NOTES TO PAGES 195-207

Deliverance!; Cornel West, The American Evasion of Philosophy: A Genealogy of Pragmatism (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989); Edward Said, The World, the Text, and the Critic (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

- 39. Said, The World, the Text, and the Critic, 29.
- 40. Ibid., 174.
- 41. Marvin Harris, Cultural Materialism: The Struggle for a Science of Culture (New York: Random House, 1979). Harris's "cultural materialism" ought not be confused with Raymond Williams's use of that phrase. For a Marxist critique of demographic determinism, see Wally Seccombe, "Marxism and Demography," New Left Review, no. 137 (January–February 1983), 22–47.
- 42. For Marxist discussions of the original metaphor, see Raymond Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory," in his *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London: NLB, 1980), and Stuart Hall, "Rethinking the Base/Superstructure Metaphor," in Jon Bloomfield, ed., *Class, Hegemony, and Party* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1976).
- 43. Louis Althusser, Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971); Jameson, The Political Unconscious; Fredric Jameson, "Ideology, Narrative Analysis, and Popular Culture," Theory and Society, no. 4 (1977), 543-59; Terry Eagleton, Criticism and Ideology (London: NLB, 1976); Terry Eagleton, "Ideology, Fiction, Narrative," Social Text, no. 2 (Summer 1979), 62-81. Perhaps the best review and synthesis is Göran Therborn, The Power of Ideology and the Ideology of Power (London: NLB, 1980).
- 44. Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony," discusses the relation between "consensus" and "hegemony," without, to my mind, escaping the consensus model.
- 45. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 5. See also his *The Sociology of Culture* (New York: Schocken, 1982).
 - 46. Said, The World, the Text, and the Critic, 166.

10 The Peculiarities of the Americans: Reconsidering Democracy in America

- 1. Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Radical Persuasion 1890–1917* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 39; Lentricchia, *Criticism and Social Change*, 6.
- 2. John Diggins, "Comrades and Citizens: New Mythologies in American Historiography," *American Historical Review*, vol. 90 (June 1985), 615.
- 3. Rossiter quoted in Lynn L. Marshall and Seymour Drescher, "American

Historians and Tocqueville's Democracy," Journal of American History, vol. 55 (December 1968), 515-6; Robert Nisbet, "Many Tocquevilles," American Scholar, vol. 46 (Winter 1976-77), 60: Marshall and Drescher, "American Historians and Tocqueville's Democracy," 514; George Wilson Pierson, Tocqueville and Beaumont in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938); Susman, Culture as History, 59.

- 4. Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1955), 11, 135, 277, 236–7.
- 5. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, translated by George Lawrence (Garden City: Anchor, 1969), 18; Lewis Feuer, "The Alienated Americans and Their Influence on Marx and Engels," in his *Marx and the Intellectuals* (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1969).
- 6. Tocqueville quoted in Pierson, Tocqueville and Beaumont in America, 102.
- 7. Tocqueville, Democracy in America, 267, 266, 269, 270.
- 8. Ibid., 454; Tocqueville quoted in Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America*, 32; Tocqueville quoted in Marshall and Drescher, "American Historians and Tocqueville's *Democracy*," 523-4.
- 9. Tocqueville, Democracy in America, 9, 417.
- 10. Ibid., 50, 543.
- 11. Edward Pessen, "The Egalitarian Myth and the American Social Reality: Wealth, Mobility, and Equality in the 'Era of the Common Man'," *American Historical Review*, vol. 76 (October 1971), 989–1034.
- 12. Tocqueville, Democracy in America, 504.
- 13. Ibid., 518, 520, 513.
- 14. Ibid., 522, 517, 63, 278n
- 15. Ibid., 517, 521, 558.
- 16. Matthiessen, American Renaissance, 533.
- 17. Tocqueville, Democracy in America, 478, 204.
- 18. Ibid., 468.
- 19. Ibid., 403.
- 20. Ibid., 176.
- 21. Feuer, "The Alienated Americans," 200.
- 22. Tocqueville, Democracy in America, 316.
- 23. Ibid., 324, 318.
- 24. Ibid., 409, 635, 638-9, 639.
- 25. Hartz, The Founding of New Societies, 95; Rogin, Fathers and Children.
- 26. Donald Denoon, Settler Capitalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 2, 209, 225.