

BOOK REVIEWS

Martin K. Sorge. *The Other Price of Hitler's War: German Military and Civilian Losses Resulting from World War II*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986. Pp. xx, 175. Cloth, \$32.95.

M. K. Dziewanowski. *War At Any Price: World War II in Europe, 1939-1945*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1987. Pp. xiv, 386. Paper, \$25.67.

Over the more than four decades that have elapsed since the end of World War II, some seventy thousand studies have been written analyzing the war from a variety of perspectives in attempting to reveal the warp and woof of this catastrophic conflict. Over the years few of these studies have achieved, in my estimation, the stature of that of Sir Basil H. Liddell Hart, but once in a while some new scholarship appears that draws the attention of World War II buffs like myself and scholars in this very fertile area of study. Martin K. Sorge's *The Other Price of Hitler's War* and M.K. Dziewanowski's *War At Any Price* are two such studies, for they appear to plow some new ground.

Sorge's study is part of an ongoing distinguished series by Greenwood Press entitled *Contributions in Military Studies*, which is concerned with a wide range of military subjects. Sorge came to the United States from the Federal Republic of Germany in 1955 and with twenty years service in the Air Force is well qualified to write on military matters. He contends that relations between the United States and West Germany since 1949 have been anything but bilateral and this has caused strained relations between the two countries, which over the years has tested the political mettle of leaders on both sides of the Atlantic. This straining of relations, Sorge contends, has resulted because of an obfuscated perception of Germany's role in World War II on the part of American leaders. Our post-war leaders have indulged in the dangerous practice, Sorge intimates, of assigning German war guilt. All are aware of where this kind of indulgence has led in the past.

Sorge's study is unique among the mass of World War II scholarship because it deals statistically with German losses and, therefore, gives the reader an indication as to what it cost the German people in their twelve year flirtation with Nazism. Soviet losses of some 20 millions, American losses of 1,218,828, British losses of 757,000, and the losses of ancillary allies including the French Resistance have been documented and are well known. In particular, the Soviets have not let the West forget their losses in the Great Patriotic War, as they like to call it, searing the loss of some 20 millions into the public memory and using these losses as a convenient

way to justify and to guise aggressive Soviet expansion during the Cold War era. What is not as well known, still less understood, are the German losses of some 9 million, 8,156,000 of which were military and 600,000 civilians, most of whom were killed in Allied air raids and serial fire-bombing. By the most accurate estimates, the toll in World War II was 55 million. German losses were seventeen percent of the total. From a demographic perspective, Germany lost in the war about twelve percent of its pre-war population. If the American Civil War wiped out the flower of American youth on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line, then it is safe to say that World War II wiped out the flower of German youth. Few studies so far, at least to my knowledge, have attempted to deal with how the post-war leaders of West Germany dealt with this problem in the German Bundeswehr, no less in other important sectors of the post-war German economy and society. Beyond the manpower losses, the material losses were equally staggering. Over 100 major German cities were reduced to rubble, and a significant part of the German culture that had evolved over the centuries as an integral part of the European cultural crucible vanished.

I found after reading the compilation of death statistics in each of the German military services and among the German civilian population that the exercise became mind-boggling, something like trying to comprehend the human toll in the "Black Death" or the combined losses in the Thirty Years' War. I affirmed that all of this is meaningless unless humankind learns something from this, that humankind cannot afford to indulge in a war on the scale of World War II again!

M. K. Dziewanowski's, *War At Any Price* is a welcome addition to the mountain of World War II scholarship to date. Written from the perspective of a Polish national whose country was traumatized by the Nazi invasion and occupation, this study attempts to throw some new light on the role that the development of war technologies had on the course of the war and its final outcome, such as Radar (Radio Detection Finding system) and the captured German cipher machine known as "Enigma," among others. Dziewanowski is well qualified to write about these war technologies, for he was an eye-witness (diplomatic correspondent in Berlin) and participant (platoon commander) in the events that he writes about. Few historians of World War II can make this claim. Later on in the war he taught the principles of clandestine warfare to parachutists and saboteurs in London, and towards the end of the war he served as a military attaché at the Polish Embassy in Washington, so he had access to "sensitive" information. After the war, while doing doctoral studies at the Russian Research Center at Harvard University and at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he was able to gain access to the German and Polish archives which confirmed his long-held assumption that the development of war

technologies is what largely determined the final outcome of World War II. It took a half century for this thesis to jell and come to fruition. Chapter 16, "The Resistance," is the most pertinent chapter in the study, for Dziewanowski shows that the capture of the German cipher machine known as "Enigma" is what enabled three Polish mathematicians to decipher "Enigma," making possible its utilization by the British S.O.E. and the American O.S.S. for Allied war purposes. The British, as it turned out, created "Ultra" to utilize the cipher to achieve the war objectives of the Hitler resistance. Without this development, D-Day of June 6, 1944, and the subsequent reconquest of Europe would not have been possible, Dziewanowski contends.

These two studies would be most useful as research and teaching tools because of their unique perspective on World War II and the new light they shed on that conflict. I would think that these studies could be used in upper-level college history courses, such as the history of World War II, or Europe in the Twentieth Century, among others. They probably would have limited value in survey level courses except to broaden the perspective of students and to build an appreciation of other points of view.

Quincy Community College

Lawrence S. Rines

David Goldfield. *Promised Land: The South Since 1945*. Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1987. Pp. xiii, 262. Cloth, \$19.95, Paper, \$9.95.

Alexander P. Lamis. *The Two Party South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984. Pp. x, 317. Cloth, \$25.00; Paper, \$8.95

Goldfield and Lamis have both written valuable, but quite different, works on the post-World War II South. Goldfield's work is a part of Harlan Davidson's American History Series, whose editors are John Hope Franklin and Abraham Eisenstadt. According to Franklin's Foreword to the volume, the aim of the series is "to offer the reader a survey of what scholars are saying about the central themes and issues of American history." While Goldfield's study is not footnoted, it contains a thirty-page bibliographical essay that critically evaluates the major sources in southern history after 1945. The bibliography is arranged topically, with sections on general works, culture, race, politics, and economic development. The book itself is arranged chronologically, beginning with a chapter on the effects of World War II on the South.

Lamis's work, on the other hand, is a copiously documented (about sixty pages of notes) scholarly examination of a specific topic: the development of a southern two-party system in the years after 1964. Lamis provides two background chapters describing in general terms the background and development of two-party politics in the South. He follows with chapters explaining the political situation in each state of the old Confederacy, beginning with Mississippi and other deep South states where the preoccupation with race was most pronounced, and concluding with Texas, the "least southern" of the group.

The Democratic party's support for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, along with Barry Goldwater's courting of southern votes in the 1964 election, led to substantial growth in the southern Republican party. By the mid-1970s, most areas of the South had experienced the integration of schools and other public facilities, leading to what Lamis calls an "abatement" of race as an overriding political issue. This development made possible the beginning of new black-white coalitions within the Democratic party, which strengthened it at the expense of the Republicans. But these coalitions, Lamis argues, "rested on a fragile, ideologically diverse foundation that offered future promise to the challenging Republicans." Race, however, was not the only crucial factor affecting southern politics; economic developments and the heritage of New Deal liberalism played a role in party divisions as well.

After 1962, southern politics was complicated by the merger of the race issue with the "emerging potentially class-based two-party structure." The Republican party gained members from those attracted by its conservative stance on economic issues as well as from those angered by the Democrats' "betrayal" on civil rights. The 1968 presidential election was atypical because of George Wallace's candidacy, but Goldwater in '64 and Nixon in '72 decisively benefited from these trends. Jimmy Carter's campaign in 1976 amply demonstrated the division of white voters along class lines, with the race issue of less importance than in the past. Carter's victory, moreover, was based upon a black-white coalition; he did not win a majority of the South's white votes. But Carter was unable to hold this coalition in 1980, as he lost all of the southern states except his home state of Georgia to Ronald Reagan.

Presidential contests are, of course, only one part of the picture. Lamis stresses that the growth of a two-party system was a complex process, varying from state to state. As has been true historically in the South, votes for state candidates often show considerable variation from votes for national candidates. On the state and local level, Republicans often fared less well than did their party's presidential contenders. "Rim" (border) states and deep South states showed particular differences, with Florida and Texas often not fitting either pattern. For each southern state, Lamis includes a "Democratic party-strength index" based on

combining the total votes for the party's candidates for governor, U.S. senator, and U.S. representative into a biennial percentage figure. These tables help to chart the demise of the solid South.

A concluding chapter summarizes these state developments up to 1982 and forecasts developments in the remainder of the decade. Lamis believes that economic class divisions, especially in the border states, will continue to play a role in party voting, with higher income groups voting Republican. For the Democrats' continued health, the most important factor will be the persistence of the coalition between blacks and blue-collar whites.

Goldfield's *Promised Land* begins with a description of the South in 1940, a "region caught by time." Although the South appeared mired in the past in 1940, migration to the cities during World War II, as well as the increased aspirations of southern blacks, forecast changes within the region. In the post-war years a "startling metamorphosis" transformed the South, as it shed "the double yoke of racial separation and economic weakness."

In the 1945-54 period, many southerners, white and black, foresaw a lessening of racial tension as President Harry Truman and even the Southern Baptist Convention appeared supportive of some change in the system of segregation. But with the *Brown* decision of 1954 and its aftermath, the "steel cage . . . snapped shut on the white Southern mind." The region's redemption came through the activities of Martin Luther King, Jr., and other civil rights leaders who preached a conservative message that appealed to whites' Christian principles. The South scarcely achieved perfection in race relations, however, although the movement of blacks into politics meant that in many cities and counties they would have greater ability to influence public affairs.

As racial tensions began to abate, the South's economy was transformed. Unfortunately there was both "sunlight and shadow" in the Sunbelt; as the service economy developed, farms and traditional industries often did not share in the prosperity. The growth of southern cities often masked ecological problems generated by the region's historical courting of industry at any price. Goldfield concludes that, though the South is now a cosmopolitan region in many ways, distinctiveness persists.

Promised Land and *Two-Party South* are works that will have different uses in the classroom. *Promised Land* is a textbook, intended to provide students a summary of current research in the field and bringing up to date such works as Charles P. Roland's *The Improbable Era: The South Since World War II*. The book would be more useful if it provided sources for each chapter along with the general bibliography. Goldfield could also have strengthened the work by more frequently

indicating differing interpretations concerning the post-war South. More attention is given to the race question and to economics and urbanization than to other topics. The work is especially strong in its discussion of southern cities, as might be expected from the author of *Cotton Fields and Skyscrapers: Southern City and Region, 1607-1980* (1982).

Although there is some consideration of religion, music, and literature, these topics are given relatively little attention, and certain others (southern women, for example) are not mentioned at all. *Promised Land* will be most useful in courses on southern history or those on recent or twentieth-century America. Although it is a bit specific for use as a reader in a survey class, its lively style would be enjoyable to freshman or sophomore students and it might be used as an optional assignment.

Lamis's work is scholarly in nature and would be most useful in upper-level or graduate classes covering southern or U.S. politics. The chapters describing politics in each southern state would certainly make appropriate reserve readings for courses in state history or politics. It is an excellent study, although its 1984 publication date makes its concluding chapter already somewhat out of date.

Kennesaw College

Ann W. Ellis

Walter J. Fraser, Jr., R. Frank Saunders, Jr., and Jon L. Wakelyn, eds. *The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family, and Education*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985. Pp. XVII, 257. Paper, \$12.95.

For those who teach southern history or perhaps American history in a southern locale, there has long been a shortage of good supplementary texts that help relate the larger patterns of social history to those of the South. This volume will serve as a most useful corrective and will free instructors from what has often been a heavy reliance on New England case studies. Fraser, Saunders, and Wakelyn are to be congratulated for editing this collection of essays and the University of Georgia Press congratulated for making them available in an affordable paperback edition. Course adoptions would certainly be possible.

The Web of Southern Social Relations grew from a conference sponsored by Georgia Southern College and funded by the Georgia Endowment for the Humanities in 1984. The organizers of the conference rightfully wanted to present to their audience, a mixture of academicians and laymen from the area, a sense of how social history could be used to understand better a wide range of southern

topics. They succeeded admirably and the essays that resulted include pieces that help integrate southern history into the larger context of American historiography. For example, there are essays on the status of women, the relationship of Indian women to the much discussed "cult of true womanhood," and women and slavery. There are essays discussing parent-child relationships that build on the strong literature now appearing in book form. Finally, there are a number of essays on the role of education in the South. Black as well as white southerners are represented in the collection.

The essays, predictably, vary in quality. What gives this strength for teachers is that the entire collection has merit. Lorena Walsh continues the work she began with the St. Mary's Historical Commission and generalizes about women in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake. Similarly, Theda Perdue's essay on southern Indians is a companion piece to her fine work on the Cherokee. Wayne Flynt adds balance to the collection with a thoughtful and useful piece on southern poor whites in the twentieth century. Bertram Wyatt-Brown is not his usual self in his essay on black schooling but he still makes important contributions to our understanding of the importance of that schooling. Kathleen Berkeley contributed a "we were there, too" piece on southern black women. She argues that black women, too, played a role in the institutional development of southern black communities.

One of the more suggestive essays is by Thomas Dyer, who gives the reader a survey of the historiography of education in the South. The essay is important not only because it brings us up to date as to just where the writing or educational history stands, but it also gives clear emphasis as to what educational history should be. Bewailing the celebrative institutional history, Dyer applauds the attempts to write the histories of colleges along the lines called for and promised by Bernard Bailyn and Lawrence Cremin. Dyer has largely succeeded in his own history of the University of Georgia, and his suggestive advice would be good for others to follow. southern educational development offers opportunity for inquiry both into history and the educational process and would be a key area for teachers seeking master's level research projects.

Collections of social history always raise the issue of just where the methodology of social history stands. A lingering debate between "new" and "old" social history remains. To the credit of the authors and editors, the methodology does not intrude. Although varying from the number crunching evident in some essays, notably those of Walsh on Chesapeake women and Burton on late-nineteenth century Edgefield County, South Carolina, males, to traditional narrative, the prevailing norm is the narrative, in which numbers are hidden in the notes. Evident, too, are the suggestive borrowings from anthropology. This is exciting because it

suggests that southern social history is not only being written but that it is being written with a diversity of methods and a variety of approaches that is in keeping with the larger national historiography.

For readers of this journal, the collection must be seen as a supplement to courses in southern or American history. The chronology does not easily break at the Civil War and so will not lend itself to the traditional periodization of most history courses. Still, the essays offer useful and easily read insight into the South and the state of southern social history. The collection could be usefully added to library collections and adopted for classroom use by instructors wishing to show examples of the range of southern social history, while giving students provocative and illustrative short pieces to think through, discuss, and possibly emulate.

Georgia College

Thomas F. Armstrong

William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease. *The Web of Progress: Private Values and Public Styles in Boston and Charleston, 1828-1842*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985. Pp. xiv, 334. Paper, \$12.95.

Honored by outstanding book awards from the New England Historical Association and the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic, *The Web of Progress* is a model for a certain type of urban history. William Pease and Jane Pease trace the fortunes (and misfortunes) of Boston and Charleston, the northernmost and southernmost major American coastal cities of the ante-bellum period during the boom-and-bust cycles of the Jacksonian era. Although there are few surprises in their account of how Charleston failed to realize its promise while Boston, it outpaced by New York, did make major advances, the comparative method and the exquisite detail make the book of great value.

Drawing on a decade of meticulous research, the Peases dissect and analyze the various institutions that held the two cities together and made them function: government, business, transportation, education, and so on. The sections on social and cultural history are the weaker parts of their book, sometimes consisting of little more than the cataloguing of data in a manner reminiscent of Carl Bridenbaugh's pioneering urban histories of two generations ago. The book is at its best in the coverage of economic history where the subject matter is approached in a deeper and more sophisticated manner, bringing out the complex interplay of institutions, individuals, and beliefs in both the daily economic life of each city and its attempts at development. Account is also taken of the economic impact of national events

like the Nullification Crisis and the Jackson - Biddle Bank War. The Peases are especially good at tracing the money flow in each city, offering specific evidence for investments, profits, and losses in particular areas. Additional quantitative data are provided in a 23-page appendix.

Of the various factors that allowed the Northern city to realize most of its plans while causing the southern city to fall far short--differences in the natural harbors, climates, the proximity of waterpower, the population densities and economic activities of the hinterlands, etc.--the overriding one was the presence of slavery in one town and its absence in the other. In Charleston, the bottom line was not economic profit, but the need to maintain an unbroken front of white support for the "peculiar institution." The presence of slavery also served to foster a "gentleman's ethic" instead of a "work ethic" and to make the planter, not the man of commerce, the beau ideal. In contrast, Boston was free to make business enterprise king, without encumbering it with extraneous considerations. The continuing influence of the "Protestant ethic" of the Puritan legacy helped to exalt Boston's businessmen.

For all its virtues, *The Web of Progress* is a professor's book, a specialist's book, rather than a student's book. Graduate students could take to it, and perhaps history majors in a seminar on American economic or urban history, but the work would be very hard going for the general run of undergraduates. Its prose, while admirably clear and jargon free, is more spare than sparkling. Nor is the text enlivened by either running debates with other historians or by reference to larger theoretical constructs (Marx and Freud are both conspicuously absent). In most cases the Peases' information and ideas can be best conveyed to students through selective distillation into an instructor's lectures in the American history survey, as well as in more specialized courses on ante-bellum America, urban history, economic history, and regional history.

Mercy College

Peter Gregg Slater

Stephen J. Lee. *The European Dictatorships, 1918-1945*. London and New York: Methuen, 1987. Pp. xv, 343. Cloth, \$47.50; Paper, \$15.95.

For the college undergraduate instructor of modern European history this straightforward political history can be a help. It is the most recent and, perhaps, only work that deals with the rise of the sixteen European dictatorships in their variant forms during the interwar years. Here in detail are three solid chapters on

the rise and fall of the Evil Three from left to right: Stalin, Mussolini, and Hitler. A fourth long chapter sketches the other thirteen dictators from Franco and Salazar to Tito and King Zog. For the convenience of the instructor who has neither the time, opportunity, nor inclination, Lee has synthesized the broad range of secondary works (listed in a good bibliography) to put together clear and concise accounts of the dictators and the Second World War. His work can be a shortcut for the new instructor to help prepare class lessons because his accounts are clearly organized. For the same reason students should have no difficulty using this book. The experienced teacher may wish to read this book for new ideas or information, especially concerning the less well-known dictators.

There are some additional features. For those who like inquiry or debate in class, Lee points out some areas of differing interpretations. Was Franco a bad dictator for Spain? Was Hitler a true totalitarian or great military leader? Was Stalin necessary for the development of the U.S.S.R.? These are among the questions raised in the text. Certainly a whole semester's class could be arranged around these kinds of debatable questions and the controversial persons who lived in those years. To compare the dictators, Lee provides a helpful list of four general characteristics of such regimes. With these he then evaluates the effectiveness of each totalitarian state. Needless to say, Stalin ranks as the most effective. An instructor can build from this to develop further comparisons of those dictatorships or to evaluate the many authoritarian states of today. The American demagogues, Huey Long and Father Charles Coughlin, the fascist Oswald Mosley of England, and Chiang Kai-shek are other examples of worldwide tendency toward authoritarianism, an area that falls outside the scope of this book, but it could be considered in class discussions.

Despite what is generally a useful book, there are two minor concerns. One is the price of the book. The hardcover price is too expensive, and the paperback cost also seems high, especially to those teachers who hate to burden students with expensive books. Would another do as well? Perhaps. If you are looking for a book on the same era, a more complete work that includes socio-cultural history, you might consider Raymond Sontag's *A Broken World* or the more subtle *Europe of the Dictators* by Elizabeth Wiskemann. Because their scope is wider, they are more stimulating works. Lee is weakest in detailing the effects of the Great Depression on the thoughts and actions of the citizens of Europe. He does not ignore the economic breakdown, which he recognizes as the catalyst that helped to create the dictators, but he does not develop the economic aspect of the story. What becomes apparent is the need to know more about the Europeans whose fears of economic disaster led many to embrace the dictators. For an upper-level class,

Lee's book could be an introduction to further study of the political economies of the European states of the 1920s and 1930s.

In his conclusion Lee does not ignore the present. He mentions the connection between past dictators and present ones of the Third World. Although he does not develop this theme, he does point in a rewarding direction. Lee ends his book by telling us that these dictators "speak from the grave." It is our job to compare the old dictators to Pol Pot, Khadafi, Somoza, Pinochet, and the many other modern thugs. Also, what detrimental impact did Hitler and Stalin have on the democracies? Hiroshima, Northern Ireland, the West Bank, and U.S. support for "good" dictatorships have lessened the splendor of those democracies that brought down Hitler and Mussolini and contained Stalin. They also suggest that the gap between the dictatorships and the democracies is not so wide, a lesson Thucydides knew long ago.

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Brian Boland

Todd Gitlin. *The Sixties: Days of Hope, Days of Rage*. New York: Bantam, 1987. Pp. 483. Cloth, \$19.95.

Maurice Isserman. *IF I HAD A HAMMER . . . : The Death of the Old Left and the Birth of the New Left*. New York: Basic Books, 1987. Pp. xx, 244. Cloth, \$18.95.

A recent national survey of first year college students, Class of 1988, revealed that an overwhelming majority of them were seeking higher education in order to make more money. Social issues, critical thinking, and a search for a meaningful life appear not to be very high priorities for this young generation. The survey comes as no surprise to those of us who have been teaching for the last decade or so. What is interesting (if not alarming) is how one of the most important decades of the twentieth century, the sixties, has been superficially handled, misinterpreted, or heavily criticized. The youth now entering college, born in the seventies, are being exposed to a history they often have no knowledge of save for what the popular media trundles out for certain nostalgic moments. Worse, when students are given serious lectures on that period, they are presented with so many conflicting interpretations that the decade begins to look as bland and boring as other periods

of history. Indeed, some students are beginning to think that the history of the sixties is ancient history.

The two books under review here by Todd Gitlin and Maurice Isserman represent some of the best studies of that period in quite some time. The last general history of the sixties, William L. O'Neill's *Coming Apart* (1971) has seen wide currency in the classroom. Todd Gitlin's masterful study should easily replace that work. Actually it would be scandalous to the profession if it is not considered.

The Sixties: Days of Hope, Days of Rage focuses on the years 1961-69. But like most solid historical narratives it is buttressed by opening and closing chapters that view the precedents and aftermath of the decade. Gitlin writes this history in a manner that is fitting for that period, partly autobiographical and ruminative and, yet, sharply analytical. This work is a tour de force. After reading it one sets it down amazed that not only so much happened in so brief a period of time but that Gitlin has so thoroughly recaptured it all. And in prose that is eminently readable and enjoyable. Students reading this work should easily come away from it understanding clearly and fully how important and lively that time was.

For those of us who came up in that decade, reading Gitlin's chronicle will unleash a floodgate of memories. His keen insights and autobiographical asides force us to journey back to our own youthful experiences during that period. Whether or not we were members of the Civil Rights Movement, the counterculture, SDS (Gitlin was an active member), a supporter of Kennedy, Johnson, McCarthy, or later McGovern, somewhere we will recognize ourselves in this book. It is hard to imagine another volume that will capture this tumultuous and still reverberating period of history for a long time to come.

In a similar but more narrowly focused vein, Maurice Isserman's work *IF I HAD A HAMMER* . . . explores the rise of the New Left from the scattered remains of the Old Left of the thirties and forties. While Isserman does not take his chronicle too far past 1966, his final chapter pretty much reaches the same conclusion as Gitlin's regarding the fall of the New Left. By learning to avoid sectarian factionalism and dogmatism, the early New Left (in particular SDS) was able to be spontaneous, flexible, and open to experiment with participatory democracy. Yet these positive attributes could not enable the New Left to build a long term organization or party that would continue to press for the necessary changes to such deep-rooted societal problems as race, the economy, and militarism.

The vast majority of youth, "the babyboomers," believed in America and the American Dream. They did not experience the crushing scarcities of the Depression and World War II like their parents. Furthermore, they were fairly certain of their futures. Many of these mostly white, middle class young people willingly placed

their hopes and desires on hold in the sixties to fight against the hypocrisies of race relations, intervention into Vietnam, and rigid authority and conformism. The sixties youth created a counterculture, stunned America with sharp critiques of the system, and joined hands with their brothers and sisters of Afro-America to struggle for civil rights. These young people legitimized rock and roll, experimented with drugs, explored the realms of sexuality, and proceeded to open the door to a new vision of what America could be.

When the gentle innocence was met with the harsh realities of the Establishment, disillusion set in, and patience and faith in the system dwindled. What developed was an angry radicalism that scorned the best that America had to offer. That anger, born out of frustration and feelings of betrayal, turned into a self-destructive rage that polarized the nation. But even as the nation trembled at the rage of radicalized youth, the country as a whole did not receive the full impact of its fury. That, unfortunately, was reserved for those within the "Movement." In the end the New Left, as both Gitlin and Isserman superbly portray, fell into the same trap as the Old Left: bitter factional disputes, rigid dogmatism, and isolation. Even more tragic were the unnecessary deaths that accompanied a nihilistic plunge into violence.

These two books (and one might add James Miller's study of SDS, *Democracy in the Streets*) arrive at an important moment. As the eighties come to a close and the Reagan era fades, it is crucial for young people today, indeed for all of us, to know and understand the strengths and deficiencies of the sixties. Todd Gitlin and Maurice Isserman's works go a long way towards achieving this by showing us not only how positive that period was but also how the vision of a new America articulated then remains to be realized.

Students today are certainly different from the students of a generation ago, as is the United States. It is safe to say, however, that given the present generation's priorities the unfulfilled visions of the sixties will not be completed by today's youth. Rather their teachers, now maturing babyboomers, must provide them with a history that demonstrates the values of community, compassion, and social commitment. Todd Gitlin and Maurice Isserman's masterful studies should make that task much easier and hopefully rewarding.

Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for
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Charles T. Banner-Haley

Donald Alexander Downs. *Nazis in Skokie: Freedom, Community, and the First Amendment*. Notre Dame IN: Notre Dame Press, 1985. Pp. 227. Paper, \$9.95.

This thoughtful book is good background reading for teachers of general American history courses and would be good parallel reading for students in American constitutional history or constitutional law classes.

Downs examined the attempt by the American Nazi Party (the NSPA) to have a demonstration in Skokie, Illinois, a Chicago suburb, many of whose residents are Holocaust survivors. After extensive litigation, the demonstration was allowed, but the NSPA chose to demonstrate, not in Skokie, but in Chicago, a choice influenced by a fear of counterdemonstrations and possible violence. The constitutional point here is that despite the vicious nature of the NSPA, they were given judicial permission to have the demonstration in Skokie.

Professor Downs, like other Americans, was bothered by this permission. However, the permission was granted in full conformity to the orthodox view of freedoms of expression in the First Amendment (speech, press, peaceful assembly, etc.), namely that those who wish to exercise these freedoms be normally allowed to do so regardless of the content of their expression. Downs wishes to modify this orthodoxy by placing judicial limits on First Amendment expression when it involves assaultive targeting of either racial or ethnic minorities. He buttresses this view through readings in the literature of prejudice and the Holocaust, interviews with participants in the Skokie controversy, and through a survey of older Supreme Court decisions allowing such abridgment, especially *Chaplinsky versus New Hampshire* (1942).

Downs makes a persuasive case, as do many advocates of abridgment of freedom of expression in this day and age, and he strengthens his case by admitting that many good results came from the Skokie incident, e.g., greater sense of pride and mastery on the part of the Holocaust survivors. I find this abridgment test on its face to be a reasonable one. However, the history of abridgment of the First Amendment often consists of reasonable-seeming tests that can significantly abridge American freedoms of expression. Therefore, I disagree with this test, while finding his argument very worthwhile and worthy of study by the community of historians and political scientists.

Paul Preston, *The Triumph of Democracy in Spain*. London and New York: Methuen, 1986. Pp. 227. Cloth, \$32.00.

How does a dictatorship transform itself into a democracy? Paul Preston describes the process in his narration of the political transition from the dictatorship of Francisco Franco to the constitutional monarchy of Juan Carlos of Spain. Franco's was an authoritarian regime based on a traditional power structure--agrarian elites, the army, and the Church--and the Movimiento, the single party that was a melange of the above elements and Falangist remnants. Preston argues that the economic growth of the 1960s produced fatal internal contradictions in this structure. Tourism and industrialization had increased the number of workers and students, giving them an unprecedented standard of living and high expectations. The economic hardships of the 1970s--and the resulting unrest among these politically unintegrated groups--produced a "political time-bomb . . . which would eventually sweep away the Francoist political edifice."

Preston structures his book along these lines in an interesting chronological schema. The first chapter sets out the development of the internal contradictions under Franco from 1939 to 1969. The Carrero Blanco years, 1969 to 1973, make up the second chapter. They are characterized by the regime's intransigent and anachronistic policy: an attempt to "hold back the tide" of a liberalization made inevitable by economic and social development. During the crucial Arias Navarro years from 1974 to 1976, chronicled in chapter three, the politicians on the left drew increasingly close to those on the more moderate right. Together, they realized that "unity, and the popular militancy behind it, was the key to the democratization process . . ."--and, perforce, to their survival.

The remaining four chapters relate the intricate negotiations carried out after Franco's death among the parties committed to legal democratic reform. This process was threatened by the two extremes. On the right, military elements maintained a "bunker" mentality and a diehard Francoist centralism. On the left, the opposition of Basque terrorists, whose original resistance was provoked by a short-sighted governmental policy and an oppressive police effort, finally became self-sustaining and unresponsive to democratic overtures from the center.

The heroes of this drama are many. Adolfo Suarez, one of a number of moderates emerging from the regime, guided reform through the intricacies of Francoist legalities. King Juan Carlos defended democracy with his prestige and at risk to his life. No less acknowledged by Preston are the Communists and Socialists who postponed their demands for social reform, already thwarted for forty years, to enable the fragile democratic institutions to solidify. Preston's sympathies show

most clearly in his final chapter as he connects the consolidation of democracy with the victory of Felipe Gonzalez and the Socialist party in 1982.

Transition political relations were fluid. Transitory alliances produced the great center coalition, U.C.D., and shifting loyalties eventually dissolved it in the interest of the two great democratic parties of the right and the left. An account of this process is necessarily detailed and complex, and Preston has provided tools to assist the reader unfamiliar with its intricacies. The chief actors in the crucial episodes are identified in an index at the end of the book. A glossary defines frequently used Spanish words without which one would miss the flavor of contemporary Spanish culture: "aceite de colza," "aperturista," and "golpista" are cases in point. The critical role performed by the extremes is underlined in the appendices. Spain's eleven military regions and their commanders at the time of the coup attempt on February 23, 1981, are set out in Appendix 1. In juxtaposition, Appendix 2 outlines the evolution of the Basque opposition organization ETA's principal factions. Extensive notes, both bibliographical and explanatory, further clarify each chapter. A final bibliography incorporates many up-to-date, mostly Spanish, sources. A list of abbreviations, necessary because of the continual splintering and coalescing of the political factions--and an apparent Spanish fondness for them--appears at the beginning of the text, along with a map of the Spanish regions and provinces. These aids are very useful. Their very indispensability, however, indicates the probability that the book would be used most appropriately in an upper-division or graduate history class, or a political science class.

Northern Arizona University

Victoria L. Enders

Robert B. Downs. *Images of America: Travelers from Abroad in the New World*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987. Pp. 232. Cloth, \$24.95.

With the possible exception of a few nineteenth-century intellectuals like Henry Adams and Henry James, Americans have not traditionally been much interested in writing the literature of travel. Perhaps their pragmatism and the energy it took to make a nation discouraged such an enterprise. Until recently, most were too concerned with the challenges and problems attendant to growth and survival to have much more than a curious *National Geographic*-like interest about the life and landscapes of other cultures. Going abroad for a large part of the

nation's history, at least until the advent of jet travel, was reserved largely for the rich and well born. War was the only exception.

Early American disinterest about things foreign was not shared by Europeans. From as early as the seventeenth century, the upper classes of the Continent developed a magnetic fascination about North America, and especially the United States. Hundreds, indeed thousands came to look at America's cities and farms, travel its roads and rivers, talk to its people, and study its institutions--all in an effort to understand what it was that the new breed in the Atlantic community was creating, and to fathom what was making it such a success.

From a carefully selected collection of travel books written by foreigners about America, Robert Downs has collected forty of the most influential and famous across three centuries. He includes short summaries of the works by, among others, Alexis de Tocqueville, Matthew Arnold, Charles Dickens, Anthony Trollope, Rudyard Kipling, and H.G. Wells. Some of the most acute and insightful observations were made by women who seemed willingly to endure the rigors of rustic travel to learn the true quality of America. Observers like Frederika Bremer, Fanny Kemble, Harriet Martineau, and Frances Trollope revealed a society they both admired and loathed, but one that each deemed the noble hope of the future.

The travelers represented virtually every profession from scholars and clergymen to actors and land promoters. Although fascinated by what they saw, many were often critical of American manners and institutions. Some were even contemptuous. References to excessive drinking, poor table manners, boisterous behavior, and the general squalor that attended conditions outside the larger settlements were frequent. Most antebellum observers viewed slavery with either contempt or confusion. Frances Anne Kemble, for example, met and married Pierce Butler, a Georgia slaveholder, while he was residing in Philadelphia. When she realized that plantation slavery was the source of her husband's wealth, she confided that she felt "a sense of horrible personal responsibility and implication . . . the weight of unimagined guilt." Anxious to learn about the slave system, she persuaded Butler to allow her to reside in the 1830s for some time on his Sea Island properties. In that way, she gained insights about slave life that were included in her *Journal of Residence in America*. Kemble's sympathy for the slaves became so divisive to the marriage that it ultimately ended in divorce.

But, in spite of America's shortcomings, there is a common theme that wends through all these narratives. Even the most critical commentators were struck by what one Irish observer called "the great advantages of American life . . . political, religious and economic freedom." Many noted that if the country could continue to be governed wisely and avoid the excesses of flesh and spirit that affluence generally

brings, then there were no limits to its future greatness. That aspiration consistently stated charms the reader and brings reminders of a vision of America easy to overlook in these uncertain times.

This is a book for all seasons. Its crisp style and anecdotal content make it an engaging addition to any school bibliography. It serves to persuade students and their teachers that one learns about the American experience in ways that range well beyond the textbook; that the real America has ever been the one observed by others rather than the one lived only by its occupants.

New Trier Township High School
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James F. Marran

Joel H. Silbey. *The Partisan Imperative: The Dynamics of American Politics Before the Civil War*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985. Pp. viii, 234. Paper, \$8.95.

This short volume is composed of a collection of articles and essays previously published by Joel H. Silbey in various journals and thematic collections. They comprise a twenty-five year effort on the part of Professor Silbey to define the development of American politics in the antebellum era. Silbey's purpose in bringing together these essays is to knit together a particular viewpoint developed over a long span of historical research. As he notes in the introduction, his purpose in *The Partisan Imperative* is not to provide the last word in the development of antebellum political parties, but "to provide an insight into the forces that shaped that particular political world and the reactions of the participants." In this endeavor he has succeeded admirably.

The central theme of the collection is, briefly stated, "the powerful forces of the partisan imperative that ran profoundly and intensely through the minds and hearts of most concerned Americans." To Silbey, the driving forces in American politics before the Civil War were partisanship and political loyalty, with an undercurrent of ethnocultural conflict, not the more traditional perspective of sectional forces and economic differences.

In this argument, he joins forces with the new political historians of the last quarter-century, in particular Lee Benson and Paul Kleppner, in stressing the importance of the use of quantitative methods in historical studies. As Silbey acknowledges, the debate is far from finished. However, he does make a persuasive argument for acceptance of the findings of this school.

The presentation of the articles and essays is well designed, beginning with an historiographical review and concluding with a discussion of the effect of partisanship and ethnocultural tensions on the antebellum political system. However, like all collections of essays written over a long time span, a sense of unevenness, at times, does enter in.

The book is well suited for use in courses on the development of American political parties and American history before the Civil War. Its length and inexpensive cost place the book within the realm of serious consideration as required text, especially if one wishes to use Silbey's themes for class discussions and assignments.

Mount Saint Mary College

John T. Reilly

Barbara J. Howe, Dolores A. Fleming, Emory L. Kemp, and Ruth Ann Overbeck. *Houses and Homes: Exploring Their History*. Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1987. Pp. xii, 168. Paper, \$13.95; \$11.95 to AASLH members.

This book, a very basic introduction to the world of historical preservation and the history of houses, is written not for the professional historian but for the layman or the beginning student. As a complete novice in this field, I must confess that this book, which I looked forward to reading, disappointed me for I found it too elementary. In part I the authors tell us generally how to "search for clues" about the history of a house: to examine the house's setting, to study the house itself, to peruse the oral and written records. The section "the home itself" typifies their approach. In a brief 14 pages they advise the novice to find the exact location of the house, to study the interior and exterior, to examine the floor and wall coverings, to look for alterations. In part II, "Interpreting the Clues," the authors discuss various construction techniques, household technology, and the compilation of a house history. Here again the authors devote a scant 13 pages to the American dream and a mere six pages to household technology. Black and white pictures, sketches, and reading lists are scattered throughout. Clearly written, this work is unfortunately both too general and too brief to interest any but the most uninformed layman or perhaps high school students.

Kansas State University

Marsha L. Frey

Thomas C. Cochran. *Challenges to American Values: Society, Business and Religion*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987. Pp. 147. Paper, \$6.95.

Occasionally historians write thoughtful studies or "think" pieces that cover a broad sweep of American history. *Challenges to American Values* is one such work. Thomas C. Cochran, Professor of History Emeritus at the University of Pennsylvania, examines the development of American beliefs and values from a pre-industrial age to the present one of post-industrialism. Cochran, highly influenced by Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier hypothesis, sees Americans as restless, aggressive, and wasteful. Corporate business executives, for example, commonly have pursued hasty action rather than embraced careful advanced planning; this occurred in the Gilded Age and it continues a century later. Turner and his students described Americans as a "practical lot," and Cochran agrees. He suggests, for instance, that when Americans became involved in serious abstract speculation about the time of World War I, it was only because of "the inadequacy of American theoretical knowledge." Therefore, speculative thought acquired the dimension of the practical! Similarly, Americans have long glorified "common sense." This commitment to the useful and pragmatic remains strong. But, according to Cochran, Americans need to modify their historic ways. "[N]ew values . . . need to be placed on contemplation, abstract knowledge, and the governmental provision of planning and services not profitable or affordable on a market basis."

Challenges to American Values is an important work. Professor Cochran is especially skilled at relating economic change to cultural values. This is understandable since he has always written with an economic slant. This book holds considerable value to the high school student who wishes to prepare for the Advanced Placement Examination in American history; the college student who wants to tie together an American survey course; and the graduate student who seeks to understand the American past revealed in a larger light. Of course, the classroom instructor, largely for the same reasons, will discover this thoughtful and lively study to be of major worth.

M.S. Anderson. *Europe in the Eighteenth Century, 1713-1783*. London and New York: Longman, 1987. Third Edition. Pp. xii, 539. Cloth, \$34.95.

In 1961 as a lecturer at the London School of Economics and author of only one book, Mathew S. Anderson completed the first edition of *Europe in the Eighteenth Century* as part of the Longman's "History of Europe Series." Twenty-six years later, now an emeritus professor, Fellow in the Royal Historical Society, and a writer of six highly praised works on a variety of historical topics, Anderson completed the third, and perhaps, the last edition of his eighteenth-century history. That the publisher has issued it so many times and for so long suggests something about its general acceptance. Although the third edition follows the same high standards as the first, it is a better book. The most substantive revisions occurred in the chapters on "Structure of Society" and "Economic Life," in which the author has drawn on the most recent and significant articles and monographs in these fields. This is as one might expect considering the increasing popularity today of the social/cultural side of history. The format of the earlier editions offered a truncated list of sources at the beginning of each chapter; the third places them in a separate bibliography at the end of the text, a convenient change. A chronological list of the main political events that occurred in the eighteenth century remains useful, as are the maps.

Europe in the Eighteenth Century is an excellent work on all accounts. On the other hand, one must question its appropriateness as a textbook for an American undergraduate audience. The work offers more analysis than narrative. Unless students bring to the work a sound background in European history, they will fail to appreciate or even understand the erudition that radiates from the book. That is a pity. Yet it could be used effectively as a reserve reading source by assigning a few of the more significant chapters, such as "Diplomacy and International Relations" and "The Expansion of Russia: Poland, the Baltic, and the Near East."

University of Montana

Robert Lindsay