

both of them in turn elements in a process of state formation that involved the intensive administration of populations. In nineteenth-century Canada, in the absence of reliable population censuses, educational administration generated returns of the juvenile population which were used by state officials to chart population movements. For example, William Hutton, a former Canada West school inspector who became secretary to the Canadian Bureau of Registration and Statistics, applied multipliers to educational returns of school-age children to calculate population movements in the absence of a quinquennial census, and sought to enlist school teachers as census enumerators. In terms of personnel and objectives, the educational and statistical projects were closely related.

Again, both the educational and the broader statistical projects were normalizing and disciplinary projects. They specified identities for citizens and subjects, codified, organized, and represented their experiences, tied the conditions of life, health, and security to their occupation of administrative categories. The statistical knowledges these projects produced constituted political resources which could be mobilized by members of social classes and groups in the pursuit of interests.

Thus George Emery's work deserves the close attention of historical sociologists of education. But it also deserves our critical attention in some respects, for Emery skirts around a number of issues. While he rejects a naively positivist rendering of vital statistics, there are clear, but unexamined, limits to his constructivist posi-

tion. His discussion of definitions of life at birth, for instance, does not prevent him from sustaining a seemingly unexamined concept of "completeness" in registration. And while he sees clearly that statistical knowledge is shaped by social conditions, official policy, and political interests, he seems to wish to sustain an empirical historical demography. The issues involved are complex; more discussion of them would be welcome.

George Emery's book raises questions of broad concern and constitutes an important contribution to its field. It takes an important step in the movement from positivism to indeterminacy in historical analysis.

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John Neubauer. *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992. Pp. xv, 288, illus. \$30.00 U.S. cloth.

The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence is a transformative example of the "new" cultural history and a bold, immensely rich, and fascinating exercise in "textualism." There is no new master narrative of adolescence here. To convey the distinctiveness of *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*, we have to foreground its methodological and theoretical framework. The "new" cultural history is concerned first and foremost with the role

of discourse and texts in the construction of reality. As Lloyd Kramer explains, "the one truly distinguishing feature of the new cultural approach to history is the pervasive influence of recent literary criticism, which has taught historians to recognize the active role of language, texts, and narrative structures in the creation and description of historical reality" (Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History*, pp. 97-98). For historians who have not made the linguistic turn, Richard Rorty's description of "textualism" might also be helpful. "In the last century," Rorty observes, "there were philosophers who argued that nothing exists but ideas. In our century there are people who write as if there were nothing but texts....These people...I shall call 'textualists.'" He continues, "Whereas nineteenth century idealism wanted to substitute one sort of science (philosophy) for another (natural science) as the center of culture, twentieth century textualism wants to place literature in the center and to treat both science and philosophy as, at best, literary genres" (*The Consequences of Pragmatism*, pp. 139-41).

John Neubauer is unabashedly textualist. Many of the theoretical assumptions undergirding *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence* are echoes upon themes developed in the work of Saussure, Barthes, La Capra, White, Geertz, Foucault, and Derrida. Adolescence is an "invention," a cultural construction, an imaginative product of the human mind. Neubauer's project is to study the representational space in which adolescence was constructed, in which adolescents identified themselves, and

from which statements about adolescence derived their meaning. This space is discourse or text. All texts on adolescence—literary, social scientific, or visual—comprise a single, unified discursive field or grand language system, whether psychology, psychoanalysis, anthropology, fiction, art, autobiography, memoir, or diary. But Neubauer, a professor of comparative literature at the University of Amsterdam, privileges novels, plays, and other artistic productions over social scientific texts. Neubauer's interpretive starting point is the sovereignty of rhetoric. Neubauer applies Formalist modes of literary analysis to all texts on adolescence, an approach which foregrounds narrative mode, choice of allegories, analogies, similes, metaphors, and other tropes and figurative devices that are at work in these texts and which endow them with effect. Ultimately, Neubauer has to come to terms with the function of discourse and texts in the construction of reality. Still, even when he discusses fin-de-siècle youth movements, organizations, and institutions, texts remain at the core of this book; youth movements, organizations, and institutions all are derivative from and imitative of literature. There is no escaping the discursive. Neubauer turns traditional hierarchies in which Art reflects Life on their head; Life imitates Art or, in Derrida's famous words, "Il n'y a pas de hors texte"—there is no "outside text."

Neubauer's history is not a linear or chronological narrative in which one thing neatly follows another. His chapters are composed like a group of stories which tend to cluster and co-

agulate synchronically, rather than to develop *per se*, and within a relatively narrow time frame; each of his chapters suggests a different but complementary perspective on the discursive landscape of adolescence in Germany, Austria, England, France, and, less so, the U.S., between roughly 1890 and 1920. Neubauer argues that in the West, adolescence was “invented” around the turn of the century by creative writers, and artists. German playwright Frank Wedekind’s *Frühlings Erwachen* (1891) is a seminal event in the history of adolescence. Its main themes (later to be echoed in G. Stanley Hall’s monumental *Adolescence*): adolescence is a special period of life defined by ambivalence, underlying sexual confusion, and preoccupation with questions of identity. The play contains an implicit plea that adolescents be granted freedom for experimentation, time to find their authentic self, time to resolve their identity crisis; a plea that adolescents be granted a moratorium before assuming the responsibilities of adulthood.

Frühlings Erwachen spawned a wave of novels, memoirs, diaries, art works, and social scientific tracts portraying adolescent miseries. Neubauer’s reach is vast. He not only carries on a dialogue with Kett, Gillis, Demos, Platt, Laslett, Mosse, Schorske, and just about every other relevant social or intellectual historian, but his “sources” include novelists Maurice Barrès, Alain-Fournier, Cocteau, Flaubert, Gide, Hesse, Joyce, Hugo Hofmannsthal, Molnar, Musil, Jacques de Lacretelle, and Raymond Radiquet; psychologists Eduard Spranger, Ludwig Gurlitt, Pierre Men-

dousse, Charlotte Bühler, and always Hall; psychoanalysts Freud, Karen Horney, and Andreas Salomé; painters and sculptors Munch, Kirchner, Klimt, Kokoschka, Egon Schiele, and George Minne; as well as school reformers Cecil Reddie, Demolins, Lietz, and Wyneken. Neubauer proposes that adolescence “came of age” in the decades around 1900, not only because the term itself had little currency earlier, but because interlocking discourses about adolescence emerged simultaneously in these decades in the West in psychoanalysis, psychology, criminal justice, pedagogy, and sociology, as well as in literature. The term “adolescence” may have been used sporadically earlier, he says, “but the appearance of these interlocking discourses testifies that human life was perceived in terms of a new category by the end of the nineteenth century” (p. 6). Discourse was a decisive force in shaping the “culture of adolescence” not simply because adolescence became the subject of so many turn-of-the-century adult discourses, but because, inversely, the language, literature, and artistic self-expressions, products of the adult mind, guided adolescent identity formation and socializing within the peer group; adolescence is first constructed and then lived. That is to say, adolescents never appear “in the wild,” to use Foucault’s expression, they are always in period costume.

It was not merely the quantity, diversity, and simultaneous appearance of literary discourses about adolescence that was critical in the construction of the fin-de-siècle culture of adolescence. What was critical was

the audience's reception of the literary portrayal of adolescence. And the unique power or effect of the literary portrayal of adolescence lay in its rhetorical inventiveness; its deployment of new narrative forms, genres, and metaphors. Novelists thematized adolescent identity as a "problem of articulation," of finding a discourse to grasp the experience of adolescence and to represent adolescence to the world, which led them to certain operative metaphors which became central in their representation of adolescent culture, e.g., doors, walls, gates, gardens, and, above all, bridges. Creative writers and artists experimented with anti-realist, Modernist forms of representation—impressionist, expressionist, surrealist—which, Neubauer claims, were well suited not only to represent the fluctuations and divisions of the adolescent mind, but reflected an epoch; the whole of Western Europe seemed to be going through an adolescent identity crisis.

In Barrès' novels, Neubauer sees a portentous shift in the literary portrayal of adolescence. Adolescents usually were portrayed as torn between their quest for individuality and loyalty and attachment to the peer group. In Barrès' *Le Culte du moi* (1891) and especially *Les Déracinés* (1897), the adolescent resolution of the identity crisis comes in striving to overcome individualism and self-cultivation through reintegration into the adult community and a shared national tradition. Barrès' novels mirrored the growth of chauvinism and racism in pre-war France and helped in turn to instill these qualities in French adolescents growing up around 1900. Bar-

rès' anti-individualism, Neubauer says, accorded with the general political shift towards a collectivism that psychologically prepared for war. Thus, says Neubauer, Barrès both anticipated and encouraged the shift from "Le Culte du moi" to the reintegration of "the comrades in the trenches" during the War. There is a more ominous development in the German literature of adolescence. In the novels of Herman Hesse, Neubauer traces a movement from the quest for an authentic self to discipleship to a "führer" or surrender to "the whispering voice of blood." Ultimately, German youth, like French youth, solve their identity crisis and find their authentic selves in submergence in the "camaraderie of the trenches."

There are so many riches in *The Fin-de Siècle Culture of Adolescence* that there is not enough space in this review to do more than browse awhile. Adolescence is not a family affair for Neubauer. In fact, parents are the absent text of *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*. Literary texts, at least before the Great War, says Neubauer, exemplify the proposition that the peer group provided the primary context for adolescent socialization and identity formation and that education by the peer group outweighed parents and all other influences. Unless the adolescent was Jewish. Lacratelle's *Silbermann* portrays the powerful force of the milieu upon adolescent identity formation. Silbermann may start with diffuse identity but is compelled by anti-semitism to become a Jew; his adolescent identity crisis is solved for him. (Here, and in a few other places

as well, Neubauer shows himself to be a "weak" textualist.)

Neubauer has a brilliant chapter on "Visualizing Adolescence," focusing on representations of adolescence in the painting and sculpture of Munch, Kirchner, Kokoschka, and the *Brücke* group who, he claims, gave a decisive turn to the representation of female adolescence in art beginning around 1890. Frequently painted on bridges, their tormented, mask-like adult faces and child-like bodies, says Neubauer, "project the painters' own troubled sense of identity in the parental matrix" of fin-de-siècle Vienna, Hamburg, Berlin, and Paris. In another chapter with the punning title, "The Adolescence of Psychoanalysis," Neubauer deconstructs Freud's "Dora" case study as a particular kind of narrative about an adolescent girl with Freud as the leading actor, sole editor of the final text, and stage director; Dora, as the chapter's title wryly suggests, was a "victim" of the "adolescence" of psychoanalysis. Neubauer finds more validity in Karen Horney's adolescent diaries than in all the theoretical work she produced while she was a disciple of the "father figures" of Freud, Abraham, and Adler. The psychologists? Though psychologists called for freedom for adolescence, freedom was to be tolerated only as long as it posed no threat to the existing order. G. Stanley Hall and his colleagues claimed to approach adolescence with scientific impartiality but they defined human nature in terms of their own restrictive values. Neubauer skewers Hall in one sentence. *Adolescence* "overwhelmed...scientific colleagues with empirical data and

mesmerized the lay public with mysterious chants" (p. 143). Schools play a relatively minor role in *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*. In literary adolescence we do not see adolescents in school, says Neubauer, for this is not where their real education takes place. Schools are portrayed mainly as settings in which, in the games, cliques, and fights of the school yard, adolescents learn the art of survival.

Neubauer finally turns his gaze to the relation between texts and the world, as he moves from language, texts, and discourse to "material" reality. Neubauer's chapter, "Youth Organizations and Movements," is sobering. Adolescence was invented with the intent of liberating youth. But free adolescents exist only in fiction: "The social emancipation of adolescence amounted to the formation of institutions that engaged them for communal purposes or some ideal future humanity." Baden-Powell, Lietz, Wyneken, the English Boy Scout movement, the German Wandervogel, the Alliance française, the religious youth organizations, "all in their own way, advocated loyalty, discipline, altruism, and submission of the individual to the community or an ideal" (p. 182). But this is not the point at which Neubauer can end. Neubauer's entire approach is discourse-or-text-driven. *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence* begins and ends in literary texts. Neubauer gives us an account of school reform experiments and youth movements and organizations shaped by stories. The experiments in secondary education of Lietz and Wyneken were reconstituted from contemporary

literature representations of adolescence and borrowings from fictional narratives glorifying nature and the natural. The formative idea of a utopian "education province" in Goethe's *William Meister's Wanderjahre* may go a long way toward explaining why reform pedagogy became more important in Germany than in France! Imitations of fiction structured the reality of the Boy Scouts and the German youth movements. The rituals, practices, and ethics of the Boy Scouts and the Wandervogel were distilled from contemporary discourses about adolescence, chivalric romances, and popular novels of the day. The Wandervogel play at American Indians. And Baden-Powell found the inspiration for his Boy Scout movement in Sir Thomas Mallory's *Le Morte d'Arthur*, Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories, and Kipling's *Kim*.

The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence itself as literature is Modernist: impressionistic, fragmented, amorphous, almost to the point of being formless, and indeterminate. *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence* doesn't conclude so much as just end, abruptly and ambiguously. All texts are ensnared in the matrices of ideology: "Ideology cannot be eliminated from literature. Like adolescent minds, texts speak with many voices; again and again they also bombard us with saving messages from the soapbox" (p. 219). The end. This mawkish ending is not encouraging. Neubauer will not refer to the present. He neither projects the present onto the past, or the past onto the present. But Neubauer cannot have studied the past "for its own sake." The ending of *The*

Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence is unsettling. Neubauer's final words are unaccountably cheerful. The question remains not what happened next. We know what happened after 1920. The question is, what happens now? Whither adolescence at our fin-de-siècle? Who are the adults who will deliver adolescents from the "culture of adolescence" at our fin-de-siècle, and from what "soapbox" will their "saving message" come?

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Michael Mitterauer. *A History of Youth*, trans. Graeme Dunphy. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992. Pp. 256. \$49.95 U.S. cloth. \$19.95 U.S. paper.

Michael Mitterauer's *A History of Youth* attempts to provide a critical overview of the history of youth in Europe from the Middle Ages until the present time. The book is organized thematically in order to investigate "the immediate world in which young people lived in the past," through the institutions of family, workplace, school, and the youth group. Mitterauer argues that changing economic and social conditions did much to influence historical understandings of youth as a separate stage of human development, as well as to shape the experience of adolescence over time and space. The bulk of the material in this book forms a catalogue of these developments.