Book Reviews

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Reviews

WAS HUCK BLACK ?: Mark Twain and African American Voices. By Shelley Fisher Fishkin. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993.

Cultural pluralism as the dominant paradigm of current American studies receives in this book a resounding endorsement and exemplification. Shelley Fisher Fishkin's *Was Huck Black ?* is an ambitious and provocative examination of the creation of an American classic and, more broadly, of a turning point in literary-cultural history. "My goal is to foreground the role previously neglected African-American voices played in shaping Mark Twain's art in *Huckleberry Finn*. Given that book's centrality in our culture, the points I make implicitly illuminate, as well, how African-American voices have shaped our sense of what is distinctively 'American' about American literature." (9) Backing up this bold claim—which, some might argue, is something of a stretcher for a tidy narrative only 144 pages long—the author's Acknowledgments thank no fewer than 31 scholars, novelists, and other intellectuals, black and white. In addition, another 38 are thanked for lesser acts of assistance and approval. Fisher Fishkin's interrogatory title is both modest and provocative, but it provokes a return query: what justifies this truly impressive array of sponsors or abettors, induding among others Ralph Ellison, Toni Morrison, and David Bradley; Louis Budd, Arnold Ampersad, William L. Andrews, and Henry Louis Gates, Jr.; Hal Holbrook and Justin Kaplan?

In reply, the author advances a series of thoughtfully tentative speculations based on quite traditional biographical, historical, social, and literary sources. Her first strategy is to recapitulate the century-long debate over *Huckleberry Finn*. In the 1880s and 90s, Twain's novel was condemned and then ignored by many genteel readers and critics as an uncouth, even heretical mixture of children's fiction, low comedy, and social satire. At issue was the author's choice of an untutored white Missouri boy's voice as the narrative vehicle for a disturbing dramatization of American slavery and racism. Had nineteenth-century

readers known what Fisher Fishkin now shows was the actual range and content of Mark Twain's personal knowledge of African Americans—through figures from his boyhood like Mary Quarles, Jerry, and Black John, as well as black storytellers, servants, and recipients of the adult writer's philanthropy—they would have been even more upset. For Twain's ear and imagination were early arrested by the rhetorical skills of illiterate black speakers relating directly, or by "signifying" indirection, their experiences of slavery and white oppression. These black companions and servants shared much of the same rural speech as Tom Blankenship, the white lad Twain said was his model for Huck. Among Twain's early stories featuring black speakers are "Sociable Jimmy" (a sketch this critic rescues from the New York *Times* of November, 1874), "A True Story," "The Golden Arm," and "Corn-Pone Opinions." Later, in several unpublished pieces, the world-famous author went further celebrating black eloquence and questioning accepted notions of white racial superiority. At the same time, though, Mark Twain's colloquial art reflected throughout his career the conscious and unconscious attitudes of his race, era, and adopted social class. *Tom Sawyer, Huckleberry Finn*, and *Pudd'nhead Wilson* demonstrate the ambiguous tugs and tensions felt by this ex-Southerner who came to national fame at the very moment that Reconstruction advances for American Negroes were brutally and callously removed. Fisher Fishkin underscores the findings of other scholars in interpreting Jim's character, language, and fate as indirect satiric denunciation of a post-Civil War society toying with black freedom as Tom Sawyer toys with Jim's in the Evasion.

What in the last century was blatant removal of black American voices from public dialogue became, in the present century, a more subtle suppression. White and black literatures continue to this day as often segregated activities and achievements. (Indeed, Fisher Fishkin never critically examines from a black viewpoint the cultural program of white canonization of white "classics.") The vernacular voices of Huck and Jim may have inspired Hemingway and Faulkner, Richard Wright and Ralph Fllison. But literary history, fiction, and criticism still divides largely along racial lines and the intricate interconnections Shelley Fisher Fishkin suggests have, too often and tragically, been ignored. "No one would attempt to write a segregated history of American music," she points out, "but the history of American literature has, for the most part, been a segregated enterprise . . . It is time to acknowledge the very mixed literary bloodlines on both sides." (135)

Cultural syncretism versus American racism remains at once battleground and background of our social and literary history. Mark Twain's vernacular voices, often issuing in words, rhythms, stories, and imagery drawn from Southern black American speech, should, if really attended to, help to deconstruct race as a crucial desideratum of cultural analysis. Yet Fisher Fishkin also emphasizes Twain's own complicity in the separation—a reflection of his Southern white American maleness. One consequence has been the post-Sixties

attacks on Twain's white "classic". Respecting the charge that Jim is a condescending white racial stereotype, she aptly observes that "reading Huckleberry Finn in a secondary-school classroom can be an enormously painful experience for a black student. Twain's sympathy for Jim may have been genuine, but Jim's voice retains enough of minstrelsy in it to be demeaning and depressing . . . Yet Jim's is often the only black voice on the syllabus." (106-7)

Until this double disgrace is dealt with, she concludes, American literature and culture will remain impoverished, divided, unjust, and its pioneering achievements often misread or ignored. Thus the antebellum prophecy of Margaret Fuller will remain: a true "American literature," she wrote in 1846, *will not rise till the fusion of the races among us is more complete.*" Despite recent efforts by novelists like James Baldwin, William Styron, and (most successfully, for this reviewer) John Clellon Holmes, polite separation and mutual misunderstanding persist. In the minds of its devotees, Holmes' *The Horn* reigns almost unique as a signal demonstration of a white imagination representing through jazz a richly vernacular vision of black life. This situation should begin to change if readers and writers, teachers and critics, publishers and book reviewers heed the message of Shelley Fisher Fishkin.

University of Iowa Albert E. Stone

ON THE TRANSLATION OF NATIVE AMERICAN LITERATURES. Brian Swann, editor. Washington, D.C. Smithsonian Institution Press. 1992.

The first "hermeneutical motion" of translation is "initiative trust, an investment of belief, underwritten by previous experience," George Steiner wrote in *After Babel.* The "demonstrative statement of understanding which is translation, starts with an act of trust."

Native American Indian literatures have endured trust, manifest manners, and the aspersions of translation for more than three centuries. Brian Swann, in this notable collection of essays on translation, explaines that given "the history of this hemisphere, to settle for the dignity of mystery is far preferable to any claim of definitiveness."

The mysteries are fancied as that touch of tribal humor and tragic wisdom in the sound of stories. Translation, however, simulates nuance, an "initiative trust" that overcasts the practice, and assumes that other cultures can be understood in musical scores, registers, and scriptures. "If culture depends on the transmission of meaning across time," Steiner wrote, "it depends also on the transfer of meaning in space."

The translations of tribal literatures are obscure maneuvers over time and space; translations are the inimical reins of colonialism, representation, and historicism. The sudden closures of the oral in favor of the scriptural are unheard, and the eternal sorrow of that lost sound haunts the remains and revisions of tribal stories in translation.

Steiner observed, "Almost at every moment in time, notably in the sphere of American Indian speech, some ancient and rich expression of articulate being is lapsing into irretrievable silence."

Moreover, translation, and representation, "produces strategies of containment," Tejaswini Niranjana argued in *Sitting Translation.* "Paradoxically, translation also provides a place in 'history' for the colonized."

Swann, who edited *Smoothing the Ground: Essays on Native American Oral Literature* and, with Arnold Krupat, *Recovering the Word: Essays on Native American Literatures* writes in the introduction to these twenty-three essays by Dell Hymes, Dennis Tedlock, Peter Whiteley, Judith Berman, Julian Rice, William Powers, John Bierhorst, Jerome Rothenberg, and others, that the "desire is not for appropriation but some sort of participation; a touch of an elusive essence. The fact that we no longer believe we can *possess* is what affords value. So, even at its most 'definitive,' any translation of a Native American text will always partake of the unknowable." These uncertainties, conditions, and indications are heard in the essays and traced in the prepositions of the title, *On the Translation of Native American Literatures.*

Krupat, for instance, points out that when "literary people estheticize science, accuracy and authenticity are inevitably lost in some degree; when anthropologists scientize art, its charm, force, beauty are inevitably lost in some degree." He praised the translations of several scholars and concluded with a prediction, "that the current conditions of possibility for the translation of Native American song and story are decidedly hopeful."

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft was one of the most important interpreters of tribal cultures in the early nineteenth century. His translations of Ojibwa songs and stories were published in *Algic Researches.* Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was influenced by this material and based his epic poem *Song of Hiawatha* on the oral narratives of the Ojibwa.

"One of the ironies of Native American textmaking during the early nineteenth century was that translators who regarded American Indian oral literature as the product of savagism," William Clements points out in his essay, "probably produced more reliable texts than their more sympathetic contemporaries."

Nile Robert Thompson writes about his translation of the "shortest story" in Twana, a Salish language once spoken in western Washington State. "What could be easier than translating a seven-word text in English?" Indeed, and that rhetorical invitation to a tribal nursery tale became a lucid demonstration of the "transfer of meaning." Seven words raise the problems of gender, versions, omissions, and the silence of transformational figures in translation.

Louse was sweeping his house now.
He got just halfway.
And then he got mixed up now in the dust.

Personal names and nicknames are stories that trace individuals in tribal communities. "The idea that personal names might comprise a literary genre in some cultural contexts does not seem immediately obvious," Whiteley writes in his outstanding essay "*Hopitutungwmi:* 'Hopi Names' as Literature." He argues that some Hopi names are "tiny imagist poems." The narrative figuration of tribal names demands more than translation.

Berman, in her essay "Oolachan-Woman's Robe: Fish, Blankets, Masks, and Meaning in Boas's Kwakw'ala Texts, observes that Franz Boas was "told a lewd story and didn't know it," Oolachan-Woman, a mythic figure, "created a magical abundance of herring."

Boas misinterpreted these stories. He "was oblivious not only to the disingenuous sexual humor of this story, but also to the more serious notions about cosmogony and etiology on which that humor is commentary." Berman concludes that "translations were never intended to be the primary source they have become," and no "matter how satisfying, the translation should never come to substitute in our minds for the original."

"Great translators," Steiner argues in *Language and Silence*, "act as a kind of living mirror. They offer to the original not an equivalence, for there can be none, but a vital counterpoise, an echo, faithful yet autonomous, as we find in the dialogue of human love. An act of translation is an act of love. Where it fails, through immodesty or blurred perception, it traduces. Where it succeeds, it incarnates."

Swann is right about the "dignity of mystery" in tribal stories, the unheard, and the "unknowable" in the practices of translation. There are no claims of "definitiveness" in any of these essays, but there are original insights into general and specific problems of translation, and most of the essays are clever encounters that savor the echo and the "transfer of meaning" in translation.

University of California, Berkeley Gerald Vizenor

PRESENT TENSE: Rock & Roll and Culture. By Anthony DeCurtis. North Carolina: Duke University Press. 1992.

Jeff Calder begins the final essay in *Present Tense: Rock & Roll and Culture*, with a stark, frank, efficient description of the cultural space from which meaningful rock'n'roll music (as well as valuable cultural criticism) is often produced. He writes, "Thirteen years ago I began my journey along the margin of America's Pop Republic. The margin isn't such a bad place, unless, of course, one needs to eat" (pp. 271-72). Through explicitly placing his entertaining, impassioned and informed autobiographical narrative on the shining periphery of our massmediated culture, Calder articulates the ideological contradictions that structure commodified cultural production in America's Pop Republic. Creatively the margin can be a productive place; room for invention remains in the

blank spaces that border the already inscribed. However, scribblings in the margins rarely sell the text.

This collection of essays, edited by Anthony DeCurtis, represents a series of scribblings marginal to two traditionally distinct and contesting bodies of discourse: journalistic rock criticism and academic cultural critique. Through this positioning, the book manages to link creatively the enthusiastic pleasures and ground-level knowledge of the committed participant in rock & roll (including musicians, fans, and journalists) together with some of the analytical frameworks that have developed in the academy during the past twenty years.

DeCurtis, an editor for *Rolling Stone*, describes in his preface his reasons for bringing together these two commodified cultural discourses:

> Like much academic writing these days, rock criticism has routinely assumed that art is created in a social context; that hard distinctions between elite and popular art are ill-advised; that art created by minorities and workingclass people is worthy of serious discussion; that writing criticism is itself a form of 'creative writing'; and that critical writing can be a means of exploring broader questions about life in the culture at large. (p. x)

Topics explored in these essays range from a historical discussion of the dominant influence of African-American guitar playing styles on rock & roll, to a reading of the payola hearings of the 1950s as a complex and subtle form of censorship, to aspects of the homoerotic in the performances and representations of Bruce Springsteen. Analytical models are drawn from social history, Foucaldian genealogy, Bakhtinian conceptions of the carnivalesque and poststructuralism. Calder's autobiographical narrative is balanced by Paul Evan's work of short fiction, "Los Angeles, 1999." When the articulation of these divergent writing systems succeeds (for example, the essays by Hill, Marcus, Paul Smith, Shumway, Ray, Jarrett, & Light), the effect approaches the Situationist International's goal of talking about vitally important intellectual issues while understanding what is subversive about passion (see the Marcus article, "A Corpse in Your Mouth"). However, even when the linkage is not complete, when an essay's attempted mapping of these margins emphasizes the coordinates of one discursive system over the other (Palmer, Evans, Martha Nell Smith, Rubey, Calder) the overall effect of the collection requires the reader to contextualize each cultural critique within the concepts of committed rock fandom and to read each expression of this fandom as highly focused cultural criticism.

Trent Hill argues in his essay that, "one of the threatening qualities of rock & roll was that it represented a revolution in the mode of production of 'popular' music. It threatened an entire system of rigid hierarchies that dominated and defined all phases of musical production" (p. 62). By merging the intensity of

rock fandom and rock writing with a variety of rigorous analytical approaches, this collection both reflects and contributes to the current transformation in the mode of production of academic knowledge.

University of Kansas Barry Shank

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER. By Robert Emmet Long. New York: Continuum Publishing Company. 1990.

COOPER'S LEATHERSTOCKING NOVELS: A Secular Reading. By Geoffrey Rans. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1991.

Two recent books on James Fenimore Cooper illustrate, respectively, traditional and contemporary approaches to this prolific author. Robert Emmet Long's *James Fenimore Cooper*, part of a "Literature and Life" series published by Continuum, is a thoroughly readable biographical-critical introduction, one which attends to the full sweep of Cooper's career, including 33 novels and several volumes of non-fiction prose. Proceeding chronologically, Long manages to avoid the monotony of endless plot summary. In the space of a sentence or two, he is capable of deftly suggesting recurrent patterns within the Cooper canon, often between works which cross genres, such as *The Prairie* and *The Chainbearer*. Just as ably and briefly, Long also makes pointed references and comparisons to Hawthorne, Melville, James, and even Twain, for whom Cooper served as whipping-boy. While canvassing the critical opinions of Cooper scholars, Long is not hesitant to stake out his own position: in his discussion of the ending of *The Deerslayer*, he writes that "Poirer entirely misses the point" of Judith's removal to England. Convinced that Judith lives the rest of her life in painful self-reproach, Long here and elsewhere is alert to the psychic and sexual tensions embodied in Cooper's characters and works.

Not able to touch all the critical bases, Long leaves undiscussed the recent scholarship on Cooper (including Jane Tompkins' essay on *The Last of the Mohicans* in *Sensational Designs*) which views the fiction as cultural critique. But Geoffrey Rans' provocative book, *Cooper's Leatherstocking Novels: A Secular Reading* (secular in the sense that it rejects a transcendent or unified interpretation of Cooper), is very much in this mode. Arguing that the characterization of Natty Bumppo as a mythical figure evades the historical complications inscribed in the works, Rans writes that Cooper "delivers a criticism of American society and history and of its most deeply held values that is far removed from a celebration of America and the poetic evocation of a figure of significant myth." Central to his claim is the assumption that the novels should be read in the order of their composition rather than their chronology. In this manner, *The Pioneers*, the least mythicized treatment of Leatherstocking, serves as a lens on *The Last of the Mohicans*, and these two novels provide a stereoptic view of *The Prairie*, and so on. Thus, the works comment increasingly on themselves, with the outer frame

of *The Pioneers* undermining and destabilizing the increasingly lyrical portraits of Natty Bumppo in *The Pathfinder* and *The Deerslayer.*

Rans also attends closely to the position of the Indian in Cooper, suggesting, for example, that the initial dissipated portrait of Indian John in *The Pioneers* qualifies and comments on the heroic characterization of Chingachgook in *Mohicans*; and, too, the knowledge that Chingachgook will decline into drunkenness aligns him surprisingly with the villainous Magua. Borders of sentiment are crossed and violated, in Rans' view, to stir the reader into consciousness: "Cooper consistently forces upon the reader the obligation to assess the nature of American history." At the end of the final volume, Natty Bumppo is not apotheosized; rather, "he is dressed for his own funeral."

Rans is capable of working the texts with great delicacy, quoting full passages and recording echoes back and forth along the five novel sequence. Further, his essential aim—to emphasize Cooper's responsiveness to the historical currents of spoliation, greed, genocide—is powerfully revisionist. At times, Rans overstates and over-argues, and this tendency works against him in a couple of ways. When he contends, for instance, that Cora's silence in *Mohicans* "precisely match[es]" Elizabeth's in *Pioneers* (not *quite* precisely, I would say), Rans comes close to doing that which he wishes to avoid: willfully imposing a transcendent design on the texts. Similarly, sometimes he misdirects his energy toward levelling the critical terrain rather than advancing his own interpretation. (Henry Nash Smith and H. Daniel Peck receive the bulk of the criticism.) Nonetheless, Rans convincingly makes the case for Cooper's sense of historical irresolution.

Ithaca College Hugh Egan

THE MAN WHO WAS MARK TWAIN: Images and Ideologies. By Guy Cardwell. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991.

This study is neither a standard biography nor a critical analysis of the literature, but an interpretation of "a few key topics" in Samuel Clemens's life and career. The purpose of this approach is to free the individual from "the legend and the images." To that end, Cardwell's first chapter traces the construction of the legend at the hands of biographers and critics. He pays particular attention to the long critical battle, initiated by Van Wick Brooks and Bernard DeVoto, aimed at making Twain either into a product of the less desirable characteristics of American culture, particularly its bourgeois materialism and Puritanical prudery, or into a representative of the "the mythic Westerner" who challenged "a fragmented, genteel, corrupt Eastern society." To resurrect the man behind these opposing images, Cardwell treats in detail the darker side of Clemens's character: compulsive financial gambling, sexual guilt, pedophilia, inordinate love of money, social climbing, and indifference or hostility to literature and art. He also unflinchingly documents Clemens's sexism and racism. Although he thinks that

Clemens's views of women and blacks became a little less obnoxious in later life, he concludes that evidence of racism and sexism is "overwhelming." In portraying this dark and internally divided Clemens, Cardwell does not provide any startling new information. He does, however, provide readings of materials and a different perspective on events which together results in a compelling study.

One of the primary advantages of this topical approach is that it not only gives us a better sense of Clemens as a person, but it also rescues Olivia from the view expressed by numerous critics that her fussy gentility is largely responsible for her husband's artistic limitations. Cardwell establishes beyond a doubt that Clemens was the one primarily responsible. He was largely indifferent to literary art and always willing to pander to middle-class readers. In fact, Olivia tried to convince him that he should take his responsibilities as a writer more seriously.

In providing an understanding of the causes of Clemens's less praiseworthy traits as a human being and writer, Cardwell's approach is less satisfactory. His tendency to use Freudian theory to explain behavior often obscures more than it reveals. For example, he reduces the difficult question of Clemens's relationship with the wealthy Langdons to the observation that there must have been tensions between Clemens and his father-in-law because "Oedipal-like conflicts are transferable to the wife's father." Also in his quest for the "real" Clemens, he overlooks opportunities to place the writer more firmly in the context of nineteenth-century American culture, a context greatly enriched in recent years by feminist scholars and new historicists. This is particularly evident when Cardwell addresses Clemens's attitude toward women. He points out that Clemens saw women as either saints or whores without addressing the question of whether the writer is merely parroting popular stereotypes or is expressing his own ambivalent response. Moreover, this question requires a close analysis of some of Twain's fictional portrayals of women. He does such an analysis when discussing Clemens's racial prejudice. The result is a refreshing reading of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in which he resists the tendency common in criticism to describe Huck and Jim as monumental representatives of democratic ideals. He concludes, instead, that their portrayal displays inconsistencies and lack of development which make the novel an "unfulfilled bildungsroman." This failure is, Cardwell insists, a result of Clemens racial biases. A comparable close reading of the surprisingly wide-range of women in the fiction might have yielded similar insights.

Finally, then, Cardwell leaves us with a greater, if somewhat disillusioned, understanding of one of the mythic figures in American literature. He does not leave us, however, with a much deeper insight into the motivations of this remarkable man nor his works which have left such a visible mark on American culture.

University of Northern Iowa Theodore R. Hovet

SEA CHANGES: British Emigration and American Literature. By Stephen Fender. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1992.

Stephen Fender's *Sea Changes* is a very significant contribution to the study of American literature, culture, and character. Fender's concern in this work is with "the Anglo-American thesis of the American exception." The materials he surveys in this inquiry include private letters by British emigrants to America from the start of the Massachusetts Bay Colony until the middle of the nineteenth century, as well as the extensive list of Anglo-American publications promoting or condemning emigration during this period. While this survey produces a valuable outline of the history and material conditions of British emigration to America, Fender's central focus is upon the discourse or rhetoric of emigration that has been inscribed through these works upon American literature and the American character.

The rhetoric of emigration contains many features that are familiar to students of American literature. British emigrants to America committed themselves to a discourse that satirized the cultural accretions of the Old World and embraced the natural bounty of the New, that dismissed the social and political fixity of Britain in favor of the open-ended values of material and process that settlement in America offered them. The discourse of emigration transposed the spatial journey across the Atlantic into temporal terms, thus casting emigrants as travelers from the past to the future. Emigrants tended to frame their experience in narratives of conversion, captivity, and initiation, and to articulate such narratives in a "collective singular" voice by which individual speakers were made to represent the nation as a whole.

Fender's researches in the emigrants' letters as well as his readings of Anglo-American travelers who were skeptical about the value of emigration (Frances Trollope and Dickens are the best known), reveal that the discourse of emigration included its own anthesis and alternatives. As Fender puts it: "Every invigorating leap into the future entails a loss of the past. To embrace nature is to forgo culture. To liberate oneself from convention is to deprive oneself of tradition.... To insist on defining oneself is to forgo the comfort of having one's place set in the scheme of things. . . ." The "American exception," as Fender sees it, has produced a national character problematized by the contradictions inherent in the rhetoric of emigration.

While many of the features of this rhetoric are familiar, Fender's achievement is to have located them so precisely within the story of British emigration to America. Fender's readings of the emigrants' letters are remarkably convincing, extrapolating from those homely documents a unified rhetoric of American identity. In this regard, *Sea Changes* must be seen as a valuable addition to the debate over the American canon. Fender's argument, and the letters he reads to illustrate it, necessarily enlarge our understanding of what we call American literature.

More impressive still is the reach of Fender's argument as he discovers the discourse of emigration operating within a generous variety of American literary texts. *Sea Changes* provides valuable insights on Puritan conscientious writing, American narratives of travel like Hawthorne's *Our Old Home* and Melville's *Redburn*, the American "open-field" poem from *Leaves of Grass* to *Paterson*, Jewish-American immigrant novels by Antin, Yezierska, and Henry Roth; as well as surveying narratives of the American frontier, and America at war.

In view of the reach of Fender's argument, it is surprising that he takes no notice of the valuable body of scholarly works on Anglo-American literary relations from Clarence Gohdes to Christopher Mulvey and Robert Weisbuch. Many of Fender's insights deserve to be contextualized within the arguments of scholars like these who have worked in areas adjacent to his own. Fender's work is, finally, a pleasure to read. *Sea Changes* is written in a prose that is beautifully unencumbered by jargon and mystification. It is organized with great clarity, and its argument proceeds with both wit and depth. It is likely to become a standard work of American literary scholarship.

Lake Forest College Benjamin Goluboff

THE PROTESTANT EVANGELICAL AWAKENING. By W. R. Ward. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1992.

Professor Ward's is a highly specialized and, I am afraid to say, a rather dry account of the early history of the eighteenth-century Protestant revival movements from the perspective of European and not simply Anglo-American currents. This is a most worthwhile project but Ward's prose is insufficiently lively to convey any real enthusiasm for what is, after all, a subject of limited appeal. Yet this book embodies scholarship of the very highest calibre and the historical narrative is presented in all its detail. Herein lies its limitation, for Professor Ward assumes a great deal of prior knowledge and as a result his book will be of greater interest to specialists in this field of ecclesiastical history than to Americanists in general.

Only one chapter is devoted to revival in the American colonies. Ward begins by giving account of the Dutch Reformed in what became New York State, and proceeds to discuss the situation of the German-language settlers, the Pennsylvania Germans, the Scots-Irish, the role of the Church of England, and such influential figures as Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen, Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg, Johan Philipp Boehm, Michael Schlatter and the Tennent family before moving to the more familiar ground occupied by the Mathers, Jonathan Edwards, Solomon Stoddard, George Whitefield, James Davenport, and issues such as the Half-Way Covenant and the decline of revivalism in New England.

Perhaps the most interesting point made in this quite extensive discussion of American revival is the effect of migration upon religious groups in the colonies. While sectarians found most of what they wanted through emigration, church

members tended to experience through emigration the loss of the religious life they had enjoyed at home. As a consequence, revivalism had a disproportionately significant impact upon the established churches and, in effect, passed the sects by. This is the kind of phenomenon that becomes apparent only from Ward's pan-Protestant perspective. It is to be hoped that other scholars will follow Professor Ward's lead and develop the insights that this book has made possible.

University of Leicester, England Deborah L. Madsen

MAKE ROOM FOR TV: Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America. By Lynn Spigel. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992.

Make Room for TV explores Americans' experience with television in the years between 1948 and 1960. Lynn Spigel's thesis is that this experience was an ambivalent one. On the one hand, television was part of the consensual ideology of the 1950s, and as such was seen as something of a panacea, the vehicle for a more profound familial and social harmony. On the other hand, television was the source of, and focus for, a wide range of social anxieties, involving gender relations, sexuality, child-rearing, surveillance, consumerism, and family disintegration. The heavies in this account—presented in rather shadowy fashion—are the networks, who sought to "colonize" the housewife's workday (77), to teach her how to consume and, in general, to "win the consent of television viewers" (7). Spigel's surprising heroes are the women's magazines (shades of Janice Radway) such as *Good Housekeeping* and *Ladies' Home Journal*, whose articles about television and advertisements for television offered a field of resistance to the new technology. Far from being the "consciousness industries" described in Stuart Ewen's *Captains of Consciousness* (1976), the mass media of the 1950s, according to Spigel, offered "a ground for cultural debate" (8), engaged women in "a popular dialogue about television's relationship to family life" (5), and even "suggested ways for people to resist this new temptation" (7). Indeed, advertising performed these tasks automatically; in adopting the voice of an "imaginary consumer" (7), its perspective was necessarily and inevitably multiple (shades of George Lipsitz).

Unfortunately, Spigel makes too much of advertising and the women's magazines as vehicles for dialogue and negotiation. To be sure, there is evidence of disparate perspectives on television that one might cast as debates. But it is also clear that these "debates" usually took place within a narrow frame (e.g., the advertisements pictured television as bad because it interfered with housework), and they were to be resolved narrowly (e.g., by moving the television set into the kitchen). Although the women's magazines took up the question of television's impact on children, the solution they offered—parental control of the television dial—hardly seems equal to the challenge. In another case, Spigel offers a wonderful account of the different ways in which television advertisements depicted male and female bodies, yet she surely goes too far in claiming that these

depictions "served as an occasion for a full consideration of power dynamics among men and women in the home" (93). Spigel also seems to dismiss most of the most important criticisms levelled at television, including its tendency to induce passivity in children. She does so, I think, because to take such criticisms seriously would also emphasize how trivial were the responses and solutions of advertisers and the women's magazines.

Nonetheless, this is a provocative and important book. Spigel's revealing analyses of advertisements for television sets at once clarify postwar social tensions and provide a model for others who would use advertising to locate historical fissures and pressure points. Readers will find Spigel especially insightful on issues of social space—whether it is the use of space within the home or the merging of public and private space in the "home theater" of television. Though somewhat detached from the rest of the book, a final chapter on the evolution of the television sitcom deserves special attention for its superb exegesis of *The Burns and Allen Show* as an example of a self-reflexive, staged domesticity that reflected a general awareness of the artificiality of postwar family life. Regardless of its extravagant claims about "dialogue" and "resistance," readers interested in gender relations, advertising, the social history of television, and postwar America will find this study useful and illuminating.

University of Rome, "La Sapienza" William Graebner

WHITE ON BLACK: Images of Africa and Blacks in Popular Culture. By Jan Nederveen Pieterse. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 1992.

In 1903, W. E. B. Du Bois wrote in *The Souls of Black Folk* "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line . . ." In his well written and well illustrated work Pieterse reminds us that the problem of the "color-line" has been with us much longer, possibly as early as the twelfth century in one fashion or another, and is not likely to be solved anytime soon.

The book is divided into three sections. The first section examines the history of the relationship between Africa and Europe and the West. Pieterse details how a changing relationship between the two continents meant that at certain times "blacks" were seen positively (for example, during antiquity by the Greeks and Romans and during the Crusades when Europe needed allies against Islam). At other times "blacks" were regarded as devils; their color denoted evil and sin. Pieterse attributes the development of this denigrating stereotype to the early Christian fathers and, of course, by the time the international slave trade died down in the early nineteenth century "racial thinking" was at its height. The author interestingly points out that "racial thinking" in Europe (that is believing one is superior or inferior on the basis of racial characteristics) came after the abolition of slavery by the British. "Racial thinking" the author asserts, and I believe correctly, came about not to justify slavery but as a way of deciding how to treat and feel about people who were now de facto free.

The second section examines the development of European and American stereotypes of Africans and blacks. The most striking thing about this chapter is how uniform these stereotypes were over time and despite locations. Africans and blacks were/are pictured variously as servants, as "noble savages," and as pickaninnies. Pieterse discerns a distinct duality in the portrayal of both males and females. While men and boys were portrayed as the happy go lucky Sambo and as the sexually terrorizing brute, females were painted as the asexual mammy and, conversely, as the sexually provocative whore. These images displayed in different places and time were remarkably similar.

Section three looks at how Western hierarchies of race, class, and gender are projected onto "others" around the world and then how those images are "mirrored" back to the West (often through material culture), thus affecting the West's construction of its own image and hierarchies. Perhaps the best example of this process is what the author calls "niggering." Blacks and Africans, by the nineteenth century, were clearly seen as an "other" with certain racial characteristics the result of which was the creation by the West of the "nigger." Having once been created, that particular stereotype was then applied to other ethnic groups. The author lists the Irish, Chinese, Jews, and Catholics as groups that received the "nigger" treatment. Of course, the questions which the author admits is still pressing is that while, to a certain extent, these others groups have escaped the process, it is still being applied to African-Americans—why?

Pieterse has written a truly comparative intellectual history of stereotyping and racism over time. This book will be of particular value to those who are interested in how ideas get transmitted inter-generationally and transnationally, and why it is so difficult to overcome stereotypes.

Florida Atlantic University Kenneth W. Goings

CATHER, CANON AND THE POLITICS OF READING. By Deborah Carlin. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1992.

Deborah Carlin addresses important issues concerning Willa Cather's later fiction, avoiding the usual biographical exploration and instead using narrative theory, deconstruction, and feminist theory to explore these often neglected works. This method is sometimes refreshing, but also sometimes bogs down in technical rhetoric, making the study one which will appeal to serious scholars, not to those looking for a quick study of a particular Cather novel.

Carlin focuses the study upon heroines of Cather's later fiction, Myra Henshawe (My Mortal Enemy), Cécile Auclair (Shadows on the Rock), Lucy Gayheart (*Lucy Gayheart*), Old Mrs. Harris (*Obscure Destinies*), and Sapphira Colbert (Sapphira and the Slave Girl). One wonders, however, why she stopped here, since the heroine of "The Old Beauty" and that of "The Best Years," both in *The Old Beauty and Others*, would compliment the study nicely.

Carlin's discussions of Cather's heroines hinge on issues of female power and how it is exercised, and her analysis of this power, lack of it, or abuse of it is

intriguing, though sometimes problematic. Carlin acknowledges but dismisses the clash of Western culture with Southern culture in "Old Mrs. Harris," though Cather, a Southerner transplanted to Nebraska, understood and used that clash of cultures as a keystone to the story. Instead Carlin focuses upon the issues of women's power within each culture, neglecting to discuss Mrs. Harris' loss of economic power as well as familial and personal power with the change from Southern to Western culture.

Equally disturbing is Carlin's discussion of the attempted sexual attack upon Nancy, the "slave girl" of *Sapphira and the Slave Girl.* Carlin writes: "Even the scene of Martin Colbert's attempted rape of Nancy employs a diction of sensuous orality rather than phallic force" (168). Carlin follows this statement with a more astounding one: "Despite Nancy's protestations and the accompanying sense of violation, the scene seems to play down the brutality of his actions, especially by its unusual evocation of oral, rather than genital, sex, since the former not only seems more consensual than the latter, but it also does not result in pregnancy and children, that unignorable evidence of the fact of miscegenation" (168). The scene as Cather writes it is violent to Nancy's sense of self, emotions and sexuality. Carlin dismisses her protests, cries for help, and emotional trauma with the idea that because the attack appears to be oral, not genital, the act could be seduction, not assault. Here Carlin does Cather and all women a disservice.

Carlin's book is, for the most part, well written, highly readable, and interesting in its approach. Her discussion of narrative shifts is intriguing and reveals much of Cather's artistry. It's too bad that problems of interpretation, particularly of Southern culture, and diminishment of sexual assault reduce her credibility as an interpreter of Cather's work and as a feminist.

University of Kansas M. J. McLendon

FLEETING MOMENTS: Nature and Culture in American History. By Gunther Barth. New York: Oxford University Press. 1990.

Gunther Barth, an urban historian, tells us that studying the interaction between nature and culture in American history is an "awesome task" because of more extensive and complex documentation than exists for any other period in human history. Therefore, he tries to look for a few of those interludes when there was harmony or concord between the two. From Elizabethan adventurers, the search for the Wilderness Passage, and creation of "rural" cemeteries and urban public parks in the mid-nineteenth century, Barth probes his selection of a few instances of balance between wild nature and the hand of man. Despite "fleeting moments of harmony" between nature and culture, tension remained between the two through the rapid settlement of the continent and exploitation of its resources.

Gradually Europeans set aside Augustine's warning to turn from nature to God as they set about mastering and changing nature. Naming accompanied conquering unspoiled nature in the New World. Rising Romanticism in the late

eighteenth century permitted a passion for nature, once taboo. With the weakening of traditional Christianity, Melville, Thoreau, and contemporaries learned the pantheistic philosophical power of "sublime" wild nature, redefined. So go some of Barth's arguments.

Barth tells us that from first explorations the English found "emotional charge" and rapport in wilderness both because and in spite of their cultural baggage; yet they remained adept at "projecting goals" onto it, of "regarding their movement" into it "as a passage to a new identity" as well as source of riches. With little on the colonial period, he primarily probes this theme in nineteenth-century instances. Preconceived, fashionable, contemporaneous literary and cultural conventions shaped various perceptions and responses to nature and the pristine landscape, for example, blocking the ability of those on the Lewis and Clark Expedition to record their own, authentic vision of the American West in their journals. Fatigue, fears, and "army prose" further limited the usefulness of these accounts that when published in fragments fed "a craze of exploitation" and destruction of nature in "the name of democracy."

Preconceived notions limit Barth also. Although his bibliographic essay cites a few primary sources, there are not enough; and he bypasses important secondary works that might have produced more accuracy. This weakness stands out in the chapter "Engineering Nature—Engineering Culture," discussing the "park cemetery" (a historical misnomer) and the rise of urban parks. Barth misapplies the term "garden" to Mount Auburn (1831) and similar naturalistic cemeteries in their founding decades when "rural" was the descriptive used for their original, woodsy landscapes. The term "garden" was not current until the last half of the century when new, controlled, and engineered aesthetics truly transformed them; and the word "park" was not applied until creation of twentieth-century American cemeteries a la California's Forest Lawn. Similar imprecision flaws consideration of urban parks. Barth repeats the myth of Olmsted that has recently been called into question in more rigorous histories.

Barth tries to bypass the great thinkers, artists, and conservationists who have already received considerable attention elsewhere; but still they pop in a book that makes for frustrating reading because of its repetitious, fragmentary nature. His analysis of visual evidence—paintings, engravings, and maps—in unconvincing. Most disturbing is the lack of chronological order and linear argument. These rambling essays or musings ricochet back and forth in time, reiterating and explaining out of context and order, introducing topics and characters in inappropriate places, backtracking and taking the reader off on tangents. Only the phrases "fleeting moments" and "harmony between nature and culture" recur like a refrain, as if to prove the point, make it so, and provide an otherwise absent cohesion.

Brandeis University Blanche Linden-Ward

CAMPUS WARS: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era. By Kenneth J. Heineman. New York: New York University Press. 1993.

Campus Wars recounts the intellectual, institutional, and organizational battles that occurred at American universities between 1965 and 1972, as students, faculty and administrators contested the academy's role in the Vietnam War. Using four state universities—Michigan State, Penn State, SUNY-Buffalo, and Kent State—as case studies, Kenneth Heineman's work complements monographs like Todd Gitlin's *The Sixties*, James Miller's *"Democracy Is in the Streets"*, W. J. Rorabaugh's *Berkeley at War*, and DeBenedetti and Chatfield's *An American Ordeal.* In many ways, he advances a conventional interpretation of a slowly growing student movement which both peaked and self-destructed in the excesses at the end of the decade.[1]

But Heineman's contributions are considerable as he complexifies the conventional wisdom. First, as the title suggests, Heineman is interested not just in the student movement, but in the entire campus—students, faculty, and administrators—as well as its community context (including local politics and public opinion, police forces, and state legislatures), and its military connections. He shows clearly that there was no singular "war at home," but several concurrent *wars* at home, about national policy, academic purpose, administrative prerogatives, disciplinary discourses, student rights, and methods of dissent.

Second, Heineman convincingly argues that the state universities, with constituencies and expectations different from the nation's elite universities, experienced the turmoil of the Sixties in markedly different ways. He is especially adept at showing how class, ethnicity, religion, and residential background affected responses to the Vietnam War and the campus wars. The student movement, he claims, was a congeries of student movements, unified only occasionally by local issues or national events.

Third, Heineman shows that some of the warriors on campus were fighting in favor of national policy and the Vietnam War. Especially on campuses with strong Greek systems and football programs, there were active prowar students. On all of the campuses, administrators used informants, threats and considerable force to counter antiwar activists. Often, the largest demonstrations were responses to administrative repression as much as to events in Southeast Asia.

The strength of Heineman's study comes from his painstaking research in university archives and student newspapers, supplemented by interviews and correspondence with activists. As a consequence, he is able to detail the composition of the antiwar organizations (often Jewish, metropolitan, liberal arts and social science majors), and to compare them both with prowar activists (often science, engineering, business, and education majors) and the student body as a whole. He also captures the diversity of student motivations and the complexity of student politics.

As valuable as they are, these sources keep Heineman from other topics essential to a full understanding of America's campus wars. His focus on the organized Left keeps him from seeing the disorganized counterculture as an essential component of the culture wars within the campus wars. His focus on student organizations draws him entirely to extracurricular activities, ignoring the important and evolving conversations that occurred in the nation's classrooms. And the focus on student leaders still keeps us from an understanding of less vocal student followers. Heineman acknowledges (p. 270) that "the great majority of antiwar students either involved themselves in dovish local [or] national political campaigns and/or participated in campus and community peace demonstrations, but did not formally associate with any organization." The history of the student body, and not just the student mouth, is yet to be written.

Heineman's writing is clear and cogent, and many of the personal stories that he tells are compelling. But the organization of the book interferes with the larger story. After initial contextual chapters on administrators, faculty and students, Heineman proceeds chronologically, with separate chapters on 1965-67, 1968-69, and the Spring of 1970. But each chapter treats each university separately, fragmenting the narrative, and making it difficult for a reader to remember all of the engaging characters as the story evolves.

Still, the scope and complexity of *Campus Wars* make it required reading for anybody seeking to understand the cultural wars of the Sixties or subsequent decades.

St. Olaf College James J. Farrell

1. Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam, 1989); James Miller's *"Democracy Is in the Streets": From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987); W. J. Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War: The 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Charles DeBenedetti and Charles Chatfield, *An American Ordeal: The Anti-War Movement of the Vietnam Era* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990).

W. J. CASH AND THE MINDS OF THE SOUTH. By Paul D. Escott, ed. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1992.

A quarter century ago, a venerable Southern historian told me that if someone wanted a quick course on understanding the South he would recommend two books: the Bible and W. J. Cash's *The Mind of the South.* While the Bible has pretty much kept its reputation as an indispensable Southern primer, Cash's place is open to debate, which is what a group of scholars did at Wake Forest University (Cash's alma mater) in February 1991 on the fiftieth anniversary of the book's first publication. This edited volume was drawn from the papers presented at the conference.

Paul D. Escott has avoided for the most part two common pitfalls of anthologies: the lack of coherence and the uneven quality of the papers. He has framed the essays with an informative introduction that connects the contributions and an "Afterword" that assesses the conference and current status of *The Mind of the South.* Escott divides the volume into three parts covering, respectively, the man, the book, and the South.

In the first part, "Cash and His World," Bruce Clayton, Ray Gavins, and Bertram Wyatt-Brown offer contexts to explain why Cash wrote the book and the way he wrote it. Clayton focuses on Cash's formative years at Wake Forest, Gavins on the racial context that so gnawed at Cash's conscience, and Wyatt-Brown, in an imaginative essay, speculates on the relation between Cash's depression and what he wrote in his book.

The second section of the book, "*The Mind of the South* Reconsidered," includes essays on several themes in Cash's work, including politics, gender, race, and class. Richard King argues that to understand Cash's searing portrait of Southern politics, particularly that suppression of dissent that Cash termed "the savage ideal," it is important to appreciate the world political crisis of the interwar years. Where King is explicatory, Nell Irvin Painter's review of Cash's treatment of race, class, and gender is highly critical. Painter scores his gratuitous treatment of poor white and black Southerners and his ideas of African-American sexuality in particular. These views severely restrict the book's usefulness, according to Painter, because they color Cash's interpretation of Southern culture. Elizabeth Jacoway is more generous to Cash's perspective on gender as she notes his exposure of the hypocrisy behind the Southern ideal of white womanhood ("gyneolatry," he called it) and how that ideal related to white supremacy. But, Jacoway observes, although Cash implies that Southern women were central to the development of the culture or the mind he writes about, she is only a bit player (five pages out of 440) in the book. In the concluding essay of this section, David Hackett Fischer offers an interesting comparison between Cash and a contemporary Southern liberal writer, James McBride Dabbs. Fischer uses the comparison to demonstrate that Cash's social and geographic origins explain some of his distinctive views of Southern history. Dabbs, also a native South Carolinian, came from a part of the state with a much larger black population and steeped in the culture of the plantation South.

Although the essays in the third section, "Southern Studies Since Cash," are uniformly strong and thoughtful, the focus on Cash and his book is less clear than in the other sections. Political scientist Merle Black offers a competent overview of Southern politics during the past quarter century. Those who have read his books written with brother Earl Black—*Politics and Society in the South* (Harvard University Press, 1987) and *The Vital South* (Harvard University Press, 1992)—will find his analysis of the rise of the Republican party and the transformation of the Democratic party in the South familiar. Economist Gavin Wright, by contrast, devotes much of his essay to a cogent analysis of the Southern

economy from the antebellum era to World War II, focusing on the shortcomings of the South's dependance on cotton. After 1945, the South's integration into the national economy, with a strong boost from the federal government, laid the foundation for the Sunbelt. Some of these arguments appear in Wright's major work, *Old South, New South* (Basic Books, 1986). Jack Temple Kirby provides the most original contribution to this section as he relates the decline of Cash's reputation during the mid-1960s and 1970s, and his revival in the 1980s, to changes in Southern historiography. In the section's last essay, C. Eric Lincoln offers a personal portrait of what it meant to be growing up black in the Deep South during the time Cash was writing *The Mind of the South.* It was a life that Cash, growing up in the Carolina Piedmont with relatively few blacks, could not know, and a life which academic historians at the time (from which Cash drew a good deal of his information) did not want to know.

The impression one receives after reading these essays, attractively presented by Louisiana State University Press, is that for all of its interpretive weaknesses and its inattention to race and gender issues that currently occupy Southern historiography (and it is one thing to blame Cash for his particularistic views of the past and another to condemn him for not being prescient), *The Mind of the South* remains a remarkable book. This is so for at least two reasons. First, it is well-written. Cash's personal style, his evocation of stock characters from the Southern past, and above all, his passion still captivate students who, if nothing else, enjoy it as welcome relief from the theoretical obfuscation and bloodless prose that too often passes for historical writing today. Second, *The Mind of the South* is a period piece that speaks to this period as well. His exposure of "the savage ideal" and "gyneolatry" was novel, even bold for his time, and while Sunbelt hoopla (and Cash would recognize the hollow boosterism of some of that hoopla) overshadows those concepts, they remain relevant. Cash's emphasis on the continuity of Southern history has helped shaped the debate about the distinctive South even as writers have modified his ideas. Not many books, after all, would draw more than a thousand people to a week-end of sessions fifty years after its publication. That is a tribute both to W. J. Cash and to the current vitality of Southern historiography which he did so much to inspire.

University of North Carolina, Charlotte David Goldfield

VICTORIAN WEST: Class & Culture in Kansas Cattle Towns. By C. Robert Haywood. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991.

Even as a young boy growing up in Kansas, C. Robert Haywood knew that wild stories of life in western cattle towns were largely "mythical," more connected to popular sensationalism than to historical reality. Now an emeritus professor, he has determined to set the record straight by emphasizing the neglected Victorian aspects of life in western cities. "Victory over cattle-town incivility," he explains, "marked the beginning of an unruffled reign of confident

and contented Victorian morality that [its proponents believed] represented the highest state of civilization" (p. 276).

Haywood begins by devoting four chapters to tracing the division between the "sporting" and "respectable" elements in three Kansas cattle towns, Caldwell, Dodge, and Wichita. He begins by defining each "class," placing saloon owners, lawmen, gamblers, itinerant entertainers, providers of personal service, and prostitutes in the "sporting" camp, and everyone else, including merchants, stockmen, professionals, craftsmen, farm families, and domestic servants in the "respectable" camp. At first, he explains, cattle town governments were in the hands of saloon owners, but before long they were replaced by "respectable" men. Neither set of leaders put much stock in such tasks as fighting fires, supplying water, and removing sewage, which both were regarded as private rather than public responsibilities; both remained relatively uninterested in establishing churches or funding schools.

Yet it is the differences, not the similarities, between sporting and respectable leaders that interest Haywood, and he emphasizes that, when the respectable crowd took over, the triumph of Victorianism was not far behind. In the bulk of the book—nine chapters—he outlines the "fabric of day-to-day activities" that characterized cattle town Victorianism (p. 4). Among the things that capture his attention are McGuffey school readers, spelling bees, county fairs, birth and marriage announcements, stage plays, minstrel shows, ice cream socials, band concerts, and women's fashions. Relying heavily on newspaper accounts, Haywood traces all these and more.

In interpretive terms, *Victorian West* is something of a grab bag. Haywood has read a great deal of historical literature, old and new, and much of it appears here. There is, for example, a nod to the frontier thesis in Haywood's recognition that in the formative early years, cattle towns allowed for a good deal of social mobility, and a nod in the opposite direction when he argues that respectable cattle town residents wanted nothing more than to reestablish life as they knew it in the East. Haywood acknowledges Robert Dykstra's *The Cattle Towns* (1970), and he echoes, among other historians, Gunther Barth's *Instant Cities* (1975), Daniel Walker Howe's *Victorian America* (1976), and Anne Butler's *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery* (1985).

In the end, *Victorian West* is written largely in the tradition of social historians of the 1960s and 70s, who set out to expand the range of historical topics by telling the stories of everyday people and ordinary lives. Pathbreaking in their day because they focused on middle classes instead of political or economic elites, they have since been overshadowed by successive new approaches to social and cultural history.

Surely, for example, many social historians writing today would tell the story of cattle towns as one fundamentally shaped by divisions of race, class, and gender. Haywood, however, sees class and culture as basically the same thing and considers neither race nor gender central categories of analysis. He devotes only

three pages to what he calls "minority caste," and, although he notes that "Blacks, Orientals, and, to a lesser degree, Mexicans were relegated to a fixed status by birth, he maintains that racial divisions were not the "fundamental" ones in cattle towns (p. 16-18). He pays much more attention to women, noting, as he should, that they were crucial to the coming of Victorian culture, but he offers little analysis of gender dynamics in such arenas as politics.

Contemporary cultural historians might well take Haywood's word that it was the distinction between "sporting" and "respectable" that mattered most. They would, however, be likely to see culture itself as always in the process of creation, and so tell the story of cattle towns as one of people drawing and redrawing the boundaries between the two camps. Such an approach would focus much more than Haywood has on the social arenas in which the two groups crossed paths, including circuses, parades, and politics.

Haywood has chosen not to take these roads, but the one he has traveled has its charms. Although it is something of a challenge to make a Victorian ice cream social seem as compelling as a cattle town gunfight, Haywood writes with real feeling for the Victorian past he chronicles. He is quite right to argue that Victorianism has proven to be a remarkably durable cultural heritage, one which crops up in even the most inhospitable places. Certainly his portrait of small town activities reminded me of aspects of my own childhood, which took place not in a cattle town but in another unlikely spot for "respectable" folk, a mid-twentieth-century western mining town. If *Victorian West* is ultimately more notable for evoking the point of view of middle-class white Victorians than for analyzing power relations inside or outside Victorian culture, we can nonetheless hope, with Haywood, that it contributes to de-sensationalizing the western past.

University of Utah Peggy Pascoe

PARADISE REMADE: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai'i. By Elizabeth Buck. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1993.

Elizabeth Buck has written an exemplary theoretical meditation on the politics of culture and of history, embedded in a richly nuanced and evocative study of Hawai'i's past. Buck is concerned with questions about ideology, social reproduction and change, identity and difference, language and power, and the transforming effects of capitalism, both colonial and corporate. In the history of Hawai'i, she has found a perfect locus for these questions.

Buck intends this as "an alternative history," one among several new histories of the Hawaiian islands that avoid the traditional "emplotments" of Hawaiian history: either "romanticized Hawaiians and exploitative whites" or "savages that have benefitted from the civilizing institutions and practices of the Christian West" (14). Rejecting an "allochronic" approach ("positioning other cultures into a static ethnographic present"), she presents a synthetic account of

Hawai'i before Western contact as a complex society with a very "tightly articulated social structure," subject to social change and cultural negotiation. She then traces the ruptures that occur in that society with Western penetration of the islands.

Buck approaches her history from a clearly articulated and deftly handled theoretical base. She has quilted together Althusserian and Foucaultian methods, coupling "Marxist informed concepts of social formations, ideology, and forms of symbolic representation with poststructuralist conceptualizations of the power of linguistic practices and how power in terms of social relationships, knowledge, and identities are shaped by discursive regimes" (17). She slights neither structure nor cultural constructions, instead weaving the two modes of analysis into a compelling pattern. But the most satisfying (and original) part of her book deals with the realm of culture—specifically, hula and chant, for, as Buck argues, "much of the struggle over power in Hawai'i has taken place in the arena of culture."

Buck analyzes chant and hula—the central cultural forms of the Hawaiian people—as ideological acts and symbolic enactments, their meanings inscribed by a "succession of mythopolitical representations of reality." In Hawaiian society (pre-contact), hula and chant served to "maintain relationships of power and difference"; chants "invested relationships of domination with the ideology of aloha, normalizing the social order by tying *ali'i* [chiefs, or royalty] into the sacred cosmologies and genealogies" (43; 109). Chant and hula were the "ideological center and primary reservoir of social knowledge and history" for Hawaiians, and thus crucial to the maintenance and reproduction of the existing social structure.

With the advent of Western culture and of capitalism, these cultural forms were altered along with the structure of the society. Missionaries and others who came to the islands self-consciously attempted to import a version of western borgeois culture, and they judged chant and hula by the standards of 19th century Christianity. Hula was suppressed as overly erotic and licentious; chant form was changed as traditional religion was undermined (a process which had begun even before the first missionaries had arrived), and lost much of its poetic richness as the Hawaiian language was replaced by English and few studied the complex, layered meanings of language that typified Hawaiian chant. At the same time, Hawaiians used Western forms of music—especially Christian hymns—to create new styles. By the end of the century, a new Hawaiian song form had emerged, one highly influenced by Western music and ideology, and embedded in a commercial context instead of a sacred one.

In the twentieth century, hula took primacy over chant, and was again changed to serve as a signifier of a tourist Paradise—exotic, but not unfamiliar enough to be boring. Buck traces this corruption of form to its most egregious manifestation: the Kodak Hula Show in Waikiki. But she also describes the recovery of hula and chant forms by Hawaiians; in the past two decades, *hula*

halau and major hula competitions like the Merrie Monarch have flourished in the islands, have served as focal points for the revitalization of Hawaiian culture. As Buck explains, hula and chant are "vivid public markers of Hawaiian difference and identity" (9), as well as political acts in a growing Hawaiian sovereignty movement.

Buck is at her best when exploring the theoretical dimensions of culture and social change. Her chapter on "Transformations in Language and Power", in which she examines language as a constitutive force, is superb—the sort of beautifully written and argued piece we always are looking for to give graduate students.

Buck is less sure-footed when her work must approach the field of social history or of life as it is lived. The weakest part of this work by far is her description of the impact of tourism on island life. In her analysis of Hawaii in the 19th century, she does not explain why the *ali'i* were so open to Christian proselytizing, and she has a tendency to treat *Western* culture as too static and homogenous. Finally, given her argument, Buck does not acknowledge the important institutional manifestations of Hawaiian culture, especially in the latter half of the twentieth century. As she is attempting to combine Althusserian and Foucaultian analyses, her failure to discuss in any detail the Kamehameha School (the major institution for educating Hawaiian children, and today probably the most important force for the social reproduction of Hawaiian culture) seems a disturbing oversight or confusing decision. It might also have been useful for her to discuss the institutionalization of Hawaiian culture in the state's public elementary schools: Kupunas (elders) now regularly instruct children in Hawaiian culture and language.

While not a comprehensive history of Hawaii (the book is much stronger on the pre-20th century period and very selective in detail), Buck has written a model history of cultural conflict that successfully integrates a clearly explained theoretical approach to a specific case study. This book should be read by everyone interested in cultural analysis or cultural contact.

Barnard College Beth Bailey & David Farber

FAULKNER'S SUBJECT: A Cosmos No One Owns. By Philip M. Weinstein. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1992.

Weinstein focuses on Faulkner's canonical texts published between 1929 and 1942. He clearly prefers the Modernist texts of *The Sound and the Fury* (1929), *Light in August* (1932), and *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936) and their representation of the solitary consciousness of the splintered self. Weinstein finds the experimental early novels more powerful than the more nostalgic and regional novels that begin with *Go Down, Moses* (1942). He sees Faulkner's writing as an act of self-ratification.

Faulkner sought to create a textual world, a cosmos of his own of which he would be "sole owner and proprietor." However, Weinstein argues that Faulkner cannot "own" his cosmos because his fictional world is biased by his marginalization of women and blacks. He sees the white male subject at the center of Faulkner's texts and his male characters as sharing the author's patriarchal gaze. Certainly Caddy and her daughter Quentin are seen through the eyes of males who also try to define, control, and confine them. Weinstein brilliantly describes Mrs. Compson as an arrested virgin who abandons motherhood, takes to her childbed, and demands nurturance from her children. Unable to grow beyond the roles of premarital coquetry and postmaternal grief, Mrs. Compson remains alienated from motherhood and marriage.

Weinstein insists on reading all of Faulkner's blacks as "marginal, nonessential, subordinate to the center of his texts." Faulkner presents black women as silent, abused, enduring victims and black men as either exotic, seductive in their "nonprovincial allure" like Charles Bon in *Absalom, Absalom*! or stereotyped in strong agile bodies like Rider in *Go Down, Moses*. Because he perceives white males as the central subjects of the texts, Weinstein reads Joe Christmas in *Light in August* as a white man who assumes a black identity, rather than a tormented man with no clear racial genealogy, who wants to live as a human being in a closed society that demands a racial identity of all persons. Weinstein explores three different versions of Lucas Beauchamp and finds each representation inadequate. He reads Lucas in the 1940 short stories as a childish prankster. In *Go Down, Moses* he sees Lucas as distancing himself from his black heritage and identifying with his white ancestor. Clearly Weinstein downplays Lucas' revolt against racism and the white power structure. He reads Lucas' violent confrontation with Zack Edmonds over Edmonds' appropriation of his wife Molly as a failure in male bonding. In like manner, Weinstein reads Lucas in *Intruder in the Dust* (1948) as a friendless, isolated, passive object and discounts his demands for protection and justice.

Like a good poststructuralist, Weinstein identifies himself as a white, male critic trained in New Criticism and in French deconstructionism and concludes with comments on the incompleteness and limitations on his own critical text on Faulkner.

Michigan State University Jean Mullin Yonke

YOSEMITE: The Embattled Wilderness. By Alfred Runte. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1990.

Until quite recently, with a few exceptions, scholarly histories of America's national parks have studied the great scenic preserves in the West—places like Grand Teton, Yellowstone, and Rocky Mountain national parks, which were among the first of their kind. Alfred Runte, in this engaging book, has provided a valuable chronicle of yet another western park, as well as one of the most famous

and popular in the world. Yet in one important respect *Yosemite* represents a striking departure in national park historiography. While most works in the past have been aimed at explaining the origin of these American born preserves (Runte himself made a major contribution to that subject with his first book, *National Parks: The American Experience*) Runte here breaks new ground by writing an environmental history of Yosemite. This book is not about the park's origins (although Runte makes a convincing case for Yosemite being the first true national park) but concentrates on its environmental past, the changes in its plant and animal life and in its manmade environment since 1864, the year that Congress voted to donate the public domain of Yosemite Valley to the state of California and required that it be held "inalienable for all time."

Runte is most interested in how well the park has lived up to that original dictum. He makes a strong case that the natural world of Yosemite has constantly changed over time, primarily from steadily increasing human encroachment. Such a conclusion, to be sure, may seem obvious to anyone who has visited the park. In Yosemite Valley especially, the dramatically beautiful heart of the preserve, a slew of campgrounds, curio shops, and all manner of accommodations have taken root to serve the ever growing tourist economy. For Runte such developments have thwarted the original aims of the preserve. In presenting this point as his overarching theme, Runte relies on Park Service records and various archival sources, and combines sound scholarship with his own strongly held views, many of which formed during his summers as a ranger at Yosemite.

His point is clear: from the beginning Yosemite was a great outdoor playground, one in which tourist facilities grew steadily and took precedence over natural resources. The pattern emerged in the 1870s when the federal government first encouraged private concessions in the park and gave "business a legal means for exploiting the preserve." (p. 27) Following creation of the national park in 1890 Yosemite's built-environment grew apace, and was symbolized by Camp Curry, whose outspoken owner, David Curry, constantly badgered the Park Service to allow him to expand. Curry's most renowned entertainment was the firefall, a spectacular show of flames thrown off the high rock walls nightly. Runte makes clear that Curry and other concessionaires became well entrenched in the park, well before the National Park Service took jurisdiction in 1916. As a result, the agency found itself handicapped from the first and unable to withstand mounting demands from concessions and the public for additional facilities and artificial attractions. Before long visitors could choose from a variety of activities which had little to do with the park's wonders: attend the annual rodeo, play golf at the mini course at the Ahwahnee Hotel, or enjoy their favorite beverage at one of the park's many taverns.

Runte has a point. Still, while the scholarship is sound the analysis seems unbalanced. One can surely question the degree to which the author takes full account of the historical context of the park's past. As Runte tells it, there is a certain timelessness to the relentlessly encroaching human intrusions into the

park, and although he takes note of such watersheds as the building of Hetch Hetchy Dam, the coming of the automobile, and the post World War II travel boom, his argument leaves no room for the varying degree of effects these developments brought to the park. By the end of the book one is apt to think that Runte's misgivings about the plethora of accommodations available to visitors in the present have colored his view of the past. In short, he imposes his own interest in wilderness onto past generations when such standards did not exist.

But while historical context is sometimes lacking the book also has great strengths, particularly in its examination of environmental and resource issues throughout the park's past. Woven throughout his highly critical view of the Park Service and the recreational minded public, Runte offers solid and valuable treatments of environmental issues that marked various eras in the park's history: poachers who hunted illegally in the high country in the 1890s, bears which fed on garbage and entertained campers for much of the twentieth century, and predators such as wolves and coyotes trapped by Park Service rangers intent on disposing of "bad" animals. Runte also discusses with care and insight-conflicts over grazing and exotic species, and he nicely recaptures the effects of fires set by Native Americans in the nineteenth century on the valley floor.

In perhaps the strongest part of the book he sheds light on the role of science in shaping park policy, paying special attention to the work of Joseph Grinnell, a zoologist from the University of California at Berkeley who spent a lifetime studying animals in the park and urged the Park Service to reform its management policies. Grinnell's demand that the NPS ban hunting and trapping of coyotes and wolves bore fruit in 1925 when the ban was issued. As for bears, Runte makes clear that they proved one of the most difficult species to manage, eventually having to be shot when they could not be stopped from endangering campers.

Runte's attention to changes in the natural world and resource issues constitute the most original and valuable sections of the book, and these passages will be the most useful to environmental historians. On the whole, this important history reveals convincingly that Yosemite (and other parks by implication) are not "primeval," static landscapes, but dynamic and ever changing preserves that require constant vigilance from visitors and Park Service administrators alike. This is a landmark book in national park historiography and beautifully produced by the University of Nebraska Press. It opens a new path for other historians to follow.

North Dakota State University Mark Harvey

PRIDE IN THE JUNGLE: Community and Everyday Life in the Back of the Yards Chicago. By Thomas J. Jablonsky. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993.

The area around Chicago's former stockyard and packinghouses gave us Upton Sinclair's 1906 novel *The Jungle*, scores of University of Chicago theses

and dissertations, father and son Mayor Daleys, and, more recently, a half-dozen scholarly books examing the industry, the immigrants drawn to the jobs, and the communities they built. Historians James R. Barrett, Dominic A. Pacyga, and Lizabeth Cohen concentrated on twentieth century workers' organizations, ethnicity and assimilation, while Robert A. Slayton explored the origins and founding of Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council. Does Chicago's famous neighborhood need another book? Yes, indeed. Thomas J. Jablonsky, an urban historical geographer at the University of Southern California and director of the Program on the Environment and the City, brings a refreshing new perspective to community life in the 1920s and 1930s. Using traditional historical sources, interviews with elderly residents, and the insights of a geographer, Jablonsky proves that "Americanization of the Back of the Yards involved spatial as well as social, cultural, economic, and political acculturation." (xiv) His lucid prose, superb maps and charts, and wide array of photographs enable readers to share vicariously that experience.

Pride in the Jungle accomplishes all this in seven short chapters and a postscript. The first traces the rise and development of the industry to 1940 and utilization of the land on which it was located. Chapter 2 considers the early Irish and German settlers before folding in the "new" immigrants, the Poles, Bohemians, Slovaks, and Lithuanians. Ethnic Catholic churches anchored the various settlements and served as "sociospatial markers" (32) for everyone in the community. An extraordinary group of pastors ruled these national churches with an iron hand and did their best to keep American secularism and pluralism from infecting their flocks.

In the next four chapters—"At Home," "On the Block," "Around the Corner," and "Across the Community"—the author focuses on everyday life in Back of the Yards between World Wars One and Two. Although living standards contracted after the stock market crash, most people managed to hang onto their packinghouse jobs and thus avoid the "pride-smashing alternative... applying for unemployment relief." (63) Those seeking to enter the job market, however, had to look elsewhere. They were already prepared to do so by childhood use of neighborhood parks and playgrounds, patronage of the new movie houses, and familiarity with English language newspapers and magazines. The search for employment and entertainment which took them outside the community also helped liberate them from the control of ethnic pastors and foreign-born parents.

The climax of *Pride in the Jungle*, as also of Slayton's *Back of the Yards*, is the emergence of the celebrated Neighborhood Council in 1939, Slayton credits founders Saul Alinsky and Joseph Meegan, while Jablonsky argues that these two men met in the right place at the right time. By then place ties bound all the ethnic groups to their shared community. Alinsky and Meegan "pulled together the ties of territorial and ethnoreligious loyalties under the aegis of a community council in an effort that in all likelihood would have sputtered to an inglorious halt only a decade earlier." (134) An intriguing postscript notes Alinsky's later criticism

of the Neighborhood Council for fighting off racial integration until the 1970s. Whites are now outnumbered two to one by Mexican Americans and African Americans, and there are three separate community organizations. (150) Back of the Yards is fractured, yet its spatial framework remains unchanged. Professor Jablonsky should consider a sequel.

University of Oregon Louise Carroll Wade

RELUCTANT MODERNISM: American Thought and Culture, 1880-1900. By George Cotkin. New York: Twayne. 1991.

This is a volume in a series on American thought and language, under the editorship of Lewis Perry. The author has previously written a study of William James, and the strongest parts of this book reflect this expertise. The treatments of other philosophers, such as Charles Peirce, and of lesser intellectuals lights involved in philosophical or anthropological controversies, such as George F. Wright and Newman Smyth, are generally sound. All such texts have an air of familiarity about their topics and quotations, and many old favorites parade past, along with occasional less familiar material. The book has the air of an upper division course about it, with good parts, bad parts, and parts for which no explanation aside from whim seems available.

The first problem that presents itself lies in the time period; this one is daft by any standard. American culture was chiefly Darwinian throughout the end of the century, and organic, biological, teleological imagery dominated most creative activity. A conscientious historian could dwell on the growth and collapse of this paradigm and perform a useful if redundant service, but under no circumstances would the word "modernism" be appropriate for more than passing use. A historian could also look at these years for inadvertant premonitions of modernism, as creative figures questioned ruling assumptions. But the 1900 terminal date effectively means a death in the cradle for such notions; a scholar would have to stop just before the first fruits appeared. The best cut-off dates would be about 1889-1890, and 1917. 1900 only works in a political context, with Theodore Roosevelt taking office the next year and progressivism developing rapidly. But Cotkin pays little attention to Roosevelt and none to progressivism; the book does not cover politics.

The second and more significant problem here is that Cotkin hasn't a clue about what constitutes a true cultural paradigm. What he understands is Darwinism, which is fine, but then he finds Darwinism everywhere, dominating not only its enemies but those who pay it scant heed. He argues early on that, in this book, "modernism and modernity will be considered as intimately connected with the Darwinian revolution in science, and especially with the concept of evolution. In modernist fashion, Darwinism posited change, process, and struggle as essentials. . . ."(xii). This is demonstrable nonsense. Modernists paid little attention to Darwinism; and modernism is not synonymous with moderniza-

tion, the contemporary, the new, the progressive or the pioneering of anything that simply appeals to an author. One of the unintended fascinations of this book is to watch the ways in which the implicit meaning of "modernism" shifts, depending on the topic: optimistic, nihilistic, pessimistic, new, adversarial, consumerist, feminist, decadent, degenerate, sensible, lonely, bored, etc. By the end, any effort at clarity dissipates into a welcoming grab-bag: "New ideals and beliefs do arise, but slowly and often hesitantly. We are all, in this Jamesian sense, reluctant modernists; to be otherwise might lead to disastrous consequences—to philosophies of relativism, to abject ennui, or mindless activity." (154) Yes, especially the latter. And no, we are not, in any sense, all modernists, whether reluctant or not. This is not the language of cultural history, it is chatter.

One way for a reader to test whether or not I have exaggerated the confusion is to make a short list of artists you would expect to find in a book with this title: surely James Whistler and Henry James, for example—not real modernists, perhaps, but great artists who were clearly precursors of modernism, however defined. But they are not here. A critic like James Huneker, the best in the country on such matters? He is not here. The 1900 cut-off date is a serious barrier, for the obvious people to mention are mostly too young or their modernism undeveloped: Gertrude Stein, Ezra Pound, Alfred Stieglitz, Wallace Stevens, etc. Cotkin does have a bit on Stephen Crane, naturalism and decadence, which is at least arguable, but his knowledge of literature and the fine arts remains spotty at best, unless Kate Chopin is your idea of a "reluctant modernist." Toward the end of the volume, Cotkin chooses five figures to illustrate the varieties of reluctant modernism: Crane, Henry Adams, Thorstein Veblen, Louis Sullivan and Edgar Saltus. It's enough to make a reviewer weep: a naturalist, a conservative anti-Darwinian, a Darwinian secular collectivist, a Gilded Age architect forever quoting romantics like Whitman, and a third-rate decadent. What would any of them have to say to Gertrude Stein? How could they share anything significant with Pound or Stevens? No sensible definition of "modernism" should include any of them except perhaps on its outermost fringes. There is no paradigm here, just chaos of the sort an Adams might smile at.

What Cotkin seems unable to realize is that insofar as modernism had a scientific base, it lay not in biology but in physics. Modernist language was not full of organic imagery, with struggle, growth and decay allowing only the fittest to survive; it was full of the imagery of time and space, of relativity and uncertainty. Modernists dreamed of the fourth dimension and played games in non-Euclidean geometry or "pataphysics", they did not fret about conspicuous consumption, pecuniary emulation, or the moral equivalent of war. Only Henry Adams dabbles in physics here; and he was a conservative, his physics from another age. Lest you doubt it, try to imagine him in conversation with Marcel Duchamp. In valid paradigms, people can talk to each other.

While this book displays numerous virtues in individual sections, and remains better written than many texts, it thus has too many fundamental problems to make it useful.

University of Texas, Austin Robert M. Crunden

SALEM IS MY DWELLING PLACE: A Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne. By Edwin Haviland Miller. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 1991.

One of the most positive effects of the current interest in critical theory is that one no longer assumes that a biographer attempts to reveal the "true" Nathaniel Hawthorne out there, an act predicated in the past on a faith in the biographer's ability to discover a permanent, absolute, empirical reality, but rather one assumes that the biographer constructs a "Nathaniel Hawthorne" contextually situated in a matrix of the biographer's personal and cultural imperatives. As critics have come to be more aware of the constructed nature of each biographical version of Hawthorne, they have come to pay more attention to each biographer's methodology and ideology. Edwin Haviland Miller anchors his Hawthorne with psychological twine to the concept of the search for the lost father, a concept Miller sees repeated throughout Hawthorne's sketches, stories, notebooks, and romances.

That Hawthorne's father died in 1808 on a voyage to Surinam when Hawthorne was only 4 is certain; that Hawthorne spent the rest of his life and most of his creative energy searching for a substitute father figure, and that this childhood loss served as the single defining act of his creative life seems less a certainty than a construction. As Miller notes, Hawthorne deliberately and consciously delighted in drawing a veil before his face, which makes the biographer's job exceedingly difficult; in addition, however, Hawthorne delighted in pointing out that veil to his readers, delighted in playing with their expectations about authorial revelations as much as he delighted in manipulating parallel clauses. Does this uncover a psychic pattern—a wound from which he never recovered, a fear of and yet an expectation of betrayal—or is it a rhetorical strategy consciously adopted, a narrative tactic designed to tease and yet engage? Miller overlooks one implication of the statement he himself makes about Hawthorne's close friend Horatio Bridge: "He understood Hawthorne and his flair for gothic posturing" (98). Hawthorne more often than not seems the master of his thematic choices, not a tragically self-imprisoned "spiritualized Paul Pry" but a playfully self-created "M. de l'Aubepine."

Miller sets out the chronological events of Hawthorne's life with reasonable emphasis. The reader follows him easily through Hawthorne's boyhood, recognizes the importance of his mother and sisters, weighs the influence of life in the Manning household, and journeys with him to Bowdoin in 1821. Miller is especially good at communicating the importance of a handful of friendships to Hawthorne, most notably to Horatio Bridge and to Franklin Pierce. Together they

drank and smoked at Ward's Tavern, formed the decidedly democratic "Pot-8-O" club, and forged ties that would last a lifetime; throwing into clear relief an often overlooked facet of Hawthorne's character, Miller comments astutely that "he did not take friendship lightly" (89). Throughout this book Miller clarifies sharply the sense of loyalty felt by Hawthorne, Bridge, and Pierce (and later by James T. Fields and Francis Bennoch); they cared for and supported one another unreservedly (though Hawthorne appears the chief beneficiary). That Hawthorne insisted on dedicating *Our Old Home* to Franklin Pierce in 1863 despite the warning of the proabolitionist Fields becomes completely understandable in this context: "if I were to tear out the dedication," Hawthorne argued to his publisher, "I should never look at the volume again without remorse and shame" (502).

Miller successfully depicts Hawthorne in a variety of poses, allowing the reader to view in sequence the Hawthorne of the "Castle Dismal," the Salem measurer of coal and salt, the not-so-idealistic investor in Brook Farm, the emotional correspondent of Sophia Peabody—"his "Dove" and soul-mate—the pampered writer composing in his handmade dressing gown, and the practical biographer of Franklin Pierce. Despite his desire to avoid crude psychologizing, Miller simplifies as he explains his understanding of Hawthorne's psychological states in fictional terms; commenting on the deaths of Mrs. Hawthorne and Mrs. Peabody, he concludes: "Perhaps fortified by her idealistic philosophy and unusual resiliency given her physical and psychosomatic disorders, Sophia handled these losses more satisfactorily than Hawthorne: she mourned appropriately, like Dorcas in 'Roger Malvin's Burial,' and went on living; he was more on the order of Reuben Bourne, depressed and helpless, perhaps with unresolved feelings of guilt" (393-394). To Miller, Hawthorne constantly wrote autobiographically, presenting portrait after portrait of his psychic landscape in his most tormented characters. Surely there is some significant difference between Hawthorne and Coverdale, to choose the most apparently autobiographical example, a difference made visible in Hawthorne's sharp criticism of Coverdale's egotism as well as in the sport he makes of his foppish affectations.

The endnotes proved disappointing. To cite one instance, Miller asserts in the text that ". . . deep-seated anger toward women, perhaps originating in his mother's real as well as imagined neglect in his youth, apparently drove Hawthorne at times to nasty outbursts. of women authors he was to write, 'I wish they were forbidden to write on pain of having their faces deeply scarified with an oyster-shell,' a sentiment worthy of his ancestors. Sometimes ugly vituperation and extravagant idealization coexist, uneasily, in his writings" (384). Miller's footnote reads, in its entirety: "C.16: 624" (556). In an era in which Hawthorne's attitudes toward women writers have come to seem to have been ambivalent (at one instance, for example, condemning "Fanny Fern" with the pack of "d--d scribbling women" and then later praising her for writing "as if the devil was in her"), the flatness of Miller's footnote, following his provocative analysis, seems inappropriate (though he briefly mentions Fanny Fern in a

three-paragraph discussion of Hawthorne's negative attitudes toward women writers in chapter 28). The reference is no help, especially if the complete Centenary Edition is not immediately at hand. The index, however, is well organized and detailed, the bibliography is thorough, and the numerous photographs and reproductions are so well executed that even Hawthorne's handwriting in several letters is legible.

The facts, from Hawthorne's childhood through what Miller calls "the Crack-up," are all there; it may be the curse of a ten-year biographical project that the facts themselves occasionally seem to take on a numinous glow. Nevertheless, Miller's Hawthorne repeatedly speaks directly to us, as in a late letter to Fields: "I am not low-spirited, nor fanciful, nor freakish, but look what seem to be realities in the face, and am ready to take whatever may come" (507). *Salem Is My Dwelling Place* is an essential resource for serious readers of Hawthorne.

Chatham College William E. Lenz

THE PLURALISTIC PHILOSOPHY OF STEPHEN CRANE. By Patrick K. Dooley. Foreword by John J. McDermott. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1993.

In an earlier work, *Pragmatism as Humanism*, (1974) Patrick Kiaran Dooley, a professor of philosophy, defined William James's philosophy as humanistic. Jamesian humanism stressed the richness of experience, the plurality of perspectives, and the efficacy of human action to change conditions. These themes are employed by Dooley once again; this time to interpret the novels, short stories, and poems of Stephen Crane.

Dooley does not actually claim that Crane read any works by the pragmatic philosophers of pluralism such as James, Peirce, and Dewey. He does suggest, by implication, that Crane was familiar with the same popular magazines that regularly published works by James and essays on a pluralistic, pragmatistic perspective. At the same time, Dooley alludes to the general context of American and European thought during this period which would have made a pluralistic philosophy accessible and central to Crane's work.

The issue of influence is less important than the success of Dooley's heuristic pluralism to explain the work of Crane. While not slighting other interpretations that stress the ingrained pessimism, determinism, and nihilism of Crane's thought, Dooley instead claims that Crane, much like William James, successfully captured the pluralistic, relational, and perspectival realities of experience, meaning, and truth. Suffused throughout Crane's work, in Dooley's view, is a deep faith in the human project of engendering truths, of ameliorating problems, and of strenuously grappling with the contextual nature of ethical and moral problems. Although Dooley generally eschews calling Crane a philosopher, he does end with the accolade that "Stephen Crane's contributions to philosophy are considerable" (145).

How considerable may be open to debate. Dooley adds Crane's name to a growing list of authors—Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry James, Robert Frost, Gertrude Stein, and Wallace Stevens, for instance--who are seen to be working in the pragmatic tradition. Even when Dooley is less than successful in making his case for the centrality of pluralism and pragmatism in Crane's art, the reader is still willing to listen fully to Dooley's imaginative and sustained interpretation. But will any author, with any range and sympathy, be found without a pluralistic perspective in the very sinews of his or her work? Moreover, while a sense of hope and possibility is certainly present in Crane's corpus, much of the body of his work prefers to dwell in the cold ground of despair. Quite often this reader found that it would have been more appropriate for Dooley to interpret Crane within the naturalistic perspective of George Santayana rather than the humanistic ideals of William James. Crane consistently riveted his attention on the illusions that blind men and women to the indifference of nature. Dooley's interpretation of Crane's justly famous story "The Open Boat" as a paean to heroism and camaraderie in the face of the harshness of nature is valid, but the parable may also be understood as exemplifying the indifference of nature to that very heroism and the pathetic power of illusion, as when the possibility of rescue is shattered as people on the shore take the men on the lifeboat to be on a pleasure ride rather than struggling to survive.

In the end, as Dooley would admit, it is less important which interpretation captures the "truth" of the story or of Crane's perspective. The point that Dooley makes is a simple one: that Crane's work is concerned with a plurality of possibilities, and thus it must be open to a diversity of readings. That is what makes Crane an enduring author and it is what recommends Dooley' respectful and occasionally insightful interpretations.

Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo George Cotkin

BY THE LAW OF NATURE: Form and Value in *Nineteenth-Century America.* By Howard Horwitz. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991.

A focus on American understandings of nature immediately recalls the field of American Studies as it took shape in the 1950s and early 60s, and indeed, Howard Horwitz notes the work of Leo Marx, R. W. B. Lewis, and Henry Nash Smith in the introduction to his *By the Law of Nature: Form and Value in Nineteenth-Century America.* For Horwitz, however, what is most interesting about nature is not the ways it was used as myth and symbol but the ways in which it was used to ground notions of value and identity. The propensity to justify ideas, actions, and policies by appealing to the law of nature was universal in America, argues Horwitz, but, he insists, we must not assume some common ideological agenda in these appeals. Instead, Americans used nature to justify all manner of cultural projects, many of them competing or opposing, because the character, availability, and authority of nature was a matter of dispute.

Whatever the perspective, however—and Horwitz carries us from frontier settlers of the early nineteenth century through Emerson, Twain, and literary realism, to corporate attorneys and labor organizers of the early twentieth—the debates about nature took place in the context of the liberal tradition. Lockean liberalism, he points out, represents the human interaction with nature as entailing both production and self-production; the person whose labor transforms nature into property, thereby creating economic value, has at the same time created himself, the human being as value-producer. For Horwitz, these and related liberal assumptions seethe with internal tension and paradox, so that if the concepts of value and identity that emerged from nineteenth-century debates about nature are contradictory, it is because they register what Horwitz refers to as the "antinomies" of liberalism, between reason and desire, the self and other, the individual and the collective.

In proceeding with his analysis, Horwitz typically pairs a literary or aesthetic work with some artifact of economic or public policy, William Dean Howell's *A Hazard of New Fortunes* with American economic theory, for example, or Willa Cather's *O Pioneers!* with legislative debates on homesteading. The results can be breathtaking. The most intellectually impressive of these linkages, and the one most critical to Horwitz's argument, is that between Emerson's transparent eyeball and the legal metaphysics of the Standard Oil trust. In both, Horwitz detects what he terms "transcendent agency," a concept of identity that both obscures and magnifies human agency by representing the self as a mere instrument of transcendent natural or otherwise universal forces. Horwitz makes two important points about this replacement of self-reliance with self-eradication as the principle of identity, first, that transcendent agency superseded and perfected liberalism by surmounting and traversing its internal contradictions and, second, that it lay behind multiple, even adversarial social visions, including those of John D. Rockefeller, Theodore Dreiser, and Eugene Debs.

Like much of the work in American Studies shaped by recent developments in literary theory, Horwitz's book is unnecessarily dense, sometimes to the point of incomprehensibility. It extends only a limited and exclusive welcome. But Horwitz is no follower. Indeed, he quite pointedly takes on many of his fellow interpreters of nineteenth-century American culture. He rejects what he regards as the "condescension or scorn" (242) with which they dismiss the ubiquitous liberalism of the nineteenth century as just so much complicity with political and economic evils. A recurring theme in this book is the insistence that the bodies of thought or works of art under analysis—Emerson's philosophy, for example, *Twain's Life on the Mississippi*, Frank Norris's *The Pit*—are not, as Horwitz claims they have been represented, aesthetic compromises or outright failures doomed by their creators' moral timidity and complicity. Similarly, he argues, if transcendent agency made strange bedfellows, it was not because in the final analysis, its adherents swore a common allegiance to corporate capitalism. Doubtlessly, he admits, many of his subjects believed in or strove for a harmony

between their understandings of nature, value, and the self and their economic and political values, but we should infer no necessary causal relation between the two.

This analytical approach is characterized by a rare and laudable humility before the past, but it is nonetheless problematic. Opposed to reducing thought to ideology, to detecting relational effects where there is only isomorphism, Horwitz leaves the nature of causality unresolved. In his drive to remain apolitical, he becomes ahistorical. He seems to suggest that while various parties may select those concepts of value and identity that best suit their interests, the concepts themselves take form independently of those interests, as the contradictions inherent to the liberal ethos are worked out in a stream of internally generated conceptual permutations. Ironically, for all its poststructuralist vocabulary, Horwitz's approach resembles nothing so much as old-fashioned intellectual history, in which ideas have a life and logic of their own.

State University of New York, Buffalo Tamara Plakins Thornton

JFK: History of an Image. By Thomas Brown. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1988.

THE PRESIDENCY OF JOHN F. KENNEDY. By James N. Giglio. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1991.

The relative importance of "the facts" and of sound, sober historical analysis to alter popular images and myths, especially as they relate to the life and death of John F. Kennedy, is a matter that those of us who teach recent American history must regularly struggle against. Although some one thousand scholars in the 1982 Murray-Blessing presidential evaluation survey rated Kennedy as an above-average president, slightly below Dwight D. Eisenhower, a *Newsweek*-Gallup poll the following year found JFK to be, by far, the most popular American president, and, of all former chief executives, the overwhelming first choice to be in the White House in 1983 (three times more than chose Franklin D. Roosevelt, the second choice). The respondents to the poll perceived Kennedy in heroic, almost messianic, terms, despite unsavory revelations about his personal life and scandals involving other family members; and despite much historical evidence to the contrary, they viewed him as committed to the downtrodden, to racial justice, to social activism, and to infusing the nation with a new spirit of idealism. How such an image of JFK came into being, why it persists, and what it tells us about the changing beliefs and values of the American people in the quarter-century following Kennedy's assassination is the fascinating subject of Thomas Brown's inquiry.

Unfortunately, Brown promises more than he can possibly deliver in this all-too brief analysis. Except for a few random sentences concerning the role of images in mass consumer culture, recent demographic shifts, the changing fortunes of liberalism, and the relationship of the assassination to Kennedy's

canonization, *JFK: History of an Image* is essentially an historiographical survey of the popular and scholarly literature. Brown has a sound grasp of the nuanced, complexity of this subject, and he skillfully delineates the shifts in historical interpretation. He begins with the keepers of the flame—Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Theodore Sorensen, William Manchester, and Theodore White—and their fashioning an image of Kennedy as the embodiment of pragmatic intelligence, cosmopolitan culture, and infinite promise, the witty, intellectual prince of Camelot. Younger scholars in the late 1960s and early 1970s, disenchanted with liberal domestic policy and with an inflexible anti-communist foreign policy, especially as manifest in Vietnam, then excoriated Kennedy as an unregenerate cold warrior and a timid politician, subservient to big business capitalism and lacking moral conviction and commitment, particularly in the struggle for civil rights. Brown notes the failures of Richard Barnet, Jim Heath, Bruce Miroff, and Thomas Paterson to understand the limits of the possible in the particular historical context, and states that their works had little impact beyond academic circles. At the same time, even less of a dent in Kennedy's image was made by those who focused on his private behavior and character, who pictured the president as obsessively imageconscious and Camelot as inhabited by party girls and Mafia dons. In the late 1970s and 1980s liberal intellectuals with a more sobered estimate of the possibilities of positive social change depicted Kennedy as neither all-good or all-bad, but as a conventional, if imaginative, politician whose public actions were decisively shaped by the prevailing assumptions and institutions of his time. This is the crux of the studies on Kennedy's foreign policies by Herbert Dinerstein, Michael Mandelbaum, and Peter Wyden, and of domestic affairs by Carl Brauer, Herbert Parmet, and Alan Shank. However much this focus on historical circumstances rather than on individual personality now predominates in the academy, Brown concludes, the broadcast media, the political rhetoric, and the popular press continue to stress JFK's decisive and favorable influence on recent American history.

Delivering more than it promises, James Giglio's succinct yet comprehensive account provides the necessary historical evidence for the current academic view of Kennedy as an above average, but not great, president. Although neither rooted in new sources nor original in interpretation, *The Presidency of John F. Kennedy* is a model synthetic survey. Clearly written, thoroughly grounded in the latest scholarship, thoughtfully organized, authoritatively and judiciously analyzed, Giglio provides us with the best single-volume to date both on the domestic and foreign affairs of the United States in the early 1960s and on the fascinating character of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. In addition to covering all the major issues and crises of the period, Giglio's volume in the American Presidency Series of the University Press of Kansas is also informative on agriculture, organized crime, and space, matters often ignored in treatments of Kennedy; and the insights contained in the chapter "Image and Reality" are alone worth the cost of the book.

Together, these two works begin to explain how JFK, like Ceaser, came and conquered, and in death entered into an even more influential afterlife.

University of New Hampshire Harvard Sitkoff

AUTHORITY AND ALLIANCE IN THE LETTERS OF HENRY ADAMS. By Joanne Jacobson. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1992.

Joanne Jacobson's *Authority and Alliance in the Letters of Henry Adams* takes a fresh look at Adams's voluminous letters, which historians have mined to fill in the often intentional and cryptic gaps in Adams's life, by focusing less on their content than on Adams's use of letter writing as a medium of exchange between himself and a carefully constructed and controlled audience. Viewed in this light, letter writing served Adams as a means of self-definition as he attempted to carve out an identity while trapped between a family that had helped forge the world of the nineteenth century and whose success demanded his success, and the crumbling of that very world.

Jacobson shows that, beginning in the 1850s, Adams used letters to establish his status and role, that is, his "authority" and build "alliances" between himself and a highly selective circle of readers. The privacy of letters allowed him to define the currency of the discourse as well as the nature of the exchange, and to avoid the risks necessarily associated with publication. This was particularly evident and important in Adams's use of the letter format for *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, *The Education*, and his letters on the science of history. In each case, he circulated these "letters" among a select few friends or sympathetic souls, and in each case the privacy afforded him the opportunity to present a view of history or reality that reflected his alienation from the more democratic culture emerging at the turn of the century.

Jacobson's book is primarily of value for students of literary style and form, although she does attempt to place her interpretation in an historiographical if not historical context. The reader should also be warned that the author's use of such words as "marginality," "territory" or "subversion" amounts almost to a code that is not easily decipherable, especially since the words are not clearly defined. This limits the appeal of the book and diminishes its importance. Nevertheless, Jacobson makes two important contributions. Adams's letters cannot be taken and used at face value but must be interpreted in the context of their intended use and audience. More importantly, Jacobson makes it clear that Adams's letter writing was a process that reflected the evolution of Adams's ideas over the course of a lifetime. Only when viewed as an evolutionary process rather than a failure to adjust is it possible to understand Adams's reactions to the emergence of a world far removed from that of his youth.

Canisius College Keith R. Burich

CLAMBAKE: A History and Celebration of an American Tradition. By Kathy Neustadt. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1992.

Kathy Neustadt's *Clambake* makes a much needed contribution to American Studies by illustrating how much the discipline would profit from taking foods and foodways more seriously than has been the case in most curricula or at national meetings. Neustadt brings a humanist's appreciation of historical narrative and of archival graphics (photographs, paintings, prints, ads) to her study of the annual clambake by the Allen's Neck Friends Meeting and a social scientist's alertness to function and structure .

Under her scrutiny, the clambake at Allen's Neck, Massachusetts, emerges "as a creative cultural product, a celebration of life's meaning and of its meaningfulness" (151). She locates this feast and festival within a larger American heritage of "invented traditions" of civic import and national self-definition, such as Thanksgiving. There is a "politics of feasting" (Chapter 2) and a socio-economic context of work and leisure (Chapter 3) within which the clambake enacts its meaning.

Neustadt views the Allen's Neck clambake as neither "icon" nor "text," familiar tropes within American Studies scholarship, but as a calendrical event whose personal and communal significance lies in the facts of participation and process more than in any ironies or ambiguities. Objectively the bake invokes Yankee tradition, Quaker values, a work ethic, protestant modes of expression, and New England ecology. Subject participants experience the bake as fun and as hard work, and as a playing-out of community values and identity.

Neustadt, trained as a folklorist, devotes a third of the book to practical matters like fire, rocks, rockweed, equipment, etc., and to clams and corn and their preparation and consumption. Her subjects speak in their own voices to say what they are doing and to recall past clambakes and to talk about today. The bake is traditional but it takes place "today"-each year. Thirty-four photographs by Neustadt bring the bake alive and make the people there persons we want to know. She has the eye of a Eudora Welty.

Classic American Studies scholarship has relished icons of sweeping American significance and identity: the Brooklyn Bridge, Andrew Jackson, the dynamo, the White City. More recent attention to contested meanings and multivocal discourse has found resistance and exception within texts and events from the margin. But the Allen's Neck bake appears to "speak" of cultural continuities and contiguities more than of inversions and oppositions (148). Neustadt economically and adeptly deploys the analytical and interpretive models of Victor Turner, Mary Douglas, Lévi-Strauss, and Barbara Myerhoff, but she finds in the end that calmbake resists reading through those lenses.

Finally, Neustadt is a writer of considerable power and grace, deftly negotiating her way between analytical "takes" and experiential moments, like the "raking out," the "orgy of ingestion," and the story tellings. She honors the

"primary, signified clambake experience": it is "not metaphoric, metonymic, paradigmatic, syntagmatic; it is far less mediated and conscious than all of this" (185-86). It is "tripe, hot, moist clam meat, and butter dripping down one's arms and face" (186).

University of California, Davis David Scofield Wilson

CREATIVITY AND TRADITION IN FOLKLORE: New Directions. Edited by Simon J. Bronner. Utah State University Press, Logan, Utah. 1992.

Compared with traditional views of the elitist origins of creative expression, this collection of sixteen essays, with an introduction written by editor Simon Bronner, approaches the topic from the current multicultural belief in the ability of the "folk" to create and contribute to culture. Such contributions occur daily through participation in narrative, song, local gossip and speech, all of which are influenced by tradition in their form or content. These traditions are dynamically revitalized with each recounting because of the participant's creative additions or omissions in content or style.

The book is conceived as a tribute to W. F. H. Nicolaisen, an internationally prominent folklorist whose ideas on creativity and tradition underlie the discussions of these essays. Folk, defined encompassingly as "'any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor"' [p. 4], create through appropriating narrative, linguistic, or artistic traditions and sharing their experiences in the context of community. Various essays suggest different reasons for this creative process, though a prominent theme is shaping the past, understanding the present, and controlling the future through linguistic definition or narrative.

The essays are compiled into four sections, each of which examines different aspects of creativity and tradition. The first, *Ballad and Song*, focuses on the teller and his or her personal innovations through performance of traditional forms, specifically addressing Scottish folk ballads and Irish vision poems. The second, *Narrative*, considers the process of transmission from teller to listener, a process which occurs in a broader context, be it historical as in the American Pearl Bryan legend, socio-political as in Bulgarian folk narratives, or ideological as exemplified in gender characterization in Italian folktales. In the third section, *Language and Cultural Knowledge*, the essays address the role of language—speech patterns, names, proverbs—in the formation of a cultural knowledge base; here a philosophical essay considers the power of linguistic definition to construct reality, while others examine English and Scottish word classification and establish the minimum number of proverbs required for fluency within language. The last section, *Community and Identity*, explores how tradition and creativity connect people, specifically examining cultural continuity within ethnic minority groups: Serbians maintaining festival traditions in England, the linguistic adap-

tation of proverbs among Hmong refugees in the United States, and the important communal role of a Pennsylvania-German folk artist.

The egalitarian definition of folk lends itself to the international and interdisciplinary examination of culture found in these essays. Many of the contributors are from central Europe and Great Britain in addition to the United States, and from such diverse fields as English, folklore, anthropology, and geography. As human cultures cross national and disciplinary boundaries, so should a thoughtful examination of folk culture. Folklorists and American Studies scholars can benefit from this international probing of the role of creativity and tradition in culture. Linguists, those interested in narrative, as well as any who espouse creativity in ordinary people will also enjoy this clearly and imaginatively written book.

University of Notre Dame Christina Cogdell Koehl

GENDER AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA. By Lynn D. Gordon. 1991.

This informative and imaginatively researched study is a valuable addition to the existing body of scholarship devoted to the experience of women in higher education at the turn of the century. Focusing on the three generations of women who entered college between the 1890s and the 1920s, Gordon contrasts their shifting personal attitudes and expectations in the context of both institutional opportunities and limitations and broader social, political and economic change. She frames her analysis in terms of educated women's responses to the prevailing notion of "separate spheres." Buttressed by religion and reinforced by custom, this ideology prescribed social roles, privileges and obligations on the basis of gender: women's sphere was the private world of the family while men were active in the public world of politics and civic responsibility.

Gordon's book includes five case studies of single sex and coeducational institutions: the University of California at Berkeley; the University of Chicago; Vassar College; Sophie Newcomb College; and Agnes Scott College. Each provides graphic examples of regional cultural variations, enabling Gordon to explore in comparative terms the strengths and weaknesses of separatism as a strategy for women's advancement. She finds that while women educators were often able to justify higher education in terms of the refinement of female sensibilities, this strategy also curtailed women's fullest participation in university and public life. Even the energetic and civic-minded students of the second generation, those who were to have a significant impact on Progressive Era reform, were denied full equality by these restrictions.

Given the expense of such an education, Gordon's primary focus is on the daughters of the affluent white Protestant middle class. She does, however, consider women from different backgrounds; her vignettes of African-American, Jewish and Catholic students sensitively portray the impact of racial, ethnic and

religious prejudice. She also reviews the contributions of women mentors who promoted and financed opportunities for successive generations of women students.

Gordon grounds her evocative portrayal of the experiences of women in higher education in a review of an extensive range of materials, including autobiographies, diaries, student newspapers, fiction, personal papers, administrative records, and the design and spatial arrangements of educational institutions. Her major contribution is the incorporation of the details of these women's lives into a larger study of gendered ideology and social structures, one that also considers their role in the complex processes of social change.

Loyola Marymount University Susan Tank Lesser

LOST IN THE CUSTOMHOUSE: Authorship in the American Renaissance. By Jerome Loving. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 1993.

This is a quaint, arresting, provocative return to the practice of reading nineteenth-century American literature in terms of canonical texts. Loving articulates this decidedly old-fashioned approach in lively, up-to-date language that demonstrates his wide familiarity with newer, different views. Yet by deliberately centering on a dozen or so "primary" works by twelve much-anthologized authors, Loving defies the current critical consensus supporting culture studies, the New Historicism, and the decentering of hallowed (usually male) texts. In selecting singular works by Irving, Hawthorne, Poe, Melville, Twain, James, and now Chopin and Dreiser in fiction; and in poetry, Whitman and Dickinson; and Emerson and Thoreau in prose, he reasserts a much older claim that "canonical" is a proper literary adjective. It accurately identifies a society's recognition that certain literary creations are simultaneously the "best" and "truest" expression of the nation's abiding myths and the genius of their authors. In the great works of the last century American literature is, for many, still centrally defined. A succession of giants (and socially marginal individuals) forged timeless monuments to their own subjective, subjunctive, philosophical and nostalgic imaginations. The "customhouse" of Loving's title denotes both the marginal social location of writers like Hawthorne and Melville and the private consciousnesses out of which—and distant from the real worlds of Salem and Manhattan—great art came. Thus the "literature" extending from Irving's *The Sketch-Book* (1819-20) to Chopin's *The Awakening* (1899) and Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* (1900) becomes "Literature", that august and autonomous realm apart from the quotidian concerns of history, society, ideology, politics. Hence issues of the social generation of texts and their receptions by diverse readerships are largely irrelevant to great books' status as cultural icons. Instead, attention must be paid each writer and his (or occasionally her) single work that helps to define the national myth. That myth, Loving believes, is a powerful, always personally resonant return to childhood innocence as replayed over and over in

narratives of escape, death, and rebirth or awakening. "The central experience of American literature in the nineteenth century (if not also in the twentieth) is essentially the puritanical desire for the prelapsarian—that second chance of coming into experience anew." (ix)

As my quick summary so far suggests, *Lost in the Customhouse: Authorship in the American Renaissance* will not sit easily in the minds of scholars and students impressed by recent works as diverse as David Reynolds' *Beneath the American Renaissance*, Jane Tompkins' *Sensational Designs*, or Nina Baym's *Novels, Readers, and Reviewers*. Certainly Loving offers a direct challenge to American Studies, Women's Studies, and indirectly (through dismissal from the dialogue) African American Studies. At the heart of the matter is her imperial vocabulary: the *acknowledged* canon, the *true story*, the *essential* American experience, *we* and *our* readings of the Bible or *Moby-Dick*, the *essence* of literature, the *ultimate* statement about desire. (my italics in some cases) Understandable perhaps in an ambitious 218-page argument, this talk of "Whitman and *all* mothers" will arrest or affront many eager cultural relativists. For in this first section of the book at least, the American Renaissance remains openly a more elitist, male, heterosexual, exclusively alienated movement, ideology, and body of writings than even Parrington, Matthiessen, or Richard Chase adumbrated. Not only does a special group speak for all of us, but their defender-critic wields an unassailably private authority, based in "my encounter and *experience* of these twelve writers." (xviii) Many readers are rendered mute by the concluding rhetoric of this enthusiast who treasures *Leaves of Grass*, for example, as a work "in which the absolute best of that genius 'springs' from the pages into the arms of the reader . . . the book that always brings the author back to life for us . . . the American work that brings *us* back to life as Americans." (218) Even lovers of "Song of Myself" may mutter "Whose America?"

In the second section, *Lost in the Customhouse* regains some credibility with dissenters by tacitly acknowledging the relevance of history, gender, race, region, and social class to full understanding of *Pudd'nhead Wilson, The Portrait of a Lady, The Awakening*, and *Sister Carrie*. Yet Loving persists in stressing these works' singularity as retellings of a single national myth." It is the story of the Bad Boy or Girl and never of the manor woman because the quest is for a lost innocence . . . These protagaonists as well as those studied throughout this book seek out good in evil, or prelapsarian innocence in the trauma of the human condition. Carrie culminates this paradoxical quest for the American ideal." (209)

Just as ideological as any of the trendier others Loving attacks, *Lost in the Customhouse* rests upon a dangerously one-sided assumption about personal identity and one's identity-theme. This terminology may evoke for some the work of Erik Erikson, Heinz Lichtenstein, Nancy Chodorow, and Norman Holland. But the psychological underpinning of Loving's thought is neither social nor psychoanalytic. Identity instead is a private and imaginative construct,

a spiritual awakening to self facilitated by aesthetic rather than social experience; "we identify ourselves as individuals through literature (in spite of evolutionary and cultural evidence to the contrary) in a process of humanizing ourselves culturally and aesthetically out of raw nature, which *naturally* begins at our conception." (158) Disregarding here or bending the hypotheses of a host of contemporary social scientists, Loving also elides evidence from his own canonical works: Isabel Archer's and Serena Merle's colloquy about clothes and money; Thoreau's return to Concord society and history in "Former Inhabitants"; Dreiser's characters molded by department stores and panelled bars, by rocking chairs *and* reveries. Just as both "literature" and "Literature" are collective as well as private enterprises, so are Americans dreamers and doers, Babbitts and Bartlebys. Loving's vigorously tendentious book forces readers like myself to clarify, by rereading, their own concepts of literature in and beyond society.

University of Iowa Albert E. Stone

TELLING LIES IN MODERN AMERICAN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By Timothy Dow Adams. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1990.

It has become a commonplace in the study of autobiography to speak of its fictional qualities—to understand autobiography as an account shaped by the desire to present a particular public self, by the vagaries of memory, and/or by the need to suppress certain information to prevent injury to the self or others. Timothy Dow Adams presses these considerations a step further by analyzing autobiographical texts by five writers whose narratives contain such overt fabrications as to have made their authors the targets of hostility from readers: Gertrude Stein, Sherwood Anderson, Richard Wright, Mary McCarthy, and Lillian Hellman. Whereas most critics examine autobiography for the elements that seem to convey a set of truths about their subjects, Adams approaches lying as a strategy that can reveal a great deal about the person whose life is being presented. In an era in which "new journalism" is an accepted form, and novels masquerade as autobiographies and vice versa, Adams finds it perplexing that readers demand that autobiographers be as perfectly faithful to factual recording as possible, and asks that we see even the deliberate lie as part of a whole that takes on "narrative truth."

The best-known autobiographical "lies" among those which Adams discusses are Stein's *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*—actually a "biography" of Stein purported to be from the point of view of Toklas—and Hellman's account of "Julia" in *Pentimento*. In these and other cases, Adams investigates the authors' motivations, perceptions of truth and self, and resonances between their overtly fictional creations and the autobiographies. Although the treatments of all five authors are convincing—despite Adams' tendency to be an apologist for the authors—the most compelling discussion is that of Richard Wright, in which Adams points out that for a black growing up in American culture, some degree

of dissembling has been necessary for survival, and also that Wright, in *Black Boy*, was working out of an African-American tradition of slave narratives in which the individual represents the oppression of the race, so that *Black Boy* should be read as a composite story rather than the narrative of Wright's individual life.

Telling Lies in Modern American Autobiography is well-researched, and the introductory chapter provides a valuable overview of contemporary autobiography theory. The one important omission from this discussion—and from the book as a whole—is a consideration of gender differences in the autobiographical presentation of self. As Lillian Schlissel, Shari Benstock, Hargo Culley, and others have demonstrated, women writers have often felt compelled to suppress events or emotions when putting their lives on paper, and since three of the five writers with whom Adams deals are female, it is surprising that he does not consider this body of scholarship as providing a partial explanation for some of the gaps and contradictions in their autobiographical narratives. Despite this weakness, *Telling Lies* is a valuable resource for those interested in American autobiography.

Vanderbilt University Nancy A. Walker

POLICING AS THOUGH PEOPLE MATTER. By Dorothy Guyot. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1991.

Despite its title, *Policing as Though People Matter* is not written from the public's point of view. Guyot, a criminal justice professor and erstwhile management consultant to police departments, writes here as a department insider offering lessons for police administrators. Her principal goal is to explain how innovation toward more effective policing can be accomplished without increased expenditures and without alienating the police officers who must make it work. She does this through statistical and ethnographic evidence from Troy, New York, during the 1970s and 1980s. This material is sprinkled throughout the book amid more broad-based information and analysis. The result is something like a monograph within a textbook. It can be slow reading, though, and the cases from Troy are often brought to bear on the discussion at such diffused points that readers will have trouble keeping the details fresh in their minds.

The organizing theme is that the traditional military model used by police administrators ought to give way to a hospital model. Police officers (as the physicians) should have the freedom to exercise independent judgment. Officers who are given wide discretion should ideally bring to their work a "tragic perspective"—an appreciation of the larger experiential and emotional context of every situation they face in dealing with the public. Less cynical, they see people struggling to make ends meet, to cope with family crises, to overcome impossible odds. Officers with a tragic perspective will develop and exercise compassion in dealing with the public. Consequently, the effectiveness of the police goes well

beyond arrest rates. Just as important is the alacrity of officers in responding to a call, their patience and concern in working with victims in the immediate aftermath of a crime, and their willingness to advise victims on how to protect themselves from a reoccurrence of the crime. The message to police leadership is simple. If this hospital model operates, incremental community relations programs will be unnecessary. If it does not exist, such programs will not work anyway.

Troy has a small minority population, and as a result there is relatively little here about the issue of race, surely one of the most inflammatory in the history of American policing. The reader has a right to ask, therefore, if this weakens the book's overall point. Can police departments maintain successful community relations and, ultimately, effective service in an environment where severe racial tension and hostility are prominent? Is the Troy model one that can readily be applied to cities with highly diverse and contentious populations? Can even a tragic perspective enhance police-community relations in the social devastation that is many of our inner cities? Perhaps, but we will probably need more than this book to convince us.

Tufts University John C. Schneider

ARKANSAS MADE: A Survey of the Decorative, Mechanical, and Fine Arts Produced in Arkansas, 1819-1870, 2 vols. By Swannee Bennett and William B. Worthen. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 1991.

As a Southern state that is also west of the Mississippi River, Arkansas has struggled to extricate itself from its image as a cultural backwater. Swannee Bennett and William B. Worthen, curator and director of the Arkansas Territorial Restoration respectively, significantly redress this in *Arkansas Made*, a two-volume report on the arts and crafts of frontier Arkansas. Furniture, quilts, silver, pottery, and firearms each receives a chapter in Volume 1, and photography and art are covered in Volume ll. As intriguing as the hundreds of illustrations (many in color) accompanied by captions are the authors' narratives of the lives of the producers, in social, technological, and historical context. To identify the 436 cabinetmakers, 224 gunsmiths, 183 silversmiths and clockmakers, 29 potters, and countless quilters, photographers, and artists, the authors and their staff painstakingly scoured newspapers, federal censuses, tax and other public records, and private papers. Biographical sketches in each chapter cite these various sources—an invaluable tool for future researchers. Readable descriptions of the process of creating the objects, along with a glossary of more technical terms for Volume 1, are included. Unfortunately, no index is provided, but explanatory notes appear at the end of each chapter, and the volumes contain valuable bibliographies of primary, secondary, and unpublished sources.

Though sweeping interpretation is not intended, common threads emerge. For example, most rural artisans supplemented their incomes by farming. Also,

Arkansas's frontier past is evidenced by charts that numerically show both the place of birth and the county in which the craftsmen practiced their trade: many came from Southern states to the east, especially Tennessee and Kentucky, and some from Europe, particularly Germany. Artists and photographers were also commonly itinerant. The marriage of function and form demonstrated the changing concerns of the South: Nancy Buckley's pieced quilt, for example, "was known variously as 'New York Beauty,' 'Indian Summer,' 'Road to Jericho,' and as Americans migrated westward 'Rocky Mountain Road,' [revealing how] quilt names were constantly being amended to fit new experiences and lifestyles into antebellum America" (Vl, 87).

The authors attest that this is but an initial survey. Not yet mined, for example, are county probate records, and more could be said about the economic and social mobility of the artisans and artists. Many plaintive calls for more silver and firearms to be brought forth and identified will undoubtedly be met. Vernacular architectural styles, such as those evident in Seth Eastman's sketches, have yet to be studied. Both the academic and interested reader will find *Arkansas Made* a superb interdisciplinary compilation of the material culture of a neglected state.

Kent State University Craig R. Auge

LABOR AND DESIRE: Women's Revolutionary Fiction in Depression America. By Paula Rabinowitz. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina. 1991.

The thirties continues to haunt the Left—the Old Left, the New Left, whatever Left is left. In part, I suspect, because of the "curious combination" in which, a very small subculture, the radical Left, had such an important effect, not on state politics or even popular and elite cultures, but on "the terms of debate within the political and artistic cultures of the United States" (60). So, Paula Rabinowitz wonders, in her fine examination of women's revolutionary fiction of that decade, how is it that such a small subculture managed to have such a pervasive effect on political and artistic cultures? Her readers might ask, was it the formation of a particular historical bloc, some conjunction of the times and necessity, and can such a movement be duplicated? Rabinowitz's project is part of a fascinating historical revisioning, an ongoing reevaluation of the thirties, a reinvention of the significance of the thirties for American cultural studies (xi).

The Old Left historians from the sixties worried about who was excluded from the New Deal: the poorest of the poor, sharecroppers, domestic help, southern blacks paid on a different scale in government programs than white folks. How much of the New Deal was meant to include the forgotten men? And what of women? Yes, there were more women Ph.D's during the thirties than until quite recently and women made up twenty-five percent of the work force (45-46). Yes, we can point to strong leaders with certain kinds of power like Eleanor Roosevelt, Frances Perkins, Hallie Flanagan. But what, besides male

patronage or a powerful husband, constituted their power? Even if they managed to establish a power base of their own, did they change the ways women were seen?

The cultural assumptions of the nineteenth century, in particular the domestic ideology which seemed to justify the separation of the private world of women from the public world of men, continued to operate in the dominant culture of the thirties *and* the radical movement in the United States. Radical women had to overcome then, Rabinowitz argues, the ways in which radical critics used gendered language in describing class struggle as in: "the bourgeoisie are effete or feminine, interested in maintaining their privacy, while the working classes are masculine, committed to changing the public world." Would women be able to stand up and be counted in terms that would escape the pejorative connotations of an effete or feminine middle class? Would they be able to redefine the private sphere in such a way as to include public concerns? As one might expect, the answer is—not altogether. While on the one hand, Rabinowitz acknowledges the ways in which the "Zeitgeist of the 1930s, for women at least, meant that the content of their narratives could include the public field, supplementing if not supplanting the private sphere of personal confession" (40), she also points out the ways in which women were confined by the rhetoric of radical male chauvinism and the essentialist sexist discourse of proletarian genres which continued to differentiate between male and female desires.

Rabinowitz excavates six novels to show how women struggled to find a way out of certain essentialist categories and only partially succeeded. That these texts are in need of excavation bolsters Rabinowitz's argument that radical women novelists were squeezed between contemporary leftist critics who felt that these works were too feminine and thus not worthy of consideration as political texts, and feminist critics who have continued to write about women who seem to inhabit the private, extrahistorical sphere. The six books are divided between working class women novels—Clara Weatherwax's, *Marching! Marching!*, Meridel LeSueur's, *The Girl*, and Tillie Olson's, *Yonnondio*—and novels about radical intellectual women—Tess Slesinger's, *The Unpossessed*, Lauren Gilfillan's, *I Went to Pit College*, and Josephine Herbst's, *Rope of Gold*. Overt discussions of sexuality potentially disrupt class solidarity since "sexuality controls the bodies of men and women differently" (91). When women come together to compare notes about maternity, reproductive labor, abortions, birth control they may find themselves at odds with their men, working class or not. But the language they use to describe their status as women falls within the same essentialist categories of radical male critics: "male is to female as culture is to nature" (134). While nature, in the form of maternity, doesn't have the same allure for radical intellectual women, these novelists also retain "many cultural assumptions inherited from mid-nineteenth-century ideology" (177), the same essentialist categories and binary oppositions between men and women. Accord-

ing to Rabinowitz, what radical women lacked was "the critical edge of feminist theory or the political challenge of feminist practice" and thus they had to rely

> on a conventional narrative of feminine desire derived from domestic ideology to deflect the narrative of history away from the purely masculine proletariat. Women literary radicals could draw on the new aesthetic and political culture of proletarianism to inject the narrative of history into women's texts, and thus they stretched the narrative of desire to accommodate new material. But without a corresponding aesthetic and political culture of feminism, they remained stuck in traditional renderings of femininity. (136)

This comes perilously close to blaming these writers for not living in more enlightened times, but why not, perhaps they didn't.

Pomona College Rena Fraden

THE AMERICAN IDEAL: Literary History as a Worldly Activity. By Peter Carafiol. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991.

The title of Carafiol's book is misleading, inasmuch as it suggests that there *is* an "American ideal" that can or should be endorsed, whereas his point is that the search for or the assumption of some cohesive notion about what America means is the most serious weakness of American Literary & Scholarship (a phrase capitalized, inexplicably, throughout the book). While such a thesis might suggest that *The American Ideal* is a belated attack on the "American national character" school of thought, Carafiol's is actually an attack on new historicist literary criticism, which he accuses of assuming, without establishing, a "coherent story" of America. The zeal of such critics as Annette Kolodny and Jane Tompkins to remove literary activity from the "ivory tower" isolation in which formalist critics are supposed to have consigned it, and to restore to it a cultural context, has led, in Carafiol's view, to unjustified assumptions about the nature of that culture, and has perpetuated rather than resolved the dichotomy between "art" and "life."

The scholarly project of studying and assessing Transcendentalism becomes both focus and metaphor of *The American Ideal*, as Carafiol argues that "the notion of Transcendentalism has been central to . . . American criticism of American writing" (42). Scholars, he asserts, have concluded mistakenly that the call by Emerson and Thoreau for a national literature has been answered, and have thus been imbued with the romanticism to which Transcendentalism, "not described or describable" (42) was central. In proposing this, Carafiol seems to have gotten himself on the horns of the same dilemma where he has placed the new historicists, for he certainly ascribes to Transcendentalism sufficient reality to devote the rest of the book to a consideration, first, of the history of scholarship

on the Transcendental movement, and then of Emerson's "The Transcendentalist" and Thoreau's *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers.*

In tracing the history of scholarship about Transcendentalism, Carafiol proposes that the first major analysis of the movement, O. B. Frothingham's *Transcendentalism in New England,* fell, in 1876, into a conceptual muddle that has plagued the study of the movement ever since: a need to give it intellectual integrity by stressing its origins in European thought, and a simultaneous impulse to define it as uniquely American. Such self-contradictory efforts, he proposes, became implicated in the creation of the formal study of American literature largely as a matter of timing, as the earliest studies of Transcendentalism coincided with the emerging professionalism of the study of American literature in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. On the point that the history of the development of American literary study goes a long way toward explaining the early and persistent canonization of the Transcendentalist writers (and not just Emerson and Thoreau, although these are the only two Carafiol mentions), the author is doubtless correct; but not everyone would agree to the absolute centrality of Transcendentalism to the American scholarly enterprise, a centrality upon which Carafiol insists throughout, as when he states that "Transcendentalism is simply a term about which we organize, as we have always organized, our interest in American writing" (119).

If the meaning of such a statement is never quite clear in *The American Ideal,* this is all of a piece with Carafiol's treatment of Emerson, whose prose is "unexplainable" and in which we seek in vain any "systematic thought" (115). Nor should we seek any certainties—any "meaning"—in Thoreau's *Week.* For both authors, Carafiol proposes, the project was precisely to reject absolutes in an effort to come to terms with history as lived experience, not "then" and "now." Rather than offering a new epistemology, Emerson and Thoreau "abandoned" epistemology, and it is the inability to "know" that the author feels links the two to contemporary critical theory.

In his final chapter, Carafiol urges scholars to abandon the concept that they can "know" (and describe and defend) an "American" literature—abandon, that is, what he feels is a convenient fiction arising from political and professional imperatives rather than from qualities intrinsic to the literature itself. In this, as in the introductory chapter, Carafiol protests that he does not advocate a return to formalist criticism, yet it is difficult to ignore the undercurrent of longing for a free-standing "Art"; as Carafiol constantly reiterates his belief that works of literature speak to us across chasms of history, his argument seems more and more to rest on aesthetic grounds that run counter to the "new" new historicism for which he ostensibly calls.

The American Ideal is a provocative—and provoking—book. So thoroughgoing a critique of the way American literature has been studied for more than 100 years should not be dismissed, certainly, but some of Carafiol's assumptions about the assumptions of other scholars are too sweeping to stand, and while it

may be true that the concept of "America" is sometimes used in overly reductive and simplistic ways, to abandon it altogether could easily make it possible to return to a formalist aesthetic that could exclude the many voices that have only recently been included as part of "American" literature. One wonders what has made Professor Carafiol so angry.

Vanderbilt University Nancy A. Walker

EARLY LITERATURE AND CULTURE: Essays Honoring Harrison T. Meserole. Edited by Kathryn Zabelle Derounians-Stoloda. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 1992.

Harrison T. Meserole, known to many as bibliographer of the annual MLA bibliography until 1974 and contributor of *American Literature*'s bibliography since 1977, is the recipient of this festschrift that acknowledges his work, not in the field of bibliography, but that of early American literature, to which he has contributed the important anthologies, *Seventeenth-Century American Poetry* (1968; rev. ed. *American Poetry of the Seventeenth Century*, 1985) and, with Brom Weber and Walter Sutton, the three-volume *American Literature: Tradition and Innovation* (1968; rev. ed. 1974). All the essays have been contributed by former students of the graduate programme at Penn State, all of whom claim Harrison Meserole as their mentor, and all of whom are now established scholars of colonial American literature.

This collection represents the intersection of colonial studies with issues brought to the fore by contemporary critical theory, though the title is a little misleading in that early American *culture* is, in general, treated here only as a form of contextualization: with a few notable exceptions, the analyses presented here are emphatically literary. And this is not a bad thing, given that the editorial approach to "the literary" is flexible and non-prescriptive. Popular literary forms such as the promotional tract (we have an overview of the genre by Paul J. Lindholdt and Raymond F. Dolle's discussion of Captain John Smith's satirical references to the more romantic explorer of the New World, Sir Walter Raleigh), the travel journal (Sarah Kemble Knight's narrative is presented as an instance of the Puritan picaresque by Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola), collegiate notebooks (in Jeffrey Walker's exposé of eighteenth-century undergraduate life at Harvard), the best seller (here, John Davis's sentimental novels which Jayne K. Kribb's sees as a formative influence upon the development of the American novel), and children's writing (specifically, Mason Locke Weem's *Life of Washington* which is read by Paul Sorrentino within the context of the nineteenth-century novel to reveal its "adult" concerns), are the subject of several stimulating essays which contribute significantly to widening the field of colonial literature. Indeed, the essays present a coherent attempt to revise our view of colonial writing by exploring the limits conventionally placed upon the canon of early literature. In addition to the reconsideration of "popular" literary forms, essays

also consider the importance of minority writers during the "early" period, such as women (Sarah Kemble Knight, mentioned above, and Mary Otis Warren, whose drama is seen as more than simple neo-classical imitation by Cheryl Z. Oreovicz) and non-Anglo writers, writers considered non-literary who are now proposed as candidates for recanonization, and writers who are part of the canon but are in need of reinterpretation. Ada van Gastel discusses the issue of ethnic diversity in colonial literature, focussing upon Adriaen van der Donck's *Description of New Netherland* (1655); Donald P. Wharton considers the influence of Renaissance writers upon the genre of American sea literature and Robert Bolling's poems about the Norfolk Innoculation Riots of 1768-69 receive a visionary aesthetic interpretation by Robert D. Arner; Robert D. Habich offers a new reading of the rhetoric of Franklin's *Autobiography* as modelled upon the cause-and-effect logic of eighteenth-century empirical science, Stephen R. Yarbrough reinterprets the temporal dimension of Edward Taylor's *The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin Defended* and Reiner Smolinski challenges the view, developed most influentially by Miller and Bercovitch, that the New England divines justified their errand eschatologically by looking again at Puritan doctrines concerning the New Jerusalem and Jewish conversion.

This volume does not fundamentally alter the way we will continue to see the development of American literary culture but I do not believe this was the editor's intention. Rather, the essays collected her invite us to consider the plurality of influences upon and contributions to that process of development. Perhaps most importantly, this book encourages a lively and questioning attitude towards received critical and historical opinion.

University of Leicester, England Deborah L. Madsen

UNDER WESTERN SKIES: Nature and History in the American West. By Donald Worster. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992.

At their best, historical essays seem more like conversations than expert pronouncements. Donald Worster is a master of the essay form, and in *Under Western Skies*, he gathers together a collection which offers readers his reflections on everything from the Hoover Dam to the Black Hills to the Alaska pipeline. Arguing as he does for a less "mythic" and more "clear-eyed" view of the American West, Worster's essays reflect key assumptions of the so-called "new" western historians: for him, the West is more interesting as a region than as a frontier, more important because of its role in the global economy than for its mythical identification with American character.

Worster's specialty is environmental history; indeed, along with William Cronon and Richard White, he ranks as one of its top practitioners. One of the reasons environmental history is becoming such a lively field is that it focuses our attention on the very big question of the relationship between nature and culture. It is Worster's particular belief that one of the two sides of this relationship—

nature—has been woefully neglected. As he sees it, the history of the American West (and behind it, the entire modern world) has been characterized by an overemphasis on culture and an underemphasis on nature. "Not quite knowing how to talk about our relation to nature anymore," he writes, "we change the subject—ignore nature altogether, deny it even exists, insist it's all artifact, all absorbed into our culture" (p. 243). Disturbed by this situation, he sets out to redress the balance, hoping to bring nature so sharply to our attention that it can never be ignored again. In his vivid, evocative prose, nature takes on its own force and personality, buttressed by Worster's moral exhortations on the futility of humankind's attempts to control it.

Worster's approach to bringing nature back into history is to ground his history of the American West in specific ecological modes, the ways people have made a living (and a profit) from the land. In several essays that will seem familiar to readers of his earlier books, he elaborates on two of these modes—the pastoral and the hydraulic—emphasizing the historical connections between the will to dominate nature and the development of hugely powerful political and economic bureaucracies. His accounts of both natural and political power are simply spellbinding. "The Hoover Dam: A Study in Domination" sweeps readers into awed appreciation of the power of the Colorado river. "Alaska: The Underworld Erupts," an account of the politics of oil in Alaska, is a model piece of political and environmental analysis. Worster's ventures into cultural history are, however, much less surefooted. "Grounds for Identity" meanders in a vague attempt to chart cultural territories. "The Black Hills: Sacred or Profane" reaches the conclusion that large parts of the Black Hills should be given back to the Lakota Indians, an admirable conclusion, but one that seems awkwardly added on to an otherwise intriguing account of historical changes in Lakota concepts of sacred space.

While no one can doubt Worster's considerable skill in bringing nature to our attention, we might want to ask whether or not it makes sense to see nature as a force entirely outside culture. Worster's nature/culture opposition makes me more than a little uneasy, tending, as it does, to encourage him to see the only good nature as that untouched by human hands. Was there ever really such a thing? And how could we tell if there were? Because so much of the definition of "nature" rests in the eye of the beholder, I remain doubtful about Worster's conviction that the ideal society is that which learns to accept "natural" restraints on human activity. Nonetheless, I admire his skill in making the argument.

Under Western Skies is a first-rate book, well worth the attention not only of western and environmental historians, but of all scholars and laypeople with an interest in questions of nature and culture.

University of Utah Peggy Pascoe

EMBATTLED PARADISE: The American Family in an Age of Uncertainty. By Arlene Skolnick. New York Basic Books. 1991.

Research psychologist Arlene Skolnick has written an important synthesis of the social history of the white middle-class American family. She provides a much-wanted historical overview of change and continuity in American family life from the idealized "golden" suburban family of the 1950s to the diverse family patterns of the 1980s. She does, however, draw parallels between recent history and previous time periods. (Skolnick argues that many of the cultural themes of the 1960s were, in fact, a resumption of the themes of the 1920s that had seen a major sexual revolution, discussions of women's rights, and the emergence of middle-class families that values companionship and personal fulfillment. The cultural upheavals of the 1920s ended with the onset of the Great Depression only to return with a vengeance in the 1960s with attacks on conventional mortality and "traditional" family life.)

In line with recent research and writing on the family[1], Arlene Skolnick's analysis is premised on a view of the family as "a highly charged topic of cultural and political discourse in America." While she posits that social change to a large extent underlies the shifts in the symbolic meanings of family life, the focus of *Embattled Paradise* is on the cultural manifestations of social change. Skolnick argues that the fervent family debate in the twentieth century expresses two central themes in American culture. On the one hand, the rhetoric of family crisis is a sign of the tension between the "culturally promised family and everyday life" and, on the other hand, the family debate shows long-standing tensions between individualistic and communitarian values in American society.

Embattled Paradise is an excellent introduction for the general reader to the complex field of family rhetoric and research. Furthermore, Skolnick's work sums up and applies the most current academic criteria for understanding the history and meanings of the family. She identifies five erroneous concepts that continue to muddle the family debate: 1) *Lack of a historical context;* 2) *Using the family patterns of the 1950s as the last stand of the "traditional" family or as a baseline for measuring change;* 3) *Lumping together a host of changes and social problems into one big "crisis of the family";* 4) *Ignoring the structural roots of recent family change, and assuming we could return to "traditional" family patterns if only we (read) women) had the will and strength of character to do so;* 5) *Assuming Americans are in flight from marriage and the family* (xvii-xix).

The unstated objective of Skolnick's work is to refute these assumptions, and thus *Embattled Paradise* comes to embody the conclusion of two decades of

family research. As this is a conclusion that I share, finally I feel reassured rather than jolted by new insights.

The University of Copenhagen, Denmark Nina Roth

[1]See, for example, Judith Stacey, *Brave New Families Stories of Domestic Upheavals in Late Twentieth Century America* (New York: Basic Books, 1990) and Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988).

THE LAST WATER HOLE IN THE WEST: The Colorado-Big Thompson Project and the Northern Colorado Water Conservancy District. By Daniel Tayler. Niwot: University Press of Colorado. 1992.

"The Last Water Hole in the West" is the Colorado River and its tributaries, particularly in terms of their potential for trans-basin diversion to water thirsty farms and cities on the Front Range, rain-shadow side of Colorado. Tyler's heavy volume is a painstaking study of the political, legal, and administrative history of the first and most massive diversion across the Rockies, the Colorado-Big Thompson Project, and its management, the Northern Colorado Water Conservancy District, up to the present. Daniel Tyler is especially good at looking at the complex of compromises between upstream and downstream water users, between East Slope and West Slope Coloradons, and between the various federal agencies and state and local governments and boards that all had their say in deciding what would be built and how water would be apportioned and used. He is sympathetic and generous to the men (though curiously not to the women) who negotiated and administered.

Yet for all its length, its painstaking research, and its clear exposition, this book seems both narrow and naive, especially in the context of American Studies. Tyler does not look at how the water was used, either for agriculture or for hydroelectric power, at the engineering involved in the project, even the original fourteen-mile tunnel burrowed under the Continental Divide during WWII, or at the larger environmental context of the project and the district. Environmental questions, when they do appear, "intrude" upon the management of the water district, and water quality regulations draw managers "into the maelstrom of environmental debates" (p. 327). While Tyler concedes that salinization and other environmental degradation is a genuine problem, his rhetoric reduces it to a nuisance, complicating the life of the heroic and far-seeing managers of the water projects. Other more philosophical environmental issues, such as the ironies involved in running the major diversion tunnel *under* Rocky Mountain National Park and adding two reservoirs, which most users now regard as part of the "natural" environment, to the edges of the Park, receive virtually no mention at all, except in the context of intragovernment rivalries involving the Park Service.