Book Reviews

Reviews

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, JONATHAN EDWARDS, AND THE REPRESENTATION OF AMERICAN CULTURE. Edited by Barbara B. Oberg and Harry S. Stout. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993.

This collection of essays, originating with a 1990 national conference on Franklin and Edwards, amounts to the most recent commentary on an old question. Do the figures of Franklin and Edwards represent essential tensions in American culture? The question may appear a bit hackneyed, but in the deft hands of these thirteen essayists, it is compelling and revealing. Providing new readings of central texts from Franklin and Edwards, many of the essays turn the compare and contrast mode to two innovative uses. First, the usual contrast—Puritan, dour, otherworldly, idealistic Edwards against Yankee, enlightened, pragmatic, skeptical Franklin—is muted or even reversed. Edwards sometimes appears as the optimist, willing to envision a new humanity and society, while Franklin appears as the pessimist, constrained by the web of his skepticism. Second, questions of theology and social morality are, in these essays, largely subordinated to the eighteenth-century attempt to define the self. Here Franklin and Edwards appear as equally perceptive commentators on a quite modern problem: how does one go about the construction of the essential self in the fragmentary and often deceptive culture of modernity?

The list of contributors of this volume amounts to a very distinguished roll of early American literary scholars and intellectual historians. Their essays are divided into three sections: "mind" (ideas about human nature and social morality), "culture" (commentary on the relationship of the private individual to society), and "language" (rhetorical styles). In the first section, William Breitenbach offers a sensitive reading of Edwards on religious affections and Franklin on moral affectations. Daniel Walker Howe's "Franklin, Edwards, and the Problem of Human Nature" is a perceptive discussion of the question of motivation in the moral views of the two writers. Other essays in this section, by A. Owen Aldridge, Edwin S. Gaustad, and Elizabeth Dunn, give reasonable, if not overly innovative, discussions of the appropriation of the Enlightenment by Franklin and Edwards.

In the second section, Bruce Kuklick provides a brilliant statement—learned, witty, and far-reaching—on the issue of volition and self. It would be difficult to read this essay

and not change one's whole understanding of the relations between theology, ethics, and concepts of the self in the eighteenth century. Leonard I. Sweet writes on Edwards and humor, and Ruth H. Bloch discusses concepts of romantic love. These essays do not fit into the overall scheme of the volume as tightly as others; but at least they are more to the point than is Michael Zuckerman's paper, a comparison of Franklin and P. T. Barnum.

In the third section, David Levin and Leo Lemay give different but equally illuminating analyses of rhetorical strategies in the two colonial writers. Finally, R. C. De Prospo attempts, quite unsuccessfully, a post-modernist reading of autobiographical passages from Franklin and Edwards.

Kuklick muses in his essay whether the relevance of a Franklin-Edwards study has become something of a mystery to us in the post-modern world (110). The Puritan and the Yankee struggled to define the self, while we work frantically to deconstruct it. If we find these subjects mysterious, not to say irrelevant, it is because we have unwittingly assumed that eighteenth-century people shared our post-modern dilemmas. This splendid volume can teach us much, not least the value of facing Edwards and Franklin on their terms.

Lewis & Clark College Mark Valeri

ORTHODOXIES IN MASSACHUSETTS: Rereading American Puritanism. By Janice Knight. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994.

Although she may not, as advertised, "revolutionize the study and understanding of Puritan New England," Janice Knight makes a significant contribution to a recent trend in Puritan studies that has called into question the idea of am monolithic Puritanism. As such, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts*, winner of the Thomas J. Wilson Prize for the best first book accepted annually by Harvard University Press, proves, once again, that all previous - perhaps wistful - declarations notwithstanding, the field of Puritan studies is not yet exhausted.

Knight gives voice to an alternative community within the first generation of Puritan New Englanders. "My purpose," she writes, "is to put in question the scholarly representation of a monologic Puritan culture...not be tracing dissent at the sectarian margins of the culture but by challenging the myth of consensus at the center" (4). In doing so she challenges the idea of "univocal orthodoxy" first expounded over sixty years ago by Perry Miller in his *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts* (1933). That orthodoxy, that which he called the New England mind, reflected such intellectual unity among New England's patriarchal founders, Miller believed, that, at one point, he would confidently declare that he was taking the liberty of treating the whole literature as though it were the product of a single intelligence.

More recently, historians such as David Hall have found diversity among the inarticulate in their expressions of popular religion, as have Stephen Foster and Philip Gura in their investigations of sectarians, women, and other disenfranchised groups. Such studies, however, although elevating the importance of dissent in helping to define Puritan orthodoxy, nevertheless continue to position dissent at the cultural margins. In other words, as Knight puts it, although they argue that heterogeneity, rather than unanimity, characterized the first years of New England's religious life, that heterogeneity was "largely confined to marginalized or excluded cultural others" (8).

More akin to Knight's study is the work of Teresa Toulouse and Andrew Delbanco, who have found in John Cotton's piety, doctrine of the covenant, understanding of the process of salvation, and aesthetics and stylists, a direct challenge to those whom Miller identified as representative of Puritan orthodoxy. Knight distances herself from Toulouse

and Delbanco, however, in her insistence that Cotton was not unique. She places him in the midst of an alternative tradition within the Puritan mainstream, recognized earlier but not as fully developed by Alan Heimert and Michael Schuldiner.

Knight labels founders of Miller's orthodox tradition—William Ames, William Perkins, Thomas Hooker, and Thomas Shepard, most notably—the "Intellectual Fathers." She calls spokesmen for the alternative tradition—Richard Sibbes, John Preston, and John Cotton, for example—the "Spiritual Brethren." The "Intellectual Fathers," Knight writes, identified power as God's essential attribute. They described God's covenant with human beings as conditional, preached the necessity of human cooperation in preparing the heart for redemption, and insisted on the usefulness of Christian works as evidence of salvation. In general they were a-millennial, and they had little sense of participating in a prophetic errand into the wilderness or of advancing the coming of Christ's kingdom.

The "Spiritual Brethren," in contrast, Knight argues, embodied more of an Augustinian strain; they were more emotional or mystical. They stressed divine benevolence over power, emphasized the love of God, and substituted a free testament or voluntary bequeathing of grace for the conditional covenant of the more orthodox. They argued against the doctrine of preparation, by refusing human performance as a sign of salvation and pastoral discipline as a mode of social order, and against those who insisted that the transformation of the soul was either incremental or dependent on exercises of spiritual discipline. "In this piety," Knight writes, "there are no steps to the altar" (4).

Knight concludes her study with two observations. First, she offers that recovery of the "Spiritual Brethren" further challenges theories of American Exceptionalism, whether that construct is understood as describing a special New England self or a prophetic national destiny, in that their ideas were formed in England, rather than New England, and in that they rejected any typology of national mission in favor of an international church whose members God had scattered as "lights of the world" (4).

Second, Knight suggests that although they failed to carry the day, rather than being exterminated, ideas of the "Spiritual Brethren" may have survived in the works of Jonathan Edwards and, even, of some of the nineteenth century Romantics. "In that spirit," Knight offers, citing Emerson and Whitman in particular, "I can envisage reclaiming the 'great' American authors for a Sibbesian canon" (199).

Creighton University Bryan F. Le Beau

THE PERFECT LAW OF LIBERTY: Elias Smith and the Providential History of America. By Michael G. Kenny. Washington, D.C. & London: Smithsonian Institution Press. 1994.

JOHN WINTHROP'S WORLD: History as a Story, the Story as History. By James G. Moseley. History of American Thought and Culture Series. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1992.

These books offer cultural biographies of two sharply contrasting personalities: John Winthrop, leader of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and symbol of New World Puritan orthodoxy; and Elias Smith: evangelical preacher, herbal physician and leader of one of the more influential evangelical democratic movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Despite their obvious temporal, religious and political differences, both men struggled to create a culture where true spirituality could flourish and the ideal of liberty would prevail.

Moseley takes as the focal point of his study Winthrop's *Journal*, the document that has been read by generations of scholars as an access to the lived realities of colonial life. In his journal Winthrop recorded his perceptions of a number of key relationships—the communal (political, economic and spiritual) relationships among the Puritans, relations with neighboring colonies and Indian tribes, and colonial relations with the metropolis—which have crucially influenced the way in which the meaning of America has since been formulated. Quite rightly, Moseley is less interested in what Winthrop means to us than he is concerned with reconstructing the significance of Winthrop's work on its own terms. Consequently, although he does discuss at length the reception of Winthrop and his journal by a succession of historians, each of whom has brought a distinctive framework through which to view and evaluate Winthrop's achievement and his legacy, Moseley follows Puritan usage, especially in terms of spelling, syntax and general linguistic habits to avoid the danger of simply translating Puritan thought into misleading modern terms. For much the same reason, Moseley's account of Winthrop is placed within the context of his family history and his early life in England. Thus, Winthrop himself is viewed on his own terms and, later, via the medium of his own words. Moseley argues that the journal reveals Winthrop to be not only an accomplished politician but also an historian of insight who used writing as an important analytical tool. So the connections between political activity and the activity of journal-writing provide the focus for this book and for Moseley's central insight. It was through writing, he contends, that Winthrop learned much about himself and the foundational events in American history that he felt bound to interpret. The journal, thus approached, not only describes Winthrop's world and articulates the daily reality of his life, but it also inscribes the mental processes by which Winthrop reached an understanding of himself and the historical enterprise in which he was engaged.

Where Moseley prevents fresh perspective upon an established historical figure, Kenny has more explicit methodological aims at the center of his enterprise. Kenny analyzes the intersection of biography with the history of an idea—specifically, republicanism, in his account of the life of Elias Smith and the tradition of evangelical Christianity he represents. Smith's evangelical mission brought together the Jeffersonian concept of republicanism and the practices of radical Protestantism in a vision of the "perfect law of liberty" that challenged the established social order and galvanized the sentiments of those who joined the "Christian Movement" or "Christian Connection"—the group he helped to lead after breaking with the Baptist church over the issue of equality. Smith practiced a style of rhetoric that fused New Testament prophecy with the ideals enshrined in the Declaration of Independence, which he disseminated in sermons, other writings including his autobiography, and the nationally circulated newspaper *The Herald of Gospel Liberty*. In an interpretation of national destiny that drew heavily upon millennial influences, Smith hailed America as the promised land of true democracy where equality and individual autonomy would prevail and social hierarchy or deference would be unknown. Going further than this, he translated his vision into a coherent ideology and program for his followers. Kenny does more than simply describe the life and social context of this remarkable and fascinating character. He uses the figure of Elias Smith as an example of the democratization of social practice in the post-Revolutionary years and as the text for a compelling analysis of the complex interplay of theology, social experience and historical consciousness that determined the ideology shaping Elias Smith's life.

University of Leicester Deborah L. Madsen

SHAPING NEW ENGLANDS: Puritan Clergymen in Seventeenth-Century England and New England. By Francis J. Bremer. New York: Twayne Publishers. 1994.

Francis Bremer, professor of history at Millersville University and the author of two other books on colonial New England, has provided a useful brief study of major seventeenth-century Puritan clerical writers. Although included in Twayne's United States Authors Series, Bremer examines the lives and works of men who were born, educated, and labored for a time—often achieving considerable prominence—in England before migrating to America. As Bremer points out, without diminishing their importance to American history and literature, leading figures such as John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, Richard Mather, and Roger Williams never thought of themselves as anything but Englishmen.

Bremer treats his authors as a group, assessing each in transatlantic Anglo-American context. The thrust of their writing, indeed of the Puritan movement as a whole, he reminds the reader, was not just to create a Bible Commonwealth in the wilderness, but also to use their City on a Hill to transform the English-speaking world. Thus, in their frustration over the delay in implementing their reform agenda in their homeland, the first generation of New England Puritan divines left England, but they never abandoned it.

Like many other recent students of the period [see, for example, my review of Janice Knight's *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts* (1994) elsewhere in this volume], Bremer is critical of Perry Miller's paradigm of seventeenth-century New England Puritanism as the product of a single imagination. Recent scholars have demonstrated that there was no such monolithic body of thought. But, he suggests, in their attempts to bring diversity to center stage, the heterodox few have at times assumed more importance than the orthodox many. Bremer returns the focus to the majority, but in doing so he does not lose sight of the point that unity is not the same as uniformity. As he puts it, "the orthodox mansion had many rooms" (x).

Shaping New Englands ends in the 1680s with the death of the last of the authors of the first generation of Puritan New England. Toward the end of that period, Bremer notes, Puritans faced a series of blows on both sides of the Atlantic—the English Restoration (1660) and the loss of the Massachusetts colonial charter (1684), for example—that forced them to change their world view. That revised world view found itself into the final texts of the first generation. "The dream of a new world to be initiated by the Puritan example became a hope deferred," Bremer concludes, and that generation that had seen itself as saving remnant, found it had become an embattled remnant, threatened by forces without and within. Its literature grew increasingly chiliastic, "anticipating divine vengeance on a world that had gone astray" (90), and its emphasis shifted from a concern with national covenants and communal responsibilities to a calling for individual moral striving.

Creighton University Bryan F. Le Beau

IMAGINING NIAGARA: The Meaning and Making of Niagara Falls. By Patrick McGreevy. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1994.

Niagara Falls is an ideal topic for Cultural Studies, as it is popular, interdisciplinary, aesthetic and political, real and imaginary. As the premier American travel destination of the nineteenth century, famous writers wrote of the spectacle (Hawthorne, Dickens, Trollope and Twain are only a few), leading artists felt obliged to paint it, and geologists to explain its age and formation. But popular and High Culture intersect at Niagara, for

even humble visitors were moved to verse when they saw it, and hawkers and stunt artists have exploited its appeal for more than one hundred years.

Patrick McGreevy's *Imagining Niagara* joins Elizabeth McKinsey's *Niagara Falls: Icon of the American Sublime* (Cambridge University Press, 1985) in a revival of literature about the falls, and though not as ambitious as McKinsey's book, it is valuable for its study of the industrial and futurist Niagara. McKinsey's work concentrates on American landscape painters and the aesthetic of the sublime, while McGreevy's limits itself to nineteenth-century writing about the falls and its connections with recent tourist development.

Imagining Niagara is organized around four themes: Distance, Death, Nature, and the Future. The last of these is the most engaging, while the first three are too schematic. A chapter entitled "The Distant Niagara" is predicated on the difficulty of travelling to Niagara before the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825. Citing the work of anthropologist Victor Turner, McGreevy discusses Niagara as a pilgrimage site, and quotes travellers who saw it as a quasi-religious spectacle. In 1861 Pope Pius IX declared it a pilgrim shrine, perhaps the first consecrated to a miracle of nature.

The popular sources of Niagara literature, such as the *Album of the Table Rock*, a public register of visitors' impressions which was published in 1848, are potentially very interesting. Unfortunately, the discussions of Death and Nature as romanticist tropes applied to Niagara are rather superficial. McGreevy is a professor of geography, and while his analyses of poems and travel accounts are not so good as McKinsey's, the story of power generation projects and of futuristic schemes for mega-cities is the strength of the book. There are several delicious ironies surrounding these. In 1893 William T. Love planned "Model City" for the Lockport-Lewiston area north of the falls and started digging a millrace which eventually became the infamous toxic waste dump Love Canal. King Camp Gillette, before he invented the disposable razor, promoted a larger and more totalitarian scheme, a geometrical, utterly uniform city of sixty million inhabitants to cover much of Western New York. H. G. Wells' novel *The War in the Air* and the Buck Rogers comic strip both used Niagara as the setting for racist anti-Asian doomsday stories. Today, two-thirds of the water which might be part of the falls is diverted for hydroelectric power, yet the adjoining cities struggle with post-industrial recession.

Rather than attempting to summarize all of the nineteenth century, one might divide representations of Niagara Falls by the period 1865 to 1880, because it was before then that the craze among travel writers reached its peak, and after it that utopian futurist schemes were dreamed up around the falls and preservationists moved to rescue the natural from the industrial. Frederick Law Omstead was hired to plan the park or "Reservation" and wrote that "It is a spot reserved, and sacred to what divine power has already placed there, rather than a proper field for the display of human ingenuity of art" (115). Visions of divine or sublime Nature did not conflict with those of limitless industrial power, however, but rather contributed to them, for "only if nature is limitless can we expect perpetual progress in our conquest of it" (106). McGreevy reveals that "Niagara was vigorously developed not because developers thought so little of the falls' natural splendor, but rather because they thought so much of it" (154).

University of Oregon Gordon Sayre

A HISTORY OF THE SUPREME COURT. By Bernard Schwartz. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993.

Bernard Schwartz, Chapman Professor of Law at the University of Tulsa, is one of the nation's most distinguished students of constitutional law and the Supreme Court. He is also an unabashed advocate of judicial activism, of the role of the Supreme Court in shaping public policy, and of the Court's most liberal justices, especially Earl Warren. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that this elegantly written one-volume history of the Court confirms the virtues of liberal, judicial instrumentalism. Modern conservatives who seek to move the Constitution back to its original, eighteenth-century moorings will find little comfort in Schwartz's analysis.

Schwartz synthesizes the Supreme Court's history from its origins through the 1991 term. For general readers and lawyers unfamiliar with the Court, Schwartz has provided a lively narrative that springs to life through the introduction of key cases and colorful figures. Schwartz explains the success of the Marshall Court in securing the foundations of not only its power but the authority of the national government as a whole; the role of Taney Court in dividing the nation and the Chase and subsequent post-Civil War Courts in reuniting the Union; the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Court's rejection and then acceptance of federal and state regulation of industrialization; and after World War II the burgeoning of individual rights during the stewardship of Chief Justice Earl Warren. Schwartz devotes whole chapters to four seminal cases: *Dred Scott* v. *Sandford* (1857), *Lochner* v. *New York* (1905), *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1954, 1955), and *Roe* v. *Wade* (1973). These case studies convey Schwartz's view of the role of the Court in adapting the Constitution to social circumstances and crafting constitutional rules to protect individual rights. Schwartz musters quotations from the most historically significant members of the Court that confirm that the framers of the Constitution did not mean for it to be interpreted exclusively by their lights. Moreover, these case studies underscore another important theme in Schwartz's book: the way in which decisions, such as *Dred Scott* and *Roe*, that are on the cutting edge of social change almost always produced significant controversy. In fact, Schwartz argues that such a pattern is just what the framers intended, since in many instances the political branches of government have been unable to deal appropriately with major constitutional controversies, such as slavery, economic upheaval, segregation, and abortion. Schwartz is quick to argue that one of the Court's enduring challenges is to strike a balance between the duty to act and the necessity, as the branch with the least popular support, to restrain itself from doing that which no court in a democracy should or can do—substitute its will for that of the political branches. Much of the history of the Court, Schwartz concludes, has turned on the quest for an elusive point of equilibrium.

Serious scholars of the Court will find little new in this volume, either by way of interpretation or fact. Schwartz has written an internal history of the Court, one that draws on his own vast publications and that does not, despite its assertions about the interconnection between legal and social change, offer a well grounded theory for that relationship. The result is a predictable liberal interpretation of the Court's development. How and why the Court is called upon to untangle major social conflicts is a topic acknowledged by Schwartz, but one to which he ultimately gives insufficient attention. Still, the general reader interested in learning about the workings of the Court over the past two centuries will surely benefit from this highly readable book. It is, by far, the best one-volume history we have of the Court.

The Ohio State University Kermit L. Hall

THE EVOLUTION CONTROVERSY IN AMERICA. By George E. Webb. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1994.

This book historically surveys the controversies generated by the introduction of evolutionary thought in the United States with a special focus on educational and judicial concerns raised by the teaching of evolution in secondary schools. Written by George E. Webb, the book traces these controversies from their point of origin in Darwin right up to and including the very recent present. Webb draws his historical account from an examination of a wide range of not only the abundant secondary literature that has accumulated on this well-worked subject, but also from an examination of primary educational and judicial documents. His inclusion of how these evolution/creation debates unfolded against the backdrop of political movements in the 1970s and 1980s like the "moral majority" and the "new right," and how they were reported in the popular press, is especially noteworthy.

Webb's analysis of these debates in the context of developments in the history of American biology is also worthy of mention. Here Webb notes how developments in genetics at the turn of the century contributed to what is generally recognized as the most important event in the history of twentieth century evolution, the "Evolutionary Synthesis" of the 1930s and 1940s that saw the establishment of the synthetic theory of evolution and the restoration of Darwinism in "Neo-Darwinian" scientific movements. Despite the fact that Darwin's much maligned mechanism of natural selection was effectively established during the "synthesis" for a wide and critical scientific audience (in so doing silencing much of the scientific opposition to evolution), natural selection and evolution remained subjects of debate for more popular audiences right up until the recent present. Webb explores in detail how discussions on the proper "theoretical" status of evolution and natural selection, and how disputes over what constituted proper scientific methodology further fueled the debates on evolution/creation. Especially interesting is Webb's discussion of the controversies that raged in evolutionary theory in the late 1970s and 1980s, all of which appeared to challenge the Neo-Darwinian and synthetic theory of evolution. Webb's analysis is especially useful because few analysts have explored how theoretical emendations to the synthetic theory like "punctuated equilibrium theory" introduced by Stephen J. Gould and Niles Eldredge fueled the creationist cause.

Equally welcome is Webb's splendid historical discussion of the widely used Biological Sciences and Curriculum Study (BSCS) project to restructure biological education in United States high schools in the late 1950s. Largely an institutional outcome of American feelings of insecurity that followed the successful Soviet launching of Sputnik, BSCS had a major impact on biology education in the 1960s; but because it promoted evolution, and made it the central or unifying principle in the new biology, it also served to trigger one of the most reactionary anti-evolution movements in United States history. In the 1980s, the widespread teaching of biology and evolution led to movements like "Scientific Creationism" that promoted the validity of a "scientific" form of creationism. Webb's historical discussion here relies on both BSCS documents and recent sociological and historical analyses of biological education in the United States.

Overall, the book is an accurate, reliable survey of the issues raised by the evolution/creation debates in the Unites States. For any one needing a relatively dispassionate scholarly account of these controversies (though Webb is openly much more supportive of the validity of evolution), this book will prove the best source currently available.

University of Florida Vassiliki Betty Smocovitis

LAND OF DESIRE: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture. By William Leach. New York: Pantheon. 1993.

"It has been many years since anyone asked me to see Oz," replied the Guardian of the Gates to Dorothy's request, "...since you demand to see the Great Oz I must take you to his Palace. But first you must put on the spectacles.... Because if you did not wear spectacles the brightness and glory of the Emerald City would blind you. Even those who live in the city must wear spectacles night and day. They are all locked on, for Oz so ordered it when the City was first built, and I have the only key to unlock them."

The key to unlocking the spectacle that is modern consumer culture, for historian William Leach, is to analyze the historical circumstances which brought about the institutions that integrated and maintained the mass market for goods and services. Between 1880 and 1930, according to Leach, American capitalism, in the guise of institutions such as department stores, museums, churches, schools, and government agencies, produced a culture distinct from the past, a "Land of Desire," "unconnected to traditional family or community values, to religion in any conventional sense, or to political democracy" (3). This "modern" culture is familiar to us; its "cardinal features" constitute a humanist's litany of despair: "acquisition and consumption as the means of achieving happiness; the cult of the new; the democratization of desire; and money value as the predominant measure of all value of society" (3). Desire is the real commodity here, the product of late nineteenth-century concerns about, alternately, distribution of wealth and over-production. Business—in the personages of department store magnates, bankers, economists, advertising and marketing theorists—found that desire must be cultivated and promoted among consumers if warehouses were to be emptied and wealth redistributed.

How that desire was tamed and cultivated, and how that process determined twentieth-century American culture, form the subject of *Land of Desire*. This work is a model of scholarship. Leach leads the readers through spectacles of light and color, through window displays, pageants, and parades, the rise of service and specialty goods (particularly for children), and the role of fashion in the suasion of desire. One of the Wizards of this American land of desire is John Wanamaker (who coined the phrase that serves as the title of this work). Wanamaker, almost singlehandedly, apprehended and converted Americans' desires into tangible reality in the forms of goods and services at his department stores. Leach attends to Wanamaker's self-conception, to his relationship with his son Rodman and others in his employ, and then applies this understanding to Wanamaker's liberal evangelism (Wanamaker introduced the "simple life" movement of the French cleric Pastor Wagner into the United States, ironically fusing the "goods life" with the "simple life"). Wanamaker here symbolizes the magnate that Leach warns of misleading American consumers with only one vision of the "good life." Wanamaker's story is fascinating, and Leach's analysis of the unprocessed Wanamaker archives at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a model of patience, fortitude, and critical acumen.

Had Leach ended his analysis with Wanamaker, the reader would have been satisfied. But Leach's larger goal of relating institutions to culture—or, perhaps better expressed, institutions *as* culture—is met in the latter chapters, which consider the roles of mainstream religion (including new sects organized around mind cure—the triumph of the therapeutic), business and art schools, and museums in endorsing and abetting mass-market culture. Herbert Hoover is cast, penultimately, as yet another Wizard of Oz; his idea and administration of "managerial government" a response to the growing demands of business on Washington to improve the needs of commerce.

Land of Desire should entice scholars in many fields: cultural historians, of course, but also urban, business, and political historians would find this book required reading. Material culturists and students of consumerism and consumption would also find much to mull over, especially those chapters on department stores' use of design, color and light, pageantry, and service (one wished for more, and color, illustrations). And scholars of popular culture and literature will find provocative Leach's analysis of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* in terms of L. Frank Baum's career as midwestern editor, window dresser, theosophist, and author. Rather than a "parable of Populism," Leach finds this children's story a mind cure tract, its long-lived popularity testifying to the power of mass-market culture and its false promises.

Yet the reader who picks up the book to read about consumers *per se* will be disappointed. Leach admits that his study does not account for popular reception or rejection of the ideas and methods he so carefully describes and analyzes. Moreover, a creeping cynicism is detectable at times in *Land of Desire*, especially evident in discussions of subjects' motives and self-reflections; for this reader, this tendency serves to dilute the historian's power to speak on behalf of "the people." Believing that mass consumerism was not produced by "the people" and was thereby "nonconsensual," Leach casts the blame on Wanamaker, Baum *et al.* for siring a culture which "confused the good life with goods," supplanting republicanism and Christian virtue with the hollow religion of materialism. Neither republicanism nor Christianity held out a perfect vision of the "good life" to all in practice, however; women, for example, have always experienced a problematic relationship to such creeds as well as to capitalism (note the choice—perhaps not the author's— of a photograph of female fashion mannequins as the book's cover). Thus, Leach's concluding half-jeremiad, half-remedy of the evils of mass-market capitalism cannot but fall on deaf ears of "the people" he casts in his work as, first, voiceless—powerless—to counter the capitalist vision of the good life he charts, and then mindless in their utter gullibility in seemingly believing the promise of capitalism.

"Whoever has the power to project a vision of the good life and make it prevail," Leach asserts from the first, "has the most decisive power of all" (xiii). As the Wizard of Oz — the self-admitted "humbug" "making believe" behind the screen (like the wolf disguised as grandma, or conversely, the prince as a frog)—confesses to Dorothy, the Emerald City was no more green than any other city: "... but when you wear green spectacles, why of course everything you see looks green to you, ... my people have worn green glasses on their eyes so long that most of them think it really is an Emerald City, and it certainly is a beautiful place, abounding in jewels and precious metals, and every good thing that is needed to make one happy..." In Oz, in the end, the females—Dorothy and the witches—possessed power, both evil and good, to be seized or destroyed by a wizard who in actuality possessed no power except the consent of his people who thought him fair and wise, and, upon the discovery of his ruse, forgave this contrite "common man" because they were not unhappy with their lives. An act of self-delusion or one of a charitable tolerance in a city where *only* the *visitors* desired? "The people's" story still needs to be told.

University of Iowa Shirley Teresa Wajda

INDEPENDENT INTELLECTUALS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1910-1945. By Steven Biel. New York: New York University Press. 1992.

Focusing on the rise of a group of intellectuals (e.g., Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks, Lewis Mumford, Edmund Wilson, Max Eastman, Malcolm Cowley) who came

of intellectual age in the first quarter of the century, Steven Biel offers a persuasive interpretation of their efforts to establish an independent intellectual life outside the universities. They were able to create a community of intellectuals who wrestled with common problems: how to make a living without succumbing to the routine of journalism; how to achieve independence from the existing positions of powers and win the freedom for self-expression that this involved and, simultaneously, be able to educate the public and help change American society. The search for the autonomy of the intellectual started from a position highly critical of the American past, but evolved into a search for "a usable past." In a suggestive chapter Biel discusses how the women counterparts to his group of male intellectuals developed "new modes of public involvement," while the male intellectuals' revolt against a genteel culture (perceived as "dangerously feminine") led them to "conceive of the critical community as a primarily masculine domain."

Biel's analysis of these developments is rich and nuanced. Yet there are areas that are less convincing than others. Biel notes that intellectual communities are held together as much by the type of questions asked as by a consensus in the answers given. However, there are certain answers that can break the bonds of a community, and it seems to me that some of the political answers in the 1930s severed many of the earlier bonds. Biel criticizes intellectual historians who base their analyses on rigid political categories and exclusively focus on ideological and political differences. This is an important cautionary note, but sometimes one can not capture the quality of intellectual life without stressing the importance of political differences. Biel skirts the debate over MacLeish's *The Irresponsibles*, a debate which included many of his writers; one suspects that the bitterness of that debate does not fit easily into an approach that minimizes political differences.

Biel is strongest on the pre-depression years; despite the book's title, there is only one chapter on the 1930s and a brief epilogue on the war years. Biel is right that historians have not paid enough attention to the continuities between the intellectual life of the 1920s and 1930s, but when he writes that the Depression "did not alter the basic terms of the intellectual life" because the goal still remained intellectual autonomy, he is foregrounding the questions asked at the expense of the answers given. He is able to do this because he maintains his focus on a relatively small group of independent intellectuals. Biel's concentration on non-fiction authors doesn't work for the thirties; on this score Richard Pells's more inclusive approach supports his argument for the greater impact of the depression. Moreover, while addressing the same questions as Biel's intellectuals, many younger, non-fiction independent intellectuals in the 1930s no longer so easily embraced apparently contradictory positions or so readily tolerated differing positions. Despite the bitterness of Bourne's earlier rejection of his mentor, John Dewey, over World War I, the kind of ferocity that one finds, for example, in the Eastman-Hook debates, is a product of the intense politicalization of ideas in the 1930s. Because he rightfully wants to avoid the pitfalls of simplistic political categorizing, Biel sometimes misses qualities of the independent intellectual life that can only be revealed by taking political differences seriously. Finally, in his remarks on the 1940s, he writes: "If intellectuals saw the necessity of fighting the Second World War, they did not view it as a clear-cut conflict between fascism and democracy." Such a conclusion could only be reached by conflating his particular group of intellectuals with "intellectuals." There was another community of independent intellectuals who viewed the war precisely in the terms Biel denies.

That I resist some of Biel's conclusions in no way detracts from my admiration for this extremely perceptive work. One of the best things about Biel's book is that it forces

twentieth-century intellectual historians to rethink some of their analytical categories and generalizations about decades.

Queens College, City University of New York Frank A. Warren

AMERICANISM: Revolutionary Order and Societal Self-Interpretation in the American Republic. By Jürgen Gebhardt. Translated by Ruth Hein. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press. 1993.

For too long the study of American culture has been dominated by Americans. Close-up pictures reveal much but inevitably suffer from myopia. Alexis de Tocqueville, Charles Dickens, and Gunnar Myrdal have shown us the possibilities inherent in views from afar. Their panoramas of the United States isolate the American soul on a sweeping canvas. At first blush, Jürgen Gebhardt's *Americanism* could be placed in that tradition. Gebhardt, a German historian, tries to identify the unique ingredients of American Liberal thought created by the colonial and Revolutionary experience and then follow that thought through the next two centuries of American history. His enterprise is ambitious, his vantage point potentially Olympian, but alas the picture that emerges is obscure and reveals little new.

Americanism was published in Germany in 1976 and is now being issued in English seventeen years later. It is unfair to Gebhardt to review his book as if it were written at the present, but the reality is that it was old-fashioned and out-of-date in 1976. Gebhardt rehashes Louis Hartz's views from the unifying liberal ethos that courses through American history; he then situates this argument in the tradition of Commonwealth scholarship developed by such people as Caroline Robbins, Bernard Bailyn, and J. G. A. Pocock. Gebhardt acknowledges but gives short shrift to the explosion of social history that by 1976 had seriously challenged the Hartzian notion of an American society largely free of class tensions. Methodologically, Gebhardt relies too much on colonial New England and a few individuals to provide him with the Revolutionary mentalité that he follows through the Civil War, Industrial Revolution, and several twentieth-century crises. This all adds up to his conclusion that "the American self-interpretation fused the cult of the hero and monumental history, Christian spirituality, philosophical and political doctrines of the Enlightenment with very concrete behavior patterns, institutional arrangements and social practices into a whole encompassing all of man's existence in society and history" (20b).

Old hat in 1976—beaten-up old hat in 1993. One wonders why someone went to the trouble to translate this work and why Louisiana State University Press published it. The prose is opaque; the research thin and mostly secondary; and instead of providing a rich international context, Gebhardt takes a series of irrelevant side trips into European thought. Holding anyone to the standards of a Tocqueville, Dickens, or Myrdal is unfair, of course. But publishing something primarily because it was written by someone in a foreign language is patronizing. Yet, I see no other reason why this book should have been translated and republished.

University of Winnipeg Bruce C. Daniels

RE-DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA: The Meeting of Cultures. Edited by Johan Callens. Brussels: VUC [Free University of Brussels] Press. 1993.

With this collection of seven essays, Johan Callens presents a sampler of recent European and U.S. scholarship on cross-cultural contacts in North America. Contributions also well represent the scholarly fallout of the quincentennial Columbiad. The Free

University of Berlin, the Belgian Luxembourg American Studies Association and National Fund for Scientific Research, a U.S. Cultural Attaché, and the British Council underwrote "American Studies Day" in October, 1992. But Columbus is only a cue for discussion of other border crossings. In fact, he is first and last mentioned (to be defined out of attention) on page nine. Instead, readers are directed to case studies ranging from Cutler's photography to Wisconsin bake ovens, interspersed with a general commentary on Caribbean migrations, bilingualism, and cultural diplomacy.

Since the essays do not explicitly address each other and they appear to have been written with different audiences in mind, each might well be read on its own. They vary widely in discipline, breadth, annotation, sophistication and style as well as in substantive detail. What they share is a focus on assessing the human import of North American boundary crossings. Since those boundaries are also variously construed (as geopolitical, religious, ethnic, linguistic, or economic, for example), synthesizing the essays is a challenge. In the introduction, Professor Callens finds a common moral (15-16); "The essays in the present volume clarify the stakes, rewards and threats of a multicultural society.... The lesson to be learnt... [is] the promotion of international democracy and peace, as manifested in people's mutual respect for each others' differences." This noble wish is the clearest center to the collection that I can find, too. Since contributors presume it rather than explore its implications or limits (and since I cannot imagine compelling arguments to the contrary—where the "lesson to be learnt" is to promote intolerance and warfare?), I suspect readers will gain more by engaging individual essays rather than the collection as a whole.

The first four essays are the more focused and original. They analyze the textual and artifactual remains of discrete cross-cultural encounters. William Chew begins with "Marie-Thérè Blanc in America: A Fin de Siècle Perspective of the American Woman." It is especially worth recommending for those who want to delineate the social, biographical, and generic conditions of intercultural commentary, in this case the writings of the most prolific "Americanophile" and feminist (of a sort) in turn-of-the-century France. Mick Gidley delineates even more subtle conditions in "Pictorialist Elements in Edward S. Curtis's Photographic Representation of American Indians." While the social and historical "distortions" evident in the Curtis project (1907-1930) have been well-documented and explained, much less attention has been awarded their aesthetic dimensions (e.g., Curtis's debts to the pictorialist avant garde, including Coburn, Eugene, Herzog, Hinton, Kläsebier, Keiley, even Stieglitz), a gap the essay nicely fills. Carlo Kreiger follows with "The Micmac and the Question of Discourse," a testimony to the grace of Christian Kauder and other Franciscans in syncretizing "inherent Micmac communal Catholicism" with its European counterpart (even if he "did not seem to master the Micmac language" (94). The final case study is "Red Brick Houses and White Roadside Chapels: Belgian Immigrant Architecture in Door County, Wisconsin and Lyon County, Minnesota" by Carl Pansaerts. The reason these two locales are worth contrasting is the "omnipresence of Belgian architectural relics" in the first and their utter absence in the second.

The final three essays are probably best considered introductions, surveys, or editorials for newcomers to their subjects. André Kaspi cites personal experience and legal precedent to complicate the question, "Should We Learn English? Or the Dilemmas of Multiculturalism." With apologies for his position ("even as a European", p. 126) he concludes, "It would be nice if Americans regained their senses," and just accepted the inevitability and desirability of integration without homogenization. In "New World Nomadism: Exile and the Caribbean 'Architecture of Cultures,'" Bénédicte Ledent

reviews the history and literary implications of migration in the English-speaking Caribbean. Literature is his main source in outlining the consequences of great mobility and diversity among Caribbean peoples. Richard Pells closes the collection with "Culture and Foreign Policy: The American Experience in Europe Since 1945," an essay which emphasizes the importance of European tastes in restraining or refiguring U.S. influence, especially in the world of commercial entertainment.

Together these essays provide yet another call to "consider the enriching preservation of diversity within a larger unity an inevitable or most desirable goal" (9). The collection, like the world news, suggests that diversity is more apparent than unity.

University of Iowa Richard P. Horwitz

THE END OF AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal. By David M. Wrobel. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1993.

In 1855, Walt Whitman asked questions that have troubled us ever since. Tracing the age-old movement of people from Asia to Europe and across North America to the Pacific Rim, Whitman wondered what it meant to be facing west from California's shores with "the circle almost circled."

> Long having wander'd since, round the earth having wander'd,
> Now I face home again, very pleased and joyous,
> (But where is what I started out for so long ago?
> And why is it yet unfound?)[1]

At the end of the frontier road, toeing the edge of a settled continent, footloose Americans were forced to question the meaning of their wanderlust, the results of their conquest. What is the purpose of this journey and why is its end so disturbing? Where can we go when the last west is conquered? What happens to a frontier people without a frontier? These are terrifying questions for a restless, rough-hewn people who see the vanishing frontier of "free and open land" as the bedrock of their identity. In David M. Wrobel's *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal*, we learn how a host of intellectuals, writers, and public figures have tackled Whitman's piercing questions. We see how an arsenal of ideas has been used to alleviate the fear of closure and soothe the suspicion that we've diligently destroyed the very source of our uniqueness.

Masterfully, charting how the death of the frontier has troubled American minds, Wrobel's pathbreaking book offers a refreshing ideological counterpart to the much discussed New Western History. While most New Western Historians focus upon social-environmental realities, Wrobel concentrates upon ideas and perceptions—upon what older generations of American Studies frontier scholars including Perry Miller, Henry Nash Smith, Leo Marx, and Richard Slotkin unabashedly called symbols and myths. Gently chiding those who dismiss the frontier as a misleading, pernicious concept, Wrobel stresses that "the emphasis here is not when or whether the frontier closed," but rather "on the anxieties aroused in those who perceived that the frontier was closing or had closed" (viii). Whether historians celebrate or condemn the frontier experience, he later writes, "the myth of the frontier has remained an integral part of the national culture. And while it is one thing to deny the significance of the frontier itself, it is quite another to deny the importance of the frontier concept and the role it has played in the nation's development" (146).

True to his intent, Wrobel demonstrates that concern for the fading frontier has pervaded our culture, shaping social action and public policy. From the early premonitions of Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson to the latter day denials of John Kennedy and Ronald Reagan, policy makers have devised strategies to counter the inevitability of living in a "closed and static nation," as that most anxious of frontier theorists, Frederick Jackson Turner, put it.[2] Aptly labeling this collective claustrophobia, "frontier anxiety," Wrobel detects this sensibility in politicians as varied as Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Hoover, and Franklin Roosevelt, intellectuals as different as Crevecoeur, Hegel, Henry George, Alfred Mahan, Walter Weyl, and Lewis Mumford, and writers as diverse as Owen Wister, Frank Norris, Jack London, Willa Cather, John Steinbeck, and Jack Kerouac. Examining each decade between 1870 and 1940, Wrobel convincingly argues that frontier anxiety was a prime ingredient of the preservation, conservation, country life, and back-to-nature movements, and that combined with neo-Malthusian fears, it influenced nativist and imperialistic impulses and helped craft land, immigration, and foreign policy throughout the period.

Meticulously researched, lucidly written, judiciously reasoned, *The End of American Exceptionalism* is an indispensable analysis of an essential part of the national psyche. If frontier anxiety itself has simmered since the 1930s, frontier imagery continues to proliferate, becoming, in Patricia Limerick's words, "the flypaper of our mental world" and the "cultural glue" of our multicultural society.[3] Wrobel's book uncovered the angst-ridden sources of our continuing frontier fascination, and uncanny parallels between the 1890s and the 1990s—end of century nativism, xenophobia, restrictive legislation, and calls for rugged renewal—make his study even more compelling. More than a century after the official closing of the frontier and the so-called "winning" of the West, we are still searching for constructive answers to Whitman's questions. Books like *The End of American Exceptionalism* may provide glimpses of how to live in a post frontier world—how to give up dreams of boundless space and finally learn, in Robert Frost's words, "how to crowd but still be kind."[4]

California State University, Fullerton Michael Steiner

Notes

1. Walt Whitman, "Facing West from California's Shores," *Leaves of Grass and Selected Prose* (New York, 1958), 95-6.

2. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of Sections in American History* (New York, 1932), 45.

3. Patrical Nelson Limerick, "The Adventures of the Frontier in the Twentieth Century," in James R. Grosman, ed., *The Frontier in American Culture* (Berkeley, 1994), 94. Limerick's recent "travels in frontierland" provide a valuable popular culture counterpart to Wrobel's intellectual history.

4. Robert Frost, "America Is Hard to See," *Selected Poems of Robert Frost* (New York, 1968), 295.

LIVING LEGACY: How 1964 Changed America. By Joseph J. Mangano. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America. 1994.

OUT OF THE SIXTIES: Storytelling and the Vietnam Generation. By David Wyatt. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. 1993.

"By the time we got to Woodstock," Joni Mitchell announced, "we were half a million strong." Last summer, another 300,000 or 400,000 people made the trek to Woodstock, New York (actually, Saugerities), to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the original festival of love. There the Age of Aquarius met Generation X. They drank diet Pepsi and Bud Ice, frolicked in the mud and danced all night at a rave, hummed the words of the rock classics of Crosby, Stills, and Nash, and banged their bodies in the mosh pit to the grinding guitar sounds of Nine-Inch-Nails. In 1969, and again in 1994, the legions of women and men who came to Woodstock "made" history. Through their dress, song, and motion they gave meaning to the present and interpreted the past. So, too, are Joseph J. mangano and David Wyatt interested in making history. They seek to understand the current meanings of the 1960s—the ways in which the experiences of the first citizens of the Woodstock nation, including those who lie about have been there, continue to reverberate both for them and subsequent generations.

Joseph J. Mangano has sought to fulfill this complicated mission in a rather straightforward manner. He wants to explain, as the subtitle of his book indicates, "how 1964 changed America." In order to figure this out, Manango investigates six key "moments" during that year: Mississippi Freedom Summer, the crowning of Muhammad Ali as heavyweight champion of the world, Beatlemania, the showdown in the Gulf of Tonkin, the Goldwater campaign, and the publication of the Warren Commission's report on the Kennedy assassination. Each chapter follows a predictable pattern. After narrating each event, Mangano lists, quite literally, how this event changed the United States forever. The Beatles, for instance, are credited with inspiring a generation of young musicians, making rock-n-roll a big business, placing pop stars on prominent public stages and providing them with tremendous potential political clout, and creating a new youth aesthetic.

David Wyatt also explores the impact of the 1960s, or the impact of the past on the present. He has trained his ear to hear the echoes of Vietnam in the stories—or what he defines, citing Joan Didion, as the nexus between the personal and history—of some of today's foremost cultural figures of the day. He analyzes the work of filmmaker George Lucas, rock icon Bruce Springsteen, playwright Sam Sheppard, journalist Michael Herr, writers Ann Beattie, Alice Walker, Ethan Mordeen, and Sue Miller, and poets Gregory Orr and Louise Glück.

Wyatt argues that it is the "personal engagement" of each of these artists with the Vietnam War that links them to the past and to each other. Sometimes, however, it seems that the war and the cultural turmoil of the 1960s fade so far into the background of Wyatt's nuisanced readings as to become almost irrelevant. He uncovers the influences of John Milton and F. Scott Fitzgerald on these artists more clearly than anything written, said, performed, or thought about during the specific past under examination—the 1960s in the United States. Despite these occasionally awkward and out-of-place references, Wyatt is a perceptive critic and a judicious observer. He untangles the themes of love and doubt, hope and nostalgia, faith and redemption in Springsteen's working-class sagas, and he probes the gendered themes of ambivalence in Sue Miller's *The Good Mother*. Wyatt's canvass is big; he also looks at style, positioning of the author and the text, and the mass

consumption of culture. In the end, his book delivers a wide range of insights on many fronts about many matters. Rarely, however, are these directly related to Vietnam.

Whatever the relative engagement of each of these books with the 1960s, Mangano and Wyatt have reminded us about the historical process. History is about the interaction between the past and present, and about the labeling of the meanings of the past and the present. This is what Woodstock was about in 1969, and last summer, and this is what it will about on its fiftieth anniversary as well.

Drake University Bryant Simon

COSMOS CRUMBLING: American Reform and the Religious Imagination. By Robert H. Abzug. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994.

At first, it may be hard to appreciate what is novel in a book centering on evangelicalism as a source of the reform impulse in the antebellum United States. Such an emphasis was featured in classic studies like Gilbert H. Barnes's *The Anti-Slavery Impulse* (1933), Whitney Cross's *The Burned-Over District* (1950), Timothy L. Smith's *Revivalism and Social Reform* (1957), and many years before in John Humphrey Noyes's *History of American Socialism* (1870). But other works have gone behind reformers' religious preoccupations to find economic, social, and psychological motivations that Robert H. Abzug characterizes as reductionist. Except possibly for Noyes, even writers who emphasized religion have not quite focused on the "cosmic vision" and search for "sacred connection" that Abzug identifies as keys to understanding the creative energy of the originators and shapers of reform.

Perhaps two examples, out of many brilliantly chosen details throughout *Cosmos Crumbling*, will clarify what Abzug calls our attention to in this important book. In 1826 William Alcott, later to gain fame as a health reformer and expert on the family, in his struggles with illness and useless human remedies traveled to a peak in the Connecticut hills, looked out on a countryside that "seemed to me like a new world," declared his "independence with regard to those earthly props on which I had so long been wont to lean," and pledged a "new dependence on God" (169). In 1836 a more radical reformer, Angelina Grimké, explaining her conviction that slavery must be abolished before the coming of the millennium, described the great "philanthropic associations" as composing "the beautiful tints in that bow of promise which spans the arch of our moral heaven" (211). Abzug suggests, not just that reform was inspired or influenced by evangelicalism, but that reform itself expressed a religious conception of the universe that appealed powerfully to individuals who found the vision presented in the churches, inadequate and compromised. This contention yields new insights into the codification by Alcott and other "body reformers," for example, of what amounted to a "neo-Mosaic law" (171), into bold reinterpretations of Scripture proposed by Angelina and her sister Sarah Grimké, and into a host of other subjects. *Cosmos Crumbling* offers brilliant readings of many neglected texts, like Lymn Beecher on dueling and Charles Grandison Finney's memoirs. Instead of the progressive secularization of the reform impulse that other scholars detect, Abzug argues skillfully for the persistence, throughout the 1830s at least, of religious imagination.

For the most part, this is a book about creative individuals—"religious virtuosos," Abzug calls them, adapting a term from Max Weber. It says little about followers, about groups, about the less zealous and fractious, and thus does not address directly some of the interpretations of collective behavior that it calls reductionist. It focuses on New England and couches its argument in a selective narrative ("I have created...a kind of genealogy of reform cosmology," Abzug says [viii]) running from postrevolutionary hopes and fears for

America, to revivalism, temperance, sabbatrianism, manual labor, physiological reforms, abolitionism, and women's rights. New and valuable insights emerge at almost every turn; the concluding chapters on the rise of feminism are stunning. But what is omitted defines this book and its case for what was essential to reform almost as much as what is included. A very different account of reform, as a crossroads or middle ground in which persons of different outlooks negotiated with each other, might arise from a book that looked at a wider field of religious and secular reformers.

I hasten to add, however, that in his footnotes Abzug regularly takes account of the validity of other perspectives than his own. And the strength of this book may well rest in its tenacious hold on a selective, but highly revealing theme. Several recent works, published and unpublished, have begun to highlight the significance of certain reform movements, especially antislavery, as endeavors to assert the permanence of truth in a republican society inviting unfettered freedom of thought, but nowhere up to now has that argument been made so fully and clearly. *Cosmos Crumbling* deserves careful reading as a work that may well set the terms for an emerging interpretation of reform movements in America. Because of its searching attention to the importance of religion in a crucial era of historical change, it stands as an admirable example of interdisciplinary inquiry.

Vanderbilt University Lewis Perry

A PEOPLE DIVIDED: Judaism in Contemporary America. By Jack Wertheimer. New York: BasicBooks. 1993.

In the half century since the end of World War II, American Jewry has undergone at least three major transformations and been explained by social scientists using diverse models. From the mid-1940s throughout the 1950s American Jewry appeared to exemplify what Will Herberg termed "the American Way of Life." As Herberg saw it, popular religion took one of three acceptable shapes—Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish. He himself advocated a more classical and critical religion than any of the three Americanized forms. In the 1960s and 1970s, American Jewry espoused a more particularistic sense of religiousness and a more dramatic critique of Americanism, evidenced by growing observance of Jewish practices, increased concern with the State of Israel, and a militant commitment to "Never Again" allow a destruction as great as that of the Nazi Holocaust. Some analysts regard this as a resurgent survivalism, others as the growth of two new myths—those of the Holocaust and of Israel Reborn, still others as a sign that the Jew is a "still distinctive" minority in America. By the 1980s and 1990s, Jewish Orthodoxy had emerged as a triumphantly vigorous part of American and Israeli life. The problems this posed for non-Orthodox Jewish groups combined with internal problems to lead to a period of self-criticism, re-evaluation, and inner turmoil. Some students of the period note how Orthodoxy turned from leaders who accommodated modern culture to those who resisted it; others point to rampant individualism and voluntarism in American religiosity.

Jack Wertheimer's book surveys these developments which led, he feels, to the present situation of a divided religious community. Scholars of American religion will be rewarded when looking at his book by finding copious quantitative analysis of religious demographics, plentiful anecdotal evidence of historical transformations in the major religious movements, and a generous investigation of several central issues in American Jewish life such as those concerning women, sexuality, marriage, religious self-presentation, and the problematics of Jewish self-identification. Wertheimer often raises precisely those questions which need addressing: why are Jews atypically American in their apathy

toward Jewish religiousness; how has the dialectic between religious minimalism and religious renewal shaped the major movements in American Jewish life; how has "intermarriage" provided both a common theme and a source of fragmentation among competing American Jewish groups.

Wertheimer's theoretical discussions of these problems, however, is less promising. He never offers a sustained critique of older paradigms (Was Herberg's analysis wrong? Is the division between resisters and accommodators too simplistic? Is the idea of a new double myth of the Holocaust and the reborn Israel misleading?). His own analysis often indicates but does not develop a theme; he uses the concept of boundaries as indicators of identity to explain contemporary Conservative Judaism without discussing the anthropological debate on this idea from Frederik Bart in 1969 to A. David Napier more recently; he relies on a single construct—the dichotomy of apathy and renewal—which may be useful in looking at how some individuals respond to Jewish religion, but is less useful in explaining the fragmentation within various Jewish movements or the antagonism between those movements. In sum, Wertheimer introduces readers to important data, raises vital questions and voices crucial theoretical concerns; all students of American religion can profit from his study, although they will also want to move beyond his suggestive presentation.

University of Kansas S. Daniel Breslauer

JUDAISM FACES THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A Biography of Mordecai M. Kaplan. By Mel Scult. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1993.

Most historians and observers of the American Jewish scene have pegged Mordecai M. Kaplan (1881-1983) as the paradigmatic American Jew. Over the course of his lengthy life, the rabbi, educator, philosopher, writer, and activist seemed to be everywhere that American Jewry found itself. Wherever a debate resounded about how to be a Jew in America, Mordecai Kaplan, in person, or through the medium of his ideas, was present.

As a young boy he joined the legions of eastern European Jews who emigrated to the United States. A child of New York city, he made the move from orthodox *yeshivoth* (academies of learning) into the Jewish Theological Seminary, which ultimately evolved into the bulwark of the emerging Conservative movement. His life and career, in addition, touched on professionalized Jewish education, Reform Judaism, Zionism, and Hebraism. He is credited, accurately or not, with founding or fostering almost every durable innovation in American Judaism: the bat mitzvah, the Jewish community center movement, among others, and without any question, he single-handedly constructed Reconstructionist Judaism, considered to be the most American of the Jewish dominations. He boldly rewrote some of the basic Jewish texts, trying to bring them into greater harmony with American democratic life, and his revised prayerbook became a storm center of controversy. His *magnum opus, Judaism as a Civilization* (1935) has been considered the classic statement of the problematic meaning of Judaism in the modern world, with America as the most extreme example of modernity.

Given Kaplan's longevity and productivity Mel Scult took on a hefty chore. Scult has attempted in this basically successful biography to link Kaplan's life with the development of American Judaism. He set out to chronicle at one and the same time Kaplan the person, Kaplan the intellectual, and Kaplan the community activist. Scult traces these three "Kaplans" from his earliest childhood in Lithuania through the mid-1930s and the publication of *Judaism as a Civilization.* Scult's biography displays a healthy tension

between these three facets and demonstrates the complexities of doing biography in general and of studying someone who both "acted" and "thought" (let alone someone who lived vigorously until age 102!). Scult's success lies primarily in demonstrating how much Kaplan functioned as an actor and a thinker, how interrelated in his life were the realm of the community and the realm of intellectual discourse. Scult proves, although it is not clear that this was his goal, the ideas and action did not occupy separate realms for Mordecai Kaplan. Each depended upon the other.

This is a book based on solid scholarship. Scult has brought together for the first time in one volume the life (or half of it) of this important figure, going beyond vague attributions of Kaplan's influence and looking instead at what he actually did. Scult conducted extensive interviews with Kaplan himself, Kaplan's daughters, and other associates, and he has meticulously made his way through the voluminous Kaplan diaries and extensive published works. The research here then is prodigious and Scult's work a real accomplishment.

The book certainly has its flaws. The writing is less than sprightly and more significantly, the book lacks a central thesis, a sharply crafted argument which would help readers understand why some material is included and other left out. Most curiously, the author basically ends the story in the mid-1930s with the publication of *Judaism as a Civilization.* Not only did Kaplan go on to live basically for another half century, but world Jewry went on to experience some of the most cataclysmic events of modern history: the Holocaust and the creation of an independent Jewish state. Was Kaplan's world view so fixed that these events made no impact? Did he no longer innovate, influence students, write, and organize? Perhaps more seriously, the fundamental issues of motivation and causality are never really tackled. Why did Mordecai Kaplan think in terms that others had not? Why did he risk communal sanction by acting in ways that others dared not? Unfortunately despite the excellent research and the impressive material here, we still do not know.

In his "Introduction" Scult notes, "There was a transparent intentionality to his life. He was unfailingly devoted to solving his primary problem: how to save the Jewish people. Why he thought it was *his* problem is not certain...." This unanswered issue could have appeared just as easily at the end of the book. After reaching the conclusion readers still will not have a clear idea about this larger problem and as such Kaplan will remain an enigma.

University of Maryland, College Park Hasia R. Diner

CHURCH PEOPLE IN THE STRUGGLE: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement, 1950-1970. By James F. Findlay, Jr. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993.

Leonard Sweet has appropriately assessed Professor Findlay's work as "truly a pathbreaking study, the work of painstaking and meticulous research." Findlay's mining of archives, as well as extensive use of interviews, has brought together material not to be found in any form. Well supported interpretations enliven a fascinating set of sources.

The author utilizes the theological concept of "*kairos*" in asserting that a particular group of Christians in the United States, those that involved with and committed to the National Council of Churches, found themselves at a moment of heightened expectations, a time of opportunity requiring a response to a divine offer of new possibilities, in the two decades covered in this study. This "*kairos*" is traced through activist origins, 1950-1963,

into church involvement with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and several levels of action in Mississippi, including cooperative efforts with local and national civil rights organizations. Changing circumstances in organization and direction of the National Council and its component parts are traced, as well as the effect of the "black Manifesto" on NCC-related churches, and major shifts in societal developments outside the churches.

Focussing on the NCC's activities in Mississippi, particularly in the "Delta Ministry," he reconstructs a period of involvement by Protestant Christians (primarily in church leadership positions) that has produced a wide range of results in both the secular and church-related worlds of relationships between races. Although there is much to be documented as part of this "*kairos*" period, Findlay seldom strays far beyond the work of National Council of Churches' agencies, specific individuals, and organizations with whom they had close working relationships. This focus produces both a significant scholarly strength and an unavoidable weakness. It is currently impossible, for instance, to describe in any detail what was going on within member denominations, on national, regional, or state levels, that may have contributed to or detracted from the efforts of the NCC's Commission on Religion and Race and the various civil rights groups with which they worked. Any full accounting of *Church People in the Struggle*, however, will eventually require an analysis of those sources with a thoroughness equivalent to that exerted by Findlay in this study.

Findlay asserts that a "new breed" of church leaders came together by 1963 who "sought to forge a new public stance for the mainstream churches regarding racial issues, to involve the churches directly in support of the demands of black Americans that the latter be given long-denied political and economic rights and be admitted fully into the mainstream of American life." (37) At the same time, he briefly acknowledges that this "breed" is firmly rooted in an earlier "Social Gospel" period which, although it had relatively little to say about race relations, was deeply committed to involvement of the institutional churches in social change. He likewise demonstrates the demise of this involvement in the early 1970s, comparing it to "the national approach to race," summarized as "a brief commitment to racial equality in the mid-sixties, then a growing white backlash coupled with a consuming war in Southeast Asia that eventually snuffed out hopes raised and social change begun" (159).

This historian offers some particularly helpful insights regarding successful use by "liberal churches" of certain political tactics in this period that were later to be used by the "Moral majority." Were he writing in 1995, he would surely recognize even more successful adaptation by the "Christian Coalition." Likewise, his portrayal of "War on Poverty" programs and their reversals as "democracy enhanced ended in democracy undermined," (128) offers a disturbing reminder that many of the twists and turns of "the movement" clearly illustrate the delicate, experimental nature of this democracy.

Study of this book requires time and effort—both well rewarded! One-third of the text is devoted to *Notes*. As one who lived and worked through this period, this reviewer finds a careful study of those notes to be absolutely essential, and would urge any scholar of this period to take advantage of the opportunity to learn from Findlay's disciplined analysis of sources. The author's extensive use of organization and personal files and archives, and his extreme detail in specifying location of documents, will be of immeasurable assistance to subsequent researchers, as will be his identification of the archive location for his own interview and research notes.

Findlay concludes that a "beginning" toward a "vision of true Christian brotherhood" was made during this period by white mainstream Protestants, "pressed yet supported on

many sides by black people." He has made a monumental contribution to the fact that "The historical record of their struggles in the 1960s...deserves to be remembered, as an essential precondition of any effort at reconstruction in the future" (225).

University of Kansas Robert L. Shelton

NEW DAY IN BABYLON: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965-75. By William L. Van Deburg. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992.

What was Black power? William L. Van Deburg attempts to answer this query in *New Day in Babylon* and I will say now the response is mixed. As Van DeBurg shows, the concept of Black Power was elusive and cannot be subsumed under one definition. That is, Black Power had multiple meaning depending on who was using the phrase. For example, the slogan connoted and denoted different things when used by Huey Newton and the Black Panthers than it did for Ron Karenga and the members of US. What, then, was Black Power?

According to Van Deburg, "...Black Power stood for more than the acquisition of a few additional civil rights guarantees. Black Power was a revolutionary cultural concept that demanded important changes in existing patterns of American cultural hegemony" (27). In support of this generalization, Van Deburg looks at four forms of Black Power and he groups these movements under the rubrics of pluralism and nationalist. Advocates of Black Power Pluralism "...concentrated their efforts in an area broadly defined as 'community control.' They hoped to generate Black Power within the economic, educational, and political institutions of their communities" (113). The nationalist camp of Black Power advocates was divided into territorial separatist, revolutionary nationalist, and cultural nationalist. Having lived through this era myself, I found this book to be fascinating. Van Deburg does an excellent job of describing the various lines of disagreement within the Black Power camp. At times I found the book too descriptive and wished for more analysis. For example, did the territorial separatist really think the United States would allow them to create a separate black state within its borders? What, for example, did this fantasy say about these people's understanding of the Civil War?

Indeed, looking back on the Black Power movement, one is forced to ask the question, was this phase of the black liberation struggle viable? Was Black Power the answer to the shortcomings of the Civil Rights movement or was it solely an exercise in rhetorical posturing? Van Deburg neither raises nor answers these questions—and his silence about them weakens his fine monograph. But these are minor criticisms of an important, well-researched book.

University of California, Davis Clarence E. Walker

RACE IN NORTH AMERICA: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview. By Audrey Smedley. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press. 1993.

It is fitting that an anthropologist should have written a history of race as a "worldview," given the discipline's historic focus on defining, deploying, and revising race. While building on a vast historical literature, Audrey Smedley's book is not a history of racism or of images of the Other; rather, it traces the very idea of race as a mode of classifying humans and assigning social identity, and links various permutations and transformations of that idea with changing historical contexts. Smedley also hopes to explain the widening divergence between those scientists who now advocate dispensing

with race altogether, and American social experience, for which race shows small sign of disappearing as a meaningful term. Perhaps, the author seems to suggest, a public better informed about the historical contingency of the race concept would be more willing to dispense with it.

In just over three hundred pages, Smedley guides the reader from initial European contacts with various Others to recent debates among population geneticists, ecologists, and anthropologists over the efficacy of retaining the category of race (charmingly styled by Ashley Montagu "the Phlogiston of our time" [296]). Smedley challenges the assumption that race is an objectively-derived scientific concept, and insists that we understand it as a historically-developed worldview, a way of interpreting difference that is distinct from (though not necessarily independent of) pigmentation and other visible biophysical features. In British demonizations of the recalcitrant Irish as "savages" were already to be found the five ideological components in Smedley's concept of race. Race was a way to classify humans as members of biologically-distinct groups; to rank such groups on a hierarchical scale; to characterize members' putative inner qualities as correlates of their external, physical features; to account, through hereditarian explanations, for the intergenerational persistence of racially-defined traits and social identities; and to insist, above all, on the separate origins (whether naturalistically or divinely orchestrated) and absolute immutability of racial boundaries. Having established this theoretical framework, Smedley fluently traces the development of race as a framing device through the familiar eras and episodes of U.S. history.

The author intends this synthetic work as a textbook suitable for courses on race, as a stimulus to scholars to rethink their understanding of race and pursue fresh lines of research, and as a contribution to public discussion. In other words, she hopes to reach everybody. Yet the book's greatest value will probably be to students, who will benefit from Smedley's synthesis of enormous amounts of material into a sophisticated but generally readable form, and who will be provoked by her analysis of the category of race, which will usually differ widely from their received assumptions based upon social experience (or lack of it). Intellectually-ambitious laypersons will find the book enlightening but challenging and "academic." And specialists, who will be familiar with the main contours of the story and with the secondary works that form its building blocks, will find the book useful as a reference work and source for lecture material, and for its occasional suggestions (often embedded in the endnotes) about new questions that scholars might address. Finally, members of all three constituencies will recognize the impossibility of predicting what impact changing scientific views of race may actually have on their broader social context; those who share the author's hope that we are nearing "the beginning of the end of the racial worldview" (12) may, in an era that consigns its demonized and racialized "underclass" to the wrong side of the bell curve, find even such measured optimism to be a bit premature.

University of Colorado Mark Pittenger

THE DIVIDING PATHS: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution. By Tom Hatley. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1993.

This is an intriguing study of two cultures as their interactions varied over the extended period from the last half of the seventeenth century to the Hopewell Treaty of 1785. The focus is on the "Dividing Paths" of the two groups with efforts to give greater attention to the Cherokee experience which has often been neglected in previous studies.

While there are significant differences in kinship lines, the stated purpose is to explore the contrast of "the male and female cultures—distinctive patterns of authority, myth, and economy—of Cherokee and white society" (xiii). The places of "power and dependency" are also considered with efforts to given adequate attention to the weak as well as the strong in the tensions of power and powerlessness.

The author has completed extensive research in both primary and secondary sources for human reactions in both cultures. He has also examined valuable cartographical records to provide impressive geographical knowledge of the specific areas of both Indian and white settlements with resulting friction points. Numerous quotations from valuable sources are included throughout the volume, although occasionally they tend to impede the flow of the narrative.

The distinctive Cherokee settlements of the four major divisions are identified for the Overhill, Lower, Middle, and Valley Towns with political authority centered primarily in autonomous villages. The English made several efforts to impose central control over the tribe such as the designation by Alexander Cuming of Moytoy as "Cherokee emperor" in 1730 and the same identification of Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter) in treaties following the Cherokee War of 1759-61. Yet the conflict within Cherokee society for dominance of mother towns and competition among Cherokee leaders in diplomacy with South Carolina are not adequately explored. Part of this story can be found in the numerous Indian "talks" still tucked away in manuscript collections in depositories such as the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, the Clements Library in Ann Arbor, and the correspondence of colonial officials with British imperial ministers. Many of these reflect the strong economic motive for more trade with the colonists. The long career of Attakullakulla in his zig-zag course across the path as friend or critic still awaits definitive analysis.

On the white side of the path the author provides a sympathetic evaluation of Governor James Glen in Indian policy and an effective criticism of Governor William Henry Lyttelton with his inept decisions which contributed to the outbreak of the Cherokee War. There are also impressive descriptions of the role of Patrick Calhoun in the poignant reactions to Indian attacks of 1759 commemorated by the "Long Cane Massacre Stone" and of the "split-image" career of Andrew Pickens. On the red side of the path the gender role of women, the status of *métis*, and the important influence of myth in Cherokee society receive impressive attention. The argument that the white frontiersman's knowledge of the important role of Indian women enhanced his hostility toward Native Americans is not entirely convincing. The vigorous challenge to accommodation to whites by Tsi.yu Gansi.ni (Dragging Canoe) is clearly delineated as he protested land cessions and led his Chickamauga followers away to champion the separate status of Cherokee society.

This study is a commendable examination of the complex interactions of two societies in which the author concluded that each "had served as a mirror for the other, revealing weaknesses and strengths in an intense comparative light, but at the same time distorting the underlying humanity of each" (241). Future efforts may be able to focus even more desired attention to the red side of the path.

University of Kansas W. Stitt Robinson

MARGINAL SIGHTS: Staging the Chinese in America. By James S. Moy. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 1993.

This volume is not, as its title and the series in which it appears might lead one to believe, a history of the depiction of the Chinese on American stages, nor is it a history of

Chinese American theatre. It is, rather, an account of some of the ways that Chinese have been misrepresented in works written for the stage and films. Unlike the first serious work in this genre, William P. Fenn's *Ah Sin and His Brethren in American Literature* (1933), which was a systematic if pedestrian account, Moy is haphazard and sprinkles his work with epigraphs from Derrida and Foucault, Dickens and Theodore Roosevelt. A majority of the chapters have appeared in journals, and the work is more a collection of essays around a general theme than a monograph.

The author has a weak if trendy grasp of history, believing, for example, that "the military solution of the native American problem created labor shortages that led to the importation of black slaves" (7-8). Some of the chapters are quite perceptive. Most interesting to me was an extended account of a hitherto little noticed play by Mark Twain and Bret Harte, *Ah Sin* (1877), a spin-off of Harte's much misunderstood poem. But Moy's gloss of the original is flawed: he says simply that "Ah Sin wins at poker by cheating," when, in fact, the point is that Ah Sin outcheats a cheater (fn. 17, 145). Another chapter deals with a penny dreadful by one Henry Grim called *"The Chinese Must Go": A Farce in Four Acts* (1879) which was probably never produced. Moy's limited reading in the vast anti-Chinese literature misleads him so that he believes that "the focus on illegal Asian female immigration and an amoral sexual economy" significantly influenced the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Acts (47). A chapter on the 1893 Chicago World's Fair ignores the recent scholarship. He believed that the "yellow peril" arose only after the Russo-Japanese War (83) when, of course, it was created by Wilhelm II's vaporings about a Chinese "gelbe Gefahr" a decade earlier.

A chapter on Eugene O'Neill's unsuccessful play, *Marco's Millions*, which treated the Venetian traveler as a precursor of Sinclair Lewis's George F. Babbitt, has a few aperçus, but needs to be informed by knowledge of O'Neill's several dramatic excursions along the color line. Later chapters glance at movies, largely through the career of Anna May Wong and at a Fu Manchu film as shown on cable television. A chapter titled "Flawed Self-Representations: Authenticating Chinese American Marginality" focuses on two plays by contemporary Asian American playwrights: David Henry Hwang's *M. Butterfly* and Philip Kan Gotand's *Yankee Dawg You Die.* Moy briefly looks at Arthur Dong's *Forbidden City*, a short documentary film about a Chinese American nightclub in San Francisco's pre-WW II Chinatown which interviews aging performers who speak about how they wanted to break stereotypes, e.g., Chinese can't dance. Moy's elitist comment gets it all wrong:

> The film suggests that those Chinese Americans who performed ... could indeed dance and sing, but ... they were generally inferior to the real American product (128).

Those performers, of course, were "the real American product," as well as one variant of the Chinese American experience. To hold otherwise is a curious form of the very "Orientalism" that Moy purports to deconstruct.

The book is well illustrated with effective if largely familiar anti-Chinese cartoons and reproductions of John Kuo Wei Tchen's versions of Arnold Genthe's photographs. The Iowa Press has produced a clean and attractive volume, but the lack of an index is at least a misdemeanor.

University of Cincinnati Roger Daniels

CROSSING OVER THE LINE: Legislating Morality and the Mann Act. By David Langum. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1994.

Crossing Over the Line is a detailed legal history of the Mann Act, or the White Slave Traffic Act, which was passed by Congress in 1910. David Langum places the Act—its genesis and its varied forms of enforcement—in historical context. He also treats the Mann Act as a historical case study, arguing against the efficacy and legal propriety of coercive legislation, especially in regard to what he essentially characterizes as private moral decisions.

The Mann Act, Langum argues, arose from Progressive era concerns about prostitution, which served as a "flashpoint" and mask for more fundamental fears about urbanization, immigration, and women's sexuality and gender roles. The Progressive emphasis on expertise and legislative solutions to social problems was twinned with public hysteria (stemming from sensationalist press accounts and exacerbated by the statements of "irresponsible" government officials) about "white slavery."

Congress aimed the legislation specifically at white slavery, and the essence of the bill was to criminalize the transportation of women across state lines for commercial prostitution. However, the bill included more general language; it also prohibited interstate transportation of women for "debauchery" or "for any other immoral purpose." Significantly, initial challenges concerned the government's right to regulate business, not the government's right to regulate sexuality.

The initial enforcement focused primarily on commercial prostitution and (though rare) cases of white slavery, and also provided opportunities for the (Federal) Bureau of Investigation to extend its role and power. However, because of some highly publicized cases and public pressure, enforcement was increasingly extended to non-commercial violations. According to Langum, the government was pushed to a more extreme stance than it had intended.

The key episode was in *Caminetti v. United States* (1917), when the Supreme Court, rejecting alternative readings of the Act, made a "conscious decision to expand the application of the Act" to include "private immoralities" (118). The years between 1917 and 1928 saw a "morals crusade," in which large numbers of consenting adults were prosecuted and sentenced for non-commercial violations of the Mann Act (i.e. adulterous couples, even unmarried couples taking a vacation). This broader interpretation of the law gave local U.S. attorneys excessive discretionary power, created opportunities for blackmail, and also often victimized women (the class the bill aimed to protect) by denying them geographical mobility and control over their own sexual relations. By the 1930s, the focus in enforcement had shifted back toward prostitution, except in the case of specially targeted individuals: prominent black men who dated white women (Jim Johnson and Chuck Berry); men "known" to be criminals who could not be convicted of some larger crime; or men who had espoused unpopular political views (Charlie Chaplin).

Langum sees in the Mann Act a "model of the kind of statute that ill-serves the country." He argues that it is "a splendid example of the failure of democracy and the federal government," in which the government stepped beyond its proper role in the liberal state, allowing "majoritarian morality" to oppress "those whose harmless conduct did not conform."

While Langum's main interest is in legal history, his work is also of use to cultural/social historians of sexuality. His characterizations of social change are oversimple at times, as when "The Sexual Revolution" appears on the scene in a sort of *deus ex machina*

role. He frequently reminds readers that many people in the past really did believe that heterosexual intercourse between unmarried adults was wrong, but his argument hinges on distinctions between commercial and non-commercial sex, even as he suggests how blurry the line was to many people. While a somewhat more nuanced portrayal of cultural change and negotiation would strengthen this work, Langum offers both a very good legal history and a clear demonstration of one of the ways in which normative cultural definitions matter: as they are embodied in legislation, they can create very real consequences in individual lives.

Barnard College Beth Bailey

MOTHER-WORK: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890-1930. By Molly Ladd-Taylor. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1994.

Writing in the immediate aftermath of the election of 1994, the reviewer of a book on the origins of the welfare system must pause to contemplate how difficult of resolution this public policy dilemma has proven to be, how politically fraught, and how painfully inadequate the system has been to the needs of the women and children who are, most frequently, its intended beneficiaries. What is especially troubling is the fact that for a good many years conservative Republicans have been able to run against putative "welfare cheats," while those who are committed to the efficacy of social programs have scrambled to find the success stories that will justify the usually underfunded programs' survival.

No doubt spurred on by this level of public attention to the issue, a good many talented scholars have been devoting their attention to the birth of the welfare state. The last five years have seen the publication of a plethora of studies by Linda Gordon, Theda Skocpol, Robyn Muncy, and Sonya Michel and Seth Koven, to name some of the more prominent. Our understanding of welfare has been vastly enriched by this outpouring, in particular by the focus on the gendered dimensions of the subject.

But this richness also constitutes a problem for one who publishes after the first wave of work has appeared. How will a new book on any subject that is a "hot" topic of research advance the field, and,if it does not appear to do so in any material way, why bother? Such questions always lurk in the mind of the reader of a "second wave" work.

Molly Ladd-Taylor's *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890-1930* is a solid and useful work that would have appeared to better advantage had it appeared earlier. This is because it does not offer dramatic new insights in to the origins of welfare. Yet what it does, it does very well.

Ladd-Taylor posits that there was a relationship between the "mother-work" that many women performed in the home in the early twentieth century and their advocacy of a "maternalist" ideology that supported public health programs, education, and welfare services outside the home. Dividing the women into three groups—sentimental maternalists most closely identified with the Parent-Teacher Association; progressive maternalists allied with the U.S. Children's Bureau; and feminists affiliated with the National Woman's Party—she provides an elegant parsing of the differences and similarities among these groups.

Sentimental maternalists played an important role in mobilizing support for grass-roots child welfare programs, but they lost ground as the field became increasingly professionalized, Ladd-Taylor contends. About the latter two groups she says (97f):

> In the end, progressive maternalists improved conditions for some poor mothers and created new careers for educated women, but they

> failed to make real and long-lasting change in mothers' work and status. As long as they were maternalists, wedded to nineteenth-century ideas about women's special aptitude for child care and men's singular role as providers, they could not have done otherwise. Unfortunately...feminists who challenged maternalist ideas about gender difference and the family wage also failed to sustain a political strategy empowering to mothers.

These are judicious comments, and they accord well with the thrust of the field of women's history. But as Alice Kessler-Harris has argued in a review of books by Gordon and Muncy that appeared in the Spring 1993 issue of *Radical History Review*, maybe the problem with the alleged maternalist origins of the welfare state was more fundamental than Ladd-Taylor's analysis would suggest. Maybe, says Kessler-Harris, "powerful groups of women, which claim to speak on behalf of working women and their families, ... serve their own class interests under the banner of protecting 'motherhood,' and family life in general" (129), a comment that could apply to *Mother-Work* as well as to the books being reviewed by Kessler-Harris.

There is, thus, a left critique of the work on maternalism and welfare, one that indicts the program of these well-intentioned women for being fatally flawed, because it supposedly served the needs of middle-class women themselves better than those of its intended beneficiaries. Perhaps at this juncture of our national history, academic historians are also going to have to come to grips with critiques of welfare that start from a different set of premises altogether, premises that do not include the desirability of maximizing public responsibility for child and maternal welfare. Politics is the art of the possible, it is said, and the early twentieth-century middle-class maternalists' program may have demarcated the outer limits of what was possible in the individualistic United States. Should this be the case, Ladd-Taylor is too hard on, rather than too uncritical of, the mother-workers.

University of California, Berkeley Glenna Matthews

WOMEN AND TEXAS HISTORY: Selected History. Edited by Fane Downs and Nancy Baker Jones. Austin: Texas State Historical Association. 1993.

ON WISCONSIN WOMEN: Working for Their Rights from Settlement to Suffrage. By Genevieve G. McBride. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1994.

Both *Women and Texas History* and *On Wisconsin Women* offer women's historians detailed stores about women active at the state and community level. Both will be widely read by historians and non-historians and used to further research seeking to include women in the histories of their respective states. Both, however, illustrate the problems as well as the promise of local narratives in women's history.

Fane Downs and Nancy Baker Jones have compiled an anthology of papers first given at a 1990 conference on the history of women in Texas, part of an impressive series of events promoting the topic in the state. Proclaiming that Texas women's history is a "genre unto itself," the editors stress the innovative quality of the essays they include. They see their anthology as moving beyond "compensatory" and "contribution" history and beyond "feminist history." Despite these claims, however, the essays are most successful as descriptive, fact-laden narratives, a point Elizabeth Fox-Genovese applauds in her keynote address from the conference.

Most of the essays describe Anglo club women who helped bring Progressive reforms to Texas. Others examine wives in oil camps, school teachers, and women writers. Two focus on Hispanic women and another describes images of women published in a magazine written for urban blacks in the 1950s. The editors note the lack of scholarship on Native and African American women,but fail to explore its implications. Only Judith McArthur and Paul Lucko adequately place Texas women in the context of national history and historiography. Even more troubling, authors often accept unquestioningly the ideologies of the middle and upper-class white women who are their subjects, praising them uncritically without addressing their limitations.

On Wisconsin Women by Genevieve McBride carefully documents the struggles of Anglo women to achieve their "rights" from the time of their arrival in the state before the Civil War to the passage of woman suffrage at the national level in 1920. It will be valuable to others doing Wisconsin history. Despite its meticulous research, however, the book displays problems similar to those of *Women in Texas History*. Although McBride provides some national context, her reliance on women's historians who wrote several decades ago weakens her book. Issues such as small-town culture, racist comments by club women, and opposition to both temperance and women's suffrage by brewers and immigrants never become rooted in the social and demographic realities of Wisconsin. In McBride's mind, as in the minds of the upper-class white clubwomen on whom she focuses, women's rights merge imperceptibly into the right to reform others.

The daughter of Wisconsin journalists and herself a professor of public relations and women's studies, McBride chooses to write a "how to do it book" based on what she sees as the innovative use of journalism by Wisconsin women. Readers, however, receive little comparative evidence to establish the women's uniqueness. More ironically, McBride recounts a dismal history of fifty years of repeated defeats and damaging infighting by the women whose public relations style she asks readers to accept. Limited citations also make the book problematic for scholars.

Taken together, these books provide narratives of women who assumed positions of leadership in their own states, but these stories are seldom analyzed. Despite Fox-Genovese's hopes that the stories of a variety of women will enable historians to avoid the extremes of total subjectivity, the actual writings exhibit what she abhors: over-attention to a "women's culture" which claims to unite all women while depicting only the elite. If local accounts are to contribute to the new conceptualizations which Fox-Genovese, Downs, and Jones seek, they must not gloss over differences among women. Local historians writing narratives which acknowledge the complexities of women's history need to have read widely enough in the field to frame questions dealing more explicitly with rhetoric and power than these volumes have managed to do.

Virginia Wesleyan College Marilyn Dell Brady

WOMEN IN WAITING IN THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT: Life on the Home Frontier. By Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1994.

With *Women in Waiting in the Westward Movement: Life on the Home Frontier*, Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith hope to address a neglected question in western American history: what about the women who remained at home while their husbands went west? In many ways, *Women in Waiting* reads like a sequel to Lillian Schlissel's 1982 classic *Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey*. Those women went west with their families; these stayed home for a while before following their husbands. In Schlissel's work the

adventure is on the trail, but Peavy and Smith make it clear that women at home could find it equally harrowing to enter the male-dominated world of finances and legal suits. Based primarily on letters exchanged by husbands and wives, *Women in Waiting* gives us greater insight into the lives of those involved in the westward migration.

In the first chapter, "Families in Flux," Peavy and Smith attempt to synthesize the vast amount of information they found in letters, memoirs, and historical records. According to their findings, many "single" men who traveled west left wives and children behind. Although most men stated that they were seeking a better future for their wives and children, they frequently left them in dire circumstances back home. Since negative forces motivated many of the journeys, wives were often left to face creditors alone. Sometimes the wives even sent money to their husbands. In general, wives learned to make their own decisions about matters that hitherto had been part of an unknown masculine world. Those familiar with John Mack Faragher's *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* might recognize that just as conceptions of women's work changed over the course of the trail, women who remained behind experienced a similar restructuring of traditional labor divisions.

After the initial chapter synthesizing data, the authors put together biographical sketches of six couples and their experiences. Abiah Hiller comes across as a women of immense talent, intelligence, and common sense; she was more than equal to the task of providing for the family while her husband William tried his luck at mining. Almira Stearns spent less time waiting in the East but found herself running a hotel alone in Oregon while her husband Daniel tried his hand at mining and cattle. Sara Yesler joined her husband Henry in Seattle for what evolved into a prosperous life, but they suffered over the death of their young son George, left behind to get an education. Back in Minnesota, Harriet Godfrey faced more dangers than her husband Ard when the Santee Sioux rose up in 1862 and began attacking white settlers. Emma Christie struggled with overwhelming financial troubles that eventually forced her and her children to take lodging in empty granaries until they could join David in Montana. But in many ways, the most compelling story is that of Augusta and Clark Shipman. Unlike the previously mentioned couples, Augusta and Clark had a troubled marriage and their eight-year separation was in many ways a personal choice for Clark. Adding to their story are the voices of their children, as they traveled back and forth between their parents and began writing letters. The Shipman story clearly conveys how westward expansion affected all members of the family.

Women in Waiting succeeds in what it sets out to do. It informs us of what some women did while they waited for their husbands. As the first major work on this subject it cannot be faulted except, perhaps, for the title. "Women in Waiting" is misleading in two ways: the passive connotation contradicts the intentions of the authors, and it could just as easily be a monograph about domestics on the frontier.

Future historians dealing with this subject should consider the parallel situation of the wives of seafaring men. Whaling trips could take up to three years, and wives of seamen learned to run homes with absentee husbands. Unlike "women in waiting," this is not an unexplored field.

Some readers may find themselves wishing that *Women in Waiting* noted the women's achievements a bit more, rather than continually reiterating their difficulties. Acknowledging their struggles is crucial, obviously, but Peavy and Smith understate the fact that these women *did* persevere. This reviewer would have liked some discussion about evident changes in the women's self-esteem or confidence as they became more familiar in their roles as "widows." The biographical sketches of Albiah Hiller and the

Shipman women also make it clear that some women not only expected to earn wages but excelled to meet the challenge. It is too easy to say that these wives suffered because they had to take on nontraditional roles. It is to their merit that these women deserve a little more faith from this modern audience.

College of William and Mary Renée M. Sentilles

NOT JUNE CLEAVER: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960. Edited by Joanne Meyerowitz. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1994.

A dozen or more years ago, students approached me and a history colleague with whom I often taught American Studies courses, asking us to offer a course on the 1950s. We declined: the decade of the 1950s seemed both too recent and too bland; besides, we were reluctant to teach our own childhoods. Much has changed since then. A number of cultural historians have helped to bring the postwar period into focus, revealing the complexity of its tensions between the Cold War and suburban domesticity, the Civil Rights movement and placid television images, the bikini and the apron. *Not June Cleaver* represents the most ambitious effort to date to see postwar America not as a calm, controlled backwater between World War II and the social upheavals of the 1960s, but instead as a transitional period filled with numerous departures from the idealized "norm" epitomized by television's "Leave It To Beaver."

Studies of the 1940s and 1950s have gone through three successive stages, especially with regard to the experience of women during those decades. From the vantage point of the 1960s and 1970s, women of the earlier decades seemed as uniformly conformist (albeit seething underneath) as portrayed in situation comedies, the pages of women's magazines, and *The Feminine Mystique*. The next wave of historical scholarship examined the cultural, political, and institutional forces that promoted the domestic ideal for middle-class women. In *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap*, Stephanie Coontz demonstrates that instead of being the culmination of years of tradition, the cozy nuclear family of postwar America was in fact a departure from earlier patterns, created in large part by government-backed mortgage loans and a consumer-oriented economy designed to create jobs. A few years earlier, Elaine Tyler May's *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* focused on the forces of "containment" that made the family into a bulwark against Communism and the threat of nuclear war.

While such studies retain their validity, they are concentrated primarily on the white middle class, and as Joanne Meyerowitz reminds us, "in the years following World War II, many women were not white, middle-class, married, and suburban; and many white, middle-class, married, suburban women were neither wholly domestic nor quiescent" (2). It is thus Meyerowitz's intention in this collection of essays to initiate a third phase of historical assessment of women's experience in the postwar period—a phase that moves the historian's lens away from June Cleaver to women of other races, classes, sexual orientations, and aspirations. The result is a collection of fifteen essays that range widely over America's geography, ethnic groups, and class structure to argue that women's experience was anything but uniformly a matter of slipcovers, casseroles, and sublimation. If there is a single overriding thesis in *Not June Cleaver*, it is that the period from 1945 to 1960 featured both continuations of earlier formulations of women's lives and numerous seeds of the women's movement supposedly ignited by *The Feminine Mystique*.

Not June Cleaver is divided into four sections of between three and five essays each, and each section implicitly calls into question a prevailing generalization. The first is that

whereas large numbers of women entered paid employment during the war years, in 1945 they were replaced by returning servicemen and went home to have babies. While this was true for some women, especially those working in defense industries, many others not only continued or began to work for wages, but also forced improvements in their working conditions. Susan Rimby Leighow's "An 'Obligation to Participate': Married Nurses' Labor Force Participation in the 1950s," for example, demonstrates that the enormous need for nurses in the postwar period not only enticed many married women into the work force, but also facilitated their gaining flexible hours, child care, and better salaries and benefits. Nor were nurses the only group of women whose professional lives were enhanced by the demand for labor. In "Women's Employment and the Domestic Ideal in the Early Cold War Years," Susan M. Hartmann argues that despite the Cold War emphasis on the family as the bulwark of democracy, married women's employment increased by 42 percent during the 1950s, not least because of the leadership of the National Manpower Council and the Commission on the Education of Women, both of which attempted to remove barriers to women in education and the workplace—thus anticipating many of the priorities of the women's movement of the 1960s and beyond.

The second group of essays effectively lays to rest the notion that women in the postwar period shrank from political activism. From the Mexican American barrios in California, where women were active in the Community Service Organization that improved the quality of life for Mexican-heritage workers, to various groups of women working for peace during the Cold War, women were prominent in the movement for social justice even in the face of gender and racial discrimination and McCarthyism. Two of the most compelling essays in this section of *Not June Cleaver* focus on arenas in which women used their gender as a tactic. Deborah A. Gerson, in "'Is Family Devotion Now Subversive?': Familialism against McCarthyism," details the activities of the Families Committee of Smith Act Victims, which provided both emotional support and material assistance to the families of those indicted and convicted under the 1940 act that allowed the federal government to prosecute people suspected of advocating the overthrow of that government—largely though not exclusively members of the Communist Party. Led by wives of Party members, the Families Committee sought to counter the government's harassment of the spouses and children of these individuals by providing money, toys, and summer camps—and in the process raising awareness that family life was threatened by the Cold War's crackdown on political freedom. Protests against Civil Defense drills were similarly given force by women who organized demonstrations against the false sense of security promoted by the exercises called "Operation Alert," as Dee Garrison demonstrates in "'Our Skirts Gave Them Courage': The Civil Defense Protest Movement in New York City, 1955-1961."

The third set of essays, "Constructions of Womanhood," seems oddly placed, more logically belonging at the beginning of the volume, especially since the first essay in it is Joanne Meyerowitz's challenge to Betty Friedan's analysis of popular magazines in *The Feminine Mystique*, the book that served to define the postwar woman as white, middle-class, and domestic. Meyerowitz's systematic reading of non-fiction articles from a wide sampling of magazines suggests that domesticity was only one among many ideals the media provided women, and that magazines aimed at black readers acknowledged racist standards of beauty. That black women were especially subject to racist stereotypes is the focus of the other two essays in this section. Ruth Feldstein undertakes a detailed analysis of the public understanding of the mother of Emmett Till, the black teenager from Chicago murdered in Mississippi in 1955 for allegedly whistling at a white woman. Sympathies

in the case were largely manipulated by varying images of Till's mother as a black female parent. Regina G. Kunzel, in "White Neurosis, Black Pathology," shows how attitudes toward out-of-wedlock pregnancy in the postwar years were sharply differentiated by the race of the woman.

The final group of essays, "Sexual Outlaws and Cultural Rebels," gives further credence to the idea that while numerous efforts were made to "contain" women in the postwar period, both bravery and need caused groups of women to resist conformity. Most daring of all were the abortionists in the period before *Roe v. Wade* that Rickie Solinger discusses in "Extreme Danger." Women who provided illegal abortions were demonized by the press and the courts, and were especially suspect for earning money and thus being self-sufficient. At least as demonized were lesbians, who were increasingly stigmatized as prostitutes as they became more visible after World War II. And finally, Wini Breines, author of *Young, White, and Miserable: Growing Up Female in the Fifties*, posits that numerous young women were drawn to the Beats and other countercultural movements of the decade out of deep dissatisfaction with the futures forecast for them by society. In their discontent, Breines posits, were the seeds of later social activism.

All of the essays in *Not June Cleaver* are well-researched and forcefully argued. Indeed, several of the authors, such as Wini Breines and Deborah A. Gerson, were themselves participants in the cultural phenomena they describe, though neither offers a merely idiosyncratic view. Taken together, the essays in this volume provide enormous texture and depth for an understanding of the postwar American woman. One wishes for an index, which, though a monumental task, would have made this very useful volume even more accessible to both scholars and lay readers.

Vanderbilt University Nancy A. Walker

DISSONANT IDENTITIES: The Rock'n 'Roll Scene in Austin, Texas. By Barry Shank. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press. 1994.

Two book-length studies published in the past five years by British researchers have put forth a challenge for the study of contemporary—and particularly post rock 'n' roll—American popular music. Sara Cohen's study, *Rock Culture in Liverpool* (1990), and Ruth Finnegan's *The Hidden Musicians: Music Making in an English Town* (1989), a study of amateur musicians in Milton-Keynes, are incisive analyses of local musical communities, providing both excellent sociological examinations of cultural practices and a solution to one of the central problems of media studies: the tendency to study, in isolation, either the production of culture, cultural texts, or the effects of mass media on audiences. In investigating popular music at the local level, Cohen and Finnegan found a very lively and productive set of cultural practices that challenged simplistic assumptions about a fully-dominant "culture industry," endlessly signifying texts, and manipulated and/or resistant audiences. Cohen and Finnegan have shifted our attention away from isolated studies of production, texts, or consumption, and to the cultural and economic importance of local practices.

Barry Shank's *Dissonant Identities: The Rock'n 'Roll Scene in Austin, Texas* is the first book-length study of a local American music scene that lives up to the challenge set forth by Cohen and Finnegan. A one-time active participant in Austin rock culture, Shank has written a knowledgeable, historically informed work appropriate for a wide range of readers interested in popular music studies, cultural studies, sociology, and American Studies. Concerned with the relationship between cultural production, musical perfor-

mance, reception, and identity, *Dissonant Identities* is both empirically rich and theoretically astute.

The book is at its best when Shank provides rich, detailed descriptions of the history and cultural practices of Austin musicians, institutions, and fans. The book's historical account of the emergence of Austin as an "alternative" music scene in the mid- and late-1980s begins in the early part of the twentieth century with folklorists' construction and dissemination of the image of the singing cowboy. By tracing the local histories of such seemingly diverse genres as honky-tonk, folk, blues, "progressive" country, and punk, Shank is able to draw out the similarities and connections between them and provide an excellent historical and sociological explanation of the relationship between past and present.

Similarly, Shank's work on the economics of the local Austin music industry, from live clubs to recording studios and from small record companies to larger, politically and economically powerful trade associations, provides a provocative description of the relationship between culture and industry. This becomes particularly interesting in his account of the economic and social tension between, on the one hand, the local musicians and the "social hangers-on" in the Austin scene who work at lousy food service and record store jobs in order to support themselves as artists, and the University of Texas students who constitute the largest market for Autin music but who are shunned by the former group (many of whom were themselves once students) as un-hip pollutants whose presence spoils the "purity" of the local scene.

Dissonant Identities is also crucial for the future study of popular music in its recognition of the importance of the study of live music performance as an economic and cultural practice. What he terms the "honky-tonk economy"—the incredibly large and diverse network of clubs where live music is played every night in Austin—plays an integral role in the process and meaning of the Austin music scene, and its emergence and the important shift away from it in the 1980s are crucial to the history of Austin music in general and the history of popular music in the rock era in general. Recognizing and studying the role of live music in the economic and cultural context of popular musical practice must be placed on the agenda of popular music studies, and Shank's book provides an example of the rich rewards of undertaking such a study.

The book is not, however, without some problems. Most importantly, Shank provides very little information or context about the music industry and musical practices at the national and international levels. Certainly Austin is one of the most vibrant and nationally recognized alternative rock "scenes" in the United States, but it is by no means the only one. While *Dissonant Identities* does an excellent job of documenting the specifics of the Austin scene, it should have discussed, if only briefly, the similarities and contrasts between Austin and, say, Athens, Georgia, and Minneapolis, and provided a general account of why and how, in the post-punk era, local scenes, most based in college towns, emerged as crucial sites of cultural production. Another topic that would have been interesting to address is why a scene with as a high profile as Austin's has produced no band with the national prominence of REM (Athens) or the Replacements (Minneapolis).

Finally, one other problem with *Dissonant Identities* is its attempt to provide a Lacanian framework to theorize the role of identity in local musical practice. While the motives are noble and understandable—too many empirical studies refuse to consider, or are incapable of moving to, a higher level of abstraction to analyze social practice—Shank's attempt to meld fine sociological description with an extended discussion of Lacan serves as much to confuse as to enlighten. This is particularly the case here because

the theoretical analysis is not sustained throughout the work. The placement of theory at the middle of the book seems to imply that identities were only really constructed during the post-punk era; honky-tonkers, singing cowboys, and blues musicians apparently need not apply for their (postmodern) identities. A better approach may have been to work with or at least discuss more sociologically-oriented notions of identity and cultural practice, exemplified in the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Stuart Hall, which would have been more suitable to the work in general and would have provided a better theoretical framework for Shank's historical discussion.

However, these shortcomings in no way detract from the importance of this book. *Dissonant Identities* is a remarkably full study of the cultural practices of an American local music scene that provides a model for further scholarship in this area.

Shenandoah University Mark Fenster

CHICAGO JAZZ: A Cultural History, 1904-1930. By William Howland Kenney. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993.

William Howland Kenney has written a detailed, superbly researched investigation of the 1920s Chicago scene. Building on historians' studies of the formation of Chicago's large African-American community after 1915, Kenney shows that cabaret and dance hall sites were important community and political centers. Here, black leaders and workers made partial adjustment to the new realities of mass urban life. The fate of clubs and jazz in the 1920s was tied to shifting city politics, which lurched from the freewheeling mayoralties of William H. Thompson (popular among blacks) to William Dever's moralistic one, and back again. The book's main focus is on the musicians themselves. As Kenney and other historians of jazz (myself included) have done before, musicians' autobiographies are presented to define jazz's role in American culture. Black musicians from New Orleans and other migrants adapted to a rough new environment, flourishing in the new markets for music, evolving a more polished and educated sound, and facing the new dangers of urban segregation and hostility. This was "the core cultural and musical synthesis that produced Chicago jazz..." (61). White musicians, however, also gravitated to South Side jazz, either blithely copying its style or finding a deep affinity with "hot" music. In the end, then, Chicago jazz resulted from "an interracial and polyethnic experience of early twentieth-century urban life" (116).

The book's great strength is its marvelously detailed research, which deromanticizes and reveals enticing and significant evidence about early jazz practice. For example, it is not generally known that the *Chicago Defender* marketed blues records on its delivery routes; that published jazz exercise books were already widely used by the mid-1920s; and that by 1930, phonographs were already replacing live bands in nightclubs. Such evidence shows a music embedded from the start in a culture disdaining tradition for its own sake and operating by ruthlessly rational economic laws. The Depression's role in dispersing Chicago jazz culture is well-told, although Dempsey Travis's *Autobiography of Black Jazz* remains more illuminating on the 1930s Chicago scene.

The book suffers from some weaknesses. Like many Oxford jazz volumes, this one seems too brief and in need of better editing, in this case to make the prose smoother and more relaxed. (A particularly awkward sentence begins: "In 1919, the second of the three mayoral election years that witnessed Thompson's triumph in Chicago,...") Typos abound, and such errors as including Native Americans among "immigrant groups" (121) are disappointing. More seriously, the book lacks a strong organizing thesis. The

argument noted above is clear enough, but the book is not rhetorically forceful. A subsidiary argument, about the "liminoid" nature of whites' experiences in black clubs, sounds both like a borrowing from Neil Leonard's *Jazz: Myth and Religion* (1987) and an endorsement of what Kenney himself shows to be a self-promoting legend later created by the white Chicago jazzmen. (Jazz *women*, also, are almost completely ignored, and the term "jazzman" is used indiscriminately).

Although the book fails to advance a bold new interpretation of urban life and expression, there is much to admire here. Kenney's wonderfully detailed community study of jazz practice will certainly encourage others to write similarly focused monographs and more venturesome analyses of jazz and society.

Middle Tennessee State University Burton Peretti

MELODRAMA AND THE MYTH OF AMERICA. By Jeffrey D. Mason. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1994.

Jeffrey Mason uses five melodramas and the social issues attached to them to discover what he calls in the title "the myth of America" and in the text "a myth of America." The myth he discovered is one of good individuals in a society perfectly sentimental, conservative, capitalist, racist, and male-dominated. While none of this is wholly wrong, Mason never lets his texts complicate or contradict the condescension in this politically correct but rather unprobing list of charges. Nor does he consider that most of the melodramatic traits by which he defines the United States were wholly international.

His five plays are among the least neglected of the nineteenth century: *Metamora*, *The Drunkard*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *My Partner*, and *Shenandoah*. Each play is allotted its own chapter, divided into three broad sections: a discussion of the social-historical issue involved, a precis of the play, and some observations about the way the melodrama dealt dishonestly or evasively with the social issue. Mason claims that he uses "Marxist social techniques" to show "text in the service of power," but also pays homage to "deconstruction, semiotics, ... feminism" (x). There is quite a bit about semiosis, mimesis, hegemony, and objections to binary oppositions, except his own.

Mason argues with intelligent competence, but thinly. The book is far from what's claimed, "a through examination of a certain kind of nineteenth-century theatre," nor are the specific analyses very satisfying (ix). The freshest material deals with Union veterans' amateur Civil War dramas, 1868-1885, but Mason neglects how the later *Shenandoah* and its professional peers were less concerned with the war than with restoring white unity as the South after 1885 hardened its blacks' subordination.

The tensions between Mason's perspective and his texts are clearest in *The Drunkard* which he insists "bolsters the hegemony of the system and those who control it" by arguing that "disgraceful poverty and wealthy respectability are the only two options" in its America (86). In fact the play insists that respectability is a moral quality, possessed in the village by those in diminished, destitute, or modest circumstances, while the wealthily respectable, the only people at all caring "to further their material progress," are the villains (75). Similarly, in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Mason has to neglect the content and every piece of audience reaction he quotes to claim that the work largely confirmed "the fundamental racism of American society" and bolstered "the slave system it purports to attack" (125, 118).

There is no doubt about the sentimental, conservative, and softening elements in the social criticism in these plays, but they steadily decry, as Mason at one point recognizes,

"the sinister qualities and even the dangers of capitalism," at least as represented in the ambitiously powerful and aggrandizing (190). In his conclusion Mason finesses this problem by insisting, quite untenably, that the melodramatic "myth argues that only free white men are present in America," that "the nation cannot house evil," and that all of melodrama's vile villains on the make are *not* part of their society (192-94).

In fact, American melodrama gave much space in its myth to strong women, injured minorities, gross injustice and especially exploitative capitalists. It is Mason who finally denies their existence in the plays, in favor of the "respectability" of saying nothing that middle-class academic hegemony fails to sanction at the moment.

University of Maryland, College Park David Grimsted

LAUGHING SCREAMING: Modern Hollywood Horror and Comedy. By William Paul. New York: Columbia University Press. 1994.

William Paul here sets himself up for what may initially seem either a thankless or an impossible task: taking seriously the contemporary film genres that brought us *Porky's* and *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre*. Yet reading the book left me impressed with Paul's cultural, psychological, and aesthetic analyses of what he calls the "gross-out" films of the 1970s and 1980s.

In his own words, "This is a book about 'gross-out' comedy and horror, movies quite happy to present themselves to the public as spectacles in the worst possible taste" (4). The title refers to the characteristic responses the movies evoke—the laughter (often followed by a raucous "oh, gross") of the comedies and the screams (often followed by nervous laughter) of the horror films. As Paul puts it, gross-out films, ranging from *Animal House* to *The Exorcist* and beyond, sought to expand the boundaries of acceptable public taste, to "bring out into the open precisely those things we have been most inclined to repress" (45). They also, he believes, are rooted in ambivalence and contradiction, such as the tension between the characters' unrestrained hedonism and institutional affiliation in many of the comedies.

The book is divided into six sections and 18 chapters. The first section, "Venerable Vulgarity," treats methods, context, and background. Sections 2 and 3, "A New Old Comedy" and "Growing Pains," examine gross-out comedies. Sections 4 and 5, "The Case for Child Abuse" and "Revolting Bodies," explore horror films. Section 6, "Laughing Screaming," contains a single chapter concluding the study.

Students of American culture may be particularly interested in the ways Paul links the films to the 1970s and 1980s. On the one hand, "a culture concerned with expanding the boundaries of acceptable public discourse"—that is, the culture of the 1960s—set gross-out in motion, but on the other, "it flourished through the early part of what is generally seen as the new conservatism of the so-called Reagan revolution" (428). In this context, I found Paul's chapter, "Bill Murray, Anarchic Conservative," especially illuminating. Discussing films like *Stripes* and *Ghostbusters*, Paul argues that "even at his most anarchic, Murray has a strongly conservative streak," requiring "a strong need for the prevailing social order as a confirmation of self" (170).

Paul also devoted considerable attention to developing close and insightful readings of individual films as a way to bolster his assertion that "I see these films not only as key expression of their period but also as more fully achieved artistic expression than has generally been granted" (5). In Paul's view, the best works of the era include the comedies *Fast Times at Ridgemont High* (one of the only gross-out comedies directed by a woman),

Revenge of the Nerds, and the lesser known *Heaven Help Us*. Among the horror films, Paul most values *The Other*, *The Shining*, *Alien*, and *The Brood*. If a good critic is one who offers new insights into familiar works and encourages readers to encounter less familiar ones, Paul succeeds admirably in his readings. I've never seen as perceptive a discussion of the long-underrated *Fast Times at Ridgemont High*, and Paul's analysis of *Heaven Help Us* brought to my attention an intriguing film that I'd missed when it was released in 1985.

Although some observers are pleased that Porky, the hardbodies, and the slashers are receding into the mists of film history, William Paul makes a compelling case in *Laughing Screaming* that gross-out comedy and horror offer a fascinating area of inquiry for the history of American film and culture.

University of Tennessee Charles Maland

THE ROMANCE OF ADVENTURE: The Genre of Historical Adventure Movies. By Brian Taves. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1993.

Brian Taves notes that the research for *The Romance of Adventure* required him to view "more than four hundred different films, many on multiple occasions, along with hundreds of hours of television series" (xiii). He admits that this was not always "a labor of love": "I have not only enjoyed the best of the genre but also suffered through some of its worst examples" (xiii). Apparently, such are the perils of an ambitious popular culture study that proposes to define and organize our understanding of the adventure film genre. Taves not only has survived this ordeal, he has succeeded by producing a coherent, clear, and comprehensive book. The book also can claim a certain charm in its enthusiastic endorsement of "genre criticism," a relatively neglected critical method in recent years, as "the most satisfactory approach to adventure" (6). He narrows the potentially overwhelming genre of adventure to the more focused form of the historical adventure, thereby distinguishing it from other conventions such as fantasy. The perception of the historic period determines both the film's treatment of the characters and the organization of its various cultural and cinematic codes, but all historical adventure films emphasize the triumph of individual freedom. The five forms that dominate the genre and the movies that typify them are: the swashbuckler (*The Three Musketeers*), the pirate (*Captain Blood*), the sea (*Mutiny on the Bounty*), the empire (*Gunga Din*), and the fortune hunter (*Around the World in 80 Days*). After delineating this taxonomy of historical adventure, Taves demonstrates how characters, values, codes, and behavior patterns can differ in particular films while remaining within the overall scheme and form.

Greater critical and analytical depth would make this interesting taxonomy even more convincing. The book's strength of focus upon the historical adventure film as a genre also causes its most important weakness, the absence of systematic critical theory. With its pervasive concern for the way elements of genre change during varying cultural and historical circumstances, the book should deal more systematically with the relationship of cinematic text and cultural and historic context. Thus, Taves says, "Adventure has certainly tended to be sexist and imperialist, casting individuals into social, psychological, and sexual stereotypes" (xv) without offering a clear conceptual means for analyzing this situation. Similarly, Taves emphasizes that "genres may serve as a psychic mirror, reflecting the national character and culture" (7) without proffering a method for studying how this process of reflection between culture and cinema works. The absence of such a critical apparatus leaves the book vulnerable to criticism for occasionally belaboring the obvious or being impressionistic. Also, the book does not adequately examine the

ideological dimension of the system of cinematic production but attributes ideology primarily to narrative organization and content. At the same time, it may be unfair to ask Taves to go beyond achieving his stated objective of providing a solid and creative taxonomy of the historical adventure genre in film that can provide a basis for considerably more work and criticism. This he has done exceptionally well.

Vanderbilt University Sam B. Girgus

HIGH LONESOME: The American Culture of Country Music. By Cecilia Tichi. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1994.

Like many a fine country picker, Cecilia Tichi saves her best lick for last in this impressive articulation of the significant contribution country music makes to American culture. Following an insightful interview with Rodney Crowell (perhaps one of the most important American musicians today), Tichi argues that country—steeped in tradition and, on the surface, the most conservative American popular music—disrupts traditional American values. The performances of country musicians, in Tichi's words, "continue to highlight the ingrained paradox of a nation representing itself in an ideology of home and of the road...Pledging allegiance, [country music] shatters domestic tranquility and forever disturbs the peace. This music tells us that this nation is a nomad's land, home a shimmering mirage, the national psyche one of pervasive loneliness" (276-77). When listened to carefully, country music sings to us of "vital parts of the national identity that otherwise are hidden, obscured, overshadowed, blacked-out in painful self-censorship" (18). This book stands as a guide to hearing that message in country music.

Organized into chapters dealing with major themes (home, road, lonesomeness, the West, the rose, pilgrims, nature, art), *High Lonesome* appears to revive the myth and symbol tradition in American Studies scholarship. Benefiting from the strengths of this method, Tichi links the musical expression of these major themes to the canonical literature and art "read in the high school and college classroom and represented on art museum walls in major cities" (6). Dolly Parton's Tennessee mountain home becomes "the Emersonian center for authenticity in America" (25). Steve Earl's "Guitar Town" finds its origins in Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia.* In the chapter called "High Lonesome," the performances of Emmylou Harris, Patsy Cline, Nancy Griffith and Hank Williams are discussed in the context of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and the paintings of Edward Hopper (perhaps taking the place of James Dean, Elvis Presley, Humphrey Bogart and Marilyn Monroe in the pastiche of *Nighthawks* probably most familiar to American college students). The roses that decorate costumes worn by Harris, Parton, and Linda Ronstadt are linked to Margaret Fuller's *Summer in the Lakes, in 1843* as well as Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter.* Every chapter makes the point that the themes dealt with by country music are among the major issues that have formed the core of the American cultural tradition. From this perspective, country music becomes an excellent introductory American Studies survey text. Of course, the chief weakness of myth and symbol is also on display here. The assumption of a single American culture shared by all fans of country music obliterates differences of historical period, class, gender, race—or rather, such differences melt together over the flaming embers of canonical American themes.

The careful reader, however, will not be so distracted by the continual citations from the Library of America that she or he fails to appreciate the many insights that Tichi draws from country music itself. Her close listening/reading of Harris's "A River for Him" is a

powerful demonstration of country's specifically *musical* contribution to the theme of loneliness. Perhaps even better is her discussion of Tex Ritter's performance of the theme song to "High Noon." Building on the recent work of Jane Tompkins, Tichi argues that country music provides an acceptable forum for expressing the feelings of the otherwise mute Western hero. Hence, country becomes the means of accessing forbidden sentiments, which explains the music's peculiar cultural mission. Country music sings of the cost exacted on individuals, male and female, for being Americans, for aspiring to the American Dream, for subscribing to the myths and symbols that define a dominant American culture.[1]

High Lonesome comes impressively packaged; sixteen color plates and a twenty-three track compact disc accompany the text. Acquiring the rights to reproduce this copyrighted (and often trade-marked) material can be extremely frustrating, time-consuming, and expensive. The author and the publisher should be commended for this effort; the inclusion of these illustrations and musical examples complements the text, effectively highlighting its major arguments. Actually being able to listen to Dolly Parton's exuberant celebration of her home or Tex Ritter's somnambulant anxiety renders Tichi's interpretations even more powerful and persuasive.

Those who already work with country music or popular music generally will be disappointed, however, that Tichi does not engage with the growing body of critical scholarship dealing with the culture of country music. Important work by Archie Green, George Lewis, Aaron Fox, George Lipsitz, Richard Leppert, Joli Jensen, Kate Stewart, Nicholas Spitzer, among others, garners nary a mention from Tichi. I was particularly dissatisfied with the absence of a critical perspective on the music industry, which plays almost no role in Tichi's analysis. The strengths of the book's interpretations would have been enhanced and many of its weaknesses avoided if it had been written within the context of (rather than ignoring) this growing subfield.[2]

Nevertheless, *High Lonesome* provides a persuasive argument that country is a vital and important part of American culture. If this music is new to you, listen to the accompanying compact disc while you read. Once you become familiar with the painful beauties of this music, slap in the Smithsonian collection, *Classic Country Music*, and listen to the history of country music's own debate with itself over its place in American culture.

University of Kansas Barry Shank

Notes

1. Jane Tompkins, *West of Everything: The Inner Life of Westerns* (New York, 1992.)

2. Many of the most important scholarly articles dealing with the specific culture of country music have been reprinted in George H. Lewis, *All That Glitters: Country Music in America* (Bowling Green, 1993). This book includes work by each of the authors listed above with the exception of Archie Green. Green's work on country music has appeared in many places. Perhaps the most grevious bibliographic blindspot in *High Lonesome* is the absence of reference to Green's fundamental essay, "Hillbilly Music: Source and Symbol," *Journal of American Folklore* 78:309 (1965, 204-228). This article appeared in a special issue of *JAF* dealing with hillbilly music.

A REBEL IN DEFENSE OF TRADITION: The Life and Politics of Dwight Macdonald. By Michael Wreszin. New York: Basic Books. 1994.

Michael Wreszin has written a timely, difficult, and, finally, unsettling book. Through Dwight Macdonald he calls us to a learned consideration of mass society and democratic culture—not through the Tofflerian "demassification" cant of Newt Gingrich, but through Macdonald's decades of struggle with Marxist thought and his affinity for the exuberant, early 20th century anarchism of Randolph Bourne. The beloved community advocated passionately by Bourne was Macdonald's obsession, too, although, Wreszin's Macdonald is distracted by contradictions, over-indulgence, and self-doubt.

Wreszin gives Macdonald room enough to be complex, irritating, and contrary. The critic who migrated from *Partisan Review* to *Politics*, who exchanged polemics with Trotsky, and who came to the defense of Norman Mailer's self-celebrated *Armies of the Night* boorishness would demand nothing less. Yet there is in this work an unnecessary ponderousness as Wreszin works through the argument of individual Macdonald articles. This is a full recounting of Macdonald's life, but it remains primarily an *intellectual* biography. Thus, the personal geography of Macdonald's life goes largely unexplored. The New York intellectuals play a major role in this book; New York as an active setting for the formation of Macdonald's ideas appears infrequently. The analogy to Bourne ironically reappears: Bourne, whose life was cut short at the age of 32, is most often presented through his ideas and not through the communities that he formed and sought out in the New York scene of the World War I period. Such an ethereal approach is perhaps understandable when the subject dies young and leaves relatively little. Macdonald, as Wreszin amply proves, lived a long life and left a massive trail of writings and personal remembrances. The peripatetic critic needs to be anchored in the culture of the city in which he was raised and spent much of his creative life.

The first two-thirds of this book is good, workerlike biography. One might question Wreszin's forgiving assessment of Macdonald's anti-semitism or become impatient with the detailed account of the migration away from Trotsky. ON balance, however, this is solid scholarship which will surely become a necessary reference point for anyone studying radical criticism during the middle third of this century. The last portion of the study is inspired. The chapter on the student take-over of Columbia University shows the geographic detail that is absent elsewhere: the contested terrain of Morningside Park, the formation of the Columbia campus, the dynamic relationship between Columbia and the city of New York. Macdonald's passage through the 1960s is fascinating and significant, demanding a re-reading of Mailer's work to elbow the novelist out of the way to study "the critic" in the March on the Pentagon.

This concluding third is the profoundly unsettling section of the book. Macdonald becomes a weird, dyspeptic Doppelgänger to those who have elected to lead the life of the mind. At the end of one's life, what is there left to show for it all? A few words (or more than a few), a glimmer of recognition, a besotted effort at reflection that is taken by some as senescence? What does it mean to be a public intellectual? What sacrifices must be made and what, at the end of the day, is the return?

University of Wyoming Eric J. Sandeen

V. L. PARRINGTON: Through the Avenue of Art. By H. Lark Hall. Kent, Ohio. The Kent State University Press. 1994.

This is a valuable biographical study of a scholar who started as a poet and aesthete specialized in English literature, but became a politically aware historian of culture and ideas. Long recognized, along with figures like Moses Coit Tyler, as a figurative founder of American Studies, Parrington's life and work have not hitherto been neglected. This is the first thorough, full-scale biography, however, and it benefits immensely from the author's use of Parrington's diaries, early lecture notes, personal and professional correspondence. H. Lark Hall, a part-time lecturer in the English Department at the University of Pennsylvania, gained access to extensive material still belonging to Parrington's daughter and grandson, including a great many intriguing photographs.

The author provides rich detail concerning Parrington's family background in Maine and Illinois; his personal roots and return to Emporia, Kansas, where he first taught; his student years at Harvard; his pioneering period as a professor at the University of Oklahoma (1897-1908), where he was fired for political reasons; and his mature years at the University of Washington in Seattle, where he taught until his sudden death in 1929 at the age of 58. In addition to making a good faith effort to contextualize Parrington's intellectual growth and transformation, Hall offers an array of engaging details, ranging from Parrington's having been a high school classmate of William Allen White to his life-long fascination with fashion (see 14-15).

Above all, perhaps, Hall's meticulous study of Parrington's many course syllabi, along with curriculum innovations for which he was responsible at Oklahoma and Washington—he seems always to have been in the vanguard of curriculum innovation and was a dedicated teacher—tell us a great deal that is fresh about the pedagogical genesis of American Studies. We casually tend to locate that genesis at the graduate level in institutions like Harvard, Yale, and Penn during the 1930s and 1940s. Hall gives us good reason to look to the heartland a generation earlier, and at the *undergraduate* level, a noteworthy lesson.

There are a few minor points where Hall goes astray, such as confusing East Aurora, New York, home of the Roycrofters, located south of Buffalo, with Aurora, New York, on Cayuga Lake; or referring to the mid-Atlantic states as the Middle East (241), or somehow implying that Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes was an eighteenth-century figure (243).

Two other problems are considerably more serious, however. The author rejects, in a revisionist argument, the customary view that Parrington "worked outside the currents of contemporary thought, that he lacked professional contacts, and that the university functioned in a static environment" (156). It becomes clear, however, that the Universities of Oklahoma and Washington were not exactly dynamic institutions during Parrington's time at each one, and that they *were* isolated. In 1927 he wrote from Seattle to a friend that "I am so far from the center of things that I am little informed" (224). That might be attributed to an authentic modesty that accompanied his driving ambition to write something genuinely important and influential; but on Hall acknowledges Parrington's "carefully tended sense of detachment" (270); she later informs us that he turned down permanent offers from Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota despite his inadequate salary and poor library holdings at Washington; and at the very end of the book we learn that he *never* attended a scholarly meeting. In 1928, when Parrington was pressured into joining the MLA, he accompanied his membership fee with the comment that "I have hitherto clung to my lonesome state outside the pale," because "distinction of any sort is so rare

today that I rather pride myself on the small amount I have been able to acquire by playing a lone hand" (302). So far as I can tell, the conventional view of Parrington as a lone wolf in professional scholarship was and remains, perhaps, eighty percent reality and twenty percent role playing. Ultimately, Hall herself acknowledges the reality (197) without seeming to recognize the element of role playing.

A second anomaly arises when the author evaluates Parrington's likely reaction to Frederick Jackson Turner's commencement address at the University of Washington in 1914 (later published as "The West and American Ideals"). Turner's emphasis on "environmental and economic influences," she writes, "was fundamentally at odds with the side of Parrington that was committed to culture, to letters, to the life of the mind" (193). In an autobiographical manuscript that he wrote early in 1918, however, Parrington observed that his move from Oklahoma to Washington "marks the shift with me from the older cultural interpretation of life to the later economic" (203). Moreover, in 1922 he taught summer school at Berkeley and one of his former students there thanked Parrington in the preface to her 1927 book, *The Frontier in American Literature*, because he "first taught me the economic interpretation of literature" (214). After Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes read *Main Currents in American Thought*, which he admired, he noted with annoyance the frequency with which Parrington referred to "exploitation" (225). In 1928 Parrington told a correspondent that "I was a good deal of a Marxian, and perhaps still am, although a growing sense of the complexity of social forces makes me somewhat distrustful of the sufficiency of the Marxian formulae" (235).

Given all the evidence that Parrington ascribed so much of literature and life ("culture") to economic stimuli and determinants, one wonders whether Hall's subtitle is appropriately chosen. It is true that Parrington *began* as a painter and aesthete; but he underwent a major transformation during the decade 1914-24, and it is the mature Parrington whom we read, remember, and need to understand.

Alas, fewer and fewer people today do read the 1,285 pages of *Main Currents*. It is one of Hall's signal achievements that she provides a superbly clear and compressed discussion of its contents (247-69, 283-98). That surely is not the only reason to read this book, which is clearly a labor of love; yet novices in American Studies, faced with a burgeoning literature one century after Parrington labored to create a program in literature at Emporia, may be deeply grateful to be able to catch the essence of *Main Currents* in a well-controlled eddy of 37-pages.

Cornell University Michael Kammen

WALTER LIPPMANN: Odyssey of a Liberal. By Barry D. Riccio. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers. 1994.

Was is Max Lerner who defined an American liberal as a person who has both feet planted in mid air? Barry Riccio's book is a well written attempt to plot Walter Lippmann's lofty levitations during his long career. This is not the first study of Lippmann. A brilliant prize wining biography by Ronald Steel appeared in 1980. It came as close to being "definitive" as one could expect. Riccio was appreciative but not intimidated. He is wedded to categories. Although Steel thought he was writing an "intellectual biography," Riccio flatly asserts that Steel's "work was not meant to be an intellectual history" and his own book is not a biography. So Riccio has written a classic monograph devoted exclusively to Lippmann's professional work as a writer, journalist and commentator.

One will not discover much new in this book. On almost any issue one can turn to Steel and find pretty much the same information and similar interpretations. Nevertheless,

Steel and find pretty much the same information and similar interpretations. Nevertheless, Riccio writes very well and is provocative and insightful when dealing with Lippmann's well known works. He admires Lippmann, more than I do, but he is an astute critic.

Lippmann's intellectual career is seen as a journey from left to right. Actually Lippmann was a congenital centrist. He was mired in the vital center before his acolyte Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., coined the phrase. Lippmann's youthful socialism was so cerebral and fleeting that I would agree with Charles Budd Forcey that it was at best a "pseudo-socialism." Riccio is not clear on this. On the first page he insists that "Lippmann was indeed a socialist" and then a few pages on: "Socialism had never really been an article of faith for Lippmann." As we trace this journey from socialism to liberalism to conservatism, it seems that for most of the way, Lippmann tends to defend property and the rich, is quickly turned off by the New Deal, and seldom for the under-dog. He is a hardheaded realist, rejecting all utopias, who nevertheless believes there is a new class of businessmen professionals not interested in profits! When you see who Lippmann voted for and the stands he took on major issues you understand why American liberalism has proven to be such a frail reed since the mid-forties. Lippmann never had much enthusiasm for Franklin Roosevelt, had contempt for Truman, and worked for Dewey's election in 1948. He voted for Eisenhower twice and for Nixon twice and he called McGovern a jacobin. This is an odyssey of a liberal? Lippmann was, as a critic has recently noted, a manufacturer of consent. He worked from the inside and collaborated with the men of power. He liked to think of himself as following a different drummer, but Steel is right when he writes that Lippmann was surprisingly in step most of the time. During the Red Scare he waffled on the Dies Committee. His repudiation of Joseph McCarthy was based on the Senator's incompetence and boorishness, not on his violation of civil liberties which did not overly concern Lippmann. He was late to the cause of Civil Rights and showed "a notable lack of urgency" until he saw it damaging the American image abroad. In foreign affairs he was a realist who believed that foreign policy should serve the national interest, and not vague and ill-defined ideals. This made him an astute critic of Cold War bellicosity. But for the most part he did not stray far from the mainstream. This is not the story of another liberal mugged by reality but a consistently Burkean conservative of the old school, desperately seeking some form of responsible authority.

Queens College, City University of New York Michael Wreszin

NO GIFTS FROM CHANCE: A Biography of Edith Wharton. By Shari Benstock. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1994.

The primary aims of Shari Benstock's painstakingly researched biography of Edith Wharton are narrative and documentary; in these it succeeds. Its secondary aim is interpretative; in this respect Benstock's achievement is less certain. Nearly the same length as R. W. B. Lewis's graceful, substantive, and highly quotable *Edith Wharton: A Biography* (1975), with which it can't escape comparison, *No Gifts from Chance* is the first comprehensive account of Wharton's life to document published and unpublished sources. (Lewis, who quoted copiously from primary and secondary materials, provided a 24-page description of his sources but no footnotes.) Moreover, Benstock claims that "Approximately 80 per cent of the material included in endnotes . . . is drawn from unpublished letters and manuscripts and difficult-to-find items" (xi), a contention that I wouldn't dare to dispute. However, Benstock has only one substantial resource at her command that was unavailable twenty years ago: the 300-plus letters from Wharton to American expatriate journalist Morton Fullerton. That Fullerton ignored Wharton's repeated pleas to return

these letters, then eventually sold them, gives some measure of the man with whom Wharton, whose sex education was nil and whose husband, Teddy, declined from pleasant companion to philandering manic-depressive, had her only passionate sexual relationship. Otherwise, Benstock is working with much the same material as Lewis: what differences do her narrative of Wharton's life make?

Benstock's command of detail is impressive, sometimes to the point of overkill—this is biography as encyclopedia or reference work, a book as likely to be read from its index backward as forward from its table of contents. As such it is an essential resource for Wharton scholars that will complement Lewis's life. In addition to providing documentation Benstock paints a fuller picture than Lewis of Wharton's relations with women friends and associates, thus deflating the common assumption that Wharton hardly had any. She also elaborates Wharton's relationships—a mixture of affection, dependence, dismissal, and *noblesse oblige*—with her many servants. She redates Wharton's affair with Fullerton; tallies each major, minor, and recurring illness that "Edith" suffered while writing her forty-seven books; gives an exhaustive (and sometimes exhausting) account of what Henry James, Wharton's mostly sedentary friend, called her "whirligig" travels; closely examines Wharton's World War I work as fund raiser, war correspondent, and veritable field-marshall of relief efforts; and fleshes out Wharton's alternately bemused, fascinated, and irritated responses to the processes of aging. Finally, Benstock provides a highly detailed rendering of Wharton's dealings with editors and publishers, thus showing her to be as much a hardheaded businesswoman as a brilliant woman of letters.

Perhaps more than Lewis, Benstock reveals Wharton's unpleasant sides—her class-consciousness (which Benstock unconvincingly implies was less Wharton's own than a displacement from her closest friend, Walter Berry); her anti-Semitism (if social rather than ideological, to use John Higham's terms, it was nevertheless intense); her disdain for "ordinary" women (except for those who helped make possible the life of this extraordinary woman). However, she does not explore in any depth the paradox of a defender of the gendered *status quo* who not only made her own way in the world as a woman and a writer but also subjected gender norms to scathing criticism in a series of unforgettable novels and short stories. Similarly, Benstock does not so much analyze as provide the data for an analysis of Wharton's condemnation of vulgar materialism in modern America—which existed side by side with her lavish expenditures on houses, furnishings, gardens, touring cars, and clothes.

Benstock's new interpretations or revisions of earlier interpretations vary in their cogency. She dismisses Lewis's contention that Wharton suffered a "nervous breakdown" early in her career and underwent an efficacious "rest cure" at the hand of S. Weir Mitchell; however, there is conflicting evidence. She convincingly revises our understanding of Wharton's affair with Fullerton (it took place a year later than thought, and for the most part Wharton initiated, delayed, and ended it). Like Lewis, but in greater detail, she dismisses Wharton's rumored illegitimacy as the daughter of an English tutor or a Scottish nobleman. Benstock interprets Wharton's startling "Beatrice Palmatto fragment" as an indication of comfort with sexuality, not father/daughter incest, but does not go into alternative explanations for the recurring incest theme in Wharton's fiction.

As a documentary biography, *No Gifts from Chance* has several limitations. First, page numbers for quotations from the novels and novellas, because they are available in many editions, are not provided, so that anyone using the biography for scholarly purposes will need close familiarity with these texts. More importantly, Benstock makes little reference to the feminist scholarship and criticism of the last 20 years that has made this

feminist biography possible. This omission gives Benstock's biography an odd quality, as the self-made biographer intrepidly follows the self-made writer—and surreptitiously looks back to check her position with regard to her biographical competitor. One feels, at times, that this book is more engaged in a *tête-à-tête* with Lewis's biography than in a dialogue with the range of Wharton criticism.

Benstock interprets writing as both Wharton's private passion and her public career, the former beginning much earlier than the latter, the latter explored in more detail here than in Lewis's book. However, *No Gifts from Chance* pays a price for its steady linearity and textual inclusiveness. While Benstock is particularly good on the poetry and non-fiction (she is less perceptive on the short stories), the major novels get no more space than many less important texts and tend to disappear in the surrounding contextual detail. Moreover, Lewis is often more imaginative and eloquent on the connections between the life and the major fiction.

Benstock announces the thesis of her biography at the end of her Preface: "Awaiting 'no gifts from chance,' [Wharton] fashioned life to her own desires." For her, the story of Edith Wharton is that of a New York society woman who became a great and successful author. As Benstock wittily puts it, "She might have spent her afternoons reading novels (as her mother did); instead, she spent her mornings writing them." But as *No Gifts from Chance* amply shows, Wharton continued to be a society woman at the same time that she became an author. The paradox of the private woman who wrote sitting up in bed nearly every morning and the public woman who pursued cultural pleasures and entertained abundantly during the afternoons and evenings is described more than it is analyzed, as is Wharton's extraordinary restlessness—her need to be constantly on the go, in touch with all her friends, and indefatigably involved in travel. During the course of her life Wharton not only maintained, but even enhanced, her credentials as a member of the elite, perhaps in order to justify her writing to herself as well as to others.

Benstock's familiarity with French culture, which served her well in *Women of the Left Bank: Paris, 1900-1940* (1986), helps her to detail Wharton's years in France and her international travels, to the extent that her version of Wharton seems a less "American" figure than Lewis's. Moreover, Benstock does not seem to notice that her self-made woman is a quintessentially American concept. Likewise, in her rush to condemn the vulgarity of modern America, Wharton did not acknowledge the degree to which her wealth and status derived from Dutch and English forebears whose worldly position was much enhanced by a migration to the New World, where the Newbold and Jones families in effect moved from the realm of *Middlemarch* (one of Wharton's favorite novels) to the inner layers of Ward McAllister's "400." Finally, was Wharton an entirely self-made woman? One might compare her with Willa Cather, a woman writer of the same period and of similar importance, who could not turn to the full-time writing of fiction until she had worked many years as a journalist, teacher, and editor. There is no doubt that Wharton had to overcome barriers placed in her way by both gender and class, but ultimately wealth, social prestige, and leisure turned out to be some pretty important gifts from chance.

University of Kansas Janet Sharistanean

THE CIVIL WAR WORLD OF HERMAN MELVILLE. By Stanton Garner. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1993.

This is a remarkable book. Based on extensive archival research in addition to close reading in printed sources, informed by long study of distinctive but too-little-read literary

texts, enriched by much historical knowledge, and couched in clear, judicious, and felicitous prose, Garner's book is unquestionably important to American Studies for what it accomplishes, and for the scholarly work it models. Its combination of literary, historical, and biographical scholarship is exemplary, and it intriguingly places Melville with Emily Dickinson and Walt Whitman as the master poets of the time, each trying to create a new prosody suited to self and American circumstances.

Garner's subject is both Herman Melville's life during the Civil War period, and *Battle Pieces and Aspects of the War* (1865), the book of poetry on the War and its contexts, the meaning and value of which, he successfully argues, are too little known or understood. The difficulties in pursuing these subjects are well known to Melville scholars: rather little documentary evidence for the particulars of the life, and poetry that is difficult in form and style as well as mysteriously allusive to those of us (that is, everyone) lacking Melville's encyclopedic knowledge of the War.

The book persuasively documents Herman Melville's personal interest (deep emotional and intellectual concern) in all aspects of the War, its personnel, and its progress. On consideration, such involvement should not be a surprise, yet the absence of particulars up till now for the general reader of Melville, and the old but persistent view of him as having withdrawn from public concerns after the critical and commercial failure of his fiction following *Moby-Dick*, have impeded the progress of understanding.

What may also surprise and enlighten many readers, as it did me, is the extent to which his relations and friends were involved in the fighting and the politics. In fact, it is often because of such involvement that Garner can successfully argue for a more immediate relationship between Melville and the events he treats than the one most often pointed to by scholars: his reading in the newspapers, magazines, and particularly the reprinted news reports of *The Rebellion Record.* As Garner puts it, "the true staring point for many of [the poems] was a personal association with an event through a relative or friend who had participated in it or through some other special relationship. In other words, the poems come to the reader alive from Herman's imagination rather than secondhand" (390).

For all I know, a professional military historian might find fault with the treatment of some campaigns, battles, or leaders, but to this lay reader all those details seem reasonable and clear. Garner, an Annapolis graduate and former navel officer himself, uses the facts and terminology of military culture with persuasive authority—while he pointedly asserts Melville's view (and his own) that "however inescapable it may be, and however justifiable it may be, war is the great atrocity that spawns a host of other atrocities" (448).

Melville was an unqualified unionist, that seems clear. Some other aspects of his politics, though, are not so evident, and Garner has to argue at many points form the evidence of context—the verifiable "conservative" political positions of most in the Melville, Gansevoort, and Shaw families. His doing so, despite his denial of exegetical intent, does provide valuable readings—and some controversial ones. He shows, for example, that some poems are ironically-conceived, and that their speakers must not automatically be taken to be Melville himself. Garner is generally successful in this endeavor, and usefully contextualizes difficult poems, making our attempts at reading them far more satisfying than they had been until now. Take the well-known and often taught "The House Top": once we know that Melville was not there at the time of the New York Draft riots and their suppression, and also know more about the events and personalities involved we can see that the speaker is not Melville. Garner proposes a valuable corrective to earlier interpretations of this important poetic rendering of a crisis within the national crisis.

Not all such rereadings are as successful. I agree with Joyce Adler's opinion, in a review published last year, that despite Garner's own unequivocal denunciation of slavery, he undervalues (perhaps also underreports) the evidence of Melville's abhorrence to it. A well-known crux in this issue is the line in "misgivings": "...the world's fairest hope linked with man's foulest crime." Garner's contextualized interpretation of that "crime" reads it as referring to the breaking up of the Union. But many of us will, on the basis of ample evidence, still argue for it as referring to slavery.

In my opinion, Garner occasionally indulges in too much speculation about what "must" have been in Melville's mind at certain moments though evidence is lacking. On the whole, however, he is judicious in extrapolating from what *is* known, as he does in treating—as fact and as poem—"The Scout toward Aldie," whose subject is Melville's accompanying a scouting group of cavalry into Union-occupied Northern Virginia.

Melville ended *Battle Pieces* with a prose "Supplement" which no doubt is, as Garner argues, a straightforward statement from an ardent unionist who counseled understanding of the defeated and respect for them as he asserted the necessity of true reconciliation in the interest of the American future. Whatever we might think of the implied priorities in Melville's stand, it deserves our reading. So does this original book.

University of Kansas Haskell Springer

HERMAN MELVILLE. By David Kirby. New York: Continuum. 1993

MELVILLE AND THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY: From "King Lear" to "Moby-Dick." By Julian Markels. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1993.

THE PRIVATE MELVILLE. By Philip Young. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 1993.

These three studies employ different approaches to Melville's work. Together, they demonstrate the continued fascination that Melville provokes in American literary scholarship.

Young's study—chatty, occasionally tedious, sometimes fascinating—examines the author's personal life in order to cast light on some of the fiction. Most prominently, Young marshals all the evidence available that seems to confirm the speculation that Herman's father had an illegitimate daughter, Ann Middleton Allan, by Martha Bent. Young argues that Melville's knowledge of this half-sister, although not yet documented, accounts not only for Pierre's tragic story, but also for the uncontrolled anger and despair in the work that helped finish off his literary career. After *Pierre*, reviewers increasingly emphasized what they saw as incoherence, even madness in his work. As Young puts it, the knowledge of his half-sister was "the slash in Melville's spiritual history" (156).

Young also examines how Melville's conflict-ridden relationship with his wife can be traced in the fiction. He accepts as truth the family story that Melville abused his wife to the extent that her minister hatched a plan to kidnap her in order to save her. He detects this tortured relationship in the narrator's resistance to his wife's domestic plans in "I and My Chimney" and in the obvious allegory of the "mechanicalness" of female reproductivity in "Tartarus of Maids." In short, Young presents us not with the misunderstood and unappreciated genius but with a man whose private demons damaged or destroyed the lives of those around him, isolated him from society, and led him to write some works that virtually destroyed his literary reputation for the remainder of the century. It should also

be pointed out that Young deals with a number of less dramatic connections between Melville's life and fiction.

The darker Melville is nowhere evident in Kirby's and Markels's studies. They present us with the courageous American genius who challenged the terrors of the universe before an indifferent or hostile public. Kirby's work is part of the Ungar series, "Literature and Life: American Writers." He describes it as neither a biography nor a critical study but "a biography of a career." In a lucid and tightly controlled essay, he spells out his view that the essential link between the literature and the life was Melville's sense of himself as "fatherless, an assumer of false names, a deserter and mutineer—an *omoo* or 'rover'..."(169). Thus, his major protagonists are "groundless searchers for a standpoint, a position, a place in life" (12). Using this theme, Kirby gives relatively inexperienced readers of Melville a concise and helpful way of getting an overview of the relationship of his life and work.

Markels sees both Shakespeare and Melville as geniuses who captured a particularly significant historical moment: *Lear* depicts the defeat of "the historic of corporate feudalism (Cordelia, Kent, Cornwall's servant) by competitive bourgeois individualism (Edmund, the sisters, Cornwall)"; *Moby Dick* presents "a dialectical engagement between the two American traditions of Hobbesian Calvinism and Lockean Enlightenment" (87). To be specific, Ahab, Stubb, and the sharks represent the Hobbesian view that the existence is "a war of every man against every man" and "there be neither right nor wrong, justice nor injustice." Ishmael, Queequeg, and the Grand Armada depict the Lockean view that "we are constituted by nature to preserve rather than invade each other's liberty and possessions" (91). The question then becomes whether Nature provides evidence for either view. Melville concluded, Markels contends, that existence is both Hobbesian and Lockean. But Melville also believed that the Declaration of Independence introduced "the democratic spirit of Christianity" (54), which allowed "a guarded affirmation" that one could live with the conflict, that good and evil interlock rather than divide the universe between them" (108). As a consequence, Ishmael represents "the need for people to be responsible to each other even though they live in an 'intolerant universe'" (5, 47). In other words, America can make a difference in human history.

Like Kirby, Markels has no doubt that Melville is a genius. For this reason, he feels compelled to confront any New Historicists who would argue that *Moby-Dick*, like all literary works, merely inscribes the ideological conflicts of its time. As he unabashedly puts it, "I have been eager to show how some exceptional literary works, like exceptional works of science and philosophy, can participate independently in making history on a scale that neither our Old nor New historicisms ordinarily account for" (126). Some readers will not be sure that a Hobbesian/Lockean dialectic in *Moby-Dick*, if it is really there, constitutes making history, but most will enjoy and profit from following the argument.

University of Northern Iowa Theodore R. Hovet

BRANDER MATTHEWS, THEODORE ROOSEVELT, AND THE POLITICS OF AMERICAN LITERATURE, 1880-1920. By Lawrence J. Oliver. Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press. 1992.

Brander Matthews was a figure of tertiary importance in the history of American literary culture. Professionally, he was Professor of Dramatic Literature at Columbia from 1892 to 1924, and a prolific writer of texts, fiction, and dramatic critical journalism. He

has the reputation of being an archetypal example of gentility in literature, a reputation not unjustified but one which this book modifies to a certain extent.

This is a brief book, competently done, but even so it seems longer than the importance of the material warrants. Matthews left an archive of usefulness, and Oliver mines it dutifully for materials on Theodore Roosevelt, William Dean Howells, Mark Twain, and James Weldon Johnson. Anyone working on these figures will now find their work a bit easier. Beyond that, little emerges. Oliver considers such issues as cultural conservatism, progressivism, and realism, but cautiously fits Matthews into existing paradigms. He does not break new conceptual ground. Matthews helped publicize the ideas of Matthew Arnold and Hippolyte Taine; he pushed the development of American literature; he was President of the Modern Language Association and the National Institute of Arts and Letters. He was, in short, a pillar of an Establishment that few people care about any more, and for good reason. Nothing Oliver quotes calls out for repetition here.

The book does leave one disturbing impression, and that is that its author feels repeatedly the need to prove his own tolerance and liberalism; political correctness peeps out frequently. The result has an air of self-congratulation about it which grates. On the basis of his own evidence, Oliver finds Matthews rather less prejudiced than most of the cultural leaders of his era, although when dealing with Roosevelt he had an understandable tendency to bend to the wind and sound "manly," bellicose, and excessively conscious of race. Oliver consistently chides Matthews because he lacks a modern standard of sensitivity about women, Jews, and ethnic citizens generally. No doubt it is comforting to condescend to the past, and Oliver is hardly the only writer to do so. But that is not the historian's task, and any parade of good intentions sometimes has the effect of making readers feel prejudices against historians. This is lamentable. Fifty years from now, certain modern views may well sound as dated and provincial as Oliver finds that Matthews's were.

University of Texas, Austin Robert M. Crunden

MECHANISM AND MYSTICISM: The Influence of Science on the Thought and Work of Theodore Dreiser. By Louis J. Zanine. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1993.

Louis J. Zanine documents a side of Theodore Dreiser that has only recently caught the attention of biographers and literary scholars. No mere "Zolaesque materialist," Zanine's Dreiser is on a fundamentally "religious quest" to find answers to eminently "spiritual" questions about "human purpose and destiny." Those scholars who overlooked this dimension had good reason: Dreiser consulted exclusively with scientists. Huxley, Tyndall, Spencer, and Darwin convinced him of a truth he had begun to suspect while working the city beat for a Pittsburgh daily—"selfish materialism," not "Christian brotherhood," governed human behavior. Intense study of Jacques Loeb, Ernst Haeckel, and other proponents of "mechanistic science," who claimed to explain all forms of life by reference to the same physical and chemical laws, capped Dreiser's search for the meaning of things. Zanine renders spiritual this apparently scientific journey by arguing that Dreiser engaged primarily with the speculative philosophy suffusing these allegedly empirical texts. That a literary naturalist maintained during his most science-obsessed years a strong interest in the supernatural becomes, on this reading, quite natural. So too the shape of his disillusionment when the new breed of scientists Dreiser encountered in the 1930s on frequent visits to experimental laboratories absolved science of any

responsibility for philosophical enlightenment. At that point, and following a mystical revelation experienced while observing a plot of flowers at the Carnegie Biological Lab on Long Island, Dreiser confessed the spiritual motives underlying his scientific investigations and devoted himself thereafter to the promoting of an "openly religious," if pantheistic, world view.

The strengths and limitations of *Mechanism and Mysticism* are those of any such study of "influence." Through a careful sifting of personal letters and alert readings of published essays and fiction, Zanine establishes direct connections between Dreiser's scientific pursuits and literary practice. This task, given Dreiser's didacticism, is a bit like shooting fish in a barrel, but by complicating Dreiser's understanding of science Zanine makes this an entertaining sport to follow. His ambition to acknowledge every thinker that Dreiser's admittedly "untrained mind" deemed worthy of study also compels Zanine to resurrect assorted quacks and oddballs who typically fall through the cracks of this kind of intellectual history.

Beyond this service, Zanine offers least to intellectual historians. Literary scholars who wish to know better an eminent American novelist will find in this study new and useful information, particularly as regards the more exotic stops on Dreiser's intellectual itinerary. Those hoping, by tracking Dreiser's journey, to learn something about science-minded intellectuals in the first half of the twentieth century will be better served by books already on the shelf. In his conclusion, Zanine enrolls Dreiser in a broad intellectual "retreat," executed during the 1920s, from "scientific utopianism," but adds little, beyond the fact of Dreiser's participation, to our understanding of it. Zanine's apparent decision not to engage seriously the political Dreiser has similar consequences: since intellectuals who flirted with Marxism in the 1930s typically did so as the sort of no-nonsense "materialist" that the literary Dreiser admired, one wonders if the romantic quester can be understood in isolation from the Communist Party fellow traveller. During the same years that he visited scientific laboratories, Dreiser journeyed as a reporter to places like Harlan County, Kentucky, to support CP organizing efforts. By not even mentioning these latter activities, Zanine makes it impossible to determine the relationship between the Dreiser who finally joined the CP in 1945 and the one whose passage from "mechanism to mysticism" ended in 1937. If science provided, as I suspect, the common denominator, Zanine missed thereby an opportunity to probe more deeply than he did the cultural significance of Dreiser's personal quest.

University of California, Riverside Brian Lloyd

THE COLUMBIA HISTORY OF AMERICAN POETRY. Edited by Jay Parini. Associate editor, Brett C. Miller. New York: Columbia University Press. 1993.

Recounting his signing on as editor for *The Columbia History of American Literature*, Emory Elliot told the audience at last year's MLA convention that it was done via instructions from a self-destructing tape recorder, with the theme from *Mission Impossible* playing in the background. No doubt Jay Parini heard the same tune as he compiled his *Columbia History of American Poetry*; in fact, the only mission more impossible may be reviewing a work such as this in a succinct and fair way. In other words, it would be easy to focus at length on what the work is not—and it is not a history of American poetry, but a history of Black, Native American, and Caucasian poetry in the United States; not a very complete look at contemporary poetry, but a full genealogy of traditions that contemporary poetry grows out of; not a compendium of bibliographic sources or a traditional biographi-

cal look at an array of United States poets, but an eclectic mix of critical voices and perspectives on both their work and on the issues of poetic history. What makes Parini's mission so impossible, of course, is figuring out just what his *History* will be. But if these sorts of works are meant to expose a general audience to a generation's definitions of poetry, formulated in the midst of a wide range of critical debates, then Parini has accomplished his impossible mission as successfully as any completed by Mr. Phelps.

As Parini explains, "each chapter should be taken as one critic's point of view: necessarily subjective, rooted in the critic's position in the evolution of the culture as a whole." Still, these critics share what Parini calls the poet's wish to speak for and to "the American people at large"—a desire to "go through" potentially divisive issues such as nationalism, class, race, and gender, and to work toward "the dream of a common language." Particularly successful in this regard are the more traditional essays of literary history on early African American poetry; on the overlooked contributions to the emergence of Modernism by HD, Gertrude Stein, and Marianne Moore, as well as on the work of their even more neglected contemporaries—Amy Lowell, Sara Teasdale, Elinore Wiley, Edna St. Vincent Millay, and Louise Bogan; on the poetry of the Harlem Renaissance; on William Carlos Williams; and on the long poem in the twentieth century. More provocative are essays on the epic in the nineteenth century; on the counter tradition to Whitman formed by the transcendentalist poets, as well as on the issues inherent in reading Whitman himself; and on the ways in which Modernist provocations force a reexamination of Longfellow and a reconsideration of a poet's relationship to the public. The endurance of T. S. Eliot, and the works of Poe, Frost, Bishop, the Agrarians, Pound, and Stevens are equally well presented in essays that provide both insightful overviews and important arguments.

More problematic are the essays on more recent writers and on what might be called "essays of inclusion," though the problems are by no means entirely the fault of the individual critic. With less of a critical history to draw on, these essays—on Native American poetry, on the modern elegy and post-confessional lyric, on a staunchly feminist Dickinson, and on the Black arts movement—are bound to strike notes that will ring true to some and fall flat with others. Equally problematic are the two schools of "contemporary traditions" formulated in the essays on Merrill and Ashberry, and Levine and Wright. But then this is the impossible mission of History—the task of unearthing and explaining the hidden strata revealed in the poetic core sample. The task would be easier, too, if it were more geological and less conversational, less the idea of a conversation whose recording inevitably omits some voices while it changes the pitch of others. The most important mission, however, is to keep the conversation going.

University of Texas, Austin Brian A. Bremen

THE PLEASURES OF BABEL: Contemporary American Literature and Theory. By Jay Clayton. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993.

Jay Clayton's *The Pleasures of Babel* offers an original retheorization of various topics of interest in literary studies today, including the relationships between the practices of literary theory and creative writing, the social and political vitality of narrative, and the ideological engagement of contemporary writers, creative and critical. Struggling to respond to and correct the cynicism he detects informing many areas of contemporary literary practice, Clayton reconfigures the work being done under various critical rubrics (deconstruction, psychoanalysis, feminism, multiculturalism) from the perspective of the

dynamism and politically progressive energy he believes infuses much of today's writing. Clayton's interventions into theoretical debates are shrewd, and his command of recent fiction is impressive; I strongly urge readers interested in the contemporary literary scene to read *The Pleasures of Babel.* I believe, however, that Clayton's most important contribution to be his line on literary narratives themselves as critical interventions. There has, for quite some time, been a school of thought that valued the production and consumption of literary criticism itself as an aesthetic experience; Clayton turns the tables of this familiar paradigm by further erasing the boundaries between "creative" and "critical" practice and by reading contemporary fiction as a profound engagement with and furthering (literally, as in expanding the horizons of or rescuing from impasses) of various critical programs. *The Pleasures of Babel* offers a savvy and committed interrogation of theoretical postures and literary representations from a pragmatic, socially responsive framework.

Clayton's most consistent and forceful strategy is to defend the potential of narrative per se against would be detractors, who too simply assume a nostalgic, even retrograde, ideology inhering within traditional narrative structures. Nothing, Clayton argues, could be further from the truth:

> The very dichotomy between daring experiments and safe traditional works seemed anachronistic, an opposition that more accurately describes the high modernist rebellion against nineteenth-century literature at the beginning of this century than the flexible ad hoc arrangements of contemporary writing. Far from seeming a secure prop of the establishment, narrative is often viewed by novelists today as an oppositional technique because of its association with unauthorized forms of knowledge (94).

Indeed, Clayton here and throughout *The Pleasures of Babel* challenges the ahistorical biases informing much contemporary criticism, always drawing on powerful alternatives from fictional practice to situate various theoretical abstractions within a vital praxis capable of propelling them beyond both the academy and its limiting operations. Barthes and Derrida on language, Foucault on power, Bersani on desire, Girard on sacrifice, various feminists on communitarian thought—Clayton everywhere challenges the static and simplistic models underwriting such theories countering them via reference to the political realm of contemporary culture and to novelistic work of recent writers. For example, once deconstruction began informing the trans-academic realms of feminism, lesbian and gay studies, Critical Race Theory, and other "social" discourses, it accrues a new dynamism and relevance that its sequestering within orthodox literary studies denied it. This dimension of Clayton's work is particularly full, encompassing not only the social discourses he cites but, primarily for his study, the work of scores of novelists from Margaret Atwood to Alice Walker.

Drawing largely (and often with important revisions) on theorists of micro-politics such as Barthes, de Certeau, and Lyotard, Clayton, as he puts it in several passages, "risks" optimism and "gambles" on the potency of literary practice to transcend the theoretical impasses that he feels have impoverished critical and theoretical work for several decades. Far from generating the fragmentation and centrifugal spiraling away from a cherished cultural center, the babel of alternative voices currently erupting from "multi cultural" literature, for Clayton, provides the pleasure and holds the power necessary to revitalize

and to empower those very constituencies often demonized by politicians and media on the right and blamed for the putative collapse of "family values," "cultural coherence," and United States global hegemony. In other words, the very particularized, local sites of struggle (which Clayton identifies under such rubrics as minority, ethnographic, feminist, and communitarian) paradoxically constitute a "rainbow coalition," a virtual united front against both the dead end of ahistorical literary theory as well as the cynicism of *fin de siecle* culture in the United States. As he affirms early on, "the question of how culture affects society lies in our hands. Our practices, our interventions at the particular places where we live or work, our effect on the messages that traverse us will help to determine the kind of world we inhabit" (30).

Clayton concludes by suggesting reasons for hope about two fundamental questions that have driven his project: "whether writing in a multi cultural society can possess power and whether this power can be put to constructive use in struggles for freedom and justice" (152). While I endorse much of what Clayton accomplishes in *The Pleasures of Babel*, and while I share his enthusiasm for and belief in the kind of politically committed cultural criticism that only a decade or two ago would have been considered jejune, I do want to pose a sympathetic challenge to some of his assumptions. Clayton's collapsing of "literary" and "critical" discourses is promising, but I would like to see him grapple with the differences between literary representation and critical analysis, between staging and reading. I'm not at all sure we can simply elide the discursive, generic, and audience-driven differences that characterize institutionally and commercially separable practices. Furthermore, while he investigates the micro-communities of today's literary and social scene, his guarded optimism about the efficacy of such a proliferation of voices rings hollow, or at least inadequately imagined. Intent on celebrating (rather than mourning) the transformation of a traditional "body politic" into dispersed and fragmented discursive practices, Clayton ignores the potential political paralysis of the very scene he constructs. Of course, newly configured populations with multi-dimensional literary agendas could be suggestive of a set of new liberatory discourses, but the rampant and often fragmented constitution of such communities promises nothing necessarily new, nothing obviously or easily progressive, but perhaps merely a discursive analogy to the plethora of choices consumers face at their local grocery or department stores. Suspicious of master-narratives and dominant voices of *all* varieties, Clayton nowhere struggles with the ease with which such fragmented, identity-driven constituencies can themselves be subjected to greater and greater forms of domination from above unless unified and galvanized by some collective vision (my own preference is class analysis and its potential to underwrite the carnival of dispersed voices Clayton nearly fetishizes). Clayton himself calls attention to the dilemma: "regardless of its content, a work by a white writer cannot function at this moment in time in the same way as a work by a black writer. It cannot create the same kind of community for African-Americans because it does not issue from the same pragmatic situation" (106). Surely, we can imagine a discursive community in which the members of different racial, gendered, sexual, ethnic, and class populations can speak with, to, and for each other without being burdened by the current prohibitions against "speaking for the other." Clayton's study is driven by sensitive readings and by a powerful commitment. I fear, however, that it is impeded by political assumptions, which are themselves products of the very static and trendy impasse at which literary theory often strands us.

University of Toledo Russell Reising

LITERARY AFTERSHOCKS: American Writers, Readers, and the Bomb. By Albert E. Stone. New York: Twayne Publishers. 1994.

We should all have such a productive retirement! In 1992 Albert E. Stone, professor emeritus of American Studies and English at the University of Iowa, published *The Return of Nat Turner: History, Literature, and Cultural Politics in Sixties America*; now comes a thoughtful, deeply-researched study of American fiction and poetry inspired by the nuclear threat. *Literary Aftershocks* is a worthy entry in Twayne's Literature and Society series, edited by Leo Marx, whose volumes examine "the interplay between a body of writing and a historical event."

With the nuclear arms race at least temporarily in abeyance, we can now explore its cultural ramifications comparatively free of the nuclear terrors and the comcommitant waves of antinuclear activism that shadowed earlier work in this field. Stone's book, shaped by the author's antinuclear sentiments yet admirably dispassionate, nicely launches this next stage of scholarship. Adopting a broadly chronological approach, Stone surveys the literature of a specific period or genre, and then singles out certain works for close analysis. In general this approach succeeds, though sometimes in the overview sections one feels a bit at sea amid a welter of names and titles that Stone clearly knows intimately, but that may be unfamiliar to most readers. On the other hand, one of the book's strengths is its attention to less-familiar writers and works. (Despite the subtitle, *readers* do not loom large in the study; this is fairly traditional literary criticism, though with a keen sensitivity to history.)

The wide-ranging opening chapter focuses on three nonfiction works that profoundly shaped literary responses to the nuclear reality: John Hersey's *Hiroshima* (1946), Robert J. Lifton's *Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima* (1967), and Jonathan Schell's *The Fate of the Earth* (1982). Hersey, Stone suggests, offered "primal images" of atomic horror that would endure for decades; Lifton sought to ground the nuclear experience in "universal psychological and psychohistorical principles"; while Schell's "doom-tinged litany" of nuclear war's potential effects, including the extinction of all life and thus of all memory, exerted its own power even though Schell's panacea—world government—struck many readers as a utopian cop-out.

Chapter 2 examines works dating from 1945 to 1963, the year the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty muted overt expressions of nuclear fear. Here, and indeed throughout the book, Stone offers many insights, noting for example, that the famous 1945 *Life* feature "The 36-Hour War," for all the shock effect of its images of a devastated Manhattan, was in fact "an exercise in sanitized sensationalism," avoiding any representation of corpses. The discussion of Walter Miller's *A Canticle for Leibowitz* (1959), a masterpiece of nuclear fiction, insightfully explores Miller's mordant view of science and his profoundly religious outlook.

Chapter 3 spans the years 1979-1992, from Reagan-era antinuclear activism through the early "post-nuclear" era. Here Stone focuses on such works as Harlan Ellison's haunting "I Have No Mouth, And I Must Scream" and "A Boy and His Dog," Kim Stanley Robinson's *The Wild Shore* (1984), Denis Johnson's *Fiskadora* (1985), Tim O'Brien's *The Nuclear Age* (1985), and Carolyn See's *Golden Days* (1987). Throughout, Stone attends closely to science fiction, recognizing SF writers' memorable contribution to the "nuclear fiction" genre.

Two useful chapters examine the children's writers and the poets who confronted nuclear war. The most effective poems on this theme, Stone argues, are the more private

and reflective ones, not the polemical jeremiads. Considering Allan Ginsberg's "Plutonium Ode" and "Nagasaki Days," Stone notes the tension between the poet's nuclear concerns and his Buddhist-inspired impulse to transcend the material realm entirely. Nevertheless, he praises "Plutonium Ode" as a brilliant exemplification of Wallace Stevens's dictum: "The poem is the cry of its occasion / Part of the res itself and not about it."

The final chapter discusses the work of various 1980s' cultural critics who tried to assess the bomb's cultural and psychological impact, praising especially Michael Perlman's Jungian *Imaqinal Memory and the Place of Hiroshima* (1988). While this chapter offers shrewd insights, particularly on the impact (or lack thereof) of postmodern literary theory, one wishes that Stone had taken this opportunity to move beyond the role of critic and offer in greater amplitude his own mature reflections on the larger ramifications of his topic.

Literary Aftershocks is a serious, rewarding study, full of arresting observations. Stone makes clear at the outset the work's subject matter: fiction and poetry. Outside his purview lie the art, drama, music, films, journalism, and pop-culture ephemera that incorporated nuclear themes, as well as most nonfiction writers except for Hersey, Lifton, Schell, and a few others. Such key figures as William Laurence of the *New York Times*, who crucially shaped initial perceptions of the bomb, and the journalist-activist Norman Cousins, for example, are mentioned fleetingly or not at all. But if the comprehensive cultural study of the nuclear age remains to be written, Stone's pathbreaking work represents an important contribution to that larger project.

University of Wisconsin, Madison Paul Boyer

THE AMERICAN CRAFTSMAN AND THE EUROPEAN TRADITION, 1620-1820. Edited by Michael Conforti and Francis J. Puig. Minneapolis, MN: The Minneapolis Institute of Art. 1989.

Students of American material culture have struggled with questions concerning the "Americanness" of American things. *The American Craftsman and the European Tradition, 1620-1820*, a catalogue from an exhibit of the same name undertaken by the Minneapolis Institute of Art (an exhibit the author of this review has not seen), examines these questions in relation to decorative arts.

The essays, written by leading art historians, provide a comparative analysis of early American furniture, silverware, glass, and ceramics within the context of European cultural traditions. The editors present the catalogue as a revisionist study of early American life, rejecting the "romantic" view of a "heroic American identity" often associated with colonial artifacts. Instead, contributors examine the slow process of aesthetic development from a dominant European core. The idea was not particularly novel in 1989 when the exhibit and catalogue were produced.

Contributors were to incorporate three primary foci into their individual studies: three-dimensional artifact analysis, a discussion of the process of design transfer, and an interpretation of design continuity and change in the colonial environment. By highlighting regional variation between 1620 and 1820, the catalogue compares craft traditions over space and time.

Two introductory chapters on the artisan in American and European society provides the context for the analyses of particular craftsmen. These seem out of place, however, since none of the essays examine craftsmen in relation to the political and social life of America. Too often contributors to the catalogue place a greater emphasis on the artistic

qualities of high-style objects, rather than their social, cultural, or technological aspects. This leaves the reader questioning the reasons for stylistic variation between regions, and between urban and rural areas.

The strengths of the catalogue are in its examination of the modes of design transfer from Europe to America (through immigration, pattern books, and direct copy of European-made pieces), its discussion of the effects of market demand in design decisions, and in furthering our knowledge of certain craftsmen and craft families operating in different regions throughout colonial America. The interaction between maker and market (or community) was a major determinant of design choices, and part of the process of innovation from the direct transfer of European design, to an independent style. Despite the limits of its interpretation, *The American Craftsman and the European Tradition, 1620-1820*, adds valuable insights into the literature of American material culture.

University of Notre Dame Michael G. Bennett

ALTOGETHER AMERICAN: Robert Mills, Architect and Engineer. By Rhodri Windsor Liscombe. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1994.

Robert Mills (1781-1855), arguably the earliest native-born and American-trained architect is the subject of a new biography by Professor Rhodri Windsor Liscombe, an established authority on Mills and his work. Mills is of interest not only because his work looms large in the history of American architecture during the first half of the nineteenth century, but that he also was a pioneer in the effort to elevate architectural practice to the status of a true profession, a goal not fully achieved, however, until the twentieth century. Both aspects, and more, are fully discussed by the author.

Mills, a native of Charleston, South Carolina, received his architectural training from several people, of whom the English-trained Benjamin Latrobe was the most important. Professionally, Mills headquartered sequentially in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Columbia, South Carolina before moving to Washington, where he spent the last twenty-five years of his life. Though not an innovative designer, he was a careful practitioner with wide ranging interests. For example, he made numerous proposals for the development of navigable waterways and the utilization of rail-reliant transport systems, while producing an extensive array of architectural projects, of which his public buildings (including the national Washington Monument) are perhaps the best known.

The biography of such a man will certainly hold an appeal for those equipped to quickly grasp Liscombe's descriptions and discussions of the many projects associated with Mills and also appreciate the nature of the obstacles he had to overcome in the pursuit of his profession. But this study of Mills contains more than a close examination of buildings, for Liscombe also provides us with a sizable amount of contextual information.

A substantial body of Mills papers and drawings survive, as do eighteen publications by him; thus Liscombe's research rests on a secure foundation, one strengthened by information drawn from pertinent government documents and the correspondence and papers of Mills's contemporaries. The author did an exceptional job of stitching together the data gathered from these primary sources, as well as from the scholarship of others. The result is not only a detailed view of the architect and his work, but a summary of the circumstances within which Mills labored (sometimes in vain), complete with the politics and rivalries of antebellum Washington.

The Washington years, chapters five and six (out of seven), represent about half of the book's text, and this is the portion of the biography which clearly has value for those

who might have a greater interest in history than in architecture. Close reading is required (including the footnotes); however, the effort can be rewarding. The only problematic aspect derives from the fact that the many illustrations reproducing original plans, elevations, and historic photographs are rather small. In a book of this sort, illustrations are an integral part of the argument; a reader should not have to resort to a lens as often as I did in order to fully use that data.

In summary, this book is a meticulously documented account of the life and work of a truly important figure in the architectural history of the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century, while also informing the reader of the nature and role of architecture (and civil engineering) during the period, plus also making clear how architecture can also mirror individual and civic aspirations.

University of Missouri, Kansas City George Ehrlich

ALICE PIKE BARNEY: Her Life and Art. By Jean L. Kling. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. 1994.

Alice Pike Barney (1857-1931) was an eccentric, Gilded-Age socialite best remembered today for the Studio House, the gloriously cluttered Mission-style retreat cum salon she built for herself in Washington's Sheridan Circle in 1904 as a kind of declaration of independence from the whims of a stuffy, alcoholic husband who did her the courtesy of dying the year before. The Barney house now belongs to the Smithsonian's National Museum of American Art, along with a large collection of Mrs. Barney's own highly derivative work as a portraitist. Jean Kling, author of this biography, is curator of the collection.

Barney's paintings are far less interesting, in the end, than the famous artists with whom she studied and socialized during periodic escapes to Paris. James Whistler is the most important of these figures (and a key source for her rampant exoticism) but she also had significant encounters with the likes of Oscar Wilde, Ruth St. Denis, John White Alexander, and African explorer Henry Morton Stanley — her first fiancé — that seem to account for the high incidence of peacock feathers, wild-eyed Salomes, drowned maidens, and mysterious rites in the pictures reproduced here. Kling wisely refrains from judging Barney's work too harshly, however. She remained, after all, only an amateur, albeit one with financial advantages. And that is the real focus of the book: the terms under which women of wealth, taste, leisure—and some talent—could exert their influence in turn-of-the-century America, without exposing themselves, their husbands, and their children to withering social opprobrium.

One strategic ploy was the salon, that peculiar combination of chic social ritual and art that flowered in Barney's era, thanks in no small measure to her own efforts. The photographs of her Studio House in full bloom make it clear that the salon was a dramatic form in which the hostess attended to details of setting and composition, and the guests became unscripted actors or dancers in some vast pageant of refined and elevated sentiment. It is not so much a function of Barney's own flightiness that she dabbled in painting, dance, and theater, mastering none of them. It is instead a reflection of a new art form in the making.

Call it performance art. Barney lived it. Although Kling does not comment on the phenomenon, the many photographs of Barney at various stages in her career show her striking poses, adopting roles, playing with costume and fashion, and trying out, as it were, for a part in her own life. Small wonder that the portrait was her preferred medium. The self was her medium, her instrument, and her finest creation.

Her daughters were as peculiar and original as Alice herself. Natalie, who lived in France, and staged homages to Sappho in Grecian garb in her garden at Neuilly, was painter Romaine Brook's lover for nearly forty years. Laura proselytized for the Bahai religion. Alice, for her part, took a second husband thirty years her junior and wound up in Hollywood in her old age, an aspiring playwright who bore a startling resemblance to Mae West.

There are missed opportunities here—chances to compare Barney to her better-known contemporaries, such as Mable Dodge, and to examine the operations of art communes or colonies, like Onteora, to which Barney repaired (Dodge was an art-colony junkie, too). But this handsome book should prove useful to anyone interested in the *fin de siècle* relationship between society and the arts, the terms in which women once constructed lives for themselves, and the uses to which Americans have turned their seasonal exiles in Europe.

University of Minnesota Karal Ann Marling

PINNACLES AND PYRAMIDS: The Art of Marsden Hartley. By Jeanne Hokin. New Mexico.

Art historians have canonized Marsden Hartley (1877-1943) as a prophet of abstraction in modern American painting. The artist's assimilation of Wassily Kandinsky's innovations in abstraction in the 1910s served past scholars and critics of American art in their anxious attempts to construct and validate a modernist tradition in America-rooted predominantly in European precedent. However, due to the Euro-modernist paradigm which has, until recent years, regulated the study of American art, Hartley's canonization was conditional at best. The scholars and critics who heralded his work from the 1910's effectively minimalized and devalued the imagery from the last three decades of his life when the painter gave up European-inspired abstraction and returned to landscape and figurative imagery in a highly personal and idiosyncratic style. This bias which dictated perceptions of Hartley's career was perhaps most powerfully expressed by William Innes Homer in his text, *Alfred Stieglitz and the American Avant-Garde* (1977), as the author, with a grave and dismissive tone, proclaimed "when [in 1915] Hartley was forced to abandon the congenial creative ambiance of Berlin...his style faltered.... [His] most important period was over" (233). The scholarly hand which granted Hartley respectable stature in the annals of American art also took it away.

Jeanne Hokin's *Pinnacles and Pyramids: The Art of Marsden Hartley* participates in a move by contemporary scholars to reconsider Hartley's career on the artist's own merits. Generally disengaged from discussions of modernism, Hokin's revisionist approach focuses exclusively on Hartley's landscapes—specifically on his depiction of mountains—and traces them chronologically through their varied stylistic permutations. Hokin's text, then, forms a sustained iconographic analysis heretofore absent from Hartley scholarship. By highlighting Hartley's depiction of the mountain motif—the "thread of continuity" running through his diverse imagery (21)—Hokin intends to gain clearer and more direct access to the essence of Hartley: the man, the artist, and his career.

Hokin begins her chronological analysis of Hartley's life and work by recounting the sketchy events constituting the painter's difficult childhood in Maine, including the death of his mother and estrangement from his father. The author immediately posits nature's imminent importance to Hartley in these tragic early experiences resulting in persistent feelings of loss and loneliness. According to Hokin, the surrounding countryside became

"his adolescent sanctuary from despair" and subsequently served Hartley as a site of potential identification, comfort, and understanding throughout his artistic career (1). Furthermore, Hokin attributes Hartley's continued affinity with nature to the painter's identification with Ralph Waldo Emerson and his Transcendental philosophy. "Both had," according to Hokin, "a passionate love of nature and a particularly profound attachment to mountains" rooted in traumatic childhood loss (3). The biographic thrust of Hartley's attraction to the mountain coupled with and reinforced by Emerson's philosophy forms the basis of Hokin's text, a basis to which she often returns.

After establishing this touchstone for her analysis of Hartley's art, Hokin proceeds to survey the artist's depictions of the mountain motif through their numerous stylistic changes while contextualizing Hartley's career within the broader scope of American art and social history. Furthermore, Hokin turns to Hartley's numerous writings as a barometer of the artist's fluctuating confidence and happiness as, in search of inspiration, security, and acceptance, he moved from place to place: from Maine to New York, to Paris and Berlin, to New Mexico, and, again, to Europe. Hartley's nomadic and restless personality prompted an artistic career informed by many—often divergent—aesthetic influences including the Italian divisionist, Giovanni Segantini; the America Romantic, Albert Pinkham Ryder; in addition to Kandinsky, Cezanne, and Matisse. Moreover, particular geographic locales, such a New Mexico and Mexico, provoked a more personal artistic expression rooted more deeply in Hartley's imagination. Of all the artist's available sources, Hokin singles out Cezanne as the most important in Hartley's career. According to Hokin, Cezanne unveiled to Hartley, "an entirely new perception of nature—a world of direct optical experience of light and color disregarding traditional form, depth, and design" (63). However, Cezanne's ultimate influence on Hartley would have more to do with ideological approach than with style since "what he took from the older master was...a more generalized nature, which would develop...into an artistic maturity" (66).

Despite European culture's undeniable influence on Hartley, a central theme running throughout *Pinnacles and Pyramids* is Hartley's "American-ness." Up until the end of his life, Hartley expressed intensely conflicted feelings about his homeland while generally being perceived by others as an expatriate. Consequently, the degree to which Hartley's work reflects a native or a more European sensibility has concerned most Hartley scholars. That Hokin wishes to contribute her voice to this complex and important scholarly debate is not surprising. However, Hokin distinguishes herself by declaring, "what has not always been sufficiently emphasized...is that despite the myriad influences, the artist...always identified with his American heritage, his specifically American roots in New England, and his unique American Transcendental philosophy" (34). Consequently, Hokin emphasizes throughout her text a consistent native aesthetic impulse in Hartley's art, an aesthetic sensibility Hartley himself termed "American mysticism." American mysticism, as the author discusses it with reference to Hartley, is the artistic process by which a personal mystical vision is extracted from the observable world. The fact that Hartley—even in his most abstract mode from 1913 to 1915—retained recognizable form from nature in his imagery suggests to Hokin Hartley's participation in this uniquely American tradition derived ultimately from Emerson and Whitman. Hokin convincingly recanonizes Hartley, not as a prophet of abstraction, but as the inheritor of the Transcendental tradition in American art inaugurated by the 19th-century landscape painter Thomas Cole.

Perhaps because Hokin has chosen to focus exclusively on Hartley's landscapes, the issue of the artist's homosexuality is treated politely, if incidentally, with reference to his work. Hokin carries a common, yet extremely problematic, methodological assumption

to her analysis of Hartley—the assumption that a homosexual/erotic or "queer" sensibility is made manifest only in depictions of the male figure. More broadly, this assumption (inaccurately) suggests that subjects such landscapes are somehow uninformed by the artist's sexual identity. Hokin perpetuates this assumption in her study of Hartley's landscapes and, as a result, glosses over important aspects of the artist's personal life, namely, the deaths of Karl von Freyburg and Alty Mason, both of whom Hartley passionately loved. (In fact, the death of Alty Mason inexcusably receives only parenthetical mention in the author's endnotes because the tragic event "lies beyond the scope of this book" [133]). In her inability or unwillingness to resolve Hartley's sexuality with his depiction of landscape, the author misses the true depth of Hartley's work. It is precisely in the intimate relationship between the landscape and Hartley's sexual identity that makes his imagery—particularly the late paintings—so rich and provocative. Clearly, Hartley conceived of his mountains in masculine and often erotic terms. They were his "comrades" of whom he painted "portraits." Moreover, the artist discussed the male anatomy in terms of geology. For example, Alty Mason's back seemed to Hartley "like an acre of granite." Though Hokin occasionally admits the "anthropomorphic quality" and "sexual aura" of some select images, she seems ultimately determined to keep issues of spirituality and sexuality separate as they relate to Hartley's landscapes. Despite Hokin's views, spirituality and sexuality are not mutually exclusive realms in Hartley's art. Rather, they are combined to produce rich and complex images of mountains which possess formal as well as psychological parallels with the artist's late depictions of the male figure. In her conclusion, Hokin states that "the mountain became the essential icon of [Hartley's] personal existence: his mother, his father, his Creator..." Though at times he was uncomfortable with his sexual orientation Hartley's homosexuality was also essential to his existence. In the absence of the intimacy he longed for with von Freyburg and Mason, Hartley turned to the mountain to be his lover as well.

From the broadest perspective, *Pinnacles and Pyramids* speaks to the growth and validation of the study of American art over the past 10 to 15 years. Hokin proudly and permanently reclaims Marsden Hartley as an artist who, in addition to contributing to developments of international modernism, also participated in equally important indigenous aspects of American art and culture. Hartley literature was in need of a specialized study which began to break down the largely arbitrary boundaries of style to address larger ideas and concerns relative to his work. The next step in the study of Hartley is to disrupt the arbitrary boundaries of ostensible subject matter which Hokin has imposed to address issues of gender, sexuality, and identity as they inform the whole of his artistic production—his still-lifes, landscapes, and late figurative works.

University of Kansas Randall Griffey

SCIENCE IN THE BEDROOM: A History of Sex Research. By Vern L. Bullough. New York: Basic Books. 1994.

American Studies readers eager for new insights into the history of sexuality are likely to be disappointed in this whiggish overview of sex research from the Greeks to the present. Indeed, even the most traditional of scholars will deplore its breathless handling of complex issues and its sound-bite organizational style, which divides chapters into sometimes as many as 14 subtopics, erratically conceptualized and inadequately explored. In a chapter entitled "From Freud to Biology to Kinsey", for example, Sigmund Freud, Alfred Adler, Wilhelm Stekel, Carl Jung, Wilhelm Reich, and Herbert Marcuse all receive

between a half and a page-and-a-half's worth of attention, before the author moves on to subheadings, equally short-shrifted, ranging from Animal Studies, Historical Data , Studies of Premarital Sexual Activities, and Homosexuality and Lesbianism, to Alfred Kinsey. If there is rhyme and reason for these juxtapositions (a page on Foucault is sandwiched between "Feminism" and "Rape") the reader remains ignorant of the whys and wherefores.

Perhaps even more baffling is that, although Bullough seems peripherally aware of some of the most recent literature on the history of sexuality (Friedman and D'Emilio are cited once, and even Gayle Rubin, Bryan S. Turner, and Donna Harraway share a footnote), he doesn't integrate these conceptual breakthroughs into his narrative. Indeed, the book lacks a general theme, other than the truism that physicians and scientists, for various reasons, have always been interested in sex and have learned a great deal about it in the past several hundred years.

Moreover, in his handling of ideas about sex, the author barely nods in the direction of social construction theory. None of the new and exciting work in the history of science—for example, that of Steve Shapin, Simon Schaffer, Adrian Desmond, or, closer to his topic, Thomas Laqueur, all of whom emphasize the social production of scientific knowledge or the role of science and medicine in mediating issues of gender, class, and race finds a place in this book. Bullough often conflates sex and gender and essentializes sex differences, even when aware that he shouldn't. I suspect that this comes in part from an underlying loyalty to a medical model which for too many scholars is simply no longer viable. Even tensions within the field of sexology are inadequately explored, especially conflict between biomedical researchers and humanists, and disagreements over adjustment therapies catalyzed by the reluctance of some sexologists to examine sexuality within the context of unequal gender relations. Disorders of desire, as Janice Irvine has so skillfully demonstrated in her own study of modern sexology, occur primarily because desire, too, has a social content. Regrettably, none of these more interesting questions find a hearing in Bullough's present study.

University of Michigan Regina Morantz-Sanchez

"DADDY'S GONE TO WAR": The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children. By William M. Tuttle, Jr. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993.

Few historians will argue with the proposition that the Second World War had a profound impact on American society. Most of us would guess that it had a similar impact on the American family, but until now, we would have lacked a sustained scholarly study of that impact. For all the talk in American society about families, it is difficult to learn very much about how they have actually functioned. Family structure and such issues as birth rates, death rates, and age at first marriage can be ascertained from census data. Sometimes, through careful analysis of such data, we can learn the extent of parental control of their children's marriages, but for the most part how family members actually related to each other is terrain only poorly lighted by an occasional diary or manuscript collection. In the most important of his contributions, William Tuttle has taken us inside many American families during and after the Second World War to reveal their inner workings. Here we find out how Americans adjusted to the dislocations and disruptions resulting from war: the migrations of many new brides and sweethearts who followed their husbands and significant others to distant military bases; the entrance of women, including married women and mothers, into the work force in great numbers during the war and the

familial adjustments required as a result; the shattering impact of the death of husbands and fathers on families; and the pronounced difficulties many families faced when husbands and fathers returned home after the war was over.

Tuttle documents a variety of programs that indicated considerable governmental concern for the welfare and future of the nation's children, such as the development of new government programs to meet the needs of military dependents, and limited government funding for day care facilities. Early in the war there was talk of evacuating children from population centers as the British had done, but Americans rejected this idea because of the emotional upset the British children had suffered. Still, Americans worked about what impact mothers working outside their home would have on their children, and as a consequence the study of children, especially in the field of developmental psychology, expanded dramatically during the war.

In addition to government programs and the studies of social scientists, Tuttle also discusses many other aspects of children's lives—school practices, radio programs, motion pictures, and some of the war games children played. All of these areas are well grounded in traditional sources, but they are much enhanced by the data contained in the 2,500 letters Tuttle collected as a part of his research. These letters were written in response to advertisements placed in major metropolitan newspapers and they describe the writers' memories of their own experiences during the war. Among the most poignant of those experiences were the major difficulties many American families had to confront when fathers returned home. Fathers saw themselves as restoring discipline and order to a chaotic situation; they also insisted upon a return to *status quo antebellum* so far as relations between the sexes and sex roles were concerned. Yet many families had worked well in the father's absence. Conflict rather than celebration seemed to characterized the period after Daddy came home.

"Daddy's Gone to War" is a work rich with description and immediacy. Most of the information available from traditional sources is buttressed by quotations from the letters. The result is a remarkably readable and coherent account of personal experience during the war. And, unlike many works about American children, Tuttle here includes children's voices—at least the voices of adults recalling the experiences of their childhoods. Thus Tuttle's work is a major contribution to the study of the histories of American children and to our understanding of the profound impact the Second World War had on American life.

The University of Memphis Joseph M. Hawes

LEARNING TOGETHER: A History of Coeducation in American Public Schools. By David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1990.

As American society moves toward the twenty-first century, public schools continue to be a milieu for social discourse. Issues involving race, class, ethnicity, gender and religion have been and are hotly debated topics that permeate discussions of who should be schooled and how, who should control schools, and who should pay for public education. In a co-authored, comprehensive analysis, David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot chronicle America's two centuries of public schooling "viewed through the lens of gender." As in their earlier co-authored books, *Managers of Virtue* and *Public Schools in Hard Times* (with Robert Lowe), Tyack and Hansot provide readers with a thoughtful and readable study that effectively documents America's past and present debates on gender and school policy.

Driven by optimistic faith as well as fears, "Americans have made public education the repository of their hopes and anxieties about the gender order of the larger society" (5).

Unsure about the need to educate females, Americans justified educating girls by defining and expanding women's role as "republican" wife and mother. Female education also provided a means of adapting to the changing economic and family roles of men and women brought about by urbanization and industrialization in the early nineteenth century. By the 1830s and with the creation of the Common School, coeducation became the accepted method for public school education. First in primary education and later in high schools, proponents and opponents of coeducation debated the "effeminization" of boys, effects of women teachers, sex-segregated curricula, and ways to readjust the high school to insure male attendance and male academic superiority in the classrooms. Viewing female academic success as a threat to established gender roles: "Male educators thought that public schools must be defective if girls did better than boys" (166). To correct this "defect," early twentieth-century educators introduced competitive sports, particularly football, which seemed to convince the public and educators that the national character would not be effeminized by the presence of women students and women teachers. The most recent critics of coeducation, contemporary feminists, began to question and criticize this masculinization, stating that schools not only have been genderized for males but at the expense of females who have been damaged both academically and personally by the schools' reinforcement of sexism in the larger society.

This book provides a much needed historical analysis of coeducation and its resistance to and reinforcement of gender ideology in American schools. Although Colonial and Antebellum education is discussed briefly in the first few chapters, the book's focus is from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. The authors give readers a well-balanced narrative that clearly articulates historical arguments of proponents and opponents of coeducation in the United States. Historians of education and social historians will appreciate the well-documented synthesis of primary and secondary sources that include some discussion of regional differences. This is important since individual states and communities create and administer public schools in the United States and have done so, until recent decades, with very little federal assistance or interference.

The authors limit their analysis to an institutional focus, choosing, at times, to ignore the larger patriarchal culture from which the school is created. This approach weakens the study and it is hard to understand why the authors chose it, since throughout their entire analysis patriarchy limits and defines the issues and conflicts for students, teachers, educators, and the public at large. For example, the twentieth-century high school was "originally designed for boys...as a distinctly masculine institution" (120). Yet in their conclusion the authors state that the schools were "hard to categorize as distinctively male or female" (289) and "more gender-neutral than most other institutions" (290).

Although the authors often argue the "naturalness" of coeducation by citing family and church where men and women reside together, gender equity is much more than both sexes sitting in the same classroom and utilizing the same curriculum.

Coeducation in no way insures equal treatment in schools, any more than women's important contributions to the institutions of family and church have assured gender equity. What the authors seem to overlook or readily dismiss is that what is "natural" to all three settings is the influence of patriarchy which insures that these institutions benefit males, often at the expense of females. Did girls really experience the school setting (and coeducation) as distinctively different from the gender limitations inherent in other aspects of their lives? The authors seem to think so. "Girls received more egalitarian treatment in their coeducational classrooms than in many other parts of their lives" (289). I am less convinced. Indeed, coeducation may have succeeded because it effectively mirrored and did not challenge patriarchy and gender roles in the larger society.

This book will have a broad appeal to academics and the general public who continue to debate gender policies and practices in the schools as well as the larger society. Well written and informative, *Learning Together* should appeal to anyone who looks for an historical perspective to understand present gender debates or to help create gender policy for the twenty-first century.

Avila College Carol K. Coburn

THE MIND OF THE SOUTH: Fifty Years Later. Edited by Charles W. Eagles. Jackson and London: University Press of Mississippi. 1992.

When W. J. Cash's angry meditation on the South first appeared in 1941, critics generally reviewed it favorably. No one could deny the force of its argument, and the rich metaphors of its writing seemed to carry all readers forward with the power of the mighty Mississippi. It simply seemed the most southern book ever written on the history of the South. But it was not until after 1960, when the Vintage paperback edition became available, that *The Mind of the South* became practically a cult book among those who cared about, or despised, or were merely curious about the region that sat like a giant sphinx within the national borders. Few would have questioned C. Vann Woodward's statement in a 1969 essay that "no other book on Southern history rivals Cash's influence among laymen and few among professional historians" (quoted several times but first on p. ix). But in that same essay Woodward offered a penetrating criticism of Cash's sole book, a criticism that was soon picked up by several other eminent historians, among them Eugene D. Genovese and Michael O'Brien.

By the 1970s, the book had gone into disrepute and was more often cited by modern historians only to be refuted, or more reverently, cited as a literary flip-of-the-hat to a once acclaimed book that was now assumed to be more quaint or exotic than relevant to any issue at hand. Cash, it was now obvious, slighted both blacks and women; he exaggerated the theme of continuity; he caricatured southern religion; his South was only the North Carolina piedmont writ large. And yet the book lives on, and in the last decade or so has picked up defenders who are quick to acknowledge its faults (and show that they are the faults of practically all historians/commentators of the time) and skilled at demonstrating its interpretative staying power. So *The Mind of the South* has had a fascinating career, a career examined by a major symposium at the University of Mississippi in 1991 that resulted in this important book of essays and commentaries.

There is still no substitute for reading *The Mind of the South,* but every student either before or after reading it—and probably both—should now turn to this collection of essays, along with a similar volume of essays edited by Paul D. Escott, W. J. *Cash and the Minds of the South* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1992). The collection of essays in the volume here under review engage the reader in a provocative seminar with Cash, and the range of opinions offered are a good barometer of exactly what keeps alive *The Mind of the South.* Bruce Clayton, the author of the best biography of Cash, opens with a brief biographical sketch but focuses primarily on what Clayton reasons to have been the intellectual sources of Cash's work, concluding that Cash read widely but wrote more out of his heart and hurt than from his note cards. Anne Goodwyn Jones, a literary scholar, follows Clayton's essay with a brilliant interpretation of Cash as a Marxist of the Gramscian school whose work subversively dances back and forth along the line separating history from fiction, facts from ideas, and then she offers a feminist critique of his work. The result, as Michael O'Brien suggests in a witty commentary, is stunning but ultimately unpersuasive.

Orville Vernon Burton provides a deeply researched tour through the historiography of the antebellum South to reveal the influence of Cash's portrayal of the Old South, but Don H. Doyle in his commentary suggests that Burton fails to convince that Cash actually influenced every subsequent historian who discussed similar topics. James L. Roark takes up Cash's influential theme of continuity and shows that Cash significantly underestimated the impact of the Civil War and the reality of black emancipation. Lacy K. Ford, Jr., agrees with Roark's critique and offers an insightful analysis of how Cash helped create a historiographical truism, southern distinctiveness. Edward L. Ayers enumerates all the errors in Cash's depiction of the New South but praises it for its boldness of interpretation in comparison to which Ayers finds much recent historical writing on the period to be analytically anemic and stylistically tepid. Lynda Reed agrees with Ayers's characterization of Cash's book but is markedly more generous toward later historians than is Ayers. The final major essay is by John Shelton Reed, southern historians' favorite sociologist, and he does not disappoint. Funny, smart, generous, and critical all at the same time, he helps us see beyond present-day criticisms of *The Mind of the South* to its continuing importance both as a period piece and a "cry from the heart" (156) that still can touch and teach the sensitive reader. Bertram Wyatt-Brown concludes the volume with a commentary that barely glances at Reed's paper but essays a largely freestanding psychobiographical portrait of Cash the word artist.

I well remember, in 1970, meeting a childhood friend of my wife across the street from the Baltimore public library; in preparation for visiting the Deep South she had read *The Mind of the South* and was now returning it to the library. As we crossed the street together this sophisticated traveler showed me the book and asked, "Isn't this the book I should read before I go?" In the minute available I could only answer, "Yes, but..." and offer a few demurrers. A generation of reading later, I still would say "yes," but my "but" would be more emphatic. This is one of the books I would suggest for her reading list after she returned.

Rice University John B. Boles

A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE: Reshaping the American Suburb. By Philip Langdon. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1994.

LOCAL ATTACHMENTS: The Making of an American Urban Neighborhood, 1850-1920. By Alexander von Hoffman. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994.

Two recent books by Philip Langdon and Alexander von Hoffman address the decline of community in contemporary America and link the theme of civic participation to the kinds of places people live. Langdon's subject is contemporary suburban design, while von Hoffman's is civic life in a late nineteenth century urban neighborhood, but together, their work reveals a continuing anxiety of Americans over the state of their democracy and the willingness of historians and others to look to the past for clues to navigating a troubled present.

Building on interviews with suburbanites, developers, architects, and planners, and extensive visual analysis of suburban neighborhoods, Philip Langdon develops a searching criticism of contemporary suburban design and offers a prescription for designing "better places to live." In Langdon's eyes, suburbs built since the Second World War have encouraged a style of life harmful to individuals, families and public life. By drawing on lessons of traditional town and neighborhood design, he argues, American suburbs could

better cushion the blows of modern life and foster a more active community life. Finally, he details the work of "neo-traditionalist" community designers, who, he argues, point the way to a better future.

Readers of Jane Jacobs will find much that is familiar in Langdon's prescriptions. Like Jacobs, Langdon advocates designing neighborhoods with more density, more diversity—of people, building types, and land uses—and more pedestrian traffic. Langdon's ideal is the middle class neighborhood typical of pre-automobile suburbs. Through perceptive analysis and well chosen photographs, he shows what works and why. Moreover, several case studies demonstrate—Seaside, Florida, most engagingly—that alternatives to mainstream suburban developments exist and that they can be built at a profit.

Despite the enticing picture of redesigned suburban neighborhoods, Langdon's book has its weaknesses. His omission of a role for central city neighborhoods — most of which already possess the design features he recommends—is particularly glaring. Americans outside the "middle class" also receive exceptionally short shrift. Moreover, Langdon's critique of suburbia's social consequences could be stronger. For example, he ignores pollution and environmental damage until the final pages of the book. Missing altogether is the cost of automobile-dependent living in human life and health—43,000 deaths and 2 million injuries by automobile, in 1993.

If Langdon places his hopes for a revitalized American civic life in a redesigned physical environment, then Alexander von Hoffman's important book reminds us that the vibrant public society for which Langdon's ideal neighborhoods were built drew its strength from far more than bricks and mortar.

Tracing the physical, economic, social, and political development of Boston's Jamaica Plain, von Hoffman argues that "the neighborhood was the cornerstone of American urban society" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (119). In contrast to Sam Bass Warner, Jr. and Robert Wiebe, who have stressed the disruptive impact of industrialization and urbanization on community life, von Hoffman illustrates that the development of mass society did not preclude the flowering of a rich community life rooted in urban neighborhoods. Urbanization may have torn at the fabric of American society, but local attachments to neighborhoods like Jamaica Plain provided an anchor for diverse Americans in a rapidly changing world.

Von Hoffman locates the roots of this neighborhood civic life in local economic life, voluntary associations, pro-growth organizing, and ward based politics. Local factories, for example, inspired solidarity among neighborhood workers, and, von Hoffman asserts, they also encouraged resident owners to express a "commitment to place as well as to profit" (100). Ward politics built coalitions across class, ethnic, and religious lines, and the politics of local improvement linked local real estate developers, downtown merchants, Yankee commuters and ethnic workers in common cause. Lastly, Jamaica Plainers maintained "a startling array of local organizations"—churches, religious auxiliaries, schools, lodges and innumerable clubs—that nurtured loyalty to neighborhood even as they allowed residents to associate along gender, class, ethnic, religious, or racial lines. In a heterogeneous neighborhood, then, many arenas encouraged residents to form local attachments that linked them to neighborhood and to one another.

Although von Hoffman masterfully recreates the complex public life of this urban neighborhood, he de-emphasizes or ignores internal conflicts that might have revealed even greater local complexity, and his analysis of working class behavior is inexcusably thin. He devotes but one provocative paragraph to "periodic" strikes against local

factories, for example (100-101). Elsewhere he raises and dismisses the issue of local working class saloon culture in a single sentence (147).

Even with these disabilities, von Hoffman reveals a complex social organism, rooted in a distinct historical context. As the twentieth century began, however, new forces eroded its economic, physical, social, and political foundations, leaving but a shell of its former vitality. Given the complexity of this public creature, von Hoffman warns against "efforts to reintroduce one element of the historic neighborhood without regard to the entire context in which it functioned" (248). Langdon would revitalize community in metropolitan America, in part, by re-housing Americans in a more traditional physical environment. Von Hoffman, by contrast, illustrates the limits of this prescription. To use an environmental analogy, von Hoffman shows that re-housing a fiddler crab in a nautilus shell will not likely transform the crustacean into a mollusk. Nonetheless, Langdon is persuasive that it might still provide the crab with a better place to live.

University of Kansas Andrew Wiese

Corrections

Due to editorial oversight, several typographical and syntax errors appeared in the following book reviews from the Fall, 1994 issue:

p. 139, David Lubin's name was spelled incorrectly in his review of *Walt Whitman and the Visual Arts*, by G.M. Sill and R.K. Tarbell. We apologize to Professor Lubin for the error.

p. 123, par. 1, ln. 8, In Barry Shank's review of Eric Lott's *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*, the phrase "contest ground" is incorrect. The correct text should be "contested ground".

p. 154, par. 2, ln. 20, In Michelle Burnham's review of *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, by Amy Kaplan, the phrase "the strategies of its critique" is incorrect. The correct text should read "the strategies of imperialism and the strategies of its critique". Also, the name of the publisher was incorrectly typed, and should read "Duke University Press".

p. 152, par. 2, ln. 13-14, In Kevin Van Anglen's review of *America's British Culture*, by Russell Kirk, the phrase "to take their arguments' serious claims" is incorrect. The correct phrase should read "to take their arguments seriously - not least because the multiculturalists often *do* make serious claims - and then...".

p. 153, par. 5, ln. 23, The phrase "his discussion of English literature is the expression of is collective soul;" is incorrect. The correct phrase is "his discussion of English literature not only contains factual errors, but gives vent to the now discredited nineteenth-century view that a nation's literature is the expression of its collective soul;".

We apologize to Professor Shank, Professor Burnham, Professor Van Anglen and our readers for the errors.

Volume 35, 2 (Fall, 1994) "Notes on Contributors" (p. 4): In Winifred Morgan's biographical information, her attendance at the 1991 NEH Seminar "The Slave Narrative Tradition in African-American Literature" in Lawrence, Kansas was omitted. We apologize to Professor Morgan for the omission.