

genre and formal analysis. We cannot, he warns us, expect photographs to tell their story directly, to be "transparent reflections of facts" (p. 329).

If "Old Photographs" calls on historians to adopt an interpretive rigor, so does the section on "Costume Drama." Two essays judge theatrical and screen adaptations of Charles Dickens's novels according to their historical authenticity: not the authenticity of set design and costuming, but the successful rendering of a Dickensian structure of feeling. In "Doing the Lambeth Walk," Samuel applies a similar standard to the West End revival of *Me and My Girl*, noting its failure to capture the texture of postwar sentiment. Whereas earlier chapters concentrated on the production of cultural artifacts as well as their dynamic reception, in these last chapters, Samuel emphasizes the rhetorical structuring of the cultural texts themselves and his own authoritative reading of them. Meanings do not seem to be as fluid as he earlier suggests; cultural texts offer more or less appropriate renditions of historical moments. Despite his insistence on history as democratic practice, he challenges the historian as cultural critic to produce an informed, authoritative historical account.

I will miss Samuel the impresario, but this book provides an enduring memento of an inspiring and creative historian. I look forward to the second volume in the series.

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ANNE McCLINTOCK. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge. 1995. Pp. xi, 449. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.

This book by Anne McClintock is an ambitious addition to recent scholarship on empire gender and sexuality. It is magisterial in its scope, ranging from Victorian Britain and colonial South Africa to post-1948 South Africa. McClintock examines a variety of historical materials including photography, diaries, ethnographies, imperial novels, oral histories, soap advertisements, and performance poetry. She makes a number of interrelated arguments about the articulations among race, gender, and class; between the imperial metropole and its colonies; and between "family, sexuality and fantasy (the traditional realm of psychoanalysis) and the categories of labor, money and market (the traditional realm of political and economic history)" (p. 8). McClintock also offers a dizzying array of theoretical insights into such issues as the cult of domesticity, the social meaning of women's work, the use of the term "postcolonialism," the cultural forms of nationalism, the psychoanalytical concept of the fetish, and the genres of oral history and autobiography. Indeed, it is her book's audacious reach that makes both for its strengths—the exciting and thought-provoking quality of its contributions—and its weakness: the failure to deliver consistently on its many promises.

At the center of this daunting study lies an essentially historical argument about an "epochal shift" from "scientific racism" to "commodity racism" (p. 33) that took place in the culture of imperialism during the late nineteenth century. This shift, which was facilitated by the emergence in the second half of the nineteenth century of a variety of mass-produced "consumer spectacles," enabled Western imperialism to be mass-marketed on a hitherto unprecedented scale, both nationally and globally. It is the link that McClintock establishes between this mass-marketing of empire and the "Western reinvention of domesticity" that brings together the many different domains of her book: gender and empire; race, class, and sexuality; Victorian Britain and colonial South Africa; labor, money, and market; and family, sexuality, and fantasy. Building on recent scholarship on all these topics, McClintock offers a far-reaching argument for the incorporation of a "theory of gender power" into the study of imperialism. Her analysis, while recognizing gender as embedded in the experiences of race, class, and empire, demonstrates the centrality of domesticity to the "commodity racism" of the late nineteenth century.

The central theme of the book, indeed, is a demonstration of how, in the process of mass-marketing the empire, the Victorian middle-class home was made into "a space for the display of imperial spectacle and the reinvention of race," while the "colonies—in particular Africa—became theaters for exhibiting the Victorian cult of domesticity and the reinvention of gender" (p. 34). The book's first two (of three) sections illustrate the historical dimension of the connections themselves, which, as McClintock further suggests, were mediated through the exclusion and the denial of women's work. Women's "domestic" work as nannies, maidservants, and governesses or their labor as miners and prostitutes was a challenge to the middle-class cult of female domesticity. These women, therefore, came to be described in the language of racial and sexual deviance, representing an "anachronistic space" outside of the historical time of industrial modernity. Against this background, McClintock analyzes afresh the ambiguous relationship between Arthur Munby, a Victorian barrister, and his domestic servant/wife, Hannah Cullwick. Similarly, McClintock's examination of British soap advertisements in the late nineteenth century also occurs against the background of the "underevaluation of women's work in the domestic realm" and its simultaneous association with racial degeneracy (p. 208). The argument comes full circle with an analysis of the use of Victorian gender ideology in the representation of the colony and the colonized as "feminine." In the third and final section of her book, McClintock attempts to explore the implications of her historical argument in the present through an analysis of certain aspects of contemporary South African politics.

The book is at its best and most persuasive when it succeeds in combining theoretical acuity with empiri-

cal evidence and insightful speculation to present what is a bold and original agenda for the study of imperialism. Often, however, it falls short in its execution. Although it was designed quite self-consciously to bring more historical perspective to postcolonial literary theory, many a historian will be frustrated by its lack of sustained historical analysis and the speculative and unsubstantiated nature of some of the author's claims. Yet this remarkably suggestive book will prove productive for historians precisely because it has raised so many important questions, the answers to which lie in careful engagement with the historical material.

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LAWRENCE GOLDMAN. *Dons and Workers: Oxford and Adult Education since 1850*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 363. \$74.00.

The relationship of Oxford to adult education, especially for workers, has gone through several transformations since its origins in the reform controversies of the mid-nineteenth century. The adult education movement began with idealistic plans for class harmony, moved through self-conscious efforts toward working-class political empowerment, and has ended in a vocational emphasis on credentials and individual mobility. The subject touches on a number of politically sensitive issues, and Lawrence Goldman does, in general, an excellent job of carefully sifting evidence and reaching judicious conclusions.

The first phase of the movement was the "University Extension" lectures. This plan for extramural lectures in provincial cities by university lecturers originated in Cambridge but came to be dominated by Oxford by the turn of the century, due to the idealism of lecturers like T. H. Green and Arnold Toynbee and the administrative efficiency of Michael Sadler, the secretary of the Extramural Delegacy. This period has generally been criticized in comparison to the tutorial classes later established by the Workers' Educational Association (WEA). Goldman admits the problems that existed during this time, notably the lack of a systematic educational program and the fact that more middle-class women ("sealskins") than working men attended the lectures. He argues, however, that these ought not to blind us to the very real spiritual benefit derived by participants. Goldman also argues that the defects of the movement were attributable to the basic fact that each lecture series had to be financially self-supporting, paid for by the participants. Neither the colleges nor the state were willing to subsidize this venture.

A fundamental change of direction came in the Edwardian period with the establishment of the WEA and the prominence of Albert Mansbridge, a lower middle-class clerk of working-class background. Mans-

bridge and his academic allies, like Sidney Ball of St. John's and R. H. Tawney pressed the university for more advanced and systematic courses rather than mere large lectures to miscellaneous audiences. But while Tawney and Mansbridge were attempting to bring working-class students to Oxford, others were deeply suspicious that the result would simply be the "incorporation" of the workers and their assumption of Oxford's elitist values. Yet others, like some of the founders of Ruskin College, argued for a more class-conscious education, explicitly oriented toward political indoctrination.

Goldman directly confronts the view, argued most recently by Roger Fieldhouse, that the entire enterprise of the WEA and the tutorial classes was an exercise in "social control" whose purpose was to wean working-class leaders away from radicalism and to consolidate the domination of Oxford over working-class education. Goldman argues that there is no evidence that Fieldhouse's Marxist alternative had much popular support among working people. He suggests further that such a view devalues both the sincerity of sympathetic Oxford dons and the personal and political aspirations of working people. Goldman also argues, on the basis of a careful review of the evidence, that the famous confrontation in 1909 between Lord Curzon, the chancellor of the university, and Dennis Hird, the politically engaged principal of Ruskin College—a beloved set-piece of leftist historiography—probably never occurred and was fabricated later for political purposes by the Ruskin "strikers."

After World War I, Oxford established its Extramural Delegacy and, for the first time, officially recognized adult education as a part of its academic mission. The preeminence of Oxford in the movement diminished, however, as provincial universities started to take up its tasks in their own districts. Oxford's clientele changed during this period, too, from working men to teachers, clerks, and women. The educational program also changed, moving away from a predominance of economic and political subjects, to a curriculum closer to the regular university course. In the 1930s, however, the Depression and the rise of Fascism led to greater concentration on the background of current events in extramural courses. Goldman notes that one of the most significant aspects of the movement during this period was its effect on those Oxford intellectuals who were led toward Labour politics and socialism by their contact with working people through extramural lectures and tutorial classes (Hugh Gaitskill, Richard Crossman, the Longfords). During World War II, short courses, often on political subjects, were offered for soldiers, although many conservative officers viewed these efforts with suspicion as leftist propaganda. In this instance, Goldman cannot deny the left-wing politics of most lecturers, but he argues against the view that adult education played a significant role in Churchill's 1945 electoral defeat.

In many obvious ways, the role of Oxford in adult