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

Reviews

HIPPIES, INDIANS, AND THE FIGHT FOR RED POWER. By Sherry L. Smith. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. 2012.

In 1966 photographer and countercultural activist Stewart Brand, best known for creating the *Whole Earth Catalog*, exhibited a multimedia show in San Francisco based on his photographs of Indian peoples. He chose as the title of his show, “America Needs Indians,” a nod to what he saw as the Indians’ special ability to know the earth and live in harmony with it. He hoped non-Indians who viewed the show would be inspired enough by what they saw to make changes in their own world and perhaps even support Indian activists who were seeking change themselves. In *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power*, author Sherry L. Smith deftly uses this phrase, and the era of countercultural rebellion it reflected, to frame a well-researched, balanced, and engaging exploration of the intercultural collaborations between Natives and non-Natives in the Red Power Movement.

Other histories of Red Power have typically focused on the Native activists who shaped and guided the movement through the turbulent 1960s and 1970s, but Smith, while acknowledging the centrality of Indian leadership, and Indian agency more broadly, argues that not enough attention has been given to the interplay between Natives and non-Natives. Natives may have been the leaders of the movement, she asserts, defining the issues of tribal sovereignty, self-determination, treaty rights, and cultural revitalization, but they had help in their campaign from members of the counterculture who, through their different engagements with Indian culture, raised awareness of these issues among the broader public, making political change possible and setting in motion a “remarkable, even revolutionary, shift in attitude, practice and policy” (5–6) towards Indians. In this sense, Smith seeks not to diminish the accomplishments of Red Power leaders, but simply to “add an additional cast of characters” to our understanding of this dramatic period in American Indian and United States history (6).

The sentiment that “America needs Indians” could hardly have been imagined in the early 1960s, when the Termination policy dominated, ending federal support for Indian tribes and relocating reservation Indians to cities, where they could more easily be assimilated. Most Americans assumed Indians had vanished, or were marginal at best, in

American society. But Smith suggests that this assumption began to change as Natives mobilized to challenge the policy on a number of fronts. Non-Natives, galvanized by the Civil Rights Movement, rebellion against conventional American values, and criticism of federal policies—both domestic and foreign—sought to construct a more just and inclusive nation. How Natives and non-Natives came together and developed cross-racial partnerships to achieve their goals is a complicated, sometimes thorny story, but Smith skillfully navigates this complexity while maintaining narrative coherence.

The book focuses on several key events and cultural moments between 1963 and 1973 that convey this story. Smith begins by examining the salmon wars of the Pacific Northwest, when Natives fought to restore treaty rights to fish along the Columbia River and its tributaries. They were some of the first Indians to challenge the assumption of Indian disappearance, and as she notes, this happened to coincide with the early counter-cultural “discovery” of Indians. Celebrities became involved, along with Students for a Democratic Society radicals, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Friends Service Committee, and many others who saw in the protests an opportunity to support minority rights and redress America’s imperialist past.

This cross-racial collaboration became a pattern by the late sixties and early seventies. Smith considers the countercultural enthrallment with Indians, and how it transformed into political support for the Alcatraz takeover in 1969, found expression in the back-to-the-land ethos of New Mexico communes, and led to a broader awareness of injustices towards Indians that established critical groundwork for Native activist groups like the American Indian Movement, and flashpoints like the Trail of Broken Treaties in 1972 and Wounded Knee the following year. Political radicals, hippies, and religious groups may have become supportive because of a belief that “America needs Indians,” but as Smith maintains, the spectrum of strategies Native leaders used to successfully bring change in Indian policy required non-Indian participation, as they could not achieve it alone. In the end, then, as Smith convincingly argues, Indians needed America as much as America needed them; only through collaboration could change be fully realized.

Carter Jones Meyer

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JUST QUEER FOLKS: Gender and Sexuality in Rural America. By Colin R. Johnson. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press. 2013.

Ethnographies, social histories, and cultural studies of queer American life in particular nonmetropolitan areas now abound. Colin R. Johnson’s *Just Queer Folks: Gender and Sexuality in Rural America* continues the trend of focusing on rural scenes and also carries out the best impulses of queer theory. *Just Queer Folks* embraces the “distrust of identity as an analytical category” (17) and historically examines discourses that led to the “heteronormalization” of rural America (3).

The first part of the book disabuses readers of the idea that rural places are naturally more prone to heteronormativity. Chapter 1 looks at discourses from U.S. agriculture that informs eugenics, hence the production of sexual knowledge, in the 1910s and 1920s. Johnson examines horticulture and animal husbandry to assert that “the American eugenics movement was born on the farm” (35), an argument that reorients inquiry away from the overtly racialized perspectives associated with fascism, settler colonialism, and plantation life to provide an analysis akin to feminist histories that recognize eugenics as mainstream rhetoric infusing daily discussions of marriage and parenting. Chapter 2

then examines progressive-era rural sex education campaigns that standardized bourgeois “notions of sexual virtue and sexual vice” nationally (78).

With these two foundational analyses in place, the second part of *Just Queer Folks* turns more documentarian to supply cases proving “that same-sex sexual behavior and gender nonconformity were anything but rare in nonmetropolitan America during the first half of the twentieth century” (20). Johnson devotes chapters to itinerant laborers, queer eccentrics in small towns, cross-dressers in the Civilian Conservation Corps, and “hard” women—the country “drudges” (167) whose practical styles and lack of city fashion became increasingly shameful as consumerism proliferated. He thus builds on previous scholarship, advancing discussions of circulation rather than congregation as a means of procuring rural queer sexual encounters, of female masculinity, of drag practices, and of the classed issues involved in distinguishing homosociality from homosexuality. The conclusion examines a 1962 sting operation that indicates a rise in state repression of rural queer sex.

Because Johnson anticipates readers’ critiques and honest questions, this fascinating book serves as a much-needed and comprehensively researched introduction to the rural turn in queer studies. It deftly synthesizes previous work, concretizes key debates with clear examples and prose, breathes life into archival and anecdotal evidence, and provides a vivid tour of how queer practices—not identities—were gradually rather than automatically disdained. The anti-identitarian impulse allows for a complex narrative history that avoids anachronistically labeling people gay while encouraging readers to recognize an always-already queer America.

Just Queer Folks thus paves the way for scholars not only to seek out lived experiences of queers in unexpected times and places—a project that can result in slumming and voyeurism. It also sets the stage for continued inquiry into when and how nonnormative sexual practices and gender expressions became *unqueered* by moral reforms, conservative campaigns, economic structures, and discursive formations that use “the rural” to their political advantage. With illuminating queer historicist work such as *Just Queer Folks*, we can believe it when Johnson says that the rural turn in queer studies “has scarcely even begun” (9).

Carol Mason

University of Kentucky

BOXCAR POLITICS: The Hobo in U.S. Culture and Literature, 1869–1956. By John Lennon. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2014.

John Lennon’s insightful new work, *Boxcar Politics*, claims that “hoboing was not just a mode of travel” for U.S. transient workers in the years between the completion of the intercontinental railroad and the signing of the Federal Aid Highway Act, but a “distinct form of resistive politics” (2). By investigating the “relationships between hobos, their subculture and the train,” Lennon’s volume “illuminate[s] the ways marginalized transient workers exerted a political voice both singularly and collectively” (5). Focusing on literary works by Jack London, Jim Tully, John Dos Passos, and Jack Kerouac, as well as cultural events such as the 1931 Scottsboro trials, *Boxcar Politics* convincingly argues that hobos employed the physical and ideological space of the boxcar to collectively fight for human and labor rights over a period of eighty years in U.S. history.

Boxcar Politics is a well-researched and integrative study. The book is equally adept at engaging both contemporaneous studies of the hobo, such as Nels Anderson’s *The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man* (1923), and more recent work in the field, such as Tim Creswell’s *The Tramp in America* (2001), Frank Tobias Higbie’s *Indispens-*

able Outcasts (2003), and Mark Wyman's *Hoboes* (2011). At the same time, the work is equally engaged with compelling contemporary theory, such as Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's studies on hegemony and the working class and Michel de Certeau's arguments on the strategy and tactics of space. At every turn, the reader finds Lennon's assertions grounded and thoroughly contextualized.

Boxcar Politics works best when it clearly pairs a cultural moment with a work of art. Chapter Two, for example, argues that the individualistic image of the hobo in popular culture and politics was at odds with the communal and political goals that hobos often tried to attain. This chapter's investigation of Jack London's *The Road* (1907) and its depiction of Charles T. Kelley's Industrial Army's march across America highlights this divide well. This method is also particularly useful in Chapter Five's examination of the Scottsboro case and the hobo films of William A. Wellman. By exploring Wellman's popular representations of the hobo in the Hollywood films *The Vagabond Trail* (1924), *Beggars of Life* (1928), and *Wild Boys of the Road* (1933) in contrast to the news reports and court documents of the Scottsboro trials, *Boxcar Politics* exposes how "worker solidarity within the boxcar [could] be eviscerated along racial and gendered lines," for both the young black men and their white accusers were "all workers victimized by a capitalist system that used racial instigations to keep the working class in a perpetual fractured state" (132). This chapter shines with its thoughtful connections and provocative conclusions.

Conversely, the strength of Chapter Five leaves the book's last chapter on unsteady ground. Chapter Six's pairing of Kerouac's *On the Road* (1957) and composer Harry Partch's experimental music suite *U.S. Highball* (1943/1955) is less successful because the discussion of Partch's work seems less integral, and more cursory, to *Boxcar Politics*'s reading of *On the Road* than the previous chapter's reading of Wellman's work in the context of the Scottsboro trials. Additionally, since the previous five chapters have persuasively argued that the hobo was a complex political figure, Chapter Six's argument that *On the Road* makes hobos "apolitical" figures who are "spiritual guides" "disconnected from the working class" (177) makes for a jarring, and not wholly persuasive, shift in perspective.

Regardless of the book's close, this is a well-researched and well-written study. It is of use to anyone interested in American labor history, the history of U.S. transportation, and the Great Depression. It also contains nuanced insights into a wide array of fiction, music, and film concerned with the depiction of the American hobo. *Boxcar Politics* is a valuable and recommended study.

Timothy L. Glenn

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CONTEMPORARY LATINA/O MEDIA: Production, Circulation, Politics. Edited by Arlene Dávila and Yeydi M. Rivero. New York: New York University Press. 2014.

Until recently, scholarship on Latina/o media has focused on representations of Latinos in film, television, music, and the news. While these approaches have yielded useful analyses of how Latinos are depicted in various media, they have also downplayed the institutional contexts in which these representations are produced and consumed. *Contemporary Latina/o Media* addresses this imbalance by examining how media are produced for Latinos, how Latinos consume this work, and the implications of these patterns of consumption and production on Latinos' abilities to exercise their citizenship rights. By shifting our attention to the global political economy, this collection of seventeen essays offers an interdisciplinary social science intervention into a field that has been dominated by literary and cultural analyses.

Contemporary Latina/o Media is divided into three sections: production, circulation, and politics. The section on production establishes why this intervention is especially timely. In the past ten years, a pan-Latino market has emerged in the United States as the deregulation of communications industries has eroded the distinction between national and foreign media, a combination that exposes how “Latino media” is the product of transnational processes. As Arlene Dávila notes in her useful introduction to the collection, “addressing ‘Latino media’ means analyzing at least two industries: one with roots in Latin America and the other with roots in Hollywood” (2). The essays in this section demonstrate how the transnational nature of Latina/o media has shifted the ownership of media outlets away from Latinos and toward Latin American corporations. As a result, Latino media has been “Latin Americanized,” obscuring the presence of English-dominant Latinos and forgoing local concerns in favor of blander themes that are adaptable to larger audiences.

While the essays in the production section focus on the global market factors that shape Latino media, those in the circulation section attend to the media policies that affect distribution. In this section, Latino radio, which enjoys a larger listenership than the mainstream radio market, receives special consideration. Mari Castañeda shows how the deregulation of radio markets has transformed Latino radio from a separate market with a public interest mission into a commercial format that de-politicizes its content in order to attract advertisers. Examining Arbitron, the company that produces ratings for the radio industry, Dolores Inés Casillas reveals how listener surveys underreport Latinos because of linguistic and racial oversights in their measuring methodologies, errors that obscure Spanish-language radio’s impact on the U.S. market.

Radio is one example of a medium that Latinos consume at a rate that differs from other U.S. populations. Throughout this collection, there are several reports of differential consumption. Frances Negrón-Muntaner explains these differences in a chapter that distills the findings of a Columbia University study titled “The Latino Media Gap.” For example, Latinos consume broadcast television at higher rates, and they are more avid cell phone users than other populations. This focus on media consumption can lead one to mistakenly view Latinos as passive consumers, but the essays in the politics section of the book contest this view. This section reveals how undocumented youth have repurposed online videos to “come out” in the manner of gay rights activists, how consumers of media negotiate and contest the representations that they watch, and how fans of Latina/o celebrities form online counterpublics that engage the political issues associated with a star’s persona.

Throughout the collection, scholars warn us that “Latino” is never a fixed entity but can only be understood in its particular constructions. Therefore, we must always examine how these instantiations connect to a global political economy in order to determine their motives and politics. *Contemporary Latina/o Media* provides scholars with a much-needed resource for rethinking media studies and will undoubtedly emerge as a touchstone volume on its topic. Scholars of Latino/a media will seek it out for several of its groundbreaking essays, and students at all levels will find the writing accessible and sophisticated.

William Orchard

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ENCOUNTERS AT THE HEART OF THE WORLD: A History of the Mandan People.
By Elizabeth A. Fenn. New York, NY: Hill and Wang. 2014.

Unlike the Cahokians or the Chacoans, the Mandans’ archaeological “footprint” is light. Their traditional homeland along the upper Missouri River in what is today North Dakota only reveals depressions and ditches, not breathtaking mounds and stone edifices.

In national memory, these Siouan-speaking horticulturalists have sunk to near historical oblivion, eclipsed by their equestrian neighbors, such as the Lakotas.

In this Pulitzer-award winning monograph, Elizabeth Fenn restores the Mandans to their rightful place in history. As she reminds us, their ancestral homeland may seem today desolate and inhospitable but it was once “one of the most dynamic centers of interaction in North America” (132). At their height (1500–1782), Mandan villages not only seethed with people; they were “vibrant social and commercial hubs” (xiii). A productive agricultural oasis, their territory annually attracted thousands of nomads eager to obtain the foodstuff they lacked, making it a fulcrum of exchange and diplomacy. Its prominence was such that, in 1804, Lewis and Clark still recognized this region as a gateway into the American West. No wonder the Mandans called their homeland “the Heart of the World.” By adopting this perspective in her book, Fenn joins a long list of Native Americanists “Facing East from Indian Country,” to take up Daniel Richter’s book title. What emerges in the process is “an alternative view of American life...” (xv), that shifts our conventional frame of reference. In Fenn’s book, the traditional centers of power (Philadelphia, Quebec City, etc.) fade away, replaced by new locales (On-a-Slant Village, York Factory, etc.) and a new cast of actors (Sheheke, Mato-Tope, etc.) underrepresented in national memory. Once the narrative is thus recast, familiar historical events in America resonate differently. As Fenn shows, for instance, two decades after the Louisiana Purchase, the “supremacy” of the United States” over the Mandans was still theoretical (285). The territorial encroachment of the Lakotas was more palpable than the hegemonic aspirations of distant American leaders.

While Fenn focuses on an understudied topic, her work echoes many themes in New Indian History. Notably, she strives to present the Mandans as agents in their history, which was lacking in Roy W. Meyer’s *The Village Indians of the Upper Missouri: The Mandans, the Hidatsas, and the Arikaras* (1977). This goal is particularly noticeable when she documents the Mandan responses to the scourges afflicting their communities after 1781. Despite devastating epidemics, Lakota expansionism, droughts, and the proliferation of voracious Norway rats, the Mandans (like Karim Tiro’s Oneidas and Pekka Hamalainen’s Comanches) were never passive victims. They elaborated creative strategies to confront cataclysm. They drew on their rich ritual traditions, for example, to reestablish moorings in this “new world.” By studying the history of the Mandans from 1000 C.E. to the mid-1800s, Fenn traces the roots of their resiliency deep in time. Their dynamic pre-contact experience gave them the tools to confront the deleterious effects of the Columbian exchange. Clearly, “the Heart of the World” pulsed long before 1492!

Framing her work in such a broad historical continuum proved challenging since very few written sources deal directly with the Mandans before 1800. As is increasingly the case in New Indian History, Fenn supplements her meticulous reading of the ethno-historic evidence with knowledge gleaned from archaeology, ethnography, climatology, dendrochronology, epidemiology, and thermal imaging. Fenn even visited “The Heart of the World” in 2002 and her observations and impressions figure prominently in the text. After all, the lightly interpreted Mandan sites stimulate “the imagination in ways that places like Colonial Williamsburg never will” (3). Just like New Western Historians, Fenn also recognizes that life west of the 98th meridian reflected local environmental specificities. After all, “geography shaped every aspect of Mandan existence” (4). Fenn’s creative narrative structure, especially for the pre-contact period, is also noteworthy. She alternates vignettes of indigenous life before 1800 with relevant descriptions of her trip and other contemporary accounts. She thus attenuates the discontinuous nature of the historical record. She frames pre-contact history in a series of journal-like entries moving through

time and space, powerful snapshots indicating that, long before 1492, Native Americans lived in a dynamic world and that the evidence is still hidden there in the landscape.
Christophe Boucher College of Charleston

FATHER OF ROUTE 66: The Story of Cy Avery. By Susan Croce Kelly. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2014.

Generations of Americans knew Route 66 as the “Mother Road” that connected Chicago to Los Angeles via St. Louis, Tulsa, Amarillo, and a host of other southwestern cities and towns. Starting in the 1920s, the road became significant for its role in transporting motoring travelers and migrants westward to California. As Susan Croce Kelly shows in *Father of Route 66*, the road did not create itself. Rather, progressive Tulsa oilman Cyrus “Cy” Avery was a major figure in planning and shaping the route. A straightforward yet lively account of Avery’s life, this book is a valuable resource for those interested in the history of the early-1900s “good roads” movement, Great Plains progressivism, and Route 66.

Cyrus Avery was born in Pennsylvania’s Susquehanna valley in 1871, just six years after the Civil War. In 1884 his father moved the family to what was then Indian Territory. By 1904, Cy had graduated from William Jewell College near Kansas City and formed the Avery Oil and Gas Company in Vinita, Oklahoma. In 1907, the twenty-six-year-old moved his family to Tulsa, a city that was positioning itself to be “the financial, business, and transportation center for those oil fields” (18). Avery became a land speculator, snatching up Native American allotments, as well as a real estate developer. He developed parts of Tulsa’s African-American Greenwood neighborhood and even contributed land for city parks and the municipal airport. Avery was also instrumental in implementing the Spavinaw Water Project, which brought good drinking water to Tulsa in the early 1920s.

Most significantly, Avery was a major proponent of the movement to build good, paved roads that would connect far-flung cities and towns. A “joiner” and “promoter” (38), he never missed a chance to spread his highway gospel. Avery was a member of the American Association of State Highway Officials (AASHO) and was elected president of the Associated Highways of America (AHA) in 1922. Through such organizations, Avery pressed federal, state, and local governments to fund highway improvements. While serving as Oklahoma highway commissioner in 1924 he promoted a law that implemented one of the nation’s earliest gasoline taxes for funding roads. In 1925 and 1926, Avery helped plan the original interstate highway routes authorized by the 1921 Federal Aid Highway Act. A particularly fascinating chapter in *Father of Route 66* details the lengthy debates and negotiations that ended up giving the road the famous designation “66”—rather than the round “60” (which Avery had initially preferred) or the less sonorous “62,” which was favored by factions that wanted “60” to designate the trans-continental highway that passed from Virginia Beach to California via Kentucky.

This is a thoroughly researched biography. Kelly has dug deeply into Avery’s manuscript collection at Oklahoma State University–Tulsa, as well as papers located elsewhere in Oklahoma, Missouri, and the National Archives. She successfully places Avery’s life and work in historical context. At times the book does tend to slip into hagiography, with the author implying that no other person could have made Route 66 into a reality. Kelly is correct, though, in stating Avery’s tremendous impact on the famous road.

When Cy Avery died in 1963, Route 66 “had been the muse for a Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, a long-running television show, and an ever-popular song” (3). It had carried legions of Americans across mountains and deserts before rolling into Hollywood

and terminating “on a sandy Pacific beach” (3). Although Route 66 was decommissioned in 1985—when it had been replaced by multiple segments of the post–World War II Interstate Highway System—the meanings of Avery’s road continued to reverberate. America’s metaphorical main street now lives on in memory, nostalgia, and popular culture references—as well as frontage roads, bypasses, and isolated sections of cracked pavement. This biography helps us understand the building of the 2,400-mile concrete ribbon that fostered westward travel during America’s century and inspired the legend of the “Mother Road.”

Brian M. Ingrassia

West Texas A&M University

FOR FEAR OF AN ELECTIVE KING: George Washington and the Presidential Title Controversy of 1789. By Kathleen Bartoloni-Tuazon. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2014.

This is the first book-length study of a controversy to which historians, as Bartoloni-Tuazon notes at the outset, have rarely paid detailed attention. The book achieves two important things. Firstly, it demonstrates that the debate over titles went considerably beyond the Senate chamber where it has traditionally been located. Secondly, it convincingly (and often entertainingly) shows the extent to which the titles controversy was a lightning rod for deeper American concerns in the early republic.

Previous accounts of the controversy have usually focused on the debate in the Senate and between Senate and House over proposals for quasi-monarchical titles for the new president. Bartoloni-Tuazon however begins with three chapters exploring the context of those congressional arguments. The first covers the complicated use of titles in revolutionary America, the second the persistence of monarchical sympathies in the same period (seen particularly in attitudes to and depictions of Washington), and the third the sharp contemporary disagreements over the role of the presidency. The account of the debates that follows, while beginning with Congress, also explores the subsequent life of the issue in newspapers, private correspondence, and satirical poems and plays.

The titles dispute is thus shown to function on a number of levels. At its simplest it was a continuation of long-standing debates over where power should be located in the new nation, and who might wield it. But it also exposed that neither titles nor monarchical sympathies vanished with British rule. And there is a sense at times that Washington stands apart as a quasi-monarchical figure, potentially even for those who deplored the idea of elaborate titles. Bartoloni-Tuazon ultimately argues that the rejection of titles was also a rejection of “the monarchy they symbolised” (158). The book makes clear that that rejection was slower in the country than in Congress, but it was perhaps not as complete as the author concludes, and indeed there is some contradiction here with her subsequent suggestion that after Washington left office “there would be only uncertainty” about the presidency (160).

The book is based on deep and effective use of archival material (particularly the valuable volumes of the *Documentary History of the First Federal Congress*). Many readers will be familiar with the John Adams–William Maclay clash, far fewer with such sources as St. George Tucker’s satirical dramatization of it in *Up and Ride; or, The Borough of Brooklyn*. Our understanding of the first is much enriched by the addition of the second. Throughout, Bartoloni-Tuazon’s deployment of well-chosen quotations renders the dispute, in all its iterations, freshly vivid.

Some aspects of the interpretation are open to further debate, such as the rejection of monarchy already mentioned, or the argument that the taint of monarchism was crucial to subsequent Federalist collapse. I was also surprised that a study in which John Adams

is so central does not engage with C. Bradley Thompson's *John Adams and the Spirit of Liberty*. However, these are small points. Bartoloni-Tuazon absolutely demonstrates the importance of the titles controversy to the early development of the US presidency and to our understanding of contemporary American political sensibilities. She also, not always the case with deeply researched work, tells a thoroughly good story.

Finn Pollard

University of Lincoln, United Kingdom

HEMINGWAY, THE RED CROSS, AND THE GREAT WAR. By Steven Florczyk. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press. 2014.

This exhaustively researched monograph is clearly written, cogently organized, and sensibly interdisciplinary in its methods. It will garner the interest of scholars interested in America's role in the Great War as well as Hemingway specialists. Readers with a pointed interest in the literary development of modern letters or those looking for new critical approaches to modern American fiction are likely to find the book of less use for their particular purposes. Professor Florczyk has undertaken an enormous labor of scholarship, producing a monograph with forty-two pages of notes (a number of which attain to the proverbial mini-essays that one finds in the work of specialists) and nine pages of bibliography. He has immersed himself in primary material, especially the archives of ambulance drivers, canteen workers, and Red Cross functionaries, and he also demonstrates a command of pertinent secondary works. If one were to take Hemingway out of the picture, one would still be left with a thoroughly informative book on the American Red Cross during the First World War. One primary source deserves particular mention in this regard: the author has made good use of the apparently extensive private papers of Robert Bates, Red Cross volunteer. Bates's notations provide a good deal of background information, local color, and detail from which much can be inferred about the typical activities, attitudes, and practices of ambulance drivers in World War I, including, of course, Hemingway himself.

As for the biographical dimension of the study, most of the new findings are contained in the first part of the book, which also serves to verify heretofore uncertain biographical details and to correct or refine contested and ambiguous matters that bear directly on Hemingway's life, but which are seldom decisive in the criticism of his fiction. The book is laid out in five body chapters, framed by an introduction and conclusion, each of which proceeds chronologically according to Hemingway's involvement in the war. Of special interest to the Hemingway specialist is Florczyk's discussion of Hemingway's wounding, treatment, and convalescence on the Italian front. Also of interest is his discussion of the famous author's behavior and attitudes upon his return home to Oak Park, Illinois after the war. The examination of war-themed and war-influenced Hemingway stories that comprises the final forty pages or so, while authoritative and clear-headed, actually shows little that could not be shown without the historical and biographical findings that comprise the majority of the study. Nevertheless, the clarity and thoroughness of Florczyk's synthesis of scholarship on Hemingway's war fictions render these pages of use, especially to scholars who may be somewhat familiar with Hemingway studies but who are not specialists in modern fiction or Hemingway careerists.

This book is one of a number of recently published monographs on Hemingway put out by Kent State University Press. The volume contains a helpful map of the Italian theater of war along with a generous supply of photographs. It is handsomely put together, a worthy vehicle for an admirable work of scholarship.

Matthew Stewart

Boston University

“I HEAR AMERICA SINGING”: Folk Music and National Identity. By Rachel Clare Donaldson. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press. 2014.

Many scholars and music enthusiasts alike use the term “folk music revival” to describe the popular ascendancy of performers like Joan Baez and Bob Dylan in the early 1960s. Indeed, folk music experienced a brief period of commercial success in the United States after the rise of rock-and-roll in the 1950s and before the British invasion of the mid-1960s. By viewing the revival through a tight chronological lens and measuring its influence in terms of popularity, historians have convincingly argued that folk music—and folk musicians—played a critical role in popularizing and expanding a variety of social and political movements. Yet, narrowly associating the revival with the social and cultural movements of the early 1960s has truncated our understanding of the larger cultural significance of American folk music. Further, the over-emphasis on popularity as a measure of influence has made it difficult to recognize the way folk music has both shaped and reflected diversity as a consistent, if sometimes marginalized, aspect of American national identity.

Rachel Clare Donaldson has written an intellectual history of the American folk revival, *I Hear America Singing*, that addresses both of these shortcomings. Donaldson has made at least three important and intelligent choices about how to examine her subject. Rather than focusing on commercial success or other measures of popularity, Donaldson approaches the folk revival from the top down. She analyzes the work of a variety of leaders who shaped the way folk music was defined, collected, and disseminated. In turn, Donaldson’s focus on folklorists, anthropologists, and other organized leaders in the field, allows her to expand the chronology of the folk revival. She identifies the roots of the revival in the first decades of the twentieth century and explores its full emergence in the 1930s. Finally, by taking seriously the motivations of a diverse—and often divergent—group of leaders, Donaldson can identify the core philosophy underneath their work. Taken together, these choices allow Donaldson to argue that the folk music revival is important as a window not only into American popular culture, but also into the formation of American national identity.

Donaldson’s work provides a new context for understanding the significance of American folk music. *I Hear America Singing* makes clear that the folk music revival was not simply a brief and isolated phenomenon that emerged in tandem with 1960s social justice movements. Rather, the individuals who sought to collect, preserve, and disseminate folk music gradually gave form and content to pluralistic nationalism. At first, collectors were largely interested in identifying cultural continuities between the United States and Great Britain, a project that reflected the nativism and racism of the World War I era. But, Donaldson argues, it was the more systematic work undertaken by musicologists, folklorists, and anthropologists that shaped the revival. Franz Boas is at the center of this story. Boas insisted that culture should not be conflated with evolution, and he collected music from groups of people that his contemporaries were loath to recognize as influencing American culture. His efforts led to the creation of national, regional, and local folk music organizations dedicated to collecting a variety of musical forms. At the micro level, these groups disagreed fiercely. Some argued that the only true American folk music came from indigenous Indian peoples. Others recognized the cultural value of African American music. Still others gathered songs and music from various immigrant populations. Despite their disagreements over the precise content of the American folk music catalog, these organizations played a crucial role in shaping a particular set of beliefs about American national identity. Donaldson argues convincingly

ingly that the folk music revival was an ongoing dialogue that articulated what we now recognize as multiculturalism.

I Hear America Singing also fits well with current trends in public history. For decades, public history was misrepresented in the scholarly literature. At best, it appeared as a less legitimate branch of the larger discipline of history because it did not have clear roots in the academy. At worst, it has been recognized as a political project designed to constrict American identity. Certainly, early preservation organizations were motivated by a desire to combat social change and articulate a eurocentric genealogy for the nation. But it is also true—though less well analyzed—that efforts to collect, preserve, and celebrate the past have also played a role in advancing a more pluralistic vision of America. In the last decade, a new generation of public history practitioners and scholars have begun to historicize and theorize this aspect of the field. *I Hear America Singing* contributes to that effort. By focusing on the ideas and actions of those leading the folk revival, and by eliminating popularity as a measure of influence, Donaldson allows us to recognize that a persistent—if often marginalized—belief in multiculturalism and social justice has been shaped by formal practices of public culture.

Denise Meringolo

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MODERN MOTHERHOOD: An American History. By Jodi Vandenberg-Daves. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. 2014.

Over the past two decades, motherhood has exploded as a site of study within gender studies, and Jodi Vandenberg-Daves's work *Modern Motherhood* provides a compelling, rich synthesis of the current state of the field. Weaving together various threads in the story of the emergence of modern motherhood in America, she offers a compelling new look at the socio-cultural, historical, political, religious, and economic factors that coalesced to create our current conception of motherhood. Her work archives the changes to women's role in childhood, childcare, attitudes toward motherhood, and shifting notions of the family to create a complete picture of motherhood in America. While her work draws on a wealth of existing scholarship on women, mothers, and families, including Linda Kerber, Mary P. Ryan, Adrienne Rich, Andrea O'Reilly, Jan Lewis, Rima Apple, Ann Hulbert, and many others, it is unique in its comprehensive approach to answering a central question—how did the modern mother come to be?

Modern Motherhood traces the historical and cultural narratives surrounding the emergence of modern motherhood in America, from the colonial views of mothers' roles, to the emergence of Republican Motherhood in the late seventeenth century, to the transition to moral motherhood in the nineteenth century, and finally to the culmination of these trends in the scientific motherhood of the twentieth century. She explores how changes to everything from economic systems to reproductive practices to ideals of marriage and family life contributed to the evolution of ideas about what makes a woman a mother. While much of her work draws on existing research and scholarship in the field and the focus is not on producing new historical evidence or archival work, the real strength of *Modern Motherhood* comes from Vandenberg-Daves's ability to weave together the various threads of family, gender, economics, politics, and science to create a rich tapestry depicting the rise of the modern mother.

Vandenberg-Daves acknowledges in her introduction and throughout the text that an exploration of the emergence of modern motherhood would benefit from a greater understanding of how motherhood historically looked for those mothers who were not white middle and upper-class women. However, as she points out, much of the historical

records left by women in American history come from this very group, so the examination of the mothering practices, expectations, and experiences of women of color, immigrant groups, and women from other socioeconomic groups remains a challenging endeavor. As Vandenberg-Daves puts it in her introduction, “This book represents a significant representation of ‘what we know’ about the history of mothering and motherhood” but “frustrating silences in history” remain (5).

Nonetheless, she consistently interrogates how whiteness and class privilege affect motherhood, and in fact much of her work is concerned with the way that upper and middle-class women, imbued with a growing moral influence derived from their roles as mothers, used this moral power to police and intervene in the mothering practices of marginalized groups. This often created a conflicted relationship between them, whereby the women in the marginalized groups might receive material help in terms of health, income, and child care, but often at the expense of privacy and autonomy in their mothering roles.

Particularly compelling are her chapters on scientific motherhood, the twentieth century version of motherhood that emerged out of the growing influence of “experts” and reverence for modern medicine and its ability to offer answers, safety, and security for mothers concerned about the health and well-being of their children. While scientific motherhood and the influence of doctors, non-mother experts, and quantifiable outcomes have often been seen as a departure from mothering traditions and practices of the nineteenth century, Vandenberg-Daves convincingly shows how scientific motherhood grows out of the moral motherhood and political maternalism of the sentimental nineteenth century.

Modern Motherhood deserves to be read both by scholars familiar with the current literature on motherhood, who will find her ability to provide new insights and reorganize pieces of the puzzle of motherhood compelling, and by general readers seeking a comprehensive introduction to the history of motherhood in America.

Virginia Engholm

Our Lady of the Lake College

ORGIES OF FEELING: Melodrama and the Politics of Freedom. By Elisabeth R. Anker. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 2014.

Once, the jeremiad was the genre that set the parameters for American political discourse. Since the 1950s, and especially since September 11, 2001, it has been melodrama that sets the parameters. Politicians, journalists, and even leftist academics have adopted the conventions of melodrama. These are the central claims of *Orgies of Feeling*, a deeply compelling and smart work that itself defies genre convention, standing between political theory, cultural studies, and media studies.

The jeremiad essentially involves self-criticism, a sense that we have gone morally astray and that we must be held to account for our transgressions. On this our future depends: if we succeed in moral correction now, we will enter the land of milk and honey; if not, fire and brimstone await. In contrast, melodrama, on Anker’s account, involves an innocent community injured by an evil Other. A hero emerges from the victimized community to combat the forces of evil and return a community to its original goodness. In melodrama, unlike in the jeremiad, there is no self-criticism: pure evil is located outside “our” community, pure goodness inside “our” community. When melodrama becomes a political convention, on Anker’s account, the community becomes the nation (America) and the hero represents the nation—paradigmatically, George W. Bush’s carefully choreographed performances of heroism post 9/11. The problems that accompany this sort of Manichean political discourse are obvious.

According to Anker, melodrama became the genre of American politics during the Cold War. Even after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt did not portray the struggle against the Japanese as a war of good against evil. It was Truman who first cast America as a victim-hero, beleaguered by Communist advances and intervening around the globe to defend freedom. Anker tracks the development of melodramatic politics over the next several decades as it took on new forms and gained a monopoly on the American political imagination. For example, she notes how Reagan positioned Americans as victims of inflation requiring his heroic efforts at deregulation and government shrinkage in order to restore freedom to Americans—who each can become heroes themselves by letting self-reliance replace dependence on government.

Anker draws on Nietzsche (from whom she takes her title) to argue that the strong emotions evoked by melodrama are responsive to a sense of powerlessness, a sense that one is a victim but that one cannot clearly identify the cause of one's suffering. The reason melodrama has such a strong hold on our current politics, Anker posits, is that it is the impersonal force of neoliberalism that is victimizing us, depriving us of actual freedom while promoting a hollow rhetoric of freedom. The genre of melodrama gives form to the feelings that this contradictory situation produces, affirming Americans' sense of themselves as victims, clearly identifying the cause of suffering—Communism, inflation, Osama bin Laden, or Saddam Hussein—and authorizing the state to play the role of hero, championing good against evil. Even Leftists, Anker charges, adopt these conventions: Hardt and Negri's "multitude" battles "empire." The book concludes on a hopeful note. Reading Douglas Sirk's *All That Heaven Allows* together with Bush's "Mission Accomplished" speech, Anker suggests that melodramas that underscore their own failure, intentional or not, can encourage Americans to think about freedom in new, less sensationalist modes.

This is a largely successful book, one that will surely have a significant impact on the field. It makes broad claims, claims that cannot be decisively proven, but claims that Anker shows to be plausible and, most importantly, useful in thinking about contemporary American culture. The book suffers, mildly, from a typical vice of first books: it is overly dependent on, and uncritical of, scholarship by the author's advisors, political theorist Wendy Brown and film theorist Linda Williams. It is also perplexing that the only "transnational" moment in the text comes in the second chapter's tracing of melodrama's origins in Europe. At least some reflection on Rainer Werner Fassbinder's quite political appropriation of American melodrama would have added another interesting dimension, bolstering Anker's conclusion about the powerful and unpredictable oppositional potential of the genre.

Vincent Lloyd

Syracuse University

PREACHING THE GOSPEL OF BLACK REVOLT: Appropriating Milton in Early African American Literature. By Reginald A. Wilburn. Pittsburg, PA: Duquesne University Press. 2014.

Wilburn's book sets out to explore a previously neglected area, Milton's impact on early African-American literature. Like the British Romantics before them, nineteenth-century African American writers embraced Milton as a pioneer of liberty, and used him for their own political purposes, while simultaneously appealing to his position in the literary canon for validation.

The book is divided into a theoretical first chapter, followed by chapters on Phillis Wheatley, early black orators and pamphleteers, Frederick Douglass, Frances Ellen

Watkins Harper, Anna Julia Cooper, Sutton E. Griggs, and an epilogue on Malcolm X. In conjunction with his Christian ethos, Milton's poetry becomes an inspiration for these black writers who "recognized freedom and its pursuit as a political ministry divinely sanctioned by God" (16).

Wilburn is strictly interested in the type of intertextuality that designates "the semantic and cultural presupposition that lie between two texts and allow both of them to have the meaning that they do" (172). This theoretical statement is important to keep in mind, given the dearth of textual evidence in this 392-page book. In most cases, the authors never mentioned Milton in their writings, and they may or may not have encountered his work directly. Yet, Wilburn finds Milton's influence everywhere: in the texts' formal and rhetorical choices, specific turns of phrase, or overall tenor. Thus, Chapter Two discovers "traces of Miltonic presence" in Phillis Wheatley's use of blank verse in her elegies (60). Chapter Three claims that early African-American orators and pamphleteers "specifically structured their orations with Milton in mind" (137) in their black jeremiads. Chapter Four discusses Frederick Douglass's *Autobiography*, arguing that Douglass's fragmentary encounter with Book 6 of *Paradise Lost* reproduced in a primer the abolitionist read, is bound to have shaped the writer's style in delivering his subsequent anti-slavery messages (158).

Even the lack of any reference to Milton in a text becomes a submerged Miltonic presence. In Chapter Five, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper is said to signal Milton's influence on her work by choosing to publish *Moses* (1869) in a two-text format. At the same time, her idiosyncratic use of blank verse stands for Harper's "wayward or demonic approach to Miltonic engagement" (199) and artistic independence from Milton's authority.

In the first chapter, Wilburn argues that it is impossible for any post-Miltonic English-language poet to refer to Satan without implicitly referring to Milton (50). Consequently, all literary references to Satan, hell, or revolt are read as intentional, overt engagements with the poet. Chapter Six deals with Anna Julia Cooper's feminist critique of patriarchy, which appropriates Milton by sharing his demonic revolt against authority (236). Similarly, in Chapter Seven, Sutton E. Griggs's black nationalism in *Imperium in Imperio* (1899) "instantly invites an intertextual association with Milton" in their shared "themes of subterranean rebellion and liberty" (291). Furthermore, given *Imperium's* indebtedness to Thomas Jefferson's political philosophies and Jefferson's own debt to Milton's ideas on liberty, Griggs becomes "a Miltonic heir by intertextual default" (283).

The epilogue analyzes the Miltonian influence in Malcolm X's articulation of black nationalism. Given his conversion to Islam, X reads Milton's biblical symbolism from outside the Christian tradition and self-consciously identifies with Satan's radical energies in *Paradise Lost* in his scathing critique of racial inequality in the U.S. As Wilburn puts it, "Unlike Milton, Malcolm is of the devil's party and he knows it" (328).

Wilburn accomplishes what he set out to do, in as much as he firmly situates early African-American writers within the framework of English literature. His book convincingly illuminates the stylistic, thematic, and rhetorical affinities of early African-American writing with the larger English literary tradition, as well as the writers' own agency in making this tradition their own. Unfortunately, this important and fascinating story often gets obscured by awkward interpretive acrobatics meant to find *intentional* engagements with Milton even where there are none.

Oana Godeanu-Kenworthy

Miami University

PRODUCING COUNTRY: The Inside Story of the Great Recordings. By Michael Jarrett. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press. 2014.

In the world of country music, past or present, attention has been directed toward the “stars”—the main performers. Relatively few country music fans have ever been able to recount the names and abilities of studio musicians, arrangers, and songwriters, despite the fact that all the latter are essential ingredients in the creation of country music recordings. Even more overlooked have been the producers—those people whose exact contributions to the sound of country recordings are, from the public’s perspective, hard to gauge.

Of course, producers have been central to the realization of country music recordings (though their precise roles have changed over the decades). In recent years, producers have not only served as intermediaries between record companies and musicians but have also worked to ensure the financial and aesthetic success of recording endeavors. Yet, unlike in pop music where certain producers are household names (George Martin, Jerry Wexler, Rick Hall, Rick Rubin, among others), few producers in country music have been widely acknowledged for their success in that role (Owen Bradley and Billy Sherrill, for instance, have never gotten broad public recognition for revolutionizing the sound of country music in the 1960s and 1970s, while Chet Atkins is primarily remembered today not for his production leadership, but for his own studio work on guitar). Michael Jarrett’s book *Producing Country* goes a long way toward correcting such oversight.

Taking a fascinating approach to illustrating the thinking and actions undertaken by people assigned to produce country music recordings, the author presents transcribed texts of numerous interviews he conducted with various producers. These producers’ reflections—the interviews as presented in this book are too fragmentary to be considered oral histories—are generally insightful and are occasionally revelatory (such as producer William McEuen’s setting the record straight about the process of recording the groundbreaking 1972 multi-artist album *Will The Circle Be Unbroken*). Jarrett clearly knows how to talk with (and listen to) people who are at the same time powerful within their industry and yet misunderstood. (While Jarrett earned the cooperation of many of the bigger names in country music production, perhaps inevitably some significant still-living country music producers, such as the elusive Sherrill, were not interviewed for the book.) Unfortunately, despite being an engaging read, Jarrett’s book does not provide sufficient context or analysis to fully encompass this rich, rarely explored terrain. To be sure, the author provided a few short “interludes” that attempt to define and outline the complexities of production work, but the reader longs for a broader, more balanced perspective.

Confusingly, *Producing Country* includes interviews of talented producers whose work is hardly central to understanding country music as that genre has been defined historically (for instance, the text discusses the making of recordings by bluesman Robert Johnson, soulmen Joe Tex, Otis Redding, and Al Green, pop crooner Jennifer Warnes, and alternative rockers Blue Mountain). In another problematical editorial decision the book features—adjacent to discussions about specific recordings—thumbnail images of album covers where readers can locate the recordings under discussion. However, in several cases those albums do not represent the definitive source of the recordings discussed in the book (as one example from Chapter 1, Jarrett illustrates interview snippets about producer Ralph Peer’s 1927 recording sessions in Bristol, Tennessee, with an image of a cherry-picked single CD overview of those sessions, ignoring the definitive scholarly edition from Bear Family Records that contains the complete Bristol sessions).

For its part, Jarrett’s book features an inspired, subtly striking cover image based on a 1978 black-and-white photograph of Tompall Glaser (in which the “outlaw country”

artist and producer is reaching across a studio mixing board to adjust a sound knob). As if to dramatize the producer's role as a mysterious crafter of sound, the book's designer has colorized Glaser's body, which is thrusting forward out from the gray-toned background.

Despite some shortcomings, Jarrett's book is valuable because it illuminates an exciting process that for too long had been veiled by industry protocol and ignored because of public indifference. *Producing Country* should inspire other scholars to look more deeply and more broadly into "the inside story" of country music.

Ted Olson

East Tennessee State University

READING PRISONERS: Literature, Literacy, and the Transformation of American Punishment, 1700–1845. By Jodi Schorb. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. 2014.

In her book *Reading Prisoners: Literature, Literacy, and the Transformation of American Punishment, 1700–1845*, Jodi Schorb offers an historical narrative detailing literacy's effects on early United States imprisonment. Schorb succeeds in explaining the nuances of prisoner literacy and education while placing prisoners at the center of the narrative. Schorb also prevails in presenting prisoners as active participants in their literacy education, allowing them to define the agency and efficacy of their creative expression. Prisoners are then able to create subversive literary spaces and establish self-authorizing voices.

What makes *Reading Prisoners* especially compelling is this: the arguments that were made for and against prisoner literacy and education in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are the same arguments being made in today's political debate on prison education. Despite empirical research that proves prison education helps rehabilitate incarcerated people and saves taxpayers' money, some dissenters still believe investing in their education is a waste of money and resources.

Reading Prisoners is divided into two parts. In part one, *Literacy in the Eighteenth-Century "Gaol,"* Schorb argues that the literate prisoner was introduced to the public in the eighteenth century as a "new reader or writer, much like themselves" (7). In part two, *Literacy in the Early Penitentiary*, Schorb contends that prison reform in the early national period neglected to include a convincing argument on the benefits of prisoner education and literacy.

In the book's four chapters, Schorb chronologically details the evolution of prisoner literacy. She begins in the eighteenth century when the only type of education prisoners received came informally by way of visiting ministers and community members who would bring "books, Bibles, and religious pamphlets to read with (or read to) condemned prisoners" (19). Punishment was public and swift, Schorb writes, so there was no need for literate prisoners. Ironically, it was the execution of prisoners that "triggered early America's interest in prisoner literacy" (20). The public grew enamored by prisoners' reading habits and criminal confessions became the primary literary source to satisfy the public's curiosity. Traces of this public curiosity can be seen today in the publication of books such as *Death Row Confessions: Execution Chamber Last Statements* that includes the final testaments of 162 convicted criminals.

Following the reading prisoner, Schorb introduces the "writing prisoners," those who pen their last narratives in hopes of gaining sympathetic readers and protesting their unjust sentences. Schorb "highlights how prisoners embraced the promise of print while dramatizing the perils that accompanied the spread of mass literacy" (50). Letter writing became a primary form of communication that allowed prisoners to write with a more

assertive voice—offering advice to their children and spouses, for instance—and respond to family issues such as separation.

The purpose of punishment began to change from public spectacle to a more private practice, ultimately influencing prison advocates' perspectives of the purposes of prisoner education and writing. With a particular focus on Philadelphia's solitary model of punishment, Schorb analyzes this shift in the second half of *Reading Prisoners*. She uses prisoners' published accounts and Pennsylvania prison records to reveal "a long and contentious struggle over the value of prisoner education" (15). Moral instructors failed to see how teaching prisoners to read and write would help reform them; authorities began pushing basic literacy to the forefront to illustrate that prisoners were not suffering from solitary confinement. Also during this time, prisoners began to write authoritatively about their incarceration and write themselves into the public discourse on prison reform.

In contrast to the Pennsylvania model of punishment, New York's congregate model offers another perspective on prisoner education. Schorb uses prisoner writing to give first-hand critical perspectives of the reading and writing opportunities that officials claimed were afforded prisoners. *Reading Prisoners* is a valuable resource for students and scholars of American literature, American Studies, history, and criminology who want a deeper understanding of the evolution of prisoner writing and education, and the role prisoners played in that genesis.

Breea C. Willingham

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STAGING THE BLUES: From Tent Shows to Tourism. By Paige A. McGinley. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 2014.

In reading Paige McGinley's book I expected that I would be exposed to new theoretical perspectives regarding the mass-mediation of the blues and blues culture. However, I never anticipated that it would draw me into deeper interrogations of the historiography of the blues, the attributes of blues performance, monikers of authenticity in blues culture, and issues of economic/cultural exploitation that are related to the blues tourism industry. The foundation of McGinley's study is the negation of the links between black and white theatrical traditions and the performance of the blues. In this text the word performance takes on many different contexts and raises questions regarding agency over who or what defines the act of performance on and off stage. She reveals the multilayered and complicated contexts of "performance" that envelop the blues that extend beyond sonic representations and have come to include the engagement of the body on the stage, images captured on film and through television, and the constructed "lived" blues experience.

Those expecting McGinley to focus her thesis around the usual cast of characters invoked in blues historiography (e.g. Robert Johnson, Muddy Waters) will be surprised to discover that the narrative is centered around a collective of artists that includes some contemporary regional artists active in the Mississippi Delta region as well as Ma Rainey, Huddie Ledbetter, Bessie Smith, Sister Rosetta Tharpe, Sonny Terry, and Brownie McGhee. Through analysis of the different praxis advanced individually and collectively by these artists, the author addresses how the intersection of the blues with mainstream popular culture mediums and a growing fascination with blackness reflected a strong link between the genre and American theatrical traditions that were first explored through the minstrel stage and later through vaudeville and other forms of public entertainment. There are three main theoretical perspectives that frame this discussion: 1) the gendering of the blues and blues performance practice through the rejection of its theatrical roots; 2) cross-examination of the attributes of authenticity in blues performance; and 3) the

construction of cultural and racial narratives of “invisibility” that result from the commodification of blues culture.

The first chapter provides the reader with an early genealogical study of the confluence of the blues with black theater practices. While McGinley’s work explores some common readings on the genesis of the vaudeville blues, she extends beyond these to include analysis of the debates regarding the politics of respectability in the Post-Reconstruction black community regarding the advancement of the blues, black women performers, and the tent show. One of the key and interesting aspects of this chapter, which transitions this work away from similar discussions, is its analysis of the social and political uses of costuming and photography. The author’s readings of iconic photographs of Smith and Rainey provide the reader with details regarding the authority these women exercised over their public personas and how these images reflected deeper intellectual considerations about representations of femininity and blackness in Post-World War I America. This question of agency over the blues persona is the point of transition into an intriguing discussion of Huddie Ledbetter, which attempts to free him from the narrative of passivity to one of conscious agency in relation to his role in the urban folk movement and his interactions with the Lomaxes. McGinley deconstructs the making of the stage and musical persona of Leadbelly and establishes Ledbetter was a separate identity from this mediated persona. However, one of the intriguing points discussed in this chapter was the theoretical relationship between the anthropological work of Zora Neal Hurston and that of Alan and John Lomax. The author explores effectively the contradictory nature of Lomax’s anti-theatrical beliefs and his use of the lecture-performance during the 1930s and 1940s.

The last two chapters of the book contextualize the globalization of blues culture as well as the construction of a blues milieu through television and the blues tourism industry. In this aspect of the book the focus shifts away from the sonic performance of the blues to the construction of the blues ethos. Performance is defined in the engagement of the body with the relics of the blues life (e.g. sharecropper’s shacks, food, the Mississippi Delta region, abandoned train stations). This chapter alone makes this book a must read. It left me wondering what is more problematic in considering the proliferation of this industry—the selling of the “authentic” blues experience through the use of physical relics that reflect the racial and economic disenfranchisement that defined aspects of early blues culture, the whitewashing of the racial history of the South through the negation of the struggle for civil rights, or the economic exploitation that involves many of the black communities that this industry engages with? McGinley does not provide an answer. Nevertheless this study will prove to be one of the most captivating additions to the scholarship on the blues to date.

Tammy L. Kernodle

Miami University

TAMING MANHATTAN: Environmental Battles in the Antebellum City. By Catherine McNeur. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2014.

In *Taming Manhattan*, Catherine McNeur further integrates environmental history with both social history and urban history. Relying on thorough research into periodicals and city archives, McNeur examines “the contested nature of urban growth and progress” through a series of environmental battles over the healthfulness of a rapidly growing New York City (2). These battles frequently pitted politicians and elite reformers against the city’s poor.

For the city’s elite, McNeur writes, “Taking control of the streets was a means to define boundaries between public and private, urban and rural, rich and poor” (198). The

boundaries they endeavored to establish were intended to create a more healthful and orderly city, one that favored genteel, tree-lined residential neighborhoods and pastoral parks over the muck-producing agricultural uses of the poor. Poor New Yorkers, for their part, defended the “urban commons” (3). With this urban commons concept, McNeur builds on the work of environmental historians who have applied E.P. Thompson’s “moral economy” to environmental struggles. In antebellum New York, McNeur argues, trash-strewn and mud- and manure-filled streets provided sustenance for poor city folk and their animals, and also materials for reuse and sale. Taming Manhattan would require closing the urban commons on which the poor relied for day-to-day survival.

Among the first public health threats lawmakers targeted were wild dogs and hogs. Though dogs had little economic utility, laws that encouraged the mass slaughter of stray canines met resistance from New Yorkers of all classes. While middle-class and wealthy New Yorkers bemoaned the impact such displays of cruelty had on children the working class fought back to protect their treasured companions. Hogs, by contrast, were vital as scavengers and alternate food sources for the poor, and resistance to pig laws in the city’s outer wards effectively stymied their enforcement. The city’s elite, however, did not lament the removal of pigs, for, to them, swine represented the city’s filthiness and backwardness. Especially during the 1810s and 1820s, grassroots resistance helped preserve parts of the urban commons.

The cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1849 served as significant turning points in buttressing the city government’s authority to act in the interest of public health. Public Health Wardens inspected private spaces and in the process eliminated the public/private divide. Sanitation efforts and the liberal application of nuisance laws led to more systematic street cleaning and the closing of offal plants around Manhattan. The spread of cholera also affirmed the necessity of bringing clean water to the city through the Croton aqueduct and a large, centralized park to function as the lungs of the city.

Despite the presence of homeowners and squatters on the future site of Central Park, and in spite of resistance from those residents, New York would proceed with the mapping and construction of Central Park. Among the first features of the urban commons to be removed in order to make way for the park and surrounding properties were noisome piggeries. Replacing shantytowns and piggeries with a pastoral park where resource use was banned highlighted an interesting irony in the taming of Manhattan: “The rural antidote for urban ills came at the expense of what was truly rural about the city” (219).

McNeur’s focus on the urban commons not only brings new stories to light, but also sheds new light on old stories; unfortunately, at times the voices of poor New Yorkers get lost in McNeur’s narrative. Although this is no doubt a consequence of the scarcity of sources, at times the battles McNeur describes seem one-sided. Moreover, in her discussion of the city’s response to cholera epidemics, McNeur counters the argument that municipal government’s efforts to improve the environment were motivated by a fear of immigrants and outsiders. She contends, instead, that these efforts were a thoughtful response to unwieldy urbanization and the outbreak of epidemics. No doubt there was real concern for public health behind legislators’ actions. Yet given the tendency of New York’s elite to deride the city’s poor, often equating them with the filth and wild animals they were attempting to clean up, we should not be too quick to dismiss the assertion that city government sought to control the classes of people so often described as dirty and unruly.

Nevertheless, *Taming Manhattan* should appeal to both scholars and enthusiasts interested in the history of public health in New York. McNeur resists the temptation to

romanticize the urban commons and still makes a persuasive case that the public effort that created a healthier Manhattan also came at a cost.

Jonathan Anzalone

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THE BUDDHA IN THE MACHINE: Art, Technology, and the Meeting of East and West.
By R. John Williams. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 2014.

It is telling that some of our moments of greatest interpretive insight come out of moments of ostensible failure. Take, for example, the Chinese-American writer Lin Yutang's brush with the Remington Typewriter Company in 1947. Having devoted decades of his life and invested all of his riches—and then some—in developing a Chinese typewriter, Lin and his daughter found themselves with an audience that could very well not only validate his life's work but, in the process, usher China into the “rapidly technologizing global order” the typewriter signified and enabled (129). And then at the crucial moment, the darn thing wouldn't work. Despite the typewriter's failure to perform, R. John Williams probes Lin's pursuit of the machine as a signature example of the discourse of “Asia-as-*technê*” running through American political and cultural entanglements with Asia from 1893 into the present.

Like much of the material that Williams orchestrates in this wide-ranging and deeply-textured study, Lin's typewriter signifies a paradox, or so it would seem. The philosophically inclined novelist was convinced that the “cultural and aesthetic ‘handicraft’ of China . . . held the answers to the perils of the [Western] ‘mechanistic mind’” (133). And yet, he had spent decades of his life inventing, financing, and creating a Chinese typewriter, a tremendous technological and mechanical feat that signaled nothing short of the paragon of machine culture and quintessential instrument of modern statecraft. This seeming paradox is at the heart of Williams's richly engaging, though at times plodding, interrogation of the discourse he terms “Asia-as-*technê*.” The ancient Greek concept of *technê* contributes the analytical spark Williams needs to get at the “organic world of art and technology” his book examines (46). But this is a *technê* with a distinctly Heideggerian bent. For Williams, the Asian *technê* that he traces through Sarah Wyman Whitman's book designs, Jack London's writing and photographs, Ezra Pound's machine art, Lin Yutang's typewriter, Robert Prisig's motorcycle, Frank Lloyd Wright's architecture, and Wang Zi Won's sculptures, among many other artists and authors, is itself an instrument that “reflects a general, therapeutic effort to explore alternatives to the overtechnologization . . . of Western modernity” (6). Asia-as-*technê*, he asserts, was and remains a “moral aspiration” that recognizes “a tradition of technological experience fundamentally untainted by the mechanical enframings of the Anglo-American disenchantment of nature” (6). In an unfolding cosmic pageantry of human redemption, “only the inherently aesthetic tradition of the East could rescue [America] from the inherently mechanical demons of the West” (12). If Asian aesthetics were at once “the antidote to and the perfection of machine culture,” exorcising the “mechanical demons” was the only hope for modern souls (1).

Apart from its distinct contribution to the transnational turn in American studies, *The Buddha in the Machine* introduces a sophisticated framework for analyzing ethnicity and technology. For instance, Williams asserts that the “discourse of Asia-as-*technê* could be adopted as a means of developing more positive and organic forms of modernity outside the racialized hierarchies of traditional Western technics” (131–132). At the same time, to the extent that literature and caricature critical, or more often, derisive of Asia and Asians were pervasive to American culture from at least the 1860s, a gesture to the tension between redemptive *technê* and malignant bias would be illuminating. The title

may also be somewhat misleading, as Buddhism appears at only a few points to receive benefit of Williams's astute analysis, and then seemingly only to invoke an antimetaphysical worldview that people like Ernest Fenollosa and Wang Zi Won complicate through their crafts. But by the final page Williams persuades readers that American encounters with "the East" in the long shadow of the Columbian Exposition evince, alongside Lin's typewriter, a "possibility of imagining therapeutic and alternative forms of modernity outside the Euro-American myths of progress and white, Western superiority" (148).

Rachel McBride Lindsey

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THE EDIBLE SOUTH: The Power of Food and the Making of an American Region. By Marcie Cohen Ferris. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2014.

In *The Edible South*, Marcie Cohen Ferris uses food as a historical lens into the politics and culture of the South. By looking at the cultural and social meaning and influence of food, she sets out to deepen our understanding of Southern history. In a broad sweep from the early plantation South to contemporary Southern cuisine, Ferris tells stories of foodstuffs and cuisines, of food reformers, slaves and planters, sharecroppers and landowners, civil rights activists, restaurant owners and patrons, as well as cooks. Her central argument is that the diets of Southerners, over the centuries influenced by race, gender, and class, shaped Southern life and power relations as well as a distinct understanding of the South.

Ferris's book is divided in three parts: Part I explores the food history of the plantation South, looking at personal papers, cookbooks, and slave narratives of planters, slaves, and Northerners traveling through the South. Here, Ferris takes up contradictions that have characterized the South in the eyes of historical actors as well as historians: the sharp contrast and coexistence of abundance and scarcity, of the excesses of planters' diets and the brutal poverty of slaves as well as Civil War deprivations.

Part II examines the New South by discussing the lives and diets of sharecroppers, interventions of Progressive home economists, Works Progress Administration portraits of Southern foodways, and the dynamics of branding Southern food that fueled (culinary) tourism and deepened an understanding of the South as a distinct region. Malnutrition and hunger, as Ferris shows, were the results of racism as well as an industrialized agriculture that shaped black and poor white people's access to food.

Part III highlights the role food played in the civil rights movement and traces the distinct shape of the Southern food counterculture. Exploring the "culinary landmarks" of the civil rights struggle as well as the early history of food cooperatives, this part discusses the importance of food in claiming emancipation and citizenship. Moreover, it continues the story of Southern cuisine into the present, showing how the rich historical roots and traditions of Southern foodways merged with food reform movements to create a Southern version of New Cuisine.

Throughout the book, Ferris convincingly demonstrates the territoriality of food politics. That is, she shows how food shaped the South, Southern identity, and the minds and bodies of Southerners. The book is well researched and integrates a wide array of food scholarship. Ferris uses an incredible range of sources and introduces her readers to Southern foodstuffs, historical actors, and institutions. While the historical narratives that she deploys might be familiar to her readers, these sources and stories form the core strength of the book, vividly illustrating the importance of food to practices of identity and exclusion. However, because of the sheer amount of sources, they are oftentimes used rather descriptively and sometimes are included without comment. At times, the reader

wishes for a closer and longer look at the sources to make visible the complexity and contradictions that characterize history. Then again, this smoothly written overview of the rich and diverse topics of Southern food history makes *The Edible South* more easily accessible to a broader audience than other scholarly books. Thus, this book is excellent in convincing its readers of the importance of food in writing and understanding history.

Nina Mackert
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THE GREAT WHITE WAY: Race and the Broadway Musical. By Warren Hoffman. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. 2014.

Warren Hoffman enthusiastically admits his great love for the Broadway musical on page one of *The Great White Way: Race and the Broadway Musical*. But despite this rather personal opening gambit, on page two Hoffman takes up critical lenses borrowed from whiteness studies and sets out to detail “the ways in which white identity has been shaped, protected, and upheld by this art form” (3). After analyzing select shows from the 1920s to the 2000s, Hoffman concludes that the Broadway musical operates from an “unspoken context of whiteness” (183).

The Great White Way considers many of the usual suspects in studies of Broadway and race. Part one includes three chapters: the first on *Show Boat*, followed by two comparative studies—of *Oklahoma!* and *Annie Get Your Gun* (for their exclusion or inclusion of Native Americans) and of *West Side Story* and *The Music Man* (both from 1957). Hoffman simplistically reduces critical response to *Show Boat* to two camps: those who deem it a “classic” and those who dismiss it as racist. He defends the show to its critics by showing how Hammerstein’s lyrics and script are more subtle in their details than some have claimed. His strong riposte to *Show Boat* as “classic” usefully maps this category onto specious notions of human universals that support unacknowledged white privilege. Hoffman’s reading of *West Side Story* draws on archival documents to trace the genesis of the show’s making across a decade that saw a “transformation of racial categories” (110). Unfortunately, his insightful exploration of the Jets gang’s provisional status as white “Americans”—Hoffman draws our attention to bookwriter Arthur Laurents’s scare quotes—is interwoven with a less nuanced take on *The Music Man*. Here, Hoffman repeatedly shares his friends’ surprise at the very inclusion of *Music Man* in the book, revealing authorial anxiety about his audience. By insisting, rather than assuming, race is a salient category of analysis for *The Music Man* (and other shows) Hoffman runs the risk of appearing excessively obvious to scholars (of course a show about an all-white, small town in Iowa concerns questions of race) and leaving musical theater fans unsure how to incorporate what they learn into their understanding of the genre (does this mean I’m a racist if I enjoy *The Music Man*?).

Part two takes up post–1960 shows and trends. Here, Hoffman’s lack of attention to the sound of Broadway—the *music* in musical theatre—leads to a missed opportunity. In a chapter on black-cast productions of white-cast shows, he claims that no changes were made to *Hello, Dolly!* when an all-black cast led by Pearl Bailey took over the show in 1967. White and black cast recordings allow for comparison of the two versions. Several numbers were re-orchestrated for the black cast—often to highlight the racially-marked banjo and ragtime piano. And subtly syncopated timing, sometimes growling vocals, and occasional soulful ad libbs mark Bailey’s *Dolly* as decidedly black. Missing this audible evidence suggests the limitations of Hoffman’s engagement with race primarily as topic or text—in plots, lyrics, stage directions, first-night reviews—rather than as performed by individual performers in specific historical contexts.

Hoffman's strongest chapter, on *A Chorus Line*, again offers archival evidence for the making of a musical. He shows how this very well-known musical is at once utopic, naïve, and locked down in the reassurance it gives liberal, white audiences anxious—knowingly or not—about white privilege in multicultural 1970s America.

Despite subjecting the Broadway he loves to critical analysis, Hoffman remains oddly hopeful: he asks, “What if theater could be used to truly grapple with and repair the racial inequalities that exist in society?” (164). Holding out for such an unlikely outcome from the Broadway musical—the most defiantly popular and baldly commercial of theater genres—suggests a powerful underlying tension between Hoffman the musical theater fan and Hoffman the scholar of whiteness.

Todd Decker

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THE NFL: Critical and Cultural Perspectives. Edited by Thomas P. Oates and Zack Furness. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press. 2014.

The NFL: Critical and Cultural Perspectives, edited by Thomas P. Oates and Zack Furness, offers readers twelve provocative and well-researched chapters on ethical and social problems found within the National Football League. Section I, entitled “Production, Promotion, and Control,” contains four chapters; section II, entitled “Identities, Social Hierarchies, and Cultural Power,” contains five chapters; and section III, entitled “Gridirons and Battlefields,” contains three chapters.

One of the editors of the collection, Thomas P. Oates, also serves as the author of chapter 4: “New Media and the Repackaging of NFL Fandom.” Oates asserts that professional football players are turned into “commodities to be consumed selectively and self-consciously by sports fans” (80). Oates identifies “three football-related entertainments” that provide emotionally manipulative ways in which the NFL ensures that their fans feel connected to the players-as-commodities: the “media spectacle of the NFL draft, the virtual competition of fantasy football, and the video game *Madden NFL*” (80). Oates spends the remainder of his chapter developing and explaining each of these “football-related entertainments” and concludes that there is a deeply problematic racial element to the commodification (and objectification) of NFL players: black masculinity is offered to the “neoliberal marketplace” as an item to be consumed without any recognition of the personhood of these players (92–96). To borrow terms from the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche: the “media spectacle of the NFL draft, the virtual competition of fantasy football, and the video game *Madden NFL*” construct and maintain a master-slave relationship between the NFL (master) and African-American athletes (slaves).

The sociologist, Katie Rodgers, contributes chapter 7: “‘I was a gladiator’: Pain, Injury, and Masculinity in the NFL.” Rodgers asserts that professional football players are turned into commodities to be consumed by the public, but the direction of her chapter concerns an examination of what it means to “play hurt” and the machismo assumed within the locker rooms of the NFL. Her argument is that this machismo requires a willingness to “play hurt,” during one’s NFL career, but also requires players to “live hurt” after their careers are over. Rodgers’s argument is convincing and persuasive. If a professor chooses to teach this book in the undergraduate classroom, then Rodgers’s chapter ought to be paired with Tara Magdalinski’s “The Nature of Health” (see *Sports, Technology, and the Body: The Nature of Performance*, [2008] 71–90) because Magdalinski provides a deontological moral framework for why professional athletes, certified training assistants, and team physicians need to avoid the “playing hurt” presumption no matter the consequences for their career or for their team.

In the third section, “Gridirons and Battlefields,” all three chapters examine the mentalities and metaphors of war often found within the expectations and rhetoric of the NFL. Offensive linemen are described as being “in the trenches” of which they either control or lose (191–203). The production of films and highlights, produced by the NFL, perpetuate military images and rely on war metaphors for narrating the significance of their sport (205–223). In the final chapter of the book, we find a critical analysis of how former NFL player and military soldier Pat Tillman was remembered after his death (226–244).

For NFL fans, this collection will be difficult to read and swallow. While I highly recommend requiring this book in an undergraduate classroom, teaching it will involve an intense amount of prudential judgments and skills of sensitivity on the part of the professor.

Stephen Metcalfe, of Slate’s “Culture Gabfest” and a self-described New York Jets fan, often reflects upon the difficulty concerning how American intellectuals can continue to enjoy and watch NFL games because of the enormous amount of ethical and social problems involved with the institution. Readers of this collection will come away with the same conviction and a similar feeling. Therefore, readers of this collection will be faced with a decision: (a) criticism, cynicism, and despair about the current state of the NFL, or (b) careful analysis, realistic hopefulness, and a reparative attitude toward how high-quality scholarship will bring about a potentially healthier and more reasonable future for the NFL.

Jacob L. Goodson

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THE THEATER OF OPERATIONS: National Security Affect from the Cold War to the War on Terror. By Joseph Masco. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 2014.

To what extent are citizens of the United States affected by and entangled in the issue of national security? In more ways than one could ever imagine is Joseph Masco’s answer to this question in his new book, which examines the creation and promotion of a national security state in the United States in the second half of the twentieth century. He uses a comparative lens to examine the War on Terror of the contemporary moment in relation to the Cold War. Instead of a list of similarities and differences, Masco’s robust and historically rigorous comparison yields a deep understanding of the evolution of U.S. hegemony in the long postwar era and into the twenty-first century. He not only traces the origins of the counterterrorist security apparatus to the nuclear revolution of the Cold War era, but also elucidates the character of the counterterrorist state as a repetition with variation from the countercommunist state. And in Masco’s study, the variations are just as significant as the repetitions, as he persistently and persuasively draws readers’ attention to the remarkable expansion of state influence in pushing the idea of preemptive war on its citizens and the changed temporality of war in the perennial military readiness of the War on Terror.

While each chapter reveals fascinating information and analyses on various dimensions of national security—some more obvious, like the public campaigns on the nuclear threat or the state codification and guarding of sensitive information (in this case, “sensitive but unclassified” information) in chapters one and three, and some less obvious like climate change in chapter two—the most instructive element of the book is its consistent illustration of what Masco calls “national security affect” (9) and its various forms. His attention to how national security in the second half of the twentieth century turns on the state’s ability to educate its citizen-subjects on the appropriate feelings of terror, shock, and pain and to mobilize such feelings in accordance with the state objectives of security illuminates the cultural work of affect in a democratic society that is given to, as Masco

calls it, governance through terror (21). His formalist awareness results in coherent and perceptive discussions about a wide range of rhetorics of national security, including what he calls “biosecurity noir,” his term for the scripts of official efforts to predict and preempt biosecurity threats. In its emphasis on affect, Masco’s discussion of feelings as “a new national project” (17) in the post–1945 national security state calls to mind Adam Smith’s *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. If the latter can be read as the affective interpellation of the bourgeois subject, Masco’s discussion of national security affect queries “the techniques of emotional management” (26) for a new kind of militarized liberal democratic subject in the continuum of the national security state from the Cold War to the War on Terror. His project is, as he claims, “ultimately a consideration of American self-fashioning through terror” (42) in this period.

In the field of Cold War studies, Masco’s book can be read alongside works that compare contemporary U.S. military interventions in the Middle East to Cold War-era interventions in Asia, such as Lloyd Gardner and Marilyn Young’s edited volume, *Iraq and the Lessons of Vietnam*, or studies on the culture of contemporary U.S. militarism, such as Andrew Bacevich’s *The New American Militarism*. These works prompt readers to reexamine the very definition of “post-Cold War” and to view the Cold War era and the post-Cold War era not as discrete historical periods, but as intermeshed systems that continuously call for a critical scrutiny of U.S. military hegemony. Additionally, Masco’s study connects the discourse of policies with the experiences of the people these policies influence. Micro-effects of macro-level decisions can be seen throughout Masco’s study. As the anthropologist Heonik Kwon outlines in *The Other Cold War*, Cold War Studies is increasingly tuning into the everyday experiences of people who have been affected by the balance of terror. From this perspective, Masco’s study seems to be a good example of what the effects of terror were, are, and will be for citizens in the U.S. national security state.

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THE WORLD OF THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY: Conspiracy, Conservatism, and the Cold War. By D.J. Mulloy. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press. 2014.

In *The World of the John Birch Society*, D.J. Mulloy boldly argues that the John Birch Society’s conspiratorial sensibility was really a mainstream phenomenon. Most history textbooks and surveys treat the “Birchers” as a brief aside. Mulloy, however, thoroughly integrates their story into the period’s political, cultural, and social history. He acknowledges the work of other recent historians on the Society (e.g. Lisa McGirr, Eckard V. Toy, Jr., Rick Perlstein), but Mulloy’s book is a rewarding deep dive into the Bircher mindset.

Mulloy’s thesis is that the John Birch Society (JBS), from 1958 until roughly 1967, became “the largest, most important, best organized, and most formidable ‘radical’ or ‘ultra’ right-wing group” in the United States (1). Led by Robert Welch, the “Birchers” were “taken very seriously by considerable swaths of the American population [including]... leading politicians, journalists, academics, and cultural commentators” (1). While it is true that critics viewed the JBS as a threat to take over the Republican Party and perhaps elect an extremist president, the Society’s Cold War conventionality is demonstrated by how its concerns matched those of regular citizens and politicians. Welch’s sometimes blustery rhetoric becomes a stand-in for the ongoing fears of common people. The Society’s core, “constant and consistent” concern was *internal subversion* “by the communist menace” through “infiltration, treason, weakness, and betrayal” (4). That concern fed every Bircher action, idea, speech, pamphlet, book, and committee. Yet, because it was a cold war, subversion must necessarily be achieved by conspiracy.

Chapter six deals best with the group's conspiratorial sensibility. Mulloy enrolls Michael Barkun (*A Culture of Conspiracy*, 2003) to argue, in the latter's words, for "conspiracism [as] ... an explanation of politics" in that "it purports to locate and identify the true loci of power and thereby illuminate previously hidden decision making" (170). Birchers were empowered by revealing these truths. They obtained a special kind of expertise and sense of superiority. This knowledge put them in control and gave them some sense of agency (170–171). They might then become counter-agents and counter-subversives. Even so, the Society was simply the logical product of normalized extremism about communism in American political rhetoric during the Truman, McCarthy, and Kennedy years. Birchers differed only by "degree and emphasis," not in kind (171).

Even when JBS endeavors seemed extreme, Mulloy effectively underscores the group's Cold War context. He connects Birchers to the mainstream by reminding the reader of activists and groups further to the right—ultra-ultras, if you will. Those activists included Willis Carto, George Lincoln Rockwell, Ben Klassen, Tom Metzger, and Robert Jay Matthews (64). Groups further to the right were American Loyal Rangers, Americans for the Preservation of the White Race, and the National States' Rights Party (122). Other fringe organizations that operated in the JBS orbit included Rev. Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade, Dr. Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and Young Americans for Freedom (4, 122, 189). Some of those people and group founders swam, for a time, in JBS waters, but they had more extreme agendas. Mulloy's prior research on extremist militias helps him to show, convincingly, how JBS was more ordinary than historians would like to remember. To underplay Bircher ordinariness "is to ignore the extent to which Cold War thinking and Cold War logic—including its conspiratorial underpinnings—had penetrated the very fiber of the American body politic during the conflict's foundational years" (174).

The anti-statist, anti-collectivist, and anti-"big government" aspects of Bircher rhetoric aided in normalizing their concerns. Despite the occasional bluster from Welch, Edwin A. Walker, and other Birchers, they were ultimately peaceful. Mulloy reminds the reader that Welch, from the very beginning, saw JBS as an "educational organization" (11). The Society functioned primarily as an anti-propaganda organization, with four-thousand chapters at its height, in order to close what Susan Carruthers called the "ideology gap" (70). American citizens would be "indoctrinated in freedom" and inoculated against "institutions of higher brainwashing" (70). Alternate realities, or "worlds" (per Mulloy's title), required a fully-functioning, mimetic educational structure to close the ideology gap.

D.J. Mulloy's *The World of the John Birch Society* provides a productive and fascinating look into far-right sensibilities. By thoroughly contextualizing the Society, Mulloy rehabilitates the group as a relevant lens for viewing present-day political extremism as part of a longer American tradition.

Tim Lacy

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TRANSPORTING VISIONS: The Movement of Images in Early America. By Jennifer L. Roberts. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2014.

In *Transporting Visions*, art historian Jennifer Roberts invites readers to consider how physical transit informed nineteenth-century art. Roberts unpacks the various dimensions images literally occupied and metaphorically conveyed across a range of pictorial practices: among them visual analogies for transatlantic travel, improbably large ornithological prints, labyrinthine engravings, and quietly unfolding representations of landscape space. Making effective use of spatial metaphors—from cartographic analogies to calibration

of perceptual distances—the author proposes a new conceptual model for apprehending art’s varied “delivery systems” (164). Amid the present era of instantaneous transmission of images, Roberts insists historians recognize alternate spatio-temporal modes: the physical separations and intervals that were fundamental to nineteenth-century art’s social connectivity. Placing equal emphasis on the “interfolding” (162) of fictions inherent to representational illusion and art’s fundamental materiality, Roberts explores the ways in which makers and viewers made sense of American visual and material culture.

The book itself—presented in three case studies spanning the late Colonial period through the 1850s—is like a road trip whose itinerary features significant landmarks, rest stops, intricate short cuts, and many scenic detours. Beginning with analysis of John Singleton Copley’s *Boy with a Flying Squirrel* (1765), the author argues awareness of remoteness and delay were built into his paintings. The artist’s transatlantic career mandated canny visual correlation of overseas circulation, international trade, and strategic performances of social exchange, all delivered across the shallow planes conveyed by his pictures’ surfaces. In an equally fascinating digression, her evaluation of his *Watson and the Shark* (1778) as an allegory of the Boston Tea Party could have stood as a chapter on its own.

Another concern for Roberts is portability, both in the physical sense and in the more diffuse terms of transmission or translation of visual ideas. Thus, her second and most focused chapter considers how problems of literal scale shaped John James Audubon’s compendium *Birds of America*, painstakingly executed, printed, bound, and delivered to subscribers in the 1820s and 1830s. Roberts proposes Audubon’s commitment to illustrating birds in their actual size courted scientific veracity, yet also made his prints unwieldy feats of creation and distribution. But mapping his project onto developing dynamics in the American market economy, Roberts sees his images as object-lessons in how Audubon overcame challenges to aesthetic, scientific, and geographical mobility.

Lastly, Roberts considers how duration inhabits art’s pictorial spaces. She delves into the complex relationship underlying landscape painter Asher Durand’s little-known background as a banknote designer, his engraved copy of fellow artist John Vanderlyn’s controversial 1809–14 painting *Ariadne Asleep on the Island of Naxos*, and the woodland views for which Durand was later acclaimed. She asserts that the geological time and tranquil space conveyed by Durand’s “decelerated” (117) forest interiors resisted the concurrent development of telegraphic exchange, slowing the rapid transfer of words and ideas to which modern viewers were becoming inured.

If, at the end, a reader wishes Roberts had tested her conceptual model against a few more examples of artists or objects, she nonetheless leaves plenty of room for the next generation of scholars to play with its many avenues of possibility. Her richly detailed essays make for a satisfying excursion across the vivid topography of American visual culture.

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TRUE YANKEES: The South Seas and the Discovery of American Identity. By Dane A. Morrison. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2014.

When it comes to the forging of an American identity, the frontier, overland exploration and expansion, and a rugged, individualistic character forged in the conquest of the West dominate popular imagination—and histories taught in school. *True Yankees* offers a corrective. Dane Morrison’s study of print culture and the writings of men and women who traveled the “Great South Sea”—the Indian and Pacific oceans—demonstrates the importance of Asia and the Pacific to an emerging national identity. The experiences and

writings of Americans in the China Trade from the 1780s to the 1830s played a seminal role in producing a confident nation out of a decentralized republic of weak states.

Morrison traces the writings of five Americans to examine early articulations of national identity. The first generation, comprising merchant Samuel Shaw, mariner Amasa Delano, and explorer Edmund Fanning, carried republican values to the world from 1784 to the 1820s. Devoting a chapter to each individual, Morrison illustrates how these men portrayed themselves as genteel, educated, and refined citizens of the world. Trying to legitimize their new nation in the eyes of European expatriates, native Asians, and their own fellow Americans, the early generation showed Yankees to be products of the Enlightenment who exhibited ideals of scientific inquiry and tolerance of other peoples. But by the 1830s, as Americans grew more confident of their place in the world, their outlook shifted from cosmopolitan to parochial. The second generation of Americans in Asia was inspired by Jacksonian individualism—and racism. Reluctant expatriate Harriett Low and merchant Robert Bennet Forbes replaced the civic consciousness of the earlier generation with a competitive spirit that displayed intolerance for Asians and Europeans alike. Together, these writings “document an American identity that began as tentative and tolerant and grew into a national character both more confident and less empathetic” (xxii).

Between each profile is a brief “interlude” that provides analytical glue. While the chapters rely on close readings of memoirs, journals, and diaries, the interludes offer historical and historiographical context necessary to support the book’s larger argument about the East’s role in forging an American identity. For example, Morrison writes, while the published records of the Lewis and Clark expedition gathered dust on bookstore shelves, Americans avidly consumed news from the South Seas. “Maritime exploration attracted greater national interest than expeditions into the interior, and Americans imagined overseas discovery as an indicator of national progress” (139).

Ultimately, Yankee travelers and their readers back home positioned their country between perceived Asian “barbarism” and European decadence. Americans could thus “characterize the new nation as among the most civilized in the world” (xviii). Because representations of racial and national difference do occupy a prominent position, the book’s neglect of Orientalism is puzzling. While there is the briefest reference to Edward Said, John Kuo Wei Tchen’s work on American Orientalism in the early republic is absent. The oversight is unfortunate as Tchen’s work complements and strengthens Morrison’s. Nevertheless, *True Yankees* is a valuable contribution to our understanding of America’s early encounters with the world.

Joseph Andrew Orser

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TRUMAN CAPOTE: A Literary Life at the Movies. By Tison Pugh. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2014.

Truman Capote liked watching movies, but he claimed that they had little influence on his literary fiction. Such claims, as Tison Pugh writes, reveal more about Capote’s penchant for inscrutable public statements than about his literary art. The main message of Pugh’s study is that the author of such celebrated works as *Breakfast at Tiffany’s* (1958) and *In Cold Blood* (1965) “lived in and through the movies” (1). Pugh traces a symbiotic relationship between the worlds of literature and the movies, one that yielded a “Cinema Capoteana.” Much like Capote himself, Cinema Capoteana defies easy categorization. It includes the author’s original screenplays, cinematic adaptations of his fiction, and later efforts to portray his life in Hollywood biopics. The common thread is an effort to deal with the subjects of homosexuality—and to a lesser extent, Capote’s southern upbringing.

ing—in the post–World War II decades, an age of strict Hollywood production codes and the marginalization of gay people in general.

Pugh provides readers with a series of learned critiques of the cinematic adaptations of Capote's fiction to highlight their queer subtexts. Capote disliked Blake Edwards's adaptation of *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (1961), in part because he wanted Marilyn Monroe (not Audrey Hepburn) cast as Holly Golightly, an alternative rich for consideration among cinephiles. Edwards's larger error was to transform a complicated novella about sex, money, and desire into a conventional Hollywood romantic comedy. The director muted Holly's vocation as a "quasi-prostitute" for well-heeled, middle-aged men (93). Even more, he replaced the novella's gay narrator with the character of Paul Varjak, a handsome gigolo, who eventually falls for Holly. Here Pugh argues that the movie is "queer" because it "flirts with gender play, prostitution, and ostensible sexual deviance" through its portrayal of Holly and Paul's sex lives (93). To see Holly Golightly (Audrey Hepburn) as essentially innocent is to overlook the movie's "sly depiction of the queerness of heterosexuality, in which two quasi-prostitutes find love among the vagaries of their occupations and the shifting sexual mores of American culture" (107). For Pugh, *Breakfast at Tiffany's* is an example of the subtle undercurrent of sexual liberalization running below the surface of postwar popular culture.

Capote's greatest literary success, *In Cold Blood*, inspired a new prose genre, the nonfiction novel, as well as a series of cinematic adaptations. Pugh emphasizes the queer subtext of Richard Brooks's 1967 adaptation to illustrate how homoerotic themes moved from the printed page to the silver screen. Pugh disagrees with the film critic Vito Russo, author of *The Celluloid Closet* (1987), that Brooks erased the homoeroticism in the relationship between the two murderers, Perry Smith and Dick Hickock. In Pugh's telling, the "brew of friendship, desire, and homoeroticism" that put Smith and Hickock at odds with one another quite literally exploded during the murder of the Clutters, a Kansas farm family (126). The Clutters thus represented "scapegoats sacrificed to these two men's inability to communicate their desires other than through denial, displacement, and violence," an evocative interpretation of the movie's violence rooted in research from Brooks's own files, the director's discussions with Capote, as well as the movie's visual tableau (128).

The critical and public reception of the novel, *In Cold Blood*, brought Capote both literary fame and enhanced celebrity. Pugh makes a compelling case for Capote as one of the original "celebrities," people famous for being famous. Capote's fame resembled Hollywood celebrity, and he moved in the same social circles, but he was a poor actor in his own right (see *Murder by Death*, 1976). His was a queer celebrity performance on television talk and variety shows, one delivered in open defiance of the sexual mainstream. Yet as Pugh concludes, Capote's celebrity cut both ways, bringing him financial rewards but also diminishing his identity as a serious artist. Readers not familiar with Capote's biography will enjoy the crisp, lively chapter on his celebrity persona. It widens the cultural scope of Pugh's notion of Cinema Capoteana to demonstrate the truly symbiotic nature of a "literary life at the movies."

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UNSETTLED STATES: Nineteenth-Century American Literary Studies. Edited by Dana Luciano and Ivy G. Wilson. New York: New York University Press. 2014.

Unsettled States: Nineteenth-Century American Literary Studies sheds light on the papers long swept under the rug ranging from early Hispanic literature to polar periodicals. More importantly, the authors of the articles conscientiously build their discussions in

relation to contemporary literature and critical theory, which makes the collection even more distinguishing and valuable for the twenty-first century reader. Dana Luciano, one of two editors of the book, explains the motivation behind *unsettling* the literary canons and *paradigm-shifting* in literary studies that delineates the topographical and ontological “fault lines.” Luciano distinguishes this collection from others in that it is not a literary critique of minoritarian texts but rather a work in progress, “improvisational and speculative.” Luciano suggests that the book was designed in the format of a conference that never really took place “in an effort to replicate the sense of conversation” (13). The articles in these three chapters (or sessions) are further supported with a commentary article at the end of each chapter by Shelley Streeby, Jonathan Elmer, and Peter Coviello, respectively, and a final wrap-up by Ivy G. Wilson.

The first chapter, “*Archives Unbound*,” centrally discusses the idea of literary archives and canon formation. Rodrigo Lazo in his “Confederates in the Hispanic Attic” emphasizes that literary archives, and particularly the history of Hispanic literature, can (and should) go beyond the history of minority groups since they “lead to unexpected discoveries and even uncomfortable histories” (34). Lazo investigates the possibility and/or subjectivity of a “Hispanic archive” and expands his discussion across the boundaries of the nineteenth-century literature attaching strings to Annie Proulx’s now famous *Brokeback Mountain* to blow the invisibility of Hispanics in the States wide open. Lloyd Pratt, in his “Historical Totality and the Archive,” extends the discussion of literary archives onto a racial ground and asks “what an efficacious black history would look like and what would be its defining characteristics” (57). Drawing upon Edward P. Jones’s novel *The Known World* (2003), Pratt discusses how African American historical fiction specifies a theory of historiography excluding all forms of “oral, vernacular, and commemorative culture” (62). “*Race, Reenactment, and the ‘Natural-Born Citizen’*” by Tavia Nyong’o employs a Marxist historical reading of the Civil War and race issues, which he interprets through a Foucauldian genealogy of the Constitution and chrononormativity that “allows both history and our understanding of it to progress smoothly toward a complacent future, and paradoxically positioning history against the backward looking, thinking, and feeling” (82).

The second chapter “States of Exception,” begins with David Kazanjian’s “Unsettled Life: Early Liberia’s Epistolary Equivocations.” He presents the correspondences of two major black figures, Phillis Wheatley and Olaudah Equiano, and investigates the meaning of “homecoming.” Hester Blum, in “The News at the Ends of the Earth: Polar Periodicals,” states her interest “in the collective, confined literary culture of late nineteenth century working men at the scene of labor” (162). She discusses why we produce literature and how literature binds us together, even in an ice-stranded polar expedition team. Glenn Hedder’s “Feeling Like a State: Writing the 1863 New York City Draft Riots” unveils a historical tragedy from the perspectives of three writers, Anna Elizabeth Dickinson, Herman Melville, and Edmund Ruffin, who, despite their differing political ideas and literary styles, agreed upon “the depiction of antistate violence as an outburst of public sentiment, as if a riot were an enactment of a social emotion” (192).

A loosely attached third chapter, “Speculative Sexualities,” focuses on body politics and masturbation in the nineteenth century. In “Eat, Sex, and Race,” Kyla W. Tompkins analyzes Sylvester Graham’s text *A Lecture to Young Men on Chastity* to look into “the political life and erotic history of mouth in the nineteenth century United States” (246). Graham’s remedies for the “epidemic of masturbation” impose “medical and psychiatric discourses of wellness and the emergence of nation state” which posits an “economic and political problem” (252). Elizabeth Freeman focuses on homoeroticism and homosociality in Mark Twain in her “Connecticut Yankings: Mark Twain and the Masturbating Dude”

as an “inquiry into the erotic logic of nineteenth century habits of historicizing” (281). Freeman, in a deliberately well-framed yet limited article, discusses how *Connecticut Yankee* trespasses temporal boundaries of sexual and textual politics at the crossroads of historical novel and muckraking science fiction.

To sum up, this literary collection mainly deals with the postwar resistance to imagined canons created by an imponderous desire to question (and requestion) the babel towers of literary value undergirded by “a new arsenal of critical approaches” that deliberately aims the “multiplication of aesthetic, political, and ethical encounters.” Though written by experts in their fields these lengthy articles may sometimes be distracting and discouraging to the average reader. However, the theoretical, and therefore political and personal, questions at the core of these texts effectively legitimize the overspecialization and theoretical sophistication of these pieces.

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WILLIAM J. SEYMOUR AND THE ORIGINS OF GLOBAL PENTECOSTALISM: A Biography and Documentary History. By Gastón Espinosa. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 2014.

Gastón Espinosa’s *William J. Seymour and the Origins of Global Pentecostalism* rigorously and thoroughly demonstrates the importance and significance of African American William Seymour’s and that of the Azusa Street Revival’s roles in the origins and development of global Pentecostalism. Espinosa challenges the notion that Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival were “just one among many important leaders and centers of global Pentecostalism. Rather, they were the single most important leader, center, and catalyst (among many) in American (1906–9) and global Pentecostal origins until 1912” (151). Further, he asserts that while “Azusa wasn’t the only center, it was the most important—both literally and symbolically prior to 1909 in the U.S. and prior to 1912 around the world” (151).

Participating in a group of scholars writing a new “Pentecostal historiography” (18), a key methodology that Espinosa employs to show the preeminence of Seymour and the Azusa Revival is through ephemeral documentary evidence by Seymour and others between 1906 and 1915. Espinosa relies on this documentation to stage his argument. However, to the advantage of readers, more than half of the book reprints this evidence. Espinosa uses letters, sermons, and teachings written by Seymour or preached as sermons and then stenographically recorded by Clara Lum and others between 1906 and 1909. This evidence includes Seymour’s *Doctrines and Discipline Minister’s Manual* (1915); first-hand accounts of the Azusa Street Revival and Seymour’s leadership in Seymour’s *The Apostolic Faith* newspaper (1906–1908). Other sources provide historical overviews and testimonies about Seymour and the Azusa Revival and their influence around the world from histories, autobiographies, testimonies, diaries, reports, newspapers, books, and journals to document Seymour’s theological, social, and racial beliefs and his justification for black-white racial equality and reconciliation.

William J. Seymour, the Azusa Revival, and global Pentecostalism are significant to American studies for three reasons. First, the Pentecostal movement is one of the most powerful and fastest growing grassroots religious movements in the world today. The movement is typically broken down into three main groupings: Denominational Pentecostals, Charismatics, and Neo-Charismatics. Pentecostalism continues to expand in the Americas and throughout the world, which might influence American Studies scholars to consider the influence of Pentecostal beliefs on the people and practices they are studying.

Second, as Espinosa shows us through Seymour's sermons and accounts from the revival, the Azusa revival was a "transgressive social space wherein racial-ethnic minorities, women, the working class, and others could cross some of the deeply inscribed unbiblical racial-ethnic, class, gender, and national borders and boundaries of the day" (101). In a time of legalized segregation and separate but equal practices in America, at Azusa, blacks, whites, and Latinos "laid hands" on each other to be healed and to receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit. These same people sat together, and prayed at the altar together. It is also a moment in American history that shows the active participation and involvement of Latino Americans with African Americans and Anglo Americans in the origins and rise of Pentecostalism in the U.S.

Third, African-American religious traditions and practices were central to the Azusa Revival and to the missions and denominations that followed it. At Azusa for at least three consecutive years, services were grounded in African-American orality and musicality. These traditions included enthusiastic worship and the singing of Negro spirituals which were influenced by African American theology, social practices, and church hymnody. Being conscious of these practices provides an understanding of the role of African-American religious traditions in influencing American Pentecostalism.

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WRITING BEAT AND OTHER OCCASIONS OF LITERARY MAYHEM. By John Tytell. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press. 2014.

An American writer and historian, John Tytell approaches the Beat Generation through a unique lens, motivated by his desire to release the Beats from the shallow misunderstandings that emerged immediately out of critical circles. In *Writing Beat*, Tytell sets out not only to rescue the literary, cultural, and historical resonance of important Beat figures, but to resuscitate the multivalent meaning of "beat," a referent for both the dominant attitudes and aesthetic sensibilities of Beat authors. For Tytell, this includes primarily Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, and William Burroughs, and also for a host of other authors of "mayhem," as well as Tytell himself. In this sense, "beat" refers to more than a historical and literary movement. As Tytell develops, to write "beat" means more than to write as a Beat Generation author; "writing beat" is to compose through the cadence of "beat" as sound, as the pulse and rhythm that makes storytelling impactful.

Undeterred by the restrictions of a historian's objectivity, *Writing Beat*, which Tytell labels a "hybrid memoir" (2), functions along two narrative tracks—the first, a memoir-style tale of Tytell's eye-witness connection to the figures he studies (and celebrates), told often through drinking and travel stories. The second, a combination of historical and literary analysis intermixed with instructions on nonfiction writing that results in a work that is both historically reflexive and contemporaneously instructive. At its best, Tytell's mixture of history and memoir produces a level of intimacy rarely found in academic writing, resulting in a type of pedagogical statement that allows the reader—and prospective writer—to exist immediately alongside Tytell and the stories, narrative arches, literary ideas, and Beat characters he introduces. Tytell aims not simply to tell history, but to illustrate "the challenges and perils facing any writer today"—namely, how "the writer gets so caught up in the immediate particularities of recovered experience that the larger context of history and culture is often sacrificed" (2–3).

Reflecting the frantic pace of "beat," Tytell's voice draws the reader in through a collage of stories, interviews, and reflections on his own writing about the Beats and

others. Constructed of seventeen interlaced essays, Part One begins from the perspective of writing and centers on Tytell's personal experiences. As literary history, Tytell brings us into a more personal space, one highlighted by the telling of history in order to introduce the actual living out of a historical moment. More than traditional analyses of Beat writers and other authors Tytell identifies as occasioning moments of literary mayhem, *Writing Beat* illuminates the process of literary discovery through Tytell's own anecdotal interactions with the likes of Anaïs Nin at a cocktail party; while harvesting vegetables with Allen Ginsberg at East Farm Hill or baking apple pie at his Cherry Valley farm; in persuading a rather hostile Lucien Carr into talking about the origins of the Beats; and in traveling to Venice to interact with Ezra Pound's mistress as a way into Pound's imagism. As Tytell writes self-reflexively in his prefatory note, "I'm not approaching my subject in any programmatic manner, but as an organic expression of what I have experienced myself in the field of action" (2).

Often engaging and entertaining, Tytell's collage of historical context and personal memoir does obscure the power and insight of his narrative. At times, *Writing Beat* becomes about writing Tytell, his own voice and positioning vis-à-vis the figures he studies complicated by the interweaving of objective analysis and personal aggrandizement. The lack of an index further proves that *Writing Beat* functions first as memoir and second as critical historiography. The trajectory of the book, especially in relation to its collage and anecdotal approach, becomes somewhat muddled, at times collapsing into mere juxtaposition. By mixing a critic's pen with an advocate's voice, Tytell often forces himself into moments of explanatory redundancy, frequently beginning new sections with repetitive introductions to both the Beats and his own career arc. This may simply be a symptom of a book Tytell recognizes as somewhat disjointed; it is, after all, a hybrid memoir constructed out of a series of essays, reviews, articles, and lectures. Potentially distracting the reader from the main purpose of this book, it is ultimately this very structure that makes *Writing Beat* so significant, both as a work *on* the Beats and as a work *about* "writing beat."
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F.B. EYES: How J. Edgar Hoover's Ghostreaders Framed African American Literature. By William J. Maxwell. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2015.

In *F.B. Eyes*, William J. Maxwell sets out to analyze the relationship between the Federal Bureau of Investigation and African American writers over the span of more than five decades. Maxwell does an excellent job in thoroughly exploring FBI investigations of black writers and this unique writer-critic interplay.

Maxwell has organized his book into five chapters, each of which sets out to prove a thesis. Thesis 1 argues that the birth of the bureau and Hoover ensured the FBI's attention to African American literature. Maxwell looks to Hoover's racial background, with speculation on his black lineage, as well as his formative years in a racially exclusive environment. He then examines the coincident birth of the Harlem Renaissance and the creation of the FBI and Hoover's efforts to compile and index writing by New Negroes, searching their publications for evidence of radicalism and sedition. Thesis 2 builds on this point by arguing that the FBI's collection and analysis of black literature was important to the bureau's evolution under Hoover's leadership. Maxwell discusses the height of the investigation of black writers during World War II and how FBI agents imitated black radical writing—engaging in a form of minstrelsy—during the Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) era (1956–1971).

Thesis 3 contends that the bureau is the most important forgotten critic of African American literature and examines the life and work of two FBI critic-spies, Robert Adger Bowen and William C. Sullivan. Maxwell shows how the bureau adopted New Critical reading, searching for multiple meanings and hidden assumptions in black literature, believing that it was meant to teach and convert its audience to radical activism. Thesis 4 turns its attention to FBI investigations of black writers in exile, translations of foreign-language material, and attempts to direct and restrict travel, arguing that Hoover's agents were important in defining the Black Atlantic in the twentieth century. Finally, Thesis 5 looks at how black writers responded and asserts that their consciousness of bureau ghostreading created an important vein in African American literature. Maxwell discusses a number of authors, including Richard Wright and Ralph Ellison, analyzing how the bureau and state surveillance were treated in their works.

Maxwell's monograph represents another important contribution to our understanding of the importance of race in FBI history and the challenges writers and activists for racial justice faced from the state. However, it seems the author overestimates the impact these investigations had on African American writing and the evolution of the FBI. This is a point the author at times acknowledges, though it does not make its way into his larger theses. Even though the poem by Richard Wright from which the book draws its title imagines an omnipresent and omniscient bureau that can even see into dreams, the extent of bureau knowledge fell well short of that. The FBI agenda Maxwell terms "Total Literary Awareness" is acknowledged by the author to have holes and "was wholly realized hardly ever" (107). Later, Maxwell points out that there is no evidence that the bureau censored or stopped the printing of any book. Instead, he suggests there may have been self-censorship. The state was more engaged in "exploration than repression of the literary marketplace" (43), and Maxwell does caution that one should not credit the FBI "with super-supple powers they did not possess" (220).

Beyond that, it remains to be seen whether the bureau had a depth of contact that made it "an institution tightly knit to African American literature" (7) given that less than half of the noteworthy black authors were ever investigated by the FBI and fourteen of these files number less than one-hundred pages. It also seems difficult to make the case for these fifty-one investigations being fundamental to the FBI's successful evolution, helping to build its clout with the executive and legislative branches, without a study of the larger history of the FBI and the variety of its investigative missions, of which investigations of Afro-modernists were a small part.

Still, *F.B. Eyes* does well in illuminating the interplay between bureau surveillance and literary production. Moreover, the book's companion website, the F.B. Eyes Digital Archive, opens the documents from all of the author's Freedom of Information Act requests to interested readers and researchers, for which the author should be commended.

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INTELLECTUAL MANHOOD: University, Self, and Society in the Antebellum South.
By Timothy J. Williams. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2015.

For much of the past generation historical discussions of southern identity were dominated by the late Eugene D. Genovese, a Marxian scholar who argued that sectional differences were rooted in the "aristocratic," "seigneurial," and "pre-bourgeois" outlook of the region's large planters. Involving as it did a stark repudiation of Charles Sellers's thesis that southerners shared basic American values and felt guilt over slavery, and Stanley M. Elkins's argument that American slavery reflected the dynamics of "unopposed capi-

talism,” Genovese’s position went largely unchallenged until 1982 when James Oakes’s book *The Ruling Race* refocused attention on the internal diversity of southern slave owners, few of whom met the criteria to be called planters and some of whom became educated professionals. Unlike Genovese, Oakes argued that small slaveholders imbibed the larger acquisitive and democratic ethos that fueled westward expansion throughout America. Oakes’s book was a tacit invitation to reopen discussions about yeoman farmers and the urban and industrial sectors of southern society, subjects that had lain largely dormant since the work of Frank L. Owsley in the 1950s and Richard C. Wade, Robert S. Starobin, and others in the 1960s.

In his highly original study of antebellum male culture at the university of North Carolina, Timothy Williams adds fresh depth and new dimensions to the ongoing debate over sectional identity. The book advances three major propositions. First, that the principal concern of University of North Carolina (UNC) students was the transition to manhood rather than regional identity. A second closely related theme is that “the individual self” formed the main focus of student consciousness. Finally, and most important, Williams finds that the focus on self was “consistent” with the “middle class or bourgeois culture” (2) that increasingly typified antebellum America.

Evidence for these assertions comes mainly from a study of the University’s “informal curriculum” as revealed in student letters and diaries together with a detailed analysis of some eight-hundred speeches delivered by the members of UNC’s Dialectic and Philanthropic literary societies. In an unprecedented research effort, Williams compiled a data base of some four-thousand questions debated by the two groups, material that fills some twenty-seven bound volumes. These sources reveal a sustained antebellum concern with maturation (manhood defined against boyhood rather than with reference to feminine qualities), self-improvement, and a “romantic view of the individual self’s heroic potential” (11). Student orators sought to emulate Demosthenes, seen as the classical archetype of the “manly, muscular speaker” (87).

Through a careful analysis of the geographic, occupational, and economic backgrounds of UNC students, Williams challenges the assumption that the University was an “elite” institution catering primarily to the sons of wealthy planters. On the contrary his data suggest that Chapel Hill drew students from both the upper and middle strata of southern society. Sons from elite backgrounds arrived with traditional attachments to the culture of honor, reputation, and gentility. In the author’s opinion, however, the University provided an environment in which “middle class values infused the South’s upper class, creating a shared intellectual culture for a southern educated class” (202). Marxist scholars may wince at the idea of an “educated class” and other readers may ask whether formal education will bear the interpretive weight assigned to it here as an engine of bourgeois values in a slave society. Inferential evidence in support of Williams’ argument comes from the fact that 71 percent of students graduating between 1840 and 1859 chose professional rather than agricultural occupations. In this reviewer’s opinion, the book’s strongest and most interesting discussions concern intellectual freedom and the continued willingness of students to discuss and debate issues related to slavery. Long after slavery ceased to be a debatable issue in most southern venues literary societies at UNC debated questions such as “Which have the greatest reason to complain of the white people, the Indian or the slave?” (195). The issue was twice decided in favor of the slave and in 1851 both societies decided that individual states did not have the right to secede.

Although many students succumbed to the reactionary temper of politics during the last years of the 1850s, Williams seems justified in saying that prior to the 1850s education at UNC “took on a distinctively American character whereby North Carolinian,

American, and southerner were not mutually exclusive identities” and that there was “no consensus that regional identity should ever trump American identity” (15, 174). In arguing that “antebellum education did not create proto-Confederates,” Williams indirectly takes issue with Peter Carmichael’s *The Last Generation*, which finds that many of the young modernizers in postwar Virginia had served as junior officers in the Confederate Army. How, if at all, were the 121 college educated Virginia males studied by Carmichael analogous to the late 1850s “proslavery progressives” in Williams account? If Virginians embraced the Confederate cause why did North Carolinians “find it rather difficult to support the Confederacy until after the war ?” (197). Whatever the explanation for these seeming differences, *Intellectual Manhood* marks a major breakthrough in understanding the connection between higher learning and regional consciousness. The book takes its place as part of an ongoing reassessment of the nature of southern identity viewed from an interdisciplinary perspective. It is a deeply researched and boldly argued study that draws upon psychological theory and gender studies scholarship while also illustrating the growing importance of educational history *per se* in the work of southern historians.

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PATRIOTIC BETRAYAL: The Inside Story of the CIA’s Secret Campaign to Enroll American Students in the Crusade against Communism. By Karen M. Paget. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 2015.

When *Ramparts* magazine broke a story in 1967 that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had infiltrated the National Student Association (NSA) and was using it to influence students in the United States and around the world, the CIA and the government managed to downplay the story. The CIA, with the help of a number of senators, crafted a narrative for public consumption, successfully arguing that the agency’s support for the NSA consisted only of a small number of travel grants; that top officials in the government had approved the relationship; and that the CIA never exerted enough control over the student agency to jeopardize its independence. Karen Paget, a former staff member of the NSA, proves this narrative a lie in her thoroughly researched, well-written, and often gripping *Patriotic Betrayal*. In this study she details the development of a liberal strain of anti-communism that led idealistic CIA agents and witting students to work together to try to spread Western ideals through worldwide student organizations.

Paget devotes much of the book to showing that the CIA invested more than travel money in the NSA and expected a great deal in return. Using the NSA’s International Commission as a front, the CIA supported revolutionary student movements in Algeria, Cuba, Angola, Iran, and Palestine. Thus, “the CIA ran an *operation* through the NSA, global in scope, which disguised and protected the hand of the U.S. government—the very definition of covert action” (6).

Because the NSA was a liberal student organization, very few people realized how important it was to the CIA. As long as most of the students—both witting and unwitting—shared the assumption that they were helping to spread a superior Western system while combatting the growth of communism, the arrangement worked. This required most of the students involved to be liberal enough to oppose communism but savvy enough to realize that outright confrontation would do more harm than good.

By the mid 1960s, however, the climate began to change on the nation’s campuses as movements from both the right and the left began to grow, and leaders of those movements challenged the NSA’s traditional stance. Conservatives wanted the organization

to take a more vocal and militant anticommunist stand while leftists wanted it to focus more on cooperating with allies of differing views rather than automatically opposing anything related to communism.

In this climate, Stephen Robbins became president of the NSA. Robbins's predecessors had generally accepted the advice of the "experts" without question, allowing "apathy and the diversionary prowess of international staff" (296) to keep the relationship hidden, but Robbins was unhappy to discover the extent of the NSA's financial dependence on the CIA and the corresponding extent of influence the CIA had over the International Committee's choices. Robbins became determined to sever the relationship, and he even sought a successor who would follow up on his efforts. What they learned, however, was that the NSA could not leave the CIA without facing bankruptcy (302).

One of the most interesting aspects of *Patriotic Betrayal* is Paget's discussion of liberal anticommunism and its implications for today. She traces its origins from the Hitler/Stalin Pact in World War II, which "reshaped the American political landscape" between 1939 and 1946 by creating "a generation of leaders dedicated to purging communist influence in liberal organizations" (12–13). Through her work with the U.S. Committee of the International Student Service (ISS), Eleanor Roosevelt played a large role in the spread of this agenda, and this work set the stage for the development of the NSA and its later efforts. Like liberals today who justify large-scale government spying to stave off terrorist attacks, these liberal anticommunists believed that "fighting evil sometimes required a tempering of idealism," and they "justified their actions by invoking patriotism, placing loyalty to the United States above more democratic values" (13).

While the story of the NSA and CIA is valuable in and of itself, Paget's "unexpected insight into a contemporary issue" gives added value to this work. She offers it as a "cautionary tale to those who urge a return to Cold War strategies to fight new enemies," and her point is an important one (x).

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