The importance to folklorists of novels such as *Second Hoeing* is not only the possible extraction of ethnographic data, but also the novels themselves as artistic units. Particular items and patterns of culture may characterize certain groups, but their use is ultimately by individuals. Sykes shows superbly how German-Russian folklife both shapes and is shaped by individual personalities. *Second Hoeing*, important both as fiction and ethnography, can help to remind folklorists that there is a humanistic as well as a scientific side to their discipline.


Reviewed by Regina Bendix

In a time when folklorists prefer to study folklore performance and its context, one wonders what to make of old, text-centered collections that still fill the shelves of folklore libraries. A folklore item or text today is considered incomplete without an accurate recording of the context, and old collections seem to be used mostly for annotation. Martine Segalen, a French scholar who might best be termed an historical ethnologist, would not agree with this orientation. She wants to use the records and collections of 19th century folklorists to examine the husband-wife relationship in pre-industrial rural France. Her data consists of the writings of various folklorists, their correspondences, regional proverb collections and the results of rural architecture surveys. These are supported by statistical and demographic studies. Her book grew out of an exhibit entitled *Mari et femme dans la France rural traditionelle* at the Musée national des arts et traditions populaires in Paris.

Today, there are many stereotypes of the 19th century rural family, especially the cliché of the rural patriarchal order. Segalen asserts that little is known about the nature of relationships within the rural household which would support such a view. Her research leads her to pro-
pose a different hypothesis: "...the man-wife relationship in peasant society is based not on the absolute authority of one over the other, but on the complementarity of the two" (p. 9).

The subsequent five chapters try to illustrate this complementarity by examining how the household is run and the relation of household to community. After considering courtship and marriage customs and the social control exercised by the community over individual households by institutions like the charivari, the economic organization of peasant households is closely analyzed. Historians and folklorists, according to Segalen, have been content to assert that "the man works in the fields, the woman in the house, the man produces and the woman takes on the non-productive domestic tasks" (p.79), but Segalen is able to illustrate that great regional variations in the sexual division of labor exist which are partly dependent on the type of farm. Women are present in the field, especially during planting and harvesting, and men partake in household tasks such as bread-making and caring for livestock. As a result, the author stipulates that regional and techno-economic factors might form a better basis of comparison than role and cultural factors.

Segalen, interestingly enough, devotes an entire chapter (entitled Male Authority - a Folklorists' Tale?) to the ideological prejudices of early ethnographers. Already her first chapter exemplifies how writers like Abel Hugo misinterpreted the symbolic language of rural manifestations of love as "brutal embraces" and "courtship by blows." Folklorists are shown to have recorded their observations using the biases of their bourgeois upbringing: In peasant society they looked for the same hierarchies that they themselves were familiar with. As a result, "these texts tell us more about the folklorist's own ideology than they do about peasant behavior" (p.165).

Segalen hopes that by looking at the past she will be able to shed light on the problems of the present. Much of her book argues against the stereotype of the patriarchal rural family. The separate eating arrangements of male and female household members, for example, are seen as a functional necessity - women are cooking and they want to serve the food hot (in other instances, however, Segalen engages in symbolic interpretations that she here rejects).
Yet technology has done away with the productive female household tasks, placing farmers' wives in an awkward position and contributing greatly to the current crisis in French rural family life. The early complementarity of tasks no longer exists and ways should be found to reinstate it. Segalen seems to be arguing for an enlightened feminism: stereotypes need to be countered by better data, not accusations.

Segalen is most convincing when she uses her previous works on proverbs and charivari to substantiate her perceptions. Although her introduction outlines a strong and coherent argument, the succeeding chapters fail at times to fulfill what was promised at the outset. This weakness may arise, because the book grew out of an exhibit: the author occasionally assumes that the reader is as familiar with the data and the country as she is. This is particularly evident in the illustrations—the several Millet paintings discussed in the text were not reproduced, and the four dwelling-plans included are poorly integrated in the text. A map showing the different regions would have further enhanced this translation for American readers.

Despite such minor quibbles, Love and Power in the Peasant Family offers valuable insights to such fields as social history or women's studies. Folklorists could profit from Segalen's example. She offers both a critique of the perceived wisdom about 19th century peasant families, and demonstrates how one can use the old existing materials to offer a plausible reinterpretation. As with many reinterpretations, Segalen provides only a beginning, and one wishes at times that she had fleshed out her arguments further.


Reviewed by Dillon Bustin

Recently, while standing in a bookshop skimming through The Woman's Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets (1), I was startled to read the following passage under the