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

Reviews

FROM WALDEN POND TO JURASSIC PARK: Activism, Culture, and American Studies. By Paul Lauter. Durham: Duke University Press. 2001.

This must-read collection of Paul Lauter's essays from the 1990s, most presented initially as addresses to academic audiences here and abroad, builds self-consciously on the themes of his essay collection from the previous decade, *Canons and Contexts*, but makes more explicit their connection to American studies.

These themes will be quite familiar to most laborers in the American studies vineyards, but Lauter gives them crisp formulation and peppers them with suggestive case studies from his own research on, among other things, the novels of Charles Chesnutt, Amy Lowell's "boundary-challenging" self-construction, and the ideological uses of the New Criticism, Herman Melville, and *Jurassic Park*, as well as with thoughtful meditations on the political and cultural implications of materials from his own life—his junior high music book, his encounter with a savvy Indonesian student, his labors on the *Heath Anthology of American Literature*. Lauter stresses the importance of an eclectic methodology and an inclusive approach to what constitute legitimate objects of attention; the value of contextualizing and historicizing these objects and understanding the complex political and cultural work they perform; the need to pay attention to the ways in which social and cultural differences such as ethnicity, gender, class, and nationality are constructed, defended, and challenged; the value of cross-national as well as intra-national comparative analysis of such differences; the value of self-criticism; the importance of collaborative activism on behalf of democratic and humane values.

At base, the essays in this collection focus on the politics of culture. Lauter is concerned with ways in which texts, events, individuals, groups, and institutions serve as sites of "an ongoing combat for cultural authority, a struggle for hearts and minds" as well as of material resources. The questions he asks have been clearly fueled not merely by his dissatisfaction with the limitations of his New Critical and high modernist graduate training but, even more so, by his activism since the late 1950s in the civil rights, peace, and feminist movements, as well as in academic politics. The energy of New Left

commitments still animates his rhetoric. His activist experiences have imprinted firmly on him the conviction that Americanists must work not only to understand the social and cultural forces producing and rationalizing exploitation and injustice but to change that reality. Lauter's collection shows us how, as he puts it, "doing American studies is a kind of political act."

These essays amply reflect the varied ways in which, over the past decade, Lauter has been both a tireless ambassador for and loyal critic of American studies. He not only offers examples of how the eclectic approaches characteristic of the field can illuminate a range of texts, literary anthologies to commission reports, but shows how these critical lenses can be turned on the changing historical context and "cultural work" of the American studies movement itself. He argues that, "in key respects American studies at any given time reflects, indeed incorporates tensions and changes in the wider society," and stresses a conception of both American culture and American studies "as a contested terrain whereon people with somewhat differing . . . loyalties struggle for authority."

In a number of essays, among them his 1994 ASA presidential address, Lauter applauds American studies for its own role in challenging the cultural canon as institutionalized and ideologized in the cold war university—a challenge he discusses in a more specifically literary context in "Cold War Culture and the Construction of Modernism" and in his essay recounting the development of the *Heath Anthology*, the project for which he has become best known. At the same time, he notes aspects of American studies' own former and lingering complicity with U.S. cold war culture. In "American Studies and Ethnic Studies at the Borderlands Crossroads," he applauds recent challenges to American studies' nation-framing assumptions, celebrates ethnic studies' reminder of "how closely issues of culture and politics are linked," and joins other critics in arguing that borderland studies offer a powerful alternative "Imaginary" for reconstituting the field of American studies. In "American Studies, American Politics, and the Reinvention of Class," Lauter calls on Americanists to be more alert to the powerful institutional and ideological operations of the class system in American life and in the contemporary university itself and to help "reinvigorate class struggle on the campus." And in essays such as "Of *Chadors* and Capital," he argues that globalization potentially liberates Americanists both in and outside the United States to collaborate in an energizing comparative studies that critiques the global circulation of the culture of consumer capitalism.

One of the most striking aspects of these essays is their own negotiation of, on the one hand, an emphasis on the power of "the drift to unadorned greed and superficial moralism" in contemporary American life and, on the other, a celebration of the politics of hopefulness. American studies, he argues, "is one of the few games in town able to look consistently at and think freshly about the ugly contradictions in and the power and attractiveness of American social and cultural life." Citing in his 1994 presidential address the moral focus as well as political effectiveness of the Nashville movement, he asserts that "it's time we insisted upon exploring and teaching the powerful expression of democratic values many of us have experienced right here in the United States, like the civil rights movement of the fifties and sixties." Lauter's own essays in this collection constitute an often-eloquent insistence on those values.

University of California, Santa Cruz — Michael Cowan

THE ARTS OF DECEPTION: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum. By James W. Cook. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001.

Although readers may very well wonder whether there is anything more to be said about P.T. Barnum and "humbuggery" in nineteenth-century America, this superb book provides a resounding affirmation. The research is impressive, the presentation is engaging and flows smoothly, the work overall is characterized by a degree of clarity and intellectual maturity not common in revised Ph.D. dissertations. As a former student of Lawrence W. Levine at Berkeley, Cook's book not surprisingly deals with popular culture from 1835 to the close of the century, and pays close attention in the final chapter, devoted to *trompe l'oeil* paintings in the decades best represented by the work of William Harnett, to distinctions as well as blurring of the lines between popular perceptions and "highbrow" taste. Earlier chapters, presented as in-depth case studies, concentrate on the richly fascinating story of the automaton chess player, a deception brought from Europe to the United States; the Joice Heth exhibition that launched Barnum's career in 1835 (involving the supposed 161-year-old Negress who had been the nursemaid to young George Washington); the well-known Feejee mermaid fraud that began in 1842; Barnum's "What Is It?" mystery which offered in 1860 a creature, that seemed to be the missing link between man and ape (a year following the publication of Darwin's provocative and controversial *Origin of Species*); a chapter on magicians that once again dips back for European precedents and comparisons; and finally the chapter devoted to "Queer Art Illusions," which looks at artists' motives for painting those engaging still life images meant to fool the eye, and even more important, the responses of audiences in different venues ranging from saloons to the stores of retail merchants.

Cook's primary concerns, obviously, are "the countless forms of artful deception that so thoroughly excited, dazzled, teased, and even angered the crowds." He is brilliantly aware of the complexities of his subject and the need for adequate context, which he never fails to provide. Cook uses current scholarship to take as a point of departure the "social anxieties about fraud and imposture [that] fueled a wide range of popular cultural antidotes: the burgeoning industry of etiquette manuals . . . or the similarly ubiquitous genre of the urban guidebook, which provided an imaginative tool for navigating the tricks and traps of the new metropolis." The author goes on to observe, however, that a fundamental paradox lay "at the heart of the cultural defenses. Simply put, the etiquette manuals, advice columns, and city guides seem to have promoted precisely the same anxieties they claimed to alleviate." Having problematized his project with such care, he gradually calls special attention to the rapidly growing role of the urban newspaper as a vehicle for promoters to deceive or confuse the public, and as a venue for discussion and debate. Cook is also sensitive to popular attitudes concerning gender differences and takes them into account. He is also helpfully astute on regional variations in the responses to Barnum's ploys, particularly in the South. Constantly keeping one eye on the "tricksters" and one carefully trained on their paying audiences, Cook concludes with this comment: "As the Age of Barnum came to a close, what most viewers debated was not merely the manipulations of the tricksters (is this curiosity real?), but also how they were being manipulated by the debates (is this larger exercise moral, entertaining, worth the money, and so forth?)."

I have only one suggestion for this wonderfully conceived and well-developed study. Although the words "authentic" and "authenticity" pepper the text in various ways and for diverse reasons, Cook might have made it explicitly clear from the outset that Ameri-

cans throughout this period (1835-1900) and beyond long harbored and made manifest a special concern with authenticity. I may be wrong, but I am not aware of a comparable degree of concern elsewhere. That sensitivity surely helped to intensify the popular fascination and anxiety with deceit that is the central subject of this compelling book.

Cornell University Michael Kammen

PUBLIC VOWS: A History of Marriage and the Nation. By Nancy F. Cott. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000.

Most Americans would hesitate to describe marriage either in its present or past forms, as a political institution. Yet, this history of the marriage reminds us that it has been in many respects a political creation.

In the early stages of nationhood, the common law doctrine of coverture and social contract theory harmonized to justify free men's near monopoly on civil and political authority. American women's consent to a reduced status in the polity and the home was presumed—indeed, had to be presumed to legitimize its effects. Just as the success of the new republic depended on the citizen's willingness to entrust governing authority to the state, so too were good republican wives expected to submit to the rule of their husbands.

States' efforts to discourage sexual relations that were pre-marital, extramarital, or interracial were frequently ignored, but defining such behaviors as nonconformist and criminal identified them as acts harmful to the general public. By the mid-nineteenth century, states had significantly expanded their role in defining marriage. This development, rather than restricting private choice within marriage, broadened it by giving wives new property rights and both parties additional justifications for divorce. Yet, these changes, while respecting the private side of marriage, still emphasized its political structuring.

Historians, including Cott, have not neglected studying the significant growth in domestic relations law in the nineteenth century. While most scholars have explored the dominant role of the courts in defining the boundaries of state intervention, *Public Vows* focuses primarily on legislative activity. This approach limits the scope of Cott's discussion of marital laws but does provide a pathway for re-visiting marriage's integration into discussions about citizenship and cultural identity at the national level—this time in the post-Civil War years.

Just as American independence earlier had inspired public discourse on cultivating cultural unity in order to preserve the new political order, the restoration of the union renewed Congress's interest in elevating the enforcement of monogamous marriages to the level of national policy. As Cott demonstrates, it was this commitment that provided partial justification for the federal government's repressive policies against Mormons, Native Americans, and certain immigrant groups.

In the late-twentieth century, the modern legal development that best serves the author's efforts to foreground the political face of marriage is the debate over privacy rights, which has influenced public policies on interracial marriage, reproductive freedom, and same-sex marriages. While the aforementioned issues serve as reminders of the pervasive presence of the state in private affairs, courts more often than legislatures have been the key decision makers in the realm of sex and privacy rights, a development only briefly explored in the final chapters of *Public Vows*. This observation does not necessarily suggest a weakness in Cott's argument, however, because courts' associations with politically controversial issues have provoked charges of legislating by a politicized judiciary.

If we needed to be convinced that marriage has been and remains a very public institution, *Public Vows* provided the evidence. Whatever forms marriage takes in the future, the state will continue to regulate it. But government alone should not be held responsible for the civil or social value of marriage in U.S. society. As Cott demonstrates so well, marriage is "inextricably public and private." How much marriage may come to represent "an arena of freedom" worth the investment of private responsibility depends not only on public policy but the personal values of those who choose to be spouses (226).

Arizona State University West — Candice Bredbenner

ON MY HONOR: Boy Scouts and the Making of American Youth. By Jay Mechling. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2001.

This long-awaited book on Boy Scout rituals by one of the leading theorists of American studies is entertaining and enlightening. It will be of interest to everyone concerned with what has come to be called "boy culture," with the ways values are taught through customs and traditions, and with interdisciplinary methods. It is in fact several books, each deserving its own review. In his introduction, Mechling situates his study of the summer camp of a northern California Boy Scout troop in the context of recent public expressions of concern over adolescent violence and in court cases challenging the official position of the Boy Scouts of America (BSA) on the exclusion of atheists, gays, and girls from membership, but a reader unfamiliar with Mechling's published work on gender and play might be advised to begin with his "Methodology Appendix," in which he writes: "my goal . . . [is] to tell a story about some people's lives in order to alter how we might think about those people and possibly to make those people's lives better" (288).

In that deceptively simple sentence lies the genesis of the five books he has written. One book is a spirited defense of scouting as a way of helping boys learn to be men in the twenty-first century. Acknowledging the misogyny and homophobia of many of the games and songs of the troop, he vigorously argues that local troops subvert official ideology and provide boys with an opportunity to define a more androgynous masculinity. It is a polemic addressed to readers who may be skeptical about the value of scouting and to the national officials of the BSA to listen to their members. A second is a detailed description of what happened in one troop's summer camp from 1974 to 1999 as observed by the author who served as an Assistant Scoutmaster. This description is focused mainly on the role of the Scoutmaster and on the way the boys use their games and rituals to learn and create the culture of the camp. It is an ethnography of camp culture.

A third is a theoretical discussion of masculinity using the history of the BSA and the customs and traditions of one local troop. Drawing on a wide range of psychological and anthropological theories of sexuality, Mechling demonstrates how camp activities intended to teach conformity and obedience to authority are continually subverted and reinterpreted by the boys and their leaders. A fourth is extensive analysis of the meanings of various kinds of white, middle-class boys' games, songs, and play. Here, the structure of his book—separate chapters for each day of an imaginary two-week camp—works best. On Day 10 he observes a Treasure Hunt, on Day 12 he explains its cultural meanings.

The fifth book is an intellectual autobiography. In the text and its footnotes the reader comes to know a scholar who has learned better than most of us to mingle work and play. We appreciate his personal struggle to make sense of an institution and the experiences it provided him. Studying one troop of about 40 boys over twenty-five years

allows Mechling to conclude that there is more continuity than change in the customs and traditions of this particular example of boy culture. He cannot claim that his sample is typical in any way, but that is not his intent. On the contrary, he is more interested in the ways the troop teaches boys to deal with tensions in American culture between autonomy and social order. Although he offers no evidence that the boys who were members of this troop grew up to be good citizens, he gives us many reasons to be hopeful.

George Washington University — Bernard Mergen

THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED: The Lockean Legacy in Early American Culture. By Gillian Brown. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2001.

This is a superbly written and cogently argued contribution to a number of key contemporary debates, most notably the structure of national identity, the emergence of an American citizenry from a community of British colonists, and the formation of American national character. Gillian Brown argues that both the experience of learning to read and the reading materials themselves nurtured a sense of national uniqueness among eighteenth-century colonists who consequently began to think and refer to themselves as Americans. The "primers, readers, fables, fairy tales, political rhetoric, and novels" (3) that formed the texts of colonial schooling carried a profound political message that transcended in importance their pragmatic value as pedagogical tools. As Brown clearly explains:

> Locke's reconceptualization of consent pervaded the colonies not only through editions of his works but also through schoolbooks and popular stories. When the founding fathers invoked Locke's *Second Treatise of Government* (1690), in which he presented the theory that government emanated from the people, they were marshalling an idea long familiar to Americans. In ratifying a new government based on Locke's principle that no one can be "subjected to the Political Power of another without his own Consent," Americans were legislating their childhood convictions. (3)

The book is divided into two sections; the first deals with the specifics of early American educational texts, such as the *New England Primer*, as Brown builds her argument that with the skills of reading the American populace was learning the skills of self-government. The second section addresses the more specific subject of the Early American novel and extends her argument outside the classroom and into the realm of life-long learning through reading. In this section, Brown turns her focus specifically upon the women who represented the limits of individual consent, for they were not enfranchised, and who therefore, in novels such as Hannah Foster's *The Coquette* (1797) and Tabitha Tenney's *Female Quixotism* (1801), offered the opportunity to explore in fiction different models of what the American citizen might be.

This book is undoubtedly the work of a literary critic, but Brown possesses a subtle historical understanding and a nuanced appreciation of the complexities of cultural discourse formation. Her fine philosophical understanding illuminates the interplay between politics and philosophy in eighteenth-century America and England, but it is with the skill of a literary critic that she uses this context to bring to a largely neglected body of texts a new sense of their historical importance and cultural significance. This book is of

interest to all scholars of early America; to those concerned with the processes of national identity formation, as well as those who wish to learn more about the evolving conception of childhood, liberty, and consent in America.

South Bank University, London — Deborah L. Madsen

THE IDENTITY QUESTION: Blacks and Jews in Europe and America. By Robert Philipson. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press. 2000.

Robert Philipson's *Identity Question: Blacks and Jews in Europe and America* is a scholarly, well-researched, almost encyclopedic study of two separate albeit related subjects. One is the relationship of African ex-slaves and European Jewry to Enlightenment thought, as that thought helped produce black and Jewish identity in Europe in the eighteenth century and afterwards. The second is the development of ethnic identity in the United States in the middle of the twentieth century. In the first (shorter) part of his study Philipson describes how, despite dissimilarities in the positioning of blacks and Jews and different assumptions concerning each group, the ethnic (religious) origins of blacks and Jews interacted with their host cultures to produce a "double consciousness" in which minority individuals incorporated many of the anti-black, anti-Semitic prejudices maintained by the dominant culture. The "contradictory legacy of the Enlightenment for Blacks and Jews," writes Philipson at the end of the first chapter, is that "ideologies of inclusion had been enunciated, debated, and acted upon, yet slavery, oppression and intolerance remained social political norms. A 'human nature,' common property of the biological species man now recognized himself to be, had been widely postulated, but the concept of 'race' had also been introduced and given a similarly scientific basis. . . . Privileged spokespersons for the minorities involved responded to the promise of Enlightenment inclusion with contradictory impulses comprising a desire to assimilate attended by an inferiority complex and an intractable ethnic pride." It is these experiences of the Englightenment—"four . . . autobiographical responses—two at the dawn and two at the twilight of Enlightenment hegemony" that Philipson promises to examine in the remainder of his book.

In the remaining chapters Philipson does indeed examine the legacy of the Enlightenment, in particular in relation to black and Jewish integration/assimilation into America post-Civil Rights as both groups tend toward a reassertion of ethnic pride. Yet, even though Philipson brings forward a wealth of information, including the names of players, texts, and events that are of paramount importance in the history of these two groups of people, there are no startling revelations here, nothing which isn't fairly standard in the already existing literature dealing with the histories of blacks and Jews (considering the book's focus on the American blacks and Jews nexus, it is surprising how little of the existing bibliography is cited). This would be less troubling if it weren't for the fact that the promised focus on the four autobiographies—Olaudah Equiano's *Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African*; Solomon Maimon's less well known and in fact out-of-print *Lebensgeschicte*; Richard Wright's *Black Boy*; and Alfred Kazin's *Walker in the City*—doesn't really amount to more than citing the materials contained in these autobiographies additional sources of information. There is no sustained or illuminating textual analysis, comparative or otherwise, that might distinguish Philipson's account and justify his featuring these texts.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem — Emily Miller Budick

THE FORM OF NEWS: A History. By Kevin G. Barnhurst and John Nerone. New York: The Guilford Press. 2001.

A project that began in the late 1980s as a study of newspaper design emerged as a more complex and intriguing work a decade later. Kevin G. Barnhurst and John Nerone have written a text that explores the position of newspapers in American culture from a unique perspective.

Most journalism history projects address the relationship between the news media and culture from the perspective of content by seeking to tie news narratives to cultural movements and changes. However, Barnhurst and Nerone explore the relationship based on the *form* adopted by newspapers.

Barnhurst and Nerone defined the form of a newspaper as its "persisting visible structure" (3). This structure includes traditional elements of newspaper presentation such as layout and typography. However, they included other elements such as the manner in which newspapers were illustrated and the genres of reporting featured in the papers to create an approach to form that goes beyond the traditional elements. Barnhurst and Nerone contend that this form "constructs the audience's field of vision" (7). In this manner, newspapers help map the social landscape for their readers.

This concept of newspapers constructing fields of vision provides the foundation for one of the important themes in the work. The authors contend that many scholars have long subscribed to a model in which newspapers "provide adequate, reliable information in a clear and transparent fashion" (2). This allows readers to play an informed role in a democratic society. However, Barnhurst and Nerone reject this model, instead describing newspapers as hegemonic tools, "deeply implicated in legitimating existing concentrations of power by making them seem simply obvious" (305). This approach echoes the earlier social work of Pierre Bourdieu and the application of that work to other media—especially television—by authors such as John Fiske, Andrea Press, Herman Gray and Mimi White.

The authors also contend that the form newspapers adopt reflect prevalent cultural trends. In other words, the density of the print, the number of columns on a page and the manner in which illustrations are used are tied to social conventions. They facilitate this discussion by assigning a "master metaphor" to each era they discuss. For example, Barnhurst and Nerone apply the metaphor of the department store to newspaper form during the industrial period of the late nineteenth century: "Both offered a range of goods and services to a range of customers. Both displayed their goods: the front page had become a crowded store window" (190).

A third theme is the authors' rejection of the widely held view that advancing technology has been the driving force behind changes in newspaper form. Rather, they describe technological changes in the publishing industry as "a tertiary force, providing the props and backdrops" while sociocultural factors such as economics and politics actually led to the adoption of different forms (111).

Some readers may take issue with Barnhurst and Nerone's marginalization of television news. The authors open themselves to such criticism by declaring that, "No one ever pretended that television has a necessary relationship to self-government" (25), and describing television journalists as "a lesser breed" (253) compared to their print counterparts. It may be time to retire such dusty condescension in the face of the struggle currently underway in both the industry and in the academy to adapt to the increasing convergence of media.

Despite this flaw, *The Form of News* offers a thought-provoking approach to the discussion of newspapers and their position in American culture. As such, it is useful both as history and as a starting point for exploring the future of newspapers in an electronic world.

Northwest Missouri State University — Douglas Sudhoff

RETURN PASSAGES: Great American Travel Writing, 1780-1910. By Larzer Ziff. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000.

Larzer Ziff has produced a work of major significance for students of travel literature, and of the American nineteenth century. *Return Passages* is an enlightening study of five American travel writers whose work, taken as an aggregate, constitutes the beginning and then the flourishing of an important tradition in American letters. The five include John Ledyard, the American who accompanied Cook on his final circumnavigation; John Lloyd Stephens, explorer of Panama and the Yucatan, whose *Incidents of Travel in Central America* Edgar Allan Poe called the best travel book ever written; Bayard Taylor, heartthrob poet of the antebellum years who largely invented the American cultural practice of touring Europe on a shoestring budget; Mark Twain, especially the later Twain of *Following the Equator*; and Henry James, in both his European travels and his late *American Scene*.

Ziff surveys these writers with a certain and judicious eye. He takes cognizance of the literary marketplace in which they worked. He considers their gaze upon the dark-skinned Others they encountered in their various itineraries. He is alert to how their texts are conditioned by one another in a literary tradition that came to be an increasingly self-conscious one. Steering clear of essentialisms of national character, Ziff identifies in the works of these travelers the evolution of what he considers a distinctly republican American sensibility through which the experience of travel was presented to an American readership. Finally, Ziff is alive to these writers as characterized sensibilities, and presents them winningly as such.

Ziff's attentiveness to the realities of the writers' marketplace is instructive. He recalls how Ledyard's 1783 petition to the Connecticut legislature for extended rights to the profits from his works became the basis for the earliest American copyright legislation. For Twain, much of whose later travel writing was done in the period of his terrible financial insolvency, Ziff describes the writer's being caught in a disheartening "cycle of travel leading to writing leading to lecturing, which, of course, involved further travel that led to further writing, and so forth." Henry James, always careful to get every bit of profit out of his travel sketches by publishing them first in periodicals and then collecting them in volumes, was according to Ziff "a great businessman of letters."

Since the publication of Pratt's *Imperial Eyes*, students of travel literature have been attuned to how eighteenth- and nineteenth-century works of travel naturalized the imperial project of Western culture, assigning Asian and African subjects a subordinate role in the narrative of the Western civilizing mission. While Ziff is aware of American travelers' complicity in writing this narrative, he claims an exceptional status for Ledyard, and especially for the Twain of *Following the Equator*. "The injustices of the prewar South were so constantly present to Twain as he traveled, especially in India and Africa, that he registered the value of the peoples whose lands he visited with a sympathy, indeed an advocacy, that was new to his travel writing."

Ziff says of the five writers he discusses that "in their works travel's capacity to compel personal self-definition leads to cultural self-awareness, a reevaluation of what in

American life may be exceptional and what common, what worthy and what reprehensible." One measure of the distinction of *Return Passages* is the clarity, under Ziff's scrutiny, with which his subject travelers are made to offer both personal and national self-definition.

Lake Forest College | Benjamin Goluboff

GEORGE PALMER PUTNAM: Representative American Publisher. By Ezra Greenspan. University Park: Penn State Press. 2000.

Under a deceptively bland title, Ezra Greenspan has written a meticulously-researched, elegant, important book, which should be read carefully by anyone interested in the hard work and imaginative commerce that went into creating American literary culture in the nineteenth century. It turns out that G. P. Putnam was anything but "representative": he was a pioneer in turning book publishing from a hand-press flea-market business in the 1830s into a respectable industry fifteen years later, capable of reaching a new landscape of potential readers; in his numerous trips to Britain and the Continent he was an effective lobbyist for the worth of American writers, and a crusader for sanity and fairness in international copyright agreements. He founded the first book trade journal in the United States; teaming up for a decade with John Wiley, and later with Evert Duyckinck, they created two literary series, a *Library of Choice Reading* and a *Library of American Books*, both of which provided the public with decent low-cost editions. At one time or another, the New York firm of Wiley and Putnam published much of the top talent of the age, including Fenimore Cooper, Catherine Maria Sedgwick, Carlyle, Hawthorne, Poe, Melville, Bayard Taylor, Washington Irving, John Frémont, Margaret Fuller, Thackeray, Hazlitt, Charles Dickens, and a host of others.

After a breakup with Wiley at the end of the 1840s, Putnam had an unexpected smash hit with Susan Warner's *The Wide, Wide World*, and he poured much of the windfall into a his new mass-market literary magazine, *Putnam's Monthly,* and the project for the *Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations*—New York Crystal Palace answer to Prince Albert's big show in Hyde Park. Putnam was really the Albert of the New York fair, and it cost him. The exhibition featured, among other things, a daily pageant of two fast steam-powered presses on the main floor, churning out the *Illustrated Record*, Putnam's official souvenir magazine, right in front of the admiring throngs. Like many such world's fairs, this one turned out to be a ponderous technological dream that lost a bundle and sapped Putnam's energies. The Panic of 1857 caught him and his company in a weakened state, and soon afterward the whole operation went into receivership. After the Civil War, Putnam recovered somewhat as a businessman, starting up *Putnam's Magazine* and another version of *Putnam's Monthly*, but both of these eventually withered in a steady hot wind of new low-priced national imprints. The American print revolution that Putnam had helped lead thirty years before swept him out of the way, and when he died of a heart attack in 1872 at the age of fifty-eight, G. P. Putnam and Sons was no longer a leader in a crowded media scene.

Greenspan is marvelous in describing the diplomacy of which Putnam was a master, his negotiations with British and American publishers and authors, agents, and government officials, his ground-breaking work to assure that royalty agreements survived across national borders. The information supplied here is prodigious yet gracefully presented; the index is a marvel of organization, making this a book that a serious scholar can consult in a flash. If one part of the story is overlooked amid this abundance, it is some account of the actual innovations that made Putnam and Wiley possible: what exactly

they were, and when they caught Putnam's eye, and how he made imaginative use of them. In several places, Greenspan tells us that Putnam was a man for details, enthusiastic for decisions about the quality of paper, typefaces, illustrations, and production techniques. The steam-powered Adams Press, the Hoe cylinder presses, all the new machines and tricks for making lithographs, embossing covers, folding and cutting pages, merging pictures into text—if this was the hard core of the Great Revolution in Publishing, it would be fascinating to see Putnam in action there too, riding and exploiting this wave of development. The story Greenspan tells, however, is a story eminently complete in itself, and a major contribution to American cultural history.

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign — Bruce Michelson

PUBLIC SENTIMENTS: Structures of Feeling in Nineteenth Century American Literature. By Glenn Hendler. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001.

Glenn Hendler proposes that "sympathy in the nineteenth century was a paradigmatically public sentiment" rather than "primarily privatizing emotional exchange between reader, text, and author" (12). *Public Sentiments* therefore takes issue, in modest ways, with assumptions that Hendler finds operative in recent commentary on the sentimental tradition in American literature and culture. With an analytic process adapted primarily from Habermas and tinctured with Althusser, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Lacan, and a drop or two of Jane Tompkins, Hendler sets out to reveal how "public sphere" discourse valorized feeling, and how Sympathy was transmogrified into performance. Focusing first on the Washingtonian Temperance Society in the 1840s and the African American activist and politician Samuel Delany around the same time, the study later engages with texts published as much as forty and fifty years after, including William Dean Howells's *A Boy's Town* and Henry James's *The Tragic Muse,* both of which date from the nineties.

Though the American novel in the waning century was buffeted with many other values and ideologies than antebellum sentimentalism, *Public Sentiments* stays the course, finding a similar pattern each time without fail: in narratives which present Men Feeling or overwhelmed by sympathy, conventional descriptions of masculinity and racial identity are transgressed and distorted, revealing an "identificatory dynamic in which the characters—and by extension, the novel's audience—are implicated" (26). On this thesis the book bears down hard: Temperance Society descriptions of red-faced drunkards are presented as a critique or complication of racial whiteness; Tom Sawyer, who in his own novel is about eight years old, and whose book-learned posturing as a grown-up Romantic hero makes for much of the novel's comedy, is seen as entangled in "the constitutive multiplicity of boyhood character and the contingency of the boy's accession to adulthood. . . ." (193). When Tom confesses to tearing Mr. Dobbins's anatomy book (covering for Becky Thatcher) and takes a thrashing from the schoolmaster, the savvy reader witnesses "the eroticized disintegration of the boy's body" (204). How Tom bounces back so quickly to his happy superficial self after such traumatic sexual abuse, *Public Sentiments* doesn't quite say. There are also discussions of Fanny Fern, Nathaniel Willis, Louisa May Alcott, and Maria Cummins; and a chapter on the career and novels of Horatio Alger, concluding that these didactic fables enact "a crisis of identity, evidence of one contradiction in the novels' construction of masculine publicity" (96).

Though *Public Sentiments* is brief, it tries to cover ground, and readers may appreciate its tour of some lesser-known nineteenth century public controversies and careers. However, when the analysis engages with canonical texts it can lose credibility, because

of evasive and weakly-supported generalizing, insufficient attention to other available scholarship, and troubles with copy-editing. The Mark Twain chapter, for example, which seems largely unaware of commentary fresher than 1970, asserts that " . . . strains of audience-oriented masculinity persist throughout Twain's works, from the western humor of the 'Jumping Frog' sketches through virtually all the characters in a work like *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and even to the later writings" (185). Ignoring the bigger evasions here—which other works by Twain are "like" *Huckleberry Finn*, and which of the myriad "later writings" fit the pattern—let's recall some characters that Huck encounters. Mary Jane and Joanna Wilks, Silas and Aunt Sally Phelps, Boggs's daughter, The Widow Douglas, Judge Thatcher, Miss Watson: in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (there is no *The* in the title, by the way) how are such people to be covered by this summation, unless it is watered down and applied with force? Meanwhile, though the allusion to the "'Jumping Frog' sketches' isn't backed by any citation or discussion in the notes, the index of *Public Sentiments* does list one tale, supposedly called "The Legendary Jumping Frog of Calaveras County." Legendary indeed: in reliable collections and bibliographies of Mark Twain's works, nothing with that name turns up.

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Bruce Michelson

MERRY CHRISTMAS!: Celebrating America's Greatest Holiday. By Karal Ann Marling. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000.

Given the recent spate of scholarly studies of Christmas, it would seem that there could not possibly be anything new to say. Karal Ann Marling points out, however, that scholars have neglected the material culture of Christmas, which, she contends, "is the heart and soul . . . of the holiday" (xi). To rectify this omission, she examines an encyclopedic array of Christmas things, including wrapping paper, trees, lights, ornaments, holly, Santa Claus, display windows, food, ceramic villages, greeting cards, gifts, and films. Marling's concentration on material culture allows her to offer fresh glimpses into Christmas. We learn, for example, that efforts to professionalize seasonal Santas led to the creation of Santa Claus Schools, and that the giant Macy's balloons were the brainchild of puppet master and window decorator Tony Sarg. Marling firmly positions Santa Claus as a relative latecomer to the nineteenth-century domestic Christmas, which was instead "anchored by the symbol of the decorated tree" (173). Although she acknowledges the contributions of Washington Irving, Clement Moore, and Thomas Nast, she suggests that it was early twentieth-century advertisers and *Saturday Evening Post* covers that created the archetypal American Santa Claus.

Marling's most original contributions are her chapters on gift wrap and department store windows. In the former she challenges the conventional argument that the purpose of wrapping is to disguise the commercial nature of the gift. She contends that wrapping became popular because it lent an element of surprise and mystery to the gift, and expressed the indulgence and extravagance Americans came to associate with Christmas. Marling also takes issue with the common assumption that nineteenth-century gifts were "modest, homemade offerings," arguing that "the vast majority of gifts were purchased" (9) as early as the 1870s. In the latter chapter she explores the heyday of the show window, which coincided with that of the downtown department store. Marling persuasively interprets the windows as a combination of secular art, entertainment, enchanted space, and marketing tool.

Although she demonstrates that the window displays were overwhelmingly secular, Marling's neglect of religious material culture is striking. She gives little consideration to

Advent calendars, nativity scenes, or tree-topping angels, to list just a few examples. Also problematic is Marling's treatment of the celebrations of African Americans in the rather unfortunately titled chapter, "Somebody Else's Christmas." She charts the change in magazine illustrations of southern celebrations from the racist stereotypes of the post-bellum era to the condescending exoticism of the "distinctly Black Christmas" (261) created by more sympathetic white artists in the late nineteenth century. But nowhere does Marling move beyond these white stereotypes to shed any light on how African Americans, in the South and elsewhere, actually celebrated. Although she devotes two paragraphs to Kwanzaa, which she interprets as "a commentary on [Christmas]" (280), the reader is left wondering to what extent African Americans embraced the Christmas culture she describes.

Despite these omissions, Marling clearly establishes the importance of material culture to the American Christmas. She leaves it to others, however, to address how far beyond the white middle class that culture spread.

State University of New York College at Fredonia — Ellen M. Litwicki

HOLY DAY, HOLIDAY: The American Sunday. By Alexis McCrossen. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000.

Alexis McCrossen's book is both a contribution to American religious history and a significant entry in a newly emerging field of scholarship, the history of the measurement and employment of time. Michael O'Malley's *Keeping Watch: A History of American Time* (Viking, 1990) remains the only attempt at a comprehensive history of timekeeping in America, but subsequent scholars, most notably Mark M. Smith and Ian Bartky, have provided outstanding insight into more specific aspects of the history of time in this country. As a group, these studies have focused primarily on the development of clock time—the measured, regulated, and, as Bartky shows, commodified form of time that emerged in the nineteenth century along with capitalism and the market economy. Consequently, the history of American time has been portrayed largely in terms of a transition from a more natural and more religious experience of time in the eighteenth century to a more modern and secular experience in the nineteenth century and after.

McCrossen takes a different tack, focusing instead on the different meanings invested in an especially important day of the week—Sunday—and thereby discovering that religious conceptions of time remained important throughout the "long nineteenth century," the primary period of her study. Her title is not meant to imply a transition from Sunday as "holy day" to Sunday as secular "holiday," but rather to suggest an ongoing, shifting negotiation of these two possible ways of thinking about a day of rest. Indeed, the definition of "rest" itself was under pressure from the economic transformations that shaped American life in the century, and McCrossen shows the connection between debates over the proper employment of Sunday and a host of important issues related to how the other six days of the week—the days of work—were spent in an increasingly market-oriented society.

The Sabbatarian organizations that sprang up in the first half of the nineteenth century generally opposed any use of the Sabbath beyond "public worship and private meditation." Sabbatarians fought a variety of battles against the movement of the federal mails on Sunday and the use of Sunday for leisure activities, including the enjoyment of "saloons, excursions, newpapers, museums, baseball, motion pictures, radio, and dancing," among other activities. Needless to say, this rigid definition of Sunday as biblical

Sabbath met determined resistance in many quarters, and anti-Sabbatarian societies were formed in opposition. While most Christians agreed that Sunday was the proper day for worship, not all were committed to defining Sunday as the biblical Sabbath of the fourth commandment or to defining "rest" in such rigid terms. Immigrants from countries such as Germany, where Sunday was a day for festive social activities, resented efforts to stamp out the "Continental Sabbath." Unitarians promoted the integration of personally improving leisure activities into a Christian life that the strict Sabbatarians divided exclusively between work and rest. These groups and others who eschewed Sabbatarianism were, for the most part, not anti-religious; rather, they had different conceptions of what it might mean for a certain portion of time to be set aside from a work week that increasingly emphasized an instrumentalist efficiency and an equivalence between time and money. Anti-Sabbatarians portrayed self-improvement and recreation as legitimate and even laudable uses for the Lord's day, uses that provided a salutary balance to the devotion of time to the pursuit of financial gain during the work week.

By late century, yet another way of formulating the issue had emerged: Sunday as a day of "culture." In 1881, residents of New York City began a campaign to open the Metropolitan Museum of Art on Sundays, and a decade later this goal was realized. Other museums of art and natural history across the country, many newly created, also began to offer Sunday hours during these decades. The movement for a Sunday of "cultural" activities grew out of earlier notions of self-culture and leisure but repackaged them in a way that seemed especially consonant with late-century sensibilities. As American life became more and more compartmentalized in terms of how time was employed during the day and week, the idea of an entire family spending a single day together visiting a museum or attending a concert came to seem appealingly moral and hygienic. Scientific and medical justifications of the employment of Sunday for leisure and cultural activities also emerged, and the notion spread that men who spent Sunday in such healthful, restorative activities with their families would be more productive workers during the remainder of the week. There was a class dimension to this movement as well. Since Sunday was the only day off from work for many Americans, making Sunday into a day of culture made the acquisition of culture itself available to classes of people who had never before had access to it. Those who favored opening museums and other cultural venues on Sunday held that it would improve the working classes and hence improve the moral soundness of American society as a whole.

The story is fascinating and contains endless sub-plots and opportunities for further study. Indeed, if one were to criticize this book it might well be on the grounds that it sometimes does not follow up on all of the interesting angles on the problem that it suggests. McCrossen announces that the "American Sunday is best understood within an Anglo-American context, with roots in both Puritan and Anglican traditions," and that the nineteenth century is the crucial period in which the meaning of Sunday was debated. These ways of delimiting the scope of the project seem rather arbitrary, albeit quite practical from an authorial perspective. McCrossen does pay some attention to the presence of Jews, Catholics, and other minority religious groups, as well as to dissenting Protestant sects such as Seventh Day Adventists, but much more could certainly have been written in this area. In addition, there does not seem to be any reason to assume that the meaning of Sunday did not continue to be contested just as hotly in the twentieth century. In the end, though, these quibbles only attest to the richness of the topic and McCrossen's treatment of it.

University of Richmond — Thomas M. Allen

WHITEBREAD PROTESTANTS: Food and Religion in American Culture. By Daniel Sack. New York: St. Martin's Press. 2000.

Daniel Sack has written an unusual and intriguing book that uses food as a cultural lens to discuss a variety of important issues in social history. Sometimes his juxtaposition of subjects is jarring, but, in general, a lucid narrative leads the reader effortlessly through scholarly topics as varied as feeding the congregation to the role of churches in feeding the hungry world. Its archival research relies heavily upon Sunday school curricula, denominational resolutions, and church newsletters. The author is an associate director of the Material History of American Religion Project, based at Vanderbilt University's Divinity School.

Readers should pay attention to the restrictions implied in the book's title, for this history is about mainline Protestants and the white majorities within those denominations. It contains five thematic chapters, which are enhanced by extensive notes and by twenty black-and-white photographs, many taken by the author. The first and longest chapter concerns two conflicts over the sacrament of communion: the use of wine versus grape juice and of a common chalice versus individual cups. Readers will appreciate the well-documented discussion of the crusade against wine by temperance-minded women and against the common cup by physicians recently influenced by germ theory.

Potlucks and other such church social occasions as they occur at St. Pauls Evangelical and Reformed Church in the Lincoln Park neighborhood of Chicago are the foci of a second chapter. This discussion, essentially a local history, is especially good at explicating masculine versus feminine food and other gender roles within the church. This case study of social change, although interesting, does not appear to be representative. St. Pauls is a wealthy, German-heritage congregation in a now gentrified part of Chicago. Contrasting congregations in other parts of the country would add balance.

For chapter three, the writer relies upon a series of ethnographic case studies in Atlanta, Georgia, to explore ministerial programs for the homeless and poor such as soup kitchens and food banks. Then, in chapter four, comes a discussion of church roles in the politics of global hunger. Beyond Church World Services and CROP (Christian Rural Overseas Program), we are told of many other emergency response agencies. The argument is unusually detailed here, and the complex shifts in policy within churches make for difficult reading.

Finally, socially conscious individual behavior is the focus of a weak fifth chapter about two movements that urged people to eat in particularly "Christian" ways. One of these, the nineteenth-century diet reform movement led by Graham, Kellogg, and WCTU seems unnecessary because it has been documented elsewhere. The other, a review of church-advocated diets in the 1970s and early 1980s to eat less meat to lessen world hunger seems out of place in this book. I would have recommended instead some thoughts about the morality of food globalization.

University of Kansas Barbara G. Shortridge

THE BODY OF RAPHAELLE PEALE: Still Life and Selfhood, 1812-1824. By Alexander Nemerov. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2001.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, when still life was yet considered a lowly, intellectually mute genre, Raphaelle Peale (1774-1825) established himself as the first professional still life painter in the United States. During his relatively short life, he

painted over one hundred still lifes, about fifty of which survive. They are small, spare, haunting paintings, elegantly composed and exquisitely crafted. In one, a cane of ripe, pendant blackberries lies across a shallow bowl; in another a slab of raw steak reposes with carrots and a head of cabbage on a bare counter.

In recent years, scholars have offered varied interpretations of these images. They have situated them within the republican impulse of the early national period, with Peale cast as an American rebel overturning established European hierarchies in his embrace of a disparaged genre. Alternatively, they have described them as morally charged images, expressing tensions between self-indulgence and self-restraint. More often they have cast them as responses, in various ways, to the painter's deeply troubled personal life, especially his strained, even tormented, relationship with his artist father Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827). While Nemerov touches on all of these topics in subtle and sometimes unexpected ways, what interests him most about the paintings is their "uncanniness," their "silences," and their stubborn resistance to rationalizing interpretation.

Employing a phenomenological approach, Nemerov explores the emphatic physicality of Peale's objects, their weight and density, the ways they touch each other, and the ways they touch us. He is centrally concerned with their phenomenological qualities of embodiedness, arguing that Peale's paintings "simulate the artist's own physical presence projected into the objects of perception." Through sensitive and often poignant analyses of the paintings, Nemerov makes the case that what we confront in these pictures is the artist's projection of his own "refused and failed selfhood," his "nonidentity." In this annihilation of self, Peale seems to have found both a pleasurable escape from the "whole socialized world of self" and a painful confrontation with his own social marginalization and, perhaps, death. Nemerov associates these alternate responses with what he describes as Peale's two major types of still lifes: benevolent images such as those of sparkling blackberries and gleaming lemons, and malevolent images of flaccid meat and rotting melons.

At the same time that Nemerov focuses intently on the particularities of Peale's still lifes, he also historicizes both the artist's concern with selfhood and his pictorial language, creating a richly textured picture of the visual and intellectual culture of early nineteenth-century Philadelphia, where the paintings were produced. Nemerov describes the tensions between two competing models of selfhood in the early national period (the virtuous republican and the possessive individual—both, it seems, rejected by Peale). He relates Peale's imagery to new models of scientific representation and to a new anatomically-oriented medical discourse. Peale's meat paintings are even illuminated through a history of Philadelphia butchery.

The Body of Raphaelle Peale is an extraordinarily generous book, generous toward its subject and generous toward its readers. Nemerov's nuanced prose gives eloquent voice to the silences of Peale's art, enhancing rather than diminishing the elusive, mysterious qualities of the paintings.

Wellesley College Rebecca Bedell

LITERATURE AND HUMANITARIAN REFORM IN THE CIVIL WAR ERA. By Gregory Eiselein. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1996.

In *Literature and Humanitarian Reform in the Civil War Era*, Gregory Eiselein presents a literary history of humanitarianism as it developed and was contested in the nineteenth century. He situates the reception of John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry, Harriet

Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861), poetry by Whitman, stories by Louisa May Alcott, non-fiction prose by Lydia Maria Child, and Thoreau's *Main Woods* (1864) within the historical context of debates about moral reform in areas of antislavery, sanitarian reform, and indian relations. Eiselein's larger purpose is to trace the emergence of "eccentric humantarianism" that challenged conventional modes of benevolence in the northern United States. Like many scholars over the last three decades, Eiselein characterizes that benevolence as coercive and paternalistic in its orientation to protestant, middle-class values. By contrast, Whitman and Alcott's experience with Civil War hospitals allowed them to explore more egalitarian relationships with wounded soldiers, and to critique the infantilizing efforts of the Christian Commission and the U.S. Sanitary Commission. So too, Harriet Jacob's "subversive" style sought to undo the repressive "patient/agent hierarchy" endemic to the rhetoric of white abolitionists and so many other regimes of benevolence.

Despite its interesting insights and important questions, *Humanitarian Reform* generally leaves the specific link between text and cultural context undeveloped, if not neglected. How and why does literature matter to the development of humanitarianism in nineteenth-century America? The politically radical achievement of sentimental literature in the nineteenth century was, as Phil Fisher has put it, "the extension of full and complete humanity to classes of figures from whom it has been socially withheld" (*Hard Facts*, 1985:99). Then, as now, humanity was in the eye of the beholder, and it was a matter of feeling. It entailed a recognition of moral worth that depended finally not on any categorical imperative or universal principle but on the capacity to feel sympathy for people who were different from one's self. How did the mass production of literary sentiment among a northern, Protestant middle-class make this revolution in feeling at once possible but also partial?

Eiselein's book is most impressive in the third chapter, which explores the cluster of poems that Whitman produced in the immediate response to Lincoln's assassination. It integrates detailed analysis of the material form and stylistic strategies of "When Lilacs Last in the Door-yard Bloom'd" with the cultural context of domestic consolation literature, demonstrating how a literary text not only represents ideas about mourning, but also how it can function itself as a humanitarian gesture. Elsewhere, Eiselein's argument proves unwieldy, collapsing disparate contexts and complex episodes of reform into a schematic and predictable dominance/resistance model of culture; it improbably isolates and valorizes as "eccentric" work that, for all its originality, was written with tools and ideas of the middle-class culture it criticized. So too, the book too often confines its analysis to "discourse" rather than taking up in greater depth the connections among institutions, practices, and values that both facilitated and diminished the extension of middle-class sympathies. Despite some eloquent writing about Whitman, and an impassioned and timely conclusion concerned with academic activism and AIDS, Eiselein's prose is often slowed by peculiar abstractions and clumsy phrasing (the preference for "altruize" as a verb, for instance).

Like Eiselein, most contemporary scholars over the last few decades have faulted nineteenth-century humanitarianism for its commitment to a liberal, progressive ideal of "civilization." That ideal is now at odds with the modern pluralistic, anthropological concept of culture, but it surely continues to hold sway among Christian fundamentalists, officers of the World Bank, and so many others outside the academy. For that reason, the question that Lydia Maria Child asked in relation to indian reform—"How ought we to view the peoples who are less advanced than ourselves?"—has become more press-

ing, as globalization and twentieth century media have made international realities of social inequity and cultural difference available to average Americans. In the nineteenth century, it was only a vanguard of reformers in the North who even bothered to ask such a question. Like many citizens today, many middle-class people then did not even realize that their perception of those different from themselves was complicit in the persecution of entire populations. Humanitarianism can only matter if it restrains in some way the otherwise brutal exercise of power, when it makes a feeling for difference a practical force for compassion and moderation.

University of Minnesota | Thomas Augst

THE LINCOLN IMAGE: Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print. By Harold Holzer, Gabor S. Boritt, and Mark E. Neely, Jr. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 2001.

During the Kennedy-Nixon presidential contest of 1960, Americans became aware of the importance of images in a dramatic fashion. In the first televised debate between the candidates, Kennedy looked confident, energetic, and at his ease. Nixon, on the other hand, sweating profusely through his five o'clock shadow, was the very picture of the shifty, not-to-be-trusted politician. When it was all over, many analysts credited Kennedy's victory to that unforgettable contrast in appearances.

The Lincoln Image traces the phenomenon back to the 1860 campaign, when the national understanding of the character and ideological stance of an obscure Illinois lawyer was based largely on images: caricatures, photographs, engravings after photos, and hand-colored lithographs, some of which were enhanced by the addition of props and emblematic motifs. Lincoln, the Man of the West, emerged from this welter of imagery rawboned, homely, surrounded by the tools of the railsplitter and the flatboatman. The Mathew Brady studio and Currier & Ives turned Lincoln pictures into a cottage industry at a time when appearances counted for a great deal.

Some sympathetic artists softened the rough-hewn edges of the candidate, made him a little less freakishly tall, a little more polished in costume and demeanor. Painters dispatched to Illinois to provide models for the printers variously ruffled his hair and lightened the shadows around his eyes until, by the time of the election, he began to look almost handsome—or at least presidential. The transformation was complete when, in response to a letter of complaint from the eleven year-old Grace Bedell of upstate New York, Lincoln grew whiskers in his fifty-second year to enhance his appearance with the electorate.

Miss Bedell was inspired to write by a campaign lithograph. "You would look a great deal better," with a beard, she argued, "for your face is so thin. All the ladies like whiskers and they would tease their husband's [*sic*] to vote for you and then you would be President." "Grace Bedell's precise influence on Lincoln is unclear," state the authors of *The Lincoln Image*, "but the poster's influence on *her* is indisputable, and indicative of the importance such images held for the picture-hungry society of the 1860s" (73).

The Lincoln Image was first published in 1984. This new edition is most welcome because the book was a major source of inspiration for what would become today's fascination with the mechanisms of popular art and culture. Written in a clear, straightforward style with careful attention to the contents of the pictorial evidence introduced, *The Lincoln Image* remains a model of how to study the interactions of art and society—not by using pictures to illustrate ideas but by deriving information and enlightenment from the pictures themselves. This is a knack many American studies and cultural studies

scholars have not begun to master, nearly twenty years after this groundbreaking study appeared. *The Lincoln Image* belonged on our bookshelves in 1984; if it isn't there already, 2002 and this splendid edition give us all a second chance.

University of Minnesota Karal Ann Marling

HOW WOMEN SAVED THE CITY. By Daphne Spain. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001.

In *How Women Saved the City*, Daphne Spain sets out to bridge the gap between the "spatial disciplines" of design, geography and urban planning and the "aspatial" disciplines of sociology and history (29). At this nexus, she places women volunteers and their work in transforming American cities from the Civil War to World War I. When rapid industrialization, massive immigration and migration threatened the social order during this period, women's voluntary efforts assuaged this threat and allowed the city to accommodate such rapid change.

Spain charts these efforts by examining women's organizational work in "redemptive spaces"—settlement houses, public baths, and the homes of organizations like the Salvation Army, the National Association of Colored Women and the Young Women's Christian Association. Mostly middle-class women drew from secular and religious ideologies to justify their entrance into these organizations' campaigns for municipal housekeeping. These campaigns sought to better the lives of urban residents, often targeting women specifically. The significance of these spaces cannot be overestimated, as Spain writes: "Bringing volunteers and their [working-class] clients into contact spatially made redemptive places an important link in the transformation of the social and physical fabric of cities" (122).

Many contemporary Progressive Era historians have studied this transformation in depth, and U.S. women's historians have studied the lives and organizations of Progressive women reformers and their clients; much of Spain's work, then, is synthetic. While her work is useful and her evidence geographically diverse (straying beyond New York and Chicago), her strongest sections are those that tread some new ground, recovering the lives and locations of little-known individuals. Jane Edna Hunter is one example: an African American woman originally from South Carolina, she founded the Working Girls' Home Association in Cleveland, Ohio. Spain's far-reaching sample of women like Hunter and their institutions is another of the book's strengths, as she lays out the strands of the web of redemptive places in which women saved the cities.

A discussion of the complicated nature of this "saving," however, is absent from the book. While Spain notes early on the "assimilation" and "abeyance" taking place in redemptive spaces, she rarely mentions these forces at work in the institutions she studies (26-27). She offers a rich analysis of the racist segregation of urban services, but she largely neglects the class-based assumptions behind women's volunteerism. Whose redemption occurred in these places, and what was the cost of these transformations?

And while other studies have informed us of how women's municipal housekeeping campaigns paved the way for government welfare policies (a narrative retold here), Spain stops short of explaining in a comprehensive way how redemptive places changed the physical landscape of urban spaces. The interesting maps, photographs and floorplans that accompany the text are not analyzed sufficiently to offer profound insights on how settlement houses and other such places were integrated into municipal living, planning and politics. Just how many of these institutions had the experience of Hunter in Cleve-

land, where the city's unqualified and crucial support came in the form of "the largest single cash" donation (158)? What did that support mean to women volunteers, their work and their buildings?

Overall, *How Women Saved the City* offers an interesting synthesis, a comprehensive overview of a crucial era of women's municipal reform work with new emphasis on the role of place. In this way, Spain has succeeded in placing women volunteers and their institutions on the maps of America's cities one century ago.

Babson College — Marjorie N. Feld

CONTESTED TERRITORY: Whites, Native Americans and African Americans in Oklahoma, 1865-1907. By Murray R. Wickett. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2000.

Professor Wickett has given us a pathbreaking study of multiracial relations in Oklahoma Territory after the Civil War. His examination of the relationships between American Indians, Blacks and Euroamericans makes for interesting and informative reading. Wickett asserts that since Oklahoma was a federal territory in the late-nineteenth century, it provided policymakers with a unique chance to establish racial policies free from state laws and other interferences. Because of such unique circumstances, Wickett believes that historians ". . . can distinguish the differences in racial policies aimed at Native Americans and African Americans" (xi). Furthermore, the author believes that his study will demonstrate that Washington policymakers had very different perspectives on the roles of Blacks and American Indians in American society. Wickett contends that Euroamericans "... discouraged in African Americans the very ideals and values they so ardently attempted to instill in Native Americans" (xi). The author believes that American policymakers in the late-nineteenth century wanted to assimilate Native people into American society while furthering segregation for Blacks.

With this paradox in mind, the author takes us from the end of the removal period to Oklahoma statehood. Along the way, the evolution of race codes, Indian sovereignty issues, education, labor relations, legal issues, and the politics of race become the venues for his study. All in all, we get a good survey of the dynamics of Oklahoma as a multiracial state. According to Wickett, Whites were on top, then Indians and lastly Blacks in the racial pecking order that was established in Oklahoma.

All in all, this is an excellent and much needed study that transcends the usual biracial approaches to race in America (White and Native, Native and Black, etc.) and the author has thoroughly researched the topic in the appropriate historical archives and depositories. The reviewer would have appreciated this book even more if the author had utilized more social science theory in interpreting race relations in Oklahoma. We find little about multiple structures of oppression and domination in his discourse, and we have little discussion of the economic motives behind manipulations relating to Indian land confiscation and maintaining cheap African American labor in the Post Civil War era. The author's failure to consult the works of Black western historians like Quintard Taylor might explain some of these problems.

Despite this critique, I found the work to be a significant contribution to the history of American race relations, and I feel the book's merits far outweigh its weaknesses. Essentially, this book challenges many assumptions, issues and dilemmas about the study of race in America. Thus, it is a necessary step to a more complex understanding of this perplexing contemporary and historical topic.

University of Vermont — Donald A. Grinde, Jr.

ROOTS OF REFORM: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877-1917. By Elizabeth Sanders. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999.

Prior to the paradigm shift occasioned by the 1970s explosion of social history and its various sub-fields, political history dominated the narratives of U.S. history. Well into the 1990s, it was relegated to the back benches of historical investigation. In the second half of the last decade, however, there has been a return to the pursuit of political history, although it is now much more integrated with social, women's, African American, and ethnic history than it was a decade ago. At the same time, the juxtaposition of "history from the bottom up" as an alternative to "history from the top down" has faded in favor of a more "interactive" approach. This is the intellectual context for Elizabeth Sanders' *Roots of Reform*, which follows a political spine, but wraps it with flesh not only from social history, but also from geography and sociology.

Sanders returns to themes long investigated by U.S. historians—the emergence of the interventionist state, the rise and fall of Populism, the class character of Progressivism, the political orientation of Wilsonian democracy, and the emergence of the American empire. In doing so, she draws from, engages, and critiques a substantial body of historical scholarship, much of it from the 1970s and 1980s, while she mines congressional records for details on motions, resolutions, bills, and votes.

Although at times the reader feels overwhelmed with details, Sanders' eagerness to express her own hypotheses and argument serve as frequent reminders of the purpose of all this detail. She pulls no punches in making her points. Her central concern is to document the influence of agrarian movements in shaping the interventionist state that emerged in the first two decades of the twentieth century. She also makes a number of related points: that discontented farmers reached out time and again to a poorly organized, often disinterested, and ultimately ineffectual labor movement; that regional economic geography shaped the formation and dissolution of political coalitions over this forty-year period; that Progressivism was a direct descendant of Populism; that farmers, typically understood as the quintessential antistatists in American political culture, came, largely for economic reasons and through political pragmatism, to advocate for an interventionist state; and that the interventionist state of the 1930s grew out of, rather than against the grain of, American political culture. There is no denying that *Roots of Reform* rests on an ambitious intellectual agenda.

Does Sanders provide convincing arguments and evidence for all of these points? For some, such as the intellectual adaptation of farmers to interventionist government or the continuities between Populism and Progressivism, she makes a strong case. But, in other areas, this reviewer has his doubts. For instance, Sanders constructs federal legislation as the focal point of "politics." At a few key points, she recognizes the power of the courts, such as their diminution of the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the executive branch, such as its failure to apply the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. That these other branches of federal government could drastically limit the scope of legislation does not shake Sanders' faith in her framework, which places Congress in the spotlight. She then devotes the lion's share of her presentation to analyzing the influence of particular regions (South, Midwest, etc.) and socio-economic groups (farmers, workers, etc.) in shaping legislation, which she then reads as definitive in the making of the interventionist state. Similarly, within the scope of "politics," Sanders focuses on the dominant national electoral apparatus, factoring out disenfranchised African Americans, unenfranchised women and new immigrants, and dissident socio-political movements such

as the Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist Party. Likewise, she pays little attention to state-level political and social movements. While all these organizations and movements might have been marginal to the national electoral process, they were important influences on political discourse and institutional change.

Roots of Reform is certain to make an impact on the construction of American political history. But it is also unlikely to be the last word.

Macalester College Peter Rachleff

THE DEAN OF AMERICAN LETTERS: The Late Career of William Dean Howells. By John W. Crowley. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1999.

This trim volume of 110 pages (plus notes) completes a trilogy of sorts that Professor Crowley has devoted to William Dean Howells. In this last installment, Crowley arrives at in some ways the most curious but least appealing phase of his story: the perilous foregrounding and eventual dismemberment of "The Dean's" canonical status in the twentieth century. He is concerned, then, not with "realities" but with perceptions, the manufacturing of Howells's peculiar cultural authority and the vicissitudes of reputation to which his inflated visibility in the world of letters subjected him. "The monumentalized Dean was," Crowley asserts, "an early manifestation of the commodification of the literary marketplace that has governed American letters throughout the twentieth century" (3).

Howells was, of course, the most unlikely of celebrities. His whole career testified to the virtues of plainness and the attractions of the ordinary. For most of his publishing life, Howells appeared before the public in modest dress. In deliberate contrast to the roll call of New England worthies whose title-pages broadcast their sonorously triple-barreled names—Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow—while simultaneously affirming their cultural worth, W. D. Howells used *that* abbreviated appellation on almost all the titles he published during his lifetime. He only became "William Dean Howells" through a campaign of cultural inflation, largely inspired by the public relations department of Harper & Brothers, the firm with which he was uninterruptedly affiliated after 1900. The capstone of their efforts, ironically, was an extraliterary event—a birthday party—an invitation to which even the President of the United States felt obliged to honor. Hundreds of others did, too, and newspapers across the country filled their columns with stories and panoramic photographs of the luxurious spread. But to Howells, inwardly, it was all cruelly false, an exaggerated and ill-timed tribute. One of W. D.'s saving graces, surely, was his ability to understand and even to accept the grim fate that awaited his posthumous career. As he told Henry James in 1915 (just three years after the Harper shindig), "I am comparatively a dead cult with my statues cast down and the grass growing over them in the pale moonlight."

Crowley's astute analysis of that reversal of fortune centers on a sustained critical reading of one of Howells's most telling essays, "The Man of Letters as a Man of Business," first published serially in 1893. No other student of Howells has so thoughtfully explored the contradictions suggested by that title, especially as they reflect the conflicting estimates of the author's self worth. In spite of the essay's humble forms of advocacy, Crowley remarks, "Howells knew he was not truly representative of literary labor; singular success made him shamefully different" (42). That same success made him a conspicuous target for the self-consciously modern writers who were coming to the fore

during the twilight of Howells's public career. Gertrude Atherton, H. L. Mencken, Van Wyck Brooks, and (most notoriously) Sinclair Lewis all heaped scorn upon "The Dean's" bibliographically bloated corpse; but by giving them, in effect, the last word in the book, Crowley does not even attempt to answer the frequently false and misguided judgments they rendered. His final pages are laced with quotations by now familiarly damning—such as Lewis's misogynist quip about tea at the vicarage. The moderns' derogation of Howells's supposed timidity and repressive narrative control could have been balanced with at least a retrospective glance at *A Modern Instance* or *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, but Crowley seems content to let Howells suffer the fate that his unfaithful disciples shaped for him.

Pennsylvania State University Michael Anesko

REVOLUTIONARY MEMORY: Recovering the Poetry of the American Left. By Cary Nelson. New York: Routledge. 2001.

Cary Nelson is one busy guy. Since the publication of his groundbreaking *Repression and Recovery: Modern American Poetry and the Politics of Cultural Memory, 1910-1945* (1989), he's fought culture wars, collected literature of the Spanish Civil War, and edited the monumental *Anthology of Modern American Poetry* (2000). And, as *Revolutionary Memory* shows, Nelson has also continued his work as a literary historian; the result is a book that is important to anyone interested in modern U.S. literature or in the pre-1960s U.S. left. *Repression and Recovery* was intentionally essayistic and peripatetic; the goal was to make forgotten poets visible to a new generation of readers. In this new book, Nelson develops a theory for reading revolutionary poetry, namely, that it must be read as part of an enormous dialogue and intertext rather than as the utterances of isolated individuals. Moreover, he identifies 1936 as marking a shift in both style and politics, from a formally and politically heterogeneous anti-capitalist poetry to a more "echolailic" Popular Front poetry focused on the conflict in Spain.

The first part, "Modern Poems We Have Wanted to Forget," is a sort of reprise of *Repression and Recovery*, a fascinating tour of little known, often ephemeral poetry from 1890 thru 1960. Nelson's personal collection of books, broadsides, posters, songsheets, and holographs has grown tremendously since 1989, and much of this material is included, often reproduced as illustrations. Arturo Giovannitti's "Te Deum of Labor" is here, taken from a 1934 union commemorative volume (decades after the author's celebrated show trial), as well as a 1948 right-wing smear sheet against Langston Hughes ("'HATE CHRIST' Is the Slogan of the Communists") that reprints his poem "Goodbye, Christ." Nelson ends the chapter with a rich and detailed reading of Hughes' poem "Christ in Alabama."

The second part, on the poetry of Edwin Rolfe, is a fine account of the life and work of the poet Nelson has spent the most time on. He divides the poet's career into three periods: the Great Depression, the poet's Spanish War experience, and the McCarthy period, during which the unrepentant leftist was arguably hounded to death. Rolfe's poetry, argues Nelson, is a good example of how poetry, for left poets, becomes "the place where personal experience is to be transmuted into epiphanic historical testimony" (102), and where "lyricism could be marshaled for collective aims" (223).

But it is in the final two sections that Nelson fleshes out his thesis on the collective nature of voice in left poetry, even assembling "poetry choruses," sort of found poems composed of verses by many poets active in the 1930s, 40s, and 50s. These choruses are

arguably the heart of the book, the place where Nelson cogently *demonstrates* the thesis he has been expounding, that this poetry is "a collaborative, dialogic enterprise, a form of writing carried out by individuals responding to one another's work and in the service of shared but contested cultural aims" (154). In the case of the Spanish Civil War poetry, this dialogism extends beyond borders and challenges the notion of an American national literature—in a manner quite different than that of the right-wing modernists.

Sometimes I was left wanting more. Nelson's project is fundamentally evaluative. So are there *bad* leftist poets of the 1930s, and if so, who and why? Is revolutionary poetry only a memory, or is there a specific connection to our poetic present? How were splits within the left reflecting in the poetry? Fred Lutz' first-person account of Spanish worker-soldiers' positive response to a front-line poetry reading by Hughes (196-7) makes me want to know more about the ways in which all these other fascinating texts were actually used and received by readers. Nonetheless, the impassioned lyricism of Nelson's own writing carried me along and the material that he presents kept me interested.

Revolutionary Memory could have the same sort of widespread impact as *Repression and Recovery*, especially for younger scholars interested in modern poets outside the holy quaternity of Pound, Eliot, Stevens, and Williams, or those interested in the social life of modern literature beyond the library (or neoliberal politics). He gives us a glimpse into an era in U.S. history in which "writing poetry became a credible form of revolutionary action" (144); more importantly, he gives us a sense of why and how that happened.

University of Kansas Joseph Harrington

COLLEGE FOOTBALL: History, Spectacle, Controversy. By John Sayle Watterson. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000.

John Watterson's *College Football* is a welcome addition to the small body of scholarship on the sport that, in its professional form, is the country's favorite and, in its collegiate form, is one of the most significant distinguishing features of American higher education. No single volume can cover the entire history of college football. Each participating institution, conference, and division has its own history; those multiple histories entail not just the performances of players and coaches but also institutional decision and actions, the experience of fans and the coverage by the various media, and the game's entanglements at every level with economic, political, social, and cultural forces. Within that immense range of possibilities Watterson covers topics ranging from the introduction of female cheerleaders in the 1920s to the long, slow process of desegregation, but his book is primarily a clear-eyed, richly-detailed yet compact history of the fundamental contradiction at the heart of big-time college football: its role as an extracurricular activity with purported benefits for players and student spectators alike and as a sporting spectacle for mass entertainment. Watterson's book thus follows more narrowly-focused studies such as John Thelin's *Games Colleges Play* and Murray Sperber's *Onward to Victory* in exploring the ethical dilemmas that have plagued college football for more than a century.

College football began at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and a handful of lesser institutions in the Northeast (and the "lesser" status of the rest of the football world apart from the Big Three was itself a significant feature of football's first half-century). The Big Three, Yale in particular, taught the rest of the collegiate world how to organize and play the game; they also taught it how to stage a popular spectacle and how to find and keep

the best players, who were not always sterling students. As the game spread southward and westward, with the center of power shifting to the Big Ten by the 1920s, "overemphasis" and "professionalism" followed. The solution to "professionalism"—the paying of coaches, the recruiting and subsidizing of players, the commercializing of the game in countless ways—seems easy only in retrospect. Everything that troubled football's critics was ultimately embraced as necessary or inevitable. There was a long period, Watterson's book reminds us, when the forces that shaped modern college football were feared and resisted. There was no time, it also reminds us, when college football was purely amateur.

Watterson covers well the familiar high (low) points: the crisis over brutality that, in 1905-06, led to the formation of the NCAA; the Carnegie Foundation report in 1929 that documented abuses throughout the world of big-time intercollegiate football without much impact on institutional behavior; the battle within the NCAA over the so-called Sanity Code in the late 1940s and early 1950s. More interestingly, he also covers little-known episodes that constitute some of the myriad details of college football's larger trajectory. Such stories flesh out a football world whose development might seem an inevitable response to market forces but was, in fact, the creation of hundreds of college presidents and "graduate managers of athletic" (athletic directors, that is), making decisions at crucial moments in their institutions' histories.

College football's more familiar second half-century requires a briefer account, but Watterson also explains well how professionalized college football was consolidated from the late 1950s to the early 1970s, how the major football powers won autonomy within the NCAA and control over their own television contracts in the late 1970s and early 1980s, how scandals continued to erupt on a regular basis. He concludes with some proposals for reforming college football that are themselves as old as the abuses he documents, in effect offering his own book as yet one more call for reform.

Oregon State University Michael Oriard

EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY: The Meaning of Alexander Meiklejohn, 1872-1964. By Adam R. Nelson. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2001.

This is a welcomed and needed biography on a significant American educator and philosopher. Meiklejohn came to America an immigrant child at the age of eight in 1879 and lived to debate with friends the significance of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement in 1964. His life spanned a period of tremendous changes in America, and this work helps contextualize the ways he challenged and championed some of those shifts. Although the chapters are a bit uneven in tone and focus—some do a marvelous job of placing the man in the historical moment, while others remain in the abstract, absorbed in the nuance of his philosophical debates—this book is particularly timely for two important reasons. First, Meiklejohn's lifelong quest to foster democracy through the creation of an ideal liberal education, demonstrated by his famous innovative experiments with curriculum at Amherst in the 1910s followed by the Experimental College at Wisconsin in the 1920s and his work in adult education in Berkeley in the 1930s, deserves to be reviewed by all those in higher education currently concerned with the ascendancy of the profit motive in the contemporary management of universities. After a long day preparing online courses or assessment materials, reading Meiklejohn's theory and practice on what to teach and how to teach it can give one pause, and such reflection is needed. Second, while Meiklejohn's commitment to his ideals about civil liberties made him

suspect to many during World War I, the Great Depression, and most noticeably the Cold War, the legal arguments he put forward influenced changes in the interpretations of the Supreme Court itself, and his unflagging resolve to protect the civil liberties of all is a model for Americans to consider in the post-September-11 world. This biography, then, deserves an audience of not only philosophers or students of the history of higher education, but could and should prove useful to university instructors, administrators, and any reading groups interested in issues of civil liberty.

Nelson groups the chronological overview of Meiklejohn's life into five geographical sections, tracing his college days at Brown, his administrative work there followed by his presidency at Amherst, his Experimental College (interdisciplinary college within a college) at the University of Wisconsin, and his varied activities using Berkeley as a base of operations from 1933 on. The title of this book, a play on John Dewey's famous *Democracy and Education*, sets up a philosophical positioning the author wants us to use to best understand Meiklejohn's significance: he is the idealist in opposition to Dewey's pragmatism, he is the student of Kant who keeps to the high moral ground (in theory, anyway). Nelson does allow us to see the man's flaws as well, how his ego or expensive lifestyle could lead to problems. Still, the biography flows best when it is clear that the passion and idealism of Meiklejohn inspire the biographer as well. In sections covering ongoing philosophical arguments and personal disagreements that devolve into pettiness, such as the chapter "A Reply to John Dewey," we probably learn more than we need to concerning an exchange of letters with Sidney Hook. However, the very next chapter, "What Does the First Amendment Mean?" should be required reading for anyone who has debated this question so central to our definitions of liberty.

Not central to the message of the book, but a nice icing on the cake, are some of the fascinating connections and contributions Meiklejohn makes to the world around him in his long, full life. He was a leader in the group of athletes that introduced intercollegiate hockey into American universities in 1898. He started speaking out against HUAC within two weeks of its formation in 1938. He was involved with the creation of UNESCO following World War II, and he considered James Baldwin a friend and ally in 1963. The path of his life—from working class Scots immigrant to renowned legal expert, philosopher, and champion of civil liberties—provides an illuminating focus for consideration of how Meiklejohn and others like him, trained and shaped in the late-nineteenth century, struggled to maintain high values in liberal education and social interaction as the world changed around them.

San José State University — Scot Guenter

DOUGHBOYS, THE GREAT WAR, AND THE REMAKING OF AMERICA. By Jennifer D. Keene. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001.
OPTIMISM AT ARMAGEDDON: Voices of American Participants in the First World War. By Mark Meigs. New York: New York University Press. 1997.

The American experience of the First World War, a subject long neglected by scholars in the United States, has experienced a veritable renaissance since the mid-1990s. Recent works such as Robert Zieger's *America's Great War*, John S. D. Eisenhower's *Yanks*, Gary Meade's *The Doughboys,* and Thomas Mosier's *The Myth of the Great War* have offered provocative new versions of the military and social history of the conflict. At the same time, the impact of the war on American literature and popular culture has received fresh attention in studies such as Patrick J. Quinn's *The Conning of America* and Peter C.

Rollins and John E. O'Conner's *Hollywood's World War I.* Thoroughly researched and engagingly written, Jennifer D. Keene's *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America* and Mark Meig's *Optimism at Armageddon* are welcome additions to this sudden outpouring. Both works offer insights into a chapter of twentieth-century American history that until recently seemed all but forgotten.

Much like Leonard V. Smith's 1994 study *Between Mutiny and Obedience*, which identifies within the French Army of the First World War a system of reciprocal power shared by front-line combatants and commanders, Keene's book contends that the citizen soldiers of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) were simultaneously subjects of military authority *and* political agents who wielded power of their own. Faced with a vast mass of mostly conscripted men, the U.S. Army, Keene demonstrates, wrestled throughout the war with the need to modify its traditional model of inflexible discipline and to respond to the desires and complaints of its four million members. Keene convincingly locates this tug-of-war between military traditionalists and citizen soldiers within a host of areas, including race relations (the army's notorious Jim Crow policies, she asserts, resulted largely from internal pressures applied by southern whites), military law (the sheer number of amateurs drafted into the army necessitated a softening of penalties for cowardice, insubordination, and absence without leave), and soldierly interaction with European civilians (despite orders to the contrary, many American troops fraternized openly with their former enemies and expressed contempt for the French).

Yet Keene reserves her most striking claim for the final third of her study, which asserts that military service in the First World War fostered a new sense of entitlement among American servicemen and led directly to the GI Bill. Although the dispersal of the Bonus Army of 1932 represented a major defeat for former soldiers seeking to redefine the nation's social contract with its warriors, widespread dissatisfaction with paltry benefits received in 1919 refused to dissipate. Under the leadership of First World War veterans, the American Legion (once ambivalent toward the notion of entitlement) stepped forward during the more politically opportune climate of 1944 and secured for a new war generation the most important benefits package in American history.

The subtitle of Mark Meigs' study—"Voices of American Participants in the First World War"—misleadingly suggests that his work is an mere anthology of oral accounts. In reality, the book offers a riveting analysis of how American soldiers interpreted their experiences overseas and highlights the U.S. Army's unprecedented effort to extend its influence into virtually every area of a soldier's existence—including his sex life, activities during leave, perceptions of combat and death, and responses to non-American culture. Meigs' conclusions about the autonomy and power of American soldiers are quite different (though no less persuasive) than Keene's. While Keene's doughboys emerge as agents for change, boldly altering the institution through which they pass (and ultimately transforming America through the GI Bill), Meigs' soldiers are, with notable exceptions, more passive, more deeply reliant upon the sense-making symbols and language provided for them by various authorities.

Indeed, by focusing on the world view that millions of Americans absorbed through the U.S. Army and its partner organizations such as the YMCA, *Optimism at Armageddon* radically redefines the importance of the First World War in American history. Experienced for more than a few days by relatively few members of the AEF, combat, Meigs asserts, was a secondary element of the American experience. So too was genuine exposure to European culture, something military planners discouraged by establishing official leave areas where American soldiers could partake of familiar foods and avoid

learning French. Neither the terrors of battle nor exposure to a strange land defined the Great Adventure. Instead, Meigs locates the significance of the First World War for its American participants in the emergence, facilitated by military and civilian authorities, of mass American culture. Thus, while Keene examines the previously unacknowledged role of First World War soldiers in "remaking America," Meigs convincingly shows us the making of twentieth-century Americans, as his soldiers pass through Armageddon collecting postcards and souvenirs and filling their letters with the sort of touristy facts presented in Baedeker guidebooks (or on today's Travel Channel).

Whether understood as a force behind the GI Bill or as members of the first generation truly shaped by mass American culture, with its emphasis on consumer consumption and tourism, the doughboys of the First World War suddenly seem closer and more familiar to Americans of 2002. Jennifer D. Keene and Mark Meigs have illuminated these once unknown soldiers through scholarship of startling originality and insight.

Fort Hays State University — Steven Trout

AMERICAN AUDIENCES ON MOVIES AND MOVIEGOING. By Tom Stempel. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2001.

Directors rarely if ever get much mention from movie audiences in spite of years of *auteur* criticism, but audiences often make movie-going in itself a less than pleasurable experience, especially at "bad" movies (141, 223). These are some of the findings gathered and analyzed in a highly charming and provocative study of audiences by film historian Tom Stempel. While much of his study involves his own personal observation of movie audiences, Stempel also investigated box office results and distributed questionnaires that resulted in responses from 158 people. While admittedly striving assiduously to avoid writing "a dry sociological tract" (xii), Stempel employs his unconventional methodology thoughtfully as part of a serious research project that he believes demonstrates "audiences have a greater variety of responses to a film than we tend to assume" (xiii-xiv). For a book by an academic, an unusually sensational example of his case for diversity occurs with his discovery that his own student also happens to be in a pornographic film. He writes, "One of the occupational hazards of teaching, especially film, in Los Angeles, is that you tend to run into your students when they are nude" (230).

Stempel's subjective and casual tone masks a very serious purpose of persuading that both filmmakers and film audiences operate in a condition of freedom that contradicts critics on the extreme left and right. These critics, he says, insist on a certain one-dimensional determinism about audience responses to media. Stempel challenges "left-wing historians" who proclaim the power of "capitalists running the movie business" to control audiences and "right-wing observers" who fear the corrupting influence of Hollywood (252). He argues extremists on the left and right misunderstand how little power film and media actually possess. He notes that Neal Gabler "suggests that movies and other media have overtaken real life" and responds, "He needs to get out of New York and into the rest of the country" (252). Stempel prefers the position of documentary filmmaker, Frederick Wiseman, who says, "'Most filmmakers think their film is the only event in the lives of the audience'" (253). Stempel agrees with Wiseman that media actually plays a relatively small part in the daily lives of ordinary people. Of course, whether he intended it or not, such common sense from Stempel probably only will antagonize the critics he disputes.

Obviously, at least to some extent, Stempel and the critics he mentions speak past each other in different critical languages and terms and over different issues. An engage-

ment between them in greater depth and detail probably would be enlightening over the controversial issue of the power of film and the media to influence public taste and behavior. Certainly such critics would point out Stempel's trivialization of the media's power to determine the nature, direction, and dimensions of much public discourse and action. On the other hand, arguments about mediated realities that discount the existential realities and experiences of concrete individuals also seem incomplete. Stempel's book will provide a good beginning for some for such a discussion.

Vanderbilt University — Sam B. Girgus

MODERN AMERICAN QUEER HISTORY. Edited by Allida M. Black. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2001.

From the large-type emphasis on "QUEER" (that word so freighted now with political implication in academe) in its cover and spine designs, to the jacket's bold lavender-on-pink color scheme, this book hints that its editor and contributors will approach the very notion of "history" from a skeptical or even revolutionary point of view. Allida M. Black, at George Washington University, is a distinguished expert on Eleanor Roosevelt, but the *eminence grise* of this volume is the acclaimed Southern queer historian, John Howard, to whom Black dedicates the book, and who introduces it with an essay in which he takes for granted that "we" (scholars, readers) are of course always obliged to "envision insurgent tactics within pervasive systems of oppression" (e.g., society, the university). The gravamen of Howard's piece is this: "The method as well as the object of study should be queered."

This goes beyond even the organizing theme of the "Critical Perspectives on the Past" series from Temple University Press in which this book belongs; as the publisher's website (but not the book) states, the series proceeds from the belief that ". . . the historian's choices of subject, narrative technique, and documentation are politically as well as intellectually constructed." From the book's textbook-y title one might well expect it to offer some foundational survey; in fact, its contents are chosen partly to advance this dialectical position. So if you are considering this for a queer-studies curriculum, fair warning: your students may be bewildered when they find they are latecomers to a complex intramural academic disputation around not only its "queer" subject matter, but the very practice of historiography in general.

But that is not to say that the essays in this book are not excellent, because they are. Leila J. Rupp on women's romantic friendships (her recognized specialty), Holly A. Baggett on Jane Heap and Margaret Anderson in Chicago, and Brett Beemyn on the lives of Angelina Weld Grimké and Richard Bruce Nugent fill out Part One, "Categories of Sexuality." Estelle B. Freedman on Miriam Van Waters' destruction of her lesbian correspondence, Margaret Rose Gladney on Paula Snelling and Lillian Smith, and the estimable John D'Emilio on the career of Bayard Rustin (whose biography he is writing) comprise Part Two, "Evidence, Narrative, and Biography." Allida M. Black on the "diagnosis" of lesbianism, Julia Grant on "sissy boys" at mid-century, and Chris Freeman on lesbian and gay novels from WW II to the years after Stonewall make up Part Three, "Science, Fictions."

Part Four, "Community, Institutions," presents Marc Stein on 1950s Philadelphia coffeehouse culture, Kimberly Springer on black feminist organizations, and John Howard on early lesbian and gay organizations in Mississippi (his area of specialty—his books include the indispensable *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History*). And Part Five,

"Public Debates and Public Policy," offers Ian K. Lekus on AIDS and health-care issues around the North Carolina Lesbian and Gay Health Project in the 1980s and 1990s, Jennifer Brier on images of race and contagion in AIDS-era immigration debates, and Leisa D. Meyer on the myth of lesbian invisibility in the WW II military. Although no three of these fifteen essays live up to the overbroad implications of their section titles, every one is a valuable contribution to scholarship in the field.

Finally, Vicki L. Eaklor concludes the book with "Where are We Now, Where Are We Going, and Who Gets to Say?"—an essay whose "postmodern" deconstruction of "queer progress" (or the very meaning of "progress" itself) may leave the non-specialist reader more confused than before. No doubt, that is Eaklor's intention. This collection is a necessary addition to any queer-studies library, but its confessed purpose is much more to provoke a radical re-evaluation of unexamined bias in the study of lesbian and gay (and all) American history, than to attempt any synthesis of an "objective" overview. For most of these contributors, "objective" is clearly a dirty word.

University of Kansas James W. Grauerholz

HARD BOILED: Working Class Readers and Pulp Magazines. By Erin A. Smith. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2000.

GUMSHOE AMERICA: Hard-Boiled Crime Fiction and the Rise and Fall of New Deal Liberalism. By Sean McCann. Durham: Duke University Press. 2000.

MURDERING MASCULINITIES: Fantasies of Gender and Violence in the American Crime Novel. By Greg Forter. New York: New York University Press. 2000.

Much recent discussion of genre-criticism has tended to highlight the political and theoretical limitations of the methodology. But three new studies of detective fiction demonstrate the innovative uses to which the approach is still being put.

Erin Smith's *Hard-Boiled: Working Class Readers and Pulp Magazines* examines the uses to which early "pulp" detective fiction was put by its core audience. One danger in this privileging of "audience" can be the tendency to find a layered political unconscious at work in the social construction of writer and text, while taking at face value what readers say they glean from the material in question. In less accomplished hands than Smith's, audience studies can sometimes forget that the meaning of culture as it is consumed may be just as fraught with ideological distortion as the moment in which is produced. Smith sidesteps these problems in *Hard-Boiled* by contextualizing her discussion within the economic transformations of the United States during the 1920s and 1930s, and by showing clearly how contemporary audience responses to the genre were made possible, and were in turn circumscribed, by the historicity of the texts themselves. Bringing together this twin emphasis on production and consumption, Smith argues that the famously fragmented and convoluted plots of much hard-boiled pulp writing should be linked to a Taylorizing of working-class narrative form during the twenties, with the genre's tendency toward narrative opacity emerging as the corollary of a new and heightened division of labor. Some readers might wish Smith to push her conclusions a little further, so as to develop a more sustained discussion of the ideologies of the fiction. The suggestion that hard-boiled writing provided "a training ground for the kind of thinking necessary for Taylor-ed jobs" (83), for example, could have allowed Smith to engage, rather more sympathetically than her own inclinations might allow, with some of the less affirmative critiques of detective fiction offered by the Left. To have done this, however, might have been to undercut her argument that the writing was a cultural resource which

allowed working-class readers themselves to negotiate the shifting social relations of early Fordism. And, in the end, it is the balance Smith strikes between the power of social relations to shape texts and their readers, and the capacity of texts/readers to mediate those relations in turn, which best illuminates not only the richness of the genre itself, but also the unstable class-relations of the 1920s and 1930s.

In *Gumshoe America: Hard-Boiled Crime Fiction and the Rise and Fall of New Deal Liberalism*, Sean McCann argues that successive reinventions of detective fiction in the decades either side of WWII were closely tied to ongoing debates about the viability of the American liberal tradition. As such, he sees the New Deal as the primary reference point of detective fiction throughout this period. But his commentary on the fiction's negotiations with a new hegemony of professional-managerial expertise echoes Smith's assumption that the *genus* of the twentieth-century American detective story lies earlier, in the Progressive Era and the 1920s. A quite thrilling chapter on the meeting points (and moments of divergence) between Ku Klux Klan nativism and the hard-boiled fiction published by *Black Mask* magazine during the 1920s, demonstrates the extent to which genre-criticism continues to produce innovative and exciting work. McCann's argument, that Klan racism and hard-boiled scepticism about civil society were drawn from the same atomising of the public realm, is hardly controversial. But his discussion of detective fiction's rejection of nativist reform, its questioning of reformism itself, and its depiction of a new commercial subjectivity that appeared to have supplanted older racial obligations, is as finely nuanced as anything in recent literary criticism or cultural studies. McCann traces the obsolescence of nineteenth-century notions of citizenship, and the reinvigoration of liberalism as both "participatory democracy" and "administration," in the fiction of James Cain, Hammett, and the hard-boiled pulp writing published by *Black Mask*. He describes the "decentralist" vision of Raymond Chandler as a New Deal politics derived from the Progressivist challenge to monopoly capitalism, and concludes with a long chapter on "the slow death of New Deal populism" in the novels of Chester Himes during the 1950s.

Forter's *Murdering Masculinities* reworks the conventional assumption (also covered by McCann and Smith) that the fiction of Hammett and Chandler sought to compensate male readers for the new prominence of American women in the worlds of labor and leisure, as masculine experience was "feminized" by new patterns of consumption in the twenties, and by mass unemployment in the thirties. Forter expands upon recently influential work by Leo Bersani and Kaja Silverman, and applies the methods of psychoanalytic criticism to texts which, he suggests, both promote but simultaneously disrupt and dissolve the reproduction of patriarchal male authority. He traces this dialectical tension at work in individual novels, and in specific metaphors that capture a sense of this "willed" masculine abjection: the corpse in Hammett's *The Glass Key*, references to olfaction in Cain's *Serenade*, vomit in William Faulkner's *Sanctuary*, a "soiling" of masculine voice in Jim Thompson's *Pop. 1280*, and excrement in Himes' *Blind Man with a Pistol*. Forter's writing displays what many would consider the real strengths, and others the conventional weaknesses, of psychoanalytic criticism. At its best, as in the excellent chapter on Faulkner, the book has a poetic density whose tropes and critical conceits unfold page on page with real elegance and sustained polemical authority. At other times one is struck by the oddly hermetic character of a critical style that attempts a political intervention, but which does so in such rarefied and somewhat ahistorical fashion.

Derby University (UK) David Holloway

A CATHOLIC NEW DEAL: Religion and Reform in Depression Pittsburgh. By Kenneth J. Heineman. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1999.

The scholarship of social historians during the past generation has greatly expanded our understanding of how the working class has shaped twentieth-century United States history. All too often, however, some social historians, who have deepened our appreciation of the struggles of laborers and their material culture, have distorted the working-class world in history by ignoring the vital religious faith that permeated the lives of many of these women and men. Religious historians, although familiar with social history methodology, have had little to share about how working-class folks translated religious belief into public action.

Historian Kenneth J. Heineman was disturbed by the lack of scholarship focusing on the religious influences on reform politics and labor unionism in the thirties. To satisfy this need he has written *A Catholic New Deal*, an eye-opening and compelling narrative of the role of ethnic Pittsburgh Catholics in building and sustaining a reform-minded Democratic party and a militant union movement during the depression. His work more than amply shows how Catholic ideas, leaders, and workers contributed to reform politics and unionization during the thirties.

For readers lacking sophisticated knowledge of Pittsburgh's background, Heineman crafts a thoughtful and persuasive social and political history of the steel capital of the world. This story of the interplay of religious belief and public action opens with the crucial election of 1932. Priests and laymen (few female voices are heard in the world of heavy industry or in Pittsburgh politics) were building coalitions that stretched across ethnic, racial, and denominational boundaries. In the process of telling the story of how so many Pittsburgh Catholics identified with the New Deal, Heineman introduces several colorful and controversial leaders. An outspoken advocate of workers, Father James Cox delivered speeches for Roosevelt in ethnic Catholic districts—and he appealed to the better instincts of Andrew Mellon to supply free gasoline for a protest in Washington against President Hoover's policies. Later in the decade, other labor priests, Charles Owen Rice, Carl Hensler, and G. Barry O'Toole, publicly supported unionization of the powerful steel industry. They picketed with workers and promoted racial accommodation, a value not usually associated with working-class Catholics of this era. Catholic layman Phil Murray attempted to organize a union that would steer clear of corruption and communism.

While keeping Catholics at the center of his focus, Heineman refuses to create a historical ghetto in which Catholics interact exclusively with each other. Instead, he persuasively outlines how leaders of a variety of religious persuasions in politics and in the labor movement and in the national and local political arena found ways of cooperating. His research challenges difficult to bury stereotypes of working-class Catholics. These ethnic unionists, according to Heineman, were neither antiunion nor mindless New Deal advocates. What they found compatible with their faith they supported. While programs such as old age pensions, public works, unemployment compensation, and the right to organize attracted the support of Catholics, many feared excessive dependence on government. This work shatters old myths about ethnic Catholics of the 1930s, including the relationship of Catholic anticommunism to the Americanization of immigrants. Furthermore, Heineman's research shows how the distinctive spirit of social Catholicism permeated the thinking of individual lay Catholics, including union organizer Phil Murray.

The author takes a chronological approach in examining the development of the New Deal coalition and the unionization of heavy industry from 1932 to 1941. While this was probably the best choice for tracing the reform activities of Catholic Pittsburgh, it results sometimes in a loss in continuity in understanding the positions taken by individual Catholic reformers. Many historians have already mined this field, but Heineman's richly researched and thoughtful work provides many original interpretations. Relatively few errors were found—although Boston's crusty Cardinal William O'Connell is referred to as O'Connor. This pathbreaking book deserves a serious reading by anyone attempting to understand American Catholicism, ethnic history, reform politics, or the successful unionization of heavy industry during the 1930s.

University of St. Thomas — Anne Klejment

PHOTOGRAPHY AND POLITICS IN AMERICA: From the New Deal into the Cold War. By Lili Corbus Bezner. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999.

This important book fills a very large gap in our understanding of how and why the definition of documentary photography changed during the Cold War and the resulting invisibility of race and class in 1950s America. Bezner demonstrates that socially committed documentary photography with its accompanying aesthetics and activist politics of the 1930s and 1940s shifted toward a more personalized, modernist abstract and apolitical style coinciding with an increasingly repressive political climate during the Cold War in America. There has not been another book that discusses this process by so fully integrating economic, political, and aesthetic contexts as does Bezner in this clearly worded and carefully organized study. Bezner moves chronologically through the period beginning with a discussion of the definition of documentary and how it changed during the time she covers. She discusses Lewis Hine, the FSA photographers, and the Photo League emphasizing their belief in photography not only as an art form but also in its ability to serve as a form of "public education" and to motivate social change. She moves next to a very valuable history of the Photo League as a site of activist documentary production during the 1940s, and she focuses on the absurdity and tragedy of the HUAC blacklisting of the League and one of its members, Sid Grossman in 1947. Bezner notes that after the blacklisting, many in the league began to question documentary's capacity to convey clear sociological meaning to viewers and to effect cultural change. There was a "retreat" into formalism with the brief presence of Minor White in the league before the league disbanded in 1951. As a way to discuss the "museumization" of documentary photography and the beginnings of it's appropriation by the high art museum, Bezner devotes a chapter to the world famous exhibit, *Family of Man* (1955), and its curator, Edward Steichen. It was through this exhibit and its negative critical reception within the art community, she maintains, that documentary moved further away from its previous definition as a committed *art* form. Social realist photography, in which the truth-value of the image is the organizing principle around which one builds an interpretation increasingly became the sole purview of photojournalism and not the art museum. A style that Bezner refers to as Personal Realism replaced Social Realism on the museum's walls in the work of Robert Frank, Minor White, Harry Callahan, and Diane Arbus and the kind of truth that could be said to be found in a picture was limited to that of personal expression.

She devotes the penultimate chapter to a discussion of the meteoric rise of Robert Frank who, it has been said, engaged in radical social commentary through his photo-

graphs as had the FSA and Photo League before him. Bezner writes that what changed was the purpose of that commentary. The FSA and Photo League had been intent on using their photographs to change people's minds about social inequities and injustice. In the paranoiac closed-ranks of McCarthyism and the Cold War, Frank's photographs are directed at calling attention symbolically to the existence of alienation in America, but he offers his photographs as a personal and wholly subjective experience, the ends of which are not political action but personal contemplation.

The strength of Bezner's book is the bringing to bear of several different kinds of texts on the analysis of the shifting role of documentary photograph in America. She uses archival material from exhibits, photographers' writings, letters, diaries, interviews, biographies, critical writing, writing by historians, politicians, journalists, and of course, close readings of the photographs themselves. This is an important, and for too long missing, link in the history of photography, and it is equally an exemplary addition to the field of visual culture.

University of Kansas Catherine L. Preston

THE URBAN INDIAN EXPERIENCE IN AMERICA. By Donald L. Fixico. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2000.
AMERICAN INDIANS AND THE URBAN EXPERIENCE. Edited by Susan Lobo and Kurt Peters. Walnut Creek, Ca.: AltaMira Press. 2001.

The two books under review both open by noting the prevalence of American Indian urbanization, including the fact that over half of Indian people have lived in cities since the 1980s and that almost two-thirds do so currently. Furthermore, they both make the case that these urban Indians have been relatively ignored by scholars, at least when compared with their fellow tribesmen living on rural reservations who have been the subject of many historical and anthropological studies. In response, Donald Fixico has written a synthetic and wide-ranging monograph, while Susan Lobo and Kurt Peters have assembled and edited a collection of essays, poems, and photographs. On the whole, both books succeed—especially in sketching out the contours of contemporary urban Indian life and in modifying inaccurate images readers might hold regarding Indians living in cities. Neither uniform failure to adjust nor complete assimilation into mainstream America marks the lives of the urban Indians seen here.

The two books have some predecessors, but many of them have addressed the topic of American Indians living in cities either by focusing on the government policies that contributed to their migration or on questions suited to quantitative social science methodologies. Policy studies have focused on the federal government's relocation program launched in 1952 that quickened the pace of Indian urbanization. Social science studies have addressed issues relating to drinking and group membership exclusively through the use of quantitative surveys. Fixico's monograph and Lobo and Peters' edited collection deliberately try to move beyond these concerns and present a fuller, richer picture of American Indian urban life.

Fixico, author of several books on twentieth-century American Indian history, writes that this project required many years' work—in part because of the challenging research involved but also because of his personal investment in the topic. He mentions many long conversations with Indian friends living in cities across the country, and readers will perceive Fixico's commitment to sharing their lives with his readers. Indeed, Fixico is perhaps most effective when he draws on his many experiences with urban Indians to

develop a fictional composite character. At the beginning of each chapter, he tells part of the life story of a Sioux man who moves to Chicago after World War II. Fixico's narrative of the man's life is utterly convincing and compelling. Readers follow as he struggles in the city with problems of unemployment and sickness and is strengthened by his supportive family and the developing Indian community in Chicago.

Additionally, Fixico looks at a number of different themes and topics. He is consistently thorough and sure-footed in leading the reader through this vast range of material, although the book's structure does lead to some organizational problems with information repeated from chapter to chapter. Fixico leaves the reader curious to know more about urban Indians on several points, especially concerning his suggestion that a distinct middle class has arisen among them in recent decades.

The majority of the essays in Lobo and Peters' collection originated as papers given at a 1996 conference, which were subsequently published in a special issue of *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* in 1998 devoted to the theme of urban Indians. They cover an extraordinary wide range—from pre-Columbian urban centers to urban Indians in fiction to the funding challenges faced by urban Indian institutions today. Some of the most intriguing pieces concern the challenge of defining the urban Indian community, the unique roles played by Indian women in the city, and the use of the city as a springboard for tribal protest. A few pieces suffer from trying to assert more than they can prove in a short space, such as the claim that a common consciousness unites all indigenous people in the western hemisphere. In general, though, this eclectic group of essays, poems, and photographs effectively introduces readers to the lives of Indian people living in cities.

Although the two books do not have the opportunity to fully answer all the questions they raise, they do lead those interested in this ever-growing group of Indian people to ask the important questions. Some of these include: Have Indians' experiences with urbanization been marked more by difficulty and failure or by persistence and success? Have urban Indians as a group been more unified or more divided on cultural and social matters? Precisely how has urbanization shaped Indian identity and changed the relationship between tribalism and pan-tribalism? How have Indians experienced race relations in American cities and what has been the nature of Indian-White, Indian-Black, and Indian-Latino relations?

While the two books begin to come to terms with these important questions, they also provide revealing glimpses into urban Indian life. The collection by Lobo and Peters ends with a photo of a young Indian girl in traditional dress waiting in eager anticipation for her family to depart for a powwow. In this case, though, the girl waits in the backseat of her family's 1960s automobile parked on a busy San Francisco street. The girl's intricate beadwork seen amidst a backdrop of vinyl and chrome beautifully illustrates the combination of traditionalism and change at work in the lives of urban American Indians.

Messiah College — James B. LaGrand

CONDENSING THE COLD WAR: *Reader's Digest* and American Identity. By Joanne P. Sharpe. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2000.

Condensing the Cold War combines aspects of the normally disparate fields of popular culture studies and geo-political theory to create a thoughtful, imaginative exploration of the "popular geo-politics" of Cold War American culture, examined through

the lens of the mega-successful *Reader's Digest* magazine. In addition to these primary themes, author Joanne Sharp also considers contemporary theoretical issues concerning the role of the mass media in American popular culture. Despite its slender size, *Condensing the Cold War* thus tackles a wide variety of formidably complex and important matters.

Though the cultural significance of *Reader's Digest* seems self-evident—it is by far the largest circulation general reader magazine in American history and has a pronounced ideological bent—it has received surprisingly little scholarly attention. After a brief introduction to the *Digest* itself and an explanation of her book's theoretical foundations, Sharpe looks at the background period from the *Digest's* founding in 1922 up to 1945, a period marked by "ambivalence" towards communism and the Soviet Union, with an eclectic mix of attitudes and opinions. That changed abruptly to an "unswerving binarism" and a "single-minded obsession" (83) with communism after the onset of the Cold War. During the Cold War communism ironically became a major factor in shaping American identity, as the dominant "Other" that the *Digest* and Americans in general created and used to understand America itself.

Reader's Digest had little sympathy for detente, arguing that it was impossible for communism to change or compromise, and that detente simply represented an especially subtle and dangerous approach towards eventual communist domination. Not surprisingly, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War created a conundrum for those whose identity and geopolitical strategies were so closely tied to fervent anti-communism. After trying out a variety of candidates (including terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism) to replace communism as the chief threat to the United States, the *Digest* seemed to conclude that the main danger was internal—drugs, AIDS, moral decline, crime, big government, and so on (though September 11 likely resolved that particular issue for the foreseeable future).

Sharp's background as a professional geographer is clearly reflected in the approaches she takes. The main foundations of this book, however, come mostly from postmodern literary and cultural theory and criticism. Occasionally the jargon gets a bit obtrusive; there is some fashionable pomo word play with "public-ity," "geo-graphy," "author-ity" and so on, and a brief mention of something called "structurationism." Mostly, though, this is an accessible, readable, and subtle work. Given the recent surge of academic interest in Cold War culture and the *Digest's* intense anti-communism, *Condensing the Cold War* is both timely and illuminating, and a model for illustrating the benefits of fundamentally interdisciplinary approaches. Its brevity makes it almost inevitably suggestive rather than definitive on many issues. One hopes that other scholars will expand on this promising beginning to examine more fully the broad range of influence of *Reader's Digest* on all aspects of twentieth-century American culture.

Wayne State College Kent Blaser

SPORTSWARS: Athletes in the Age of Aquarius. By David W. Zang. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 2001.

David W. Zang's *SportsWars: Athletes in the Age of Aquarius* is a collection of seven short essays that assess the relationships between Vietnam War-era youth culture and sport. Although Zang tackles well-known texts that one would expect in a book like this, including analyses of the film *The Bad News Bears* and Muhammad Ali's explosion onto the professional boxing scene, he also highlights more obscure episodes like the insurgence of long-haired, hard-drinking Olympic wrestler Rick Sanders and the Univer-

sity of Maryland football team's mutiny, which led to the removal of head coach Bob Ward. Even those cultural historians familiar with all of Zang's tales would be wise to investigate the author's unique premise that sport, often associated with authoritarianism, rules-following, and hierarchy, is more aptly situated within the ethos of rebellion that marked the epoch.

Several factors make Zang's book worth reading. His essays are informed by a series of interviews he conducted with prominent sports figures of the period, including legendary UCLA basketball coach John Wooden and amateur wrestling icon Dan Gable. These interviews, which constitute the book's most interesting primary sources, provide scholars with unique insight on these individuals. Zang's prose, at times lyrical, is also notable. The book is packed with photographs that give the reader a sense of the times in ways that words do not. Zang's concentration on behind-the-scenes affairs, like the dialogues about athletic scholarships among University of Pennsylvania students and administrators, gives us information that other retrospective scholarly accounts have not.

The most notable weaknesses in the book are Zang's ignoring of women and ethnicity. Zang addresses gender in his work, interrogating how sport in the 1960s became a battleground for competing ideas of masculinity. However, Zang fails to incorporate women's issues into his analysis. Although he acknowledges and excuses this lack in his introduction, claiming that radical critiques of women's sports did not occur until later, the book would have been improved by exploring the connections between feminism, traditional girlhood, and organized recreation. Similarly, while Zang captures how the athletic arena informed contemporary racial politics, his perspective is limited to a black/white paradigm that overlooks ethnicity. One lost opportunity comes during Zang's inspection of white America's response to singer Jose Feliciano's televised and non-traditional rendition of "The Star Spangled Banner" before game five of the 1968 World Series. While his report is interesting and plausible, Zang does not attempt to ascertain how certain hostile reactions to Puerto Rican immigrant Feliciano's performance might have been shaped by race, ethnicity, and/or culture.

Despite these flaws, Zang offers readers, whether they are scholars or casual observers of sport and American culture, a discussion of how the zeitgeist of the sixties entered institutions that previously and uncritically had served to honor "democracy, suburbia, whiteness, middle classness [*sic*], Christianity, and consumerism."

University of Kansas — Michael Ezra

HOLLYWOOD V. HARD CORE: How the Struggle Over Censorship Saved the Modern Film Industry. By Jon Lewis. New York: New York University Press. 2000.

In 1972-73 hard-core films like *Deep Throat*, *The Devil in Miss Jones* and *Behind the Green Door* shot to the top of the yearly box office ratings. *Deep Throat*, was the most talked about film of 1972 and ranked 10th at the box office after nearly a year of play dates. These films, relegated to sleazy theaters in urban ghettos prior to the 1970s, were suddenly seen as legitimate films worthy of serious consideration. They were reviewed favorably in the trades, and respectable middle-class couples were flocking to neighborhood theaters to watch the sexual antics of Linda Lovelace, Georgina Spelvin and dozens of other would-be actors and actresses.

Sex in the cinema had, of course, been tightly controlled by the Production Code Administration and the Catholic Legion of Decency during the studio era. In the late-1960s both agencies faded from view and the industry replaced the PCA with a more

liberal ratings system, the Classification and Rating Administration (CARA). While Hollywood longed to present more realistic adult films no one in the industry was prepared for the success of sex films. Jon Lewis, a professor of English at Oregon State University, argues that the Hollywood film industry, lead by Jack Valenti, feared it would have to enter the porn market in order to survive. But in true Hollywood fashion, the industry was rescued by an unlikely source—the Nixon administration and the United States Supreme Court.

When the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of a seller of erotic books in Miller v. California, the court in essence allowed states to define obscenity. This, Lewis argues, drove hard-core films out of legitimate theaters, and the porn industry was no longer a threat to Hollywood. Lewis states in his introduction that he began this project with the intention of writing a history of the CARA but switched instead to write a broader history of regulation. To this date, there is no scholarly study of the Hollywood ratings system and its impact on film content. Scholars, film critics and filmmakers alike have labeled CARA as a poorly disguised system of censorship.

It is unfortunate, in my opinion, that Lewis turned away from his original intent. Instead of focusing on CARA, Lewis wrote a series of individual chapters on the blacklisting, the organization of the film industry, a brief history of the PCA and a chapter which summarizes the various legal decisions dealing with film and the First Amendment. While each of these chapters is well-written and often insightful, they do not come together as a coherent whole.

The experience leaves the reader slightly confused. Hollywood v. Hard-Core? Only one chapter in the book deals with hard-core films—and that discussion is limited to films produced in the early-1970s. It is questionable that the porn industry was ever the threat to Hollywood that Lewis claims it was.

Lewis is at his best, in my opinion, when he deals with his original goal—detailing the problems modern independent filmmakers have had in getting their films rated by CARA. The battles between CARA, Jack Valenti and filmmakers like Brian De Palma, Wes Craven, John Walters and Russ Meyer make fascinating reading and clearly illustrate how CARA censors films. I only wish that he had spent more time dealing with its history in Hollywood. It is a story that is waiting to be told.

University of Missouri-Kansas City — Gregory D. Black

ONCE UPON AN AMERICAN DREAM: The Story of Euro Disneyland. By Andrew Lainsbury. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 2000.

Probably like most casual followers of the 1992 opening of Euro Disneyland in Marne-la-Vallée, France, I accepted without much question the many media accounts of a business disaster in the making. This "tragic kingdom" scenario became something of a master narrative for the popular understanding of Mickey's fate on the Continent, and like all such narratives, it has obscured a good deal of the reality. Therefore, Andrew Lainsbury's detailed account of Euro Disneyland's actual development over the last decade provides a welcome corrective to the conventional wisdom.

Once Upon an American Dream is for the most part a sympathetic portrayal of the Disney Corporation's conception and execution of a business plan devoted to inserting its unique brand of entertainment into a new and especially complex cultural context, one that could be counted on to display some ambivalence toward the Disney product. One of the most fascinating aspects of the book is its detailed documentation of the "imagineering"

strategies for recasting the basic Disney park elements to make them more "appropriate" for the European audience. The planning team had to come up with versions of the trademark attractions that would be recognizably Disney but also suitable for European tastes—at least as those were imagined by the Imagineers.

The development of such strategies and the creative process of designing the new park constitute only one part of the story recounted in this study however. The other is the equally fascinating tale of how Euro Disneyland was "sold" to its intended clientele, both before it opened and especially after. In its first several years of operation Euro Disneyland failed to live up to corporate expectations. Indeed, for a period of time it lost money at a furious rate, becoming something of an embarrassment to an entertainment juggernaut unused to such setbacks. Lainsbury does not soft-pedal these developments, nor does he fail to acknowledge that something of a bailout for the ailing enterprise materialized in the form of a major infusion of funds from a Saudi Arabian prince. These details of fiscal management, which the author presents in considerable detail, are less interesting for an American studies audience, however, than the equally detailed account of the many adjustments in the rhetoric of marketing and the refashioning of park elements in response to the financial "crisis." The ongoing attempt "to strike a precise balance between Old and New Worlds, to ensure that the park 'went native' without losing the American feel that was its main draw" (137) is the most compelling story for those interested in the massive culture industry forces at work in the saga of Euro Disneyland.

In chronicling the corporate fortunes of this remarkable institution Lainsbury does not stray too far into the many theoretical and ideological issues it raises. The politics of national identity in particular saturates the design and marketing of Euro Disneyland. Though this study does not offer a critical analysis of the relationship of Disney imagineering to the imagined communities of nation-states, and of these to the transnational culture industry, it does provide the sort of detailed, inside information that will help readers contemplate such issues in complex and nuanced ways. That makes it a valuable addition to the fast-growing bibliography of Disney studies.

University of Wyoming John Dorst