre in 1821. DuBois and Locke similarly struggled with what "truth" African American theatre should reflect. While DuBois favored an "Outer Life" concept that projects an idealistic African American in political protest, Locke proposed an "Inner Life " aesthetics that reveals warts, perfections and all.

Hay subscribes to but also expands on the argument that these theories and their conflicting ideologies continue to inform African American schools of theatre even into the 1990s. However, this stance raise troubling questions. Have the intervening years since the 1900s produced no social changes? Or worse still, has the African American community not produced any new leaders of thought since? Hay's analysis and copious examples of peoples of ideas contradict such a sterility.

The conflict arises because the socio-political analysis that grounded the theories of DuBois and Locke is lacking in subsequent periods, particularly the volatile 1960s and 1970s. These periods had their own specific historical contexts, yet one is left with the uneasy impression that the explosive disagreements common among theatre groups at this time were baseless. The classification of the plays into so many subdivisions is also problematic. Fewer categories would have been less confusing and just as informative.

Altogether, Hay's book is a significant addition to the growing scholarship on African American theatre history. It highlights, in addition, African Americans' contributions to American theatre as a whole. Its clear writing style and jargon-free language greatly

enhance its merit as a teaching and research resource for both the specialized reader and the general public.

University of Kansas Omofolabo Ajayi

STRANGERS AND SOJOURNERS: A History of Michigan's Keweenaw Peninsula. By Arthur W. Thurner. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1994.

The author, Arthur W. Thurner, has drawn together a wealth of information, from newspapers, letters, diaries, journals, company records, public documents, and other sources, to describe the people and communities that occupied the Keweenaw Peninsula. The Keweenaw peninsula is a gnarled finger of land poking into Lake Superior, an area long known for its extensive deposits of native copper.

In addition to the original population of Native Americans, the Copper Country attracted a rich mixture of immigrants, including Cornishmen, Finns, Irish, Germans, Poles, and Italians, as well as native-born Americans. Thurner suggests that these clannish "strangers from different cultures" gradually "mingled and intermarried" to create, under the influence of the mining companies, a "unique peninsula society," with a "distinct character" in the small communities that clustered around the mine shafts and shipping ports of the peninsula. He provides only occasional glimpses of this "unique character" and his evidence of acculturation is typically countered with even greater evidence of ethnic and class divisiveness.

Thurner focuses on economic, community, and cultural development in the Keweenaw peninsula from the early nineteenth century until the present. Throughout this discussion, he depicts mine managers and corporate bureaucrats (such as Alexander Agassiz of Calumet and Hecla, the largest mining company in the Keweenaw) and other elites as progressive community leaders who deserve most of the credit for the economic success and cultural advancement of these mining communities.

Thurner challenges the more negative, paternalistic interpretation provided by Larry D. Lankton in *Cradle to Grave: Life, Work, and Death at the Lake Superior Copper Mines* (Oxford, 1991). Thurner acknowledges the paternalistic practices of the mining companies, but regards these practices as benevolent and "remarkably well-conducted." He argues that the company-run schools, community institutions, and community activities were responsible for promoting Americanization, individualism, and republican democracy among mine laborers, helping to undermine their ethnic identity, social cohesion, and dependency. All in all his arguments and evidence are unconvincing.

The most coherent and provocative chapter in the book deals with the famous Copper Miners Strike of 1913. Thurner tends to gloss over the miner's concerns, which have been thoroughly explored by other authors, most notably Larry Lankton in *Cradle to Grave.* Thurner interprets the Strike of 1913 as a class struggle, fomented by the irresponsible tactics of the Western Federation of Miners and malcontented miners, a great many of whom were "obstreperous, footloose, angry single men stuck on the bottom of economic and social ladders." Thurner's analysis seldom penetrates beneath the surface, his evidence is meager, and his conclusions betray his pro-management bias.

Despite assurances to the contrary, Thurner seldom comes to grips with the character of the people. We get bits and pieces of information and glimpses of life, in the form of anecdotes and vignettes from memoirs. These individual vignettes and stories are loosely tied together in a rough chronology, but the narrative often gets bogged down in seemingly

aimless trivia. There is no sustained analysis of what life was like to the long-term residents of the Keweenaw. The chapter on the Great Depression is illustrative of this problem. We learn all about how federal programs helped sustain the local economy, we learn how federal spending helped spur tourism, we learn about how the depression affected mining and business enterprises, but we learn practically nothing about how it affected families, social groups, and individuals. In this sense the book is aptly named. The people of the Keweenaw Peninsula remain "Strangers" to this "Sojourner."

Muskegon Community College Daniel Yakes

THE DEVIL IN THE NEW WORLD: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain. By Fernando Cervantes. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994.

With all the literature that has appeared on Native American religion and Christian evangelization, little has been offered on what sixteenth- and seventeenth-century missionaries saw as diabolism. As Fernando Cervantes, lecturer in Hispanic and Latin American studies at the University of Bristol (England) shows, it is not an unimportant or inconsequential subject, as the first Christian missionaries (largely Franciscans) placed it at the root of the Native American belief system and as the principal reason for their failure to establish, or perhaps replicate, the Spanish Catholic Church in New Spain.

Cervantes addresses Christian Missionaries' growing concern with the influence of the devil among Native Americans from first contact through the mid-eighteenth century. That 250 years witnessed not only the first definable phase of evangelization but also the dramatic transformation of the traditional Christian belief in the devil that led to the Great Witch Hunt in Europe and to a less dramatic, but no less disturbing, theater of that hunt in New Spain. (In 1562, a Spanish witch hunt in the Yucatan led to the death of 158 Mani and the maiming of many more.) As Cervantes reminds us, Native American beliefs in evil spirits notwithstanding, that perspective on the devil which led to witch hunts among Native Americans was essentially a European construct, adapted to an alien environment.

Cervantes allows that the conclusion that the worship of satan was pervasive in New Spain may well have resulted from political expediency, which is to say that the more Native Americans could be shown to be under the power of satan, the more urgent Spain's evangelical presence became. He agrees that it may have been part of the "shock of betrayal" among missionaries at their failure to effect the swift change they anticipated. Cervantes also argues, however, that what happened was a reflection of changing philosophical beliefs in Europe.

In brief, Cervantes explains that the idea of the devil as the personification of evil was well established prior to the sixteenth century, but that there had persisted a controlling confidence in the power of the Church to contain the devil's influence, that the devil was completely subordinate to the will of God, and that the devil could not force man to sin against his will. All of this was badly shaken in the early modern period for various and complex reasons, the most important to Cervantes being the shift from Thomistic philosophy, with its emphasis on natural law and on the concordance between nature and grace, to the anti-Thomistic nominalism made popular by Duns Scotus and William of Ockham. The new philosophy separated nature from grace, severed God's necessary link to creation by causation, and undermined any appeal to, or belief in, natural religion as a moderating force against man's fear of the unknown.

Europeans became convinced of the world's vulnerability to, and even its helplessness in the face of, demonic instigations. The devil was no longer an external enemy easily kept in check by faith, but a force which could penetrate into every corner of the world, including the New World, and into the souls of Christians and non-Christians alike, even Native Americans.

Creighton University Bryan Le Beau

A NEW WORLD OF WORDS: Redefining Early American Literature. By William C. Spengemann. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994.

This new book by William Spengemann continues the investigation initiated by his theoretical study, *A Mirror for Americanists: Reflections on the Idea of American Literature* (1990). In the earlier book, Spengemann questions the ways in which American literary traditions are constructed by exploring the whole notion of "American literature" as an object of study. He begins by asking whether this category is purely a discursive creation or whether it names some external reality and, if the latter, how we can identify a given text as "American." In the present study, Spengemann applies one of his earlier conclusions to the practice of colonial literary study. He redefines the whole range of texts encompassed by the term "early" American literature by redefining what is meant by the national designation of "American" literature. Consequently, this is a very important study that bears upon current debates in literary theory about the representation of national identity, post-colonial politics, and the exclusions that have traditionally characterized the American literary canon. Even more significantly, the questions Spengemann asks have the capacity to transform what we think of as the remit of American Studies as an intellectual enterprise.

"American literature," for the purposes of Spengemann's analysis, is redefined not as a body of writing performed in a geographically-specific space—America—or by a writer of American citizenship but as "all writings in English that reflect or have been influenced by the discovery, exploration, and settlement of the New World." Thus, American literature becomes the cultural product of the colonial encounter. As a result, texts that have previously been the sole possession of the metropolitan culture—John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, William Blake's "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell," and Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* are among those that Spengemann discusses—become available as part of a discourse that transcends narrow national barriers. It may be that scholars of British literature will be scandalized by such reappropriations of classic English texts, but Americanists, and specialists of the early period especially, must find this kind of approach both empowering and, once it has actually been articulated, obvious. Although the work of Milton, particularly, has in very recent studies been discussed within the context of his similarities with and influence upon New England Puritanism, no one has until now had the audacity to claim *Paradise Lost* as an American text. The indistinct nature of national boundaries and the problematical question of citizenship in the period before the Revolution of course opens up the whole issue of how the New World is to be distinguished from the Old and how "American" is to be separated from "British." Spengemann draws attention to the fact that these distinctions have always operated in favor of the metropolis at the expense of the colonies and, in relation to early American literature, this has meant a paucity of quality texts and a body of texts that are largely of historical interest as precursors to the great works of the nineteenth-century Renaissance.

This is an important and stimulating study. The insights Spengemann makes available could profitably be applied to later literary periods, and it is to be hoped that this book will inspire a fresh perspective upon trans-Atlantic cultural relationships.

University of Leicester Deborah L. Madsen

ON THE SOURCES OF PATRIARCHAL RAGE: The Commonplace Books of William Byrd and Thomas Jefferson and the Gendering of Power in the Eighteenth Century. By Kenneth Lockridge. New York: New York University Press. 1992.

Kenneth Lockridge uses what he sees as misogynist "tirades" in the commonplace books of William Byrd II and Thomas Jefferson to explore their "patriarchal rage" against women, which he ties to Virginia's gender, slavery, and colonial insecurities. Lockridge presents in detail his selected data from what were intellectual memorandum compilations, and speculates on it intelligently, provocatively, and with some of the passion—and indeed excess—he finds in his sources.

Lockridge argues that these are the only two eighteenth-century Anglo-Americans whose commonplace entries show much misogyny, much less in this "nightmarish fashion" which he relates to Virginia's "narrow, peculiar, and brittle version" of patriarchy (90). This rarity leads Lockridge to his broadest and most convincing generalizations, where he questions the value of talking about patriarchy or misogyny in this era outside of situations that give rise to special personal or social outbursts. He suggests in effect that such labels are less useful as absolutes of social reality than as increasingly suppressed assumptions or potentials that could come to the fore in special circumstances.

While Lockridge sketches convincingly some personal insecurities of Byrd and Jefferson during the short periods when gender was central to their entries, the connection between his data and "the eternal vulnerability of a new-world would-be gentry" in Virginia seems hazy. Certainly much insecurity we have always with us, probably especially for people in the process of defining their positions and that of their society. Yet nothing that Jefferson wrote, or even that Byrd penned in the midst of his personal and political frustrations in London, suggests a colonial unease so great as Lockridge's own assertion that his book is "not as richly developed as a European historian could make it" (x).

Lockridge handles intriguingly his two supplemental documents, Bryd's "Female Creed" essay and the diminution of the private in Monticello's architecture. Yet the heart of the book, and the heart of the problem, is Lockridge's dealing with the "tirades" that involve "confessionals of intense personal crises of gender relations," which he sees as "chambers of horrors" associating women and sex with terror, chaos, and "a landscape of death" (5, 19, 78). Perversity surely exists in the material copied, but often less than in Lockridge's interpretations.

Byrd's entries are a collection of erotic lore, tales of exotic genitalia, kinky copulation, and the bedtime battle of the sexes. The tone is humorous, though clearly both cynicism and fear of declining prowess lurk in these X-rated anecdotes. Yet they attack women no more than men; indeed the point most stressed is the folly of male brag about potency. Lockridge's interpretations are often at odds with the passages. Bryd jots: "A poor woman was indicted of Treason, for offering to take Charles the 9th of France by the privy parts"—surely a joke about male insecurity and the testicular origins of Divine succession and patriarchy. Lockridge, however, says Bryd is saying, "They have us by the balls," and this becomes a leitmotif of Byrd's rage and fear.

With Jefferson, who copied literary passages, the problems change. Lockridge finds thirteen passages clearly treating women negatively, and many more dealing with non-gendered rebellion or death. Some of the latter refer explicitly to God, religion, slavery, and politics, but Lockridge insists that women are "the implied antagonist" (59). Jefferson in these years also included sixteen passages in praise of women, a couple of which Lockridge presents. The problem here is less numerical balance than interpretive thrust. One might well copy not what one agreed with but what was literarily or intellectually striking or even shocking. Milton notoriously gave Satan his best lines, something true also for Cassuis and even more so for the villains of sentimental tragedies, which provide the bulk of Jefferson's sources. Perhaps Jefferson did resent his mother's authority; certainly rebellion of all sorts fascinated the teenaged copiest. But whether he felt sympathy, distaste, or simply curiosity about what he copied is uncertain.

Indeed age may have mattered more than patriarchal rage in these entries. Adolescents tend to ponder rebellion, as dreams narrow toward the choices that create and constrict new power and responsibility, and men just turned fifty and flouted in courtship may well face male menopause, perhaps with some masturbatory literary aids.

At one point Lockridge writes, "I have a confession to make. It is that I find these outbursts disturbing" (75). No confession was ever less needed, since that truth is self-evident on each page, and gives the book its odd fascination, power, perception, and misperceptions. One senses Lockridge tells as much about today's gender tensions as those of eighteenth-century Virginia.

University of Maryland, College Park David Grimsted

THE FIRST WOMAN OF THE REPUBLIC: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child. By Carolyn L. Karcher. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1994.

In her afterward to *The First Woman in the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child*, Carolyn Karcher reiterates her assessment of Child "as a woman contending with . . . an unsatisfying marriage, unfulfilled sexual desires, domestic drudgery, and thwarted professional ambitions; as a reformer dedicated to building a just society . . . ; and as a writer searching for rhetorical strategies and narrative modes capable of transforming her readers' consciousness" (611). Child emerges as a complex woman whose analysis of nineteenth-century racism, sexism, and religious intolerance out-distanced all but the most radical contemporary critiques; yet she could not fully escape the cultural ideology identifying women in domestic, self-sacrificing terms to pursue for herself the freedoms she championed for others.

Karcher reconstructs Child's life and motivations through close readings of Child's key texts in primarily chronological order. These include fiction, journalism, advice books, children's literature, antislavery tracts, and comparative analyses of the history of women and world religions which are then also set in the context of the historical and cultural events that framed Child's writing. Although Karcher does compare Child with her contemporaries' similar texts such as James Fenimore Cooper's historical novels of white-Indian relations or Catherine Beecher's domestic advice books, she is more concerned with tracing out an autobiographical subtext in Child's works. It is a subtext which reveals the economic hardships and emotional and social restrictions of Child's life that were the result of her marriage to an idealistic, but ineffectual man and of her commitment to an ideal of wifely duty that was frequently in direct conflict with her own

ambitions. As a consequence, Child's writing appears paradoxically driven by her commitment to a revisionist, reform agenda and by her need to produce books acceptable to middle-class consumers.

Although now best known for editing Harriet Jacobs' slave narrative, Child's reform activism had been established long before. Her first historical novel offered a view of interracial marriage as an alternative to Indian genocide. Her innovative *The Juvenile Miscellany* and her earliest domestic advice similarly challenged the predominant cultural ideology that glorified bourgeois work ethic, women's domesticity, and the continuation of slavery. Her later works publicized the plight of urban poor and fallen women, while her final writing centered on women's rights and revisionist analyses of the Judeo-Christian tradition and old age.

Child's most abiding reform focus, however, was abolition and African Americans' rights. Her full-scale analysis of slavery, *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans* (1833) was the first, comprehensively researched and documented study of the economic, political, legal, and cross-cultural contexts for slavery. The synthesis Child achieved was a refutation of the culture's racist ideology that propelled her to the forefront as an "antislavery oracle" (487). She became one of the movement's chief apologists through writing and editing the antislavery *Standard*, while contributing letters to other newspapers and political leaders, similar to her letter to Lincoln urging an emancipation proclamation or her correspondence with Governor Wise of Virginia over the capture of John Brown. In that published exchange of letters, Child skillfully co-opted the Southern defense of slavery, turning the letters into a forum for antislavery moral and economic arguments typically censored or unavailable to Southern or African American readers. Following the Civil War, Child designed a reader for emancipated slaves that celebrated their African American identity, a decidedly unusual approach to freedom.

Increasingly, Child identified the oppression of slaves with the oppression of women, a fact Karcher attributes in part to Child's deepening anger and unhappiness in her marriage that eventually resulted in a decade-long separation. The "comparative methodology and encyclopaedic scholarship . . . political perspective and rhetorical strategy" (222) also parallel that of the *Appeal*. Ultimately her analysis in *The History* influenced the more explicit feminist agenda of Sarah Grimke, Margaret Fuller, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Karcher's cultural biography of Lydia Maria Child, thoroughly researched and documented, is convincing in her argument that Child was in the moral and intellectual forefront of the major reform movements of the nineteenth century while simultaneously trapped by the social and economic restrictions placed on married women. Karcher's reading of Child's published texts is reinforced by her use of Child's personal letters, especially for the period of Child's life when she lived independent of her husband. That Lydia Maria Child led a life of self-sacrifice is clear, although Karcher's leitmotif of Child's guilt over her mother's death is less convincing than the pressure of economics or ideals of wifely duty as an explanation of her behavior. Unfortunately Karcher only hints at the sources of Child's intellectual development—her voluminous reading and friendships with the intellectual or reform movements' avant garde. Nevertheless, as Karcher observes, while Lydia Maria Child's life and work challenge the paradigms that frame contemporary understanding of women writers/reformers in the nineteenth century, her "heroic fidelity to the vision of a multiracial, egalitarian America and her tenacity in the face of obstacles and defeats challenge her successors to emulate her example" (616).

Wartburg College Cheryl Rose Jacobsen

THE ADVOCATES OF PEACE IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA. By Valarie H. Ziegler. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1992.

Valarie H. Ziegler tells the story of an antebellum peace movement united by a common "ethic of love," divided by assumptions about society and the use of force, morally compromised in the 1850s, and, with the Civil War, reunited by an "ethic of coercion." It is a tale of decline from a high moral position to a concentration on strategy and results.

What gives Ziegler's book its greatest value, however, is less the story itself than her respect for the moral assumptions and dilemmas of peace advocates and her desire to reconstruct their "structure of perception" (9-10). In doing so she carefully distinguishes between two positions apparent as early as 1815, present in the American Peace Society (APS) at its inception in 1828, and given institutional form in 1838 when Christian anarchists like William Lloyd Garrison seceded from the APS to found the rival New England Non-Resistant Society. The primary lines of division were over whether or not change could occur within existing institutions and whether or not any use of force was morally justified. On each issue it looked like a classic debate between moderates and radicals, compromisers and extremists. The key text for both groups, Ziegler emphasizes, was the *Sermon on the Mount,* which non-resistants and other radicals interpreted as an absolute repudiation of force and which moderates like the majority of the APS balanced with Paul's injunction in Romans 13 to obey magistrates.

Among Ziegler's achievements is showing how frayed these positions were before the Civil War. A series of bloody events in the 1850s—including foreign ones such as the Crimean War and uprisings in India—forced tensions within each position into the open. The Civil War, according to Ziegler's account, marked less a transformation of the peace movement than culmination of a decade of compromise and reconsideration. The result was reunification of the movement on less elevated moral ground, as the majority of its members spiritually marched off to war.

Ziegler's account falters the farther it moves from her central emphasis on the religious underpinnings of the peace movement. She is sketchy in connecting it to other parts of what Thomas Wentworth Higginson characterized (in a tellingly gendered reference) as a "sisterhood of reforms." Similarly, her focus on "underlying assumptions" (9) enables her to avoid saying much about the social groups peace advocates represented and what led them to their moral commitment at that historical moment. For example, she frequently explains particular positions as matters of "temperament," a term that implies a genetic predisposition to be one kind of reformer or another. That is far less satisfactory (and far less central for her purposes) than her discussions of ethics and theology.

Taken on its own terms, *The Advocates of Peace* is both a valuable contribution to the literature on peace reform and reminder of a sometimes overlooked truth: at the heart of every reform is a moral commitment. Understanding it is where analysis must begin.

The Johns Hopkins University Ronald G. Walters

UTOPIAN EPISODES: Daily Life in Experimental Colonies Dedicated to Changing the World. By Seymour R. Kesten. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. 1993.

What was daily life like for members of intentional communities of a social-reformist (as opposed to introspectively religious) bent in antebellum America? Many previous

studies have answered that question reasonably well for specific communities and movements, but Seymour Kesten addresses the problem more broadly, using a comparative perspective that deals mainly with the many Owenite, Icarian, and Fourierist communities that flourished in the early to middle nineteenth century.

Kesten's introduction will pose some problems for readers steeped in communal studies. The author criticizes some of his predecessor scholars, occasionally fairly harshly, but he does not provide a single reference or author's name so that the reader can figure out just which studies are being attacked (3-7)! Then, despite his nonspecific dissatisfaction with earlier scholarship, Kesten repeats certain bits of long-parroted "wisdom" that seem unwarranted in light of recent scholarly work, such as the one that the communal "movement to reorganize society" "faded away" after the Civil War (9). Many scholars will take issue with Kesten's contention that all of "its colonies" (i.e., those of the "movement to reorganize society") constitute "a single, significant phenomenon" (9-10). Human behavior is not quite that simple.

The rest of the book, however, does a good job of accomplishing its purpose of showing us what it was like to live in the utopian colonies of an era of great reformist ferment. We learn about workdays (they began early, were usually highly structured, and involved long hours of hard and often boring work), food (dull, sometimes inadequate, sometimes faddish), housing, dress, diversity and tolerance, organizational structures (lots of tedious meetings seemed to be the norm), education (it largely failed to live up to the leaders' enlightened ideals), life for women (progressive, but not perfectly liberated), the life of the mind (music and reading were valued), and so forth. In the course of the book the communities become real places populated by vibrantly real people. Kesten sometimes faults communities for not being as progressive as they might have been (using twentieth-century hindsight, they indeed seem not to have been as advanced as we might wish they had been in racial and gender equality, for example), but his sketches make it clear that they were well in front of the rest of society on those issues.

Kesten concludes by analyzing the "factors that precluded success" (ranging from being out of touch with the real world to paying too much attention to trivial matters) in the various communities. He sensibly refuses to reduce his analysis to pronouncements of success or failure, since such pronouncements tend to be gross oversimplifications, but he clearly sees the communitarian experiments in question as falling far short of success, even if they did not in every respect "fail." Kesten seems to understand that reform is a process and that the world will never become perfect through any efforts of well-meaning reformers, but that progress does come through the efforts of a determined few in every age whose lofty vision of what might be does help make the world better—not perfect, but at least improved.

University of Kansas Timothy Miller

BIRDS OF PASSAGE: Five Englishwomen In Search of America. By Richard Mullen. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1994.

When Josiah Quincy, an early-nineteenth-century president of Harvard University, referred to English visitors who wrote accounts of their visits to America as "birds of passage," he was casting aspersions on those—most notably Frances Trollope—who made adverse pronouncements on American manners, institutions, and politics on the basis of slender evidence. The five women whose writings about America in the first half

of the nineteenth century that Richard Mullen considers here were by no means uniformly critical of the new nation. Indeed, Rebecca Burlend emigrated from Yorkshire to Illinois in 1831, and later dictated *A True Picture of Emigration* (1848) to her eldest son; the radical Frances Wright, although deeply troubled by slavery, found much to admire in American democracy; and Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley, the most aristocratically and financially privileged of the five, was quite enthusiastic about 1840s America.

The title of this book, then, is somewhat misleading to those few who know of Josiah Quincy's consternation about English visitors' misrepresentations of antebellum America. Nor is this really a scholarly book, although Mullen has taught history in London and Oxford, and has edited Frances Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832) for publication. This volume is more an *appreciation* of the five women whose travel writings he considers, all of whom, it should be noted, were courageous visitors, braving long sea voyages, uncomfortable stagecoaches, and—Mullen particularly singles this out—the horrors of tobacco-chewing-and-spitting among Americans of the early nineteenth century.

As an appreciation of these female English visitors to America, the book works well, introducing the reader to the views of Lady Wortley, Catherine Hopley, and the stalwart Rebecca Burlend (who plowed her Illinois farm while pregnant with twins), as well as the better-known Trollope and Wright. Why these particular five women were selected for inclusion in the book, however, is an issue answered only by Mullen's assertion that they are the "best of the female English travel writers of the period"; the grounds for "best" are never stated, so we are left to wonder whether Mullen's criteria would be our own. He is similarly uncritical about the fact that Rebecca Burlend's account was dictated to her son—Edward was faithful to his mother's story," he writes, without offering any evidence that this is the case.

In sum, Richard Mullen's *Birds of Passage* is primarily valuable for introducing some readers to the phenomenon of English commentary on America in the early national period. The book is a "good read," with copious quotations from the primary texts.

Vanderbilt University Nancy A. Walker

EMERSON AND THE CONDUCT OF LIFE: Pragmatism and Ethical Purpose in the Later Work. By David M. Robinson. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993.

Emerson is the Rorschach inkblot of American cultural history: look in his work and you're likely to find about anything you care to. "Oh you man without a handle!" one of his earliest critics said of him.

David M. Robinson is the latest to try to find a handle on Emerson—this time, not the much-celebrated early Emerson of *Nature*, "The American Scholar," the Divinity School Address, and "Self-Reliance," but the relatively neglected Emerson of the late 1840s, 50s, and 60s. Lionized by his contemporaries during this portion of his life, this later Emerson has been largely overlooked and devalued by contemporary scholars. They have seen the essays of this period mostly as lackluster and derivative extensions of the more innovative oeuvre of an earlier phase. Rebellious romanticism gave way to a tentativeness and skepticism that at first glance seems far less rewarding.

But here comes Robinson, a scholar who has already dealt sensitively with Emerson's earlier career, to tell us that we ought to look more carefully than we have at the later work.

It tackles in significant ways some of the tough issues of sober maturity, when youthful spontaneity and the search for periodic ecstasy go belly up as plans for living life. Robinson sees the late Emerson dealing subtly and complexly with issues that are troublesome to us today: knowledge, and whether we can ever come by it reliably; idealism, and what relationship it can (or ought to) bear to social activism; and perception, and how we can deal with its ultimate tenuousness and unreliability. Here is an Emerson for aging babyboomers and skeptical academics struggling in their own lives with what to make a diminished thing.

Careful readings of Emerson's later work are cast against a backdrop of earlier years, in which Robinson traces tensions between the impulse to spiritual surrender on the one hand, and the active will to power and self-definition on the other. Emerson as graybeard attenuates his transcendental project as the light of youthful enthusiasm fades, instead choosing to don a measured pragmatism as an approach to life. Certainty in the wholeness of life and the efficacy of human action wanes, but Emerson builds a faith in the necessity of moral action as that which gives purpose to life.

Robinson's is a well-crafted work of its type, of which there are many: readings of Emersonian texts, and of his life as he transformed it into text, as objects intrinsically worthy of study. Like many of the products of the Emerson industry, however, it stands in danger of failing to locate itself in a rhetorically useful place. Why do Emerson anyhow? The answer all too frequently seems to be, because he's there.

In Robinson's favor, it can be said that he redirects our attention to the latter portion of Emerson's career and shows us that it will not do to take it for granted as merely the denouement of earlier life themes. Robinson's Emerson grows in nuance and complexity, and Robinson shows us why the later prose may be worthy of renewed attention. Nevertheless, we are still left with the question of what to do with all this insight. Why read Emerson at all? Robinson just assumes that we know. In these days of grand skepticism, assuming the worth of Emerson study for its own sake seems alternately sweetly nostalgic and vaguely self-indulgent. One might wonder if Emerson in his older but wiser pragmatist incarnation might find this work a little misty-eyed.

Miami University of Ohio Mary Kupiec Cayton

THE EDUCATION OF THE SOUTHERN BELLE. By Christie Anne Farnham. New York: New York University Press. 1994.

The Education of the Southern Belle contributes not only to our understanding of the history of education in America, but also to our awareness of the sometimes paradoxical nature of social change.

Christie Anne Farnham argues that higher education for women found a more congenial home in the antebellum South than in the North. In the decade immediately preceding the Civil War, thirty-two of the thirty-nine colleges chartered for women were below the Mason-Dixon line. Southerners took much greater interest in higher education for women than Northerners, and, unlike most northern educators, endorsed colleges for women with curricula significantly equivalent to those of men's colleges. This was, paradoxically, not despite southern conservatism, but because of it.

In the Northeast, as the structure of society and economy changed, disrupting class and gender roles, institutions of higher education primarily served women of the middle classes, those who might need to support themselves as teachers. Many saw higher

education for women as a threat, partly because they feared women might attempt to enter other public professions. Thus, Farnham argues, northern educational crusaders tended to "cloak" their arguments in the language of separate spheres. While northern colleges often worked to prepare women for the workforce, their actions were justified through appeals to gender difference and a "restrictive cultural ideal."

The South's hierarchical slave-holding society was not going through a similar urban-industrial transformation. Those who could afford to send their daughters to female colleges—the planter elite—did not see higher education as a route to the teaching profession. These girls were not going to work. Instead, in the South, college education was "emblematic of class." By sending their daughters to college, planter families consolidated or improved their daughters' class positions, giving them opportunities to acquire elements of genteel culture and positioning them for good marriages. Gentility, Farnham argues, played an important role in "naturalizing" the social hierarchy in the slave-holding south. While in the North, women's higher education might be seen as challenging the status quo, in the South women's colleges were understood to buttress the existing hierarchical structure. Thus, they had greater sorts of freedom to develop.

In addition to her larger argument about the history of education, Farnham provides a detailed and exhaustively researched portrait of life in southern women's colleges. Her secondary theme in this work, the significance of the southern belle, lacks the density and nuance of earlier sections, but her analysis of romantic friendships in southern female colleges is a useful contribution to that literature.

Farnham is excellent at tracing the complex structural and ideological origins of change in women's education. She greatly complicates the pictures provided by those historians who have focused on the northeast, either ignoring the southern experience or treating southern education as simply derivative and inferior. Southern female education was strongly influenced by the northern women who usually comprised college faculties. "Yet," Farnham concludes, "like most things Southern, it bore the distinctive stamp of the region." Even to the extent there is a hegemonic culture, she seems to be arguing, pieces of that culture are negotiated and modified as they come into contact with different ideological and structural systems.

Barnard College Beth Bailey

THE GIRL'S OWN: Cultural Histories of the Anglo-American Girl, 1830-1915. Edited by Claudia Nelson and Lynne Vallone. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1994.

Victorian culture in both the United States and England established the concept of adolescence and then immediately, it seems, began to view the adolescent girl as a problem. No longer children and not yet women, adolescent girls were a source of fascination for fiction writers, educators, artists, and reformers. Anxieties about sexuality, morality, family, and artistic representation were played out on the site of the young girl. The essays in *The Girl's Own* suggest the complexity of attitudes toward the Victorian female adolescent by focusing on the variety of ways in which she was written for and about in fiction, reform literature, and the popular press, and represented visually in painting and photography.

Each essay in this collection deals with a different instance of the era's multifaceted attempt to instruct, define, and delineate the young girl. In a culture of upward mobility and the genteel ideal, the fiction of T. S. Arthur portrayed the girl becoming a consumer, while

Lewis Carroll's photographs of prepubescent girls revealed what he saw as their sexual potential. Because of Anglo-American culture's concern with what sort of person the young girl would *become*, several of the essays deal with education on both the informal and the formal levels. Martha Vicinus's "Models for Public Life" analyzes the biographies of famous women (e.g., Florence Nightingale) written expressly for adolescent readers, and Joyce Senders Pederson's "Life's Lessons" explores the content and purpose of formal education for girls designed by British feminist educators. In light of current interest in women's athletics—especially basketball—Sherrie A. Inness's essay "'It Is Pluck, But—Is It Sense?'" is particularly revealing: while basketball became wildly popular at women's colleges in the United States in the 1890s, it was opposed by physical education faculty, who feared the sport would "masculinize" young women, while their own programs of exercise were intended to correct rounded shoulders and weak ankles—in short, to produce marriageable women and healthy mothers.

The editors of *The Girl's Own* view the volume as taking its place within a growing number of studies of adolescent girls, such as Patricia Marks's *Bicycles, Bangs and Bloomers*. While it does provide a welcome addition to this field of study, it also serves as excellent background reading for the study of nineteenth century women's fiction for an adult audience; not only were many readers of those such as Sedgwick, Warner, and Alcott actually in the age range of adolescence, but also novels by these and other women of the period often depicted the development of a young girl from childhood or adolescence to young womanhood.

Each of the essays in *The Girl's Own* is well-researched and written in language accessible to the generalist reader. Each also has a list of works cited, and the book is indexed to allow the reader to locate discussions of, for example, education, sexuality, or social class in all of the essays. I have already begun recommending this book to my graduate students.

Vanderbilt University Nancy A. Walker

BEING A BOY AGAIN: Autobiography and the American Boy Book. By Marcia Jacobson. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1994.

In 1870, the appearance of Thomas Bailey Aldrich's *The Story of a Bad Boy* was greeted by William Dean Howells as "a new thing . . . in American Literature." To show what a boy's life truly was (neither a model boy's nor a really *bad* boy's) called for, in perhaps equal proportions, personal experience, memory, and imagination—necessitated, that is, autobiography (or autobiographical recall) and fiction. For the next forty-odd years a number of American authors followed Aldrich's example. Works like Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) became, of course, universally acclaimed by generations of adults and young readers. Other Boy Books, however popular in their day, have faded from at least scholarly view: Charles Dudley Warner's *Being a Boy* (1877); Howell's *A Boy's Town* (1890) and *The Flight of Pony Baker* (1909); Hamlin Garland's *Boy Life on the Prairie* (1899); Stephen Crane's *Whilomville Stories* (1900); and Booth Tarkington's *Penrod* (1914) and *Penrod and Sam* (1916). Now Marcia Jacobson's *Being a Boy Again* examines this legacy with closer, more culturally comprehensive attention than anyone else I know of. Her's is a discerning analysis of a socially (if not always artistically) significant chapter in American literary history.

The Boy Book—along with the naturalistic novel, the high Western romance, and the New Woman novel—flourished during an era of rapid cultural and historical change. Its author and his largely male readers responded to psychological and family pressures arising from such familiar phenomena as postwar industrialization, urbanization, and large-scale immigration; Darwinism and other secularisms; an economy characterized by monopolies, strikes, panics, depressions, and bankruptcies. Especially for middle-aged adults caught in such changes, the remembered or imagined Golden Age of childhood before the War loomed consolingly large. These books afforded a more or less sentimental, more or less critical escape for a particular population—white, middle-class men and ex-boys, born before mid-century in rural or small-town America, especially in the Middle West and New England (Tarkington's Indianapolis is a departure from this pattern, perhaps one clue to Penrod's place at the tag end of the chronological parade.) Jacobson doesn't hesitate to term this literature "canonical," recognizing no doubt the absence (at least in her discussion) of women and girls, city boys and immigrants, deep Southerners and Far Westerners. WASP male malaise and insecurities are the ground of this discourse.

Jacobson succinctly examines the psychological dynamics of this network, exploring more or less chronologically the literary terms of its transactions. Besides sharing a vivid sense of a chasm between past and present, authors and audiences agreed on several other assumptions. One was an evolutionary outlook. They viewed boyhood as merely an early, primitive, and savage stage of human development. This recapitulation theory limited childhood's imaginative singularity as it questioned the boy's real moral and cognitive growth. In narratives built around dualities of remembering adult and living boy, the later was widely depicted as static, removed from maturity (sexual and moral) or a convincing preciosity by their creators' preoccupation with their own psychological problems. Jacobson concludes:

> My authors looked to their roles as fathers or would-be fathers, as husbands, as breadwinners, and find themselves wanting. The mixture of attitudes that the boy book comfortably encompasses makes the retreat to boyhood a retreat from and a critique of present difficulties and—though this seems to be realized on an intuitive rather than conscious level—an opportunity to confront the sources of the difficulty. Inevitably . . . this means a confrontation with the author's father, the person who should have taught him how to be a man, who should not have bequeathed him so ill-fitting a world. Inevitably, given the discontent that informs these books, that father will be found wanting (24).

One consequence is that mothers and other influential females are usually silent or marginalized, even if ostensibly present and active in the plot. Boy Books are overwhelmingly masculine dramas whose announced or covert serpent in Eden is the old man.

Autobiography, furthermore, outweighs fiction in the creation (if not consumption) of such works. Style, tone, point of view, patterns of metaphor or direct didactic address, the fragile balance between particular or generic characterization of the boy protagonist—each feature is strongly inflected by a present author's emotional agenda. Motive and mode become thoroughly mixed in narratives which thus differ from earlier humorists' Bad Boy stories (e.g. Shillaber's or G. W. Harris's), "true" autobiographies of beginnings

like Rousseau's or even Henry Adams's, or adventure stories. *Not* growing up or becoming aware as a distinct person, but instead enacting the author's private meaning of boyhood, lies at the core of the Boy Book.

Consequently, Jacobson's interpretations of individual texts, while often shrewd, are frequently fitted to a rigid schema and marked by a simplistic rhetoric (e.g. terms like "essentially," "inevitably," "all" abound). Minor works fare better in this treatment than so-called major texts. In my judgment, her readings of *Tom Sawyer*, *Huckleberry Finn*, and even *Penrod* are too selective and partial. In Twain's case, evidence from scholars like Walter Blair, Hamlin Hill, and Henry Nash Smith, about *Tom Sawyer*'s careful structure and the character development of Tom himself, is dismissed too summarily. The same is less obviously true of Huck in the greatest of American sequels. As for a lesser work like *Penrod*, Jacobson's autobiographical bias leads to a downplaying of the boy's constant, comic, and enveloping struggle with and connections to older women, rather than to his father. Jacobson defends her emphasis by admitting "that this is another instance of a boy book author who finds in his father's failures the source of his own trouble is not quite as clear as my discussion suggests. The ending of *Penrod* strays farthest from the facts of Tarkington's life in the events it depicts and recalls its fictional predecessors in the issues it raises. As a result, Tarkington's intentions, even his unconscious wishes, become an indistinguishable part of the familiar tale he tells" (147).

Autobiography, in fine, exercises here as elsewhere an undue priority over fiction. In the process, a psychologically acute critic sacrifices her otherwise balanced approach to texts. Some of these are, I would argue, just as deeply fictional as they are autobiographical. Perhaps if her suggestive study were longer, this would have made sweeping assumptions and confining notions of fiction less necessary.

University of Iowa Albert E. Stone

WHALING WILL NEVER DO FOR ME: The American Whaleman in the Nineteenth Century. By Briton Cooper Busch. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1994.

There is a voluminous literature on whaling. Since the United States was the premier whaling nation during the height of the industry (the early nineteenth century), and since for several reasons, cultural and literary, whales and whaling have captured the imaginations of many Americans, the primary and secondary literature on American whaling alone makes a very long list. Briton Cooper Busch is adding to that list but not redundantly. He studies not whaling itself, but aspects of the nineteenth-century whaling life, as experienced by those who sailed on American whaleships.

"How the individual whalemen in [the] industry functioned and changed over time, and what escapes from the system of control existed, whether external or internal, mental or physical, is the principal subject of this book." Pursuing that subject, Busch consulted not only the printed sources, but 3,300 of the 5,000 whaling logbooks and journals open to the public. His having done so allows him to make strongly authoritative if not definitive judgments. The central question for him, he says, is this: "given the sweated nature of the industry, and the low rewards paid to most men, what kept the men in the service. . . ?" The answers appear chapter by chapter, and they are worth reading.

In chapters covering punishment, race and status, work stoppages, desertion, American Consuls, and women, among other pertinent subjects, Busch is always informative, though not uniformly analytical. Avoiding theoretical analyses or constructs, his forte is

judiciousness as he reviews the documentary evidence, cites authorities, and reaches conclusions about the impact of captains' wives on the life of the average whaleman, or about the evidence of racism among whalers—to take two key areas of current interest. His conclusions on such issues seem valid as to the industry as a whole, but sometimes lacking in attention to the significance of individual exceptions. While he is no doubt right, for example, that captains' wives aboard ship had little influence on the life of the average whaleman, the interactions of captains, their wives, and the crew were more complex than his study admits.

It is a shame that Mr. Busch was not served well by copy-editors and proofreaders. Too many typographical errors occur—from misspelling a famous name such as "*Bowdotch*," or less famous ones such as the title of one of Melville's important works, to citing the maritime historian Daniel Vickers as "Fickers." Locutions such as "totally destroyed," "successfully controlled," and "more ultimate" should never have gotten through. To call the death of a seaman a "tragedy" robs that word of its powerful meanings, as does referring to the work of an ordinary seaman in the whaling fleet as a "profession."

Written for the generalist, this book is clear and readable, and would be useful as background for teachers of nineteenth-century social history, of an industrializing America, of the history of women, or of *Moby-Dick* (though the remarks on Melville are not notably perceptive). Its notes do their job very well, its bibliography is useful and informative, its index of whaleships a handy reference. This is traditional historical work rather than bold exploration. But it is demonstrably sound; we can't have too much of that.

University of Kansas Haskell Springer

THOMAS EAKINS. Edited by John Wilmerding. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. 1993.

The exhibition catalogue, typically, is not the best format for deep description, detailed contextualization, or analysis in depth of an artist's work. But John Wilmerding's *Thomas Eakins* accomplishes all of these. Prepared to accompany the Eakins exhibition at London's National Portrait Gallery in the winter of 1993-94, the first show at the Gallery to be "devoted to a great foreign artist who did not practice in (indeed never visited)" England (11), *Thomas Eakins* offers a dense weave of information and interpretation of the lives of artist and sitters, the background of Eakins's late-Victorian America, and current trends in art-historical scholarship.

Wilmerding served as academic consultant to the exhibition and as general editor of the catalogue. In the latter capacity he brought together 29 scholars from American universities and museums (none from Britain, we notice) who with himself wrote the 48 articles and entries that comprise the text.

Wilmerding's introductory appreciation outlines "the polarities of imagery and representation" that have been largely responsible for the increased interest in Eakins's portraits and genre scenes in recent years, most importantly in terms of the catalogue entries that follow, the artist's dual commitment to science and art. The contributing scholars take up this theme again and again in their discussions of Eakins's choice of scientists and surgeons as subjects, his investigations and use of the technical aspects of photography, and his deployment of the precise geometries of perspective in his finished oils. John Hayes provides a second introductory essay on the development of realist painting in Europe through the last half of the nineteenth century.

Three short pieces follow the catalogue section, concluding the book with a discussion of Eakins the photographic artist—ten Eakins photographs were included in the exhibition—and of his critical reception during his lifetime and since his death in 1916. Susan Danly usefully reminds us that Eakins's preoccupation with photography extended beyond an interest in stop-motion techniques and snapshot studies for the paintings to an exploration of the artistic possibilities of the medium that anticipated the pictorialists of the next generation. And Amy Werbel and Jennifer Hardin chart the steady rise of Eakins's reputation from its nadir in the outraged response to *The Gross Clinic* (1875) and his ouster from the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1886 through his legitimation in the art of the Ashcan painters and MOMA's Homer, Eakins, and Ryder show in 1930 to the post-1970s explosion of interest in this "American master."

Space here permits only a brief sampling of entries from the catalogue proper to suggest the range of information and perspective offered by its 25 contributors. Several elucidate the personal history behind the images. Margaret Rose Vendryes traces the short life of Eakins's favorite sister Margaret that informs the "brooding and introspective" portrait of 1871 (#6). Fred B. Adelson recounts with sensitivity the development of the Eakins-Whitman friendship. Whitman was rare among Eakins's sitters in responding enthusiastically to his depiction in the portrait of 1888 (#23): it "insists on the truth—the utter truth—the damnablest," the poet remarked wryly.

Eakins's portraits, with their simplification or elimination of background elements, intense focus on individualized details, and dramatic lighting, have always called forth psychological interpretations. S. Barbara Weinberg concludes her discussion of *The Artist's Wife and His Setter Dog* (#22) by taking the sitter's passive, I would say even enervated, pose as signifying her submission to her husband's ego, and the painting as "in great measure a portrait of the artist himself." Again, William Patterson Hong reads the looming chair, distracted gaze, and dejected posture of Amelia Van Buren in the "riveting" 1891 portrait (#27) as emblems of "foreboding and imminent darkness" reflecting Eakins's disillusionment and dread in the years following his professional ostracism.

All entries detail the social context and many proceed to a cultural reading of the images. Darrel Sewell elaborates the art-historical and cultural environment in which Eakins painted the controversial William Rush series. Elizabeth Johns links Eakins's profile portrait of his father-in-law, William H. Macdowell (#28) with the exquisite *Maud Cook* (#29) to examine the artist's response to Victorian gender relations. Eakins's promotion of male achievement in the world, particularly intellectual achievement, contrasts sharply with his depictions of "melancholy and diminished" women, with the ironic result, Johns notes, that "his female portraits have a power that is lacking in all but a few of the male portraits" (122).

Bryan Wolf offers an excellent reading of what must be one of the powerful images of male achievement, the 1897 portrait of leading physicist Henry A. Rowland (#34), model, in Eakins's rendition, of professionalism and progressive rationality. And contra Johns, Julia Einspruch sees in the late portrait of Alice Kurtz (#42), with its stark contrast of darkly tanned face and pale neck and arms (Alice played tennis and Eakins the realist, even at the risk of presenting a jarring image to the viewer, "painted her precisely as he saw her") evidence of the artist's admiration of female vigor and promotion of "the combined feminine and masculine traits that in fact constitute most individuals"(159).

One important advantage of enlisting this many contributors to the project is that all works in the exhibition get equal attention; none is slighted due to the personal taste or theoretical bent of the scholar. In the end, however, these voices in the text blend to create a rich and subtlety shaded picture of Eakins's art and his world. The format of the book

is pleasing if a bit cluttered. The color reproductions of the works in the show are very well done; the many black-and-white supplementary illustrations, while helpful, are often too small to be very instructive.

The critical debate on this important American painter will continue. Questions related to his representation of late nineteenth century gender conventions remain, as do more specific areas of investigation such as the motivation behind and thematic import of his late series of portraits of Roman Catholic clergymen. But *Thomas Eakins*, with its variety of approaches and up-to-date bibliography, offers one of the most comprehensive discussions in print of the totality of the work of the artist Whitman described as a force rather than a painter.

Temple University of Japan William J. Clark

HIDDEN HISTORIES OF WOMEN IN THE NEW SOUTH. Edited by Virginia Bernhard, Betty Brandon, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Theda Perdue, and Elizabeth H. Turner. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1994.

These essays were selected from the second Southern Conference on Women's History (1991). They are notable for their attempts to avoid using the experience of white, middle-class women as the template of all southern women's experiences, instead teasing out the interplay of race and class which have been constitutive of life in the South's bi-racial society, demonstrating how gender is recast as a consequence.

Part one focuses on social control, with articles on Alabama prisons in the late nineteenth century, institutionalization of feebleminded females before World War II, and the Arkansas Eugenics Association's efforts to provide birth control in the early twentieth century. Mary Ellen Curtin challenges the view that convict leasing involved only males, uncovering the experiences of a significant number of African American female prisoners. Steven Noll shows how male administrators equated female feeblemindedness with promiscuity which was thought to be genetically transmitted. The Arkansas Eugenics Association, studied by Marianne Leung, was similarly concerned with promiscuity, believing that characteristics resulting in poverty also could be transmitted genetically. Nevertheless, the large numbers of white women and, after 1937, African American women clients demonstrate the demand for safe and affordable contraceptives, regardless of how the affluent classes framed the issue.

Part Two continues the examination of how gender stereotypes relate to public policy by looking at women's clubs in Dallas at the turn of the century, southern antisuffragists' arguments, and the Department of Agriculture's Extension Service. Elizabeth Enstam details the widespread influence of a small number of white middle- and upper-class women who used the ideologies of maternalism and domesticity to affect urban policy in Dallas. Elna Green exposes how a commitment to Jim Crow lay at the heart of arguments made by southern white female antisuffragists, whereas fear of white backlash motivated some black antisuffragists. Kathleen Hilton explores how agriculture extension agents reinforced gender stereotypes in working with white families but blurred them when working with black families. Lynne Rieff looks at Alabama home demonstration clubs before World War II to show how the need for ruling-class support reinforced both gender and racial hierarchies.

The final section focuses on reform. Glenda Gilmore looks at interracial efforts in North Carolina's Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the final two decades of the

nineteenth century. Temperance, which promised to unite women of both races, failed to do so when it became entangled with the suffrage campaign's collusion with white supremacy. Interracial efforts were also tried with the founding of the Southern Student Organizing Committee during the Civil Rights movement, but Christina Greene shows how ambivalence toward southern nationalism limited its success, although it was an important gadfly in the freedom struggle and one of the incubators of the women's liberation movement. Finally, Cynthia Fleming untangles the problems of race and gender encountered by Ruby Doris Smith in her successful role as a movement leader.

Completing the collection, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese provides an overview of southern women's history since Reconstruction. Ending on a hopeful note, she sees rising individualism as a consequence of weakened family structures narrowing the differences between the social position of individual southern women of both races. Together, these detailed studies help provide the particulars out of which a general understanding of southern women's history is being created.

Iowa State University Christie Farnham

COWGIRLS OF THE RODEO: Pioneer Professional Athletes. By Mary Lou LeCompte. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1994.

Mary Lou LeCompte offers an outstanding contribution to the historical literature with *Cowgirls of the Rodeo: Pioneer Professional Athletes.* This work furthers women's history in a manner that depicts the female experience as central to, rather than separate from, the fabric of America's heritage.

LeCompte proposes to recount the story of slightly more than six hundred women who competed in professional rodeo from 1896 to 1992. The skeptic might protest that so small a sample viewed across nearly a century hardly deserves a full scholarly treatment. Such a quick judgment would be patently wrong.

LeCompte's fascinating book does much more than record the experiences of a handful of women who followed the rodeo. Rather, the author uses the biographies of these women as the scaffolding on which she constructs a larger history of American women and sports. Always centering her work within the broader context of the social and political milieux, LeCompte maps out national trends and attitudes that account for women's uneasy place within the realm of the professional athlete. The result is a forceful and multi-layered statement about women in American history.

Drawing on a rich mix of primary documentation, LeCompte traces the evolution of American rodeo and the changing role of women in it. She convincingly argues that the rodeo industry, an outgrowth of the Wild West shows of the nineteenth century, particularly suited working-class western women, unfettered by Victorian ideas of womanhood and skilled in range chores that formed the underpinnings of the new entertainment. The pages of LeCompte's book are filled with strong, active women of physical prowess and adventuresome spirit, despite a general American sentiment that found such traits unattractive and unfeminine. By weaving the women's personal stories through the text, LeCompte demonstrates that participation in a masculine sport never robbed these women of their sense of femininity and womanhood, even as they defied traditional gender standards. In fact, their stories often point to women who—despite time-consuming training, animal care, endless travel, grueling performances, slim resources, and constant danger—struggled to maintain wifely roles and family expectations.

Unfortunately, this is also a story of professional discrimination and competition setbacks, with women losing their early opportunities to ride and rope with men. LeCompte paints a vivid picture of rodeo culture and life, as she identifies the influential organizations and sponsors who introduced policies designed to transform serious women competitors into decorative beauty queens. The women athletes, however, responded to the constraints against them by assuming entrepreneurial roles and shaping new professional chances with the creation of all-girl rodeos. Their struggle to carve a place within modern rodeo is one of both physical and intellectual achievement.

This is history with a strong feminist component, laced with interpretive depth, sensitive tone, and quality writing. The photographs alone, which capture triumphant female champions in a time when fewer exclusionary rules limited women athletes, make the book worthy. *Cowgirls of the Rodeo*, which leaves the reader both proud and sad, deserves close attention from scholar and nonscholar.

Utah State University Anne M. Butler

A JOURNEY INTO THE PHILOSOPHY OF ALAIN LOCKE. By Johnny Washington. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1994.

This book on the social philosophy of Howard University professor Alain Locke is an extension of Washington's work in his earlier book, *Alain Locke and Philosophy: A Quest for Cultural Pluralism* (Greenwood Press, 1986). Washington explores a variety of topics related to Locke's writings on race, culture, and values. The text is organized into two parts, the first providing a wide-ranging discussion of Locke's views on destiny, racial identity, education, racial integration, Booker T. Washington, Frederick Douglass, and the role of the "talented tenth," the second providing an examination of Locke's theory of values through comparison with the well-known American and European philosophers John Dewey and Henri Bergson. As indicated by Washington's well-researched bibliography, Locke was a prolific writer who published volumes on art, politics, education, and culture. Washington's exposition offers a useful survey of Locke's essays, including some that were unpublished or appeared in obscure publications.

Washington employs a readable style to relate Locke's ideas to similar themes in mainstream philosophy. Written primarily for the undergraduate student, Washington's interpretation of some of Locke's central claims regarding culture and values leaves too many unanswered questions for scholars who have studied Locke. His discussion of Locke's account of race and culture is framed with a rather problematic thesis regarding African American group destiny. After pointing out that Locke held an ambivalent attitude towards American destiny, Washington asserts that "World Spirit, prior to the time of Martin Luther King, Jr. was far removed from Black people.... With the coming of King, on whom the World Spirit descended, the destiny of Blacks aligned with the destiny of the world." Washington simply expects his readers to leave the racism inherent in Hegel's theory of history aside, for he goes on to employ uncritically Hegel's concept of a "world spirit" in order to recommend the nineteenth-century notion of race uplift by an African American elite. Wary readers may be disappointed by Washington's failure to provide a more critical examination of Locke's elitist tendencies.

On the whole Washington's attempt to contextualize Locke's social philosophy is effective. His frequent references to mainstream thinkers sometimes yields important insights, as in the case of his discussion of Bergson as a possible influence on Locke.

Readers versed in cultural studies, however, will be perturbed by Washington's overriding tendency to pass on the opportunity to present Locke's account of value relativism in the context of contemporary debates about multiculturalism. The anti-essentialism in current social theory, often considered fresh thinking about race and culture, had already been discussed at length by Locke as early as 1915. Locke's 1918 dissertation on the classification of values was the philosophical ground upon which he constructed an account of the African American aesthetic and self-expression. As late as 1954, the year of his death, Locke published a review of Ralph Barton Perry's *Realms of Value*, in which he continued to speak favorably of his mentor's pragmatic approach. Had Washington provided us with a more unified discussion of Locke's theory of values as it relates to his account of race and culture contacts he would have done much to establish the relevance of Locke's thinking to current research.

San Jose State University Tommy Lee Lott

NELLA LARSEN, NOVELIST OF THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE: A Woman's Life Unveiled. By Thadious M. Davis. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University. 1994.

Thadious Davis' stupendous biography of Nella Larsen is as much a surprise as a delight. It is the most detailed and thorough study of Larsen ever to appear. Further, because of Larsen's long-sustained reclusiveness, until a few years ago one could scarcely have imagined that this book could be written. After a brief brush with literary fame, Larsen had dedicated herself to a career of obscurity in which she succeeded in becoming an invisible woman.

Nella Larsen's literary reputation rests primarily on two novels published by Knopf during the Harlem Renaissance: *Quicksand* (1928) and *Passing* (1929). Both concern the unsuccessful efforts of female protagonists to achieve their professional and/or social ambitions on their own terms. In *Quicksand* Helga Crane sinks in an enervating and limiting marriage, and Clare Kendry plunges to her death from an open window after her husband discovers that she is passing for white. Indeed, Larsen's portrayal of women overwhelmed but desperate to achieve a portion of personal satisfaction regardless of what white or black society might wish for them, is what gave and continues to give her novels their special power. To a degree Larsen's works predicted, and then in retrospect seemed to imitate, her own life.

Both Larsen's literary career and her marriage failed. Her professional career foundered on a plagiarism scandal following but unrelated to the appearance of her two published novels; her private life was profoundly disturbed by the unfaithfulness of, and later divorce from, her husband Elmer Imes, a Ph.D. physicist. Following these catastrophes, she returned to her early career as a nurse and was for many years night supervisor at Gouverneur Hospital in New York City. In the year of her death, 1964, she had already vanished.

Regarding Larsen's glory years, Davis provides a particularly vivid and detailed portrait of the ambience and personalities of the Harlem Renaissance. They appear to coalesce and interact as a true cultural ensemble rather than as isolated individuals. But while the book is fascinating for its insights into the Harlem Renaissance, it is unforgettable for its portrait of Nella Larsen, a woman who "lived and wrote her own life in her own way" (465). Also revealing is the light Davis throws on the black educational establishment through Larsen's experience as a nurse at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute,and as a soon to be divorced Fiske University faculty wife in Nashville.

Thadious Davis has provided the quarry out of which future studies of Nella Larsen and her work can be mined. She deserves our gratitude.

Tuskegee University Bruce Adams

FAULKNER AND SOUTHERN WOMANHOOD. By Diane Roberts. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1994.

In this study, Diane Roberts organizes the representation of women in Faulkner according to six stereotypes drawn from southern literature and popular culture: the Confederate Woman, the Mammy, the Tragic Mulatta, the New Belle, the Night Sister (the white spinster), Mothers and Motherhood. This approach helps to situate Faulkner's writings within the broader context of contemporary cultural narratives or beliefs—involving not just southern womanhood but also the historical equation of particular characteristics (linked especially to gender, race, and class) with specific social opportunities and burdens.

Roberts' study makes a contribution to the still underrepresented analysis of women in Faulkner by demonstrating that Faulkner's women were drawn from stock images of womanhood circulating in the South as terms of broader cultural debates. Characterizing the Confederate Woman, for example, as a trope for a bygone southern age, when race and gender roles were presumably stable and clear, Roberts argues that women like Judith Sutpen in *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936) or Granny Millard and Drusilla Hawk in *The Unvanquished* (1938) rebelled against the constraints of their gendered and racialized role. By creating characters in conflict with stereotypical roles, Faulkner exposed and undermined stereotypes whose primary purpose was to idealize the social order of the Old South and to rationalize its reproduction in the unreconstructed New South.

Roberts is careful to note that the Mammy in Faulkner, for example, was "not a reality by an ideological tool, a creation of white culture to aggrandize and justify itself." Citing Hazel Carby, she adds that "'the objective of stereotypes is not to reflect or represent a reality but to function as a disguise, or mystification, of objective social relations'" (42). With the question of whether a stereotype is a reflection or disguise, we arrive, however, at the conceptual limits of the study. As the absence of an introduction or conclusion suggests, Roberts is more at ease demonstrating the appearance of stereotypes of southern womanhood in Faulkner and his southern contemporaries than the broader significance of stereotypes to our understanding of Faulkner, southern womanhood, and the South.

A broader analysis of stereotypes of southern womanhood, however, would require deeper and clearer thinking on the topic of representation. On one hand, this study assumes that southern female selfhood was constructed or negotiated in relation to stereotypes, i.e., prevailing ideas or representations of identity. These stereotypes can be studied not only in the form of literary characters but, because they are manifest throughout the fabric of the southern cultural text, even in the shape of material bodies. If stereotypes exert material effects, however, Roberts cannot, try as she might, absolve herself from the realm of history. "This book is about representations of women," she writes. "I do not pretend to present the 'history' of black and white women in the South, any more than Faulkner did" (xiii). To modestly propose that her book is about representation and not history is to evade what might have been this study's highest aim, namely, a demonstration that history and literature, or truth and representation, are not rigidly opposed but dialectically engaged.

Instead, Roberts rests her study on the tired opposition between true and false representation. *Stereotypes* are false representations that disguise or mystify reality;

literature and other popular cultural texts reproduce stereotypes accurately and self-consciously in order to perpetuate and/or critique hegemonic constructions of selfhood; and *history*, the realm of representations that Roberts dares not "pretend to," truly and purely penetrates reality. Roberts shies away from the "ultimate, basic" violence she associates with history and truth. She writes, for example, of *Sanctuary*'s Temple Drake:

> [W]hile 'truth' in the form of rape—perhaps the ultimate, basic, biological reality for Faulkner—is being inscribed on her body, she creates an elaborate fiction to displace it. . . . By 'making it up,' she places the horror outside herself. Only in the fiction can she continue to function (138).

Rather than disavowing the complex relationship described in this passage, Roberts might as well put on her gloves—or take them off, as the case may be—and apply the resources and insights she has brought to bear on Faulkner and southern womanhood to the material struggles of fiction and reality.

University of Kansas Cheryl Lester

CLOSING THE DOOR TO DESTITUTION: The Shaping of the Social Security Acts of the United States and New Zealand. By Raymond Richards. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1994.

In all western nations, social welfare programs consume the largest share of government expenditures. Rising deficits and declining levels of real income growth have forced most countries to question whether they can maintain generous benefits for protection against unemployment, old age, ill health, and a host of other life's uncertainties. Yet the extent to which national commitments are being rethought varies considerably. How can the difference be explained?

In this context *Closing the Door to Destitution*, a case study of the Social Security acts of New Zealand and the United States, provides an intriguing footnote to the vast comparative literature on the origins of welfare states. Raymond Richards seeks to explain why New Zealand enacted generous and comprehensive programs of old age pensions, health care, and unemployment during the Great Depression, while the United States was considerably less generous in its old age and unemployment programs and failed to provide public health insurance. Richards's answer emphasizes differences in electoral and legislative arrangements between the two countries. In New Zealand the parliamentary system enhanced opportunities for the working class to enter politics and insulated legislators from the influence of lobbyists. In the United States, by contrast, electoral arrangements produced a national legislature composed of businessmen and professionals and vulnerable to lobbying by special interests. Not a political determinist, Richards also discusses how the common culture and racial and ethnic homogeneity of New Zealanders lessened conflict, while in the United States dissension was intensified by differences in the level of deprivation during the Depression, in the class background of key national figures—Roosevelt compared to Savage—and in the degree of racial hostility.

One of the dilemmas Richards faces is making the case that New Zealand is markedly superior to the United States. In most comparative studies, New Zealand rates poorly, because its old age pension is means-tested and because levels of social welfare expendi-

tures are relatively low. Means-tested benefits are considered inferior to benefits earned on the basis of labor force participation, because means-testing is stigmatizing and subjects the poor to degrading intrusions into their personal affairs. Means-tested benefits are also vulnerable to budget cuts because they have no political base.

Richards directly challenges standard measures of pension quality, arguing instead that means-tested benefits are superior to wage-based social insurance systems. Means-testing is fairer in its method of taxation, according to Richards, since benefits are funded through progressive general revenues rather than regressive payroll taxes. Means-testing is also fairer in its distribution of benefits, since the wealthy are ineligible. Further, in recent years means-tested benefits in New Zealand have survived the budget cutter's axe. Yet in demonizing the U.S. for its reliance on social insurance, Richards ignores the fact that such programs also have been adopted by most European countries where labor-backed political parties have favored them. Trade unions advocate benefits based on an earned right, because they recognize that only wage-based insurance programs can provide continuity in living standards in retirement.

Richards's introductory chapter is devoted to a superficial rehashing of the various theories of the welfare state. Theory testing is not his strength nor is it really his interest. In promoting a state-centered model, for example, he devotes less than a page to an evaluation of other theories. More compelling is his description of how lobbying efforts by insurance companies shaped American social programs. Also valuable is Richards's detailed description of New Zealand's welfare state, both in terms of its historical development and in terms of how, in the face of rising deficits, it has turned back efforts to charge fees for hospital stays and to reduce old age pensions. Other countries facing similar budget pressures might well learn from New Zealand's experience.

Florida State University Jill Quadagno

SWING CHANGES: Big-Band Jazz In New Deal America. By David W. Stowe. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994.

Jazz studies have of late benefited from the activities of a plethora of practioners (the work of Amiri Baraka, John Corbett, Francis Davis, Gary Giddins, Albert Murray, and Gunther Schuller, among others, comes to mind) as well as the polemical efforts associated with public forums (most noteworthily the "Jazz at Lincoln Center" program and the pronouncements of its artistic directors, Wynton Marsalis and Stanley Crouch).[1] As a result, something like an official history of the genre has begun to emerge, although it, like all cultural historiography, remains the object of sectarian argumentation. Central to that debate is whether jazz possesses some inalienable essence regardless of the period under consideration as well as whether its chronological development depends upon a process of evolutionary progression. Whatever the case, as Scott Deveaux observes, "The struggle is over *possession* of that history, and the legitimacy that it confers."[2]

However, the determination of that legitimacy never amounts to a matter of aethetics alone. What some might define as extra-musical considerations inevitably intrude, music being a measure not only of the acoustic dimension of experience but also of the contested social terrain of twentieth-century American society. Any broad-minded examination of music therefore amounts to a kind of cultural Rorschach test, for a parallel can be drawn between the uneasy integration of American democracy and the finely wrought instrumental balance between the soloist and the collective members of a musical ensemble. That

analogy particularly applies to jazz, for, like citizens of the nation, the participants in a jazz group can be said optimally to balance the demands of individualism (as constituted by the self-generated authority of the soloist) with the needs of the community (the band as a whole). Those commentators whose esthetic proclivities assume a cultural nationalist perspective favor the position that jazz must remain inalienably a minority music, a reflection of the unassimilated talents and traditions of African Americans (and other racial or gender-based minorities), while advocates of cultural pluralism underscore the many tributaries (racial-, class-, regional-, and gender-based) that together constitute the multifarious nature of American music and society as well.

David W. Stowe's *Swing Changes* addresses these issues within the context of an examination of the social dynamics attendant to swing music of the 1930s and 40s. Stowe boldly argues that we should "Consider Swing writ large . . . as a microcosm of American society," for the music "acted out larger cultural impulses at the same time that it modified them" (2, 3). A proper definition of swing, he feels, must take into account the social setting in which it was performed and consumed as well as the political ideology that swing was felt to articulate. Swing would, as a consequence, "be understood not as a collection of written arrangements or recordings but as the field that makes such texts possible. In short, we should view the music not simply as text but as social practice" (9). Some readers may feel that *Swing Changes* insufficiently takes into account the musical texts themselves, for they would inquire in vain for close readings of individual recordings or careers of the kind practiced by Schuller in his text-centered study of the period. However, in their place, Stowe concentrates on how swing preeminently expresses the ideological sentiments of the New Deal through its accessible, inclusive, and distinctly democratic appeal to dancer and listener, black and white fan alike as well as that the African American performers of swing challenged through their undeniable talents the practices of racial segregation. To that end, Stowe does not reduce swing to a utilitarian expression of ideological convictions but stresses the manner in which harmony and dissonance simultaneously can possess musical and political dimensions.

As Stowe is drawn to the contention over swing as much as (and at times more than) the music itself, the passages dedicated to the consumers of swing as well as its professional critics come across most favorably and genuinely add to our comprehension of the field. For example, a common judgment implicit in the evolutionary account of jazz history labels swing as a dance-centered form as opposed to bebop's listener-centered structure. Stowe ably demolishes that antinomy by establishing a broader range of consumers of swing than was heretofore defined, distinguishing the dancers from such other spectatorial categories as the jitterbugs or "ickies," who slavishly worshipped performers and vicariously copied their patterns of language and behavior, as well as the more judgment-prone and elitist "okays," who congregated about bandstands instead of dancing and vigorously debated the music's standards (34-35). Some of those "okays" eventually made a vocation of their avocation and became professional critics or found work in the music industry, or both. Key amongst them was John Hammond, the celebrated producer and talent scout who brought Count Basie and Billie Holliday, among others, to the public's attention. Many of these writers, particularly those affiliated with *Down Beat*, the most celebrated and long-standing jazz periodical, adopted the cultural propositions of the Popular Front, dissolving in the process any partitions between politics and esthetics. This particularly influenced the debates of the period over race and whether anyone other than African Americans could play jazz properly. Despite this group's sometimes confused and contradictory perspective, they nonetheless, Stowe writes, "helped create and shape both

the expectations of the swing public and, to a degree, the behavior and self-conception of the musicians themselves" (84).

In the end, for all Stowe's diligent and provocative research into the actions and positions of consumers and commentators, one misses a more detailed account of the voices and actions of those who created swing itself. While one gains from *Swing Changes* a clear sense of the obstacles they faced, both African Americans and white musicians alike, on account of the pervasive racism then (and now) prevalent in society as well as the necessity in the course of World War II to toe the government line, the lack of attention to the music itself makes for a lopsided analysis. Those interested in the cultural historiography of jazz might wish to consult another recent study, Burton Peretti's *The Creation of Jazz: Music, Race, and Culture in Urban America*, in tandem with Stowe's work.[3] Perretti shares with Stowe an emphasis upon the social dynamics of musical production and consumption as well as the sense that music remains as contested and complex as the society that produces it, but his work integrates the experience on and off the bandstand of specific individuals more assiduously than Stowe. Both books remind one that the zeitgeist of a particular historical period can be measured in any number of ways, and an analysis of music constitutes a uniquely prescient barometer of social practices.

BMI Archives David Sanjek

1. Amiri and Amina Baraka, *The Music: Reflections on Jazz and Blues* (New York, 1988). John Corbett, *Extended Play: Sounding Off From John Cage to Dr. Funkenstein* (Durham, 1994). Francis Davis, *In The Moment: Jazz in the 1980s* (New York, 1986). Gary Giddins, *Riding on a Blue Note: Jazz and American Pop* (New York, 1981). Albert Murray, *Stomping the Blues* (New York, 1982). Gunthur Schuller, *The Swing Era: The Development of Jazz* (New York, 1989).

2. Scott DeVeaux, "Constructing the Jazz Tradition: Jazz Historiography," *Black American Literature Forum* 25:2 (Fall 1991), 528. This special issue, "The Literature of Jazz," guest-edited by Gary Carner, contains a number of thought-provoking and essential analyses of the genre and the commentary that surrounds it. Of particular note is John Gennari's "Jazz Criticism: Its Development and Ideologies."

3. Burton Peretti, *The Creation of Jazz: Music, Race, and Culture in Urban America* (Urbana, 1992).

BUNNY BERIGAN: Elusive Legend of Jazz. By Robert Dupuis. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1993.
NEW MUSICAL FIGURATIONS: Anthony Braxton's Cultural Critique. By Ronald M. Radano. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993.

Jazz biographies have become a recognized subgenre in academic publishing. The books reviewed here demonstrate the diversity of jazz scholarship published today, and that jazz remains contested cultural terrain. The lives of Berigan and Braxton, so different to start with, are told in ways that represent jazz in America very differently. Both authors obviously admire their subjects (and Radano and Braxton are friends), but diverge in how they explain the development of their subjects' personalities and craft and their significance to jazz and American culture.

Robert Dupuis's biography of Bernard "Bunny" Berigan, the greatest white Swing trumpeter, is a fine example of the traditional jazz-aficionado biography style. Dupuis begins with a recollection of an annual Bunny Berigan Day festival in Fox Lake, Wisconsin (where Berigan was born in 1908). Here and throughout the book we observe the author communing with other, mostly middle-aged white fans (and with Berigan's daughters) who view the trumpeter through nostalgic memories of the Thirties. This spirit is not a

failing; it inspired Dupuis to write an honest, detailed—perhaps exhaustive—chronicle of Berigan's hectic thirty-three-year life. Despite its triumphant nostalgia, the book is occasionally critical, well-annotated, and unexpurgated, a multidimensional portrait of a talented artist struggling with alcoholism, an utter lack of discretion, and business acumen (his doom as a bandleader), and a volatile marriage. Dupuis's major failing is his implication that Berigan accepted his talent, fame, and chaotic early demise without an iota of introspection or remorse. Marvelous details about tours, recording sessions, and the sociology of the white swing profession are presented, but Berigan's mind remains mysterious; surely it was not always befogged by scotch hangovers. Bunny the Jazz Legend is well-served here, but Berigan the major white blues stylist, midwestern Irish-German high-school dropout, diligent artist and professional, and utter psychosocial failure remains elusive (as the title admits). This lack of sophisticated probing is a weakness common to jazz aficionados' scholarship.

Ronald M. Radano's book on Anthony Braxton, by contrast, covers only part of its subject's life, but critically evaluates his milieu and work. It is disappointing that the book (probably due to editors' demands) confines its detailed coverage to Braxton's career before 1978. Most significantly differentiating this work from Dupuis's, though, is its exploration of theoretical issues central to cultural and African American studies. Recently revised dissertations such as Radano's give us a complex and troubled portrait of jazz musicians and American culture.

Radano brilliantly presents many problematic topics, but he does not satisfactorily blend them into a persuasive case. A musicologist by training, he provides solid analysis of Braxton's compositions of the early and mid-1970s, his debt to hard bop, free jazz, and the classical avant-garde, and use of parody and other sophisticated compositional strategies. More such analysis would have been welcome. Radano surrounds this material with a detailed cultural context, depicting popular music, race relations, Braxton's native Chicago, and the general American creative scene with historiographical thoroughness. Drawing on the approaches of Charles Keil, Albert Murray, and especially George Lipsitz, Radano portrays Braxton (born in 1945) as the child of the African American ghetto, postwar anxiety, and the vital cultural critiques emanating from avant-garde composers, working-class youth, and rock and roll music. Braxton embraced Chicago's Black Aesthetic movement in the 1960s, emulated serial concert music, and then devised his own parodistic style and quasi-scientific brand of musical spirituality.

Radano's main contention is that Braxton's art critiqued the accepted mu sical categories in which critics placed his early work. This, however, is not effectively demonstrated. Only tenuous connections are made between Braxton's work and the "postmodern" cultural condition of aesthetic and hierarchical uncertainty. Especially shaky is his association of Braxton with the signifying blues aesthetic of African American poetics, largely through weak assertions about Braxton's use of humor and efforts to "develop a personal artistic voice" (162, 200). Braxton's formal and harmonic innovations may signify a uniquely Black aesthetic, but only more careful (and probably more technical) analysis than is found here would unveil an underlying homology between Braxton and the blues. Radano's book makes an exciting start in this direction, but only a start. Braxton's voluminous writings certainly could have been used more amply for evidence of the Africanness and Americanness of his cultural critique.

In sum, it could be said that these biographies—one an impressive example of a very traditional approach, the other a pioneering interdisciplinary critique—present the reader with diametrically opposed methods common in contemporary jazz scholarship.

Pellissippi State College Burton W. Peretti

JOHN STEINBECK'S FICTION REVISITED. By Warren French. New York: Twayne Publishers. 1994.

Warren French, one of Steinbeck's most respected (and most sympathetic) critics, here reevaluates the author's works as they relate to literary modernism, the movement that prevailed during the time when Steinbeck produced his best books. Briefly stated, French's argument holds that Steinbeck's works up to *The Grapes of Wrath* were deeply influenced by the modernist sensibility—the chief components of which were, first, the acceptance of defeatism, despair, and alienation as appropriate attitudes toward a chaotic world seemingly bent on destroying or co-opting the individual and, second, the use of irony as a structural device in imaginative literature.

Beginning with *The Grapes of Wrath*, however, in which he turns from "desperate defeatism to militant idealism," Steinbeck rejected the fashionable posture of modernism and attempted to present in his central characters models of conduct that, he hoped, would help people cope with the monumental problems of living in this century. Thus, in place of the ruined dreams of George and the death of Lennie in *Of Mice and Men*, for example, we have the reintroduction of hope not only into the lives of the Joads but also, potentially at least, into the larger community of America through the ideas of Jim Casy, who preaches a doctrine of universal brotherhood.

Steinbeck had always had a profound compassion for his fellow human beings, and in *Grapes*, his masterpiece, he was able to express that feeling in a work that also showed him to be in full control of his craft as a novelist. Like other critics before him, French speculates that the change in Steinbeck's art (which in *Grapes* marks the point when he would return to a literary philosophy more in line with the premodernist William Dean Howells—that the novelist should serve the community and keep alive its ideals—than with postmodernists like Kurt Vonnegut, who largely defined the literary landscape after World War II) came after Steinbeck's "traumatic visits to flooded areas where migrant workers had been trapped" in 1938. As a consequence of these visits, Steinbeck first destroyed the manuscript of a "vitriolically ironic attack on his hometown [Salinas, California] in 'L'Affaire Lettuceberg,'" in which, French reports, "ignorant vigilantes break up a lettuce workers' strike," and then adopted a positive, idealistic viewpoint for dealing with the problem posed by the migrant workers moving to California from the Midwest.

French claims that Steinbeck's best work was done between the early 1930s and 1945 (*Cannery Row*) and that the decline in quality after that is partly the result of the change of heart that preceded the writing of *The Grapes of Wrath.* Not wanting to "become again submerged in the angst of his earlier works that still seemed to many contemporaries the only response to the times," Steinbeck labored to create "heroes who could be thought credible in a skeptical age." Not in his fiction, however, but only in the filmscript for *Viva Zapata!* (1950), did he thereafter offer a hero for a decidedly unheroic historical period.

University of Kansas Charles G. Masinton

REMEMBER LAUGHTER: A Life of James Thurber. By Neil A. Grauer. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1995.

This brief and eminently readable biography is aimed toward a general audience. Published to coincide with the centennial year of James Thurber's birth, the book introduces Thurber, his writings, and his drawings. It also delineates the reputation and

influence of the man and his creations. Selectivity is Grauer's guiding principle. Instead of trying to be exhaustive and definitive, he attempts to provide in a brief space the shape and salient characteristics of Thurber's life and accomplishments. Grauer is a journalist, not an academic, and uses detail for its inherent interest rather than as a means of authenticating scholarship or demonstrating thoroughness. This is not to suggest any weakness in his research and treatment of information. He uses his sources accurately and skillfully, and he provides some new information, largely from interviews.

Grauer knows the power of anecdotes and uses them generously. He draws upon a abundant supply. Thurber created many humorous and memorably phrased anecdotes, and his distinctive personality prompted others to tell stories about him. The anecdotes from Thurber himself serve a dual purpose: to entertain in themselves and as brush strokes in a portrait of his personality and imagination. Grauer also knows the appeal of celebrity names and frequently mentions Thurber's encounters, however slight, with prominent people—Hemingway, Churchill, Mencken, Bogart, and many others.

Thurber's stories and drawings are presented in tandem with the biography. Grauer's aim in treating the stories, "The Secret Life of Walter Mitty" for example, is not to provide new interpretation. There is no hint of current theoretical approaches. His intention rather is to acquaint the reader with the story and the circumstances of its creation, reception, and lasting appeal. Instead of exploring the meaning of "Walter Mitty," he informs us of the frequent and varied uses of the character's name in our language and of the stage and film adaptations of the story. As a former cartoonist for the Baltimore *News-American*, Grauer has a special interest in Thurber's cartoons and provides a portfolio of them with commentary. Four other drawings are included, as is a section of nine photographs of Thurber, family, and friends.

Grauer highlights the movement in Thurber's life from his success as humorist and principal ingredient in the *New Yorker*'s distinctive flavor through his increasing blindness, bitterness, declining health, ill temper, and erratic behavior. This gives the book a tragic tinge. The contrasts between the younger and older Thurber are often poignant.

The final chapter is a miscellany, an essay rather than a narrative. Apparently Grauer couldn't fit this material into the preceding narrative without diffusing his focus. This last chapter serves almost as an appendix, almost as a place to use the notes left over from creating the life story. But it is informative and puts the life and work into an appreciative perspective.

This engaging book is certain to prompt its readers to discover or rediscover Thurber's fiction and drawing.

Brigham Young University Stephen L. Tanner

RALPH ELLISON. By Mark Busby. Boston: Twayne Publishers. 1991.
INVISIBLE CRITICISM: Ralph Ellison and the American Canon. By Alan Nadel. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 1988.

In April 1994 Ralph Ellison lost his battle with cancer and thus failed to see the public unveiling of his still unpublished second novel. Though the eventual publication of that novel is a foregone conclusion, it is, nevertheless, striking that it will appear more than forty years after the publication of his landmark work *Invisible Man* (1952), his only novel to date. In the meantime there has been no shortage of works about Ellison and his "only novel."

The two books at hand confront Ellison's career in two radically different ways: one focuses on its variety, the other on its unity. Mark Busby's volume in Twayne's United States Authors Series is the perfect antidote for those who labor under the impression that, second novel or no, Ellison is a one-work author. The "Selected Bibliography" provides a valuable listing of his short fiction and uncollected nonfiction dating back to the late 1930s. More than sixty items are listed. Although *Invisible Man* is not slighted, it is clear that Busby's major contributions are found in the attention he gives to Ellison's career before and since that work, and in the biographical material he provides.

On the other hand, Alan Nadel's *Invisible Criticism* is focused directly on Ellison's central work. However, the irony here is that the closer one looks at *Invisible Man*, the more allusive trails into and out of the novel one finds. The novel is laced with references to the traditional works of the American (and world) canon of literary, historical, and political works. It seems that Ellison's one novel cannot be taken as merely a single work because it is related to a host of other works which cause it to compose into the mosaic of its own unifying identity. The familiar is brought together and recombined in fresh and interesting ways. Thus Nadel remarks that the narrator's experiences "alter the reader's understanding of his history, culture, and literature by exposing the invisible assumptions which structure that understanding" (26). These two books shed very different but very useful illumination on Ellison's work and career.

Tuskegee University Bruce Adams

NEVER STOP RUNNING: Allard Lowenstein and the Struggle to Save American Liberalism. By William H. Chafe. New York: Basic Books. 1993.

In proclaiming that man is a political animal, Aristotle must have had Allard Lowenstein in mind. A fervent champion of the cause of Republican Spain while still a sixth-grader, Lowenstein attended the University of North Carolina in part to promote racial justice, and thereafter never stopped running—as president of the National Student Association, as a civil rights organizer in the Deep South in the early 1960s, as the instigator of the seemingly quixotic "Dump Johnson" movement in 1967-68, and then as a perennial candidate for the U.S. Congress—the liberals' Harold Stassen. Though Lowenstein served only one term in the House, representing a Long Island district, he ran in vain in three different Congressional districts in the state of New York, and also served as a delegate to the United Nations, before a deranged former protege assassinated him, at the age of 51, in 1980.

Among progressives Lowenstein was a minister without portfolio, but with charisma to burn. A dervish with a seemingly infinite cache of pertinent phone numbers, he activated the less complacent among the young of the 1950s, and thereafter pushed many of the idealistic young even further in the direction of anti-war and other enlightened causes. Perhaps no biography can quite do justice to the uniqueness of Lowenstein's role as a catalyst of political change. But William Chafe's thoroughly researched book comes close—mostly by tracing the demons that relentlessly drove this liberal centrist who was old enough to remain a visceral anti-Communist, yet young enough to inspire a generation that defined poverty, racism, and above all the Vietnam War as the chief scourges of American society.

The price of the vita activa was nevertheless exorbitant—such as fleeing from the intimacies of love that most others deem the most satisfactory features of human existence,

concealing the secrets that Chafe has delicately unlocked. For *Never Stop Running* devotes much attention to the sadness and messiness of its subject's private life—which included a compulsive flight from Jewishness (which Lowenstein regarded as a birth defect), a habit of making friendships exploitative and manipulative, and above all a poignant ambivalence toward his own bisexuality. Chafe's book exposes a frantic pattern of trying to seduce handsome young WASPs; Lowenstein could never stop cruising, which complicated what he did best, which was to raise awareness among the young of the options that an embattled liberalism enjoyed.

In retrospect his pursuit of the elixir of youth rather than his commitment to the formulas of leftism makes Lowenstein closer to Ponce de Leon than to Daniel De Leon, and renders evanescent the legacy of an impassioned but sadly unreflective politico. Lowenstein was too busy to think about—much less re-think—the causes that drove him, which is why this highly readable account (which itself obscures the precedent of David Harris's earlier biographical portrait, *Dreams Die Hard*) is weakest as intellectual history. Yet by showing how personal the political can be, Chafe injects psychological subtlety without trashing a limited but invaluable heritage of activism.

Brandeis University Stephen J. Whitfield

THE DEVIL WE KNEW: Americans and the Cold War. By H. W. Brands. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993.

H. W. Brands's *The Devil We Knew* is an exemplary essay, a model of the kinds of syntheses that Americans (including academics) need from their historians. It is a fine example of what Peter Stearns calls "meaning over memory," an interpretive and analytical narrative that makes sense out of the myriad monographs that fragment the knowledge they create. It is informed, but not obsessively documented; it is comprehensive, but not (thankfully) a textbook. It is more thoughtful and thought-provoking than most monographs because it does not pretend to be the last word; instead it is an invitation to critical conversation.

Brands understands and explains the Cold War as a struggle at once strategic, psychological, economic, and political. He shows how geopolitical and market goals meshed with ideological interests and partisan politics, and how the coincidence of concerns made serious reconsideration of policies almost impossible. Especially when consistency was interpreted as a sign of courage, commitment, and credibility, it was difficult to make adjustments. Not until Vietnam did Cold War policy receive serious criticism.

Brands complements the study of foreign policy with an understanding of the political cultures—international, partisan, bureaucratic, military, journalistic, and popular—that set the parameters for policy. He shows, for example, how Cold War policy occasioned a Cold War among the military services for the opportunity to wage war, or at least to purchase the weaponry. Although he could do more, Brands also shows how the political culture of reporting and public opinion often depended on the disinformation, deceits, and simplifications that support the passivity of American sit-izenship. As Brands suggests of the early Fifties, political debates were often "slick with half-truths and smaller fractions."

For an academic, Brands writes wonderfully, using his own clear and cogent language to slice and dice the abstractions and obfuscations of politicians and policymakers. Occasionally, he turns a phrase that turns a reader's head. In rejecting Eisenhower's "Open Skies" proposal, Brands suggests, "Khrushchev hardly cared to be exposes as the Oz of

international relations." Like Joseph Heller in *Catch-22*, Brands also subverts the "common sense" of Cold War policy by transmuting its cliches. Two chapters, for example, are called "The National Insecurity State" and "The Immoral Equivalent of War."

Any historical synthesis is susceptible to complaints about inclusion and exclusion, and I have mine. In showing how the Cold War mindset (especially the one inside the head of J. Edgar Hoover) caused Americans to violate the very principles they claimed to be fighting for, Brands spends way too much time detailing Hoover's surveillance of Martin Luther King, Jr. And in writing about the demise of detente, he depends too uncritically on the neoconservative critics of the policy.

Still, for the most part, this is a complex and nuanced interpretation of the Cold War from an American perspective. Etymologically, the words "complexity" and "complicity" derive from the same root, the Latin "complectere," meaning "to weave together." In this book, H. W. Brands has woven together a story that captures the complexity of the Cold War, and of Americans' complicity in it. In the process, he shows that the devil we knew was, in part, the devil we are, and that our devils are closely connected to the better angels of our nature.

Saint Olaf College James Farrell

NIXON RECONSIDERED. By Joan Hoff. New York: Basic Books. 1994.

In this aptly titled volume, Joan Hoff reconsiders practically every major aspect of Richard Nixon's presidency, offering strong revisionist interpretations on most of them. As senior editor of a microform edition of the Nixon White House Papers, Hoff brought to her work an extensive knowledge of the approximately five million pages of papers and the sixty hours of tapes available at the time of her writing, including many documents declassified at her request. Her study is thus well documented and highly informative, even if not convincing on every point.

Hoff's goal was to assess "the 'Nixon phenomenon' and its relationship to the modern presidency and electoral system in the United States" (xvii). Her claim that future historians may write of an "Age of Nixon" as identifiable as the "Age of Jackson" seems exaggerated, but much in the Nixon presidency merits study, and she has done an admirable job. Essentially, Hoff portrays Nixon as an important "agent for change" in five domestic areas (welfare, civil rights, economic policy, environmental policy, and federal reorganization), but judges his frequently praised contributions in foreign affairs to be less creative than conventional wisdom suggests and ephemeral, with the lone exception of his China policy.

Hoff is especially sure-handed on foreign policy, exploring both the objectives and outcomes of the "Nixinger" approach. While praising Nixon's willingness to take creative risks in international affairs and conceding the symbolic value of detente, she effectively critiques the vaunted "linkage" strategy, concluding that "it never worked with respect to the Soviet Union in negotiations with Vietnam or the SALT I talks, and it made Nixinger policy look indifferent to Third World concerns . . ." (158). Henry Kissinger fares poorly in Hoff's treatment, consistently portrayed as self-serving, manipulative, and duplicitous—as in his unauthorized announcement that peace was "at hand" in October 1972 and in fostering stalemate in the Middle East for three years "so that he could take credit for stepping in and picking up the pieces" (256). Indeed, even a Kissinger critic might object

to the many pejorative modifiers used to describe his actions ("smug," "arrogant," and "insubordinate" come to mind).

Hoff's revisionism in domestic matters is equally interesting, but less persuasive. She makes a strong case for Nixon as a reformer in the areas of welfare and governmental reorganization, but others have done so before. Her arguments on other domestic issues, by contrast, seem strained. In this reviewer's opinion, Hoff is least convincing in the area of civil rights, which she contends were "invigorated" by Nixon policies. Yet there is something to be learned from her treatment of every issue—for example, that John Ehrlichman played a leading pro-environment role in the Nixon administration.

The concluding section on Watergate is the least original, but forcefully presented. Arguing that Watergate was much larger than Nixon, Hoff challenges Stanley Kutler's contention (*The Wars of Watergate*) that the episode proved "the system worked," and makes an effective case that it "skewed domestic and foreign policies and internal partisan politics from 1974 to the present" (335).

Nixon Reconsidered will stand as a major contribution to the study of the "Nixon phenomenon"—an indisputably important subject, even if historians will not agree that there was an "Age of Nixon."

California State University, Long Beach Gary W. Reichard

THE RISE AND FALL OF CALIFORNIA'S RADICAL PRISON MOVEMENT. By Eric Cummins. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994.

The generation of 1960s radicals is today reassessing its past, documenting events and probing their meaning. Eric Cummins's riveting study of the rise and fall of California's radical prison movement makes a major contribution to that reevaluation.

Cummins, a prisoner rights activist for whom Eldridge Cleaver, Angela Davis, and George Jackson were "personal heroes" (ix), draws on a wide variety of sources, the most valuable of which are interviews he conducted with former prison staff members and prisoners. Through conversations with ex-convict John Irwin, a leader of the prisoner unionization movement (and today a well-known criminologist), and with black prisoners who were close to Cleaver, Jackson, and Huey Newton, Cummins is able to reconstruct what was going on behind the walls, usually clandestinely, and to document the emergence of the Black Muslims, Black Panthers, and Symbionese Liberation Army. The book focuses on the period from 1950 to 1980 and on San Quentin prison; but because it locates this history in the context of the longterm evolution of American prisons, much of its analysis also applies to events at New York's Attica prison and elsewhere around the country.

Cummins is highly critical of Berkeley radicals and other New Leftists, most of them white, who, he argues, projected their own romantic longings for outlaw status onto prisoners, especially black prisoners. Identifying with convicts, the New Left constructed a stereotype of heroic masculinity for itself. Its self-indulgent projections blinded participants to the actual needs and interests of prisoners, however, and misled George Jackson and others into overestimating their support on the outside. "[T]his naive casting of prisoners as society's potential leaders would become one of the fatal mistakes leading to the demise of radical politics in California in the 1970s" (ix) .

But while Cummins casts a cold eye on New Left posturing, he is equally critical of those who ran the prison system and the society that produced it. His reassessment is judicious, and it manages to keep prisoners themselves in the center of the picture.

One of the book's key themes is freedom of speech. The radical prisoners' movement emerged from the censorship of the 1950s, when convicts were denied books of their own choice and writing materials. Mail was screened, law books forbidden. To those hungry for knowledge, San Quentin offered bibliotherapy, a whacky uplift program that Cummins describes in amusing detail. He traces the origins of twentieth-century prisoner resistance to Caryl Chessman's struggle, from 1948 until his execution in 1960, to obtain materials to write his appeals and accounts of prison life. Chessman's enormously popular books, smuggled out in manuscript, ultimately launched "a community movement that would threaten to tear down the very walls of the prison" (2).

The early 1960s saw a "virtual explosion of inmate reading and writing, often fueled and ignited by interested groups of outsiders" (viii). Convicts educated themselves in secret study groups, and some produced best-sellers. This self-help movement eventually waned, however, and received its deathblow when administrators discovered the social-control potential of in-cell TV.

This is the first analysis to come to grips with the radical prisoner movement. Cummins' evenhandedness and depth of perception lift his study above the particulars of the prisons at San Quentin, Soledad, and Folsom to teach us about the 1960s and 1970s in general and, for those of us who lived through them, about our own lives.

Northeastern University Nicole Hahn Rafter

OUT OF THE GARDEN: Toys and Children's Culture in the Age of TV Marketing. By Stephen Kline. New York: Verso. 1993.

The thesis of Stephen Kline's book, *Out of the Garden: Toys and Children's Culture in the Age of TV Marketing*, is that the "free market" is not "free" at all when it comes to children. Children do not "freely" make up their minds to pressure their parents to purchase anything. Parents do not freely decide what or when to purchase toys for their children. The market is ruled by the marketing experts and their researchers. And they are ruled by the dictates of the corporations that employ them whose objective is profits, not children's well-being.

There is nothing exceptionally new in this thesis about consumer culture in the twentieth century. What Kline has done is apply it to the case of children and the commodities produced and marketed with them in mind. Because most advertising for children takes places on television, his study of children and consumerism becomes a study of television for children.

Without television advertising for children's goods, there would be absolutely no television for children, Kline tells us, and it is hard to disagree. Television's entire *raison d'etre* is to sell us products and keep us watching between the commercials. Television programs are targeted to particular segments of the public so that commercial sponsors can spend their money effectively. Children's programs can only survive if there are advertisers to pay for them.

There is much of interest in this book about the tools and skills of the marketing experts. This is, in fact, much more a book about marketing than it is about consumer culture. Kline has done a great deal of research into the techniques used to design, distribute, market, and advertise commodities to children. He has also demonstrated how and why children are quickly socialized into the consumer culture, how they become little "consumers." For those interested in such subjects, the book is indispensable.

My only criticism has not so much to do with the book's subject or thesis as with the author's mode of writing. Kline begins each chapter with a lengthy review of the literature. At times one feels that one is reading not a monograph but a review of the literature. And that review is so extensive that the reader not only loses his or her place but is hard pressed to know what Kline's position is. What in fact is he contributing to the debate on children and consumption, other than assembling what everybody else has said and adding to it abundant information about what the marketers do? There is a certain predictability here as well. The book begins and ends by arguing that "the marketing strategists" have and deploy too much power "over the key instruments of children's culture—toys and television." Can anyone argue with that? I certainly wouldn't. But this thesis argued endlessly does not make for terribly insightful reading.

Still I recommend this book to those interested in children and consumerism. It demonstrates convincingly how the marketers have taken over our children's dreams and nightmares. It is now time to figure out what to do about it.

City University of New York David Nasaw

VOICES FROM CAPTIVITY: Interpreting the American POW Narrative. By Robert C. Doyle. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1994.

Robert Doyle's *Voices from Captivity* is an important addition to the study of American war literature. Doyle's purpose is to demonstrate, across a wide spectrum of prisoner of war narratives, a recurring "narrative contour" that yields cultural significance for these highly personal histories. The narratives he surveys, from early colonial captivity stories such as Mary Rowlandson's (1682) to the recent memoirs of American POWs formerly held in Vietnam, are situated in historical and cultural contexts. Yet Doyle's central focus is on defining the major "event scenarios" that constitute the recurring pattern of the American prisoner of war experience.

The purpose of these event scenarios is to "compress the chaos of captivity" into identifiable stages that give meaning, for the narrator as well as the reader, to this horrific experience. This rhetorical act thus serves to convert "chronological time into synchronic narrative time that orders long periods of uncertainty, boredom, hunger, danger, and fear." Varieties of Doyle's seven event scenarios will be familiar to readers of American captivity literature: beginning with the trauma of capture and repeated re-moves, the prisoner adjusts to the harsh prison landscape, determines his survival techniques, proceeds through release and repatriation, and, suffering a sense of loss, constructs a lament that brings closure to the experience.

Especially insightful is Doyle's examination of the prisoner's survival strategies. At one extreme are those who attempted the heroics of escape; at the other, those who chose to assimilate into their captors' culture. The majority of prisoners, however, tended towards an active or passive resistance, finding strength for survival in a "personal commitment to community values," and Doyle correctly emphasizes this segment of the prisoner population.

Also impressive is the logic of Doyle's argument. Each major phase of the prisoner's experience is accorded a separate chapter and, within each chapter, examples from a variety of narrative texts, presented in a strictly determined chronological pattern, are interspersed with appropriate historical background material. This paradigm permits Doyle to show, for instance, the similarities between the re-moves following capture in America's war with Mexico in 1848 and those of the Bataan death marches of World War

II, or, for example, between the prison landscapes of the Civil War and that found in North Korea by those captured from the USS *Pueblo* in 1968. While this range of material sometimes causes Doyle to truncate his interpretations of individual narratives, the range and balance of the selected material clearly supports his convincing thesis.

Voices from Captivity is a significant and thought-provoking work that presents a "narrative truth" that has validity in what Doyle calls a "world literature" of prison camp experience. Doyle buttresses this claim by establishing a background in relevant collateral areas. Returning to St. Augustine, he introduces the concept of the just war; looking at early modern Europe, he surveys the evolution of the POW status; examining the Nuremberg Principles, he shows the recent history. His chapter-long examination of the fact and fiction surrounding those classified as Missing in Action demonstrates how widely the idea of the Prisoner of War has pervaded our culture. Well-written and carefully structured to control diverse material, Doyle's work is likely to become a standard resource for those interested in the growing field of war studies.

Brenau University Charles J. Gaspar

GARRISON KEILLOR. By Peter A. Scholl. New York: Twayne Publishers. 1993.

Peter Scholl's graceful and meticulously-constructed volume not only practices classic virtues, but also shows a fine sense of its own historical moment. Doing the double-duties of a TUSAS volume on a living American writer, *Garrison Keillor* lays out the salient facts about a life underway, and offers provocative, plausible readings of the literary achievement up through *WLT: A Radio Romance* (1991). If Keillor himself, as a beleaguered celebrity, dodged opportunities to be interviewed by Scholl, the loss is minimal, for Scholl seems to have found and reviewed the extant tapes, transcripts, and clippings of nearly everything that Keillor has said—on air, on the record, or in print—since his first outings in a junior high school literary magazine. To reconstruct this evolution from Gary Edward Keillor of Anoka to Garrison Keillor of St. Paul, New York City, and the world, Scholl has researched heroically, yet his account never lapses into the trivial or loses its stylistic charm. Though Scholl's enthusiasm for Keillor's talent runs high, the book wisely and cautiously sets him within broad traditions, rather than pitches him as a master unto himself, or even as a writer who has already and certifiably fulfilled his early promise.

As a subject for a volume of literary scholarship, Keillor must have been hard to write about. The talent has been spread over so many activities—disk jockey, radio emcee and raconteur, *New Yorker* sketch-writer and commentator, playwright, novelist, poetaster, compiler of hard-to-classify books—and then there is the problem of saying sensible things about humor, given a dearth of good models for doing so. Scholl makes real headway, however, because he proceeds with clarity and poise. Without coercion, he locates Keillor within traditions running back to Greco-Roman comedy and ranging forward through Thomas Bangs Thorpe, Mark Twain, and of course E. B. White, S. J. Perelman, Thurber, and the other *New Yorker* wits that the young Minnesota boy worshipped and set out to imitate.

The supplemental materials in *Garrison Keillor* are likewise a pleasure and a lasting advantage: an appendix listing the broadcast dates of the *A Prairie Home Companion* monologues which were reworked into *Leaving Home*, a thorough bibliography of Keillor's collected and uncollected writing, a nicely-annotated review of secondary

sources, and a chronology running up to Keillor's 1992 return to Minnesota. Scholl's *Garrison Keillor* is a durably strong and pleasurable resource to have, as we watch to see how the Keillor story turns out, and how American humor weathers the millennium's end.

University of Illinois Bruce Michelson