

nology and the geographical reorientation of trade flows that it made possible. [On this point, and among others, see also Agnes M. Larson, *History of the White Pine Industry in Minnesota* (1949)]. Furthermore, Vogel's brief treatment of the competition between Chicago lumber wholesalers and Mississippi sawmillers for the developing western market suffers, in 1994, by comparison with the fresh and incisive analysis of Chicago's impact on its hinterland offered by William Cronon in *Nature's Metropolis* (1991). Even Laird, Norton's lumber sales in Minnesota and the Dakotas have been the focus of a chapter in Fred W. Kohlmeyer's *Timber Roots: The Laird, Norton Story 1855-1905* (1972).

Against this backdrop, the author's claim that his contribution lies in placing "Laird, Norton's Dakota experience in the large ... context ... of the Great Plains settlement process" (xvi) defines the ground on which his book must be judged. There is much here, to be sure, on the score of yards Laird, Norton opened on the Dakota prairie (and on others that they passed over) — details of their founding, cost, lay-out, managers, and business practices. But this is, by and large, information culled from company records. From my point of view, too little attention is given to the vital role that lumber, and the yards that sold it, played in the lives of prairie settlers. The final chapter, which attempts to assess the impact of lumber on the landscape, is brief and ultimately unsatisfactory, in that it raises more questions than it answers about the settlement process, the gendered nature of pioneer experience, and the aspirations of western migrants. In the end, Vogel has written a detailed expository footnote — an extended elaboration on relatively well-known aspects

of the lumber business and the spread of settlement in South Dakota. Without more on the ways in which settlers whose culture was "strained to its foundations" (ix) — in echo of Webb, although his name is surprisingly missing from these pages — responded to the scarcity, cost and often monopolistic or duopolistic marketing arrangements set in place by the likes of Laird, Norton and Company, this book falls short of providing a new window on the history of either the forest or the plain.

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Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood* (New York: Basic Books 1993).

Over the past two decades, historians have come to recognize that men are gendered subjects. Among the earliest and most frequent contributors to this new "men's history" have been historians of the American middle class — writers such as Peter Filene, Mark Carnes and Peter Stearns. However, Anthony Rotundo's study is the first full-length comprehensive attempt to chart the rise of an American middle class masculinity. In this examination of the changes in masculinity experienced by the "comfortable classes" of New England and the midwest from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, Rotundo provides us with an important early synthesis that is liberally augmented with his own primary research.

In the first chapter Rotundo explains that a "communal" type of manhood exercised its potency through the colo-

nial period until shortly after the Revolution. During this period a man defined himself through usefulness to the community, his place in the great chain of being, preservation and perpetuation of the political and religious order and the maintenance of his family. With the birth of republican government, expansion of the market economy, and the growth of the middle class, this masculine identity yielded to a new “self-made” definition of manhood around the turn of the nineteenth century. Manhood became defined through pursuit of individual interests, particularly in the world of work. Traditionally shunned male “passions” of ambition, rivalry and aggression were now emphasized as necessary qualities to “make it” in an increasingly competitive world. These dangerous male passions were moderated, however, by the creation of a separate spheres ideology that saw women become the custodians of the moral virtues that spilled over from the “communal” age. Thus, one of the primary duties of “republican motherhood” became training menfolk to temper their new-found male passions with self-restraint.

Rotundo uses the next eight chapters to explore this type of manhood in more depth. Chapters Two to Four explore the traumatic experience of growing up male in the nineteenth century. Beginning with childhood, Rotundo examines the rough and isolating world of “boy culture.” Within this realm of streets and backyards, boys found the space necessary to reject the “feminine” domestic surroundings of their first years of life. They also learned to cultivate masculine friendships in aggressive and competitive surroundings that were themselves precursors to the masculine world of work. This was where separate spheres

were born, as boys learned to negotiate the constant transition between the civilizing influence of the feminine home and the chaotic masculine world.

As boys grew up and left home to find employment, they were confronted with a lonely and unfamiliar world. Through such institutions as literary and debating societies, lodges and fraternities, they constructed a “youth culture” in which they recreated the solace of their boyhood homes. These sites were also extensions of boy culture, acting as space for both relaxation and play as well as more advanced education in the uses of masculine power and manly self-restraint. The painful transition from boyhood home to the work world was also aided by the development of close, intimate and even romantic friendships between young men. For many, these friendships served a variety of functions: filling the emotional space of the boyhood home, as examples of relationships of trust between collaborators and competitors in the marketplace or as important rehearsals for marriage.

In the next three chapters, Rotundo explores men’s relationships with women. He explains that dichotomized childhoods, divided between the restraining influence of the feminine home and the rough world of boy culture, caused men to develop conflicting attitudes towards women — the Mary/Eve paradigm. While the more romantic courtships of the nineteenth century did allow some convergence between young men and women, once couples wed, the ideology of separate spheres relegated men and women to two very different worlds and made the ideal of companionate marriage unlikely.

The two subsequent chapters concentrate on the male work experience. Rotundo shows that men of the nine-

teenth century saw work as the primary loci of their masculinity. The world of work was also a distinct masculine subculture in which masculine passions tempered with manly self-control had ample room to manoeuvre and find self-expression.

The final two chapters examine the development of a new "passionate" type of manhood at the end of the nineteenth century. As female suffragists, temperance crusaders and growing numbers of female professionals made incursions into the male world, and opportunities for manly success in business were becoming more proscribed, a gender panic gripped middle-class males. Men responded by rejecting all feminizing influences and placing the body at the centre of masculine definition. Men and boys alike were encouraged to follow their "animal passions," best expressed through the metaphors of war and sport. In this ideological climate, men who maintained the feminizing influences of the previous era became suspect.

Rotundo's book has much to offer. He takes a refreshing look at many important works in family history and women's history and reads them in innovative new ways for what they have to say about men. He scrutinizes an impressive array of primary sources to get at his subject: letters and diaries of men and their families, autobiographies, printed advice to men and even early social research. He also makes a signal contribution by examining men's gender identity through their life-cycle. However, one should approach the over-arching claims of this study with some caution.

This work's greatest weakness is its repeated tendency to universalize masculine experience. On the broadest level this is reflected in Rotundo's choice of the northern middle class as his subject.

He argues that since the United States is a "bourgeois society ... one good way to open up a new topic like the history of manhood is to study the bourgeoisie." (296) Concentrating specifically on the northern middle class is especially relevant, since this small proportion of the American population "used their vast economic and cultural power to imprint their values on the nation." (2) Suppositions of this sort assume a fairly one-sided understanding of bourgeois hegemony. They also assume middle-class masculinity to have taken shape in a vacuum. What Rotundo needs to address is the fact that masculinities were negotiated on the same contested terrain as was class. Working class values could, and did, play a part in the formation of middle-class masculinities. For example, Mary Ann Clawson has shown that many middle-class men used such institutions as fraternal societies to recreate masculine artisanal work values harkening back to the preindustrial age.

Rotundo also wrongly assumes that the elite splinter group of businessmen he studied — the most successful bankers, merchants, professionals and businessmen — were representative of the northern middle class as a whole. Again, the assumption is that other sections of this class would have unhesitatingly aped the values of this elite group. As Joy Parr has shown, not all middle class men assumed their masculine identity from the bourgeois values associated with the world of the merchant, banker, or white collar worker. For example, the master artisan-turned-capitalist came from a much different masculine work tradition than did other members of his class. These different kinds of masculinities took shape on very different bases and did not necessarily work well together. Exploring these eccentricities of class and

gender is a project that must be undertaken before any synthetic statements about middle class masculinity can be made. I also believe that the small group Rotundo does study was not as unified along gender lines as he believes.

On the up side, Rotundo's discussion of the invention of homosexuality adds an interesting dimension to gay history. Building on the work of George Chauncey, Rotundo argues that the "homosexual" was created as a "negative referent" to the "passionate" type of manhood that emerged out of the gender panic of the late nineteenth century. By viewing the creation of the homosexual as something more than the product of medical discourse [Katz and Foucault] or of the demographic changes that accompanied the shift to industrial capitalism [D'Emilio and Weeks], Rotundo is able to add structure to the important bridge that needs to be built between the history of sexuality and the history of gender. In this area and many others, Rotundo shows the potential held by the history of masculinity for the writing of social history in general.

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Thomas Poguntke, *Alternative Politics: The German Green Party* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 1993).

For anyone regarding the West German Greens as harbingers of a new and more humane era in organized politics, their catastrophic defeat in the German reunification election of 2 December 1992 must have come as a shock. In his carefully researched book, Thomas Poguntke

provides some hope: the circumstances were exceptional and had to do more with Gorbachev's *perestroika* than with a general decline of interest in Green issues. Caught by surprise, the Greens responded incoherently, campaigning without engagement in an election dominated by an "unfavourable political agenda." (50)

Poguntke successfully demonstrates that Green issues are here to stay, that "New Politics parties" will not disappear again, and that the significance of the German Green Party reaches far beyond what some may have considered, at least early on, as yet another case of "German exceptionalism." All this is done from a strictly behaviouralist perspective, based on "the measurement of individual-level attitudinal changes," (6) giving Inglehartian theories of postmaterialist value change "central importance" (22): "Postmaterialist value orientation is the single most important explanatory factor for the emergence of the New Politics and — as a consequence — the Green Party vote." (59)

In this firm commitment lies Poguntke's greatest strengths as well as a few considerable weaknesses. The central part of the book (chapters 5-9) is a systematic examination of the Green Party's main characteristics and dilemmas: composition of its electorate and activists; internal factionalism and its reflection in party programs; grassroots democracy commitment and party organization; party activism oscillating between parliamentary responsibility and civil disobedience. In all instances, a wealth of empirical data shows convincingly that the Green Party is indeed a "New Politics party" in the sense defined at the outset (10-11): it is more committed to ecological values than economic growth, peace than military security, etc.;