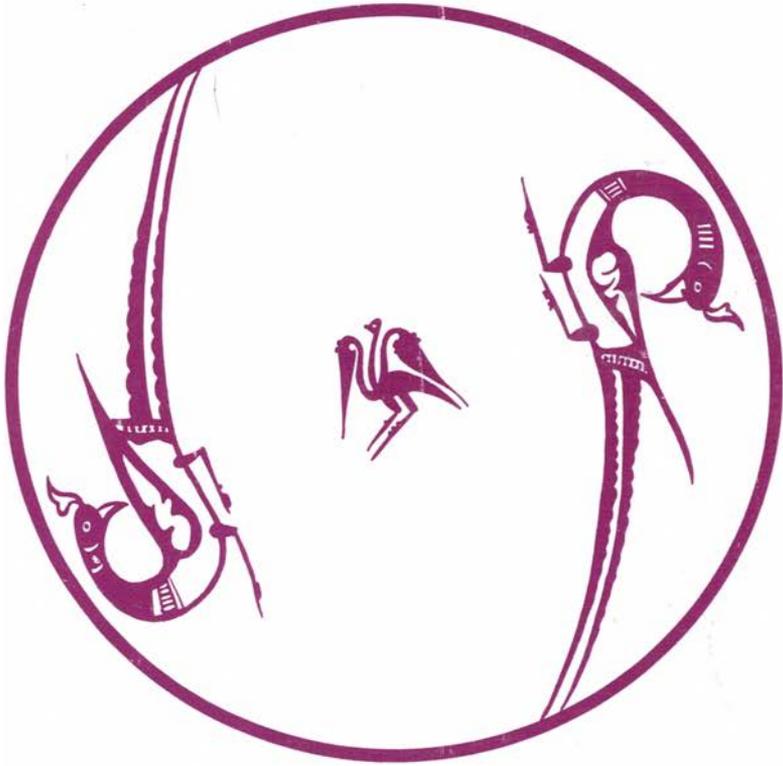


Popular Culture Review



volume IV number 2
June 1993

From the Editor



Editing *Popular Culture Review* for the last 27 years has been a labor of love. I would like to acknowledge the support of UNLV's College of Liberal Arts and Department of English as well as PCA/ACA and, most recently Policy Studies Organization.

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Popular Culture Review
volume iv, no. 2

- Fortune Magazine in the 1930s: American Business
Expands Its Vision*.....5
Anthony D. Branch
- Lear's Vision of Modern Maturity: The Struggle for
Modernity in the Context of Postmodernity*..... 15
Dennis Hall
- Toys for Girls: The New Sexism, 'We Girls Can Do
Anything, Right Barbie?'*..... 23
Michael Delahoyde and Susan C. Despenich
- Ouida's Family Romance: In Maremma*..... 37
John Paul Russo
- Peddling Eros: The Scents of Attraction*..... 51
Hans Rindisbacher
- The Holographic Potential of American German Studies*..... 65
Scott Melton
- Roosevelt, Feather Fashions, and Hunter-Naturalists*..... 73
Jon Griffin Donlon

Fortune Magazine in the 1930s: American Business Expands Its Vision

In February 1930 the U.S. economy was sliding into a deep depression. This was an improbable time for the initial publication of Henry Luce's deluxe new *Fortune* magazine, dedicated to the proposition that "Business, in the modern sense of the word, is the distinctive expression of the American genius."¹ *Fortune* was not only extraordinarily expensive (its newsstand price of one dollar compared to five or ten cents for typical magazines of the 1930s) but also represented a revolutionary approach to reporting business. It proved to be a profitable enterprise for Henry Luce's burgeoning publishing empire.

Luce perceived in the late 1920s that business, the "focus of our national energies," did not receive its literary or journalistic just due. Luce had co-founded *Time* in 1923, but this successful general newsmagazine had a necessarily small business section. The leading business magazines of the time--*Dun's Review*, *Barron's*, *Forbes*--all concentrated on corporate finance and securities. The pre-publication prospectus for *Fortune* asked, "where is the publication which even attempts to portray Business in all its heroic present-day proportions, or that succeeds in conveying a sustained sense of the challenging personalities, significant trends and high excitements of this vastly stirring Civilization of Business?"² *Fortune*, it was promised, would be such a publication.

Luce and his associates affirmed in their pre-publication prospectus that "*Fortune* differs from other general Business magazines essentially as follows:

1. It will avoid generalities such as 'Cooperation between Capital and Labor.'
2. It will have no 'inspirational' matter.
3. It will contain no advice on how to run your business.
4. No tipstering.
5. No puffing of individuals.
6. No 'defending' of Business.

7. No propaganda.
8. No ghost-written banalities by Big Names.
9. It will have literary standards of the highest--and if Babbitt doesn't like literature he doesn't have to read it.
10. It will be beautiful.³

Better than most such enterprises, *Fortune* largely lived up to these promises during its first decade. Moreover, the following record of increased circulation and advertising over most of the depression era was remarkable: in the 1930s, the average circulation was 34,000 with ad revenue of \$354,230; in 1937 average circulation was 143,000 with \$1,726,222 of ad revenue.

A 1934 brochure extolled the qualifications of *Fortune's* 90,000 subscribers, which compared to about 50,000 for *The Wall Street Journal* in the same period. It assumed 1,000,000 actual readers who were described as follows:

1. Ninety-six percent of *Fortune's* readers were executives or professionals.
2. *Fortune* reached more than half of those American families with incomes of more than \$25,000.
3. *Fortune* was read by more than half of the men listed in the New York and Chicago Social Registers. According to the brochure, "No other 'class monthly' reaches more than 27%."
4. *Fortune* reached more than a third of the women listed in these Social Registers.

It was therefore a plausible advertising sales line that *Fortune's* readers "are the people for whom air transport lines run, for whom Round-the-World and Mediterranean winter cruises are established, for whom yachts and cruisers and expensive automobiles are built."⁴

The advertising mix, itself, was extraordinary. Because it reached very successful businessmen, it attracted two types of advertising. Its primary subscribers were naturally a market for industrial goods such as machinery, engines, conveyers, plant and office equipment. But they also took these beautiful magazines home, where they and their wives were perhaps the best market in the Depression-era times for luxurious consumer goods and services. As a result, the advertising space rate was relatively high. In 1937 a

dollar's worth of advertising in *Fortune* purchased 92.8 readers, as compared to 140 in the *New Yorker* and 282.8 in *Time*. Nonetheless, selling advertising space in *Fortune* was quite easy. During the first year of *Fortune's* existence, there was a money-back guarantee for advertising in the new publication.⁵

Even Luce's left-wing critics largely agreed that, in contrast to common business journalistic practice of the time, *Fortune's* editors stood up to big corporations who threatened to cancel their advertising--sometimes in all Time, Inc. magazines--when they were unhappy with a story. This was in marked contrast to the rampant puffery in so many advertising-hungry publications of the Depression era.⁶ *Fortune's* publishers also promised to "give its subscribers the most beautiful magazine yet attempted in this country--so strikingly illustrated that nearly every page will be a work of art."⁷ Shrewdly selected photographs, portraits, maps and drawings richly illustrated the text. Luce hired Thomas Maitland Cleland, a well-known typographer and art director, to design the page lay-out (11 x 14 inches). Among the famed artists who were commissioned to provide paintings and etchings for *Fortune's* covers and inside pages were Rockwell Kent, Edward Wilson, and even Diego Rivera, who illustrated a feature story in October 1938 on the ongoing Mexican revolution. Miss Margaret Bourke-White (well-known industrial photographer) and Erich Solomon (who coined the phrase "Candid-Camera") were hired as permanent staff photographers to provide action-oriented pictures of industrial enterprise. Printed on richly textured paper designed to eliminate eye glare, its cover was of such heavy stock that the first issue weighed almost two pounds. *Fortune* was indeed a lavish publication with great artistic as well as literary merit.

If *Fortune* represented a triumph of artistic journalism, it also achieved its promise of high literary standards. In assembling his writers for *Fortune*, Luce decided to hire a permanent writing staff, who at *Time* were young men fresh from Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. Although many did not know at first how to read a balance sheet, Luce believed that talented amateurs and poets make better business journalists than glorified bookkeepers.⁸

The senior writing staff included such names as Archibald MacLeish, Dwight Macdonald, James Gould Cozzens, James Agee, and the poet Russell Davenport. As Eric Hodgins, editor in the mid-1930s

stated, this was "the most brilliant magazine staff ever to exist in America." But he also added that the staff at times was "insane, unreliable, and alcoholic," and that these temperamental and sensitive writers needed to be encouraged, inspired, and sometimes prodded into producing.⁹

Fortune promised that it would differ from its competitors by not flattering individuals or "defending" Business *per se*. How well did it live up to its pre-publication word? Fairly well, though had the economy continued to be as prosperous as it had been when *Fortune* was first planned in 1928, it might not have. Henry Luce's first major business venture, *Time* magazine, had been a business success, which doubtless reinforced his belief that successful businessmen were the proper leaders of the country. He had little use for those intellectuals and literati who denigrated business.¹⁰ As he would later discover, many of *Fortune's* best writers fit that description! As Dwight Macdonald, famed left-leaning writer, wrote in 1937 after he left *Fortune*: "At the end of 1931 the depression finally penetrated the consciousness of the editors of *Fortune*. As though a dam had suddenly broken, a spate of articles on politics, government, and society in general inundated the magazine." He added that this was "all very different from what our founders had planned."¹¹

Indeed, the first issue of *Fortune* in February 1930 included very little which was critical of business. It included about a dozen articles on such subjects as freezing foods, glass in manufacturing, orchid growing, hog farming, the Rothschilds and RCA Corporation. The RCA article was an early example of the "corporation story," a distinct *Fortune* innovation for business journalism. The articles during the first two years were confined largely to business operations, products, and individual businessmen or families. An analysis of articles over the next few years shows how this shifted during the 1930s. Only 22 percent of the 121 articles which *Fortune* printed in 1930 dealt with non-business subjects. In 1931, 34 percent were non-business; in 1932, 47 percent; in 1933, 41 percent; in 1934, 57 percent; in 1936, 55 percent.¹²

The first issue of *Fortune* featured pages of magnificent color photography of industrial subjects by Bourke-White, who found a sense of artistry in industrial machines and laborers. There was a family portrait of the famous Rothschilds of Europe. A very interesting article was on the subject of how a young, successful family

found it difficult to live on \$25,000 a year in Chicago. That this perspective was uniquely geared to *Fortune's* affluent readership is evident by the budget figures, which show that only \$15,000 of the \$25,000 was earned from a job; the remaining \$10,000 was "revenue from Securities." One of the largest single expenditures, moreover, was for servants.¹³ Also popular in these early issues were features on notable business personalities. This first issue included one of Mr. Gamble of Procter and Gamble, a personal acquaintance of Henry Luce.

By way of contrast, the contents for the July 1935 issue of *Fortune* contained only seven feature articles. Only two could be described as corporate stories, one a richly illustrated feature on Anheuser-Busch and the other on U.S. Smelting and Refining. *Fortune* pointed out that each of these companies had been helped by Roosevelt administration policies: Anheuser-Busch by the end of Prohibition and U.S. Smelting by the June 1934 Purchase of Silver Act. *Fortune* described Clarence A. Hight, the President of U.S. Smelting, as "rock-ribbed and Republican" and pleased by the fact that his company had become so profitable. He reportedly grieved, however, that this was due to the hated New Deal's direct intervention in the silver market.

The remaining five articles include a piece on cotton that heavily emphasizes the effect of Henry Wallace's government funded crop-reduction program, and a 15,000-word portrait of Harry Hopkins, close adviser to F.D.R. and Administrator of the controversial Federal Emergency Relief Act, whom *Fortune* describes as an "Iowan, veteran of twenty years of social work, student of Keats, fungi, and psychoanalysis, spender of \$4,880,000."¹⁴ Another lengthy article, including a number of specially commissioned paintings by a noted artist, is on the restoration of colonial Williamsburg.

The final two articles in the July 1935 issue merit special mention. One is the first of a ground-breaking series of three articles on "Women of Business" which discusses in detail what is described as the "feminization of the American office, a phenomenon not duplicated anywhere else in the world."¹⁵ There is a detailed, surprisingly late 20th century-sounding recount of the Women's Movement as "a struggle for liberation as conceived by the intelligentsia who, generally speaking, were already economically free."

It was also in this July 1935 issue that *Fortune* introduced the innovative Fortune Survey, generally credited with being the first published public opinion poll.¹⁶ Elmo Roper, a free-lance writer who had worked for J. Walter Thompson, and *Fortune* editor Eric Hodgins decided that surveys used to discover consumer preferences could also provide a knowledge of public opinion on political and social matters. The first publication of Elmo Roper's *Fortune* national survey was "aimed at the presentation of facts which American industrialists do not themselves publish."

The early *Fortune* surveys in 1935 did indicate general public support for the New Deal socio-economic changes taking place in the country. A large majority believed that the government should see to it that every man who wanted to work had a job. It did reveal wide class differences on the question of labor relations. However, scholars of American labor much later used these surveys to show that radicalism in the U.S. was doomed by the relatively low class consciousness in the U.S. as compared to Europe. Nearly two generations later these scholars would determine that the Fortune Surveys "were more relevant . . . than any of the other contemporary data with regard to public opinion based on social class."¹⁷ President Roosevelt became a regular follower of the Roper Fortune Survey and always made certain that he received the results in advance of publication.¹⁸

Not that all *Fortune* articles were serious with economic and governmental import. The February 1935 issue of *Fortune* featured stories on the workings of the U.S. Senate, Philco Radio, Studebaker, and the Mormon capitalist Mariner Stoddard Eccles as well as an article entitled, "Girls, Girls, Girls, Girls, Girls--The Business of Burlesque, A.D. 1935." The successful American businessman of the 1930s prided himself on being more worldly and sophisticated than the Babbitt depicted by Sinclair Lewis the previous decade, and presumably appreciated this subject!

Ultimately it would not be articles on birth control or burlesque which would create the most controversy. It was the reaction to a series of critical articles on the U.S. Steel Corporation in 1936 written by the famed and increasingly avowed radical writer Dwight Macdonald which would signal a shift toward more direct influence by Luce again on editorial matters.¹⁹ Dwight Macdonald charged that his articles were "abbreviated and emasculated" before

publication in response to pressure from an executive of J.P. Morgan and Co., which controlled U.S. Steel. Luce at the last minute had pulled the last of three parts, headed with a quotation from Lenin saying that monopoly was the last stage of capitalism, leading inevitably to socialism. This led to Dwight Macdonald's resignation as a senior writer. Thereafter *Fortune* seemed more concerned about the opinion of the businessmen it wrote about.

After his resignation, Macdonald (who was financially buttressed by accumulated savings from his handsome \$10,000 a year salary over the years) wrote a highly critical three-part series in *The Nation* about Time, Inc. In assessing *Fortune's* record, Macdonald allowed that the Fortune Survey was of real value to society.

However, Macdonald criticizes *Fortune* for having "merged itself into the capitalistic system so completely and with such enthusiastic abandon that it cannot analyze the system's working."²⁰ What Macdonald could not have realized, however, at the time he wrote those words was that one leading C.I.O. official would later admit that the truncated U.S. Steel series which Macdonald authored had "so tarnished the reputation of the corporation" that its CEO was forced to concede a major union organizing victory to John L. Lewis in 1937!²¹

The magazine, whose original declared mission was to trumpet the virtues of free enterprise in the late 1930s, still remained quite critical, a rarity among business publications. It not only claimed to understand the new impacts of government on business but actually, in some cases, welcomed it. *Fortune's* editorial policies had successfully challenged the business journalistic tradition that a public corporation's internal workings were private, and established that such knowledge was the public's business.

In contrast to so much unfavorable business sentiment about Roosevelt, *Fortune* tried to point up the positive aspects of the New Deal. In a notable series about the "Momentous Struggle" between business and government in 1938, which dealt with such New Deal subjects as public utilities, the SEC, and the National Labor Relations Board, the consistent theme was "reconciliation, an end to the sterile and unnecessary warfare between American business and the New Deal." The editorials were widely reprinted and commented on throughout the country.

In a major speech, F.D.R. would approvingly refer to *Fortune* as a "discerning magazine of business." Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., chairman of General Motors, found much to commend in *Fortune's* statement that New Deal policy was "to make capitalism work by tinkering within the system"22

Perhaps the most valuable legacy of this rapprochement between government and business--so capably fostered by the influential *Fortune*--would be the cooperation during World War II which was soon to come. A *Fortune* staff writer wrote later that not only did the Business and Government series do much "to compose the sterile bickering and mistrust between them," it also "paved the way for the collaboration soon to be required by the war effort."²³ For its part, *Fortune* itself would scale back on the lavish graphics and increase its coverage of defense-related industries and military preparedness beginning in 1940.

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Notes

1. "Preface to *Fortune*", 4.
2. "Preface to *Fortune*", 4.
3. "Preface to *Fortune*", 5.
4. "Preface to *Fortune*", 5.
5. Lydgate, 57.
6. Hoopes, 90; Elson, 209.
7. "Preface to *Fortune*", 7.
8. Hoopes, 85.
9. Hoopes, 86.
10. Hoopes, 86.
11. Hoopes, 86.
12. Macdonald, 528.
13. *Fortune*, Feb. 1930; 116.
14. *Fortune*, July 1935; 50.
15. *Fortune*, July 1935; 57.
16. Elson, 222-223.
17. Verba and Scholzman, 295-296.
18. Elson: 224.
19. Martin, 173.
20. Macdonald, 530.
21. Whitfield, 9-10.
22. Elson, 319.
23. Jessup, 18.

Lear's Vision of Modern Maturity: The Struggle for Modernity in the Context of Postmodernity

They said age was a vice and youth ruled America. Older women would never look at older women, much less support a magazine so foolhardy as to insist that age is integral to beauty; that women over 40—yesterday's "mad housewives"—are today's sanest, most creative, and most interesting Americans. LEAR'S exists because the truth about reality ultimately overwhelms the lies about it. LEAR'S tells the truth about you—your feelings, your past, your possibilities. It reflects you, it respects you, it is you—a woman at the peak of her powers. It is the right new magazine appearing at precisely the right time. (*Lear's*, March/April 1988, [6])

I: The Magazine

Lear's, "The Magazine for the Woman Who Wasn't Born Yesterday," appeared in March 1988, the first year since the 1950s in which people 35-59 outnumbered those 18-34. Consider that Cher is 45, Racquel Welch is over 50, and every member of the Rolling Stones and the Grateful Dead is over 40 (Popcorn). The magazine is the entrepreneurial child of Frances Lear, then 64 years old, who reputedly bankrolled this ambitious undertaking, in a notoriously risky business environment, with the proceeds from the settlement of her divorce from television producer Norman Lear. Mere mortals might have chosen to invest in mutual funds rather than to assault America's commitment to the culture of youth in that arena where it is perhaps most firmly entrenched—the slick, style-conscious women's magazine.

As a women's magazine, *Lear's* seeks readers over 40 with annual incomes over \$40,000 and, the 1991 *Standard Periodical Directory* reports, has so far found 453,000 of them at its current cover price of \$3.00 and annual subscription rate of \$21.00. Although from a third to half, depending upon how one counts, of the editorial space and nearly three quarters of the advertising is devoted to matters of

appearance, "LEAR'S magazine," as the subscription insert in the March 1992 issue declares, "is much more than just fashion and cosmetics. In fact, we designed this magazine with you, the complete woman, in mind." The needs of the complete woman are met in the magazine's several more or less regular, although not rigidly distinct, departments: "Features," which are articles of general interest, often including a personal profile of the person pictured on the cover, or short fiction by such writers as Doris Lessing, Joyce Carol Oates, and Kate Braverman; "Style," articles on beauty and fashion; "Money & Worth," articles on business and personal finance; "Self Center," articles on health and personal development; "Addiction," articles on dependencies of every description; "Editorial," commonly written by Lear; "Visiting Space," a guest editorial; and, every month, "Lunch," an interview by Lear; "Celestial Fine-Tuning," an astrology column; "Letters," from readers; and "A Woman for *Lear's*," a personal profile, commonly a post-divorce, financial success story.

Lear's has the look and the feel of a fashion magazine after the pattern of *Vogue*, *Elle*, and *Mademoiselle*, but it offers substantially more copy and, after the pattern of *Mirabella*, is generally very well written. While the *Lear's* staples are photo-illustrated "style" pieces and personal profiles of successful women over 40, the articles also routinely address, in a very serious manner, personal, political, and social issues. Conspicuously absent are articles on the preparation and consumption of food and drink, as are pieces on small children; motherhood is infrequently dealt with, and almost exclusively with reference to adult children. *Lear's*, as a consequence, is also a magazine directed toward working women, principally professionals and business people or those aspiring to that status. Unlike *Working Woman*, however, *Lear's* stakes a specific claim to the older woman of stylishly sophisticated and unabashedly expensive tastes. "Mature," not incidentally, is a term conspicuous by its absence in the columns of *Lear's*, perhaps lest there be any confusion with *Modern Maturity*, the organ of the American Association of Retired Persons which is dominated by the themes of a thirty-million member political lobby and the practical realities of women and men who weren't born the day before yesterday. And unlike *Cosmopolitan*, *Lear's* seeks to take a (not the) high road with respect to feminism without becoming a "feminist" magazine after the pattern established by *Ms*.

Lear's magazine confronts many of the binary constructs (I hesitate to call them "conflicts") that gnaw with particular intensity at the consciousness of contemporary American women aged 40 to 60 in the late 80s and the early 90s: male and female, body and mind, indulgence and responsibility, pleasure and pain, freedom and dependence, poverty and affluence, production and consumption, individuality and community, novelty and tradition. This arena of codified play is where the action is in contemporary, mass circulation magazine publishing. In seeking to traffic in the codes of youth and age, one of the most powerful and resistant binary oppositions of ordinary human experience, Frances Lear has chosen an especially interesting niche in this discursive market.

While *Lear's*, I think, pursues the goals of postmodernity with greater success than do many of its competitors, it remains caught in the bind created by the incompatibility of the messages in much of its editorial content and the messages in other editorial material, most of its advertising, and the cultural context of its operations. An examination of even a brief selection of some of what I take to be the characteristics of "modernism" and "postmodernism" reflected in *Lear's* reveals that "the magazine for the woman who wasn't born yesterday," its postmodernist pretensions notwithstanding, remains firmly grounded in modernism.

II: Postmodernist Pretensions

Lear's abounds in the welter of signs that, to borrow Fredric Jameson's expression, "replicates or reproduces--reinforces--the logic of consumer capitalism" (125). To scan the entire run or even the latest, third anniversary, issue is to experience the ephemerality, fragmentation, commodification, commercialization, and market consciousness that have become the hallmarks of contemporary cultural production. *Lear's* is slick, busy, serious, and hip.

The magazine seeks at once to function as the clarion for the cause of women over 40 and as the vehicle for the personal success of Frances Lear. Unlike *Ms.*, which finally drove the money changers from the temple in order better to maintain its ideological consistency, *Lear's* embraces the marketplace as codependent, offering features on money management or appearance or personal development congruent with those of its advertisers, and featuring the success stories of financial

or fashion trade executives or members of the helping professions in their personality profiles. While there is nothing unusual in these practices, *Lear's* takes the further step of generally equating the success of the cause of women over 40 with the commercial success of the magazine itself and, presumably, Frances Lear. The effacement of borders here is not so complete, as it is in some magazines, that one cannot tell where editorial content ends and advertising content begins, but the separation between Frances Lear and *Lear's*, between the cause of women over 40 and the magazine itself, is far less distinct. The idiom is sufficiently common that it is not clear who is co-opting whom. In the pages of *Lear's* such a distinction seems to be of no real interest, as the margins seek the center and the center seeks the margins in an oscillation of thresholds characteristic of postmodernity.

Lear's, as are many current manifestations of American popular culture, is dedicated to simultaneously celebrating difference and collapsing difference--to having it all, as we are wont to say, whatever "it" may be. The palpable determinacy of 130 slick pages of *Lear's* oscillates with the indeterminacy of the multiple fragments of the "cause" of women over 40 or, a bit more narrowly, of women over 40 with annual incomes over \$40,000. The interests of women over 40 for *Lear's* are "postfeminist"; that is, the substantial ideological and cultural changes of the women's movement are viewed as more or less having taken place. In a March 1989 editorial, Frances Lear writes:

It's odd there is no laser-sharp insight into the last 25 years of change for women One thing is certain: The Mad Housewife isn't mad anymore. She may not even be a housewife. And therein lies, we think, the pith. The fundamental result of Friedan's storm may prove to be the understanding and acceptance of the right of women--equally with men--to pursue Freud's prescription for happiness: *to work as well as to love*. The finding must be solidified, however, then molded--given depth and dimension--put into the kiln and fired.

A woman for *Lear's* is neither insane, angry, nor underemployed outside the home, and doubtless the experience of her age provides

the kiln that her beauty fires. In *Lear's*, the present is a period of consolidation in which individual women over 40 may capitalize on experience to achieve greater success and personal satisfaction than is possible for their younger sisters. Most copy is given to photo-illustrated personal profiles: a never ending string of demonstrations that women over 40 are beautiful and financially independent and happy. *Lear's*, again to use Jameson's phrase, provides a "transformation of reality into images and the fragmentation of reality into a series of presents" (125). "A woman for *Lear's*" represents not a community but a string of individuals. While there are occasional exceptions (e.g., the March, 1990, editorial on "Connectedness"), taken as a whole, the magazine is at pains to provide a plurality of individual and present models and to avoid the articulation of change over time and of the collective consciousness of women of women over 40. While not a pure play, *Lear's* in many respects reflects the "disappearance of history" that Jameson notes as a major trait of postmodernism and contributes to the function of contemporary media "to help us forget, to serve as the very agents and mechanisms for our historical amnesia" (125).

Lear's, of course, seeks a fair deal for women over 40, particularly those thrust by divorce into the culture's social and economic markets at a significant disadvantage compared to their male counterparts. While there is some attention to a legislative and social agenda to thwart what might be called "ageism," the major emphasis falls on developing the knowledge, skills, and consciousness of the woman over 40 herself. "Ageism," is a term that seldom appears in the magazine; presumably a woman for *Lear's* is rendered ageless, her capitalization of experience and beauty have transformed her into a woman whose identity is constructed without reference to age. A woman for *Lear's*, if you will, is born again. The commitment to the notion that society will change following the transformations of individual women makes Frances Lear the Billy Graham of the cult of women over 40 as it confronts the youth cult that has prevailed in America since WWII.

Lear's perhaps most consistent and endearing reflection of postmodernity is the resolute inconsistency between its declarations and descriptions of the condition of women over 40. *Lear's* exhibits a serious interest in surfaces. Physical beauty is a major concern, as the magazine seeks to demonstrate that the woman over 40 can be

beautiful and smart, beautiful and independent of men, beautiful and old, as age was mistakenly understood in the past—that is, before *Lear's*, a time when the woman over 40 was unwilling to admit much less celebrate her age and beautifying experience. *Lear's* pioneered the use models over 40 in their fashion photography, and the practice has found its way into other magazines and some advertising. There is certainly some justice in acknowledging the beauty of women over 40; indeed there is no denying it, as we look, for example, at the *Lear's* covers of Diana Ross or Joan Collins or Glenn Close or Jacqueline Bisset. This democratization of physical beauty, however, serves only to extend to those over 40 the general culture's commodification of women, perpetuates the practice of making women the objects of a gaze that remains principally male in its definition.

From the outset, one of the continuing themes in the *Lear's* letters column has been the question of facial lines and wrinkles, an inescapable physical consequence of aging. Was *Lear's* going to acknowledge photographically this physiology, or was it going to erase or severely modify this code of aging with heavy-handed use of pancake and airbrush? The women pictured in *Lear's* are clearly older than those in most women's magazines and, to be sure, some few lines and wrinkles appear, but these people are remarkably well preserved, in the main the beneficiaries of sophisticated cosmetic and photographic art. *Lear's* declaration that "In our fashion and beauty pages, all models reflect the ages and looks of *Lear's* readers" (March 1988) is plainly not so, as is apparent to anyone who will simply look at the ordinary run of humanity over 40. *Lear's*, even in its most candid moments, is a renaissance mirror, reflecting idealized images whose paradigm remained firmly rooted in the youth culture the magazine declares it is resisting. *Lear's* does not seek to thwart or replace youth culture, but rather to co-opt it. The magazine seeks to allow women over 40 the opportunity to participate in the youth culture not so much on their own terms as on the terms of the youth culture itself. The declaration of difference is described in the collapse of difference.

III: Modernist Foundations

Despite the postmodernist play on the surface of *Lear's*, the magazine remains on balance firmly grounded in the tradition of

modernism; it is, alas, old fashioned. To examine *Lear's* with reference to a schematic of the differences between modernism and postmodernism (see Harvey 43) is to discover that the magazine operates in a capitalist rather than a postcapitalist mode, clearly purposeful in its definition and expansion of market share. A romantic exercise of symbolism, *Lear's* hasn't a Dadaist bone in its editorial body. *Lear's* and a woman for *Lear's* are art objects, finished work, rather than performances, evolving processes. This magazine rigidly adheres to genre boundaries and is remarkably free of intertextual play for a piece of contemporary popular culture. It fears anarchy and retreats to hierarchies only partly of its own definition. It deals in genital sexuality rather than in androgyny. While it invokes the postmodernist persistence of the present, it indulges in very little textual looting of the past and nostalgic writing of the present into the past. *Lear's*, at bottom, is about the business of reading rather than writing, semantics rather than rhetoric. Propelled by angst rather than desire, *Lear's* wallows in optimism rather than indulging in *jouissance*. *Lear's* traffics more in metaphor than in metonymy, more in paranoia than in schizophrenia, more in the signified than in the signifier, more in metaphysics than in irony, more in determinacy than in indeterminacy, more in centering than in dispersal, more in transcendence than in imminence.

Nowhere is *Lear's* modernist foundation more clearly manifest than in its faith in the individual. The author, of the magazine and of the identity of the individual, is very much alive in the pages of *Lear's*. From the first issue's manifesto (quoted in the epigraph) to the most recent issue, the magazine affects an *avant-garde* posture. While assuming a conventional posture with regard to the women's movement, it seeks revolutionary trappings with respect to women over 40, defining and expanding the cause in terms of opposition to "they," an oppressive establishment that supports the youth culture, if not at the direct expense, clearly to the disadvantage of the woman over 40. *Lear's* seeks the status of a subversive power within the established order. When the recognition of the beauty and experience of women over 40 becomes conventionalized, when they as a group achieve their independence from the economic and social definition of the general culture, then *Lear's* will be robbed of its subversive power, its *raison d'être*, and, most importantly, its market.

Lear's oppositional character, however, is not anarchic; it exhibits a not very secret sympathy for the establishment it seeks to exploit. The magazine is not seeking "revolution" in a communal, comprehensive effort, as if to form some vaguely Marxist combination directed at general and fundamental change. The magazine, rather, models and promotes personal, individual transformations. In a piece entitled, "Can a Feminist Have a Facelift," the writer catches the magazine's basic premise: "Studies have shown that beauty alone never gives women self-esteem. Autonomy, self-reliance, achievement, and self-expression do" (Seligson 56). The ideology of the unique individual and of self-determination governs this entire enterprise. Moreover, *Lear's*, as is characteristic of high modern culture, is selective, hierarchical, and elitist in its acknowledgment of the style, independence, experience, and beauty that define a woman over 40, a woman for *Lear's*. The dispensation of amazing grace in the gospel according to Frances Lear is as particular and arbitrary as ever it was for John Calvin at the dawn of the modern era.

Lear's, as do an increasing number of contemporary popular cultural phenomena, manifests the reaction in the 1990s to the postmodernist explosion in the 1980s in a return to a modernist mind set reminiscent of the 1950s and 60s. For readers of *Lear's*, perhaps nostalgia is what it used to be.

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Toys for Girls: The New Sexism, "We Girls Can Do Anything, Right Barbie?"

For a culture so sanctimonious as to its ostensible concern over what its children may be exposed to on television, on the movie screen, and in musical lyrics, there has been shockingly little attention given to the values implicit in the toys with which children actively play. Twenty to twenty-five years ago we saw critical attention paid to child-culture in the form of Action for Children's Television, which as of 1993 is to be considered defunct, and in careful analysis of children's popular culture—consideration not just of television, but of literature, coloring books, and more (see, Rachlin and Vogt, Levinson, Key, Weitzman). We saw specific concern for gender stereotyping and the recognition that

the creators of child-culture play a key role in shaping the behaviors and attitudes developed by children. Thus, rather than simply reflecting existing societal structures, the media function critically in the determination of society's future, by providing the basic models from which children form their ideas about themselves and others. Popular culture, then, serves as a vehicle that can be used either to perpetuate existing stereotypes or to encourage their abandonment. (Rachlin 549)

These days, however, except for an occasional flurry of tongue-clucking at the lack of aesthetic appeal in Garbage-Pail Kids trading cards or at Bart Simpson's attitude, all's quiet in toyland. And yet, despite the efforts made over the last quarter century to narrow the gap between toys for boys and toys for girls, most toys still fall into clear, traditional gender categories. What was typical of children's culture then is true now, and best expressed by the sociological adage: "boys do, girls are" (Key 167). Toy shelves today still feature cars, trucks, erector sets, military action figures, and tools for boys, and

baby dolls, fashion dolls, doll clothes, hair and makeup toys, and housekeeping toys for girls. Although the modern advertisements and packaging attempt to be more politically correct than the aggressively separatist Suzy Homemaker campaigns of the 1960s, gender-specific toys still thrive. The difference between toys then and now is that gender-specific toys thrive now *with a vengeance*.

Girls' toys now more than ever seek anxiously to define femininity in a so-called liberated age.

In the late eighties . . . the media in general, and particularly advertising agencies, have decided that we've *done* feminism and it's time to move on. We can call ourselves 'girls', wear sexy underwear and short skirts; because feminism taught us that we're equal to men, we don't need to prove it anymore. (Lee 168)

This suspect philosophy of "postfeminism" has recently been blasted for what it truly is--a sexist "backlash" against women. The reactionary politics of this, as described by Susan Faludi, and the backlash in the form of the "beauty myth" as presented by Naomi Wolf have also manifested themselves fully in the toys and cartoons for small girls with the attempt to indoctrinate and cripple them early in their careers as women. Thus, the only difference between the past and present toys is in cultural attitude. The patronizing and bemused attitude towards teen girls we witnessed with Gidget and Patty Duke has been replaced with the conviction that girls can do whatever they want, and simply *choose* to subsume themselves in matters of makeup, boys, dating, and hair. As a result of this illusion of choice applied to the desires of little girls, the toys no longer merely perpetuate but actually validate traditional sexist attitudes. Toys and cartoons teach girls complete and subtle lessons about being girls, and "Pretty in Pink" is the message of the day. In the name of liberation, such toys subvert female identity.

Walk into any major toy store, or even the toy section of any department store, and you will be able quickly to identify aisles containing toys for boys and separate aisles with toys for girls. This ubiquitous lay-out alone harkens back to the 1950s and 60s when gender separatism in child-culture went more or less unquestioned. Hence, Ideal packaged Robert the Robot for boys, and Betsy Wetsy for

girls. Mattel promoted Winchester Rifles, the One-Man Army Gun, the 007 Action Pack, the Bonanza Action Set, and Robot Commando for boys, and enjoyed more success marketing Barbie, sparking a new breed of fashion dolls for girls (Cox, Motz). These days, despite a period during which the term "Barbie Doll" was commonly used derisively, Mattel is proud, indeed arrogant, about the Barbie heritage, insisting that "while it's true that Barbie is fashion-conscious, she also has been a very positive role model—and in many ways, a leader" (*Forever Barbie*). The insistence that "Barbie has always worked for a living, first as a baby-sitter and teen model, and later as an airline stewardess" feigns a vague feminism; if the statement were not laughable on its own, one only need note the real '60s heritage of Barbie—two years after "Bride's Dream Barbie" (1963), for example, came "Barbie Learns to Cook" (1965). She even held *subordinate* positions within the traditional female occupational roles in her capacities as "Junior Designer" (1965) and "Student Teacher" (1965). Budget Barbie clones included Tressy and sister Cricket, by American Character, both of whom had hair that could grow and be colored and a "magic makeup face." For the more responsible 1960s career minded gal, Suzy Homemaker products, launched in 1966, offered toy versions of an oven, dishwasher, sink, refrigerator, mixer, blender, juicer, washing machine, iron and ironing board, vanity and hairdryer, and, perhaps emblematic of it all, a vacuum. In all, children's toys and other media were unabashedly restrictive, but we do well to hold in check our ironic postfeminist mirth over this supposedly bygone era.

In the 1970s child culture at last came under some open criticism and scrutiny by parents and child advocates. Initially, concerned adults worked for regulation by the FCC of program-length commercials and the worst excesses of children's advertising, objected to the frequency of violence in cartoons, and pushed for more educational programs for children of specific age groups (Engelhardt 75). During this decade, in response to the emerging women's movement and open discussion of women's roles in our society, we also saw a move toward unisex toys and cartoons; for example, basic Lego sets enjoyed popularity, and Fisher Price's Little People continued offering community settings that gave children a full picture of men and women performing community functions. With a variety of "little people" and settings on hand, children could choose to have a woman

drive the school bus and a man teach school. Moreover, cartoons such as *Scooby-Doo*, *Josie and the Pussycats in Outer Space*, and the other ghost-hunters and mystery-solvers of the period featured mostly platonic groups of teenage boys and girls working together for a common goal. True, in *Scooby-Doo*, Thelma, "the smart one," wore glasses and sensible (read: unattractive) clothes; but at the same time, neither she nor Daphne, the more traditionally attractive member of the sleuthing party, ever displayed helplessness or cowardice, unlike Shaggy, Scooby's beatnik-like owner. The two girls also had the respect of Alan, the traditional male in the party. The cartoon had role models for male and female children, and demonstrated interaction, not romantic rescue dynamics or catty competition for Alan. Thus, although the seventies were far from a golden age in children's culture, at least the issues of gender and acceptable behavior entered our collective consciousness.

However, ever since the 1980s were under way and America "rediscovered" its traditional, conservative roots (according to Reagan-Bush Republicanism), we have seen a marked resurgence of gender separation in toys, and a barrage of traditional sex roles and stereotypical expectations accompanying them. Little girls are still mothers to a variety of baby dolls. The only difference between baby doll play in the '50s and the '90s resides in the dolls themselves. Simple baby dolls such as Baby Soft Love still occupy toy shelves, but they compete with dolls like Baby All Gone, who seems to eat the provided food, and newborn baby dolls that "shiver" until their "mothers" pick them up. Hence, the mother's role for little girls becomes more demanding through realism.

Pregnancy as a "play" topic foisted onto small girls seems to be the current rage. A very recent and bizarre twist to the baby doll is the Mommy-To-Be doll, initially called Judy, and announced for "ages 3 and over" by the Judith Corporation. The doll looks more or less like Barbie but, according to advertisements, "comes complete with pregnant tummy (removable); baby; flat tummy (when baby is removed); baby carrier; maternity jump suit, blouse, shoes and hair ribbon." (What is a maternity hair ribbon?) "Husband Charlie" appears in a list of "accessories." The advertisements declare that "Judy is more than a toy, she's a natural way for your child to learn while playing." We must question, though, the "naturalness" of caesarian section, which is in effect the only way Judy can have her

baby, and the "naturalness" of a perfectly flat stomach moments after the birth takes place. Arguably even more offensive, Mattel's My Bundle Baby "allows children to simulate pregnancy with a strap-on pouch that conceals a newborn baby doll. By pressing a heart-shaped button on the pouch, the child feels a kicking motion and hears a heartbeat" (Downey).

As an extension of the mother/homemaker role, cleaning "toys" can also be found with names that demand female players. Eureka offers a Princess Vacuum and Princess Sweeper, and elsewhere on toystore shelves are the Little Miss Neat Clean-Up Cart and Little Miss Moppit [a tragic pun] Helps Her Mom. Needless to say, when the packaging features children "interacting" with the toy, the children are girls. Once the little housekeeper has finished her chores, toy makers encourage her to get out of the house and go shopping--another facet of backlash agenda, since "returning women to a view of themselves as devoted shoppers . . . succeed[s] in undercutting one of the guiding principles of feminism: that women must think for themselves" (Faludi 71). Thus, a package of grocery miniatures found at a store check-out "impulse buy" rack offers a cartoon girl happily shouting out the toy's name: I Wanna Be A Supermarket Shopper! A children's shopping cart made by American Plastic Toys Inc. shows a blonde-haired, blue-eyed girl pushing a blonde girl doll (not included) in the cart. To underscore further the inherent femininity of the product, the child wears a pink jumper by Osk Kosh B'Gosh, whose "designer" label is clearly displayed. Moreover, all food toys, whether Play-Doh Burger King replicas or real mix-and-bake sets, feature girls prominently on all the packaging. To date, parenting, shopping, cooking, and cleaning are girls' domains.

The implication of this playland atmosphere is that, this being a postfeminist age, little girls *choose* these kinds of toys--the manufacturers are simply supplying what the consumers want. This deception is especially true when we move away from homemaking toys and examine fantasy toy characters designed for girls. Toys such as Rainbow Bright, My Little Pony, and Lady LovelyLocks all conform to certain characteristics and patterns. Specifically, all three toys feature girls and animals living in harmonious, magical, colorful but pastel kingdoms. Once the premises are established, girls merely comb and style hair: Rainbow Bright's multi-colored locks,

My Little Pony's floor-length mane, and Lady Lovely-Locks' "magic hair" and "Pixietails." The toys are dismally similar, and new toy lines merely perpetuate the similarity. Clearly, toy manufacturers rely on a "closed loop" of themes that already work in order to create new toys. As Engelhardt notes:

If, for instance, you ask little girls what they think fairies are, as Tonka Toys' researchers did in preparing for Star Fairies, . . . and discover that fairies are "beautiful, magical creatures who live in the sky and ride unicorns," what have you found out? Perhaps no more than that most little girls, already assiduous buyers of similar lines of dolls and watchers of similar TV shows put on by similar toy companies, have noted that the magical little girl characters tend to live in magical cloud-cuckoo lands and tend to ride magical horses or unicorns. In other words, such research by companies already in the business of prefabricating children's culture may not so much be uncovering archetypes of desire as creating them. (80)

Modern American girls, who still live in a culture that praises them for being passive about their desires, simply repeat what they have been told they like best. Meanwhile our culture, in the name of liberation, holds them responsible for their preferences.

Another backlash strategy against feminist consciousness has involved complex attempts to control gender differences while seeming to promote equality. Under the Reagan Administration's FCC deregulation of children's television, which "in effect, sanctioned the program-length commercial" and overturned policy guidelines from 1974 (Engelhardt 75-6), the mid-1980s brought a popular toy/cartoon/merchandising affliction from Mattel/Filmation/Golden in the form of the *Masters of the Universe* collection. Inspired by the success of films like *Conan the Barbarian* and *Red Sonja*, no doubt, this invasion into children's culture featured rather violent and very loud half-hour cartoon shows: *He-Man* and *She-Ra*. Opening narration for the shows' credits provided basic introductory information for the central character of each:

He-Man and the Masters of the Universe!

I am Adam, Prince of Eternia and defender of the secrets of Castle Grayskull. This is Cringer, my fearless friend. Fabulous secret powers were revealed to me the day I held aloft my magic sword and said, "By the power of Grayskull. I have the power!"

Cringer became the mighty Battlecat, and I became He-Man, the most powerful man in the universe. Only three others share this secret: our friends the Sorceress, Man-at-Arms, and Orko. Together we defend Castle Grayskull from the evil forces of Skeletor.

She-Ra, She-Ra.

I am Adora, He-Man's twin sister and defender of the Crystal Castle. This is Spirit, my beloved steed. Fabulous secrets were revealed to me the day I held aloft my sword and said, "For the honor of Grayskull.

I am She-Ra!"

Only a few others share this secret. Among them are Light-Hope, Madam Razz, and Kowl. Together, we and my friends of the Great Rebellion strive to free Etheria from the evil forces of Hordak.

The veneer of equality, indeed of the virtually identical text between these two cartoon introductions is designed to appease any remaining feminist parents in the late '80s by feigning blindness to questions of gender in warrior roles. Closer scrutiny reveals, however, that while Adam announces himself as "Prince of Eternia," Adora's first credit is as a familial appendage, "He-Man's twin sister." Strictly speaking, she is *Adam's* twin, but the creators have her borrowing her status from her brother's more Schwarzneggerian alter-ego. The name Adam signifies for this culture the first man, while Adora means what? Worthy of adoration? Even her name declares passivity. Eternia, the name for Adam's principedom, admittedly sounds rather abstract; but Adora, even should she succeed in the so-called Rebellion (she is more Barbie than barbarian), will gain control over "Etheria." She-Ra's supposed power begins to evaporate into mist.

In the potentially embarrassing matter of holding swords aloft (note that *his* is "magic"), Adam acts "By the power" while Adora stands "For the honor" of Grayskull. And illustrative of the axiom of sexual stereotyping, "boys do; girls are," Adam gains power ("I have the power!") while Adora simply acquires an alien identity: "I am

She-Ra." Attendant upon these apotheoses are the revelation of "secret powers" to Adam and simply of "secrets" to Adora. In addition, He-Man, as Adam announces, becomes "the most powerful man in the universe"; She-Ra becomes . . . She-Ra.

The only noticeable criticism at the time properly accused the line of action figures as "obvious sexual stereotyping" which ten years earlier "would have been an outrage" (John Cech, qtd. in "Is She-Ra," 1): "The male heroes are born with power given to them as physical attributes like a fist with a power punch. But women only get their power from men, using magic symbols representing men" (13a). Indeed the only women in the collection mechanically endowed with anything comparable to He-Man's "power punch" were Evil-Lyn, an "evil warrior goddess," and Catra, the evil "jealous beauty" with "scratching action waist." Thus, only "bad" women are aggressive, for She-Ra dolls were equipped solely with this possibility: "Raise her arms—her cape opens to a burst of stars." This special feature, unlike He-Man's punch, was entirely unrelated to the cartoon show where She-Ra would most often kick or use a kind of *Charlie's Angels'* karate against attackers. Thus, fashion alone characterizes the doll's "power."

Among the seemingly endless series of action figures were male heroes with names such as Snout Spout and Extendar, "heroic master of extension" (seemingly a conflict of values with the tacked-on moral of one episode which insisted that "Size is not the true measure of one's worth"), and female friends of She-Ra with names such as Angella, Glimmer, Flutterina, and Perfuma—"Make her flower bloom! Smell her perfume!" It is not within the scope of this paper to examine the sexual problems of the creators of the *Masters of the Universe* series, but one doubts if we can really expect much in the way of progressive, gender-blind toys and cartoons from those purveyors of children's culture for whom a female villain should be named Entrapta, for whom the special feature of a "good" female action figure is that you can "fit [a] magical staff onto her hand," and for whom it is appropriate that She-Ra, the warrior, be equipped not just with a pink sword and shield, but also with a comb.

Another significant doll/cartoon/merchandise assault in the late '80s and early '90s has been *Jem and the Holograms*, by Hasbro Inc./Sunbow Inc./Marvel Inc., featuring a teenage female "rock" star and her band-member friends. According to a summary of the video

JEM: Truly Outrageous, Jerrica Benton is "a fabulously successful record executive . . . but only a few know of [her] double life as front woman for her company's hottest act," Jem and the Holograms. A machine called Synergy, the legacy of her dead inventor father, accomplishes the deception in identity and, although this is never acknowledged, casts doubt on the band's actual abilities. Nevertheless, we are asked to favor Jem and the Holograms over the rival girls' band, The Misfits—a name designed to connote any number of anti-social sins. Predictably, this "bad" girls band wears dramatic stage makeup and performs original songs such as "Outta My Way!" "Winning Is Everything," and "Designing Women." This last offering includes these lyrics: *Other girls feel hopeless and trapped . . . Other girls play helpless and coy . . . I make my own breaks . . .* Of course, we are expected to reject this kind of awareness from these women who rely on real musical talent rather than computer-generated virtual-reality. The dynamics here are depressingly familiar. Jem conceals her identity for no clear reason whatsoever, and therefore is literally two-faced. Yet the bad girls admit to being "designing women" and to wanting to win and therefore are "Misfits" and therefore, in turn, somehow, are "bad." All this takes place in a saccharine world of "glamorous" international tours, getting mixed up with jewel smugglers, being mistaken for Princess Adriana of Morvania, and raising charity money for a child's "\$250,000 operation." Often for altruistic concerts such as "The World Hunger Shindig," Jem cranks out passive dross with titles like "Love Is Doin' It To Me." It is initially surprising to find one of Jem's songs called "She's Got The Power"; it is not surprising that the full chorus is—"She's got the power to create illusion." Power in *Jem and the Holograms* involves manipulating one's appearance and comes ultimately from daddy's machine.

In order to cash in on the commercial success of Jem, Mattel created a back-up band or two, or three, for their perpetual money-maker, Barbie (Barbie and the Sensations, Barbie and the Rockers, and Rappin' and Rockin' Barbie). In the effort to correct the image (rather than the reality) of their horrifically popular Barbie line, Mattel, particularly in the mid- and late '80s, cast this plastic mini-teen in various occupations. The corporation obviously has been aware of the traditional criticism about Barbie's affluent lifestyle—one of endlessly acquiring possessions such as "Dream Furniture" for

"Dream" houses with "Dream" pools, "Glamour Bath and Shower," and so forth: "Barbie seemingly has no need for employment that allows her to purchase this merchandise. There is no such thing as a Barbie office in any of the Barbie equipment, nor are there accessories that remotely suggest a job situation for this carefree doll" (Cox 305). Mattel repeatedly addresses this kind of impression with extra self-congratulatory hoopla upon their marketing of any "career" Barbie product. Hence Astronaut Barbie in 1986, whose surface impression is one of occupational liberation in accord with Mattel's motto for Barbie during recent years—"We girls can do anything, right Barbie?" Of course, any suggestion of change in women's image is immediately compromised by the packaging of this doll, for the wording on the box points out the real purpose of girls in space: "Exploring new worlds! Charting a course! Dancing on stardust!" The first two "space fantasy play" activities here sound appropriate enough, but ultimately these lead simply to dressing up for a dream date. Perhaps we cannot expect the professionalism of a Buzz Aldrin in a doll, but it is obvious that the emphasis is on "*Glamour* and adventure that's out of this world!" Astronaut Barbie's special features are her "sparkly skirt and tights!" And inside the box we find that the "space exploration equipment" consists of backpack and helmet, (fine, but then) pink sequined hip boots, purse, and the ubiquitous hairbrush.

Mattel has, in fact, marketed a "Career Barbie" with the "Barbie Home and Office" which enables the doll to pose in front of a computer terminal and to make telephone calls from her swivel chair. Again the facade of progressiveness collapses, almost literally in this case, as this toy contains a transforming feature. As the box indicates, the product consists of "Beautiful office on the outside. Glamorous bedroom on the inside." Thus, the career context functions only as a superficial exterior, a place to make a fashion, makeup, and hair "statement"; for indeed at the physical center of this toy, at the core of Career Barbie's Home and Office and hence what really matters, is the vanity.

Doctor Barbie, too, would seem initially admirable. But the picture on the box showing Barbie's function *qua* M.D.--bringing flowers to a patient--discourages further consideration of this "career" doll. Clearly the half-baked efforts to update Barbie's image are at best intended to stifle criticism. Mattel has no interest

in women's progress and would much rather have girls settle for their 1988 Perfume Pretty Barbie in her Sweet Roses Living Room.

The overwhelming focus of toys store shelves, ultimately, is glamour. Beauty and beauty-related issues are involved in almost every toy for girls on the market. Even inexpensive, generic toys reflect this focus. For example, a discount doll called Pretty Pam has a sister named Lynn at the Gym. Both dolls come with workout clothes and a comb and brush set. More specifically, hair, makeup, body, and fashion are concerns no matter what the toy. All dolls, from babies to Barbies, have pretty, long hair that can be styled. Decapitated heads for styling purposes have become even more popular. Pretty Cut and Grow and her sister heads of hair sometimes do not even have faces. P.J. Sparkles, a sixteen-inch doll, has hair that changes colors according to the temperature of the water girls brush it with. Vanity sets also abound, holding the almost mystical promise of glamour and beauty. The line of miniature dolls called Kidgetts ("Just like you, yet very special") comes with a Room to Groom—Jewel and Powder Puff Room, and Little Miss and Me features a Magic Vanity. Magic is often associated with beauty, and why not? Even in adulthood, beauty make-overs are described as "magical transformations." Magic is a necessary element without which girls are lacking.

Toys encourage girls to join the beauty game early. In fact, one of the most popular dolls in recent times is Li'l Miss Makeup. She "resembles a girl that's 5 or 6 years old who, when cold water is painted on, 'springs eyebrows, colored eyelids, fingernails, tinted lips and a heart shaped beauty mark'" (Wolf 215). Girls can find plenty of makeup on toy shelves for themselves as well. Sweet Secrets offers a whole line of cosmetics for "ages 4 and over," including blush, eye shadow, lipstick, lip gloss, nail polish, and cologne.

Face and hair are only the start; however, the toys also insist that girls think about their bodies. For instance, Get In Shape, Girl is a line of exercise and workout toys. While it is well documented that American children are by and large physically unfit, Get In Shape, Girl products promote the *look* of health, and hence are nothing more than weight paranoia toys. Every box of weights comes with headbands and other glamour workout paraphernalia; more importantly, every box features a very young girl bent over in an essentially pornographic position, completely outfitted in adult

exercise togs. Skimpy and tight, the clothes emphasize the child's thinness and lack of physical maturity. French-cut leotards look grotesque on a child with no hips, but the prepubescent body is put forward as the ideal look. No wonder that

In a survey of 494 middle-class schoolgirls in San Francisco, more than half describe themselves as overweight, while only 15 percent were so by medical standards. Thirty-one percent of the nine-year-olds thought they were too fat, and 81 percent of the ten-year-olds were dieters. (Wolf 215)

Get In Shape, Girl is not the only culprit, of course. L.A. Gear has jumped on the "health" bandwagon, distributing exercise toys for boys and girls. But while the boys' sets feature the tools of exercise, the girls' sets feature the look of exercise—head-bands, waist ties, and leggings. As always, the girls featured on the packaging and in ads for these toys all want to participate in the activity. They seem to choose to concern themselves with beauty and "health," and the hapless children at home learn quickly what to want and why.

Hence the failure of alternatives in girls' toys, such as the Happy To Be Me doll. The criticism most commonly (and drolly) cited about Barbie is her wildly distorted figure. To combat this problem, the High Self Esteem Toys Corporation created Happy To Be Me, a no-name doll. The packaging quotes Cathy Meredig, creator and president of High Self Esteem Corp., who claims that the doll

gives your child a more realistic model of the female anatomy. Our doll doesn't look like a fashion doll because real women don't have pinched waists, tiny feet, and legs disproportionately long for their bodies. . . . Ultimately, we believe playing with the "Happy To Be Me" doll will help your child grow up to be happier with who she is.

However, "Happy" is just another illusion of choice for girls and parents. The doll still comes in a bathing suit, has a variety of more "realistic" clothes like the simple ball gown pictured on the packaging, and a cascade of copper-colored hair that reaches her

sensible buttocks. Furthermore, because the doll is merely Barbie only less glamorous, girls who must choose between the two know which look is more desirable. If the toystore shelves are any indication of popularity, Happy To Be Me is a tremendous failure, stacked high under a sign that reads "clearance."

Fashion makes up the final part of the glamorous look girls' toys insist all girls should want. Although most successful dolls have a plethora of accessories (mostly clothes), Barbie is on the cutting edge of fashion, demonstrating that clothes are more than attractive body coverings; they are the keys to a myriad of personalities. For example, Parisienne Barbie, Gay Parisienne Barbie, Scottish Barbie, and Czechoslovakian Barbie represent these nationalities purely from the clothing they wear. Ethnicity is a "look." Likewise, Barbie has clothing sets that capture certain moods, styles, or atmospheres, such as Southern Sweetness, Star-Spangled Evening, and Textures Galore. Bridal themes in Barbie and her clothes also occupy a significant part of her wardrobe. Finally, Barbie clothes are often skimpy and "sexy," featuring swimsuits, workout outfits, and revealing ball gowns. If parents cannot afford Barbie brand clothing, the cut-rate Barbie, Sandy, has a full line of clothes, including Sandy's Intimates, which features leopard-skin bras and panties, see-through camisoles, and see-through lace dance outfits. No matter how innocent the girls are who play with these toys, the message is loud and clear—beauty and sexy clothing are the key elements of the most desirable lifestyle a young girl can have.

Girls are subjected to archaic and debilitating value systems in toys for their entire childhood. The overarching outcome of these values about what it is to be feminine amounts to a subverting of individual identity. Perhaps this subversion is best characterized by Mattel's recent advertising jingle for Barbie: "We girls can do anything, right Barbie?" The ultimately tentative tone of the motto undermines girls' confidence by having them check in with a Barbie doll to see if such an outrageous insistence on liberation can be true. However, complete identification with a role model is eminently safer and more profitable, and so most currently Mattel has adopted the enthusiastic "We're into Barbie!" (spoken by the consumers themselves) as motto. Girls now submerge themselves completely in an artificial concept. The objectification implicit in this latest jingle (Barbie-ism as a consumeristic phenomenon) summarizes the insidious

message all the toys promote--the female child must make herself an object judged by the male gaze rather than discover independent identity in womanhood.

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Ouida's Family Romance: *In Maremma*

In 1899 Max Beerbohm wrote that Ouida (1839-1908) was "one of the miracles of modern literature" (115) and that only Meredith rivaled her in "sheer vitality" (107). Today her forty-six novels and other books are virtually unknown, and if she is read at all, it is because of the interest in the history of popular culture and feminist criticism. The MLA *Bibliography* for 1980-90 lists half an article on Ouida. Yet while her language does not stand up well to close reading, her storytelling often reads convincingly, and one strategy suited to her strengths is to map the psychological plot beneath the romance narrative.

She was born Maria Louise Ramé, the only child of a French father and an English mother, and grew up in Bury St. Edmunds. She later referred to herself as De la Ramée, which sounds like a pseudonym; paradoxically, her own pseudonym "Ouida," derived from the sound she made as a child in trying to say Louisa, was to her mind a sign of uniqueness and essentiality, "my very own as children say" (qtd in Stirling 215). The choice of this strange, ugly-sounding baby name is the private fantasy of a writer who remained fixed in a childhood Family Romance that found abundant, if veiled, expression in her creative work. Louis Ramé, her father, was a mysterious figure who pretended friendship with Louis Napoleon and who was rumored to be connected with secret political societies. More likely something of an adventurer, he ran through his wife's dowry in a year. Although he was absent for long stretches of Ouida's childhood and disappeared after 1871 (he was believed to have died in the Paris Commune, but this is possibly another family myth), she idolized him, and he instilled in her the love of nature so evident in her novels. Ouida preferred her foreign background and looked down on her English roots. Her mother, who had endured a "mercurial" husband, acted as chaperone, secretary, and accountant for a "capricious" daughter: Ouida was deeply attached to her and brought her to Italy, "never appearing anywhere without her mother—an unassuming if sombre ghost draped in black" (Bigland 67).

Ouida's fictional formula emerged in *Held in Bondage* (1863) and *Under Two Flags* (1867): high life, exotic locales, charismatic and

independent-minded women, dashing faithless men, steep rises, steeper falls. The combination made her especially popular among shopgirls, parlour-maids, manservants, and the more literate military. In 1871 she settled in Tuscany, the scene of many of her novels and stories. She fell in love with an impecunious Italian marquis who took advantage but refused to marry her. Five "peasant novels" treat the lower classes with realism and sympathy, the upper class being typically portrayed as dissolute and predatory. She also championed the cause of antivivisection (her novel *Puck* is told from the viewpoint of a Maltese terrier) and, a lover of nature, she was forced to vacate her villa in Florence for refusing to trim foliage. As long as her audience remained loyal, the snobbish Ouida lived extravagantly, like the very aristocrats she derided. But the fate of the popular novelist is tied to public taste: around 1890 it changed and Ouida did not. Her last years were unhappy and she died destitute in Viareggio.

In Maremma, the last of the "peasant novels," appeared in three volumes in 1882. The action takes place sometime after 1860 in the coastal marshland known as the Maremma in southern Tuscany and northeast Latium, that is, in ancient Etruria. In the Etruscan hegemony (8th to 3rd century B.C.) the Maremma lay partly under water and the coast afforded fine harbors. By the 2nd century B.C. the harbors were silting up, the Romans discontinued the drainage system, and the Maremma reverted to sea lagoons and floodlands. It furnished Dante with a model for the wood of the suicides in Hell (*Inf.* 13.134-9) and his Pia de' Tolomei dies there ("Siena made me, Maremma undid me") (*Purg.* 5.134). Pia's story became a romantic setpiece, as in Felicia Hemans's *The Maremma* (1829). (The tradition persists in Eliot's ironic allusion to Pia in *The Waste Land*: "Highbury bore me. Richmond and Kew/Undid me.") With *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (1845) George Dennis did more than anyone in the English-speaking world to kindle interest in the Etruscans. His title was well-chosen, for while he investigated the Etruscan cities and landscape, he devoted close attention to its cemeteries, its greater cities of the dead, which were yielding a seemingly boundless fund of archaeological riches. For later writers the Maremma called to mind the stagnant marshes of the classical underworld, with their confusion of land and water, form and decay, life and death.

Ouida, who had undoubtedly read Dennis, exploits the strangeness of the swampland, the seasonal extremes, and the Etruscan sites to evoke a quality of mythic timelessness. She ignores history, and the Unification of Italy passes as if it were the loss of natural autonomy; it is called negatively "the dependence" (when it is actually the "independence"), of which the Maremma peasants "heard much but understood little," and, typically, Ouida rails against the taxes that left many villages on the edge of extinction (479). But the Maremma has a cultural as well as a natural and political affinity with death through the Etruscan past. For Ouida, the Etruscans are the quintessential Italians, and although Kenneth Churchill claims that she writes about them "whenever she wishes to evoke the graceful and joyous response to life" (163), this is neither their sole nor even their central function in the novel where Etruscan lore figures so prominently. Like the Maremma itself, Ouida's Etruscans manifest antithetical traits. There is joy, to be sure, but with their violence, sacrificial cults, profound belief in an afterlife, and elaborate concentration on funerary art and architecture, the Etruscans inspired her pursuit of a deeply personal theme, the lost father and the return of the dead.

By 1880 the Italian government had already begun to drain wide tracts of the Maremma, so Ouida's portrait of its primitive beauty is suffused by nostalgia. The background of her story is an immemorial pattern of life. From May to October the land is "sunburnt," "storm-harassed," and "fever-stricken"; the air fills with "noxious vapors"; and the population dwindles to a sickly few (454). Intense, brooding heat and pestilence reach their height in August, when many of the novel's critical events take place: Mastarna's rescue, Joconda's death, the meeting of Count d'Este, Sanctis's death, abandonment by Este, Musa's trial. Ouida is none too subtle about speeding up the months to get to the "canicular heats" (816) for an important scene. She gives a vivid picture of transhumance: in late October, "down from the mountains of the Lucchese and Pistoiese districts laborers troop by the thousands; shepherds come from the hills with long lines of flocks" (454). (Ruskin admired her realism—so would Braudel.) The apogee of this season is mid-winter, when Ouida schedules a major crisis: Este's seduction of Musa. By May the migrants are mostly gone and the land is unhealthy. Ouida paints in broad outlines: the mountain people from the Apennine chestnut forests in the good season are set

against "pale, swollen, ague-shaken" denizens of the Maremma in midsummer "like life beside death" (455).

As the story opens the elderly Joconda is traveling on foot to sell her linen in Grosseto. Fifty years before, she went against the wishes of her Alpine family and married a trader from the Maremma; but he, her three children, and grandson all died long ago. The trader is the first of the "lost" fathers in the novel, while Joconda is a partial portrait of long-suffering Mrs. Ramé: both women are essentially prudent but have committed one devastating "error" out of passionate love. Too proud to return home, Joconda has eked out a living by spinning and herb-gathering in the coastal village of Santa Tarsilla. Known for her charity, St. Tarsilla or Tharsilla (Dec. 24) was the virgin aunt of Pope Gregory the Great; in a vision she was visited by her great-grandfather Pope St. Felix and given a glimpse of heaven. The choice of this patron saint fits in with Ouida's ideal of the caring, virginal woman and the exalted, remote father.

In Grosseto, all attention is fixed upon the local brigand, Saturnino Mastarna, who has been captured by government troops. Of massive proportions, he has "sombre and terrible" black eyes, "straight and handsome" features, "rich and red" lips, and long "dark locks" (460): "*nostro Saturnino*," a kind of hero to the downtrodden townspeople. Years before he had found Joconda's missing grandchild and she alone now gives him refreshment. He begs her to save his baby daughter, abandoned after the ambush in his mountain hideout. Her mother Serapia was "half a captive" and "half a willing mistress," a "second Proserpine" (474) to Saturnino's Pluto; she died either by fever or at the hands of Saturnino himself in a jealous fit. Joconda goes into the mountains and saves the child. Within the Family Romance, Ouida has removed the child's rival for the father by splitting the mother image. There is Serapia: Mrs. Ramé as daring wife of the mysterious stranger, punished by death. And there is her replacement, a foster-mother, Joconda: Mrs. Ramé as practical-minded mother. (Joconda's own youthful choice of a love-match shows Ouida's reluctance to rob the mother image of its assertion of freedom and sexuality.) The child will grow up to become a second Persephone (625, 653), Serapia's replacement in the role of queen and consort. Saturnino is imprisoned on the island of Gorgona, named for the mythical figure who, at once beautiful and hideous, turns men to

stone by her gaze—a fit presider for a murderer of feral and handsome aspect.

Naming, the first step towards definition, is an obsession with Ouida, so it is significant that Mastarna did not think of telling Joconda his child's name. Only later does this lapse of "refusing to name" reveal his complicity in an incestuous love. Joconda renames her Maria Penitente after an obscure Eastern sinner-saint, the "Syrian Magdalene" (481), but keeps the child's father a secret from all save the parish priest, who soon dies. The child grows up to be proud, self-sufficient, and uncorruptibly innocent, like Joconda, but also untamed and courageous, like Mastarna. No more than Joconda, "an alien and a stranger" (461), do the villagers accept her. She is nicknamed alternately *Velia*, after the fierce seabird (the shrike or sea-mew); *Musoncella*, meaning "the one who pulls the long face" or "the girl that turns her face away" (484-5) from social or sexual advances (*far il muso*, to be sullen); and *Musa*, a diminutive of *Musoncella*, but also meaning poetic inspiration (an artist-surrogate for Ouida herself). She learns to play the lute and likes singing of the "melancholy" and "abandonment" of the Maremma, though her "power of improvisation" and "inborn melody" disturb the "northern" Joconda, "a Puritan at heart" (511). All this time Joconda worries about what will happen to the child after her death. When during *Musa*'s eighth year Joconda voices these fears to the child, *Musa* responds calmly that she would die too: "I should not like to live if you were not here. I do not know if you call that love" (491). *Musa* tries to comprehend death through her own experience of love.

About the age of twelve, *Musa* discovers the tomb of an Etruscan *lucumo* or king. (Although by 1857 some 15,000 tombs had been discovered in the state of Vulci alone, the discovery of a *lucumo*'s tomb would have been a rare event [Grant 161].) The walls are covered by painted figures "seated before a banquet," "playing on lyres," "dancing before an altar," "riding on many-colored steeds," "leading strange forest beasts." In death, she discovers, the Etruscans celebrate life. However, "what her gaze was fastened on, what made her tremble in every limb, was the recumbent figure, stretched upon a bier of stone, of a man in armor and casque of gold; a gold cup stood beside him on the ground, and a shield of gold was on the bier, and a golden lamp" (502-503). Her rapt gaze and sudden dread in the presence of the dead king have provoked the uncanny return of a long-

forgotten memory of the brigand king and his gold. Through one chamber after another she proceeds and finds other remains, utensils, gold jewelry, and precious treasures. When she comes back to the *lucumo*, she watches in horror as the "form of the dead warrior" crumbles away. In an awkward move, Ouida crosses romance with realism in a scientific explanation: "The air and light entering with her, after exclusion for two thousand years or more, reached the oxidized armor, the recumbent corpse, and melted them back to dust. Soon, where the warrior, who looked to her but sleeping, had been stretched on his cold bed, there was nothing but a few gray ashes. She stood motionless as though she were changed to marble; a sort of trance had fallen upon her" (504). Musa feels "sublimity of awe" and "infinite" pity for the dead king. (The contents of other chambers do not suffer the *lucumo's* fate because they had been partially exposed to air!) Her Christian upbringing only confuses her. "Was it death? was it life?" Was it a "god" or a "devil"? "Why had he not taken her too?" Death is a male: "she had broken in upon [Death], and he in wrath had claimed her." On this thought she loses consciousness.

When she wakes it is night: "The dead had risen and fled:" the *lucumo* is in the "lustre" of the sky, the moon is the dead *lucumo's* shield, the shooting star his spear. In her reverie she has transformed the dead *lucumo* into an all-powerful god. To Joconda's inquiry as to where she had been, Musa responds, "I have seen Death, and it is beautiful" (506), as if beauty no less than love were to ease the path between life and death. The child has obviously found a tomb and Joconda tells her to keep it secret--the "father" remains the secret--though Joconda cannot fathom the process of oxidation and the *lucumo's* disappearance which she puts down to the fact that Musa must have "dreamed" (507). "But the earth,--is it all a grave?" Musa asks, "Did God make men and women?" Musa had been abandoned by her real father; her experience of the uncanny, the vanished *lucumo* as a substitute father, prompts her sexual awakening. Referring to the sensual, orgiastic, and bestial forms, she remarks, "Those people [in the tomb] are my kindred," to which Joconda replies: "no one knows whence you come" (507).

From time to time Musa returns to the *lucumo's* tomb, wanting to learn the "secrets" (510) of the grave, which have been fused in her

mind with the secrets of sexuality. A few years pass and the aged Joconda makes Musa vow not to give herself in love without the "blessing of Church" (517). In a letter to her family in the Alps, she imparts the secret of Musa's birth. One night, Musa pulls a drowning man to shore, revives him—he "woke to life" (531)—and shelters him in the tomb. He is Saturnino Mastarna, escaped from Gorgona, and begging her now for a knife and food: "I am dead and buried. But if I had a knife!" (533). The castration theme is complicated by the fact that Ouida relates the scene from Musa's perspective: his "bronze-like shoulders glistened . . . he sat erect on the beach regaining strength and consciousness with each breath; the heat of the night was around them like steam: it seemed to her startled fancy as if his eyes and his mouth gave out fire." Again Musa experiences the spell of the demonic uncanny, the return of the dead *lucumo* with the breath of life: "She was rooted to the ground as by some spell." Mastarna even has the "bronze-like" sheen of the *lucumo's* "lustre." (Various bronze metaphors link Musa to the *lucumo* and Mastarna [483, 489, 743, 755, 800].) Her one childhood memory of her father is that he kissed her goodbye so tightly that "something cold and bright," his dagger, "hurt her" till he put it away; then she recalls smoke and gunfire: the ambush (488). Now he returns asking for the dagger, which she goes to procure, thereby giving back his "life." Mastarna's name traces to the Etruscan warrior and strongman Macstarna, one of the heroes of Vulci. In the François tomb mural discovered in 1857, Macstarna cuts the cords that bind Caille Vipinas, an appropriate legend for an escaped brigand chieftain. Macstarna made war on Rome and is commemorated in Roman tradition by his being identified with Servius Tullius, sixth king of Rome, *magister populi*: "Macst(a)r-na = mag(i)st(e)r-na" (Scullard 257). Saturnia is an Etruscan city named after Saturn, "the sower," an Italian god of agriculture and a legendary king of Rome in the age of gold. Saturnino Mastarna's name contains life and death.

By the time Musa returns with the knife Mastarna has fled with the Etruscan gold jewelry, another link between him and the disappearing *lucumo*. She makes her way home only to find that Joconda has died in her sleep. Death, having been robbed, exacts its vengeance on the living. When the villagers demand Joconda's pitiful legacy to pay her alleged debts, Musa throws the jar of coins at their feet. An outcast, she leaves Santa Tarsilla and makes her

home in the tomb. In a herculean effort she disinters Joconda's coffin from the churchyard and takes it across the Maremma to one of the inner chambers of the tomb where it becomes a kind of shrine. Yet, like her father, she has robbed a grave and will be brought to justice. In thematic symmetry, Mastarna is recaptured selling the funerary gold. Ouida lets her imagination travel widely in these episodes, but the psychology of the Family Romance remains intact.

Musa's sadness is relieved by absorption in nature, with Ouida lavishing attention on the changing seasons (565-78). The theme of transference of love from the dead onto nature, instanced already in the *lucumo's* apotheosis, is perhaps based on the experience of the young Ouida, who may have associated her own "foreign," mysteriously disappearing, reappearing father with the very nature he taught her to love. Musa identifies with birds and animals, destroying hunter's nets and traps wherever she finds them. In the process of mythification she is likened to Antinous, the favorite of Hadrian (489, 601), Dante's Pia (511) and Francesca da Rimini (741), Artemis (571, 596), Tanaquil (572), Cleopatra (603), Nausicaa (609, 614, 625, 655, 656, 717), Psyche (609), Maia (611), Atagartis (611), Persephone (625, 653), Luna, Cupa, Juno (646), Circe (676), Penthesilea (688, 704), Britomart (695, 704) and Una (695, 705), Eve (745), Electra (748), Glauca (755), and Laena (792, 803). Ouida is not a careful mythographer, but it is noteworthy that some of these figures are young virgins pledged to their fathers or traumatized by sex, while the list includes a sorceress, a queen of great sexual power, and an adulteress.

Three men enter Musa's life. The first is Villamagna, a Sicilian mariner who falls in love with her at first sight, because "in this land this sudden birth of love is still a truth" like "the red in the pomegranate's flower" (579) (Persephone's fruit, a symbol of "heterosexual union with its seeds and blood-red juice" [Spitz 414]). Musa rejects his proposal flatly. The second suitor is Joconda's grand-nephew, Maurice Sanctis, who learned of her through the letter to his kinsman and seeks to bring her back to the Alps. Sanctis is an artist of rising fame and heir of a fortune (588): his "Teuton" (593, 594) demeanor contrasts with Villamagna's southern manner. Musa spurns him too. After a few weeks he succumbs to marsh-fever and leaves reluctantly, without divulging the secret of her origins.

Eventually every main character knows who Musa's father is--except Musa herself.

Some psychoanalysts and critics argue that one keeps a secret because it is either a "treasure" or a "guilt feeling" and "disgrace." Giuseppe Sertoli notes that more often they stress the idea of the hidden treasure rather than the disgrace. A secret is kept to preserve the self from a "traumatic reality," but also in some measure to keep it suspended. "The 'secret'(s) space . . . is a 'potential space' where the subject preserves those nuclei of mental experiences which he does not yet have the capacity to actualize in the real world." In withholding the secret of her birth, the circle around Musa preserve her from a traumatic reality--knowledge of the father--but also keep it suspended. Musa has a secret too, the tomb, which contains the Etruscan treasure and the lost *lucumo*. Both secrets are the same: the archetypal father who lives again. It is astonishing how closely Ouida's treasure and tomb metaphors conform to the psychoanalytic description. "The secret, like a casket, guards the subject's identity in a utopian expectation of being able to give back to the sociality of real life" (Sertoli 99, 103).

The third suitor is Count Luitbrand d'Este, a decadent aristocrat who has been convicted on a trumped up charge of murdering his mistress. His name joins the fierce Longobard "Luitprand" with the courtly Renaissance Este. He had escaped the Gorgona prison with Mastarna from whom he has knowledge of the tomb as a potential hiding place (Mastarna said, if the girl is difficult "a fawn's neck is soon slit" [613]). Roaming the Maremma in search of Musa's tomb, Este has caught marsh-fever (like Sanctis). She finds him half dead (like Mastarna), nurses him back from certain death, and falls in love, though in an innocent, restrained manner that Este, eager for another conquest, misinterprets as deliberately provocative coldness. To fetch quinine for him she goes to Orbetello where she sees Mastarna behind a prison fence. Ouida must find a way to express ambivalent feelings towards the father consistent with her plot: she makes Musa angry with Mastarna for robbing the grave (the dead *lucumo*), but grateful to him for sending Este (the living *lucumo*). The living wins out and she gives Mastarna some money. During the encounter he in turn realizes that she is his daughter--he sees Serapia in her features--but he does not tell her (640). Villamagna, who notices them together and harbors hopes of marriage,

approaches Mastarna, who reveals her true origins. With their common love for Musa as his plea, Mastarna seizes the chance to get help for a second escape.

In the tomb Este teaches her about the classical and Etruscan myths, but Musa is confused by her love: "the ardor of the Sicilian left her hard and scornful"; "the gentleness of Sanctis had left her cold and thankless"; and yet "one languid smile from Este's eyes, one listless word from his mouth made her grateful" (656). Musa cannot rationally comprehend her love for the one "bad" suitor, because it is motivated by more powerful irrational forces: Este's criminal ties to Mastarna and thus to the archetypal *lucumo* (Este inhabits his tomb and even complains of lack of air [660]). Her ambivalence is also expressed in the choice of a lover who is bound to fail her: besides his characterological flaws, Este is of a social class far above Musa's. Meanwhile, having discovered that Este is his successful rival, Sanctis decides to clear Este's name and stipulates only that he wed Musa and save her from the Maremma (714).

Musa's vow to Joconda holds until she is in a boating accident and Este rescues her, water again serving as the means of rebirth. While the fear of losing her makes Este think himself in love, she in her weakened condition allows him to kiss her—one of many references to love connected to disease—and they become lovers. For Musa it is a resurrection, love winning over death: "She had descended into the grave of the deep waters and been delivered by the hand that she loved" (749). The "Syrian Magdalene" has broken her vow, just as Joconda broke with her family. Musa is thus in the vein of the Romantic Fatal Woman analyzed by Mario Praz: beautiful, exotic, often innocent and therefore more enticing, associated with death, the moon (715, 721), and Artemisian frigidity, having an uncanny, dreamlike gaze, and possessing a vampire wisdom (Praz 207). Sanctis thinks she is "eternally young, perserved in the secrecy of these forests, without change, whilst all the rest of earth grew old" (683); she preferred Este's tales of prehistoric Tuscany to all others (658). In Mantua, Sanctis clears Este's name, but his midsummer exertions have cost him his health and he dies from a disease contracted from the marshes. In Ouida, they die who sacrifice for love.

As Musa expected, on learning of his pardon Este abandons her. She compares him to the vanishing *lucumo* (768), but a repetition of the first "abandonment" by Mastarna has occurred too. Ouida puts it

down to the "instinctive fatalism, the strange passivity, that are in the Southern temper" (774). Freud writes on the repetition compulsion that persons may give the impression "of being pursued by a malignant fate or possessed by some 'daemonic' power; but psychoanalysis has always taken the view that their fate is for the most part arranged by themselves and determined by early infantile influences." Nor is it necessary that the person take a deliberate part in the action: "we are much more impressed by cases where the subject appears to have a *passive* experience, over which he has no influence, but in which he meets with a repetition of the same fatality" (18: 21, 22). Musa demands punishment for consummating her love because she has confused it with incestuous love; more precisely, she desires punishment for what she has *not* done. In Ouida's mind, sexuality is identified with incestuous longing, which creates such guilt that both parties--father and daughter--must be punished by death. Musa's punishment begins by her suffering, for the first time, a physical weakness from the Maremma.

Este sends a messenger with money, which she refuses, and she does not say that she is pregnant. Her son, child of another absent father, dies shortly after birth. Discovered with the dead baby and Joconda's coffin, Musa is imprisoned with a prostitute. Word spreads, and the summer-stricken townspeople accuse her of having the evil eye (792), a sign of the uncanny, and want to execute her: she becomes a scapegoat for all the ills inflicted by the Maremma. As her once robust health fails her, Villamagna comes to her aid; proven innocent, she is released and returns to the tomb. Summer passes to autumn, news spreads of her goodness, and the people begin to think well of her. In Ouida's myth-making, Musa is a plague goddess who controls the seasons. One recalls that, unlike other children, Musa was immune to the unhealthy summers.

Mastarna visits Musa to learn what had happened and, in what Ouida calls the noblest act of his life, keeps the secret of her origins, ostensibly not to deepen her grief. Then, followed by Musa, he leaves for Este's palazzo in Rome to exact vengeance. In the sensational climax she struggles with Mastarna to prevent the murder and faints from exhaustion, and Este's men have had just enough time to restrain the intruder. She is unconscious when Mastarna curses Este, cries out that Musa is his daughter, then dies of apoplexy. Now Este knows the secret too. The next day, discovering Este with a courtesan, Musa

flees Rome, wanders back to the tomb, and commits suicide. Este "forgot" her (832).

Father and daughter thus dying within days of each other, Musa finds Mastarna only in death. Ouida absolves Musa of mordidity—"Death appalls at all ages the Latin temperament" (664-65)--but she cannot absolve herself, projecting her death wish onto the Maremma, calling it classical "fate" (611) and Darwinian determinism. But the reason lies nearer home, in the social circumstances of nineteenth-century society and their psychological impact: "No one cared: the terrible barren, acrid truth, that science trumpets abroad as though it were some new-found joy, touched her ignorance with its desolating despair" (718). It is Ouida's credo. "Life was only sustained by death . . . There was no voice upon the blood-stained waters" (718, 741, 793): no voice of the *father*. Ouida's Family Romance seems to be of a self-enclosed, asexual intimacy with the father, a Pluto figure with all his gold, secrecy, and death; and any possibility of incest is eliminated by the fact that the *lucumo*, the first Mastarna, went up in smoke at the breath of life. That the second Mastarna is a criminal and has been incarcerated both implicates the forbidden desire and is meant to ensure against its fulfillment. The fantasy of the father's abandonment or absence is prolonged and deepened by her never knowing the secret of her birth, not even from the father, whose "noble" act of withholding the secret thus proves, like all his other acts, destructive of life. In a recurrent synecdoche Musa is likened to "one of the large white lilies that rose up from the noxious mud of the marshes" (517, 646, 655, 801), beautiful and pure, but deriving its life from the poison of the swamp. The truly noble Musa rescues Este and Mastarna from death, only to suffer death as a result of their machinations. She dies without resolving the conflict only where it can be resolved, in the utmost depths of the unconscious--the preposition "in" is part of book's title--in a realm that knows no ordinary time, in the tomb-like memory that celebrates life, in a "land" that mixes life and death: in Maremma.

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Peddling Eros: The Scents of Attraction

Scents, fragrances, and perfumes are on their way to a new cultural role. Perfumery in all its aspects of production, application, and reception is booming. The fragrance and flavor industry, neurobiology and chemistry, business, psychology, and marketing are all hard at work. According to a recent newspaper article, "[p]erfume is a \$4-billion-a-year industry trafficking in sexuality and fantasy."¹ "Aromatherapy" is gaining ground, and the fragrance industry's heavyweights harbor far-reaching plans for "environmental fragrancing systems" whose "dark side is mind control" as some voices are already warning.² Indeed, the fact that early childhood exposure to certain odors forms "attachments that go on forever"³ is already built into profit calculations, and there are now fragrances for babies on the market at exorbitant prices. Manufacturers have long been selling us the artificial scents and flavors that we have come to take for the real thing. Throwing out the bath water has become a hazard to the baby. A little tour through scents and nonsense of the 1980s reveals further, for instance, perfumes for pets. Among other things, there is a line that "offers a cologne for male dogs (\$18) and shampoo for each sex (\$8.50)."⁴ But humans and pets are by no means the only creatures affected by the latter-day invasion of smells; it is affecting cars too. According to one journalist, "the Jaguar XJ-6 "is much sexier than the Mercedes. It's more elegant than the BMW It treats all your senses well. It smells great, that fresh leather smell."⁵ The phenomenon, moreover, is not limited to the USA; it can be observed in all advanced industrialized nations. The German weekly *Der Spiegel*, for instance, has regular contributions on the topic. Under the heading "Following your nose" was revealed that "the venerable firm Rolls Royce has introduced a new, hitherto unknown market ploy to sell its cars: the appeal to the sense of smell by means of scent strips" which are steeped in an essence "that conjures up leather and luxury."⁶ According to another article in *Der Spiegel*, researchers have called the coming century "the century of smell."⁷

In literature, it is of course Patrick Süskind's 1985 best-seller novel *Das Parfum*⁸ that put both stench and perfumes on the popular cultural map. All that seems needed for the sense of smell to really take off now is some technical invention of a cultural magnitude similar to the movie camera or sound recording and replay systems. Imagine the possibilities this could open up--possibilities which Aldous Huxley, among others, already toyed with in his technofantasy *Brave New World* sixty years ago.⁹

In the following I want to focus on two of the numerous peculiarities in physiology, neurology, classification, and (verbal) representation that surround the sense of smell. Both concern the verbal codification of olfactory perception. First, there is the almost complete lack of an abstract vocabulary for smells as there is for vision, in particular for colors. We therefore commonly refer to smells in terms of their origins (it smells like . . . ; the smell of . . .). Second, although we lack a particular vocabulary, we seem to have little difficulty or doubt about referring to smells in the basic binary categories of *good* and *bad*, which are anthropologically as well as socio-historically coded. The subsequent discussion is limited largely to the good side of the olfactory spectrum, specifically perfumes.

Let us address the second point first with a hypothesis about the origin of these two categories. It is Freud who provides the starting point. His theorizing about the sense of smell places olfaction in a teleological process that leads, in fact has already led, to its virtual demise as a culturally relevant mode of perception. The decisive step in this course of events, according to Freud's admittedly speculative remarks, occurs some time in prehistory when humans begin to walk upright.¹⁰ The olfactory, before this event the guiding sense in man's sexual behavior (as can still be observed in certain animals), loses its function of regulating male-female attraction, which is taken over more and more by vision. Indeed, we fall in love at first sight, not at first smell--or if so we rarely talk about that.

To elucidate this point further, let us also draw on Freud's concept of *Eros* and *Thanatos*, which can be fruitfully linked with his remarks on the sense of smell. Bad smells signify repulsion, corruption, decay, and ultimately death. The final reference point is the decomposing human body. For this our cultural history provides numerous examples, for instance in the accounts of Nazi death camp survivors.¹¹ The underlying forces and the fear associated with them

are of disintegration, of the dissolution of bonds (both concrete, biochemical as well as figurative), which set free odors. Our modern obsession with body odor and its commercial presentation as destructive of an individual's social life if not counteracted, is only one manifestation of this primordial nexus. Good smells, on the other hand, mean attraction, eroticism, sexuality, birth, life; they mean the creation of bonds. The modern perfume industry is explicitly marketing this (erotic) attraction, irresistibility, and charisma. The mythical force involved is Eros.¹² Freud's model also accounts for the gender coding of smell. The eternal feminine--as well as female--that attracts "us," the male, the Faustian feminine erotic, is in fact its smell. Indeed our cultural semiotics casts the male as the smeller, the female as the olfactorily perceived object.

Freud's, however, is not the whole story. The sense of smell does not simply atrophy once its central function of regulating sexuality is allegedly diminished. The loss of importance that Freud diagnoses is certainly not one of actual physiological capacities but rather one of social functionality. Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*¹³ propose a different view, yet related to Freud's, of the essential functioning of smell and the combination of fear, shame, and desire that modern civilization associates with this sense.

Of all the senses, smelling, which is stimulated without objectifying, testifies most clearly to the urge to abandon and assimilate oneself to the Other In the act of seeing one remains oneself, in smelling one dissolves Civilized man is permitted such pleasure only when it can be justified in the name of real or seemingly practical purposes. The tabooed drive can only be indulged when it is unmistakably clear that such indulgence aims at its eradication.¹⁴

This is a good summary of the general enlightenment attitude toward smell and in particular of the views of the philosopher Immanuel Kant. For him the sense of smell, leading mankind to clean up its environment and eliminate sources of stench, undermines its own *raison d'être* in the process. I believe that a combination of

psychoanalytical and enlightenment thought patterns provide the most complete explanatory model for the cultural role of olfaction.

The American psychoanalyst Ernest Schachtel adds a further complement to Freud's concept, addressing the fact that olfactory verbal expression is so limited. He points out that while the first years of childhood are extremely rich in experiences, they are poor in terms of language, which, after all, we are only learning during that time. And in the process of language acquisition, we are imperceptibly pushed into the straitjacket of words, terms, expressions, concepts, the limited, in fact inadequate, set of verbal means available for the stunning wealth of a child's day-to-day discoveries. The forces of convention and conformity inherent in and socially exercised through language lead to mnemonic blanks, and they perpetuate the stunted development of olfactory verbal expression.

Verbal aspects, the linguistic grounding of olfactory perception, or rather the lack thereof, also characterize our second point. Dan Sperber sums up this issue with admirable clarity:

Even though the human sense of smell can distinguish hundreds of thousands of smells and in this regard is comparable to sight or hearing, in none of the world's languages does there seem to be a classification of smells comparable, for example, to colour classification. Ethno-linguists systematically describe colour classifications, often containing several hundred terms ordered under a small number of basic categories We would search in vain for a similar work on smells; perhaps this is a sign of lack of imagination on the part of scholars, but more likely it is because there is nothing for such a work to be about. . . . There is no semantic field of smells. The notion of smells only has as lexical sub-categories general terms such as "stench" and "perfume." Our knowledge about different smells figures in the encyclopaedia not in an autonomous domain, but scattered among all the categories whose referents have olfactive qualities.¹⁵

Sperber, therefore, prefers to talk of smells as part of a symbolic rather than a semiotic system. The latter for him aims at simplicity, freedom from ambiguity and contradiction, and ideally a one-on-one relation of signifier and signified. The symbolic system, in contrast, is associative, evocative, multi-referential, and far from unambiguous. It is only in a limited sense a system of communication. It connotes more than it denotes its objects. Historically this unpredictability of the categories and referents that olfactive verbal encoding or olfactive recognition are apt to bring to light, led to the deep distrust of that sensory modality in the nineteenth century, the Victorian age, the age of Biedermeier and poetic realism. This age is bent on getting a grip on the rapidly changing everyday reality and thus favors cognitive processes (not only for the sense of smell) that produce easy and uniform response to and recall of specific external stimuli. This is a desideratum in a cognitive environment that is turning from sensory impression to abstract information processing, skipping the level of external sensory stimulus altogether.

The olfactory, however, has an environmental sense. It is a contextualizing sense. Olfactory perception is "percevoir un *context* plutôt qu'une *odeur* une odeur n'a aucune existence significative propre et n'a pas d'étiquette spéciale" (emphasis added).¹⁶ It triggers recall not of the scent once encountered, but of a situation or a person associated with it. While such unpredictability of effects made the olfactory unsuited for the Victorians it has become the sense's greatest (post)modern allure. Smell appears as the ultimate aura, surface and depth simultaneously, denoting as well as hiding its double origin in sexuality and death. It creates a halo that involves both subject and object.

Despite all this, the history of olfaction can be told as a rational tale. In fact, the project of enlightenment, the project of modernity in the broad sense, that gained its decisive momentum in the eighteenth century, can be understood as the project of deodorizing and subsequently re-odorizing both the public and the private spheres. Over the past two or three centuries, the master plot has consisted in cleaning up both the body politic and one's individual body, eliminating bad odors (which only in the process of cleaning up came to be labeled bad), then reinfusing into those realms the new, pleasant, culturally approved odors, perfumes, and scents. This program opens new spaces for aesthetics--for an olfactory aesthetics

yet to be written.¹⁷ Within the good half of the spectrum in general, and for perfumes in particular, significant changes have taken place. Preference has shifted from the once-favored heavy animal aromas to lighter floral notes, from a craze for musk to the success of eau de cologne. Instead of masking bad odors, as in postmedieval centuries, scents are now preoccupied with pleasure more than anything else.

Sexuality and its aromas—there can be no doubt about it—belong on the side of attraction, but it is precisely sexuality that has been exposed to the most drastic socio-cultural pressures over time, and the smells associated with it, the essential body odors, have vacillated in their status. Hardly any other aspect of the body has been colonized as much as its odors. The gap between their low public standing and their secret personal appreciation as erotically attractive is significant. Publicly, odors can cross this gap only in disguise, in the shape of perfume, the *ersatz* body odor. The natural smells, the wonderful archaic odors once regulating sexual behavior, are of course still with us. The only effect the civilizing process has had on them is a "revaluation of all values," in calling good the artificial and bad the natural. Deep down, of course, we all know better. The direct link of body odor to erotics has never really been broken. Perfumery has claimed for centuries to conceal what it was in fact revealing, to reveal what it was pretending to conceal. Perfume is the last piece of clothing to come off (in fact, it does not come off) in the historical process of undressing the human (female) body in Western culture. Perfume is the smell of pudenda by a different, respectable name. Perfumery, therefore, is the transferred discourse on the tabooed odors of sexual attraction.

For a simple model of olfactory qualification, we may draw two intersecting lines across the realm of smell, one dividing good and bad, the other female and male. While the whole male half of the spectrum has only recently begun to draw interest, it contains the combination of bad-male, which we may call double negative. In Christian cultural iconography the devil would be the ultimate representative of this pole. Examples for the good-male are, as yet, rare. It is in the female half of the spectrum where the attraction lies, and even the bad-female combination has a strange allure. But the focus of interest, even fascination, is to be found in the good-female quadrant. It is here that the vast majority of instances of erotic attraction are located. It is in this quadrant also, especially in

the border area toward the bad-female, that the history of the olfactory has left its deepest marks in its unfolding as sexual and aesthetic politics of the body. Tendentially, the natural has become the bad and war has been waged on it by whole batteries of artificial cleansers and deodorants, scents and fragrances, perfumes and aromas. In this struggle feelings of fear and shame are both created and exploited. In our cultural discourse "b. o." is either an insult or reason for embarrassment or both. This is where deodorants and perfumes come into play.

These are the cultural-anthropological parameters the perfume industry both exploits and adapts itself to. The basic perceptual constellation of male smellers of female objects has shaped structures of fantasy, projection, and desire and put an emphasis on *aura*, the crucial sales argument in perfume advertising. The olfactory turns out to be an ideal medium for this approach. While it does provide an explanatory model—the model of artificial-good versus natural-bad—it remains vague enough, in fact provides a smoke screen, for the preservation of the mystery of attraction itself. Given the taxonomic, perceptual, and linguistic situation outlined so far, a major problem for perfumers and their advertisers could be the precise nature of those smells of supreme attraction they are peddling. In this respect even the best run up against the limits of the olfactory vocabulary. They have therefore largely abandoned their attempts at verbal descriptions. Instead, perfume ads barely use language at all and build connections subliminally, associatively, and most frequently visually. Often the name of the product itself is the main, if not the only, linguistic component of a perfume ad, it too designed to tie the viewer into the vague, auratic-erotic halo the ad attempts to create: *White Linen* for purity; *Poison*, conjuring up cabals and drama; *Joy*, the pure pleasure. *Obsession*, with its intertwined bodies; in later versions the naked couple on a swing, created quite a stir in the consumer world. *Byzance* and *Isatis*, with their vague exotic appeal; Ralph Lauren's series of *Safari* ads recalling 1930's travels; and recently *Egoïste* for men, walking, as the text has it, "on the positive side of that fine line separating arrogance from an awareness of self-worth." *Paco Rabanne*, also for men, with its open-ended phone conversation between a man (pictured) and a woman (absent) is downright verbose among recent perfume ads, but it too contains an open space for imagination, in fact it explicitly says so: "What is

remembered is up to you." All I have pointed out about the ancient, primitive, and sexual base of olfaction is confirmed in a 1988 ad for *Musk*: "Natural. Untamed. You've been civilized long enough!" It promises to "unleash your most primitive instincts."

The relatively recent technology of the scent strip has, if anything, further reduced the need for a linguistic description of the product. Instead, ads offer a touch of the product itself, in its near immateriality, yet powerful sensory presence the most direct appeal ever. Yet perfume ad designers are of course not ignorant of the central mechanism at work. Trygg Engen, one of the foremost researchers in olfactory chemistry, physiology, and sociology, sums it up: it is not the perfume that makes a woman unforgettable, it is the woman who makes the perfume memorable. Beautiful women—or at least parts of them—have therefore remained an important stimulus of visual association in perfume advertising. But memory can also be aided by the shape and material appearance of the bottle itself, on which great emphasis is placed. *Romeo Gigli* provides an excellent example for this approach. A bottle with a fantastically shaped top is paired with a slogan that could hardly be truer: "A perfume that reminds you of a woman who reminds you of a perfume."

As if in compensation for its linguistic shortcomings, the olfactory realm opens up rich possibilities for associative and auratic codification, a sheer inexhaustible realm of signification. This realm is precise in its reference structure (the smell of . . .), accurate or at least unhesitating in its binary evaluation (good/bad), but extremely unpredictable in its psychological, associative impact on individuals. This adds to the medium's (post)modern appeal in the present age, where individuality, uniqueness, and a neo-primitive chic are part of the auratic characteristics that our consumer society of standardized production builds up as its own ideologically sanctioned counter-values. Perfumes can fulfill that role supremely well.

Overall, of course, it is vision that serves as the leading sense in Western (possibly in every) culture and provides the dominant metaphoric reference system underlying language. To be invisible, therefore, means to be virtually untouched by the process of enlightenment, hence archaic, primitive, individual. Patrick Süskind's novel exploits precisely these characteristics. In the realm of the visual, in turn, it is colors that provide a clear, unambiguous semiotic system with a set of abstract terms. The phenomenological

world of colors, moreover, is backed scientifically. Colors can be defined in terms of wavelengths; they form a continuous spectrum that can be generated out of a small number of basic colors. All this is not the case for smells. In fact olfactory categorization has been one of the most challenging aspects in the field of odor research for decades, especially so, as classification is probably intimately connected with the perceptual apparatus itself and with the chemical structures of the objects of perception.

Colors, however, in circumstances outside the sciences, especially in the world of fashion and luxury production and consumption (where perfumery also belongs), have shown--and this is not even a particularly recent phenomenon--a trend toward auraticization.¹⁸ Instead of the good old red, white, and blue we may find stone or pumpkin, sand or acorn, bottle or hunter, flax or graphite heather, putty or lagoon, pool and spruce, nut and eggplant as color designations.¹⁹ Bittersweet and driftwood, chutney and milkweed, potpourri and surplus, together with military and fatigue, teal and paprika, pigeon and pebble are further examples.²⁰ What emerges, in other words, is a deliberate attempt to (re)create aura in the realm of color designation, to connote as well as to denote, to evoke as well as to inform. What the sense of smell has "to go through," literally, namely the detour through the material world of objects (the smell of . . .) is done deliberately and playfully for colors in an attempt at a new, auratic fusion of signifier and signified.

This effort at re-auraticizing colors--in the realm of fashion above all--and to link colors more directly with the concrete sensory world of objects, preferably natural objects (but this, of course, depends on the fluctuations of style), is a deliberately selected strategy in addition to and partially replacing the existing sense-specific vocabulary of red, white, or blue. In comparison, then, the olfactory reference structures--in advertising as well as outside of it--are downright honest, for there *are* no other ways of talking about scents than those leading through the world of matter. The commonly used denotative figure for the designation of smells is based on spatio-temporal or metonymic and associative proximity of tenor and vehicle in the speakers' mind. This situation accounts at least partially for the idiosyncrasies of olfactory references. "It smells like" or "the smell of" expresses relations of combination and

contiguity, not of selection and similarity, as is the case for color designations.

Even when we do use a descriptive adjective for a smell we run into difficulties, for olfactory-specific adjectival paradigms are virtually nonexistent. Expressions such as "the sweet smell," "an acrid stench," or "a pungent odor" have as their adjectival base either a gustatory or a tactile experience and cause a breach of reference level in the text. We are simply using the terminology of other sensory modes for olfactory purposes. Commonly it is taste which provides the experiential base of such transposed adjectives. Although itself verbally rather limited taste, particularly in culinary writing and wine tasting, has recently developed a blossoming metaphoric and metonymic vocabulary.²¹

Linguistic representation of smell, then, uses--to borrow a psychological term--strategies of *displacement*. These are built into the very structure of language. It is therefore a "displacement in good faith"--for there *are* no other ways of referencing smells than those borrowed from another sense, those indicating origin, and the evaluative categories of good and bad. These points may serve as a preliminary explanation of why the sense of smell is so often considered the most apt to trigger memory. Its very linguistic structure brings up an Other, a reference to the outside.

In the world of advertisement, which for fashion and luxury products is torn between the two contradictory tasks of assuring the potential consumer both of the wide availability of the product and simultaneously of its exclusiveness, we thus find an unexpected honesty in ads for perfumes. While the product may be widely available, even affordable, and thus far from exclusive, there is a uniqueness to its experience both in the concrete individual physiological blending of a given scent with a given individual's skin odors and, as we have pointed out in detail above, in the linguistic and semiotic aspects of the perceptual process. Perfumes are an almost purely auratic phenomenon. In their application on the body, they virtually disappear materially, the fragrant substance as signifier thereby transferring all its powers of enticement in the most direct way to the wearer herself (but increasingly also himself). To a degree, then, the beautiful woman in the ad, the achievement and status of the designer, the warm translucence of the aesthetically shaped and backlit bottle do come with the purchase and use of

the product in a way no other luxury product can match. For what is a scent other than the associations it triggers? This short-circuiting of tenor and vehicle is expressly stated in the *Romeo Giglii* ad: "A perfume that reminds you of a woman who reminds you of a perfume."

What perfumery attempts is to reach an in-between world, a *demimonde* between momentary experience and lasting, if often unconscious, effects. Perfumes are the soft-focus lense on our rough daily existence. They are the invisible, user-friendly interface in human interaction and can be counted on to carry the aura that a consumer society of standardized products builds up as its own ideologically sanctioned counter-value. Signifier and signified merge in a halo of pleasant memories. Perfumes are sheer present—yet we have unearthed their primordial past. They seem pure phenomenon—yet they trigger memory, erratic and unpredictable. And although they seem to lend themselves so well to the game of pure simulation, they do have dark and uncanny origins. Smells are eclectic, random, individual. They are historical only on a strictly personal level, thus anecdotal. Beyond that, they dip immediately into the anthropological abyss, skipping history at large, so that their account can always only be given obliquely. They are unsystematic, yet basically simple in their structure as we have shown. They tap into the collective unconscious—which is exactly what perfumers and their advertisers can hope for and in fact work with. Perfumes, finally, are the junk bonds of postmodern body aesthetics, the means of borrowing aura against an image they themselves are designed to create in the first place.

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Notes

¹ *San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 Sept. 1987, "This World" sec.

² As an illustration see "Sweet Smell of Success," *Los Angeles Times*, 2 Oct. 1992, sec. E. "A study by Chicago researcher Dr. Alan Hirsch found that Las Vegas Hilton gamblers dropped 45.1% more coins into slot machines in an area that was scented with a pleasant odor. What's more, dollar figures supplied to Hirsch by the Hilton showed that the slot machines in fragrance-free areas had no decrease in revenue. That finding, says Hirsch, is important because it suggests that the pleasant odor did not draw gamblers away from other areas. Rather, it appears to have encouraged

gamblers in the scented area to continue inserting coins for longer periods than usual."

- 3 *Wall Street Journal*, 13 Oct. 1988, sec. B. This article discusses "environmental fragrancing systems" and warns that their "dark side is mind control."
- 4 *New York Times*, 3 Dec. 1988, sec. A.
- 5 *San Jose Mercury News*, 30 Jan. 1987.
- 6 *Der Spiegel*, 6 July 1987, 168.
- 7 *Der Spiegel*, 30 March 1987, 250-53.
- 8 Patrick Süskind, *Das Parfum* (Zurich: Diogenes, 1985). Engl. trans.: *Perfume*, trans. John E. Woods (New York: Knopf, 1986).
- 9 Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World* (1932; New York: Harper and Row, 1969). Here the public and private spheres have been cleansed of unpleasant odors and are periodically infused with good smells from specialized equipment.
- 10 Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930; ed. and trans. James Strachey [New York: Norton, 1961]), sec. 4.
- 11 For a fuller account of this issue see Hans J. Rindisbacher, *The Smell of Books: A Cultural-Historical Study of Olfactory Perception in Literature* (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1992).
- 12 Thanatos and Eros are used here in analogy to, if not identical with, Freud's usage of these two figures of thought in *Civilization and its Discontents*.
- 13 Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (1947; Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 1971).
- 14 *Dialektik*, 165, my translation.
- 15 Dan Sperber, *Rethinking Symbolism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 115-16.
- 16 Trygg Engen, "La mémoire des odeurs," *La Recherche*, February 1989, 176. Engen, a specialist in sensorial psychology, has been one of the more persistent researchers in matters of olfaction in recent years. His *Odor Sensation and Memory* (New York: Praeger, 1991) provides a recent readable overview of the field.
- 17 The most complete account of this development is Alain Corbin's analysis of cleaning up the city of Paris. Alain Corbin, *Le miasme et la jonquille* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1982). Engl. *The Foul and the Fragrant* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1986).
- 18 The just discontinued Sears catalog, a true historical compendium of twentieth-century taste and style, sheds some valuable light on this matter.
- 19 All from the 1993 J. Crew January Clearance mail order catalog.
- 20 All from the 1993 Tweed mail order catalog.
- 21 In literature it is J. K. Huysmans, the aestheticist writer from the turn of the century who in his novel *Against the Grain* provides an imaginative example of such a transposition of one sensory mode's experience into the terminology of another. The novel's hero, Duke Des Esseintes, owns a "taste organ," an elaborate contrivance of "a row of little barrels" of liquors that

allows him to play "symphonies on his internal economy, producing on his palate a series of sensations analogous to those wherewith music gratifies the ear." J. K. Huysmans, *Against the Grain* (A Rebours), introd. Havelock Ellis (1884; New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 44.

The Holographic Potential of American German Studies

Redefinition and reformation of German Studies in America and Germanistik in Germany are tantamount to their survival. For political and social reasons, largely due to the events of the first half of this century, re-evaluation and re-evolution of the present and the past are necessary. German Studies and Germanistik programs have failed to actively embrace and foster (both in America and in Germany) an effective self-criticism. While the German Studies movement in America has made great strides in an attempt to bring the field of study into the present and pointed toward the future, such attempts have been largely met with obstinacy and complacency. So crucial has this attempt to move German Studies in America become, that the November 1992 issue of *Die Unterrichtspraxis* devotes its pages to a "Focus on Diversity." Linear thinking and the inability to recognize the oneness and the whole of the German experience will mean sure death for the field. Such a loss would be great and certainly unnecessary. It is necessary for us to view German Studies as part of a much greater scheme if it is to survive.

The German cultural and historical experience needs to be viewed as a whole (without the omission of the brutal parts or over-emphasizing of the brilliant parts). After all, if you shatter a holographic plate, the total picture still remains, albeit somewhat dimmer, but the whole still exists embedded within each of the remaining fragments. In other words, select parts of German history cannot be erased or casually misplaced when viewing German culture. The German experience must be viewed from a total perspective, acknowledging (not hiding) all aspects of its own existence. The future of German Studies lies in its ability to realize and deal with the past, connect it with the future and stimulate its existence in the present.

German Studies and Germanistik, in particular, have also failed to effectively promote and/or incorporate alterity and diversity into its programs, specifically with respect to feminist studies, German-Jewish Studies (from a combined perspective--including post-expulsion influences of Sephardic culture), gay and lesbian studies

and minority studies, all encompassed within the realm of German culture and/or German Studies. All of the aforementioned have been given too little, if any, attention on the undergraduate level as well as the graduate level. Such blindness, coupled with the events of the first half of this century and those events of more recent years into the present, during which Germany became and has again become submerged in violent tendencies in opposition to otherness, signals Germany's apparent inability to deal with change within itself and the worlds within it and about it, as well as a failure to recognize its interconnectedness and nonlocality within and about the world. These problems are, as one can imagine, perceived at and pervade thought on not only socio-economic and political levels, but also on an academic and a scientific levels.

Hence Germany and Germanistik seem to be suffering from a personality disorder or fractured self-identification which manifests itself in a need to isolate and remove itself from its past and in doing so seriously cripples its ability to deal with the present and move forward into the future. This neurosis (i.e., the assertion that Germany then and Germany now are two separate subjects to be dealt with as such, thus creating a general schism between German history and German culture), in conjunction with the notion of locality within time and space, have further served to prevent Germany and Germanistik programs (as all things must be perceived on multiple levels at any given point in realization) from moving forward. In other words, German brutality and aggression in our own time cannot be treated as an aberration any more than the extremely enlightened writings of Lessing or Goethe. Neither instance is an exception to normalcy; they are all part of the same history. Hermann Hesse explains this concept very clearly in *Siddhartha*:

Von den Geheimnissen des Flusses aber sah er heute nur eines, das ergriff seine Seele. Er sah: dies Wasser lief und lief es, und war doch immer da, war immer und allezeit dasselbe und doch jeden Augenblick neu! . . .
. . . daß der Fluß überall zugleich ist, am Ursprung und an der Mündung, am Wasserfall, an der Fähre, an der Stromschnelle, im Meer, im Gebirge, überall zugleich, und daß es für ihn nur Gegenwart gibt, nicht den Schatten Vergangenheit, nicht den Schatten Zukunft . . .¹

So also, as Siddhartha makes the realization that his life is as the life of the river, must we in German Studies come to the realization that the survival of our field is dependent on our ability to free ourselves from the confines of orthodox approaches to texts in both historical and cultural contexts, the point being that contextual locality is a misnomer propagated by orthodox science and conservative capitalist politics as well as orthodox approaches to literary criticism. Yet as we progress into a world which through technology becomes increasingly smaller, our awareness of intercultural and intercontextual relatedness within our own worlds and our own personal histories expands, and we are forced to recognize that nonlocalized interconnectedness exists between all events in German history and the histories of all nations about it and about the world. And most importantly for American German Studies must we recognize Germany's connection to ourselves and its relation to our histories and how we relate our histories back to Germany, German Culture, and its surroundings.

As David Bohm has pointed out, there exists a state of interconnectedness between apparently unrelated subatomic events.² As is in physics, so too in literature and all things within the universe. Danish physicist Niels Bohr notes, "if subatomic particles only come into existence in the presence of an observer, then it is also meaningless to speak of a particle's properties and characteristics existing before they are observed."³ Anton Kaes makes a similar observation:

New historicists are fully aware that Leopold von Ranke's classical project of showing "wie es eigentlich gewesen" can never be realized; they know that the past can never be completely recovered "as it really was" because what we consider the past is always constituted by the interests of the present. The ideal of nineteenth-century positivistic historicism was to efface the historian's own point of view for the sake of scientific "objectivity." New-historicist critics do not harbor such illusions; instead, they agree with Benjamin's claim that the

past stands in a dynamic, constantly shifting constellation to the present moment.⁴

Thus the observer (with his/her own world knowledge and history) is faced with a rather interesting challenge. He/She must become the observer of a subatomic particle, or in this case of an historical text, which becomes the vantage point. Germanistik or German Studies becomes the vehicle with which one circles about this text, yet there are no boundaries since time and space do not necessarily exist within an holographic context. We are not limited to interpretation of the relevance of text within a single period and specifically as a product of a single period, but may relate a given text to a text written two hundred years later and 5000 miles across the globe. A classic example is the relation of Bhagavad Gita, Zohar and holographic quantum theory á la Bohm. All are apparently unrelated on the surface, but at a deeper level (and one doesn't need a magnifying glass to see it) they are all interrelated and interdependent as a human search for reality, and all come together independently of one another making basically the same assertions of reality and irreality.

So too must we as researchers pull from our knowledge and be able to make associations across ethnic, religious, socio-cultural and political boundaries when examining texts. The text becomes a living and breathing documentation of the continuous reaffirmation of human existence which is boundless in its relationship to the universe, such that the text is no longer a phenomenon of a specific time and place to be judged within said historical context. Peter Uwe Hohendahl explains further:

. . . the New Historian, typically, does not produce a one-dimensional narrative or even a set of narratives that parallel each other. For the New Historian neither chronology nor causality or teleology are ultimate principles, . . . The method of tracing links and exchanges results in a nonlinear presentation where frequent shifts from one level to another are the norm.⁵

Hence a negotiation of meaning is taking place on a relevant and contemporary level, regardless of the age and origin of the text. German Classics suddenly take on a completely new and expanded significance in their relationship to the world and to German Culture.

As Kurt Tucholsky has pointed out there are at least four ways of looking at a squirrel, regardless of the basic facts.⁶ The filters and the lenses we use to photograph them are what influence the final print. Of course there is always a certain amount of fear associated with embracing heterodox approaches to anything, especially when the confines of time and space are questioned. Brian Aldiss sums this hesitation up rather well in *Frankenstein Unbound* as Joseph Bodenland happens upon Victor Frankenstein:

In my hesitation to step forth lay this question: supposing that this encounter revealed *my* unreality rather than his . . . ? As I was about to move forward, a whole cloud of doubt precipitated itself upon me. The frail web of human perceptions was laid bare. I stood outside myself and saw myself there, a poor creature whose energies were based on a slender set of assumptions, whose very identity was a chancy affair of chemicals and accidents.⁷

Basically what we see happening in American German Studies, Germanistik (and more specifically Germany), is that they have been thrown into the "total perspective vortex,"⁸ and in their inability to cope with and reconcile German history within present-day social contexts, we see a failure to effectively relate and connect with the world within and the world about German literature and culture. A New Historicist approach may seem like a radical solution, yet it does provide a holographic framework from which German Studies may re-evaluate itself and its environments.

Thus, the *Aufgabe* of German Studies and Germanistik must be redefined. They must be able to transcend geographical confines to encompass a much broader body of German intellect. It follows that German, Austrian and Swiss cultures no longer are the main thrust, but become our framework and point of reference. And for "German authors" producing outside the geographical confines of German speaking countries, we experience a dual framework from which to

work--all the better in an holographic approach. Also, our framework as defined by our own experiences in conjunction with historical reference to, and "cultural considerations" of the context at hand, are a starting point only. From this starting point we must be able to make cross cultural and cross temporal connections. Of course, as Anton Kaes notes, "it is obviously impossible to trace all the links that connect the literary discourse to other kinds of discourses in any 'complete' or exhaustive sense."⁹ However, it is possible for the critic to make quantum associations within and outside of the holographic fabric of time and space and make synchronous connections, and to dissolve the borders between fiction, nonfiction, science, politics, academics, etc. "Therefore, the critic's job becomes highly subjective; it consists of choosing and interpreting those discourses that the text addresses, alludes to, confirms, or challenges."¹⁰ The operative words here are "confirm" and "challenge." The necessary *Aufgabe* of the New Historicist is to keep him/herself within a constant state of juxtaposition, continually challenging not only the position(s) of a given text but his/her own position.

Further, in an holographic environment we cannot confine ourselves strictly to "contemporary" works. We have the ability to traverse time and make connections not just for contemporary German literature, but also for historical German texts. We also have the ability to traverse space and make associations with our own histories and cultures and the histories and events of the world dependent upon our own cultural, ethnic, religious, political or economic backgrounds regardless of gender or sexual orientation. This obviously will entail the rather uncomfortable equalization of the incumbent hegemony and a realignment of *Weltanschauungen*.

German Studies must become the emphasis of the contemporary German language and literature department, if we are to survive as a field. We must embrace the whole of our own culture and not be afraid to criticize ourselves, our culture or our history. Playing the ostrich game will mean nothing more than our own swift demise. We must be alert to our own concerns and the concerns of German culture and not be afraid or reticent in our praise and/or chastisement of German culture. Such continual evaluation and examination of history and culture is our duty as social and literary critics, and no aspect of German culture, our own culture or ourselves should remain sacrosanct. German language and literature departments, traditionally white Christian

heterosexual male dominated, must also—and this is imperative to our survival—embrace and celebrate diversity within German culture and within the spheres of our own departments. The field of German Studies has remained stagnant for much too long. Either we sink in the mire or we join the multi-cultural, religious, ethnic, political and racial party, and dispel the fears and promote understanding which transcends gender and sexual orientation and promotes unity within German culture and between German culture and the cultures of the world.

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Notes

- 1 Hermann Hesse, *Siddartha* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Verlag, 1974) 83, 87.
- 2 Michael Talbot, *The Holographic Universe* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1991) 35.
- 3 *ibid.*
- 4 Anton Kaes, "New Historicism and the Study of German Literature," *The German Quarterly* 62.2 (1989): 211.
- 5 Peter Uwe Hohendahl, "A Return to History? The New Historicism and Its Agenda," *New Critique* 56.2 (1992): 95, 96.
- 6 Kurt Tucholsky, "Four Ways of Looking at a Squirrel," *What If--? Satirical Writings of Kurt Tucholsky* (New York: Minerva Press, 1967) 112-115.
- 7 Brian W. Aldiss, *Frankenstein Unbound* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1973) 47.
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- 10 *ibid.*

Roosevelt, Feather Fashions, and Hunter-Naturalists

Note: then and now "sportsman" included a significant portion of women; "sportsperson," a modern suggestion, is an awkward solution to this apparent misnomer; "hunter" is non-gendered but both fails to discriminate between modes and suffers from the distorted stereotype of representing a uniquely male population, never accurate among the elite and presumably not so in the general population. Since "sportsman" was the historic choice, the convention is used in this text referring to historic circumstances, and, of course, in quoted text.

The introduction of human predators to a region invariably has a profound effect on the indigenous fauna. One force which has worked to exacerbate this impact is the apparent affection many people have for natural objects. Contrarily, one force which has worked to ameliorate destruction of the wilds in North America has been the invention of the so-called hunter-naturalist. This perspective creates a species of "false economy" which reduced the former emphasis on quantity of game and increased the "value" of process, or the quality of experience.

Feather Fashion and Traditional Hunting: The Wilds as a Storehouse of Wares

In the last century market hunters harvested fantastic quantities of living things to serve the accelerating demand for food and decorative materials. A new or "conservative" approach to wildlife developed in response to this unprecedented predation. These impulses were often fostered by a coterie of cultural elites whose agenda was supported by a growing public awareness of the carnage exhibited throughout the nation's public places by women's fashions. Fashion in this way, while neither the cause nor necessarily the worst offender, none the less helped fuel change.

Turning to the wilds as a treasure trove of raw material has had effects evident in all relevant ecosystems. Mark Catesby, for example writing in 1754, commenting on the time period of the early European presence in North America, has described the traffic in and incipient destruction of the ivory-billed woodpecker. "The Northern Indians," he explains, "having none of these birds in their cold country, purchase them of the Southern people at the price of two, and sometimes three buckskins a bill" (quoted in Matthiessen 59). This was ample economic incentive to slaughter the birds for their beaks alone. Trading and bartering of natural materials, whether as food, "magical" elements or intoxicating agents, or decorative supplies is typical throughout human groups and across temporal ranges. Political circumstances coincidental to trade also often act to increase impact on the subject species (Martin).

As wasteful as some traditional local hunting methods might have been, the technology to destroy entire populations of prey rarely existed. However, with the developing machine culture and the industrial-scale harvesting of varied prey by commercial agents in the 18th and 19th century, there was wildlife destruction truly appalling in its scale and magnitude. It was a period of near annihilation for whole communities of animals. By way of example, George Cartwright describes bird harvesting in the last quarter of the seventeen-hundreds this way:

... it has become customary of late years, for several crews of men to live all summer on that island [Funk], for the sole purpose of killing birds for the sake of their feathers, the destruction which they have made is incredible. If a stop is not soon put to that practice, the whole breed will be diminished almost to nothing (Fisher and Lockley 94)

Luckily, by the mid and late eighteen-hundreds an increasingly powerful voice was raised contrary to that carnage. Ironically, as senseless as the terrific waste of bison and pigeon certainly was, the bloodshed took place too far from most folks for it to register. What was visible, and what did lead to widespread support for regulatory apparatus, was the ever expanding fashion industry.

Development of Appropriate Regulatory Apparatus

It should be appreciated that much animal law in the United States was initially designed to guarantee access to the outdoors and its bountiful harvest (Lund) or tended to be "negative in tone, promoting destruction rather than protection" (Matthiessen 57). American legislatures were aware of Europe's oppressive game laws and so were reluctant to recreate the Old World privileges of an elite class on these shores. English game law, Americans recalled from the bad old days, stated that "a man had to be lord of a manor, or have substantial income from landed property, even to kill a hare on his own land" (Hay 189). Americans saw clearly enough that much of the restrictive law in Europe was designed to keep peasants unarmed and unable to revolt, not to protect God's furry brethren (Royster; Volti). It was a strategy incompatible with a free nation.

These Old World laws, which allowed "gentlemen" to flatten farmer's crops in pursuit of quarry which the yeoman couldn't even lawfully buy, were not, of course, made to prevent citizens from enjoying the hunt. Rather, as is often the vouchsafed reason for today's increased regulation, they were made in the yeoman's best interest! That is, they were designed "to prevent persons of inferior rank, from squandering that time, which their station in life requireth to be more profitably employed" (Hay 191). With the nineteenth century's astronomical predation, however, there was increasing pressure to engage conservation law in spite of these stinging recollections. Moreover, as a number of outdoor writers have noted, exhibiting flairs for irony or cynicism, everyone is a conservationist once economic incentive has been removed by the near extermination of the target animal. If the harvest is no longer fruitful, the subject species is likely to be "protected." And animals were being destroyed rather wholesale.

Conspicuous Display of Natural Ornament

In the United States, and perhaps elsewhere, this restraining influence was mediated by a growing economy which attenuated the effect by providing more people with more money and, as was lampooned by Mark Twain in *The Guided Age* and lambasted by Thorstein Veblen in *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, the resulting

gratuitous display. Veblen, lecturing his classes at the University of Chicago in baggy pants, his thick wool socks safety-pinned to the cuffs (Diggins 33), wrought his slashing indictment of the wasteful ways of many Americans in his *Leisure Class* study of 1899. Flaying the wealthy and flogging the well to do, Veblen excoriated America's upper crust, reminding readers that John Adams' and Tocqueville's worst prophecies had come to pass. The rapidly developing America was not necessarily the desirable America.

Feather ornamentation had been popular in Europe since the time of the Crusades, an affectation quite likely picked up from the more sophisticated Islamic enemy (Parry). But the volume "did not compare with the amounts which poured in from all continents to meet demands of the nineteenth century's fashion-conscious, middle-class, urban women" (Repton 167). This phenomenon--more people with more discretionary cash--nourished advanced environmental impact. What species were not being obliterated by the greedy meat hunters were likely victimized by plume, fur, or hide gatherers.

As the eighteen-hundreds wore on "in almost every ten-year period throughout the century," according to Paul Nystrom, noted authority on women's fashion, "large additional groups of people were able to expand their standards of living beyond bare subsistence levels" (Nystrom 229). This emergent Class not only swelled in number and economic vigor, it represented a Class usurpation of the traditional privileges of the elite. Market pressure really did threaten entire species. Yet perhaps it was the threat of Class instability which helped to lubricate the activity of the nation's elite. Meanwhile, of course, bourgeois feminists also drew down on the displayers from the marginal middle/upstart working class. If the "bloomers" revolution was most often met by derision in the press, it, also, held the ridiculously wasteful, as well as unhealthy, conventions of fashion, especially women's fashion, to the public eye.

Doughty, echoing Veblen's ideas of conspicuous consumption, claims that "if plumes were costly looking, then ladies demanded them by the crateload, and the elegant trimmings pictured in journals meant that bird populations all over the world fell under the gun" (Doughty 15). Contrary to Quaker and Puritan ideas of practicality, so important in the formative period of the nation, squandering resources in a self-indulgent manner was a clear precursor to a

consumer economy and a necessary adjunct to the industrial age. Doughty continues:

The unprecedented abundance of ornamental plumage, the range of birds which supplied it, created a specter of suffering and extinction over the breeding grounds of many species. After the middle of the nineteenth century, the sight of stuffed seabirds, finches' wings and waving sprays on hats touched the consciences of people, and sore consciences helped create the movement to banish the use of ornamental feathers. The cavalier manner in which birds were sacrificed on the alter of vanity began to arouse feelings of disgust and outrage, not admiration. (Doughty 15)

Doughty recounts that on one stroll through the New York fashion district in 1886, ornithologist Frank Chapman found that three-quarters of the 700 hats he viewed featured feather decoration. As suggested above, this is all quite obviously a fundamental change from the idea of appropriate restraint embodied by the nation's Quaker, Puritan, and Colonial Republican forebears.

Of course, men as well as women were attracted to natural elements. William Wright, for instance, a long-time hunter who gave it up to become a zealous conservationist, raged against "the wastes of trapping . . . and such travesties as the sale of elk teeth to members of the Fraternal Order of Elks, who used them for ornaments without a thought to all the elk that were killed to obtain them" (Schullery 179). In any event, the spectacle of waste stimulated activity in those more attuned to embrace the outdoors as an important, perhaps even therapeutic, emotional experience rather than a trove of cheap produce.

The Hunter-Naturalist Develops

In 1887 the Boone and Crockett Club was founded. Coordinated with it was a quite formalized philosophy of sport hunting which was, along with related movements, to act as a catalyst for change, changing traditional hunting ideas of appropriateness to those more useful in an industrial milieu. So influential and progressive was the

code promulgated in the Club that eventual legislation reflected its input in such areas as restricted seasons, protected seasons for mating, gender-based and otherwise limited bags, outlawing of unfair hunting methods and, of course, poaching.

Conservation measures were so effective that game multiplied well beyond the requirements of a small elite sport hunting community. The vision of this faux-aristocracy went far to guarantee game availability for members of the masses. Where the commercial hunter was entirely acquisition minded and the European Manor Born Aristocrat more a shooter than a hunter, this rapidly evolving type—perhaps best typified by Theodore Roosevelt—came to understand the natural food-chain and the attendant cycle of life, death, decay, rebirth. They opted to examine closely the red tooth and talon of nature.

Much of the thrust of early conservation groups (1) was to secure the future of game species; they wanted to regulate "today's" hunting in order to better guarantee tomorrow's. The excesses of the fashion industry, evidence of which was constantly being reiterated on streets, in stores, and at entertainments and social events, helped convince the huge non-hunting public of the need to legislate conservation law.

George Grinnel and Theodore Roosevelt held several meetings, the result being the eventual coalescence of the Boone and Crockett Club. The avowed primary goal of B & C, in turn, was to promote the habitat of and access to American game. The two men firmed up the proposition that a club of concerned American big game hunters be formed. Later, at a meeting in December of 1887, formalities were worked out when "twenty-four men attended this organizational meeting" (Cutright 169). Their postprandial discourse was peppered with rancor toward "market gunning," and "game hogging," and the practice of "pot-hunting," hunting types and methods we would associate today with the pariah-like "slob hunter."

Particular objectives of the Boone and Crockett Club included the desire to "promote manly sport with the rifle, to promote travel and exploration in the wild and unknown, or but partially known, portions of the country, and to work for the preservation of the large game of this country and so far as possible to further legislation for that purpose, and to assist in enforcing the existing laws" (Grinnell 436-437). Thus, by 1900, the amalgam of "science" and sport yielded the

sportsman-hunter (or, perhaps more clearly, the hunter-naturalist) supported by a general public anathema of the horrid squandering of animal and bird parts. This rarefied version of consumption nurtured the value of each member of the wildlife population. The catch and release program in fishing devolved from this philosophy.

Altherr explains that "the hunter-naturalist type originated in disgust for the barbarous and avaricious practices by both sport and commercial hunters" (Altherr 8), so clearly it was also a time of negotiation in regards to what constitutes sport hunt probity. In any case, a great deal of the impulse toward this New World gentleman's variant of a traditional blood sport came from what passed as America's aristocrats: old money, scions of Robber Barons, offspring of the industrial elite.

Under the quickly developing gaze of the sportsman this neoteric philosophy incorporated not only the relatively well developed idea, among the European landed, of the "fair hunt" but also a respect for scientific inquiry in the outdoors and sympathy for the potential game animal. In addition, as Altherr points out, for the hunter-naturalist "hunting literature should be cerebral as well as instinctual, inspiring as well as exciting, erudite as well as commonplace" (Altherr 8). Rather than base the enjoyment of a hunt on quantitative results the hunter-naturalists endeavored to create a qualitatively measured fully-rounded experience. For them, it was the enjoyment of ritual, the salubrious effects of the outdoors, the heuristic aspects of the chase, and the generally wholesome components of a hunt episode which were most important. If a kill was made, it was to be achieved in the most sportsmanlike way. From this perspective there is a sort of intellectual recapture of the environment.

Other Effects of New-Style Sport Hunting

One of the effects of the rapidly growing hunter-naturalist cosmology was an expanding network of outdoors organizations which "actively supported legislation to control or outlaw commercial hunting of both game and non-game species and [which] waged a media campaign for the legitimization of sport hunting and vigilant conservation measures" (Altherr 14). It is important to keep in mind that the hunter-naturalist was not opposed in any fundamental way

to hunting. Rather, it attacked the inappropriate styles, especially the so-called unsportsmanlike methods, and the attitudes of the "other," the non-sport hunter. (2)

Theodore Roosevelt, who, taking a leaf from his uncle Robert Barnwell Roosevelt's book—who had been instrumental in creating the New York Fish and Game Commission—and under the shadow of his father—who had been among the founders of the American Museum of Natural History—continued as a central figure in the turn of the century move toward an ethic of sportsmanship which called for greater sensitivity to prey animals and care for habitat. Eventually the demands of a public life made it difficult for the politician to continue his activity in the development of a cerebral form of sport hunting.

By two or two-and-a-half decades into this century the baton of the spiritual ethic of sport hunting, as a feature of the Renaissance hunter-naturalist life-style, was passed to such men as William Hornady and Aldo Leopold. They and their ilk either lead along or acquiesced to changing social mores related to hunting. For example, as recently as 1980, the English marksmanship authority Charles Chenevix Trench noted the tainted feelings of unsportsmanlike behavior associated with American weapons saying quite accurately that "multi-shot pump and automatic guns are generally considered to be implements of the pot-hunter" (Trench 67). A "pot-hunter," of course, is one who hunts to eat rather than for sport, the cad.

For Aldo Leopold the evolution of these sporting weapons also began to reprise the conditions of a market hunt with their undue emphasis on harvest over process. The philosophical window of sport hunting, on the other hand, seemed to gaze out upon a uniquely human system of rule-bound activity and self-induced standards of difficulty. Further, sport hunting, when it exhibits the best features of the phenomenon, is "distinctly American [in a] tradition of self-reliance, hardihood, woodcraft, and marksmanship" (Leopold 177), driven by the equally distinctly American geography. Qualities contributing to this American alloy included, of course, ideas of gentlemanly conduct imported whole-cloth from the Old World, a vision of action promulgated during the great Age of Adventure and the African safari, and the skills invented to break the American frontier.

In a sense, the hunter-naturalist created a false economy which caused value inflation of the game species. Rather than viewing the outdoors as a repository of cheap produce, the hunter-naturalist nourished the experience and the process of predation on the wilds, so that each episode became more "expensive" or, perhaps, imbued with greater intrinsic value.

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Notes

- 1 The active conservation movement in the United States may be associated with four magazines which began in the late nineteenth century and formed a text base for the quick, country-wide distribution of ideas. These four were, first, *American Sportsman* (1871), then *Forest and Stream* (1873), with *Field and Stream* (1874) and finally *The American Angler* (1881) following along. Charles Bird Grinnel, a prime figure in the conservation field, was nature editor of what might be thought the most progressive, *Forest and Stream*.
- 2 Concerns raised during the colossal bison kill-off echoed a growing national feeling that wildlife should be shielded from the worst offenses of commercial predation. Using the bison example, legislation proposed in 1874 to prevent the slaughter of the plains buffalo within the territories of the United States had been passed by Congress only to be pigeon-holed by President Grant, then, a hopeful sign, in 1897 Montana provided felony punishment of a two year prison term for the same offense.

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Studies in Popular Culture

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Popular Culture Review gratefully acknowledges the contributions made to this journal by James Malek, Dean of the UNLV College of Liberal Arts, the UNLV Department of English, and Ray B. Browne and Pat Browne of the Popular Culture and American Culture Associations, without whose help this publication would never have become a reality.

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