of the southern common soldiers is a tragic tale. They were led to that end by their leaders' pathology. It has seldom been acknowledged that six thousand Confederates were killed or wounded in the flight to Appomattox, in addition to the hundreds of prisoners and deserters lost—senselessly prolonging the agony to serve Lee's personal sense of honor. (See Thomas L. Livermore, *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America, 1861–1865* [1986], p. 137.)

As the casualty data suggest, Lee's final retreat was marked by skirmishes along the way, through Amelia Court House, at Farmville (where 8,000 rebels were captured), and at Appomattox in the early hours of April 9 before the truce. Throughout "the last mile," Lee persisted in driving his soldiers, thus causing the additional loss of life and limb. He finally desisted only when the pursuing Federals literally forced him to do so. General Porter Alexander, Longstreet's artillery commander, described Lee's state of mind as of April 5:

> We took the road to Jetersville where it was reported that Sheridan with his cavalry crossed our path & Gen. Lee intended to attack him. I rode with him and his staff & Gen. Longstreet . . . I never saw Gen. Lee so anxious to bring on a battle in my life as he seemed that afternoon, but a conference with Gen. [W.H.F.] Lee in command of the Confederate cavalry in our front seemed to upset him greatly. [W.H.F.] Lee reported that Sheridan had been reinforced by two infantry corps who were entrenching & that force was more than we could venture to attack. (From Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *Fighting for the Confederacy: The Personal Recollections of General Edward Porter Alexander* [1989] p. 521.)

William Marvel has done it again. While he says a nice thing about this reviewer along the way, I believe that any conscientious evaluation of this fine history would yield a similarly favorable view of its accomplishments.

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Performing the American Frontier, 1870–1906

By Roger A. Hall

(Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Pp. xii, 281. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $55.00.)

Performing the American Frontier, 1870–1906, Roger A. Hall's chronicle of American plays and theatrical productions that treated the subject of the

westward movement, is a theatrical survey in the tradition of Garff B. Wilson, the author of *A History of American Acting* (1966) and *Three Hundred Years of American Drama and Theatre* (1973, 1982).

In a chronologically organized narration, Hall discusses or describes more than fifty plays, devoting special attention to fifteen, among them: *Across the Continent* (1870); *Kit, the Arkansas Traveller* (1871); *Davy Crockett* (1872); *M'liss* (1878); *My Partner* (1879); *Jesse James, The Bandit King* (1883); *In Mizzoura* (1893); *The Virginian* (1904); *The Squaw Man* (1905); and *The Girl of the Golden West* (1905). Typical of the author's treatment of these works is his section on *My Partner*. Here, Hall offers brief biographies of producers Louis Aldrich and Charles T. Parsloe, describes the circumstances that led to the production, provides a synopsis of the play and a summary of the reviews, lists the cast members, engages in a brief analysis of the play's treatment of moral standards and use of a courtroom scene, and traces the effects of the play's success on Aldrich, Parsloe, and playwright Bartley Campbell.

Hall's study does extend this basic formula in places. He treats two aspects of the public's fascination with Buffalo Bill: the plays that formed a "craze" beginning in 1872, and William F. Cody's own Wild West show and its imitators. Elsewhere, Hall moves somewhat outside the boundaries indicated in the title, including, for example, a description of several "Indian" plays that appeared before 1870, starting with the unproduced *Ponteach* (written in 1766).

Performing the American Frontier offers a wealth of information, sometimes for its own sake, as when Hall includes details regarding Arthur McKee Rankin's philandering (p. 102) or relates that Oliver Doud Byron served as a pallbearer for fellow actor Francis S. Chanfrau (p. 47). Hall lists or mentions many more plays than he discusses, and he covers not only the playwrights but also the relevant actors, managers, directors and producers, providing commentary on such figures as Ned Buntline, Martha Jane Canary, John Wallace "Captain Jack" Crawford, Charles E. "Dashing Charlie" Emmett, Kate Mayhew, John B. "Texas Jack" Omohundro, and Anne Pixley. In brief asides to the reader, he suggests connections with recent popular culture, as when he presents *My Partner* as analogous to "a western movie where Ernest Borgnine marries the heroine" (p. 121) or refutes a negative review of *M'liss* by suggesting that the feature film *Dances With Wolves* (1990) had extended, and therefore validated, the potential of the material developed in the 1878 melodrama (p. 113).

The book is comprehensive, accurate, well-researched, and thoroughly documented from reliable, frequently primary, resources. What some readers will miss is a central argument that Hall's facts might serve. The introduction is by far the most thoughtful portion of the study: Hall argues that the theatre, art, and literature of the

latter nineteenth century developed the frontier images, especially the cowboy heroes, that later became so well known through film and television. He suggests that the frontier experience had, as early as the 1870s, become a form of entertainment for those who could afford to hire someone like Cody to serve as their guide. He explores the notion of heroism, the development of stagecraft in service of scenes involving gunfire and the burning of the prairie, the impact of the frontier landscape, the promise of the West, the link between masculinity and violence, the challenges to traditional femininity, the economic forces behind the westward expansion of the United States, and the market for entertainment based on a subject of widespread fascination. In this introduction lies the potential for an insightful study that would engage the work of scholars like Rosemarie K. Bank and Richard Slotkin, delving into the intricacies of cultural production in relation to the social and perceptual changes that accompanied the concept of frontier. Instead, Hall has chosen a different course, one that provides a different service to the field.

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Making Men, Making Class
The YMCA and Workingmen, 1877–1920
By Thomas Winter

(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002. Pp. xi, 208. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Clothbound, $40.00; paperbound, $17.00.)

The cover of *Making Men, Making Class* features a picture of a shop meeting of rugged male factory workers, three women (clerks?), and a child, all of them listening to the message of two well-dressed evangelists. Interestingly, for a YMCA publicity photo, the image is ambiguous. Its focus is on the female evangelist who seems to be speaking at that moment. Some, including the women, sit attentively. Yet several of the male workers have already shifted their gaze from the speakers; above them, a stern-looking man in a suit appears to be watching the crowd more than the speakers. What is the message being presented by the evangelists? Toward whom is it aimed? For whom was the gathering called?

For a half century, beginning with the railroad strikes of 1877, YMCAs held thousands of factory gatherings for industrial workers, suggesting an agenda much more central to the emergence of corporate capitalism