Book Reviews

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

Reviews

THE FUTURES OF AMERICAN STUDIES. Edited by Donald E. Pease and Robyn Wiegman. Durham: Duke University Press. 2002.

The title of this collection suggests what most of these twenty-four essays individually confirm: "American studies" continues, even as we enter a new millenium, to function as an inspirational movement, even at times messianic, emerging out of deep social concerns and impelled by a desire for social change. Can academic discourse lead to social transformation? That is the implicit (and often explicit) question running throughout this collection, and it is answered variously in essays that challenge and at times contradict one another, ranging in tone from the somber and theoretical to the lively and personal.

Beginning with a look back, the editors focus on Gene Wise's 1979 essay, "'Paradigm Dramas' in American Studies: A Cultural and Institutional History of the Movement," together with Jay Mechling's 1999 reevaluation of Wise, which verifies the latter's prophetic status, in having anticipated some of the key directions the American studies movement has taken in the last twenty years: a pluralistic approach (rather than holistic); an emphasis on the particular; the negation of American exceptionalism; and the advent of comparativist and cross-cultural approaches. The editors posit a relationship to Wise ("the essays collected here relocate his foundational gestures in the hybridized zone in between emergent and residual whereby futurity enters the field" [22]) but, as the saying goes, it's a wise child that knows its own father. Their own rubrics, meant to suggest temporal relationships obliquely related to "'Paradigm Dramas,'" are: "Posthegemonic," "Comparativist," "Differential," and "Counterhegemonic."

Jan Radway's "What's in a Name?" (1998) opens the collection, articulating the directions the field has taken in recent years in exploring the social constructions of national identity (ethnic and whiteness studies; sexuality) and in widening the lens beyond the nation to "empire" studies. Lisa Lowe, Jose Esteban Muñoz, Robyn Wiegman, Walter Benn Michaels, and Carl Gutiérrez-Jones diversely address identity issues (with Michaels' "unequivocal ethic of color-blindness" [249] being challenged by Gutiérrez-

Jones); while Amy Kaplan and John Carlos Rowe exemplify the expansion of "American" studies to a deliberately global context. Meanwhile George Lipsitz argues for the incorporation of social movements and social identities studies within an international context.

Several of the most interesting essays in *The Futures of American Studies* step outside the "new American studies" to raise questions about the underlying premises of the field and the larger academic context in which our work takes place. Gunter Lenz argues that the "postnational project of the New Americanists has to become more explicitly dialogical in order to transcend the self-critical and self-reflective stance of white intellectuals" (469), recognizing that cultures are always "transgressive, transnational 'cultural flows'" (476). Meanwhile, Winfried Fluck critiques what he sees as the "imaginary self-empowerment" of competitive academic discourse (225). Paul Lauter wants to move American studies away from its solipsistic practices, strongly advocating empirical studies, especially those relating to public policy issues. Eric Cheyfitz, attacking the parlor radicalism of Cary Nelson, Gregory Jay, Michael Bérubé, and Gerald Graff, advocates the radical redistribution of cultural capital through American studies programs working with traditionally disenfranchised communities. (He provides examples of his own work in this regard.) The last word is given to Dana D. Nelson, who argues, against the "hopelessly stalled, singular offer of 'the future'" (576), that we should engage in "politicalness," going "beyond critique to achieving real *managerial power*" (571) in higher education in order to achieve the kinds of changes we otherwise theorize. The churning vitality of American studies is affirmed in many other ways, too numerous to even mention, in this valuable collection.

Temple University Miles Orvell

MARCHING ON WASHINGTON: The Forging of an American Political Tradition. By Lucy G. Barber. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2002.

In 1971, when Lucy G. Barber was six and a half years old, her parents took her to a march in Washington, D. C. to protest against the war in Vietnam. The roots of this book about the history of marching on Washington began then and there and, as she mentions near the end of the book, her friends joked that she would never finish because there would always be another march. Fortunately, Dr. Barber knew when to end her work and publish this carefully researched and thoughtfully written account of how these marches "have transformed the capital from the exclusive domain of politicians and officials into a national stage for American citizens to participate directly in national politics" (9).

In tracing this history, the author begins with Coxey's Army in 1894 and concludes with the 1971 march that inspired this book. In between, she examines the women's suffrage "procession and pageant" in 1913, the Bonus Marchers in 1932, the plans for the Negro march that never happened in 1941 and, perhaps the high water mark, the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963 featuring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s now famous "I Have a Dream" speech. Throughout these chapters, Dr. Barber weaves together several main themes: the changing nature and understanding of American citizenship; the evolution of national public spaces in Washington, D.C.; and the transformation of the founding fathers' ideas about America as a representative democracy to more contemporary attitudes about the need for direct, active democratic practices. If the author has an ax to grind, it is the attitude that marches in the Capitol have gone

from being unusual spectacles to routine activities and that they have become ineffective. Dr. Barber strongly disagrees and argues that even today marchers are infused with increased energy for their visions for influencing politics and influencing the federal government. Marching on Washington allows citizens to win a place in national politics.

Dr. Barber makes good use of her research on the ways in which the city itself has changed over time. When Jacob Coxey planned his "invasion" of Washington, D.C., there were few public spaces for his troops to gather together. The construction and development of the National Mall is really a post-World War II phenomenon and its location and configuration provide an important element in the ways in which more contemporary events have taken shape. Who could imagine, for example, that King's speech would have had the same impact had he not delivered it to a huge crowd spread out before him around the reflecting pool by the Lincoln Memorial? In fact, the author notes at the end that the biggest threat to Washington's national spaces is the World War II memorial now under construction which will in effect eliminate the area between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial.

The influence of the media is another important part of this story and changes in the ways that marches are reported have created new strategies and techniques. When Americans began watching television rather than reading newspapers for their main source of news, planners realized that signs had to be legible for cameras and numbers of marchers became important—the size of the crowd on the screen indicated the success of the event. When protestors against the Vietnam War at the 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago shouted "The whole world is watching" as cameramen focused on them, they were only repeating what march planners understood all too well: the image is the message.

The ways that political leaders and government officials have reacted to and dealt with marchers has changed as well. First regarded with suspicion and barely disguised hostility, presidents and their aides have developed ways of working with protest leaders so that the machinery of the march now works fairly smoothly. After President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, establishing the Fair Employment Practices Committee to prohibit discrimination in defense plants in order to prevent A. Philip Randolph's proposed Negro March, most recent leaders have instructed police and security personnel to cooperate with march planners. Certainly President John F. Kennedy understood the importance of shaping the 1963 march so that it showed his administration in the best possible light. The one exception that Barber points out is the march that she attended in which President Nixon was openly hostile to the 1971 protestors and violated basic civil liberties by throwing hundreds of citizens in jail without showing cause. The arrests were overturned, but they had the intended effect of clearing Capitol streets of unwanted visitors.

Recent participants in the Million Man March, the March for Gay Rights, and the Million Family March have assembled without fear and with the understanding that they have the right, supported by their government, to take part in the free expression of their cause and to assert themselves as direct agents of their democratic visions. Lucy G. Barber's history of this tradition is a valuable, highly readable contribution to our understanding of this important aspect of American public history.

University of Missouri-Kansas City Mary Ann Wynkoop

CENTRAL AFRICANS AND CULTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE AMERICAN DIASPORA. Edited by Linda M. Heywood. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002.

Heywood's collection of essays is an important book in the argument over African cultural transition and transformation across borders of time and space. This debate is long and fraught with difficulties. Years ago, Larry Levine, in *Black Culture and Black Consciousness,* captured a number of these dilemmas. One such dilemma is encoded in an oft-repeated African American song:

> Got one mind for white folks to see,
> 'Nother for what I know is me;
> He don't know, he don't know my mind. (xiii)

We are victims of cultural myopia and often enter what Heywood and John Thornton, in this collection, call a "dialogue with the deaf" (157) exemplified when Portuguese Christians saw a "triumph" of Christianity in the Afro-Christian Kings of the Kongo, while "the Kings and the people of the Kongo viewed Christianity as but a new means and a new set of symbols to express traditional Central African beliefs" (157).

Moreover, according to Levine, diasporic cultures are not often found as perfect archaeological artifacts, for "[c]ulture is not a fixed condition but a process" (5). The very "toughness and resiliency" of a culture is not in its "ability to withstand change, . . . but by its ability to react creatively and responsively to the realities of a new situation" (5). The issue is "not one of survivals but of transformations" (5). Heywood's collection investigates the overlays, hybrids, creolizations, syncretisms, appropriations, reconstructions of cultural identity, and "reciprocal browsings" that started well before Africans left Africa for the Americas during the slave trade. Heywood notes that some scholars continue to argue that African societies were so fragmented and the toll of the Middle Passage and the cruel institution of slavery so great, that "they precluded the continuation of African culture in the Americas. Opposed to this position is the view that African ethnicity and identity were important and influenced the process of creolization in the Americas" (13). This collection belongs to the latter point of view and makes a case for what this "African" part might be.

Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora has a larger, more specific purpose. The work is a tightly constructed unified "argument," not just a collection of essays loosely bound to a broad topic. Jan Vansina calls the work "an eye opener" and a radical "revision of received views" on the role of Central African Bantu cultures in the Diaspora (xi). This interdisciplinary cultural work by many international African scholars seeks to radically oppose the accepted dominant claim for West African cultures as the basis for what is understood as "African" in the Diaspora. Vansina asserts, "It is my contention that Central African emigration, more than any other, has provided the common glue, the cultural background common to the African American communities everywhere, that explains their similarity" (xi). This is a bold and important revision. This scholarly collection effectively demonstrates several points. Nearly half of all Africans who crossed the Atlantic were Central Africans. The Africans from the slave centers of the Loango Coast were from a large area of Southwest Central Africa. Most importantly, they shared a relatively homogeneous culture. The "umbrella" Bantu language system facilitated the "cultural legacies" of Central Africa. Many specific and local groups were able to communicate with each other, and they shared common

transcultural worldviews (xii). As a result, this large "homogeneous" slave group was able to construct an "African" identity that they had no need for before they left their specific locales for the New World. Furthermore, this "African" group "went everywhere in the Americas, from Buenos Aires to Columbia [sic] and Peru, to the wider Caribbean, including Suriname and the Guianas, to the coasts of the United States, from New Orleans to New York, eventually some even reached Nova Scotia" (xi). Beyond all this, the Central Africans already had centuries of "practice" in cultural interaction, "African" identity formation, and creolization with Portuguese Christianity and Mediterranean European practices and thoughts, thus preparing them well for their not so "new" worlds.

Several essays do the necessary hard work of historical ethnography, demography, and historiography to lay a solid foundation for the claim of the key role of Central Africa in the Diaspora. Importantly, they start in Africa before the slave trade and then show exactly who went where and when in the Americas with what cultural baggage. All this scholarly heavy work is for a purpose: to be able to practice diasporic cultural scholarship. The larger point is the corrective to scholars seeing "nothing" or being unaware of the consequence and significance of what they misperceive and misname. Cultural knowledge is necessary for physical perception. Robert W. Slenes' "The Great Porpoise Skull Strike: Central African Water Sprints and Slave Identity in Early-Nineteenth Century Rio de Janeiro" is one of several persuasive case studies showing why cultural understanding of Central African beliefs is necessary. Slenes' example is a classic "dialogue with the deaf" event that contrasts a British merchant/ naturalist, John Luccock's observations on his excursion to the "spectacular meeting of mountain and water that characterizes the environs of Rio" with those of his "four stout negoes" (183). While they both "see" the same event, the porpoise skull, the natural water environment, what Luccock "sees" is "insignificant," while the significance for the Central African boatmen is deep. Slenes compares these "signs of a significant 'episode in cultural history'" to Robert Darnton's observations on "The Great Cat Massacre" in eighteenth century France. "When the historian encounters human actions whose motivations seem totally opaque, he or she actually confronts an opportunity. If one can grasp the symbols and metaphors that underlie seemingly unfathomable behavior, one may gain access to the innermost 'reasons' of a particular community or social group. Thus, even banal events, once decoded, can provide keys to understanding questions of broader import" (184). Slenes' essay ends with the key observation, "What initially was opaque now becomes clear in the light of Bakongo and Mbundu cosmology. Luccock's African sailors knew perfectly well that the skull he had found was that of a fishlike water creature, . . . a simbi, . . . a tutelary genius of nature" (198-199). We have to know a good deal about *simbi, nkisi, kindoki, nganga nkisi, nganga ngoma,* the *kalunga* line, and the cosmograms of the four moments of the sun and how they fit in the very workings of the Central African world in order to seize the opportunity to "de-opacify."

This collection seeks to alert us that there is "something" and "someone" there, but that we can't see them till we understand the underlying Central African "cognitive paradigms," the cultural codes, conceptual "lexicons," and heritages of shared cosmologies and cosmological vocabularies that the "African" world, natural and social, operates within. Whether we are looking at the Kings and Queens of the Kongo in Afro-Brazil which "maintain living ties to Africa" (182) or at the much misunderstood martial arts "dance" performance, *capoeira Angloa,* we must know that "[t]hough separated by space and time, they remembered familiar things and imagined responses to novel circumstances, all with African eyes" (305).

University of Colorado at Boulder Stewart Lawler

PROTESTANTISM IN AMERICA. By Randall Balmer and Lauren Winner. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002.

This volume has significant strengths when considered as a teaching text on white evangelicals, with attention to evangelical perspectives on other forms of Protestantism. Students will appreciate the division into three diverse sections, beginning with a "textbook" style introduction to the history, varieties, and current state of Protestantism. This section emphasizes revivalism, the fundamentalist-modernist controversy, and the recent public resurgence of evangelicalism. A second section offers brief journalistic descriptions of visits to worship services at an evangelical megachurch and congregations in the Missouri Synod Lutheran, black Baptist, and mainline Protestant traditions. A third section, by far the strongest scholarly contribution, goes into more detail on three contested issues: feminism, homosexuality, and social justice issues. This section presupposes a culture war analysis; the authors valorize moderate evangelical feminism and social service initiatives. A chapter entitled "The Promise of Protestantism" rounds out the main text, followed by twenty-five thumbnail biographies (some very nicely done), a timeline, and a glossary.

The book's limitations come into focus when the authors write that they are evangelicals who were first approached to write on evangelicalism—but that they subsequently expanded to include liberal Protestantism. The book seems to reflect their original conception, without enough reconceptualization to make the expansion satisfying. The authors correctly treat evangelicals as the dominant form of U.S. Protestantism, and they justly complain that earlier histories by liberals gave evangelicals short shrift. But rather than solve the problem of balance, they swing the pendulum to the opposite extreme. Especially in the "textbook" sections, attention is heavily weighted toward evangelicalism and its precursors in the revivalist and pietist traditions. Liberals are trivialized or dismissed, from an opening joke about eco-spiritualists so politically correct that they even "seek to liberate kelp beds" (x) to the final page which declares liberals "largely absent from [a] resurgence of Protestant intellectual life" (214). The authors write of a mid-century mainline influence that was "transitory . . . and somewhat illusory" (28). They seem to respect Niebuhrians, but fail to integrate them within their model of liberal Protestantism. A chapter entitled "Varieties of Protestantism" pairs a "Taxonomy of Liberal Protestantism" of less than two pages (and no discernable taxonomy) with a taxonomy of evangelicals that runs to seventeen pages. African-American Protestants receive somewhat more respectful treatment. However, Latino Pentecostals, Mennonites, and Asian-American Protestants fare even worse. We should note that the third section does better than earlier sections at presenting both liberal and evangelical perspectives.

The writing style is reader-friendly, but the book is repetitive. Not only ideas but even large blocks of text show up more than once, and the argument could benefit from a clearer overall structure. The timeline and glossary leave an impression of being rushed and reflecting arbitrary selection criteria. On balance, this may be a valuable teaching text for courses in which the advantages of its focus and innovative presentation outweigh the drawbacks of repetitiveness and the need for supplements on non-white and mainline Protestants.

University of Tennessee Mark Hulsether

JUSTICE AT WAR: Civil Liberties and Civil Rights During Times of Crisis. By Richard Delgado. New York: New York University Press. 2003.

Justice at War is the fourth installment in Richard Delgado's series of books (*The Rodrigo Chronicles*, *The Coming Race War?*, and *When Equality Ends*) that contain fictional dialogues about contemporary political, legal, cultural and social questions. As with the previous books, Delgado writes primarily from the perspective of legal scholars, who are trying to translate contemporary social and cultural problems into the categories of analysis preferred by legal discourse. This book is representative of the writing of legally-trained critical race theorists, who seek to blend the insights of poststructural, postcolonial, and subaltern theory into a coherent analysis of law. With each book, Delgado introduces more characters that confound stereotypical conceptions about identity and explode the simple binaries that structure much discourse about American culture. In this book, Delgado explores the theoretical foundations of rights discourse in light of the War on Terrorism after September 11, 2001 and other contemporary events.

Delgado develops three primary arguments over the course of the book. First, he counters recent attempts to erode civil liberties in the name of war and/or terrorism. Delgado returns to the underpinnings of capitalism and democracy to respond to these arguments. For Delgado, capitalism and democracy rely on the premise that social life is in effect always a war for resources and power and that capitalism and democracy constitute avenues to channel the violent impulses of the populace. Thus, war is the natural state of society around which the founders of the nation built a political structure, not an exception that can license the circumnavigation of rights discourse. Second, Delgado argues that strong adherents of rights discourse, such as the American Civil Liberties Union, frequently rely too much on over-generalized principles about rights and miss the very real conflicts in American culture. Delgado gives examples of First Amendment purists who are so dedicated to the principle of free speech that they neglect the value of public dialogue in favor of defending the Klu Klux Klan, which may have little interest in cultivating a public dialogue. Third, Delgado explores how paradigmatic instances undermine the flexibility of rights discourse to provide adequate remedies to growing threats to freedom and equality. Delgado examines how most civil rights legislation frames the situation of African Americans as the primary instance of prohibited discrimination and elevates the black-white binary as the most valid or pure form of inequality. The result, according to Delgado, is that constitutional law provides few, if any, remedies for racial or ethnic minorities with different histories and problems than African Americans, nor does it allow for external considerations, such as language rights or class bias, to be considered in conjunction with racial or ethnic discrimination. The result is that civil rights law has not adapted well to changes in U.S. demographics or changes in the effects of race in the post-Civil Rights era.

While much of Delgado's analysis of the limited public discourse about race can be found within the scholarly literature familiar to many Americanists, Delgado's work addresses these questions from a broader, less technical view. His work, thus, feels fresher and more engaging than most scholarly monographs in American studies because Delgado is more concerned with maintaining a big picture view than developing a particular avenue of research. The book also casts a wide net, collecting a wide-range of stories from newspapers, magazines, and journals, which could prove useful in teaching introductory American studies courses. The book also provides a good, succinct

introduction to critical race theory and legal theory for graduate students or scholars unfamiliar with this body of scholarship and offers a model of how to combine academic publication with the activism of an engaged public intellectual.

Some of Delgado's conclusions may not satisfy some readers because of their simplicity. For example, Delgado suggests that the solution to the problems presented by terrorism and war is for the United States to extend a helping hand to other countries instead of tightening security. While this kind of solution may not be wholly inappropriate as one aspect of U.S. policy, as a conclusion to specific problems about the conflict between rights and security, it alone is not the answer. Similarly, Delgado's criticism of the over-reliance on legal formalism and legal principle also does not result in a coherent recommendation or solution to the problem. Nonetheless, Delgado raises important questions that most American studies scholarship ignores because of its narrow focus. Delgado's use of fiction and dialogue allows him to model a fairly broad, interdisciplinary conversation about contemporary issues that all too often is absent in much scholarly work.

Drury University Richard Schur

THE WEAVER'S CRAFT: Cloth, Commerce, and Industry in Early Pennsylvania. By Adrienne D. Hood. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003.

If American studies scholars needed an example of how local history can be writ large, they can effectively point to this study of weavers in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Full of details drawn from wills, after-death inventories, tax lists, newspapers, journals, and diaries—many drawn from the Chester County Historical Society—Hood reconstructs the regional structure of craft organization and its utilization of labor to get at the broad question of how American industrialization varied in its impact in various American regions. Now a professor of history and museum studies at the University of Toronto, she brings to her research a background as a weaver and curator that aided the thick description in the book of weaving tools and textile terminology. She justifies the choice of weaving as a crucial craft process affected by industrialization by pointing out that the new United States needed vast amounts of cheap and functional textiles. And readers can well relate this rationale to the common historical narrative of textile mills in nineteenth-century New England that accelerated mass industrialization in America.

But wait. Lest readers too quickly assume that this narrative applied to the Middle Atlantic states, Hood presents provocative findings from her mining of archival sources to shatter what she calls the "homespun myth of colonial self-sufficiency" (8). In Pennsylvania, she asserts, small factories in Pennsylvania's urban-centered textile industry *extended* rather than replaced the workshop-based folk production of the previous century. Researching the European origins of the weaver's craft, Hood finds that traditional craft structures persisted in Pennsylvania after they had changed in New England. In eighteenth-century New England women increasingly integrated weaving into their domestic routines and thereby bypassed the traditional craft structures of apprentice, journeyman, and artisan. In Chester County, cloth making was dominated by men, following European traditions. Much of Hood's study focuses on explaining this divergence between the regions. She explores how differences in the labor pool, relationship of agriculture to commerce, and demographic change in the two regions explained the contrast. Pennsylvania's retention of European traditions, she implies, is

not just a matter of holding on to ethnic tradition (Germans, English, and Welsh especially) or isolation of rural areas, or for that matter innovations in technology could not explain New England's leadership in textile industrialization. In Hood's words, "the more significant factor was people responding to opportunities and change" (157). With this statement, she returns from her revision of the larger narrative to local conditions, by pronouncing, "In both New England and Pennsylvania, the organization and extent of nonmechanized textile manufacture demanded that early industrialists work within the existing local systems" (154). Her contrast of New England and Pennsylvania as the two major regional centers of industry in early America predominates, but she makes the reader aware of the rise of cotton in the South as yet another industrial turn. It is a story that readers may want to know more about to view the distinctiveness of Pennsylvania in finer relief.

Hood's work is particularly informed by Jan de Vries's idea of the "Industrious Revolution" whereby the household is the crucial environment through which to understand that the precursor to the industrial revolution was families changing their allocation of labor resources. Embracing approaches from economic history and "material life" positing economic and environmental determinants of cultural practices, she explores the tight interrelationships between land, labor, and commerce in regional economies to show that settlers were fully enmeshed in the wider Atlantic marketplace. She builds on the assertion that despite the exceptionalist image of the rugged New World pioneer separating from the Old World, the materialism of colonial Americans, indeed the acquisitiveness for luxury goods and associated status, placed them squarely in a trans-Atlantic consumer culture from the late seventeenth century on. Her study is thoroughly researched and highly detailed. Its implications for American studies may not be immediately apparent from its tone drawing on local economic history, but closer examination of its findings should raise significant questions about the narratives of industrialization, regionalism, and occupational culture we assume.

Pennsylvania State University, Harrisburg Simon J. Bronner

AMERICAN LITERATURE AND THE CULTURE OF REPRINTING, 1834-1853. By Meredith L. McGill. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003.

This is a major study of Jacksonian print culture that should be required reading for specialists in the field. Focusing on "the rhetorical origins and interpretive consequences of reprinting" (7), McGill demonstrates the importance of deconsolidation, publicity, and heterogeneity to republican print culture circa 1834-1853. In the manner of recent theorists of a materialist textuality, McGill emphasizes the publishing system over authorial intent, arguing that editors, printers, periodicals, newspapers, and distributors contributed to rather than interfered with the meanings of texts. Central to the publishing system was the notion that the public, not authors, "owned" texts, and that any text could therefore be reprinted in any format that editors and publishers desired. Through a close consideration of the key copyright case *Wheaton v. Peters* (1834), petitions to Congress opposing international copyright, and the careers of Dickens, Poe, and Hawthorne, McGill shows that this culture or system of reprinting helped to structure the literary field. Ultimately, her book challenges the notion that the lack of an international copyright law thwarted the development of an American literary culture. As McGill explains, the Jacksonian belief that coming-into-print was a moment in which the author gave way to the public sphere worked to distinguish American

literary culture from its elitist British counterpart. In this respect, the system of reprinting *was* American literary nationalism.

There are some minor problems with the book. Though McGill argues against author-centered approaches, four of the book's six chapters look closely at authors. In her reading of Dickens's *American Notes*, Poe's poetry and tales, and Hawthorne's *The House of the Seven Gables*, McGill is insightful in linking authors and texts to the print culture of the time, and she's particularly illuminating in discussing Poe's enthusiastic embrace of what she terms "antebellum periodical culture's collaborative and obfuscating editorial practices, its rivalrous recirculation of critical postures, and its often compromised use of anonymity to suggest gentility, multiple authorial voices, critical distance, or indifference" (148). But in linking authors so closely to contemporaneous publishing practices, McGill self-reflexively presents the subject of their writings as, in effect, the culture of reprinting. Because Poe seems as obsessed with the subject as McGill, the two chapters on Poe are superb. The reading of *House*, by contrast, seemed a bit forced. Is it really helpful to regard Hepzibah allegorically as a figure of "the incommensurability of Hawthorne's ambitions and his narrative materials" (246)? The book's limited canon of authors also raises questions about the applicability of McGill's paradigm to authors not discussed in the book. Is her argument relevant to Emerson, for example, or does the Emerson who writes on originality, interpretion, and Jacksonian institutions and culture exist in some other world? (There's not one reference to Emerson in this study of American literature from 1834 to 1853). But perhaps the book's limited canon should be regarded less as a problem than as a challenge to readers to take up McGill's call to rethink Jacksonian literary culture in materialist terms. Graduate students in the field looking for new topics should secure a copy of McGill's provocative book and get to work.

University of Maryland, College Park Robert S. Levine

AMERICAN HERETIC: Theodore Parker and Transcendentalism. By Dean Grodzins. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002.

Dean Grodzins' *American Heretic: Theodore Parker and Transcendentalism* offers the reader a meticulously researched intellectual history. This six-hundred page volume traces Parker's evolution from a Unitarian clergyman with a streak of pietism into the leader of an independent reform-oriented society. A second volume will cover Parker's crusade to purge American democracy of the taint of slavery, poverty, and moral ennui. Only fourteen years of Parker's life remain to narrate, but the compass of Parker's concerns and precision of Grodzins' analysis demand another book of similar length.

Meanwhile the reader has much to contemplate. Grodzins' biography challenges the canonical reading of New England Transcendentalism as a literary movement actuated by Ralph Waldo Emerson. Both Parker and Emerson found theology to be spiritually restrictive. Parker was particularly disturbed by Unitarian theologians' insistence that the miracles—rather than the judgment of the listeners—validated Jesus' moral teachings, but Parker responded differently than his colleague. Emerson left the ministry in order to illuminate the natural origins of theology, while Parker remained within the clerical ranks and challenged his listeners to trust their "direct and immediate perception of Truth" (184). This choice proved to be a difficult one. When Boston's Unitarian leadership realized that Parker had handed their authority over to their congregants, they proscribed his preaching and writing. Upon realizing that they had no ground to charge him with heresy, they tried to invent one. Such a situation lends itself to a variety

of descriptions. Parker regarded himself as a martyr, but Grodzins sensitively prefers to regard him as a spiritual pilgrim. This allows readers to accept that Parker experienced these events as the Valley of the Shadow even as they detect aspects of Vanity Fair. It is utterly convincing when Parker emerges from this trial ready to lead an independent Church, attack the institution of slavery, and advocate social reform on the strength of his own conviction.

Parker's belief in the possibility of an original inspiration poses a challenge for the intellectual historian. In the effort to trace the idea's origins and development, it is possible to lose the sense of excitement Parker must have experienced at the thought that a divine power was revealing, to him, a new way of living in the world. This sense must have provided Parker with a motive to expend his energy on the ministry over and above that of compensation for an unhappy marriage. In this respect, Henry Steele Commager's *Theodore Parker* (1947) enjoys a modest advantage, though its animation is more a function of Commager's preference for the vivid anecdote than a depiction of intellectual ferment. Grodzins' narrative arc rises more slowly toward the social and political ferment of the 1850s. For now, he gives only an occasional glimpse of the Celestial City that Parker is striving to reach. Godspeed him on the journey.

University of Massachusetts-Amherst Melba Petrie Jensen

PROMISED LANDS: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West. By David M. Wrobel. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002.

Promised Lands is about western boosterism and pioneer reminiscence—promotional visions of the glorious future and memories of an heroic past—from 1865 into the 1920s. In any given area, promoters went to work soon after settlement began, followed a decade or so later by the reminiscers.

Railroads, chambers of commerce, and immigration societies financed state and county promotional books, pamphlets, and maps. They were turned out in such large numbers that David M. Wrobel speculates that there may have been millions of copies in print at any particular time. The promoters offered a civilized vision of the West, with churches, schools, high culture, and towns with nice hotels. The frontier had been conquered. There was little hardship, great opportunity, the inhabitants were white, the climate invariably healthy. California was an exception; lacking state funding for promotion, with a reputation for racial diversity and violence, it lagged behind other western areas in population growth and development.

There already is a sizable historiography on western boosterism, Wrobel points out, but much less attention has been given to reminiscence or memory. Where the promotional literature denied the existence of a frontier, the reminiscences lamented its passing. The pioneer generation, the reminiscers thought, was of a sturdier stock than those that followed. They were an individualistic, ruggedly self-reliant, and practical people. In their view, the frontier had offered a safety value for eastern discontent, while promoting democracy and national pride. This, of course, sounds a lot like Frederick Jackson Turner; but, as Wrobel astutely observes, Turner grew up in Wisconsin at a time when midwestern reminiscers were likewise extolling such values from an earlier frontier and bemoaning their passing. In juxtaposing a vital past against a decadent present, these reminiscers fit into the tradition of the American jeremiad.

The reminiscers, of course, also emphasized the excitement and derring-do of the frontier past. Institutionalizing first-comer status, they created highly restrictive pioneer

societies. These societies insisted on a pure, heroic past. When Hubert Howe Bancroft, of all people, was seen as too critical of heroes such as John C. Frémont and John A. Sutter in his mulitivolume California history, he was expelled from the Society of California Pioneers. Reminiscers sought to memorialize the journey west, including the trials and tribulations of particular groups like the Donner Party and Jayhawkers. Wrobel provides a fascinating account of Ezra Meeker, who was a booster for Washington Territory, later turning to reminiscence and going to extraordinary efforts to publicize and memorialize the Oregon Trail. In 1906, with an ox and a steer pulling a prairie schooner, Meeker led the Oregon Trail Monument Expedition on the long journey to Washington, D. C. and back. He soon spent several more years on an oxteam trip. In 1915, he took an automobile over the trail; and in 1924, at age ninety-three, he flew over 1,300 miles of the trail in a plane.

Reminiscers participated in a cultural conversation that produced the mythic West. However, Wrobel believes that boosters had a greater long-run impact on the West than reminiscers, though he is unsure how to gauge the reader response to their promotions. In a final irony, where boosters of the old West emphasized the presence of civilization, today's western land developers, Wrobel concludes, make the prospect of escaping an overcivilized world central to their promotion.

California State University, Fullerton Allan M. Axelrad

CHINESE STUDENTS ENCOUNTER AMERICA. By Qian Ning. Translated by T.K. Chu. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2002

In the preface, T.K. Chu, the translator of the English edition of *Chinese Students Encounter America* declares that the purpose of the book was to allow "American readers to see America through a Chinese lens and to reflect on their own society while learning about China" (viii). While ostensibly this may have been the intent of the work for the American reading audience, the central premise of Qian Ning's book is more concerned with the larger question of why such a large proportion of Chinese students who came to the U.S. in last two decades of the 20th century failed to return to China upon the completion of their education.

Ning begins his narrative of Chinese student migration to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century but the bulk of the monograph focuses on Chinese student experiences in the 1980s and 1990s as the U.S. and China attempted to normalize diplomatic relations. In this context, the deployment of Chinese students abroad after nearly a thirty-year hiatus was part of a carefully calculated plan to narrow the "science and technology gap between China and the developed countries" (10). However, the decision of many students to remain in the U.S. despite the enormous hardships they endured seriously compromised this plan.

To make his argument, Ning spends a great deal of time identifying the central issues that Chinese student migrants grappled with both in China and the U.S. These issues include the enormous obstacles students faced in China to secure permission to study overseas, the difficulties of acclimating to the pedagogy of American universities and colleges, the adaptation to American cultural and social life, the stresses of overseas study on marriages and long-term relationships, and the question of whether to remain in the U.S. or to return to China. At best, Ning's exploration of these topics is descriptive, at worst essentializing (particularly the sections on student marriages and the relationships between mainland Chinese students and students from Taiwan). Relying on a series of interviews as well as his own experiences as a graduate student at the University of

Michigan in the early 1990s, the many vignettes detailing actual student experiences are perhaps the most compelling part of the book. Poignant and frank, these passages capture the tensions that Ning oftentimes glosses over.

Originally a Chinese publication, it is understandable that Ning would skirt the pro-democracy activities of Chinese students in the U.S. especially in the wake of the dramatic events of Tiananmen Square in 1989. At the same time, Ning's own position as the son of China's foreign minister also guaranteed that his book would be a study in caution. Despite these constraints, by focusing on the question of why students preferred to remain in the U.S. instead of returning to China, Ning manages to offer a critique of the prevailing Chinese political order. In answering this question, Ning focuses on the 1992 Chinese Student Protection Act that allowed for any Chinese student or visiting scholar who feared persecution by the Chinese government in the aftermath of Tiananmen Square to apply for permanent residency. At the one year filing deadline for the act over 57, 000 Chinese students "were made 'overseas Chinese'" (194). To explain this phenomenon, Ning discounts any serious possibility that Chinese students were motivated by pro-democracy sentiments. Instead, he points out that many students who applied for green cards under the act did so under a "dishonest pretext" where the issue of human rights and democracy were "words used to catch the attention of naïve and biased Americans" (196). If indeed students used the 1992 act for personal gain, particularly for the material benefits of living in the U.S., Ning attributes this situation not only to student self-interest but also points out the ways in which the Chinese government played a central role in influencing the decision of students to remain in the U.S. In particular, Ning contends that "the generally inferior living conditions and a political system that allowed less individual freedom" made the possibility of returning to China increasingly unattractive for students (199). With many examples to support his claim, he further elaborates that this problem does not pertain solely to students but is "endemic throughout Chinese society" (205). For Ning, the solution for this dilemma lies in "rapid economic growth," where a "market economy would create more individual freedom and hence relax the stiff social system, which in turn would promote the return of Chinese students (205)." Indeed, the recent economic developments in China have suggested the feasibility of such a solution. However, in the end, the distillation of student motives for remaining in the U.S. as a simple market economy argument obfuscates the rich complexity of transnational migrant identity, geopolitics, and international relations as well as the intangibles of personal motivations that can be seen in the words of students themselves but are largely ignored.

Swartmore College Anne Soon Choi

BEYOND THE LINES: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of Gilded Age America. By Joshua Brown. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2002.

The reader of this book quickly discovers that its title is at once too broad and too narrow. *Beyond the Lines* does not attempt to present a panoramic view of pictorial reporting, but focuses more precisely on the wood-engraved graphics of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. Moreover, *Frank Leslie's* was published weekly in New York between 1855 and 1889, a period that begins well before what any historian has designated as the Gilded Age.

Joshua Brown, Executive Director of the American Social History Project/Center for Media and Learning at the Graduate Center, City University of New York, is interested

in how society has shaped the development of news imagery. He contends that *Frank Leslie's* was a journalistic equivalent of P.T. Barnum's American Museum, providing entertainment and instruction for a nationwide "middle" audience that ranged occupationally from mechanics to merchants. The great challenge for the newspaper was to maintain its "balance" by continuing to appeal to this wide readership as it became even larger, more diverse, and increasingly contentious over time. "In the shifting narratives and social types of its news engravings provoked by the era's volatile class, ethnic, racial, and gender relations," Brown concludes, "*Frank Leslie's* epitomized the social history of the late nineteenth century" (5).

Brown is at his best when he closely examines the evolving visual strategies employed by *Frank Leslie's*. For example, ethnic and regional typing of human figures (based in part on pseudoscientific studies of facial and cranial features) helped subscribers in the 1850s make sense of urban society. Pictorial conventions established before the Civil War were rendered useless or offensive, however, as the postwar era transformed the roles of women and African Americans as well as the composition of the laboring class. Under the impact of change "a complicated social negotiation among artists, editors, engravers, and readers" (1) created pictures of everyday people that were more realistic and thus less patronizing. But the responsive, social nature of *Frank Leslie's* and other illustrated weeklies was lost by the end of the century. According to Brown, photojournalism, serving the needs of advertisers, lost touch with its readers and helped foster among them a passive, mass consumer mentality.

Despite its important contribution to our knowledge about visual journalism, *Beyond the Lines* adds little to our understanding of nineteenth-century American society in general. Brown simplistically characterizes the entire thirty-four year lifespan of *Frank Leslie's* as a period of "crisis." But what does crisis mean when social conflict is constant, destructive turmoil is ubiquitous, and crisis becomes, as Brown says, "a way of life" (136)? One wonders how something so common could be deemed newsworthy by *Frank Leslie's* or any other paper.

This fascinating but flawed history is supported by over a hundred clearly reproduced examples of the engravings and superb endnotes with extensive content to complement the text.

Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas Bruce R. Kahler

HOW YOUNG LADIES BECAME GIRLS: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood. By Jane H. Hunter. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002.
MAKING GIRLS INTO WOMEN: American Women's Writing and the Rise of Lesbian Identity. By Kathryn R. Kent. Durham: Duke University Press. 2003.

These books are a stunning reminder of the abundant rewards of an interdisciplinary approach to the past. Jane Hunter, an historian, and Kathryn Kent, a literary scholar, explore the hitherto neglected social and emotional contexts of late-nineteenth century white middle-class girlhood. Kent reads literary texts, while Hunter concentrates on social-historical documents: prescriptive literature, diaries, letters, school records and statistics, high school and town newspapers, student essays, graduation orations and the minutes of extra-curricular clubs and athletic organizations.

Kent's goal is to enrich current scholarship on lesbianism. She accepts claims that sexology and medicalization contributed significantly to developing the modern category of the homosexual, and she concedes that capitalism enabled new identities when

individuals' ties to family economies loosened. But she is suspicious of "blunt economisms" and urges a more historically specific approach (144). When did modern lesbian identities arise? Under what circumstances are individual subjectivities generated and recruited? She finds answers in nineteenth century sentimental literature and the works of several early twentieth century lesbian authors. Her readings highlight what she terms "protolesbian" (female-identified) and "queer" (non-specifically unconventional) identities. These are forged dynamically within the late-nineteenth century "women's culture" of the white, middle class family, the very institution whose disciplinary task it was to police the boundaries of heteronormativity. Post-bellum historical changes in the relationship of white adolescent girls to their families were critical to the creation of the "identificatory erotics" Kent unveils in sentimental literature (6). The most significant was the gradual dissolution of boundaries between domestic and public space. No longer was female adolescent subjectivity shaped exclusively by maternal discipline within the home. High schools, boarding houses, colleges, workplaces, organizations such as the Girl Scouts, and even the privatized spaces of novel reading, offered alternative opportunities for subject formation. Ironically, though many of these new spaces were deeply committed to reinforcing the tutelary regimes of middle class domesticity, they also enabled a different kind of female subjectivity—one in which mothering was "queered" (detached from its previous spatial and emotional context) and "queers" (women who are protolesbian or do not fit the normative profile for mothers) "begin to mother" (7).

Kent's concept of "identificatory erotics" presupposes a queer theorist critique of classic Freudian understandings of the oedipal process, which argues that Freud focused too narrowly on the originary role of *the* mother and *the* father in forming infant gender identity and sexual desire. Though queer theorists concede that identification always requires engagement with an "other," they reject the rigidity of Freudian binarisms, favoring a wide range of possible identificatory objects in addition to the parental. They argue as well that this process is never ahistorical; it occurs within a given time, place, and context. Kent's analysis draws strength also from the Lacanian theorist Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen's insistence that infant identification with the "other" encompasses not only the desire "to be," but also the desire "to have." Kent produces some seductively convincing readings of the erotics of sentimental literature based on these theoretical assumptions. She makes a convincing case for the presence of both mother-daughter and non-familial female-female homoerotic (as opposed to homosocial) relationships in the works of Louisa May Alcott, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Susan Warner, and the African American novelist, Emma Dunham Kelley. She argues that these texts describe and helped produce proto-lesbian responses in their readers. She illustrates as well how novels such as Alcott's *Work* and her unfinished *Diana and Persis*, recognize and attempt to cope with the shifts in the female socialization process brought about when the semi-public spaces described above opened up to young women. Here, Kent claims, is the missing historical link between the nineteenth century "female world of love and ritual" and the development of modern lesbian subjectivity.

Jane Hunter agrees with Kent that social and economic developments in the post-bellum period radically altered the experience of white, middle class adolescent girls. Indeed, her exhaustive research into their daily lives, though primarily focused on the urban northeast (with a smattering of rural, Midwestern and far western examples) creates a richly detailed portrait of changing personal trajectories and their emotional and developmental effects on individuals. Her shrewd historical analysis, though not

venturing into the subject of lesbian identity, substantiates Kent's argument that girls were "leaving home" both physically and metaphorically.

In the years after the Civil War, girls stopped doing housework. Its devaluation with the onset of industrialization acted in tandem with the increasing availability of single Irish women as servants to allow respectable families to seek refinement by forgoing the wages of teenaged daughters and sending them to school. Even life at home changed, as girls in pursuit of respectability were urged to deploy the techniques of introspection: they read voraciously, wrote extensive letters, kept diaries, copied literary paragraphs and poems into scrapbooks, and composed poetry. Enjoined to be "good," they carefully assessed their behavior and inner feelings, critiqued parental dictates, and took refuge in imaginative flights of fancy. They performed what Hunter insightfully terms "a simplified version of Freud's 'talking cure'" (51).

But the most critical catalyst for change, according to Hunter, was their school experience. The maturation of public and private high schools did not always guarantee that parents would wind up with the genteel and self-sacrificing Victorian matrons they expected. A peer institution with a culture of its own, high school enabled girls to construct alternative identities that both subverted and transformed middle-class female culture. Hunter's wonderfully detailed descriptions of female seminaries, for example, provide ample evidence for Kent's claims about the emotional significance of female peer cultures. Hunter confirms that schoolgirl friendships could loosen motherly ties and generate unwelcome forms of identity formation. Indeed, the changing experience of girls belied the dominant images of domesticity projected in the prescriptive literature. Hunter shows how urbanization, industrialization, class differentiation, the emergence of consumer culture, changing regimes of female adolescent reading, diary-keeping, and letter writing converged to encourage new "disciplines of the self."

Hunter's book also examines a world that Kent overlooks—the meritocratic coeducational public high school. Although she does not deny the power and persistence of traditional gender inequities, Hunter explores two factors that eroded them: the numerical superiority of girls, who until the end of the century outnumbered boys as students, and the expectation of academic excellence regardless of sex. Shared classes and class governance, competitive class recitation and hierarchical seating, and shared participation on newspapers and in clubs led students and faculty to rid themselves of traditional social truisms regarding separate spheres. Nowhere else could males and females meet each other on such equal footing. In these years girls even outperformed boys academically. Hunter concludes that high school girls, and not the tiny minority of college women, were the true claimants of the title "New Women" in these years. In negotiating the competitive meritocracy of the classroom, they developed selves less subordinate to the needs of others, more critical of domestic obligation, and attuned by consumer culture to the privileging of desire, agency, and new ways of being in the world.

Thought-provoking, revisionist, and interdisciplinary, these books fill a gaping void in our understanding of post-Civil War family life and adolescence, opening fascinating possibilities for further exploration.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor Regina Morantz-Sanchez

STRONGER THAN DIRT: A Cultural History of Advertising Personal Hygiene in America, 1875 to 1940. By Juliann Sivulka. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books. 2001.

In this age of "flesh-eating bacteria" and mystery viruses, fear sells soap in the forms of antibacterial deodorants, waterless hand sanitizers, and "industrial strength" household disinfectants. What a society in a given time and place considers "dirty" tells us much about cultural notions of danger, as anthropologist Mary Douglas has asserted. Yet sex, so often considered as dangerous as it is desirable, also sells soap as sensual "body bars" or invigorating "body washes" producing beautiful skin. For Americans, the insistent advertising in many media of sweet-smelling, odor- and germ-killing, beauty-enhancing, mate-attracting, and healthful personal cleaning agents—at times all rolled into one!—offer a psychic (if not always a physical) salve to keep danger at bay. How did this phenomenon come to be?

In *Stronger than Dirt*, Juliann Sivulka explores the "culture of cleanliness" (13) in the United States through an examination of manufacturers' advertising campaigns for a whole host of mass-produced toiletries and related goods between 1875 and 1940. Throughout this period Proctor & Gamble, Colgate-Palmolive, and Lever Brothers lead as the nation's largest advertisers of consumer goods. For scholars of the period, the historical outline of Sivulka's study is, for the most part, familiar, supplied in part by Roland Marchand's *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (1985). After an introduction and background chapter on soapmaking, gentility, and personal hygiene before the Civil War, the chapters proceed to discuss the rise of mass production and the creation of a consumer culture based within imperialist visions of civilization, Progressive reform, social science and advent of "sex appeal," the introduction of the bathroom as Modern design, the feminization of advertising as women are recognized as powerful consumers and as copy writers, and last, the creation of an African American market for personal care products. Along the way, the reader is treated to a variety of fascinating facts and illustrations chronicling the making and marketing of soap and related hygiene and grooming products.

For all the evidence Sivulka marshals, however, the work overall is weakened by a lack of critical historical discernment about her many and varied sources. The author herself admits, strangely in a footnote, that her purpose was "to document and piece together the artifacts and activities involved in the social dynamic concerning cleanliness in North American [sic] from 1875 to 1940, not to theorize about it" (310). Such "piece-work," dependent often on others' research, results in what some may consider critical carelessness. Puritan "prudery," for example, existed everywhere in America. Even after Americans "emerged" from such a "shame culture" in the nineteenth century, they "proved keen on not mentioning the unmentionable"—that is, "nudity, sex, and eliminating wastes" (45). Little note is made of the hygiene regimen introduced into schools at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the writings of reform physiologists, and the shift in legal definitions equating nudity and lasciviousness.

Sivulka is at her best when analyzing specific advertising campaigns, but overall she evinces a lack of understanding about historical change, using at times a modern understanding of what it means to be clean to characterize Americans' past practices. She states: "cleanliness has only recently become a virtue" (23) but analysis of Americans' diaries, foreign visitors' accounts, paintings, and textbooks would refute this claim and reframe the history of personal hygiene and advertising.

Kent State University Shirley Teresa Wajda

NEWCOMERS TO OLD TOWNS: Suburbanization of the Heartland. By Sonya Salamon. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003.

Newcomers to Old Towns explores the physical, social, and economic landscapes of six small Illinois communities as they shift from an agrarian to a postagrarian existence. Combining statistics, oral interview, and a thoughtful analysis of built space, Sonya Salamon surveys rural communities ranging in size from 180 to 6,000 residents, located within a 60-mile commuting radius of small cities. *Newcomers* reveals the remarkable complexity of regional life in the later part of the twentieth century. Though this work does not speak to all Middle America, the author claims its usefulness for thinking about rural communities east of the Mississippi, and this claim seems justified.

Salamon's work is broken into three sections. Section one introduces an interesting concept of small town analysis, specifically the idea that towns are both individual entities as well as parts of a larger region. This analysis makes this work particularly interesting. In section two, she discerns the relationships amongst newcomers and old timers in each community, offering a fascinating articulation of community dynamics that integrates age, class, ethnicity, and gender. We move from a town that adds on a bedroom community without the ability to weave its population into the fabric of the existing place, to the dying town of Splitville, a community whose dissonance is so great that regional newspapers call for someone to restore peace to the town. With an array of students, Salamon explores the rich tapestry of each place revealing the inner workings of contemporary boosterism, the impacts of upscale suburbia, an egalitarian, working-class polity, and the effects of ethnic succession. Finally, part three explores the future possibilities for the region and Salamon concludes by proposing one rural town as an archetype that offers useful ways of negotiating a postagrarian community space and place.

The introduction to *Newcomers* raised several potential troubling issues. First, the seemingly simplistic bifurcation of communities through the use of the terms authentic and organic to identify some communities, terms that wield the implicit assumption that other communities are inauthentic and unorganic or unnatural. Salamon produces a distinct binary opposition between the natural and organic agricultural communities, and the inorganic bedroom, commuter, and suburban landscapes that were more recently attached to these towns. Second, the surprisingly extensive acknowledgement of the work of James Howard Kunstler, an ideologically and sometimes simplistic critic of contemporary "ugly" and "tragic" suburban landscape that supposedly reveals the problem with the American national character. However, the bifurcation of "good and bad" communities and "suburbia hating" does not materialize in any great problematic form in this otherwise thoughtful and nuanced analysis of oldtimer and newcomer relationships. Salamon concludes with a thoughtful discussion of her study methods that may be of interest to those who enjoy the work of community ethnography but do not enjoy generous funding or doctoral students to involve in their research.

University of Wyoming Amanda Rees

EVERY FARM A FACTORY: The Industrial Ideal in American Agriculture. By Deborah Fitzgerald. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003.

"Modern farming is 90 percent engineering and 10 percent agriculture," wrote trained engineer and wheat grower Tom Campbell after the First World War (129).

Deborah Fitzgerald's premise in *Every Farm a Factory* is that the defining aspect of twentieth-century agriculture was the appearance of an industrial logic in agriculture. Its models were the large-scale factory and boardroom linked by a matrix of modern industrialism.

The primary proponents of the "factory farm" were not farmers themselves, but the USDA, agricultural economists, farm managers, extension agents, and businesses heavily invested in the farm economy, such as rural banks and insurance companies. Fitzgerald is at her best when exploring the makeup and appeal of the factory model. She deftly illustrates how, contrasted with Henry Ford's assembly lines and Frederick Taylor's scientific management techniques, American farming appeared chaotic to observers before the First World War.

To transform the countryside into a factory, the USDA worked to "quantify, rationalize, and standardize farm activity," through tools such as census data and experimental farms (34). The discipline of agricultural engineering also arose at this time to impose order on chaos. Engineers focused on the layout of farms and machinery standardization, particularly farm tractors. The showcase of industrial agriculture during the 1920s was Tom Campbell's huge wheat operation in Hardin, Montana, which Fitzgerald calls a "rural Epcot center" of futuristic farming (107). Campbell was a hybrid farmer-engineer, so his managers ran the Campbell Farming Corporation with an emphasis on planning, efficiency, and mechanization. Heavyweights such as financier J.P. Morgan and railroad owner Louis Hill were impressed, and invested in the enterprise. The promise of industrialized farming captivated Soviet agricultural officials who invited American farm experts to Russia to modernize its agriculture. In a thought-provoking chapter, Fitzgerald studies the meeting of American agricultural industrialization and Soviet collectivized farming.

Fitzgerald's book is relevant beyond the wheat fields of the American Great Plains in the 1920s. Agricultural engineers believed that farm industrialization could modernize farms across the country. Also, in the 1960s, this model was used by the Green Revolution to increase farm production and to train locals for the required infrastructure. Part of the factory model's appeal was to make agricultural industrialization universal.

The author points out her departure from previous studies of early twentieth-century farming which focus on the impact of farm mechanization on economic, social, and family farming aspects of rural America. She does not address in depth the differing (and ideologically charged) terms such as "factory," "corporate," and "industrial" farming. Nor does she explore how mechanization affected farms by aspects such as land tenure, income level, race, and gender, as other authors have done. However, Fitzgerald's work is a straightforward account of the early appeal of mechanized agriculture. The author shows a fine understanding of the logic of the "farm factory" and its proponents during the 1920s and today.

Independent Scholar Michael Johnston Grant

GOD BLESS AMERICA. TIN PAN ALLEY GOES TO WAR. By Kathleen E. R. Smith. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2003.

If "Over There" can be said to be the most popular and resonant patriotic song associated with World War I, then there is no comparable piece of music published during World War II. That absence occurred despite the efforts of the government to incorporate the activities of Tin Pan Alley within the national mobilization to support

the troops and their activities. Even the best efforts of a formal body, the National Wartime Music Committee, did not influence the public indifference to much if not most of the material churned out by professional songwriters. One of the few exceptions to this pattern was Frank Loesser's 1942 piece "Praise The Lord And Pass the Ammunition," yet that success was mitigated by the offense taken by some clergy of the "lyrical co-mingling of firearms and theology" (16).

This simple and not particularly elaborate set of observations constitutes the core of the thesis to Kathleen E. R. Smith's history of the participation of Tin Pan Alley in World War II. Her analysis of the episode is delivered in a somewhat repetitious manner, leading the reader to feel the breadth afforded by a full-length volume might well have been replaced by a less extended journal essay. The collisions of interests and ideologies at work in this scenario by her accounting remain straight-forward and rudimentary: the public rejected musical agit prop and gravitated instead toward up-beat or romantic material; the government discovered that creative communities did not appreciate top-down dictates on lyrical content; and the denizens of Tin Pan Alley abhorred being made to write work under ideological duress.

To write music with a deliberate patriotic intent invariably leads, even with the best creative minds involved, to results that possess a transparent dimension. Lyrical content thereby possesses a didactic and deliberate tone, and even the most evocative metaphors cannot cover up the limited objective. Invariably, therefore, as most professional songwriters of the period were far from gifted regardless of the given context, the material produced contained hamfisted howlers that, when quoted by Smith, give rise to amusement rather than analysis. Take, for example, "Save the Grease" by Joe Sanders, published by Fred Waring and performed by his prolific Pennsylvanians: "Let it sizzle, let it boil for the foe/ Mrs. America, let's go!" (119)

The problem for the reader amounts not so much to the risibility of many such quotations, but the fact that Smith treats them with the same transparency as their language. Little about her perspective is influenced by the scholarship associated with either cultural studies in general or popular music studies in particular that assesses, among other matters, the complex phenomenon of reception. Audiences rejected such work for its quite flagrant ineptitude, but Smith fails to inquire how they actually did regard either didactic material in general or, more to the point, material without overt didactic intentions that they translated into ideological terms on their own.

As a consequence, readers concerned with the social or cultural history of the period may find elements of Smith's study useful, but those with an interest in the complex phenomena of cultural propaganda will be disappointed. To be reminded that "Although the Tin Pan Alley style certainly is formulaic, the government never fully understood that popular music could not be written to order" amounts to as obvious and underwhelming a conclusion as are the cliché-ridden words that the songwriters of the day used to rouse the public consciousness (173).

BMI Archives — David Sanjek

THE HOLY PROFANE: Religion in Black Popular Music. By Teresa L. Reed. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 2003.

"[M]y argument," proclaims Teresa L. Reed, is "that [black] secular song portrays black religious consciousness" (151). Reed frames her argument: "Powerful notions of good versus evil, of sanctity versus sin, and of God versus the Devil governed the

religious perspective of blacks who viewed secular music as the forbidden fruit of youthful excess. From this perspective, music was either God's or the Devil's, with little to no gray area in between. Vocalist Cissy Houston voiced the experience of many black artists when she stated: 'I had been brought up strict, to think that all of it, rock and all, was the Devil's music.' Beliefs about the Devil and this music are generations-old in the black American psyche" (90).

Both the subject matter and the venues of the blues and other Black popular music—sex, alcohol, brothels, and juke joints—seem to bear witness to this claim, yet the line between the two black musical modes has never been clear. Witness the following, brief, woefully incomplete list of Black artists who transgress the so-called boundaries between God's music and the Devil's music by having strong roots and branches in both: James Brown, Little Richard, Ruth Brown, Sam Cooke, Roberta Flack, Aretha Franklin, Marvin Gaye, Whitney Houston, Louis Jordan, B.B. King, Gladys Knight, Tina Turner, Dinah Washington, Curtis Mayfield, Teddy Pendergrass, Solomon Burke, and Stevie Wonder. Many musicians clearly demonstrate this musical dichotomy by using two names for the "different" music: Charlie Patton/ Elder J. J. Handley, Blind Lemon Jefferson/ Deacon L.J. Bates, Blind Boy Fuller/ Brother George & His Sanctified Singers, and Memphis Minnie/Gospel Minnie. Josephine Miles, the beautiful Black Broadway star of "Shuffle Along," was the evangelist Mary Flowers. Thomas Dorsey who wrote "Precious Lord, Take My Hand" and many other gospel tunes, was Georgia Tom, the pianist for Ma Rainey and Bessie Smith, and Sister Rosetta Tharpe was equally successful at Harlem Church of God in Christ and at the Cotton Club. Johnny Ace and Clyde McPhatter were both preacher's sons. W.C. Handy's father was outraged when the young Handy brought a guitar home, calling it "one of the Devil's playthings" (91). And even the white rockabilly artist, Jerry Lee Lewis, raised in the Pentecostal church, delivers a doctrinal diatribe to Sun Records' executive, Sam Philips, about this dilemma. In *Stomping the Blues* (1989), Albert Murray recognizes the close kinship between what he calls the Saturday Night function and the Sunday Morning worship.

For Teresa Reed, an associate professor of music and director of the African American Studies Program at Tulsa University, her own family experience in her Pentecostal church, the Open Door Refuge Church of God in Christ in Gary, Indiana, as well as her own academic study of Black sacred and secular music, caused her to discover that religion and church was an every day, every night, all encompassing experience—a way of life. She characterizes this musical life,

> Such a worship schedule might seem daunting to the outsider for the fact is we never tired of church. It was there that we could share our joys, our pains, and our testimonies of blessings, big and small. It was at church that we could see the Spirit rouse the tired, the poor, and the elderly from the weightiness and drudgery of their daily lives. As the music filled every corner with electricity, we could watch Mother Miles, dressed in all white, get up and do the holy dance. We could listen to Brother Garnett play the saxophone, hear Sister Turner play the organ, and watch the saints, young and old, clap their hands, beat their tambourines, sing their songs, and get their souls revived. Church was a celebration of community, a place where prayer solved every problem, a place where everyone knew your name (x).

The signifying reference in the last line to the Irish Boston bar, Cheers and its TV show and theme song, is no fluke. Albert Murray, speaking from the blues and jazz side, calls black dance halls, "temples" and black ballrooms, like the Apollo and Savoy, "consecrated." For Murray, Black musicians, singers, and dancers are ritual specialists whose work is "ceremonially deliberate" and a "purification rite." In "Blues People," Ralph Ellison says of Bessie Smith, "within the tighter Negro community where the blues were part of a total way of life, and a major expression of a attitude toward life, she was a priestess, a celebrant who affirmed the values of the group and man's ability to deal with chaos."

Reed discovered what Charles Long, the historian of religion, claims in Paul Johnson's *African American Christianity* (1994), "if we Black folk in America are Christians, then we're certainly unlike any other Christians I've met around here" (viii).

While Reed in her five separately written and published yet related essays, on the sacred/ secular dichotomy (especially in the Pentecostal and Holiness tradition), carefully and informatively, discusses the political, historical, economic, class, and social contexts, she primarily makes the case that the key to understanding this false dichotomy is that any "thoughtful analysis of African-American culture must begin with a discussion of its West-African roots" (1), and that is the foundation of her investigation and discovery of the Black "difference." She concludes, "This study has shown that to a remarkable degree, we have retained the fused approach to music and religion characteristic of our ancestral, West-African worldview. Despite our attempts to polarize the sacred from the secular, we always end up praying to, thinking about, and preaching about God, in our secular musical forms . . ." (159).

Reed is dead on in reaffirming W.E.B. Du Bois' claim of "black music as the central sign of black cultural value, integrity, and autonomy" and also in locating Black "difference" in Africa, but there are several flaws and areas where she falls short.

While close study of song lyrics for religious material is rewarding, lyrics apart from the music-dance performative context and purpose, is a major oversight. The pathos of blues lyrics, whether up tempo or slow drag, may belie the major healing function as "good times music." Clever and skilled lyrics, whether serious, silly, or satirical, whether overtly religious or profanely parodic, ignores the foregrounding of the poetic—the artistic wizardry, training, and skill of the ritual performance expert in transforming sad and bad to glad and, in doing so, offering a heroic model for living.

The Holy Profane, while claiming West African origins, worldviews, and explanations in every chapter, delivers little specific information, and this is reflected in the absence of nearly any African studies in the bibliography. The casual use of a generalized, vague, non-specific "West-African," also ignores the whole of Central Africa (especially Kongo) cultural and religious ideas and practices. The term "griot" has nearly become merely a popular pan-African stereotype for something much larger and more complex. The next step for the argument of *The Holy and the Profane*, might be to explicitly show, as Ruth Stone's work on the Kpelle does, how the secular and profane comingle. In her article, "Bringing the Extraordinary into the Ordinary" (1994), Stone demonstrates how the Liberian Kpelle, in a flash, turn ordinary musical entertainment sites into religious worship by making the music so sweet that it attracts the attention of the spirits who consequently become consociate with the ordinary world. Reed's work would be enhanced by deeper understanding of how power is made manifest in spectacular performances, and how power is related to "extended speech" and the "empowered word"—any and all combinations of tone and rhythm: drumming,

instrument playing, singing, chanting, praying, naming, dance steps, hand clapping, ornament tinkling, grunts and shouts, and even cursing. Patrick McNaughton, the Mande scholar, asserts that aesthetic force is efficacious and irresistible to the powerful gods, spirits, and ancestors in the other world.

If we are to recognize and speak about African diasporic cultures, we must know about real African cultures.

University of Colorado at Boulder Stewart Lawler

REEL HISTORY: In Defense of Hollywood. By Robert Brent Toplin. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002.

Robert Brent Toplin's *Reel History: In Defense of Hollywood* proposes a more open-minded and charitable approach to the issue of film representations of history than critics generally take. Toplin bases his plea for clemency in the idea that film history is a distinct genre, and must be properly understood through genre conventions. His common-sense approach acknowledges that no historical film can attain the kind of factual accuracy that critics often demand without sacrificing its fundamental mission to entertain, and in turn losing funding and popular attention. Toplin suggests that critics should understand and accept the genre's conventions, which include necessary simplifications; a three-act structure of exposition, complication, and resolution; avoidance of ambiguity through presentation of definite heroes and villains; the use of a few representative characters in the interest of simplification; and audience-pleasing contrivances like fictitious romances and anachronistic links to the present. If we recognize these conventions, and the liberties with history that they necessitate, we can see beyond them to gain significant insight into history and its relationship to the present.

Toplin never articulates a definite standard for judging Hollywood representations of history—indeed, much of his analysis demonstrates the impossibility of any clear-cut evaluative system. Instead, he analyses a series of films, among them *Titanic*, *Mississippi Burning*, *The Hurricane*, and *Amistad*, and demonstrates the variety of respects in which historical films can succeed and fail. At the heart of each analysis is the idea that successful historical films must strike a balance between historical accuracy and entertainment convention. Toplin implies that violation of that balance through excessive misrepresentation of history carries its own penalties, in the form of bad critical buzz and, in turn, bad box office. His fresh perspective on the fiscal realities of filmmaking as in some ways supportive of responsible history is intriguing, and, while the checks-and-balances system he proposes is not thoroughly convincing, he at least demonstrates that filmmakers are not as free to rewrite history with impunity as many critics allege.

The book takes a more personal tone in later chapters, as Toplin effectively makes a case study of a film with whose production he was heavily involved, demonstrating the necessity of major artistic liberties even in a project primarily intended to present a sophisticated view of history. Less effective is Toplin's subsequent overview of the field of film studies: though he presents a laudable plea for critics at the far poles of film studies (essentially, cultural historians and cinema theorists) to move towards a balanced center, he unleashes a scathing assault on postmodern, theoretically-inclined film scholars, accusing them of intellectual timidity, theoretical idol-worship, and paralyzing relativism. His reduction of a major element of the field to a caricature of its worst excesses undermines the plea for scholarly compromise that closes the chapter.

Toplin's articulation of the historical film as a genre unto itself, with its own set of necessary conventions, represents a significant and fresh comment on the relationship of film and history. He presents thoughtful readings of representative films in support of his contentions. Toplin's approach will be considerably more convincing to historical scholars than to the more theoretically-minded: his outright dismissal of psychoanalytic, Marxist, and postmodern approaches to film inevitably diminishes the book's interdisciplinary appeal. Nevertheless, Toplin's fresh take on an often derided or dismissed genre makes a compelling case for the importance and influence of historical films.

Vanderbilt University Anthony Wilson

AMERICA ON FILM: Modernism, Documentary, and a Changing America. By Sam B. Girgus. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2002.

In *America on Film,* Sam Girgus sets out to examine how cinema has both documented and directed recent "transformations in the meaning of being an American" (12). For Girgus, American identity must be understood through its relationship to modernity. Moreover, to the extent that film "relates literary and intellectual modernism to the social, economic and political forces of modernization," it also plays a key role in the construction of American-ness (1).

In his introduction, Girgus ably establishes a basis for claiming cinema as an intrinsically documentary medium—a methodological necessity to prepare the reader for the initially surprising fact that the bulk of the book addresses narrative fiction films rather than what might be conventionally regarded as "documentaries." However, he does not offer a sufficient corresponding framework for his understanding of modernism, a decision which results in treating the term in subsequent sections as transhistorical and ill-defined. At times, Girgus's modernism looks similar to the way others have understood *post*modernism. For instance, he cites Spike Lee's "self-reflexivity and self-consciousness" (179) in order to characterize Lee's films as modernist, an assignation to which both Lee and earlier modernist film-makers might object.

Girgus sets out his argument in four major sections (totaling eight chapters), each organized around focused analyses of specific films that demonstrate clearly the relationship between America and film, but that less compellingly address the connection between America, documentary and modernism. The book's focus on individual films is both useful and limiting—useful in that it helps the reader understand cinematic constructions of American identity, limiting in that the claims he makes about transformations in American subjectivity are never situated in broader social, cultural or even cinematic contexts. For instance, Girgus does not address the new Black cinema of the nineties, or the Los Angeles School of Black Filmmakers from the 1960s and 1970s, though both film cycles anticipate, and indeed make possible, the kinds of shifts he examines in four of the chapters. Thus, such "transformations" are reduced to isolated filmic constructions rather than embedded in a history of representation and negotiation.

Occasionally, Girgus loses sight of the book's initial emphasis on exploring the relationship between documentary, modernism and America. Moreover, some readers may find his literary-minded discussion of the films problematic insofar as he remains committed to reading most of the films through authorial/directorial intent and characterization as much as through visual style, narrative structure or modernist aesthetics. Still, the broad sweep of the book's interest and Girgus's earnest investment

in the films he discusses make *America on Film* a useful text for anyone interested in understanding how American cinema both produces and reflects stories and images about national ideologies and identities. Finally, his focus on films of the past two decades (Chaplin's *Modern Times* [1936] is the notable exception) affords students and scholars of American studies an opportunity to see examples of how one of the country's most powerful cultural institutions might be understood as a national cinema that nevertheless resists anything like a uniform nationalism or nationality.

Wheaton College, Massachusetts Josh Stenger

THE GARDEN IN THE MACHINE: A Field Guide to Independent Films About Place. By Scott MacDonald. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2001.

Scott MacDonald, author of three volumes of the ongoing *A Critical Cinema: Interviews with Independent Filmmakers* and a history of New York's Cinema 16, is one of our most important historians of American experimental and avant-garde film. His new "topographical" study of independent cinema, *The Garden in the Machine*, focuses primarily on filmmakers' visions of their own personal Americas—particular landscapes envisioned not merely as spaces to fill with people and action, but as places to depict in all their historical complexity (xxii). The book's designer, Nola Burger, has interpreted MacDonald's playful "field guide" conceit in an appropriately playful way, by adopting the ocher-and-red color scheme of a Frommer's city guide cover instead of the look of a botany manual or trail guide. Thanks to this shrewd design choice, the look of the book resonates with the dialectic that drives its contents: the independent filmmaker's paradoxical impulses both to record the recession of "pure" landscapes in the face of encroachment by cities and industry, and to do so using motion pictures, the key mass medium of the urbanizing Industrial Age. MacDonald beautifully demonstrates that, just as Victorian landscape paintings are haunted by technological and urban development, and as American literature (in Leo Marx's influential formulation) has perpetually clashed with the machines that American industry plants in the garden of the New World, so too do these "films about place" by a broad spectrum of filmmakers—among them George Kuchar, Anne Charlotte Robinson, Stan Brakhage, Marie Menken, and even Spike Lee and Oliver Stone—wrestle with their own peculiar technological ghosts.

I'm not familiar with many of the films MacDonald discusses, but it's a testament to the fervency of his descriptions, and of his desire to preserve these films for posterity, that I want to see almost all of them (and MacDonald has appended a list of the films' distributors to aid us in doing just that). One exhilarating chapter reveals Jonas Mekas (*Walden*, released 1969) and William Greaves (*Symbiopsychotaxiplasm*, released 1972) as filmmakers who engage with the nation's most famous urban garden, Central Park, in order to document the technological mediation of Western experience. According to MacDonald, each filmmaker acknowledges the inevitability of that mediation and attempts to move beyond it, de-romanticizing Nature in the process and working instead toward a reconciliation of the technologized city with the always-already-deflowered natural world.

But at times MacDonald projects that same self-reflexive scrutiny onto films that exhibit it scantly at best. In chapter 6, he tells us that Bruce Baillie's 1966 chronicle of San Francisco, *Castro Street*, shows that Baillie is "fully aware that his 16mm camera and the film it processes are industrial products," and claims that Baille "desire[s] to

transcend the technological origins of film, and to use his camera as a means for reminding us of the environmental and spiritual origins of technology" (196). MacDonald could be right about this, but he produces little evidence from Baillie's writings or *Castro Street* that this is so, nor does he present a satisfying definition of "the spiritual," either here or in the book's frustrating final chapter. At such moments MacDonald over-romanticizes independent filmmakers, as if they were incapable of *not* using their films to implicate themselves in technological modernity. His straw man for this argument is Jan de Bont, a Hollywood director (*Speed*) whose 1996 "landscape" film *Twister*, a thriller about the tracking of a deadly tornado, supposedly exhibits how blind de Bont is to the irony of using cinematic technology—special effects in particular—to "document" technology's inadequacy before the forces of nature. But what, I had to ask at this point, prevents Baillie or even Kuchar (*Weather Diary 1*, 1986) from being as ignorant of the ironies of their work as de Bont and his crew (supposedly) were regarding *Twister*? Why must a camera automatically become a wry metaphor for technological progress when held by a non-commercial filmmaker, and why can it never do so when serving a major studio? And where does this logic leave two of MacDonald's most commercial "independents," Lee and Stone? When the author begins to force films to fit his analytical point of view, I break trail and start wandering among the films without him. At its best, however, MacDonald's study models exactly such openness to exploration and discovery. Without his masterful map through these films and their delicate interconnections, we would have no sense of the richness of this territory at all.

Vanderbilt University Paul Young

RADIO GOES TO WAR: The Cultural Politics of Propaganda during World War II. By Gerd Horten. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2002.

Gerd Horten's *Radio Goes to War* examines the close relationship that developed between the radio industry and the federal government's propaganda apparatus during the Second World War. Even before the United States declared war on Japan, radio had proved its ability to shape listeners' attitudes with news coverage of the war in Europe. Audience surveys conducted at the time found that Americans trusted radio more than other communications media. Beginning in 1941, the Office of Facts and Figures (later the Office of War Information) attempted to harness this power by producing shows and spot announcements, but popular fear of overt propagandizing (a legacy of the First World War) combined with partisan political suspicion doomed this effort to failure. Congress cut OWI's funding for such programs in 1943.

A result of this funding cut and of the limited success of government-financed radio propaganda was that OWI increasingly depended on advertisements and commercial broadcasts to communicate with the American public. Business executives eagerly embraced this opportunity for government-industry collaboration. Corporations took advantage of tax incentives that allowed them to write off 80% of the cost of ads designed to aid the war effort. Radio networks, with the encouragement of their sponsors, complied with OWI's voluntary Network Allocation Plan, a schedule of patriotic themes and government policies to be incorporated in popular radio shows. The result was effective and entertaining propaganda that benefited all parties. Corporations gained cultural legitimacy and political clout; the major radio networks won the right to monopolize the airwaves; and the federal government was able to promote unpopular policies like food and gas rationing by inserting political messages in Americans' favorite

shows. This wartime collaboration, Horten argues, helped facilitate the emergence of a privatized, consumerist public sphere before the war's end.

Radio Goes to War is a well-researched, well-argued contribution to cultural and communications history. The book is strongest where it focuses on government-business cooperation. Despite his use of letters and audience surveys, Horten's analysis of radio listeners is less satisfying. Part of the problem is a limitation of the sources themselves: these studies tell us little about their subjects' lives when radios were turned off and are thus unable to fully explain why listeners were so receptive to commercial propaganda. What is missing is an understanding of how the experiences of living through the Great Depression and total war produced a widespread desire for privacy, security, and plenty that served corporate interests.

Kean University Ann E. Pfau

MOMENT OF GRACE: The American City in the 1950s. By Michael Johns. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2003.

This book, taking the form of an extended essay, is perplexing. Its author, Michael Johns, writes engagingly and intelligently, offering readers many keen insights about the American city in the 1950s. His claim is that the American city achieved its "consummate expression" during this decade (1). I find this hypothesis dubious and unproven. What Johns believes happened in the 1950s, I contend, occurred during the first thirty years of the twentieth century.

In 1944 a social scientist employed by the federal government (and destined for a distinguished career assaying American cities) contributed an article to *Business Week*. Philip Hauser in effect comprised a watch list for American cities in distress. Among them: Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh.

An abbreviated look at Chicago is telling. In 1900, eight of every ten residents of what would become its six-county region resided inside Chicago, an all-time high; this proportion then began falling gradually, so that by 1950 the city's share was 70 percent. It had dropped 5 percent since 1940 and from 1950 to 1960 it fell 13 percent. The 1950s was the first decade in its history when the city's population declined, a pattern that persisted through 1990 when the total went below the 3-million mark for the first time in seventy years. Evidence abounds documenting what happened by mid-century. The Chicago Planning Commission had reported in 1944 on the increasing de-concentration of industrial manufacturing beyond the city. From 1947 through 1954 the number of manufacturing establishments located in its suburbs doubled. The daily count of people entering its Loop between 1948 and 1952 decreased by 200,000, a decline of approximately 20 percent. Icons of its meat packing industry, Cudahy and Swift, terminated their operations (after more than a century) at the Union Stock Yards in 1954 and 1959 respectively; at their peak (in the 1920s) their combined labor force totalled 30,000. During the 1950s the proportion of private physician's offices inside Chicago fell 14 percent (from 80 percent) and retail sales dropped 13 percent (from 73 percent). The proliferation of suburban malls, forty-two of them built in the 1950s around Chicago, affirmed the preference for living *and* shopping in automobile-dependent suburbs.

If Johns does not appreciate the fortunes and misfortunes of the great cities of the United States over the first half of the twentieth century, *Moment of Grace* offers some useful insights about urban and metropolitan culture during the 1950s. A chapter entitled

"Downtown" overflows with sub-sections dealing with topics such as shoppers, fashion, song, and architecture that I not only enjoyed reading but also found most informative. While his chapter on the suburbs is also especially useful, two omissions are noteworthy: Johns did not devote attention to the biting *kitchen* debate of 1959 between Khrushchev and Nixon, conducted in a model postwar suburban house constructed in Moscow for the exhibition by a home builder from Long Island; also missing is David Riesman, who occupied the core of the intellectual critique of suburbia in the 1950s. Not to be overlooked is the author's commendable choice of photographs drawing upon a wide range of archives and adding immeasurably to this volume.

Moment of Grace is, unquestionably, a book worthy of readers' consideration despite its flawed claim about the 1950s as the pinnacle in the rise and fall of great American cities.

Lake Forest College Michael H. Ebner

RECLAIMING PUBLIC HOUSING: A Half Century of Struggle in Three Public Neighborhoods. By Lawrence J. Vale. Harvard University Press. 2002.

We are slowly arriving to a clearer picture of the public home in America. For years, the historical narrative about public housing was shaped by Leonard Freedman's national policy study *Public Housing: The Politics of Poverty* (1969). However, since the publication of Jack Bauman's *Public Housing, Race, and Renewal: Urban Planning in Philadelphia, 1920-1974* (1987), a steady stream of scholarship has expanded what we know of public housing's convoluted journey through the American city.

When Bauman, Roger Biles, and Kristin Szylvian released their edited collection *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America* (2000), the subnational dimensions of the story finally emerged, taking shape as a multi-tiered tale of groups and interests competing over many decades on a variety of stages for control over urban settlement. Public housing took its rightful place within the narrative of race and class politics, urban settlement struggles, and local agendas that swirled around slum clearance, housing reform, and downtown commerce. Finally, Sudhir Venkatesh's lyrical and compelling book *American Project* (2000), brought at long last the residents of a tower block to the center of the story. No longer can we discuss public housing merely as an artifact of beltway politics, though these are crucial to the story, nor could we apply uniform judgements to the particular circumstances of local housing programs—nor indeed to individual housing projects.

Atop this shifting terrain of the public housing story, Lawrence Vale's study provides a welcome compass, grounded in a social history of substantial depth. At root, the book is about the struggle by, and often between, housing officials and working-class residents to convert public units into public neighborhoods. It is a struggle waged with weapons of the weak, but those waging the struggle on the ground have one important asset: a public landlord. Vale's work reminds us of the critical but often unappreciated fact that public housing residence came with a stronger articulation of tenant rights, and enabled a more robust forum for staking claims, than did residence in the private slum markets of the old industrial city.

An ancillary but no less important argument concerns the particularities of place. For Vale, the stories of three projects convey not only their unique features and important local circumstances, but suggests a larger point about the very grain of the story to be

told. Even within one city's housing reform and building agenda, factors such as location, dates of construction and occupation, design, and the changing terms of settlement produce different life circumstances and experiences for residents of different projects—and, not incidentally, the people that inhabit the neighborhood surrounds.

Building upon the methodological innovations of his book *From the Puritans to the Projects: Public Housing and Public Neighbors* (2000), Vale's latest contribution organizes a broad array of sources in service of his close-hauled argument. He weaves together government records, planning documents, graphics, archival papers, city directories, and the intriguing but reliable Boston Police Department voting-age adult census. Harvard University Press and the Graham Foundation are to be commended for their support of a sizeable image base; the photographs, renderings, and plans anchor the argument with powerful visual evidence.

I came to care a great deal for the people in the pages of Vale's book, from the courageous African Americans moving into the projects in the white-defended D-Street neighborhood of Lower End Boston, to the nuns that fought for racial tolerance and social justice in the streets. Vale gives us ample reason to care; he quotes liberally from oral histories of residents, clerics, and public officials, as well as from tenant letters, eyewitness accounts, and impassioned meeting minutes. Chilling letters of racial hatred penned to the housing authority and gripping accounts of street confrontation mark the on-the-ground contours of struggle to create public neighborhoods amid hostile and changing urban circumstances. The meaningful dramas in which ordinary people find themselves embroiled come to life in Vale's narrative, bolstered by a rich archival and graphic source trail.

Reclaiming Public Housing establishes the basis for an arsenal of historical case studies that will provide the sufficient depth and breadth necessary for the creation of a new story of the public home in America. This story will no longer be constrained by the national policy discourse, the architectural design narrative, or the social science constructs of home, work, family, and culture of poverty. The new story will be grounded in a social history that activates actors, moves movers, and restores intellectual and political energy to the residents of public housing.

Vale's book also demands that henceforth our scholarship on public housing avoid creating heroic caricatures of residents in the effort to combat the negative caricatures of old. Rather, subsequent scholarship should breathe the breath of life and thought and action into a history that to this point has been dominated by wooden accounts and one-dimensional actors. In the end, Vale's book is both about ordinary people assembling a sense of citizenship, inclusion, and rights from the limited resources of the public home, and about reclaiming a narrative of complexity sufficient to inform housing policy in the future.

Saint Louis University Joseph Heathcott

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. By Peter J. Ling. London: Routledge. 2002.

With intriguing irony, Peter Ling uses military campaigns as metaphor for the nonviolent campaigns led by Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference during the twelve years King led the branch of the civil rights Movement based in the black church. In Ling's narrative King does as much retreating as General George Washington during the American Revolution! Ling presents King as a work in progress, a man who vacillates and experiences failures, yet by 1966 has

grown into confident, independent decision-making as he perfects "leaning on the Lord." King grew into nonviolence in February 1956 after his home was bombed (47), tutored by Bayard Rustin and Glen Smiley of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He was shaken by the violence that followed the successful end of the Montgomery Bus Boycott after 382 days (57). In Albany, Georgia, in 1961-2 the civil rights Movement's "first, sustained, mass direct action campaign" (63), King was poorly briefed and unprepared for a prolonged campaign. After King left Albany thinking agreement had been reached, the City Commission cracked down, closing parks, swimming pools, and the library rather than desegregating and rendering meaningless its formal repeal of segregation ordinances (98). Success in direct action seemed ephemeral.

The next campaign, in 1963 in Birmingham, Alabama, raised national attention to the horrors of segregation with the use of water cannons and attack dogs on nonviolent protestors, including 1,000 children. Yet Ling points out that King had vacillated about allowing children to march, Jim Bevel's proposed tactic. In fact, King sought to end the protests with a truce without consulting Fred Shuttlesworth, leader of the local civil rights movement organization. Like in Albany, the result was more violence against blacks in Birmingham and continued segregation despite the supposed agreement King had reached with city government, an agreement the new mayor refused to enforce.

Ling posits that the following two years were extraordinarily important in developing King as a true national leader. King's strategy was to keep the pressure on the federal government through more mass demonstrations in multiple locations, including the March on Washington of August 1963, in order to force the Kennedy Administration to act in support of the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees of equal rights with an omnibus Civil Rights Act. Growing violence against blacks in Birmingham and St. Augustine and Kennedy's assassination brought the Civil Rights Act King had worked for, as well as a Nobel Peace Prize, and tension with President Johnson and his enthusiastic supporters, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young. Despite threat of scandal from compromising FBI tapes of him with other women and despite the risk of alienating "the civil rights president," King pushed the need to federalize voting rights in three months of demonstrations in Selma, Alabama that persuaded Johnson to get Congress to do what King and his colleagues proposed.

By mid-1965, King's commitment to a legislative outcome and to mobilizing and organizing around the nation had brought significant results but at the cost of alienating him from SNCC, the NAACP, and CORE. Ling's treatment of the Chicago campaign that followed Selma is especially good, although the role of Diane Nash is conspicuously missing.

Ling's biography is textured with details and told with a growing intensity. By the time King moves SCLC to Chicago and then in 1966 and 1967 challenges President Johnson on the Vietnam War earlier than most public figures and at the cost of isolating criticism, the reader is drawn into the unfolding familiar drama as though reading a pot boiler (or a Greek tragedy). King comes through as a real person, a hero like the best of our national heroes with human failings and moments of despair and self-doubt. Ling is convincing in his case that King, while making many tactical mistakes, was an extraordinary general for his nonviolent army and his cause because he took risks *and* responsibility, held together a disparate coalition, and found the courage to trust his inner voice against all advice, not vacillating and not abandoning the movement or the Dream.

This is a fine biography distilling the work of a dozen biographers with clarity and cohesiveness. Ling does need to update his discussion of the earliest successful student led sit-ins, which were in Wichita, Kansas by July and August 1958, not in Greensboro, North Carolina in February 1960. Moreover, the NAACP was downright hostile to student sit-ins until the Oklahoma Youth Councils, following Wichita's success, dramatically increased their membership by preparing for sit-ins. Also, Ling mistakenly identifies "America the Beautiful" as the national anthem (150), but these small errors do not distract from the overall value of this compelling, even-handed, comprehensive, and very readable biography.

Friends University, Wichita, Kansas Gretchen Cassel Eick

DISSENT IN THE HEARTLAND: The Sixties at Indiana University. By Mary Ann Wynkoop. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002.

A notable development in recent scholarship concerning the student rebellion of 1960s America has been the appearance of local studies. This grassroots approach follows the example set by historians of the civil rights movement. Local studies reveal the variations that marked "the movement" in different places, and at the same time they show that, for all this geographic diversity, in many ways the student activism of the 1960s appeared similarly across the United States. Another benefit of these studies is to inform us of what was actually happening on American campuses during the 1960s! Early work on the new left and associated developments actually didn't say much about events on college and university campuses, which seems a little odd, when you think about it. Finally, local studies have revealed how white student radicalism, African American student protest, feminist mobilization, antiwar protest, and other movements as well really interacted and overlapped in the lived experience of Americans of that time. To many young people in the 1960s there was just "the movement," even if different people grasped different parts of the elephant.

Add Mary Ann Wynkoop's very good study of Bloomington, Indiana and Indiana University (IU) to this list of recent works, which includes Rusty Monhollan's *Is This America?* (about Lawrence, Kansas), William Rorabaugh's *Berkeley at War*, Kenneth Heineman's *Campus Wars* (several campuses), and this reviewer's *The Politics of Authenticity* (Austin, Texas). Bloomington and IU were distinctive places, like all of those listed above. A conservative environment in southern Indiana (the Ku Klux Klan, whose greatest stronghold in its second incarnation was Indiana, appears quite a few times in Wynkoop's narrative), this seems a relatively unlikely place to find antiwar protesters and leftist radicals. This environment did have an impact, as the student rebels at IU were for the most part less outrageous and disruptive than their opposite numbers in many other places. "IU activists disdained 'mad dog adventurism,'" Wynkoop notes (114). The best known bit of disruption that any young radical perpetrated there seems to have been a pie thrown in the face of Clark Kerr, who was visiting IU to give a speech in 1969. The culprit eventually got 90 days on a penal farm.

All the major movements of the era appeared here, lending solid support for Wynkoop's "thesis . . . that the social, political, and cultural movements of the 1960s were not just products of East and West Coast elites." She notes further that many in the "heartland" continue even today to view the concerns and practices of student rebels of the 1960s as alien to the Midwest, as the work of "'outside agitators' who unpleasantly influenced their basically good but naïve and impressionable youngsters" (188).

Wynkoop is absolutely right to rebut such a notion, and, with her clean, clear writing and her strong evidentiary support from local sources, she succeeds admirably in doing so. "The Sixties" happened everywhere.

Metropolitan State University Doug Rossinow

WORKING-CLASS HEROES: Protecting Home, Community, and Nation in a Chicago Neighborhood. By Maria Kefalas. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2003.

For many, the phrase "working class" brings up images of white, male, industrial workers, gathered at the union hall or neighborhood bar, downing Budweisers and watching boxing. This lingering Archie Bunker image defines the working class as not only white and male but also ignorant and racist. Those who study working-class culture recognize both the prevalence of the stereotype and how significantly it misrepresents the working class.

Rather than trying to show how the stereotype is wrong, Maria Kefalas aims to understand white working-class racism from the inside. In *Working-Class Heroes,* she studies one Chicago neighborhood, listening and observing carefully to learn about the interconnections between community identity and racism. Kefalas argues that white working-class racial resentment reflects fears about their own precarious social and economic position. Kefalas develops her case through analyses of daily life and neighborhood crises in "Beltway," a community of neat bungalows near Midway airport. By analyzing both unusual events like the gang-related killing of two teenage girls and more ordinary activities like the neighborhood's Memorial Day parade, Kefalas shows how the community's effectiveness in organizing on its own behalf is deeply rooted in fear of losing its place—both the physical place of the neighborhood and the social place of morality and virtue. For its residents, Beltway's well-tended homes, clean, safe streets, and avid public displays of patriotism and community spirits represent the hard-won respectability, safety, and American-ness of the families who have made their homes there. But, Kefalas notes, the sense of place that makes Beltway so important to its residents is built, in part, on "denial and uncertainty" (154). Beltwayites cling to the belief that their neighborhood is fundamentally different from the poorer areas nearby, and they see this difference as the direct result of hard work and good morals. Behind this belief, however, reside deep fears about the possibility that despite their best efforts, they may lose it all. Beltway residents, like many in the working class (regardless of race or place), are economically and socially vulnerable, and they protect themselves from having to acknowledge that precarious position by focusing on the threat posed by poor African Americans.

The best community studies offer insights that apply beyond any specific place. *Working-Class Heroes* offers a sensitive look inside the politics of resentment that shape many working-class communities. Beltway may be distinctive in some ways, but the cultural patterns Kefalas notes can be seen elsewhere, including the community's belief that Beltway is a special place. While Kefalas might have explored more fully the history of white working-class racism as well as the history of communities like Beltway, her book provides a rich and detailed model for putting working-class people at the heart of social analysis. Kefalas has listened carefully to their voices. She treats her subjects respectfully, but she does not flinch from critical dissection of the contradictions in their explanations. The result is an insightful analysis of how race, class, and place shape contemporary working-class culture.

Youngstown State University Sherry Lee Linkon

WORLD ON FIRE: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability. By Amy Chua. New York: Doubleday. 2003.

The principal thesis of *World On Fire* is that the two pillars of America-led globalization—"raw . . . unrestrained . . . laissez-faire capitalism" and democracy equated with universal suffrage and free elections—are an "aggravating cause of group hatred and ethnic violence throughout the non-Western world" (14, 17, 9; cf., 6, 16, 121-25, 190). In Southeast Asia, Latin America, and Africa the targets of hatred (to which should be added "envy" and "resentment") are the tiny and enormously wealthy "market-dominant," ethnic minorities who own and control the productive wealth of many national economies in these regions. Chua discusses the entrepreneurial achievements and lop-sided wealth of overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, Indians and the British in East Africa, Lebanese in West Africa, Dutch and French Afrikaners and the British in South Africa, and "European-descended landowners" and Lebanese in Latin America. She is forthright in her discussion of the legacy of European colonialism in all of these places. For example, "Throughout Latin America . . . the market dominance of the European-blooded elite reflects at least in part centuries of subjugation, exclusion, [genocide,] and corrupt, oligarchic rule" (264; cf., 15, 32, 63-67, 99-102, 120-21, 259).

Pitted against these market-dominant minorities in all instances are "impoverished and exploited indigenous masses" (120, 7). Given smoldering resentment of economically powerful elites, these desperately poor and "wildly anti-market" (142-43, 249, 251) majorities are mobilized politically, Chua argues, on the basis of ethnic identity rather than class position (15, 72-74, 121, 131, 192). Because these indigenous populations are easily manipulated by "charismatic hatemongers" and "megalomaniac[al] ethnic demagogues," granting universal suffrage in the absence of enforceable constitutional protections for minorities is an invitation to genocidal violence and economic disaster (7, 10, 51, 54, 174, 227-28, 231, 255, 259, 274).

Neo-liberal globalization, therefore, exacerbates an already dangerous situation in two ways. First, economic liberalization intensifies inequality in developing countries and hardens "the extraordinary economic dominance of . . . 'outsider' minorities" (21; cf., 16, 110, 114, 121-22). Second, "the simultaneous pursuit . . . of laissez-faire markets and immediate majority rule [will] almost certainly produce . . . bloodshed and ethnic warfare" (227, cf., 195).

Chua documents two additional consequences: a "backlash" against markets and a backlash against democracy. "Rather than reinforcing the market's liberalizing, wealth-producing effects, the sudden political empowerment of a poor, frustrated 'indigenous' majority often leads to. . . ethnonationalist, anti-market pressures" such as the confiscation of minority property (261; cf., 10, 16, 131, 135, 250, 259-60, 274). In order to protect themselves and their property from the whims of "demagogue-incited" majorities, market-dominant elites have seized opportunities to work with ambitious politicians to subvert the process of democratization. These "symbiotic" relationships between economic elites and political leaders, to which Chua applies the label "crony capitalism," constitute a form of authoritarian, minority rule. To make her case she draws examples from the recent histories of Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines, Sierra Leone, and Kenya (11, 30, 113, 147-62, 165-66, 170).

In her analysis of globalization-induced ethnic violence and in her proposed remedies, Chua positions herself between uncritical boosters of neo-liberal globalization and radical democrats among its critics (8-13). Boosters and critics alike, she argues,

have overlooked the ethnic dimension of inequality and violence in developing countries (12). What she hopes her proposals will produce is "peaceably sustainable . . . global free market democracy . . . with constitutional constraints tailored to local realities." Constitutional democracy would be grounded upon "some form of market-generated [economic] growth." Universal suffrage would be gradually introduced toward the end of a process of government-sponsored "socio-economic reforms" and philanthropic initiatives by market-dominant-minorities designed to grant impoverished minorities a meaningful "stake" in their countries (8-20, 191-95, 261-69, 279-83). According to Chua, this process of internal capitalist development and popular stake-holding followed by more inclusive enfranchisement of the population would replicate, in broad outline, the democratization of the West. The whole point is to make democracy safe for a humane—as opposed to a "raw" and "unrestrained"—form of capitalism (14, 17, 188, 195, 225, 227, 267, 278).

Chua's use of ethnicity as a key factor in the explanation of poverty, violence, political mobilization, and democratization is a significant contribution. She helps fill a void produced by "an underestimation of the importance of ethnic divisions for the fate of democracy in the modern world" (Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Stephens, and John Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992], 286). Unfortunately, the analytical significance of ethnicity virtually displaces that of class structure in Chua's book. First, she never identifies market-dominant-minorities, for all practical purposes the exclusive owners of productive capital, as a capitalist class. Second, by defining market-dominant minorities as exclusively ethnic minorities (6), Chua concludes that Western countries have no such minorities because the wealthy few—the owners and controllers of productive property—"are not ethnically distinct" (189-192). Thus by definitional fiat the economic domination and disproportionate political resources of the capitalist class disappear. Had Chua read *Capitalist Development and Democracy*—a major work of comparative historical sociology—as a resource for her book, she might not have concluded that "the best hope" for democracy in the undeveloped world lies with "market dominant minorities" (17, 278)—i.e., the capitalist class. Instead she might have argued that democratization requires a flourishing civil society in which labor organizations and various movements sensitive to social justice can counter the political power of capital (On this point see Jean Grugel, *Democratization: A Critical Introduction* [New York: Palgrave, 2002]).

Readers need to ask themselves how Chua got boxed in to asserting that the capitalist class in developing countries—the least likely agent of meaningful democracy—is the best hope for constitutional democracy. They need to ask themselves how substantive and socially just this "peaceably sustainable" democracy would be. Finally, readers need to ask whether the differences between the free market capitalism Chua supports and the neo-liberal capitalism she opposes would be consequential for the well-being and political efficacy of impoverished majorities.

University of Kansas J. Robert Kent

THE MAYA OF MORGANTOWN: Work and Community in the Nuevo New South. By Leon Fink. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003.

Urban packinghouses were the first American workplaces to fragment tasks, de-skill work, and mechanically regulate output. A century later, the meat and poultry industry has moved to rural communities, but work in modern packing plants is still

characterized by low wages, high employee turnover, and excessive injury. Managers are overwhelmingly Anglo Americans; production workers are mostly immigrants. Oppressive working conditions have long made meat and poultry workers ripe for organizing, and the industry remains notoriously anti-union.

The Maya of Morgantown describes a decade of struggle for social justice by Mayan workers at the Case Farms chicken-processing plant in Morgantown, North Carolina. Labor historian Leon Fink learned of the labor dispute in Morgantown in 1997, well after Mayan workers first walked off their jobs in 1991. With the assistance of Alvis Dunn, a doctoral student in Guatemalan history, Fink spent four summers interviewing more than 100 individuals in Morgantown and Huehuetenango province, Guatemala.

Thankfully devoid of jargon, the book will appeal to readers interested in recent labor history, the meat and poultry industry, and new immigrants. After introducing Morgantown and its various ethnic groups, Fink describes the Guatemalan civil war and how it brought Mayans to Morgantown and influenced the initial walkout. Separate chapters describe a protracted strike in 1995 and subsequent efforts by competing labor unions to organize the Case Farm workers. The final two chapters explore prototypical patterns of migration—birds of passage, assimilation, and transnational citizenship—and positions Morgantown within the larger frameworks of globalization, immigration, labor relations, and Mayan politics.

With a historian's eye and sensitivities, Fink captures the significance of individuals in shaping social outcomes. Speaking through frequent and often eloquent quotes, Fink lets the Mayans present their own poignant accounts of the horrors of the Guatemalan civil war, their migration to Morgantown, the strike, the union organizing campaign, and their ultimate failure to win a contract. Fink uses effective rhetorical strategies to convince readers of the authenticity and plausibility of his account; for example, he peppers the text with Spanish words and phrases and "drafts the reader" into the text by speaking directly to or asking questions of his audience. [See K. Golden-Biddle and K. Locke, "Appealing Work: An Investigation of How Ethnographic Texts Convince," *Organization Science* 4:595-616, 1993, for a detailed discussion of such strategies.]

But *The Maya of Morgantown* is not without its flaws. For a book that includes "work" and "community" in its title, both are strangely marginal to individual accounts and life histories. Indeed, the working conditions that spawned the strike are glossed over. And while Fink draws heavily on the considerable literature on contemporary Mayans, he pays scant attention to anthropological and historical works on the meat and poultry industry, its immigrant labor force, and the consequences of both for host communities. Fink's heavy reliance on oral history produces a thicket of individual accounts that at times obscure the larger forces at work. Yet, I felt a strange distance between the author and the individuals whose stories he recounted, as well as a disjuncture between these stories and the theoretical pronouncements in the conclusion. I found the book's ending weak and abrupt and the proposed solutions to the vexing problems facing the meat and poultry industry and its immigrant workforce unlikely.

Despite these imperfections, *The Maya of Morgantown* adds significantly to our understanding of the new immigration and its consequences for work, workers, and rural communities in 21st century America.

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