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USING PRIMARY SOURCE MATERIALS: A CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

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How do students learn history? How can teachers ensure attention to the details of the past, develop historical investigation skills, and stimulate a creative response to historical materials? It is not an easy task. And complaints of failing to teach a common cultural context to all students are becoming louder and louder. Historians blame teachers for the lack of basic knowledge college students bring to their introductory classes. Educators complain that historians have failed to provide a compelling synthesis and a model for integrating social history scholarship into textbooks and course syllabi. In addition, teachers complain most college instructors have little understanding of the nature of teaching elementary and secondary students.[1]

For several years the Education Department of the Minnesota Historical Society and the Elementary Education Program in the Department of Child and Family Development at the University of Minnesota, Duluth, have collaborated on a class for teachers in which the study and teaching of history are given equal weight. The development of "historical mindedness" for teachers and students has been a primary goal of the collaboration. The characteristics of historical mindedness include: "a sensitivity to how other times and places differ from our own; awareness of basic continuities in human affairs over time; ability to note and explain significant changes; sensitivity to multiple causation; and an awareness that all written history is a reconstruction that inadequately reflects the past as it really happened."[2] Out of this collaboration has evolved a model for teaching history curriculum development. The class uses primary sources as the basic textbook through which teachers both study a topic and write curriculum. The primary goals of the class are to help teachers develop "historical mindedness" and to use this understanding to create materials that help students at particular developmental stages to also become "historical minded." Within the framework of these overarching goals, which may not be realized for many years, there are many historical skills younger people can practice, historical concepts they can begin to understand, and historical topics they can investigate.

Three questions need to be addressed in developing historical understanding with younger people: 1) How do students learn history? 2) How can the use of primary source materials contribute to students' understanding of history? 3) What curriculum development process is helpful in constructing effective history learning experiences for students? This article will discuss the answers to these questions by describing a tested curriculum development process using three case studies.

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[1] Henry F. Bedford, "Letters." *Magazine of History*, 4 (1989): 43.

[2] C. Furay & M.J. Salevouris, *The Methods and Skills of History: A Practical Guide*. Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1988, 11.

The class broke the curriculum development into four stages: the research stage, the sorting stage, the activity development stage, and the lesson writing stage. During the research stage, a general historical theme is developed and various primary and secondary source materials are reviewed. The context (historical time and place) is described for teacher use. Possible questions to be answered or hypotheses to be tested are generated.

The sorting stage involves careful review of primary source materials that could lead to the collecting of relevant information. A particular grade level is chosen, with consideration of the students' stage of development. The facts, inferences, and generalizations that pupils will draw from the materials are listed. Also described during this stage are the historical investigation skills that students will use.

During the activity development stage, consideration is given to the adaptation of primary source materials in order to be meaningful to students at their developmental level. Evidence gathering worksheets are developed to assist students as they gather facts, make inferences, and draw conclusions or arrive at generalizations. These worksheets can also facilitate students' exploration of the struggles faced by people of the past and allow testing of hypotheses using various information sources. Sometimes vocabulary guide sheets are also developed. These sheets can help students with unfamiliar historical terms like "forge."

The final stage is the writing of the lesson plan. Components within the lesson plan include consideration of student motivation, the objective or purpose of the lesson, how the learning experience will be explained, modeled, and practiced. How students learning will be monitored, evaluated, and practiced is also reviewed.

Case Studies Illustrating Curriculum Development Process

Three case studies describe how this curriculum process takes place, using the theme "lives of children and families at the turn of the century." A historical study of the family can be organized in three basic ways. The family can be studied as a unit of society. In this case a researcher might investigate such topics as household size, family roles, rural versus urban patterns at a particular point in time. It is a static or slice-of-time look at the family. Or, the family can be studied as a changing, dynamic unit through a study over time. Some of the topics in such a study might be lifecycle: daily, weekly, or annual timetables, and demographic patterns that compare several decades of time. A third basic way to organize a study of the family would be to look at the family in relationship to other social systems or institutions. In such a study the topics might be kin networks, geography and ethnicity, consumer patterns, socialization, ideology, and religion.[3]

Case Study One: Family life in Cloquet, Minnesota--1900-1910

Research Stage

The research stage involved first reading a general history of Cloquet, Minnesota. Primary source materials that could yield insight into the lives of

[3] Marjorie McLellan, unpublished lecture notes. Minnesota History Workshop, St. Paul, 1986.

children and families were also surveyed. These materials included census records, Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, artifacts, business directories, photographs, newspapers, old textbooks, reminiscences, and oral histories. Questions began to emerge: 1) Was the community prosperous or economically depressed and how would this impact children and families? 2) What was the ethnic diversity or similarity within the community? 3) What were typical household structures? 4) What child rearing expectations were then in effect? 5) What values were inherent in child rearing? 6) What were difficulties faced by children and families? 7) What leisure time and community celebrations were available to children and families?

The Sorting Stage

In the sorting stage, the secondary school level was chosen for a unit of six lessons related to the lives of children and families in Cloquet. Specific materials chosen for use in the unit were: 1) 1900 United States Federal Census for Cloquet (formerly called Knife Falls, Minnesota); 2) 1907 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps for Cloquet; 3) selected articles from the *Ladies Home Journal*, 1900-1910; 4) newspaper articles from Cloquet's *Pine Knot*, 1900-1910; 5) a business directory, *Cloquet Home of the White Pine* (1907); 6) a reminiscence of boyhood in Cloquet in 1906; 7) photographs from the picture file of the Carlton County Historical Society; 8) McGuffey Readers for First, Third, and Fifth Levels.

Facts to be collected from each primary source were identified and related to the following inferences: 1) the community climate was prosperous and optimistic; 2) ethnicity was diverse when considering the community as a whole, but people actually lived in pockets of specific ethnic groups; 3) although household structures differed, mothers were usually at home, enabling children to be cared for by their own mothers; 4) different child rearing expectations existed for boys and girls; 5) festivals and community celebrations were important events for children and their families; and 6) people were expected to work hard, contribute significantly to family life, and do well at school. The particular historical investigation and thinking skills emphasized in the activities included: 1) compiling and organizing information; 2) evaluating the relevance and factuality of the information; 3) comparing similarities and differences; 4) drawing inferences and generalizations; and 5) becoming aware of the complexities of the past.

Activity Development Stage

Evidence gathering worksheets were developed for each of the primary source materials. Questions were written to assist students in the collection of facts. These, in turn, were combined into inferences and generalizations. For example, for the information collection worksheet related to newspaper and journal articles, students were asked to describe the major idea of their articles and the details that supported those key ideas. They were then asked to summarize the values reflected in the articles and how those values might affect parent-child relationships. Finally, they were asked to generalize about different socialization patterns for boys and girls and the effects of such patterns on family life in small town in the United States at the turn of the century. (See Figure 1 for the worksheet developed for this activity.)

Lesson Writing Stage

Six lesson plans were written to include consideration for motivation and goal setting, introducing the lesson and modeling expectations, and monitoring and evaluating the students' learning. For example, students using the newspaper and journal articles first made hypotheses about child rearing techniques and expectations at the turn of the century. They then analyzed one newspaper article as a large group, collecting facts, making inferences, and composing generalizations. Working in small groups with packets of different articles, facts were collected and inferences were drawn. After sharing these with the total group, generalizations about socialization practices for boys and girls in the early 1900s were drawn.

Case Study Two: Urban Fringe Farm Families 1860-1900

Research Stage

This case study was developed to use with teachers in a workshop in which they investigated the experiences of the Heman and Jane Debow Stevens Gibbs family, a Euro-American family who moved to Minnesota during the early statehood period. The research stage of the study included a survey of relevant agricultural and rural studies sources, an unpublished interpretive plan for the Gibbs Farm Museum, research in the Gibbs Family papers, and work with an unpublished computer data base of agricultural production for the township in which the Gibbs farm was located.[4]

The primary sources in this study included: household and agricultural census data for all families in the township from 1860-1880; specific census information for the Gibbs family over 40 years; township plat maps; two account books listing all the purchases and groceries the family bought in one year; letters between family members; and the farm house and property. Preliminary questions emerged from this initial interview: Did the close proximity of the city of St. Paul influence production on the farm? Did family life change as the city's physical boundaries encroached on the farm, and as transportation into the city became easier and faster? In what ways did the nearby city influence this farm family?

The Sorting Stage

The questions defined in the research stage were refined in the sorting stage. Each resource would be asked to answer basically the same question. What changes in social and economic patterns, if any, could be explained by the location of this farm just outside the city limits? The specific primary resources chosen for the investigation included 1) 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1900 household census for the Gibbs family; 2) 1860, 1870, and 1880 agricultural census for the farm; 3) plat maps from 1867 and 1892; 4) an account book listing all purchases for 1881; 5) an account book listing all groceries purchased from one store during 1881; and 6) the physical farmhouse.

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[4] R. Menard, *Urban Fringe Farmers: Agriculture in Ramsey County, Minnesota 1860-1900*. Data analysis in unpublished report submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities, 1982; K. Dillard, "Farming in the Shadow of the Cities: The Not-So-Rural History of Rose Township Farmers, 1850-1900," *Ramsey County History*, vol. 20, no. 3 (1985), 3-19.

Evidence was collected from all these primary sources and led to the following inferences: 1) Agricultural production changed rapidly between 1860 and 1880 from semi-subsistence, to market production, to truck farming. It later shifted once more in the early twentieth century to nursery and greenhouse production; 2) Family composition changed throughout the family's life cycle in predictable ways, but all members stayed in farm-related occupations; 3) Family life remained centered around this farm (except for one daughter who married and moved away); 4) Family buying patterns were influenced by proximity to an urban center; 5) Physical evidence in the house, and some buying patterns, suggested the persistence of more rural patterns to this family's economic and social life.

These inferences, suggested after the evidence was compiled from each source, led to the conclusion that rural families living close to growing urban centers were influenced primarily in their farm production and economic status. Some social and lifestyle patterns showed urban influence, but overall the sources documented a persistence in social patterns already established in the family, and a continuing pattern of rural values related to living and working together on a farm.

Activity Development Stage

When the case study was used with teachers, worksheets were not developed. They used the materials as a "primary source packet" through which they would develop their own activities and corresponding worksheets.[5] When this investigative unit was used with junior high students, specific evidence collecting worksheets were developed. A vocabulary sheet was also developed to use when the students encountered unfamiliar words in the account records. Items such as Arnica (an herb used as a liniment) and Saleratus (Sodium Bicarbonate used as a leavening agent in raising breads) are not on a family's grocery list these days.

Each worksheet asked students to collect specific evidence from a set of sources, to sort or organize that information, and then to draw inferences and conclusions. It is important that worksheets used in a historical investigation model do not stop at evidence collection. The higher level skills involving analysis and generalization must be structured into the students' work. Some teachers prefer to have the worksheet stop at the inference level, and to reach generalizations in a whole group discussion. (See Figure 2 for the worksheet used with the Agricultural Census.)

Lesson Writing Stage

In this stage a lesson plan for the junior high was written. It is important to include an explicit model of the investigative process and an introductory motivation activity when working with students. An introduction to the family members was chosen for the motivating activity. As a large group students were introduced to the 1860 census and to the Gibbs household. They were asked to choose a family member and write a week of diary entries based on the census record. In the discussion of their entries that followed the instructor pointed out the examples of gender roles, family relationships, work on a farm, and economic status to which

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[5] W. Leon, "Preparing a Primary Source Material Package on Your Community's History," *Social Education*, 44 (1980): 612-618.

their diaries alluded. This concept list was compiled on the board and retained for the entire unit. After completing the unit these concepts would be defined by students in more specific terms. Next, the students were asked to predict changes in the family at ten-year intervals for 40 years. The introductory activity then led naturally into an investigation of their "predictions."

Case Study Three: The Messages in Women's Magazine Ads, 1897-1910

Research Stage

Women's magazines, which increased in popularity at the end of the nineteenth century, gave advice to women in several ways and about many topics. There were articles that gave explicit advice about housekeeping, childcare, relationships with men and husbands, and health and nutrition. There were also ads that gave information about new consumer products. This advertising promoted certain cultural roles for women, suggested changes in the nature of housework, and addressed certain concerns women had about caring for their families.

The primary source research for this lesson focused on the advertising found in journals such as *Women's Home Companion*. Secondary sources about housekeeping, women's roles, and family economics and work were also used. Advertising was a new media in the late nineteenth century, and it helped to diffuse the new national consumer culture that had come into existence after the Civil War. When analyzed, the ads suggested that there were now plenty of new prepared foods and new labor-saving products available to women consumers. The ads also suggest that women were assigned to taking care of the home and family, and that housework entailed a certain set of high standards.

Some of the questions that defined the research at this stage were: Into what categories of information do the ads fall? What do they tell us about prescribed roles for women? What do they tell us about new products and new technology developed to sell to the home market? What information do they give about the home environment of the family?

Sorting Stage

At this stage fourteen ads were chosen as representative of the kind of ads used throughout the thirteen years of magazines in the original study. An analysis of these specific ads was completed. The ads were classified by their messages into the following categories: 1) creating an educated home; 2) creating a healthy home; and 3) creating an efficient home. This classification led to three inferences: that women were responsible for providing a stimulating home environment geared to the education of young children; that women should be very concerned about keeping children safe, clean, and healthy; and that women's work in the home would be easier if women used new, more efficient products. The generalization this analysis led to was that the primary prescribed role for women was to raise educated, healthy, well-behaved children, and they do so by participating as major consumers of products manufactured outside the home.

Activity Stage

This lesson was designed with upper elementary students in mind, but was given to teachers as a model of history curriculum development during a teacher workshop. It was also intended to be a part of a larger study unit on the changing roles of American women in the twentieth century. There are three major content objectives for this unit: 1) Students will recognize that women were expected to be major consumers of new technology and food products; 2) Students will recognize that the prescribed or preferred role for women centered around taking care of children and the family home; 3) Students will understand that even magazine advertising can give a historian information about the past. The historical skills students would practice in this unit include compiling and organizing information and drawing conclusions from evidence.

Teachers were given the fourteen ads in small groups and asked to classify them according to these categories: 1) creating an educated home; 2) creating a healthy home; 3) creating an efficient home. Teachers were then asked to describe what the ads told them about women's roles. They were asked to write three specific inteferences, one for each category of ads. Then they were asked to draw generalizations about women's prescribed roles. When using this unit with students this information should be collected on an evidence gathering worksheet. (See Figure 3 for the worksheet developed in this activity.)

This worksheet begins with the sorting or evidence gathering stage in which students sort the ads into the categories. In the next section students draw inferences from the evidence. The third section asks students to reaffirm their inferences and begin to move to the generalization level. In the last section students attempt an expository argument.

Lesson Development

Modeling the use of a primary source before getting down to the actual group work is always helpful when working with students. In this case, the modeling might happen in a large group discussion of contemporary magazines as a source of information about our society. Particularly helpful would be for the class to examine several different kinds of magazines--some geared to special topics such as sports or news, others directed to specific age, ethnic, or gender groups. The class could discuss the different kinds of articles and features found in such a variety of magazines, and how different the ads are in each type of magazine. With contemporary examples the class could also discuss the differences between real and idealized images of women. The instructor would then introduce the class to the older magazines and take the class through the analysis of one ad before beginning the activity.

DISCUSSION

Primary source curriculum materials have been and are currently available from many local and national publishers. And many of these provide excellent models. For example, in one of the units of the Chicago Neighborhood History Project, students use maps to define neighborhood, real estate guides to answer

questions about land use, and a reminiscence to determine the quality of life.[6] In *Northern Lights: Going to the Sources*, Steve Sandell has developed an activity book in which students gather evidence from a variety of primary sources. They use diary entries to gather evidence about how explorers got to Minnesota, photographs to document change in a community, and census records to test hypotheses about a community's residents.[7] Old Sturbridge Village has published social history materials that use oral history, photographs, and maps to compare and contrast towns of the 1820s, 1900s, and the present.[8] They have also published several document packets that allow students to investigate social history topics such as youth, family, and courtship.[9] The National Archives has published several primary source kits to supplement U.S. history coursework.[10]

If the end goal of studying history is to develop historical mindedness, then the teaching and study of history must allow for both the acquisition of content knowledge and the practice of historical investigation skills. Teacher training in history education should encourage and nurture the development of history curricula in which both can take place--for teachers and for students. This model teaches non-historians historical research methodology by allowing them to practice it in a case study approach. In turn, it encourages teachers to allow students to practice it as well.

The development of effective learning experiences using primary source materials requires careful curriculum planning. Using the four steps of the curriculum development process outlined in this article assures that students use effective historical investigation skills in order to arrive at accurate content knowledge. Both the content of history and the process of learning are addressed in this model.

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[6] Chicago Neighborhood History Project. *Unit III: Defining a Neighborhood*. Chicago: National Endowment for the Humanities, n.d.

[7] S. Sandell, *Northern Lights: Going to the Sources*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1989.

[8] Old Sturbridge Village, *Guide to the Small Town Sourcebook*. Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village, 1979.

[9] Old Sturbridge Village, Educational Resource Packets, Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village, 1978.

[10] National Archives and SIRS, *U.S. History Documents: Supplemental Teaching Units*, Boca Raton, FL: SIRS, Inc.

APPENDIX

Figure 1. Sample information-gathering worksheet for the journal primary source materials

LADIES HOME JOURNAL ARTICLES

Name ______________
Group ______________

GATHERING FACTS

1. From the packet given your group, select one article.

2. Read the article and answer the following questions:

   a. What is the major idea of the article?

   b. What details support this main idea?

DRAWING INFERENCES

Share your recording of ideas from the previous section with other members of your group. Be sure one person records the ideas shared. Then draw inferences and record them here. Think about the child-rearing values expressed in the articles. Also think about how these values affected day-to-day interactions between parents and children.

MAKING GENERALIZATIONS

To make generalizations, think about the hypotheses you made as a class at the beginning of this lesson. Do your facts and inferences support these hypotheses? Make a generalization about recommended child-rearing practices in the early 1900s and how these practices may have affected and been affected by societal norms.

Figure 2. Worksheet: Agricultural Census for the Gibbs Family

1. List the improved and unimproved acres the Gibbs family own in each of the following years:

1860 ________ ________ = ________
1870 ________ ________ = ________
1880 ________ ________ = ________

2. What is the value of the following:

	the farm	machinery	livestock
1860			
1870			
1880			

3. What kinds of animals are the Gibbs' raising? And how many of each?

	Horses	Milk Cows	Swine	Chickens
1860				
1870				
1880				

4. What kinds of crops are they growing? How much of each?

wheat eggs corn oats flax potatoes butter hay buckwheat beans peas

1860 ________________________________
1870 ________________________________
1880 ________________________________

5. Why didn't the Gibbs' expand their farm during these years?

6. Where might the Gibbs be selling the crops they raise?

7. An urban fringe farmer has certain characteristics. These farmers tend to raise more vegetables and less grains. They sell more dairy products. They farm less than 80 acres. They have less money invested in machinery. The value of their land increases rapidly. Which of these characteristics does the Gibbs family have? List them. Would you call him an "urban fringe farmer"?

Figure 3. Worksheet: Women's Roles through Magazine Advertising

1. Sort the ads according to these categories. List the product and a few descriptive words used in the ad.

Creating an Educated Home	Creating a Healthy Home	Creating an Efficient Home
Plants - decorative/easy upkeep Phonograph - lively home/keep children at home Piano - develop musical talents	Dusting product clean/easy Book & formula nutrition Sanitary crib - safety Stork Pants - dry babies Jello - wholesome Tapioca - nourishing Heinz - pure product	Dusting product - save time Heater - safe, clean, efficient, reduce cost of living Pancake Mix - cost efficient, less trouble, simple Tapioca - fast Macaroni & Cheese - simple/brief prep

2. Write three statements (one for each category) about the roles of women as described by these magazine ads.

   a) Women are responsible for . . .

   b) Women are concerned about and responsible for . . .

   c) Women's work will be easier . . .

3. Finish the following statements:

   a) Magazine ads from this time can give me information about . . .

   b) Women participate in the economy by . . .

4. In one paragraph argue for or against this statement: The roles of middle class women at the beginning of the twentieth century were primarily limited to caring for children and family home. They did this best by becoming "good" consumers.

USING CITY DIRECTORIES TO TEACH HISTORY AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH METHODS

Jo Ann Rayfield
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It is often hard for students to get a feel for the explosiveness of growth and change in American cities in the nineteenth century. City directories are a rich and readily accessible source of data that may be used to concretize this experience and to test generalizations about residential and occupational mobility in the nineteenth century. This essay explains the nature and availability of city directories and suggests ways teachers may use them to allow students to test and verify for themselves the content being taught in history courses and to learn basic methods of historical research and use of primary sources. Reference is made in the text and footnotes to monographs and articles that employ methods similar to those presented in each model exercise.

The city directory was, and still is, intended primarily for business uses. It was created in a time in which messengers took communications from one place to another and it served many of the purposes of a modern telephone directory in providing addresses. Since people and businesses moved frequently it was necessary to issue an updated directory each year. The directory was also an "advertisement" to attract new businesses or residents. Before the Civil War directories were often an ancillary enterprise undertaken by a printer or a newspaper editor who hired persons to canvass the city and collect information on residents.[1] After the Civil War the production of city directories became commercialized and standardized. Some companies produced directories for numerous cities, and even cities in several states.[2] In 1898 directory publishers established a national organization. The officers in 1901 included R. L. Polk and Rueben H. Donnelly.[3] The R. L. Polk, still produces city directories.

City directories are usually thought of as alphabetical lists of the residents of a city that provide the following information on individuals listed: name, occupation (and sometimes place of employment), address, and, in a few cases, whether the person owns or rents the residence. Directories in many parts of the country distinguished African-Americans, usually by using "c" or "col'd" after the name, but also by printing an asterisk in front of the name, by italicizing the name or by

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[1] Peter R. Knights, "City Directories as Aids to Ante-Bellum Urban Studies: A Research Note," *Historical Methods Newsletter*, 2 (September 1969), 1-10; Sidney Goldstein, "City Directories as Sources of Migration Data," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60 (September 1954), 169-76.

[2] David B. Gould, for example, prepared directories for Peoria, Bloomington, and Springfield in Illinois and for St. Louis, Missouri. *Gould's Peoria City Directory for 1880-1, being a Complete Index to the Residents, a Classified Business Directory, and containing an Appendix of Useful Information of the Churches, Societies, Banks, City, County, and Other Miscellaneous Matter* (Peoria: David B. Gould, 1881), 9. Adams, Sampson and Co. and then Sampson, Davenport and Co. served several cities in Rhode Island, Albany and Troy in New York, several cities in Massachusetts, and produced a New England Business Directory in the 1860s. In 1867 Sampson, Davenport and Co. styled themselves "Statisticians and Publishers of Directories." *The Providence Directory, for the Year 1867: Containing a General Directory of the Citizens, and Business Directory, of the State of Rhode Island, City Record, Etc., Etc.* (Providence: Sampson, Davenport and Co, 1867), 4.

[3] *Wright's Directory of Milwaukee for 1901 Containing a General Directory of the Citizens, a Classified Business Directory, a Complete Street Guide and a Revised Map of the City* (Milwaukee: A. G. Wright, 1901), 14.

indenting the name. Businesses and institutions are also included in the alphabetical listings. City directories also contain a classified section comparable to the yellow pages of the telephone directory. Most have lists of local public officials and officers of fraternal, civic, or charitable societies. Most also list the staff of educational institutions and hospitals, as well as executives or board members of banks or corporations. The most unusual such listing I found was of the communicants of a half-dozen or so churches in the 1867 Atlanta city directory.[4] Often the directory contained a short history of the city, a description of the wards, a map of the city.

The limitations of the city directories as research and teaching tools are very much a function of the purpose they were created to serve. Low income groups, African-Americans, and dependent women were not important to the business community and were underrepresented. Listings were, for practical purposes, of households, and the adult breadwinner was typically the only person listed. Other employed person in the household might be listed separately, but members of the household who were not employed outside the home were invisible. Incompleteness and bias do not disqualify city directories as instructional or research materials, but we must remember those qualities.

Another problem in using city directories is in the spelling of names. Often, information was communicated orally and the directory recorder simply wrote it down as well as possible. Also, name spellings were not standardized, even when the person was writing his or her own name. Directory compilers were conscious of this problem. J. W. Norris, the editor of the *General Directory and Business Advertiser of the City of Chicago . . . 1844* advised his readers:

> The greatest exertion has been made to give the names of Germans and other Old County people, correctly. Notwithstanding this, mistakes will doubtless be discovered in the orthography of these names, owing to the fact, that many are unable to spell their own names, in English.[5]

This "problem" may be turned to some advantage by using it as a basis for class discussion of the Americanization of names. Students might also discuss names as a part of cultural or personal identity.

A large collection of city directories is available on microfiche and microfilm. Directories up through 1860 are on microfiche; those for the 1861-1901 period and a large number for the period from 1901 to 1935 are on microfilm.[6] Since the microfilm for an individual city may be purchased separately, it is possible for a school to acquire an adequate body of material at a reasonable price. Many

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[4] *Barnwell's Atlanta City Directory, and Strangers Guide: Also a General Firemen's, Church, Masonic, and Odd-Fellows's Record* (Atlanta: Intelligencer Book and Job Office, 1867), 62-85.

[5] J. W. Norris, *General Directory and Business Advertiser of the City of Chicago for the year 1844; together with a historical sketch and statistical account to the present time* (Chicago: Ellis & Fergus, 1844), iv.

[6] Segment I, on microfiche, includes the directories listed in Dorothy N. Spear, comp., *Bibliography of American Directories through 1860* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1961). Segments II and III include the fifty largest cities and 22 other cities chosen to round out sectional representation. Segment IV which will cover from 1901 to 1935 is in process. It is possible to purchase copies of directories for a single city. Both microfiche and microfilm are available from Research Publications, 12 Lunar Drive/Drawer AB, Woodbridge, CT 06525 (1-800-732-2477).

Lime, Cement, Salt, Lumber, COAL, SASH, DOORS, BLINDS, LATH, SHINGLES, J. M. FORDICE 1001 W. MARKET ST.

BLOOMINGTON STOVES. Holder, Milner & Co. ACORN STOVES.

Barton James O, hostler Kemp & Lowrey, rms same, *Normal.*
Barton John H Rev (col'd), pastor Mt Pisgah Baptist church, res 1217 S Mason.
Barton Lucinda (col'd), (wid Milton), res 310 S School, *Normal.*
Barton Olive (wid George), res 304 N School, *Normal.*
Barton Osceola (col'd), porter G Champion, res 310 S School, *Normal.*
Barton Stephen K (col'd), bricklayer, res 1104 N Center
Barton W Carey (col'd), tinner T B Kent, res 310 S School, *Normal.*
Bartz John, res n w cor Madison and Baker.
Bassett Arthur, music teacher, res 508 S Fell ave, *Normal.*
Bassett Barzilla, farmer, res 508 S Fell ave, *Normal.*
Bassett Herbert, teacher, res 508 S Fell ave, *Normal.*
Bassett Irene Miss, res 508 S Fell ave, *Normal.*
Bassett Wm, lab, res 803 W Jefferson.
BATCHELDER GEORGE L, Electrician; Electrical Apparatus, 611 E Olive, res same.

GEO. L. BATCHELDER,
- Electrician. -

Electrical Apparatus put in and Repaired.
Bells, Gas Lighters, Annunciators, Burglar Alarms, Electric Matting, Furnace Regulators, Batteries of all kinds, and Speaking Tubes, Electric Light wiring and concealed work a specialty.
Wires run without Injury to Walls or Floors.
Residence: 611 East Olive Street.

Batchelder George W, trav agt, res 611 E Olive.
Bate George W, musician, bds Wait's Hotel.
Bateman Cora Miss, waitress Hotel Folsom.
Bates Eugene, student I W U, rms 1012 N Prairie.

Reproduced from the Bloomington and Normal City Directory of 1891.

universities already have some or all of this collection. Not all city directories were filmed and teachers should also check the public library, historical society, county clerk's office, or nearby university library for runs of local directories.

City directories are an excellent resource for teachers wishing to engage students in projects that will enhance their historical knowledge and sharpen their research skills. The assignments presented here are designed for use in senior high school and introductory survey courses at the college or university level. They are based on assignments I have used in an introductory U.S. history survey course. Teachers may adapt them to particular instructional goals or other grade levels by adjusting the focus, length, or complexity of the assignments. Assignments may also be adapted to create group projects.

City directories are important sources of evidence in answering many questions historians ask about groups of people. They are most commonly used in studies of population growth, residential mobility, occupational distribution and occupational mobility.

These projects also introduce students to historical research methods and the use of primary sources. In the course of each exercise students practice collecting and analyzing data and writing up conclusions. Learning to describe the population of a community in numerical terms can ease student fears about quantitative history and mathematics in general. The number and percent of the population that is in a particular occupational or ethnic classification represents a simple frequencies distribution (how often a phenomenon occurs). Working with these simple numerical or descriptive statistical techniques enables students to become more sophisticated readers of numerical information in textbooks, newspapers, and elsewhere even if they never design and carry out projects involving larger populations.

POPULATION GROWTH AND MOBILITY

The most obvious way to use city directories is in studying the growth and transiency of city population. Nineteenth-century American cities experienced a population explosion. The federal census gives us population figures at decennial intervals; in a few cases (Illinois, for example) state censuses give us figures at intervals between federal censuses. City directories give us more frequent indicators. Larger cities had annual directories; smaller cities like Bloomington, Illinois, had biennial (or less frequent) directories.

Many studies conducted using city directories, manuscript censuses, and other local records suggest that rapid population growth in nineteenth-century cities was accompanied by a high rate of population turnover. In such diverse nineteenth-century cities as Poughkeepsie, Atlanta, Boston, Birmingham, Omaha, and Philadelphia, the percentage of persons remaining in town from one census year to the next ranged from 30% to 64%.[7] These data suggest a high level of population mobility. But these figures do not fully reveal the process of population turnover since they represent measurements taken at ten-year intervals. For example, the population of Atlanta grew by 71% during the 1870s, yet only 44% of the persons

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[7] Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 222-223.

listed in the 1870 census remained in 1880. Newcomers had to replace outmigrants before net growth could take place. No doubt many newcomers left before the next census.

Stephan Thernstrom combined information from city directories with census data to detail this process in Boston in the 1880s. The population increased by an impressive 24%, from 363,000 to 448,000. The turnover of Boston's population, that is, the movement of people into and out of the city, involved a much larger number of persons. In Boston and in many other cities the directories contained annotation, often in the "introduction," of how many listings had been dropped (outmigrants) and how many new listings had been added (newcomers). In Boston during the years 1881-1890, a total of 398,995 new listings had been added representing 157,816 families. Since the average size of a family in Boston was five, Thernstrom calculated that 789,080 persons moved into Boston during the decade. If people had not been leaving in comparably large numbers the population of Boston would have increased by more than 200%. People were leaving. During the years 1881-1890 a total of 351,529 listings were dropped representing 138,572 families. Thus, Thernstrom estimates, 692,860 persons moved out of Boston. Boston's net gain from a turnover of 1,481,840 people was only 96,220.[8] It would seem that only a modest portion of the wave of people moving into Boston in those ten years remained while the rest went through Boston and on to other places. This sort of volatility in population movement raises the question of a floating proletariat.

Assignments designed to analyze population growth or turnover may be simple or sophisticated. Students may compare the names listed in a selected baseline directory with those in subsequent directories to observe not only the increase in population, but also the persistence rate (per cent of original group remaining at a given time) and the dynamic of population turnover (in-migration shown in new entries and out-migration shown in absent entries) that is a part of that growth. (See Exercise 1 in Appendix.) Out-migration is difficult to calculate with absolute certainty since death, military service, confinement in an asylum or jail, as well as simple absence when the surveyor called may explain the disappearance of an entry. One of my students using a sample population of the first fifty names in a city directory found only 27 of them (54% persistence rate) still listed eight years later. She also found that the fiftieth name on her list was the 135th name in the second list (270% increase).

INTRACITY MOBILITY

City directories also allow us to study movement within the city. Recently scholars have argued that levels of intracity mobility have been high throughout American history. Using city directories to analyze population mobility in Boston between 1830 and 1860 Peter Knights calculated that approximately one family in three moved each year and suggested that, if adjustments were made for the underrepresentation of lower income groups, it would be more accurate to suggest that 40-50% of the households moved to new Boston addresses each year.[9] In a

[8] Thernstrom, *Other Bostonians*, 15-20.

[9] Peter R. Knights, "Population Turnover, Persistence, and Residential Mobility in Boston, 1830-1860,' in Stephan Thernstrom and Richard Sennett, eds., *Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 267-271.

later study Knights and Stephan Thernstrom found that 28-39% of the listings in each Boston city directory from 1881 to 1890 were new Boston addresses while only 40-53% of the listings remained at the same address from one year to the next.[10]

Assignments may be designed to test these findings against the experience of another community (and often another time period as well). Students may use directories for several successive years to ascertain not only how many listings from the first directory persist in the city, but also how many persisters remain at the same address. (See Exercise 2 in Appendix.)

This procedure allows us to look at the rate at which people move about within the city. City directories do not explain why people move. Students may find additional reading necessary to support discussion of possible reasons. This assignment may also lead to fruitful comparison of the past with their own experiences.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Occupational information in city directories may be used to describe economic activities, or identify occupational mobility and economic change over time. Occupational information was provided by the respondent and different individuals may have used descriptors differently, but the information still gives considerable insight into the working lives of people. A simple assignment might have students count the number of persons in various occupations in a given year and develop a list of all the occupations in the community. (See Exercise 3 in Appendix.) From this profile of occupations students may readily identify the economic base of the community as agricultural, commercial, or industrial. They may also be able to identify dependency on a single industry or business and discuss the implications of that for a community.

Students might repeat this exercise to develop a series of occupational profiles of the community at five or ten-year intervals. Such occupational profiles tell us about changes in the types of jobs available and, thus, something about economic opportunity. These profiles could reflect the progress of the Industrial Revolution, imperfectly measured in the replacement of craftsmen-proprietors by wage earners, or, at least, suggest economic change through the appearance of new occupations or the decline of old ones. By observing the appearance of agents for national brands or railroad workers, students can also speculate on the growth of ties between the community and the regional or national economy.

Students may also group occupations into discrete categories (e.g., professional, clerical, semi-skilled, skilled) to study the job market. It may be useful to introduce one of several existing occupational hierarchies at the beginning of this

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[10] Stephan Thernstrom and Peter R. Knights, "Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculations about Urban Population Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 1 (Autumn 1970), 30.

exercise.[11] Alternatively, it is fun to allow students to experiment with the construction of an occupational hierarchy themselves.

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Occupational change is often used to suggest economic and social mobility since a person's job is often taken as an indicator of income and social status. Clearly, there is no direct relationship. Neither all lawyers nor all tailors earn the same income or have the same status in their communities. Career counselors advise us that the average person will change careers (not just jobs or employers) four or more times. Information in city directories allows us to see whether that generalization describes the past as well as the present. There is a popular image that opportunity for upward economic mobility is not as great as it was in the nineteenth century. At the same time scholars have challenged the image of the nineteenth century as an age in which opportunities for economic advancement were readily available and a few decades of hard work enabled a craftsman to move from employee to owner. Stuart Blumin, in a study of Philadelphia, documents the shift from proprietorship opportunities that had been readily available for craftsmen in 1820 to the predominance of wage-earning positions for workers in 1860.[12] Occupational information in city directories helps us test these conflicting general views against the experience of real people in a particular time and place.

Students might look at occupational change by using a list of persisters (See Exercise 1.) to see how many persons changed jobs from one year to the next, or over a longer period of time. Students would select a dozen or more persons and follow them through city directories for a number of years recording occupational and residential information. (See Exercise 4 in the Appendix.) Obviously, limiting the study to persisters raises questions about representativeness and reliability. Persons who left town may have been more or less successful. Tracing specific

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[11] Several occupational classification schemes exist that can readily be adapted for use in high school and undergraduate projects. Many have been developed in the course of mobility studies and therefore reflect the research agenda and city-specific data peculiar to that project. Yet, there is much similarity between classification schemes. A good starting place would be Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians*, Appendix B "On the Socio-economic ranking of occupations," 289-302. This scheme has been adapted by other scholars, including Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 232-244. In *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City*, Michael Katz offers a scheme that is particularly appropriate for pre-industrial cities. Margo A. Conk provides an explanation of categories used by the Census Bureau in "Occupational Classification in the United States Census: 1870-1940," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 9 (Summer 1978), 111-130.

[12] Stuart Blumin, "Mobility and Change in Ante-Bellum Philadelphia," in Thernstrom and Sennett, eds., *Nineteenth-Century Cities*, 197-199. Paul B. Worthman, "Working Class Mobility in Birmingham, Alabama, 1880-1914," in Tamara K. Hareven, ed., *Anonymous Americans: Explorations in Nineteenth-Century Social History* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1971), 172-213; Stuart Blumin, "The Historical Study of Vertical Mobility," *Historical Methods Newsletter*, 1 (September 1968), 1-13; Patrick M. Horan, "The Structure of Occupational Mobility: Conceptualization and Analysis," *Social Forces*, 53 (September 1974), 33-45; Lawrence E. Hazelrigg, "Occupational Mobility in Nineteenth-Century U.S. Cities: A Review of Some Evidence," *Social Forces*, 53 (September 1974), 21-32; Clyde and Sally Griffen, *Natives and Newcomers: The Ordering of Opportunity in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Poughkeepsie* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); Sidney Goldstein, *Patterns of Mobility, 1910-1950: The Norristown Study. A Method for Measuring Migration and Occupational Mobility in the Community* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958).

individuals over several years using city directories alone is a tricky business. The 1897 Minneapolis city directory contained no fewer than a hundred listings for persons named Andrew Anderson.[13] Most of them had no middle initial listed. Thus, it is important to select relatively uncommon names.

City directories do not offer explanations of why people change jobs or careers. Yet, information on the frequency of such changes can contribute to discussions of job security, economic opportunity, career development, and other employment issues. Parallel examinations of businesses to see how many businesses failed (listings dropped) might round out student understanding of the overall precariousness of economic activities.[14]

To go from listing job and career changes to measuring socio-economic mobility requires a vertical occupational hierarchy that is valid over time. This is easier to discuss than to construct since occupational hierarchies are subjective indicators of the prestige attached to an occupation by contemporaries and it is difficult to reconstruct the value system of the nineteenth century. It is worth discussing and the process itself improves student understanding of society in the past. In one assignment I asked students to identify persons whose occupational changes represented upward movement and persons whose occupational changes represented downward movement. Since I had given them no occupational hierarchy, they were left to their own devices. Uniformly, they regarded a move in the 1890s from any occupation to teaching as a downward move and from teaching to any other occupation as an upward move. Perhaps this says something about the imposition of twentieth-century values on the past.

Occupation is at best only a partial indicator of socio-economic status. Nonetheless, the issue of the relationship between occupation (or wealth) and status and personal satisfaction may be fruitful for classroom discussion of values, economic opportunity, and even of personal career goals.

SPECIAL SUBSETS

City directories may also be used in projects that focus on particular subsets of the population such as women, ethnic groups, occupational groups, and neighborhoods. Although married women were rarely included in directories, widows and women in domestic occupations often were so that students can develop a profile of economic activities open to women. Using the techniques illustrated in Exercise 3 students may develop an occupational profile for women (using the first 50-75 female names). They might then construct similar profiles for women at five-year or ten-year intervals to find out what changes occurred in employment opportunities for women. Alternatively, they might develop occupational profiles for both females and males and compare the two.

Using those directories that identified African-Americans, it is often possible to look at them in isolation or in comparison to the rest of the population. The

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[13] *Davison's Minneapolis City Directory Containing an Alphabetical List of Business Firms, Corporations and Private Citizens; a Map of the City, a Miscellaneous Directory of the City, County and State Officers, Churches, Schools, Etc.* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Directory Co., 1897), 114-115.

[14] R. G. and A. R. Hutchinson and Mabel Newcomer, "A Study in Business Mortality: Length of Life of Business Enterprise in Poughkeepsie, New York, 1843-1936," *American Economic Review*, 28 (September 1938), 497-514.

pervasiveness of racism hit home to one of my students when she found African-Americans identified by race in the directories of a northern city in the late ninteenth century. Ethnic groups with identifiable surnames may be treated in a similar fashion.[15] Students might look for ethnic concentration in a particular occupation or industry by adapting the techniques illustrated in Exercise 3. They might also construct occupational profiles at periodic intervals to look for change in occupational opportunity over time. Students might also use a map of the city and locate ethnic neighborhoods. This is, of course, much easier if the city directory has a street directory.

Students might create other subsets of the population by looking through the directory and listing persons in "upper class" occupations such as bank or corporate presidents, lawyers, and the like. They might then locate the residences of these people on a map to see whether there were discernible enclaves of affluence and power. Similar exercises listing and locating particular types of businesses would enable students to observe the formation of a central business district or the concentration of manufacturing plants along transportation arteries.

In addition to the alphabetical lists of residents, a few city directories offered a second listing arranged by street and house number. Unfortunately, very few did in the nineteenth century. Using this listing students can study neighborhoods in terms of ethnicity, persistence rates, and occupational distribution or concentration. Such assignments might be limited to one year or might be designed to study change over time.

The model exercises in the appendix are designed to capitalize on the availability of city directories to give students projects that reinforce instructional material and strengthen research skills. By studying a unique sample population each student will have a unique vantage point from which to contribute an expert analysis to class discussion. Doing research on previously unstudied populations is often a "turn on" for students and they may well find their appetites whetted and undertake projects for History Fair or advanced courses based on these models and using a broader range of sources.

When assignments involve no more than fifty or even seventy-five individuals, students can count the number of persons in a category and readily perform the appropriate calculations. However, if a database is developed for larger and more sophisticated projects, it will be necessary to look for ways to reduce the time and labor (as well as potential for error) involved in simple counting and sorting tasks. Some inexpensive and "user friendly" statistical software is available.[16]

Teachers who have the inclination and the resources may use these exercises over the course of several semesters to lay the foundation for more extensive and sophisticated analyses of a community involving large populations. Students from each successive class may be given assignments that add to the database. One class

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[15] Help in identifying national origin of surnames may be found in J. N. Hook, *Family Names: How Our Surnames Came to America* (New York: Macmillan, 1982) or Elsdon C. Smith, *American Surnames* (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Co., 1969).

[16] For a good discussion of a range of software packages see James B. M. Schick, "Historical Computing: Looking Forward to 2001 from 1989," *Teaching History*, 14 (Fall 1989), 70-77 and John F. McClymer, "Using Database Software in Undergraduate Survey Courses," *Teaching History*, 12 (Fall 1987), 10-17.

of twenty students (looking at fifty entries each) can accumulate data on a thousand listings. Subsequent classes could add to the database and have the advantage of comparing their findings to those of earlier classes. Other source materials (census, tax records, etc.) may be incorporated over time in the same small-project manner. Exercise 5 allows students to compare city directories to the federal census and pose a wider range of questions. Before you know it your classroom or school has become, at its own level, a research institute. Opportunities for interdisciplinary projects are abundant. The database created by one year's projects can be analyzed from a different perspective the next year, or used in economics or sociology classes. If the local community is the focus of the ongoing research project, it will be easy to arrange public presentations, newspaper stories, walking tours in collaboration with the local historical society, and other exciting ventures.

APPENDIX

EXERCISE 1: POPULATION GROWTH

Select a city for which you have two or more directories at close intervals.

Step 1 Copy complete information for each of 50 entries in the earliest directory. (List A)

Step 2 From a subsequent directory copy complete information for as many entries as are required to include the last name from your first list. (List B) Entry No. 50 may have moved, so don't worry if the last name from List A is No. 48 or even No. 35.

These two lists form the database for this assignment and may be kept for use in subsequent assignments.

In a few paragraphs summarize your findings. What is the amount and rate of population increase? (Count the entries in List B. Divide by 50 to obtain a rate of increase or decrease expressed in a percent. Each directory entry effectively represents a household. To obtain population figures multiply by family size, say 5 persons.)

What is the overall persistence rate? (Count the entries from List A that appear in List B. These are the "persisters." Divide this number by 50 to obtain the persistence rate expressed in a percent.)

How great was population turnover? (Count the listings from List A that you did not find in List B. Count the entries in List B that were not in List A. The sum of these equals population turnover.)

Can you suggest a reason for the rate of increase, persistence, or turnover in your city? Are the rates consistent with the national trends and patterns as presented in text and in class?

EXERCISE 2: INTRACITY RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

Select a city for which you have directories for two consecutive years.

Step 1 Copy complete information for each of 50 persons in the earlier directory. (List A)

Step 2 From the second directory copy complete information for as many entries as are required to include the last name from your first list. (List B) Step 2 may be repeated several times to generate additional lists to allow students to study a population over a longer period of time.

These two lists form the database for this assignment and may be kept for use in subsequent assignments.

In a few paragraphs summarize your findings. What is the persistence rate? (Count the entries from List A that appear in List B. These are the persisters. Divide this number by 50 to obtain the persistence rate.) How many and what percent of the persisters remain at the same address? How many and what percent of the persisters have moved? Do you have any idea why? Can you identify any difference between the persisters who moved and those who did not?

EXERCISE 3: OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION PROFILE

Step 1 Copy complete information on 75 persons listed in a city directory.

Step 2 Count the number of persons in each occupation.

Step 3 Create a two-column listing with the occupations from most common to least common in one column and the number of persons in that occupation in the other column. (Table I)

The list generated in step 1 and the table created in step 3 form the database for this assignment and may be kept for use in subsequent assignments.

In a few paragraphs summarize your findings. Based on Table I, is the economic base of the community commerce, agriculture, transportation, or manufacturing? What occupations and what percent of the persons in List A are concentrated in that economic sector? Is your community dependent upon a single economic activity?

Look at the list of occupations again. Group them into a few categories such as professional, clerical, skilled, or unskilled. What does this tell you about the community? Is it a blue-collar community? A white-collar community?

EXERCISE 4: OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Select a city for which you have directories at fairly close intervals over several decades

Step 1 Select two dozen individuals of relatively uncommon (in that directory) surnames who seem to have a middle or lower class occupation, or an entry-level job.

Step 2 Follow those individuals through successive city directories and record residential and occupational information on each for each year. A pool of two dozen may seem large, but given the high population turnover it is necessary if you are to have any persisters after a decade or two.

The lists of residential and occupational information for each person form the database for this assignment and may be kept for use in subsequent assignments.

Using an occupational hierarchy from a published source or one that has been developed in class, describe the occupational careers of these persons. How many of them are still in town? How many have changed jobs? Careers? Have any kept the same job the whole time? How can you explain that? What is the average number of job or career changes per person? Were residential moves associated with job changes? How many moved up? How many moved down?

EXERCISE 5: EVALUATION OF SOURCES

Select a city for which you have a directory for a census year. If possible, use a directory that has a house list as well as an alphabetical list. Then students can compare the route of the census taker and that of the directory compiler more readily.

Step 1 Copy complete information on 50 *households* listed in the census. Select them from a single ward or neighborhood.

Step 2 Locate in the city directory as many persons from the census list as possible. Copy complete information on each person you find.

These two lists form the database for this assignment and may be kept for use in subsequent assignments.

In a few paragraphs summarize your findings. Did you find everyone? If not, which document is more inclusive? What kinds of people are in the census, but not in the city directory and vice versa? What sort of information about the people is included in the census and not in the directory and vice versa? Compare occupational titles in the census with those in the city directory. How would you explain any differences?

Some directory compilers stated that the ratio of directory *entries* to census *population* was 1:3 or 1:4. What is the ratio in your city? What is the average family size in your census sample? How many children did families have? Imagine several research projects and discuss the relative strengths and weaknesses of each of these sources for each project.

THE STUDY OF FAMILY HISTORY: RESEARCH PROJECTS IN A SENIOR SEMINAR

Zdenka Gredel-Manuele
Niagara University

This paper is about the study of family history and its value as a tool in developing skills necessary for students who want to acquire an insight into the nature and methods of history.[1] My findings are based on my teaching experiences over a ten-year period as a member of the history department at Niagara University.

Niagara University is a liberal arts university founded by the Vincentian order in 1856 in upstate New York. It has an undergraduate enrollment of approximately 2,200 students and an additional 500 students in its Graduate Divisions.[2] Its History Department consists of six full-time and four part-time members and serves about thirty history and social studies majors. The culmination of a history major's study is his performance in a senior seminar which is designed to test the research, writing, and analytical skills in a major historical research essay.

I first began using the topic of family history for the senior seminar for history majors at Niagara as a test project. Traditionally, the topic for the seminar was chosen by the individual instructors and was based on their expertise in their fields of study. For me that had been Twentieth-Century Europe with an emphasis on Modern Germany. I found quickly that in order to provide students with a suitable topic that would not be completely virgin territory, I would have to open up the selection to include other historical fields in which I had little preparation to guide research. At the same time the problem arose regarding access to source materials, as well as that remote, but nevertheless real, chance that somewhere along the line plagiarism could occur. I found also that if I limited selections, there always existed the possibility that the topics might be met with disinterest and apathy, not to mention the lack of background preparation to tackle the job within the assigned time of one semester.

In the fall of 1977 I proposed that the incoming senior history majors should embark upon the study of family history. Their curiosity seemed to have been aroused by the general climate of the time of Alex Haley's *Roots* and the rise of the "new ethnicity" that had found acceptance in American society. The rationale behind my proposal was that if students could realize the relationship of their own selves to their families' past, they could better understand the role of history.[3] Moreover, because of the personal nature of the topic, I felt that they would be more motivated to accomplish the goals and objectives of the seminar. Not surprisingly, the majors decided to try the topic after very little discussion.

The number of students in the seminar was under ten and therefore conducive to a primarily tutorial format. The early part of the semester was spent together in seminar while towards mid-semester individual sessions took place. Students were required to read a selection of books for background, such as Thomas

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[1] Senior Seminar papers are on file in my office. Due to the private and confidential nature of these projects, names are either altered or omitted by this writer.

[2] See Niagara University, *Undergraduate Catalogue*, 1989-1990.

[3] David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty, *Your Family History: A Handbook for Research and Writing* (Arlington Heights, IL: AHM Publishing Corp., 1978).

C. Wheeler, *The Immigrant Experience*,[4] and June Namias, *First Generation*.[5] Allan J. Lichtman, *Your Family History: How To Use Oral History, Personal Family Archives, and Public Documents to Discover Your Heritage*,[6] served as an introduction to the many facets of the study of family history.[7]

While the theme of the senior project was a serious and comprehensive compilation of the student's own family and its roots, a student could opt not to undertake the topic in case of personal hardship. In such instances, students could choose a topic in the area of American ethnic history relating to their ethnic backgrounds. In the ten years during which I taught family history, this option was only exercised twice. In both cases it was due to personal family circumstances (i.e. death of a close family member and adoption).

The project was divided into the following segments:

1. Proposal - research possibilities.
2. Resources - statement of source availability and listing of resource persons.
3. Oral interviews - utilization of questionnaires.
4. Collected data - letters, diaries, newspaper clippings, birth/death certificates, baptismal and marriage certificates, naturalization documents, etc.
5. Analysis of historical validity of oral and written sources.
6. Outline of essay.
7. Writing of essay.

The required format of the final essay consisted of:

1. A title page that contained the student's name and the name or names of the family researched.
2. An outline of the essay.
3. A precis of the essay or an introduction.
4. A footnoted essay.
5. An annotated bibliography.
6. Appendices that included a genealogical chart or charts, completed questionnaires, relevant xeroxed documents and photos, and any other data.

The starting point for the project was that each student had to select two readings from a bibliography on ethnic groups that would give him insights into his family's ethnic background or backgrounds.[8] The purpose of such readings was to provide the student with a historical framework in which to place his family and ancestors. Students were encouraged to search for such things as relationships between economic hardships and immigration to this country, settlement in ethnic

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[4] New York: Penguin, 1971.

[5] Boston: Beacon Press, 1978.

[6] New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1978.

[7] For further information on finding one's family roots consult Timothy Field Beard, *How to Find your Family Roots* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1977); Gilbert Harry Doane, *Searching for Your Ancestors: The How and Why of Genealogy*. 5th edition (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980); P. William Filby, *Directory of American Libraries with Genealogy or Local History Collections*. (Wilmington, DL: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1988); Lois C. Gilmer, *Genealogical Research and Resources: A Guide for Library Use* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1988); Jeane Westin, *Finding Your Roots* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977).

[8] See bibliography of ethnic groups below.

ghettos, and the occupations of early immigrants. At the same time, students were encouraged to familiarize themselves with the geographic locations from which their ancestors came and relate them to those of the national immigration picture of their specific ethnic groups.[9] Since a small segment of the student population of Niagara University belongs to racial minority groups, the majority of the students dealt with Italian, German, Irish, and Polish immigration.

The next step was to write a one-page precis that would delineate the scope of the student's family resources. Students were encouraged to identify at least one family member who could provide the student with information of other family members who could be of help. In some cases, students had vague recollections of the existence of a family Bible, or that some research had been done by a family member. These leads were to be pursued later. Some students were unaware of relationships within their families and one of the most effective means that they explored early was the establishment of dialogues with family members. In most cases it was the mother who was the immediate resource person and who gave direction to the structuring of the research materials. The next assignment was a listing of the resources. This consisted not only of the names of people who would be interviewed, but also availability of documentation to which the student would have easy access, such as vital records, statistical data, photographs, or newspaper clippings. This preliminary research enabled students to identify in which direction their overall research would be going. For example, a student might conclude that more material would be available on his mother's side of the family. This would be acceptable, since at the same time his research would already have proven that on the paternal side there would be limited data available. As long as the student clarified this in his introduction, this finding would be sound.

Research differed from student to student. Some families had saved old newspaper articles relating to family events, birth, marriage, and death certificates of ancestors, military records, or property deeds. Collections of photographs proved to be most valuable since not only did they identify family members but also their domiciles, activities, and occupations. Although the easiest start of any research began with an informal conversation with an immediate family member, such as a parent or a grandparent, the importance of such private possessions cannot be overemphasized. Such documentation provided the starting point of the investigation. From a birth certificate, besides the obvious information it contains, the researcher could find, for example, the maternal family name. This in turn might lead the researcher to probe further the maternal side of the family. The discovery of a family name, especially two or three generations removed, might lead to further research. Therefore, oral interviews might clarify or amplify archival findings, and at the same time provide further direction for research. Students were encouraged to substantiate oral information with written documentation such as vital statistics. At times these had to be requested from public repositories. This type of documentation was crucial since it provided a test for the credibility of sources.

A significant segment of the research project would deal with the compilation of a valid questionnaire that would be either mailed to identified resource persons

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[9] Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, MA, 1980); Roy Bryce-LaPorte, ed., *Source Book on the New Immigration* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1980).

or used in conducting oral interviews. Such questionnaires were structured by the student, bearing their own family situations in mind while at the same time striving for objectivity and validity. If tapes were used, the student was required to enclose them as part of the appendix of the essay.[10]

Up to this point, the research processes took about two months to complete. After the general framework of the course had been discussed and preliminary data had been submitted, students met individually with the instructor every week and conferred on the progress of their research projects. At times the conferences were short and took the format of straight progress reports. At other times, the conference could be lengthy, helping the student analyze conflicting data given by interviewees, searching for locations that have disappeared, or translating of documents. Although these sessions were time-consuming, I found them most fruitful in clarifying to students historical methodology. At the same time, these discussions provided a measure of their skills of inquisitiveness, analysis, and scrutiny of sources. However, the most beneficial aspect of this type of research project was that students were tackling a field of study that they had to develop from primary sources[11] and therefore to create a historical narrative of their own. As one student said so aptly:

> In September when I heard of the details of my senior project I panicked. I was not looking forward to studying something as boring as my family. After reading a few works on the ways of approaching a family history and background on the Irish and German immigrants, I was still bored but not as scared. It was not until I spoke with my Grandma Nolan that I started to realize what I was doing was going to be somewhat exciting. Hearing more and more about my grandmother's history, looking through photographs and finding out information that I never before known was all a part of my excitement.[12]

"Fear" and "Excitement"! There was no doubt in anyone's mind that there was that fear of the unknown that most students felt. There were no books to read and "borrow" from. There was no specific format to follow. They had to prove themselves and use their knowledge of historical methods that was part of their discipline. However, the thing that propels historians to prove the secrets of the past was there--a sound sense of curiosity. Curiosity surmounted the fears and insecurities of the task. The end result was that, because it was such a personal experience, their benefits were not only scholarly but also personal. As one student put it:

> At this point, still close to the research, I cannot say if I will ever be able to regard the experience of researching my family history as "edifying." I can, however, state without qualification that the experience has been more frustrating than any other project I have yet attempted. Thankfully, this frustration has not been without many rewards. Probably the most important of these is the intangible feeling one gets from the knowledge of what the family is all about.[13]

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[10] James Hoopes, *Oral History: An Introduction for Students* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979).

[11] Hoopes, *Oral History.*

[12] Senior Seminar Essay, Mary Brigid Smith, December 1984.

[13] Senior Seminar Essay, James Carroll, December 1985.

And he goes on further to comment that another reward of his research has been a sort of reunion with his father's side of his family. He wrote:

> Though the family is small and members are not geographically dispersed, ties have, in my opinion, never been strong. Doing oral interviews with my aunts and uncles has allowed me to get to know them, and perhaps begin to understand them better.[14]

Another student wrote:

> In the execution of this task, I believe that I have gained valuable insights into much more than methods of research, and the selection and compilation of data. I have, additionally, come to better understand not only my family's experiences, attitudes, values and motivations, but my own as well.[15]

I found after the initial frustrations and apprehensions, students became personally involved in these projects. They established dialogues with parents, family members, and distant relations. They found out things about themselves and sometimes even "family secrets." They realized that there existed family resemblances and idiosyncrasies. At the same time they were able to place their own family unit into the vast picture of American social and ethnic history.

The humorous side of these research projects became obvious when one student who had spent Thanksgiving recess with distant relatives in New York City in order to conduct interviews, returned home in dismay lamenting about her added poundage. She recounted that this branch of her family was only interested in feeding her while all she wanted to do is to complete her research. Another student was frustrated over the size of this family, exclaiming that his family had multiplied like "rabbits."

Prohibition hit home when one student discovered that an ancestor had been jailed for making moonshine! Another found that the romance between his Irish grandmother and his German grandfather led to the latter's conversion to Catholicism. Then there was the famous hair potion patented by a family member that insured hair growth for those suffering from baldness and made this inventor famous! Lastly, one student recounted with fascination his family's past involvement with a circus--unbeknown to him or the rest of his family.

How would one evaluate this type of project? My evaluation of a student's work did not rest solely on the final essay. Rather, I continually evaluated each student's application of methodology and research skills in executing this project. At the same time this afforded me the opportunity to guide the research and correct any erroneous techniques. Although it was a most time-consuming procedure, students benefitted greatly by this method. The investigations of some students resulted in little information and produced modest narratives. Others found more information than they had anticipated, and their papers were ambitious. However, it was not the lengths of their papers but their mastery of the skills of historical inquiry that became the basis of my evaluation process. This proved to be most effective.

In general, the performances were high in quality--even among students who may have been more lax in courses in the past. Some students viewed this as a

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Senior Seminar Essay, Patrick Smith Bergan, May 1986.

beginning of a whole new interest and years later wrote that they have been adding on to their histories. One student concluded his paper by saying that he hoped that his paper would stimulate future research within his own family that has already begun as a result of the questions and questionnaires circulating because of this family research paper.[16]

At the Ordination to the priesthood of one of my former students, I met his family, and it was an interesting experience to personally acquaint myself with the "characters" of his senior project. Also, judging by the reaction of this young man's relatives, many family members enjoyed participating in the project and sharing their experiences.

In retrospect, I can say without reservation that the study of family history proved a successful venture in training and testing history majors in their discipline. It may be that family history can also bring historical scholarship from its ivory tower long enough to kindle intellectual fires in young historians that can shed lights on future historical research for decades to come.

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[16] Senior Seminar Essay, David Sylvester, May 1984.

ON TEACHING HISTORY IN THE PRISONS OF GEORGIA: A PERSONAL VIEW

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Introduction

Those of us who teach history as a vocation soon learn that, unless they are unusually blessed by being married to a rich spouse, they must soon seek additional income by teaching part time at another institution. It is a reality that most who begin a career teaching history will have to face. That reality overwhelmed me early in my professional service and demanded that I teach in an environment not considered "mainstream" by most. That environment is the subject of this article.

The following essay is not intended to be a treatise on penology or the criminal justice system as practiced in the stage of Georgia. It is, instead, a brief description, by way of anecdote, of a part time history instructor's experiences in two of Georgia's prisons over a four-year period. I hope it will serve as a help to those who might be considering teaching in such an institution.

Motive

The prison education program in which I serve had a fifteen year history before I joined it in 1985. It is administered by Mercer University of Macon, Georgia, and is funded by federal Pell grants, Georgia state scholarships, and Mercer's own scholarship fund. The program offers a Bachelor of Arts in American Studies Degree.

After twelve years experience elsewhere, I began teaching in Georgia in September 1981 at the Macon Junior College. Though I prided myself on what I thought to be the richness and variety of my teaching background, nothing in my experience prepared me for prison work. Indeed, I am not certain anything can.

Because of my wife's illness as well as a low family income I took to investigating part time work, learning of Mercer's program through colleagues. My motive for undertaking prison work was thus strictly personal, and had I a choice at the time, I would have chosen some other supplemental teaching environment.

Nevertheless, I began at Rivers Correctional Institution at Hardwick, Georgia, in the spring quarter of 1985 and have taught at least two courses in prisons every year since, including a few taught at the County Correctional Institution at Lizella, Georgia.

Description of Experiences - Basic Instructional Matters

Although one class had as few as five students, the usual class size was around 20 inmates, with a maximum enrollment of 30. However, an attrition rate of about 10 percent was quite evident and regular. Also, the Lizella classes consisted of all male inmates, whereas Rivers allowed classes that were coeducational with four or five women inmates participating in most of the classes there. As will be seen, this provided some interesting situations and some difficult and sensitive discipline problems.

Also, the racial make-up of the classes was to me often noteworthy, though I have no socially significant explanation for it. The minimum security prison at Lizella was almost always 70 to 90 percent white, while the racial division at the

maximum security Rivers facility was 75 to 90 percent black. This racial composition was not consistent, however, with the women student inmates at Rivers at least 80 percent white. Again I offer no explanation, merely an observation.

It has been my observation that liaison between the Mercer Department of Continuing Education and the prison administration has been very light and tenuous, in that in five years teaching at two penal institutions, I have never met or been instructed by a prison official or administrator other than the security guards. Although used to this now and in fact enjoying the kind of ironic freedom it gives that I could never have anywhere else, it was, nonetheless, a terrifying situation my first time in prison. I was left to my own instincts as a professional teacher as to what teaching and disciplinary techniques I would use, not really knowing what I would do if a worst case scenario arose. In fact, because I really did not want to think of such a situation, I did not think at all about emergency procedures.

So I came to my first class one March afternoon in 1985. It is a 50-minute drive from Macon to Hardwick, Georgia, so I had ample opportunity to ponder my fate as I attempted, not quite so manfully, to keep food on a poverty stricken school master's family table.

Description of Learning Environment

To understand a prison environment, you must realize the human dimension of confinement, restraint, and locked doors. A prison is one locked gate or crashing door slammed after the other. This was my first impression as I entered the electrically operated gate at Rivers. After sign-in, my brief case was searched for contraband and weapons. Then, as now, I had to turn-in my driver's license, my car keys, and any other sharp objects and received, in turn, a visitor's badge. Access to the classroom is by way of winding staircases and narrow, dark corridors at Rivers. This old prison very nearly conformed to my Hollywood image of what a prison was, a suffocating cocoon of dark gray loneliness.

You cannot go from one room to another, one hallway or passage to another, without permission of a security guard and without his pass key. Virtually every door is locked. However the grim irony for my first class was that there was to be no security officers in the class with me. I was to be alone with 25 convicted felons.

It was my first impression, and it has been a consistent observation ever since, that in a common room and in large assemblies, most inmates shout at each other, posture, and gesticulate vigorously. I learned soon that small freedoms, when allowed, such as free unmonitored conversations are utilized to the maximum. To overcome this without appearing to be dictatorial, I would begin each class with authoritative gestures and directions. Busy routine was my emotional solution the first day. The passing out of texts, syllabus, maps, notebooks, and pens brought order and purpose to the class. Quick introduction to routine has been my practice ever since. Another approach has been to keep all inmate students occupied during class times as much as possible. Intense reading, frequent daily quizzes, map studies, lectures, and notetaking convey with them their own discipline. At once I hit upon the idea of a quiz at the beginning of every class. Occupied students, I felt, would not be troublemakers.

It would be comforting to think that I developed special approaches to these people as a means by which their learning goals could be achieved in a difficult environment. I am afraid, however, that that was not the case. The hard truth is that

fear is the primary motive for any technique I used in prison teaching: fear of confrontation and fear of physical violence to my own person. Such fear has never left me, though I am very careful to disguise it with good humor, plenty of class activity, and my own self-imposed distance from the inmates. For example, I never willingly allow an inmate to walk or stand behind me if I can help it. Never once have I asked an inmate his crime or sentence for fear that I would lose my teaching objectivity if I knew or that they might become angry at the revelation. However, on one occasion, quite inadvertently, an inmate let slip that he had been convicted of second degree murder and was serving a life sentence. Tragically, he also spoke of a wife and small daughter whom he was confident would wait for him. I felt as if the breath were being drawn out of me. A class day in prison is three hours long once a week. By that time I am slightly claustrophobic, and yet this man will most likely spend the rest of his life there. Since that incident I have avoided small talk or any reference to crimes and sentences (although unwanted information still accidentally comes my way) so that I will not be prejudiced, frightened, or over-sympathetic with inmate students.

Another helpful technique has been the use, whenever possible, of audio-visual aids and material. Color, music, sound--anything to get away from the gray sameness and stifling blandness and put some imagery to the ideas and events we were studying. I found the students enthusiastic for these and, indeed, have made two of the courses media-oriented, using some video documentaries available in college and local libraries.

Entertainment, of course, is nice, and fear as a teacher's basic motive is not particularly ennobling or rewarding. At once I had to ask myself what I could do that would be of any value or help to them? Soon on, reading and verbal skills became my goal for them. The semi-literacy and abysmal under-education was part of what got many of them in prison in the first place. The study of history, I reasoned, would be a means to an end. I wanted to make them better students at least. To that end I laid on heavy weekly reading assignments with a half-hour long quiz over the previous week's material at the beginning of each class. They would be required to know in detail what they had studied. They would teach themselves history with help from the media aids, with me to answer questions and occasionally lecture on a knotty topic. I was determined to make study, organization, and routine a good part of their prison lives. At once it became evident among many of those that I taught that even the small disciplines had been absent in their lives, and, of course, for a few, such discipline was impossible. For others, however, study routine was an obvious remedy to a yawning vacuum in their lives. This observation is meant to describe no panacea, for they had other motives for taking college credit courses and no doubt in other classes such discipline and good study habits were required. Still, though there was much grumbling, few resisted to the point of withdrawing from class. Anyway in four years, these methods plus my own enthusiasm for studying and teaching history have managed to work what I consider to be a small miracle in this skeptical era--there is learning in prisons.

Grades

The grade record is spotty over nine quarters. Most inmates prefer to withdraw rather than have a failing grade on their records. Often the governing motive is to have good grades in order to impress parole boards. Nonetheless, the

reasons for withdrawal are often institutional rather than academic. A man might be thrown in the "hole" (solitary confinement--used for a wide variety of offenses), transferred, released, paroled, simply quit, or not meet the stringent requirement of not having any more than two absences from class. One class of 21 had no withdrawals at all; another, originally consisting of 31 registered students had 19 withdrawals for various reasons. Obviously, no pattern has thus far emerged.

Grades overall have been good. Inmates seeking parole, others scholarships, some merely attempting to avoid the crushing, stressful tyranny of prison, usually applied themselves very well. For nine classes A's ran from 10 to 22 percent. B's were plentiful, there was only a smattering of C's, fewer D's, and only four F's, with most failing students electing to withdraw. Thus to me, prison offered no major obstacle in the way of motivation for those taking credit courses.

Some Class Problems

Under no circumstances can this be regarded as an ordinary teaching situation. The problems I had in four years, though not particularly unique otherwise, were, nevertheless, compounded by the prison atmosphere. One of my first impressions was that I was back teaching in elementary school. There was, and still is, a restlessness in these classes, a constant murmuring din of childish chatter, nervousness, and impulsive talk. I found I had to teach them how to raise their hands when asking or answering questions; otherwise the chaos destroyed any semblance of class order. Also I had to restrain them from simply walking out of class for a break or to the restroom whenever they wanted. When the women were present, there was some posturing and macho assertiveness among the younger men to impress them. Some of the women are quite young (one of whom I was shocked to learn, inadvertently from a guard, had killed her own child) and love the attention given them by the men. During films or videos students would pair off, and because of the awful acoustics, their delighted talk carried and became a disturbance. In as friendly and self-effacing manner as I could manage, I would have to intervene. Recently, however, security has taken to separating the women from the men within the classrooms with the result that at least the decibel level of the chatter has lowered somewhat.

Absenteeism is chronic during some quarters because of illness or time in solitary. Many older inmates suffer from pulmonary or arterial maladies, and often during class there is an unending din of coughing and wheezing. Often during class guards interrupt to distribute medication, tranquilizers, and repressants. Many students, male and female, had some form of physical disability, deformity, or visible scars. Many suffered from congenital birth defects. A significant number were heavily scarred or tattooed. Some had lost an eye, and others stammered or had other speech defects. Although I did not count, many older inmates wore hearing aids. Many came to class bruised or cut with evidence of recent first aid, but I made it a point never to ask about injuries unless they volunteered the information. Quite a few received minor hurts during recreation periods playing basketball, softball, or volleyball, where rough play got rid of the accumulated aggression.

Random "shakedowns" caused difficulties. Although not frequent, you never knew when they might occur, and they were frightening to watch as burly, heavily muscled guards with formidable billy-clubs (which I am told are lined with lead fillers) took the men out to search for contraband. Some men did not return.

Some Further Matters

I allowed two ten-minute breaks in the three-hour classes. In four years and nine classes I have discovered that nearly all student-inmates smoke and do so with nervous abandon. A psychologist colleague suggested that people who are deprived of their freedom will exploit a small privilege to the fullest. Anyway, the narrow hallway where we took breaks was filled with a thick, blue haze that quickly reddened the eyes and throat. Though I allow no smoking in class and deplore tobacco smoke personally, I never had the heart nor the courage to forbid smoking during breaks.

So far I have encountered only one incident that had the earmarks of cheating as two inmates appeared to be talking and comparing notes during an examination conspicuously enough for the others to notice. This was one of my nightmares realized, one, heretofore, I did not want to think about resolving, and yet there it was. In what was either a quick flash of madness or inspiration, I told the two that if they did not separate at once, I would give them both an A for the test, and I would fail everyone else. The room was heavy with stunned silence. Having dropped that bombshell, I then said I would leave the room and let the two offenders explain to everyone else why they received A's and all the others failed. It worked, and there has been no more cheating that I have been able to discover. The idea of collective discipline with all responsible for the behavior of one is an old one in prisons, and it seems to work for me. Had I failed to act promptly in that situation, I believe my mandate to teach these people would have vanished. Too many of them work long hours on prison details and study arduously to allow a few malefactors to ruin it for them. In prisons, I have learned, there is a very robust sense of fairness.

Other difficulties included behavior such as embittered sullenness and sulky posturing. Angry inmates seldom yelled but instead sulked in quiet hostility, often alone in a corner away from the others, again reminding me of my days teaching fifth graders. The causes for such behavior were varied and often for something out of class, but grumblings and sour looks came my way when a student took issue with a quiz answer or an assignment grade. This is, of course, not unusual in any classroom, but when it occurs in prisons, the instructor can feel a little uneasy. Early on I made it a point to make the final grade accumulative and the test grade increments small enough so that a single bad test would not be fatal to a student's final grade. Needless to say, I was very liberal when it came to close answers. I did not want an incident over a few points when it came to merely splitting verbal hairs. I am, of course, quite guilty of being inconsistent. I am never quite that liberal on any other campus.

A chilling moment came one quarter when a student drifted off to a corner and remained there alone for almost the entire class deeply intent with drawing on a sketch pad. He had talked to me earlier about having some draftsman's skills, and I was curious to see if his drawing had something to do with that. Indeed it did. At the end of class he left a large sheet, apparently for me to find, filled with a very fine reproduction of a Walther Ppk automatic pistol aimed at a man's head. A sullen and embittered young man, he withdrew after three weeks. I cannot say that I was sad to see him go!

Neurotic or at least conspicuously nervous behavior is evident in many inmates. Fidgeting and giggling, obsessive folding and unfolding of papers, whistling, singing to oneself, can of course be distracting and sometimes unsettling and, although not the norm, it has been prevalent at times.

At no time has there been anything remotely resembling an attack on me personally or anything like the threat of violence. Most student inmates, with very few exceptions, welcome the opportunity to study and work hard at learning something new. Many have expressed to me a new appreciation for the study of history and have found parallels to their own lives with the essentially tragic human drama we call history.

Student Comment and Concluding Statement

A few inmates have made comments. One I think is representative of all. Hear this from the "belly of the beast":

> . . . I only see one fault in your teaching, and that is you want us to read and to learn to [sic] much to [sic] fast. There is no way to comprehend all you want us to crasp [sic] in the time allowed. This is a state prison and in here nothin [sic] you want to learn and your [sic] up against all kinds of detesedness [sic]: ever [sic] thing from screening [sic] to a volume of defness [sic] to homosexuals trying to get your penis and anus [sic]. it is beyond your emotion [sic] at the stress factors involved. But I'm glad you don't understand! It's better I gess [sic] not to know the sin of prison. I would not wish this on my own worst enemy!!! . . . Learning is good . . .
>
> Thank you Very Much
>
> Your Student . . .

Perhaps that says it all.

REVIEWS

Paul Gagnon, ed. *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1989. Pp. xiii, 338. Cloth, $24.95; paper, $10.95.

In 1987 seventeen "outstanding" scholars and teachers formed the Bradley Commission on History in Schools to "explore the conditions that contribute to or impede, the effective teaching of history in American schools." In addition, they formed the commission "to make recommendations on the curricular role of history," and to "improve the teaching of history as the core of social studies in the schools."

Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education contains the complete report of the commission and seventeen essays by leading historians and teachers about the major issues surrounding the teaching of history. The essays center around five themes: "Curriculum Reform," "The Changing Role of History in Schools," "History and Liberal Education," "Old and New Patterns of History," and "Towards Better History in Schools."

In general the essays are well-written and informative. This reviewer was particular interested in the philosophical outlooks of such heavyweights as William McNeill, Gordon Craig, Theodore Rabb, Michael Kammen, and Gary Nash. But on the whole, the essays are disappointing, not because they lack information, but because they fail to address the salient issues with specific remedies.

The main problem of this book of essays lies with the focus of the report of the Bradley Commission. Because the commissioners took into account every conceivable framework and teaching tool in their attempt to please everyone, the result is a set of guidelines so general that they fail to address the major concerns of teachers who have to impart historical knowledge to their students on a daily basis. The commission's primary mission was to underline the importance of history as a subject that should be put back into elementary and secondary school curriculums across the country. It is disappointing that the professional heavyweights on the commission did not develop a series of model curriculum units in American, European, and world history that could be tested in pilot schools at various grade levels across the country.

There were two reasons why the commission did not address specific curriculum issues. In the first place, with a few exceptions, the commissioners are scholars whose major concern is research rather than teaching. Most of these high powered scholars have not taught a college history survey course in years and they certainly have little familiarity with the courses taught in the elementary and secondary schools.

I fear, however, the problem has deeper roots. There is a lack of consensus about the appropriate content of any survey history course. This is because the new social history with its emphasis on bottom-up rather than top-down history has revolutionized the way in which historians view peasants, slaves, minorities, laborers, and women. As marvelous as this history is, it is extremely difficult to incorporate it into traditional survey courses that emphasize the political, military, and economic achievements of great men.

Several of the essayists in this book (though interestingly not members of the Bradley Commission) address the question of synthesizing the old and new history. Thomas Bender faces this problem directly when he admits: "Few if any leading historians today are ready to propose the terms of a new synthesis of American history . . . we have many wonderful pieces but little sense of how they form a national history that can be narrated in a connected, compelling way." Bender's solution is to consciously relate the experience of these groups "to the larger historical process of human interaction in the formation of public culture." What Bender means by this is unclear to this reviewer, although he hopes that in time "teachers in the schools will have textbooks that do the work of synthesis."

Fortunately for Bender and others the newest college texts are grappling with this issue. Two of the latest texts co-authored by Mary Beth Norton and Gary Nash (whose essay in this volume on the democratization of American history is a delightful piece) are superb in their synthesis of the red, white, black, male, and female cultures of colonial America. These texts are less successful in reconciling the old and new history for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries because most of the new social history has concentrated on seventeenth and eighteenth-century America.

So where do we go from here? I have two suggestions. First, I think we need to know much more about the way history has been taught in the past. Scholars might build upon the work of the late Hazel Hertzberg whose essay on a "Century of Reform" proposals dating back to 1892 puts the report of the Bradley Commission into historical perspective. Though Hertzberg has detailed here and elsewhere the concerns of earlier generations of scholars and commissioners about the role of history in the schools, we need to know more about the way the *actual* teaching of history has been influenced by the earlier commissions.

Thus far the research in this area is abysmal. Neo-conservatives such as William Bennett, Lynne Cheney, and Chester Finn have set up an idealistic past against which they measure the current geographic and historical ignorance of today's students. Particularly fallible in this regard is Diane Ravitch's essay on "The Plight of History in American Schools." Skirting criticisms of her research about the "erosion of historical understanding among Americans," Ravitch argues "whether their counterparts in the past knew less, is beside the point." With friends like this on the Bradley Commission, who needs enemies?

My second suggestion is that we form a successor to the Bradley Commission whose major task would be to develop a model core curriculum in world, European, and American history encompassing grades K through graduate school. The panels should be composed of college, high school, and grammar school teachers of history who would work only with those university professors who are committed to teaching. For example, Gary B. Nash, an excellent scholar as well as teacher, might establish several of these panels under his mission as associate director of the UCLA/NEH National Center for History in the Schools. The new commission's primary task should be to synthesize the old and new histories with specific lessons and materials including texts in every area and for all grade levels. Perhaps a new *Dictionary of Cultural Literacy* could be devised that would avoid the obvious elitist biases of some of the more recent works.

I know this suggestion sounds utopian and unrealistic, but until we develop some type of consensus on what we should be teaching in the classroom, our seventeen-year olds in the year 2020 will be as confused about the past as they are in 1990.

Howard Community College Larry Madaras

Richard Marius. *A Short Guide to Writing About History*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman & Company, 1989. Pp. xv, 261. Paper, $7.95.

Anthony Brundage. *Going to the Sources: A Guide to Historical Research and Writing*. Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1989. Pp. x, 79. Paper, $5.95.

Overheard in the hallway outside of 201 Murkland -

Susan: "I heard we would have to do a lot of writing in this course but an essay, a book review and a paper! The prof either has a lot of time on her hands or she hates her grad assistant."

Sam: "Yes, Susan, you are going to have to work for a change. But, Dr. Wright did tell us about a couple of very useful books on historical research and writing. Let's head to the bookstore and check them out."

Would that we all had more Sams than Susans in our classes but we can at least hope that Susan follows Sam's advice and does "check out" these books. As Richard Marius writes in his preface,

> In most history courses, students are required to write papers to demonstrate both a command of the facts and the ability to think about them. They are seldom given any formal instruction in how to do the special kind of writing that the study of history demands. They are expected to pick up this skill almost by osmosis. For years history teachers have ritually complained that their students do not write well. Only recently have

> we begun to understand that helping our students write acceptably about history is part of our responsibility in teaching them the discipline itself.

Both of these books are useful aids for the serious writer of history and well worth the consideration of everyone from high school A.P. teachers to those professors who specialize in graduate courses.

Writing about History is part of the short guide series that includes titles on literature, film, and social sciences. The book deals with a variety of historical writing, including essays, research papers, and book reviews. There are also two good chapters on asking the journalistic questions (e.g., who, what, where . . .) and on modes of historical writing (description, narrative, exposition, and argument). Short chapters on documentation, style and conventional usage, and a sample research paper are also included. The book is generally well written, with a lucid style and a minimum of jargon. Highlighted section headings help students focus quickly on the area they need to deal with. There are also many examples of writing in most chapters and sections.

Major strengths of Marius's book include these examples. In the chapter on "The Essay In History," he includes excerpts from several student essays to illustrate his points and this technique is carried on throughout the book, especially in the chapters on journalistic questions and modes of historical writing. The sample research paper is also very complete, with excellent editorial comments as to both form and content.

One other important hint in this book is the suggestion that students start their research in the reference room, not at the card catalog. This occupies only three pages of the book but is an aspect of writing that most students overlook. The idea of using encyclopedias for general background on a topic and then progressing to specialized bibliographies is extremely important and can often save time and make for a much stronger final product.

While the use of examples is for the most part a strength, there is one notable exception. In the section on plagiarism in writing essays, there are the usual strictures but no examples. I believe that students are often unclear about the boundaries of acceptable practice in this area, and one or two pages of examples would have been extremely helpful. There are also a few minor factual errors in the book, such as that France started building the Maginot Line in 1940 and that one hundred million people died in Europe during the Black Death, but these should not detract substantially from the book's value.

A Short Guide to Writing about History is not all-encompassing but is a very comprehensive research tool. It is, however, for the committed student. The average college writer may indeed be intimidated by the excellence of some of the examples, and many undergraduates would not spend the time to absorb the depth of available information.

In *Going to the Sources*, Anthony Brundage covers much of the same ground as Richard Marius but in a briefer format, with attendant advantages and disadvantages. Brundage begins with a short historical review of the writing of history and proceeds to a discussion of sources, documentation, and the writing of the research paper. He also includes an important chapter on the writing of historiographical essays.

Practical advice is the major strength of *Going to the Sources*. There are many examples, from the concept of "shelf browsing" to the point about alternating the types of sources being worked on to reduce boredom and allow for cross-fertilization among books and ideas. There is also explication of often under-utilized sources, such as collections of historical abstracts and the increasingly available computer search capabilities of college and university libraries. Brundage is not afraid to present forceful opinions. In reference to Eric Goldman's *The Crucial Decade*, he writes, "Criticisms of this type of approach as being too 'popular' or 'journalistic' are sometimes heard. In response, it might be said that among the various possible reactions to reading Goldman's introductory paragraphs, closing the book seems the least likely." This type of entry enables students to feel a real person behind the advice and should make them more willing to take the valuable suggestions contained therein.

While one objective in writing this guide was clearly brevity, I feel that five to ten additional pages over two areas would not have violated that goal and would have added greatly to the final result. The opening brief review of the stages of historical writing is unique and useful--it would have been made more valuable by including more extended examples of each style. In addition, the

explanations of the problems of using as sources "the writings of ordinary people" could be greatly enhanced with examples. Although these minor flaws are regrettable, Professor Brundage has written a clear, concise guide to historical writing, one that should be useful to many college students.

It is clear that the authors of these two books care deeply about student writing and very likely expend enormous time and effort in their own courses in helping students improve. *Writing about History* is the more comprehensive, with explanations of a wider range of writing and many more examples. While in general less detailed, *Going to the Sources* does include two unique chapters and much practical advice. The Marius book is probably more suited to upper-level and graduate students, while Brundage is more "available" to the average history student. However, the historiographical essay chapter in Brundage would also be helpful at the graduate level. Professors who are committed to improving student writing should review both of these books and select the one that most closely fits the type of writing assignments they prefer and that best meets the needs of their particular students.

Lebanon High School Arthur Pease
Lebanon, New Hampshire

Paul K. Conkin and Roland N. Stromberg. *Heritage and Challenge: The History and Theory of History*. Arlington Heights, IL: Forum Press, Inc., 1989. Pp. xi, 260. Paper, $12.95.

Gertrude Himmelfarb. *The New History and the Old*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989. Pp. 209. Paper, $8.95.

Heritage and Challenge, first published in 1971 and now revised, is intended for use as a textbook and is really two books in one. The first half, by Stromberg, is a history of history, while the second half, by Conkin, is an examination of the philosophy of history; only the chapter on "Recent Trends" and the brief epilogue are collaborative efforts.

Stromberg's six chapters on historians from ancient times to about 1960 are an analytical critique rather than a mere summary. His basic argument is that modern historical consciousness, which he defines as the ability to understand change, did not begin to emerge until the Enlightenment, and reached its full flower only in the nineteenth century--the "Golden Age" of history.

Historicism, whatever we may think of it today, gave history in the nineteenth century an influence it has never achieved since. Stromberg even suggests that this golden age of history was not merely a result of the French and industrial revolutions, but because of its emphasis on change, was a primary factor in molding nineteenth-century society. Perhaps so, but Stromberg gives no real indication that the relativism of historicism may have led directly to the historical skepticism that followed in the twentieth century--the new historicism, as he calls it, that, unlike the historicism of the previous century, argues that history has no meaning. For Stromberg, the question is whether history can withstand this loss of meaning.

The answer to both authors in their chapter on "Recent Trends" is that indeed history can. But their discussion may leave the reader skeptical, for except in one or two instances, such as the emphasis on gender (both authors make a bow in this direction by usually referring to the historian in the general sense as "she"), they proceed to deplore both the emphasis and methods of the New History.

Conkin, if we may judge by his half of the book, can best be classified as a member of the Walsh-Dray-Hexter school that argues that history is essentially a narrative--a story--written in ordinary language, which, while it makes some claim to truth, depends more on selectivity and coherence than upon some complete explanation of reality. Conkin's main point, reiterated throughout, is that history deals with cultural rather than physical phenomena; it is the product of human thought and actions and is therefore, though not completely, non-deterministic, non-generalizing, and certainly non-predictive.

In their final collaborative chapter, the authors consider the possible uses of history. They have no patience with the idea of history for its own sake, nor do they think its prime use should be for establishing public policies. Rather, they believe history's greatest value is in creating self-identity, both personal and shared, and their hope is that improved self-identity will lead society away from its present pessimism toward a brighter future.

Conkin and Stromberg are apologists for the Old History; Gertrude Himmelfarb's essays in *The New History and the Old* are, in its first six chapters, a blistering attack on the New; only in the last four does she directly defend the Old. All ten essays have been published previously, though most have been revised for this work; all are flat-out polemics, but for this "Old" historian, they are pure delight.

Himmelfarb's main thesis is that while the Old HIstory has tolerated the New, the New refuses to tolerate the Old; the New will accept nothing less than complete victory, and indeed, the New is on the verge of achieving that victory, a victory that will be a disaster, both for history and for society. The irreconcilable differences between the two histories, both in philosophy and method, are that the New historian cannot concede the importance of politics, the idea that man is a political animal, and the Old historian cannot concede that man is merely a social animal; further, the New historian cannot admit the importance of ideas in shaping history, nor the Old historian the determinism of the New. The crux of the matter is the latter: to admit determinism is to admit the inevitability of Hitler, the Holocaust, World War II, and all that followed, and, what is worse, to deny the moral responsibility of not only of individuals, but of the entire human race, and even the value of reason itself.

In the final four essays, Himmelfarb begins by defending national history on the grounds that while nationalism is (or should be) obsolete, national history is not, and for the very reasons of self-identity so important to Conkin and Stromberg. From there she goes on to praise the nineteenth-century Whig historians, for their "overriding respect for the 'Noble Science of Politics'." The penultimate chapter calls for a return to the Idea of Progress in a purely secular sense, not so much to signify our faith in the future as to signify our faith in ourselves. Finally, she asks a most interesting question: Does history talk sense? Taking her cue from Friedrich Nietzsche's question, "suppose history is a woman?" she attacks Michael Oakeschott's contention that the past is dead and has no meaning as nothing less than an invitation to historical nihilism. For Himmelfarb, history is no mere prostitute uninterested in truth, nor is she Oakeschott's irreproachable (and dead) virgin. Instead, she is a sensible wife, who, while she may not tell the whole truth, does talk sense and can tell us something important about the past and (presumably) about ourselves. Does history really talk sense? Maybe. Maybe not. But Gertrude Himmelfarb certainly does.

Emporia State University — Loren E. Pennington

D. H. Pennington. *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*. London and New York: Longman, 1989. Second edition. Pp. xiii, 622. Paper, $20.50.

It has been two decades since the first edition (1970) of the highly acclaimed *Seventeenth-Century Europe* appeared in the "General History of Europe" series. D. H. Pennington, now Emeritus Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, has produced an expanded, extensively rewritten, revised edition. The author offers new information on aspects of seventeenth-century social history, neglected topics in 1970, but does not succumb to the trendy issues of social history. The book retains the topical and narrative flavor of the earlier work. One example of the revision is dividing the original chapter on "The Thirty Years War and The Habsburg Empire" into two new chapters, "The Thirty Years War" and "Germany and the Habsburg Empire." The bibliographies that originally appeared at the beginning of each chapter are updated and placed in a separate bibliography. Redesigned maps, more appropriately located, enhance the overall quality of this new edition.

This work has an important role in a class, but probably not as the primary text for a course. In many ways it is most comparable to the appropriate volumes in the *New Cambridge Modern History* series. Each chapter is an entity in itself and any one of them could be assigned as reserve, ancillary

readings. "Peoples and States," "Society," "Government," and "War" are examples of a few chapters that contain succinctly analyzed information unavailable elsewhere.

University of Montana Robert O. Lindsay

J.M. Roberts. *Europe 1880-1945.* London and New York: Longman, 1989. Second edition. Pp. xv, 631. Cloth, $35.50; paper $20.50.

J. M. Roberts has written a traditional history, the sort of history for which Jacques Barzun pleads with wit and eloquence in *Clio and the Doctors* (Chicago, 1974). *Europe 1880-1945* is a narrative built on a chronological frame with the author's comments and analysis included as digressions. As Barzun says the historian should, Roberts has eschewed graphs and tables and charts, preferring to use words to explain even economic trends. Though the methodology might be thought, by some, old fashioned, the book is filled with not only facts but also astute comments about what those facts meant for the development of European society.

Although it is unlikely that author and publisher predicted the recent revolutionary events in Eastern Europe, their timing for the issuing of this book could hardly have been better. Confusion about these changes is widespread, and Roberts--who seems to have a taste for diplomatic history--provides a good foundation for understanding not only the regional problems with the Soviet system but also the ethnic problems that have produced violence in a number of places. He is able to give due attention to the Great Powers before, during, and between the World Wars without allowing the Lithuanias and Bulgarias (or for that matter, the Sanjak of Novi Bazar) to get lost. This volume is certainly appropriate for anyone who wants to understand the current situation in Europe.

Roberts's chapters about social and cultural development and change are also very good. He is deft at pulling together pieces of national history into discussions of Continental trends and attitudes. Literature, science, families, sex, religion, all aspects of human life, in fact, are grist for his mill, and the reader is left with an appreciation of the similarities and differences among Europe's regions and peoples. His breadth of knowledge and understanding is impressive indeed.

It is unfortunate, after so much praise, to have to warn those who might consider using *Europe 1880-1945* in the classroom that they may be disappointed. Roberts assumes a degree of historical literacy rarely found outside well-read graduate students. For instance, in one sentence he refers to *enrages* and Blanqui, giving no identification at all. Those studying mid-nineteenth century French radicalism will, to torture a phrase of Marx's, find the slender, black-clad figure of Auguste Blanqui haunting their pages. An undergraduate, however, could have a pretty fair knowledge of European and even French history without even recognizing the name. Roberts has written a very good book, but it is a work that demands much from the reader. For students who have the background or who--if there are any--will look up references they do not understand, this will be an excellent text. For the average student, caution is advised.

Fort Valley State College Fred R. van Hartesveldt

Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, eds. *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642*, London and New York: Longman, 1989. Pp. ix, 271. Paper, $17.95.

Roger Lockyer. *The Early Stuarts: A Political History of England 1603-1642.* London and New York: Longman, 1989. Pp. ix, 411. Paper, $17.95.

On January 30, 1649, the diminutive Charles I of England became a head shorter than all his contemporaries. Historians agree on that fact, but they disagree on nearly all others, especially on the causes of that decollation. "Whit," historians on the English Civil War proved that the early Stuart kings illegally resisted the natural development of liberty in England. Marxists on the English Revolution proved that it was a matter of class warfare during the transition from feudalism to

capitalism. Both "schools" found conflict to be the axis on which the drama of the 1640s turned. Both perspectives were then criticized by "revisionists" who discovered the theme of consensus. Now those revisionists are themselves being revised, in the eternal game of historians staking their territory with the "correct" interpretation over the bodies (many of which are still alive) of the previous regime. Their new game is an old one: conflict.

Let me begin with the book that I know I cannot use, the one that revises the revisionists. *Conflict in Early Stuart England* is a collection of essays that grew out of Conrad Russell's Early Modern England Seminar at the Institute of Historical Research at London University. Richard Cust (Birmingham) and Ann Hughes (Manchester) provide a forty-page introduction that justifies and links the various articles. They thank the revisionists for their invaluable contributions to the debate, particularly Russell's *Parliaments and English Politics 1621-1629* (1979), but argue that the proper approach is to look for disharmony rather than harmony. Cust and Hughes's pre-war England is a country on the edge, with two diametrically opposed spheres playing out their differences at all levels, local, national, and international. The Whigs were closer to the truth than the revisionists in seeing a series of fundamental conflicts: Court *vs.* Country, Arminians *vs.* Puritans, Monarchists *vs.* Parliamentarians. Though opposed, the spheres are not unconnected. Rather, they overlap at crucial points.

It is these points that are discussed in the seven original essays: Johann Sommerville (University of Wisconsin-Madison) on the insecurity created by the maltreatment of representative government and unparliamentary taxation; Peter Lake (Royal Holloway and Bedford New College) on the prejudice of anti-popery and the conspiracy theories of both Catholics and Protestants (which were not theories but realities to contemporaries); Thomas Cogswell (Kentucky) on the failed Spanish match for Prince Charles; Cust on the effects of political news on rural electorates in the 1620s; Christopher Thompson (research consultant) on parliamentary conflicts early in Charles I's reign; Andrew Foster (West Sussex Institute of Higher Education) on "Church Politics of the 1630s" (focusing on the Archbishop of York, Richard Neile); and Hughes on local history.

The reason that I cannot use this collection for undergraduates is the high degree of knowledge necessary to even begin to understand the historiographical issues and proposed solutions. It is a debate by experts carried on for the benefit of experts. I benefited greatly by--and am sympathetic with--the effort to revise the revisionists, but I would only give these essays to advanced graduate students who are about to become initiated into the secrets of the profession.

Perhaps, though, I need first only give my fledgling scholars a comprehensive text for the historical knowledge necessary to appreciate *Conflict in Early Stuart England*. A candidate for that task is Roger Lockyer's recent political history of the four decades before the war. Lockyer is a distinguished early modern historian and Reader in History at Royal Holloway and Bedford College, University of London. Previous publications include a biography of the Duke of Buckingham (1981) and an excellent period survey, *Tudor and Stuart Britain* (2nd ed., 1985). His latest offering is a marvelous book--learned, stimulating, and written in a clear style supported by extensive quotations from primary documents.

Lockyer provides perceptive summaries of complicated events and an excellent chapter on "The Nature and Functions of Parliament in Early Stuart England." I found it the most valuable part of the book, explaining both James's attitude toward his uncooperative new subjects and the doings of parliament (bills, redress of grievance, supply, jurisdiction, and governing). Coupled with a brief section on "Charles's Attitude Towards Parliament," this chapter should be required reading for anyone toiling in the political fields of early seventeenth-century England. Three maps, an appendix listing the principal office holders (not cross-referenced in the index), seventeen pages of suggestions for further reading, and an index complete the volume. *The Early Stuarts* is a masterful work that makes for rewarding reading. Alas, I cannot use this one either.

My difficulty with the book as a teaching tool lies in its difficult topical structure. Lockyer forgoes an introductory chronological overview and leaps into an England torn by internal and external tensions. After two chapters on the economics and international backgrounds, Lockyer spends the remaining thirteen on the constitution (assumptions and issues), royal finances (sources and expenditures), religion (Protestants and Catholics), and the early and later parliaments of James I and Charles I. There are two separate chapters on each of these topics, one each for the first Stuart

and for his son. What this means is an extensive duplication of material. I have two pages of notes of some of the more common repetitions. Here is one: Salisbury's Great Contract, the proposal to swap purveyance for a guarantee of more stable parliamentary support of the crown's financial needs in 1610. Lockyer refers to the scheme briefly on seven early pages before finally analyzing it at length. His long piece on Salisbury's innovative plan is splendid, but the topical treatment (with few cross-references to the full explanation) would make difficult going for a reader who already did not have a fair idea what happened. And to complicate the matter more, an informative essay on "Government and Society in Early Stuart England" appears very late as the eleventh chapter. It could have served as the basis for the needed overview.

The Early Stuarts is aimed at an informed audience. For teaching, it is best suited for a graduate seminar on the origins of the Civil War. Before giving it to advanced undergraduates I would first make sure they had read a more general survey, such as the relevant parts of Lockyer's *Tudor and Stuart Britain*. As a classroom text the parts of *The Early Stuarts* are greater than the whole. Perhaps for many of us it is better mined for information than assigned.

Catawba College Charlie McAllister

Edward Royle. *Modern Britain: A Social History, 1750-1985*. New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 1987. Pp. xiv, 434. Paper, $19.95.

T. O. Lloyd. *Empire to Welfare State: English History, 1906-1985*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. Third edition. Pp. xv, 558. Cloth, $45.00; paper, $17.95.

Both of these books illustrate the failure of a society to solve the problems that have plagued it ever since the industrial revolution. England has never, except for the few years after World War II, possessed the will even seriously to try to confront those problems. Inequality and misery have not been the result simply of temporary malfunctions of English capitalism but rather have been necessary and inevitable features of it.

Edward Royle's *Modern Britain: A Social History, 1750-1985*, should give pause to those enthusiasts for economic change who believe that displaced workers can easily be absorbed into new industries. The wealthiest classes have always "benefited disproportionately" from economic change. They have always moved into the suburbs and left an inner city of "deteriorating housing . . . and a rash of cheap, speculative . . . building." The cities have provided "scenes of human degradation" above which hang "palls of smoke and industrial fumes" and "the inescapable stench of animal and human excrement."

The best "solution" for its problems that nineteenth-century Britain could come up with was to export some of its poor children to Canada, Australia, and the Cape of Good Hope, if necessary through "philanthropic abduction" and "pre-emptive rescue," both euphemisms for kidnapping. Children who remained in England were put to work in the textile mills or the coal mines at the age of three or four. The ruling elite believed that for these people--the majority--education was dangerous. Keeping them ignorant "was the safest policy."

The standard of living of agricultural laborers similarly deteriorated after the 1780s. Earnings were less than half of what was required to feed a family of five, and as the population increased the assumption that there were jobs "for all of the able-bodied became patently unrealistic."

The Labour government after World War II did reduce the inequity and did remove some of the uncertainty from the lives of the poor as well as of the middle class. But anybody who was so optimistic as to claim victory would have been very naive. Steps toward equality that took two hundred years to accomplish have been lost in a decade, and after ten years of Margaret Thatcher it would be difficult to challenge Royle's conclusion "that the economic opportunities and social legislation" of the period after World War II "have not moved Britain any nearer the goal of a classless society." "The class foundations of British society, laid in the first industrial revolution, remain--however inappropriate their survival in the later twentieth century."

In *Empire to Welfare State: English History, 1906-1985,* T. O. Lloyd deals with British foreign as well as domestic policy. He writes with an occasional touch of humor: "The fashion of the decade [of the twenties] was to look at Victorian prudery with disgust, at Victorian literature with amusement, and at Victorian architecture as little as possible."

Lloyd clearly illustrates the greatness of the Labour government after World War II, and he also illustrates the outrage of the privileged at the legislation of those years. Conservative governments did reluctantly accept the welfare state and nationalization for the next thirty years, but with Margaret Thatcher reactionaries--who call themselves Conservatives--who were waiting their chance to destroy both finally got their chance. Many Conservatives had always believed that it was a waste of money as well as dangerous to educate the working classes--"It made children less willing to work and intensified the servant-problem, and there were people who thought that if the poor were educated they would no longer be content to work hard at boring jobs"--and of course many Conservatives believed that other social legislation was equally misguided.

Lloyd also illustrates the restiveness of the middle class during the years after about 1950. That restiveness must help to explain why many of the middle class would vote to make Margaret Thatcher prime minister and then allow her to remain for ten years. They have forgotten, or they never knew, what life was like before World War II.

Lloyd is as good on foreign policy as he is on domestic policy. He challenges the notion that after World War II Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill "gave" Eastern Europe to Joseph Stalin. By the time Churchill and Stalin agreed in 1944 that Greece was to be in the British sphere of influence, that Hungary and Yugoslavia were to be open to both countries, and that Rumania and Bulgaria were to be in the Russian sphere of influence, the Russian armies were already established in the areas that Russia would get. In April of 1945 few sane people in either England or the United States would have supported a war against Russia even if the two countries had not been all but exhausted and even if Japan had been already defeated.

One of the people who comes off worst in this book is Winston Churchill. Whether or not he was a great leader in wartime, in peacetime he was a disaster waiting to happen. He was a demagogue, as when as war minister after World War I he was convinced that the Labour Party was "riddled" with Bolshevism and when Lloyd George had to "restrain him from sending the army to Russia to overthrow Lenin and the Bolshevik revolution." As chancellor of the exchequer he proposed during the general strike of 1926 that the government escort a convoy of food "through the streets of London with troops carrying loaded rifles." Others had more sense, and Sir John Anderson, an under-secretary at the home office, told him to stop talking nonsense.

During most of the 1930s Churchill "was regarded as dangerously right-wing." During World War II he considered locking up Niels Bohr, the nuclear physicist, for security reasons. During the political campaign of 1945 he charged that if Labour won the election "it would set up a Gestapo to run the country." Surely such a charge in the very year in which World War II ended goes beyond simple irresponsibility. He opposed the independence of India, and if he had been in power he might have "involved England in an attempt--almost certainly hopeless--to resist the change."

Churchill, like other Conservatives, was not only anti-Labour but also anti-labor, and in his opposition tó neither was he always careful about the truth. He was also sexist, as he illustrated in 1944 when he threatened the resignation of his government if Parliament included a provision for equal pay for female teachers in the Education Act.

Lloyd points out other important and interesting features of English history almost in passing: the Conservatives' fairly consistently cavalier attitude toward the British constitution, the Englishman's definition of Bolshevism as "anything from Leninist revolution to a reduction of the social and economic gap between the upper and middle classes and the working class," the willingness of the Thatcher government "to tackle existing institutions" together with its unwillingness "to think about constructive measures to replace them."

Although a reader might disagree with some of Lloyd's conclusions, such as that there can be such a thing as democratic totalitarianism or that Margaret Thatcher "added conviction to common sense," his book is a very informative history of Britain since 1906. Like Royle's, it illustrates the solidity of the English class structure and the stubborn resistance of the ruling elite to any change

that might threaten its position in England, as well as England's position in the world. In the first resistance it has succeeded far better than in the second.

Either of these books would be too much for most students in introductory courses in European history or western civilization in most colleges. Teachers either in high school or in college should find them useful for themselves, and each would serve very well as a basic text in an upper-level college course on the period it covers in English history. Honors students in high school could also be able to handle them.

State University of New York, Cortland C. Ashley Ellefson

Alan Sked. *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 1815-1918.* London and New York: Longman, 1989. Pp. viii, 295. Cloth, $29.95; paper $17.25.

In a densely packed book, Alan Sked of the London School of Economics offers what he calls an extended essay on the decline of the Habsburg Empire in the nineteenth century. Sked, who has already published a number of specialized works on the Habsburg Empire, here tries to present an accessible study of the causes for its collapse. The basic question he is attacking, Sked says in his introduction, is to determine at what point the collapse became inevitable. He suggests, too, that the Austrian experience might help in solving problems emerging as Europe moves toward integration; looking at how the Habsburgs ruled a large number of quite different peoples, often peoples hostile to each other, can guide today's politicians.

With chapters on Metternichean Austria, 1848, the years between the revolutions of 1848 and the Compromise of 1867, the Compromise, the Dual Monarchy, and the last days, Sked maintains a good chronological balance in his treatment. His judgments are defensible and defended, if not always the majority viewpoint. With substantial recent research on the Habsburg Empire, a new history of the empire's final century is certainly welcome, but Sked's study is not one for the classroom. It will leave most undergraduates in a fog of confusion. The book is full of names familiar only to a specialist, and he identifies few of them. In Sked's discussions of Habsburg historiography, a major element of the book, he assumes his readers are familiar with the major writers on the Habsburg Empire: Paul Schroeder, F. Engel-Janosi, Hans Kohn, and the like, although he excludes Enno Kraehe.

He concludes that the empire's fall did not become inevitable until 1918, when the Central Powers lost World War I. Moreover, it was not the nationalities problem, precisely, that did Austria in: It was the failure of Habsburg statecraft over a number of years to deal effectively with the interconnections between the nationalities problem and foreign policy. An excellent study, Sked's book is one that instructors who lecture on the Habsburg Empire will gain from reading.

University of North Texas Bullitt Lowry

Adam Westoby. *The Evolution of Communism.* New York: The Free Press, 1989. Pp. 333. Cloth, $22.95.

This is a book that has been overtaken by history. British historian Westoby has written a theoretically supple and critically subtle analysis of how Communism has evolved as a uniquely successful political species at a time when that success is most in doubt. And although Westoby makes tantalizing allusions to seeing the Soviet Union operating somewhat like the Roman Empire, successful adaptation and not slow collapse is clearly his central model. He does mention Gorbachev, but who but a journalist could keep up with the crises that have engulfed the communist world in the last year? Still, the book is useful in helping readers understand how communism dominated the political life of a large part of the world for most of this century.

For most college or secondary students, the book's strengths and weaknesses are intertwined. Westoby integrates a great number of studies and theoretical material in a concise way, so that he

covers the history of Leninism in fifteen pages, the takeovers in Eastern Europe in ten, a survey of communism in Asia in 25. Aiming to combine both abstract analysis and historical detail, material is deftly condensed. Of course, for those who are not familiar with a history of the Comintern or the theory of "stratocracy," such quick sketches might lead to confusion more than enlightenment. There is definitely more breadth than depth here.

As a result, I found the historical sections overly abstract, and the theoretical ones too thin on elaboration. Westoby often makes stunning observations--the Roman Empire analogy emerges in the prescient remark about the USSR's imperialism coming as a conqueror of more advanced economies (like Rome and Greece), for instance. There are also quick tantalizing tidbits on Trotsky and Freud, a bloodchilling conversational extract with first Soviet secret police chief Dzerzhensky, and searing remarks on how Marxism has become an ideology of the educated. Certainly much of what Westoby says could help explain the collapse of the Soviet hegemony he does so much to explain in triumph, but it is nothing compared to what he might do in the future, turning his knowledge and skill directly on that question. A list of reading at the end of each chapter is useful, but somewhat shallow.

Thayer Academy Daniel Levinson

Dan Bar-On. *Legacy of Silence: Encounters With Children of the Third Reich*. Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press, 1989. Pp. x, 338. Cloth, $25.00.

Ian Kershaw. *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*. London & New York: Edward Arnold, 1989. Second edition. Pp. viii, 207. Paper $15.95.

Dan Bar-On's *Legacy of Silence* is a collection of interviews with children of the perpetrators of the Holocaust--the children of Nazi officials who participated in or witnessed the mass murders of the Jews. Bar-On, an Israeli psychologist whose family left Germany in 1933, offers a new, moving, and disturbing complement to the more usual studies of the victims of Nazi genocide and their children. Just as the children of Nazi victims carry a life-long legacy of their parents' experiences, Bar-On suggests that the children of the Nazi perpetrators also bear a legacy of their parents' deeds, a legacy of silence.

Bar-On freely admits that his book is not an objective, "social science" approach to the effects of genocide. "When I return from my fourth trip to Germany in October 1987," he writes in his conclusion, "I feel a tremendous need to try to 'analyze my data' . . . But I know I am doing something wrong . . . I am distancing myself from my interviewees, looking at them from the outside . . . I wonder if this is a result of my ongoing ambivalence about the research: am I afraid that if I look too closely I will see ordinary human beings?"

It is this subjective, human dimension that makes *Legacy of Silence* a powerful reading experience. Bar-On establishes an emotional bond with the people he interviews, feeling their pain and confusion and blending it with his own. But Bar-On's approach may also pose problems for student readers of his book. Students tend to demand "answers" and to reject ambiguity, but the ambiguity of living with unbearable knowledge is precisely what Bar-On offers. There are no answers in *Legacy of Silence*, at least in any conventional sense. If there is a lesson in Bar-On's book, it is that building a wall of silence around such events as the Nazi genocide only serves to burden future generations.

Because it confronts students with the ambiguity of living with the legacy of genocide, *Legacy of Silence* would make an excellent supplementary text in courses on the Holocaust. It could be juxtaposed with the writings of survivors and their children, to encourage students to engage in a dialogue about the long-term effects of the Holocaust. Bar-On's book might also be useful in courses on post-war Germany. Several of Bar-On's interviewees raise disturbing questions about contemporary Germany, such as Peter, the son of an SS doctor, who says he could easily envision Germans today supporting "an Auschwitz for Turks."

Legacy of Silence would not be as helpful in courses on the Nazi period, simply because so much of the book deals with the lives of the interviewees after 1945. However, several chapters in the book might make useful supplementary readings, especially chapter nine, "Small Hills Covered With Trees," which presents some fascinating glimpses of family life in the Third Reich as well as a moving eyewitness account of mass murder in occupied Russia. *Legacy of Silence* deserves a place on course reading lists and in libraries, as a valuable source for students interested in doing research on the lives of the children of Nazi officials.

The first edition of Ian Kershaw's *The Nazi Dictatorship*, published in 1985, was immediately recognized as the best brief introduction to the current state of historical research on Nazism. In the second edition, Kershaw not only updates his earlier book but adds two new chapters on the major historical-political-moral controversies surrounding the Nazi period that have erupted in Germany in recent years. Given the rapid pace of political changes in both West and East Germany in the past year, Kershaw's book is not only valuable for understanding Germany's past but also her present and future.

Kershaw discusses several major "problems" in the study of Nazism: the fascist vs. totalitarian paradigms for understanding the role of Hitler in administration, Jewish policy, foreign policy, and the social effects of Nazism. Although Kershaw does not hesitate to present his own views--he believes fascism to be a better characterization of Nazism than totalitarianism, for example--his treatment of the conflicting opinions on each issue is fair and even-handed. While Kershaw's main focus is on West German scholarship, he does discuss the contributions of non-German writers as well, thus making *The Nazi Dictatorship* valuable as a general historiographical survey.

The second edition seems somewhat clearer on several points than the first. Unfortunately, Kershaw's two new chapters are not as easy to follow as the remainder of the book, perhaps because they treat very recent and thus still evolving controversies. In the first of the new chapters, Kershaw discusses the "Historikerstreit" (historians' dispute), the controversy over the historicization of Nazism. Now that more than forty years have passed, is it time for historians to treat the Nazi period in the same way they treat other historical periods? Or does this "trivialize" Nazism and thus reduce its political and moral implications? In the second new chapter, Kershaw takes up the "revisionist" views of conservative historians, Ernst Nolte, Andreas Hillgruber, and Michael Sturmer. Kershaw points out that the three are not pursuing identical paths and need to be understood--and, in Kershaw's view, refuted--separately. While these chapters are a valuable addition, one may hope that in a future edition the arguments in them will be expressed more clearly. (The two new chapters in Kershaw's book make interesting reading in conjunction with Bar-On's *Legacy of Silence*, since both, in different ways, are about Germans' attempts to come to terms with their past.)

The Nazi Dictatorship should be required reading in upper division undergraduate and graduate courses on the Nazi period. It could be used in conjunction with two other recent books--the third edition of *The Nazi Revolution* (D. C. Heath, 1990), edited by Alan Mitchell, and *Life in the Third Reich* (Oxford University Press, 1987), edited by Richard Bessel--to provide a sound and stimulating introduction to recent historical research on Nazism. Kershaw's book, however, probably will not be useful in lower-division undergraduate courses. Kershaw assumes background knowledge (both on Nazism and on historiographical thinking) that few first and second-year students possess. Instructors of courses on Nazism at all levels will find the book a valuable resource, and indeed it should be read by anyone involved in teaching courses in modern European history.

Broome Community College Lorenz J. Firsching

Donald R. Wright. *African Americans in the Colonial Era: From African Origins Through the American Revolution*. Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1990. Pp. x, 184. Paper, $8.95.

Historians familiar with the Harlan Davidson American History Series have come to expect succinct summary statements and strong bibliographic essays. Donald Wright's book will thus be a welcome addition to the series. The series' editors identified a gap in the survey literature on African-American history. Colonial America has simply not been addressed in a meaningful fashion.

The monographic literature is often too widely scattered to be of much value to the undergraduate reader, and when the subject of slavery is broached, it has all too often been the slavery of the cotton belt between 1830 and 1860. Wright ably summarizes the origins of slavery and the mechanics of slave trade; he looks sensitively at the issue of the origins of slavery as well as the origins of racism, carefully addressing both the presence of Anthony Johnson and other free blacks like him, but noting that patterns of discrimination toward blacks existed from the beginning of European and African colonization of the New World. The author looks at the development of the Chesapeake tobacco regime but also notes the expansion of slavery into coastal Carolina and Georgia as well as its presence in the colonies to the north of Maryland. Regional patterns as well as local differences are mentioned. There is a solid discussion of the development of Afro-American communities including attention to family patterns, religious patterns, and acculturation. The book concludes with an important discussion of the rhetoric and the limits of freedom during the revolutionary era. Students who seek clues to additional sources will find a good and up-to-date reading list in the bibliographical essay. To the credit of the author, studies that elicit comparative understanding of slavery are included along with colony specific monographs that have appeared in the last two decades.

A strength of this series, and of this book in particular, will be its utility for the classroom teacher. Teachers of the American history survey will find it a useful supplement to a standard text, as will those who teach the colonial course. For the instructor of black history this slender volume could provide a good text covering the colonial period that could be supplemented by monographs for other chronological eras. Finally one must note that the text departs from many works of history and includes very useful and carefully presented maps that help to illustrate particular points about the slave trade and the patterns of colonial settlement. For those who seek a survey from which to begin an inquiry about African-American life, this book will prove an excellent choice.

Georgia College Thomas F. Armstrong

Sterling Stuckey. *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987. Pp. 425. Cloth, $27.50.

Slave Culture is a stimulating and well researched study into the social history of black America since the early colonial period up to the late 1930s. Professor Stuckey writes with the ease and clarity rarely found in more recent texts of black history. *Slave Culture* provides meaningful elaboration and examination of black society both in pre- and post-slavery America. In addition to an indepth overview of black culture and society, the author provides the reader with useful and relevant case studies of selected black Americans. The major figures included in the book are David Walker, Henry Highland Garnet, W.E.B. DuBois, and Paul Robeson.

In chapter four, entitled "Identity and Ideology: The Names Controversy," Stuckey provides the reader with a thorough, yet concise, interpretation of the philosophic definition and evolution of the terms "Colored American," "Negro American," and "Afro-American," and how each reflected American society of that time period. *Slave Culture* provides the student of American history a meaningful and accurate portrayal of the socio-intellectual history of black culture in America. The text is a valuable resource for teachers and instructors of American history. The ease of its readability coupled with the scholarly and research--focused content makes *Slave Culture* an important, recent contribution to the historical and cultural study of black Americans. As a student of black history, the reviewer found Professor Stuckey's book motivating for the reader and stimulating for historical inquiry. *Slave Culture* should be mandatory reading for all students of black American history, and students interested in the socio-cultural history of the American nation.

For the teacher, the text will benefit the history classroom by facilitating discussion of both historical and contemporary myths and stereotypes of black culture that have persisted throughout the history of the American nation.

Old Dominion University S. Rex Morrow

J. Jackson Barlow, Leonard W. Levy, & Ken Masugi, eds. *The American Founding: Essays on the Formation of the Constitution*. New York, Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 1988. Pp. xii, 341. Cloth, $45.00.

Prepared with the explicit intention of helping to commemorate the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, *The American Founding* brings together the views of several prominent historians and political scientists on the constitution-writing process of the founding fathers. The original basis for this collection of essays was the publications of the Claremont Institute for the Study of Statesmanship and Political Philosophy and of Public Research.

These essays are based on the question "Is America the best regime sought by the philosophers of old?" In their discussion, the authors point toward a renewed scholarly interest in the concept of the "best regime" as a theme in the study of the writing of the Constitution. The historians in these essays seek to understand the founding fathers as they understood themselves and focus their attention on both particular events, such as Jack N. Rakove's essay on the Confederation Period, as well as on broader themes in political thought, as Marvin Meyers and Merrill Peterson do in their essays on James Madison and Thomas Jefferson. Political scientists, on the other hand, look for the more permanent and enduring, as well as the classical, in the contributions of the founding fathers. As Thomas G. West and Charles R. Kesseler point out, the spirit of the founding fathers was a classical one, formed by a strong knowledge of the classical authors and by a classical conception of the nature of politics. However, as Michael P. Zuchert and Edward J. Erler demonstrate, they knew such modern authors as John Locke and the concept of natural rights.

If there is a theme to these essays, it would be that, in attempting to create the best regime, the founders were not utopians or perfectionists, but optimists. They realized that such progress toward good government as Americans had made was founded both on an attachment to "abstract truths" and a healthy skepticism of claims that a particular arrangement of offices or a particular constitution could guarantee good results. Their optimism comes out in the feeling that experience would uncover defects in the Constitution and that future political leaders would continue to make improvements in the means of government. As the editors note, the book might well be titled "Essays on the Political Science of the American Founding."

As the theme is oriented more toward political science, this book might well be considered for adoption in courses on the American Constitution or Political Thought as a supplementary reader. Historians, however, may find useful those essays pertaining to the influence of classical and modern thought on the founding fathers.

Mount Saint Mary College John T. Reilly

Douglas T. Miller. *Frederick Douglass and the Fight for Freedom*. New York & Oxford: Facts on File Publications, 1988. Pp. viii, 152. Cloth, $16.95.

Frederick Douglass, the extraordinary nineteenth-century black leader, is the subject of this life-and-times treatment in this entry in the *Makers of America Series*. The series is edited by John Anthony Scott. A statement about the series on the book's jacket claims that it is targeted for young adults and general readers, and a reading of the text confirms this claim. The reading level is appropriate for college undergraduates and advanced secondary students, and the book would work as an assigned reading for a class. The length is modest and the data and interpretations are not strenuous.

The book opens with Douglass a witness to a beating of his aunt for refusing the sexual advances of her owner. Douglass was then seven years of age, his aunt only eight years older. From that slavery-damning opening, the narrative proceeds to enumerate the many evils and personal affronts associated with slavery in what might be termed a PG rating style if this were a movie. Maybe even a G rating. We read that Douglass was separated from his black mother at an extremely early age and did not know which local white was his father, although he had his suspicions; raised by grandparents and in the company of many cousins, at an appropriate working age he was turned over to his owner to begin his working life; he lived a sheltered life for a time as the companion of

a contemporary white until sent to Baltimore while still a young man; he taught himself literacy skills with some assistance at first, but then when it was pointed out that this might make him rebellious, the assistance stopped; he learned the caulker's trade in the shipyards, but experienced discrimination from fellow workers; and he ran away to the North with the assistance of a free black named Anna, whom he later married, and then became the show-case lecturer for the Garrisonian abolitionists.

Douglass was a remarkable man, and is presented in these pages as such. He became a touring lecturer who condemned slavery with his words and with his presence. He traveled in Europe for the cause, and for his personal safety and security from recapture. He was accepted as an equal there much more than in the North, where he often experienced segregation in public accommodations. During the American Civil War he became an advocate of President Abraham Lincoln's declaring the end of slavery as a goal, and of the use of black troops to fight for their freedom and for the freedom of other blacks. Douglass always believed in the self-made concept and thought that slaves deserved the right to earn their own freedom on the battlefield instead of having it won for them by white soldiers in blue uniforms.

Douglass's passion for the equality of women of all races receives considerable space in these pages. His relations with individual women is less precise. Miller states that he was never unfaithful to Anna, who remained illiterate, but suggests that apart from rearing their children they had little in common. He apparently did have opportunities to be unfaithful at least, but Miller does not want us to believe they were actualized. After Anna's death he married Helen Pitts, his white secretary.

Because of his race and accomplishments, Douglass had access to Lincoln's office, and Miller believes that Douglass did influence policy in the Lincoln administration. Many Lincoln scholars would minimize this. He was insulted by President Andrew Johnson and ignored by President Ulysses Grant, but did receive appointments from Presidents R. B. Hayes and Benjamin Harrison, including an unhappy stint as a minister to Haiti.

Miller includes a lengthy and critical bibliographic essay on sources that lists and evaluates more complete biographies and monographs. Scholars will want to consult them for materials that could not be included in this brief account. But this is a good introduction to the subject for its target market.

Stephen F. Austin State University Archie P. McDonald

Keith L. Bryant, Jr. and Henry C. Dethloff. *A History of American Business*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1990. Second edition. Pp. xiii, 384. Paper, $28.67.

I reviewed the earlier first edition of C. Joseph Pusateri's *A History of American Business* in this journal in 1985 (Spring, x, 1). At that time I chose to review, in addition, all the other basic texts that had appeared in response to a growing interest in American business history. One of those was the first edition of Bryant and Dethloff's *A History of American Business*, published in 1983, and which I had used in my own upper-level undergraduate/graduate course in American business history.

At that time I wrote that "this text (the first edition) is much better for undergraduate use, but breaks from the chronological tradition to follow a topical outline." On the whole, I felt, and still do, that students experienced some difficulties following the text if, as I do, the instructor utilizes a shorter chronological approach interspersed with cases. I believed then, and I do now, that unless the instructor takes care, the student will not see the constant interplay of business and society over time. That fact is supported by the catchy title . . . rather it would have been "business in American history" or "American business history."

Now, as to the current second edition, I guess I have the feeling that a second edition published some seven years after the first should show the effects of recent scholarship, changes in the environment, and the general forces that have ben affecting American business in that period. I really can find little more than a glancing attempt to appreciably change this text.

The preface contains some new language and a suggestion that something has seriously affected the American business community in a negative manner, i.e. increasing debt and a troubled financial sector. However, the section on "Banking in the Modern Era" in the chapter on "Banking and

Finance" leaves much to be desired. Even the chapter's suggested readings are lacking in current citations; the "Notes" show no references after 1982.

If this is truly a second edition, then I would have expected that the authors would have made every attempt to extend the chapters that deal most specifically with current problems with a paragraph or two--not so. The only evidence that I can find that that was really done was in the chapter on "Multinational Corporations" where the one-half page cut of the Volkswagen plant at Westmoreland, Pennsylvania, has been replaced with a full-page rendering of the new Toyota plant in Georgetown, Kentucky. But even the added comments fall short of what one might expect given the explosive history of the Japanese economy since 1983.

On the whole, I find that this second edition is not what is implied by the phrase as I might define same. It is essentially the original volume with slight cosmetic changes that suggest something different, but isn't. On the other hand, I would still recommend the use of this text in the classroom. It is well-written, but coves the waterfront too loosely. I would have appreciated a true second edition of a text in a field that is becoming more and more popular. The publication of this edition suggests less control by the authors and more concern by the publisher in marketing something a second time around for increased profit rather than increased understanding and greater scholarship.

Northeastern University Paul H. Tedesco

Altina L. Waller. *Feud: Hatfields, McCoys, and Social Change in Appalachia, 1860-1900.* Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. Pp. xiii, 313. Cloth, $32.50; paper, $12.50.

As Altina Waller notes in her introduction, for most Americans the Hatfield-McCoy feud conjures up "images of bearded mountaineers brandishing rifles and jugs of moonshine as they defend illegal stills from federal 'revenuers,' enforce 'shotgun' weddings, and lawlessly perpetuate inherited family grudges." Historians have generally reinforced this view, explaining this late nineteenth-century dispute as the natural product of premodern Appalachian culture, where irrational family loyalties, rampant lawlessness, and routine violence were the norm.

But in *Feud* Altina Waller brilliantly rescues the feudists and their world from popular stereotypes and historical misinterpretation. Instead of caricatures, Waller provides detailed and sympathetic treatments of protagonists such as "Old Ranel" McCoy, "Bad Frank" Phillips, and "Devil Anse" Hatfield. More than this, Waller *explains* the dispute. She convincingly argues that there were two distinct phases to the feud. Feud I (1878-82) was strictly a local affair. Here Waller demolishes much of the standard interpretation, making clear that: kinship was not the controlling variable, as economic ties and other factors resulted in McCoys on the Hatfield side, and vice-versa; the disputants (in keeping with their Appalachian neighbors) went to great lengths to secure legal remedies for their problems; and the violence that did occur (five killings in five years) was an aberration in Appalachian culture.

More important is Waller's discussion of Feud II (1887-1890). As the author demonstrates, this second phase was not primarily a local affair. In the 1880s the forces of industrial capitalism turned their attention to the rich resources of Appalachia. Seeking to hasten capitalist advance, local commercial elites and the governor of Kentucky committed themselves to making "eastern Kentucky 'safe' for development." As part of this program, and spurred on by a few grudge-nursing McCoy partisans (including one with connections to the governor's office), in 1887 the state of Kentucky offered rewards for capture of the Hatfields. The result was a revival of the dispute, but at a much more violent level, with house-burnings, bounty hunters, extralegal posses, and pitched battles. This intensified violence was initiated not by "primitive" and "uncivilized" mountaineers, but by invading modernizers. The latter were the winners of this famous feud, not the Hatfields nor even the McCoys (despite Kentucky's execution of one Hatfield supporter, and imprisonment of others). As Waller observes, the modernizers used the violence they created as an argument for further interventions and "drastic alterations in Appalachian culture." And the interventions and alterations came. In effect, the Hatfield-McCoy feud was just another episode in the "capitalist transformation" of the region, a transformation, Waller sadly concludes, that "inexorably has been accompanied by economic, social, and cultural exploitation" of the Appalachian people.

Feud is a complex work, and I have greatly over-simplified Waller's sophisticated argument. But in one area analysis is not so sophisticated: religion. In her first chapter Waller pronounces that the Appalachian people were quite religious, and, in fact, it was "these religious values which most cogently reveal the community's definition of itself and its relation to the world beyond the valley." Having said this, she then proceeds to devote all of three paragraphs to religion, with very little discussion of religion in the remainder of the book. In this cursory treatment Waller argues that the Primitive Baptist Calvinism of the mountaineers led them to be fatalistic, suspicious, and opposed to capitalism and personal economic advancement. Waller does not really prove this point, nor does she attempt to square her argument with the long historiographical tradition linking Calvinism with the rise of capitalism.

Religion aside, *Feud* is social history of the first order. Moreover, given Waller's engaging treatment of a fascinating topic, *Feud* could work very well in an upper-division social history or twentieth-century America course.

Messiah College William Vance Trollinger, Jr.

Anthony Short. *The Origins of the Vietnam War*. London & New York: Longman, 1989. Pp. xv, 347. Paper, $14.95.

The Vietnam War is a "hot" course topic now and texts are being produced to meet the demand. Neglected for so long, the Vietnam conflict has now generated a host of combat memoirs as well as works dealing with the diplomatic side of the war, but has produced fewer studies of the early years of U.S. involvement. The natural questions for each new Vietnam text are: Is this book useful, and is it necessary?

Anthony Short's *Origins of the Vietnam War* is part of the Origins of Modern Wars series, that has already weighed in with some distinguished entries, such as James Joll's *Origins of the First World War*. Short defines his origins broadly, providing chapters on the early career of Ho Chi Minh, the French involvement and exodus, and the subsequent growth of U.S. involvement through 1965. The American involvement is broken down into a chapter on the period from 1952 to 1954 and another on the Geneva conference of 1954. These two chapters are followed by three chapters that cover the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson years through 1965. Throughout, the author concentrates on the diplomatic maneuvering behind the conflict rather than on the purely military side of the war.

The author's purpose is to provide essentially a narrative of events rather than closely argued analytic treatment. In doing so he displays a command of the relevant secondary literature as well as the major printed document collections. Short, a reader in international relations at the University of Aberdeen, does not claim to break new ground, but he ties together the various French and American accounts of the early years of the American involvement. He points to John Foster Dulles's unwillingness to participate in a settlement of the first Vietnam war as sowing the seeds for the widening American involvement in the late 1950s, but he is also critical of the Geneva accords as being carelessly worded and poorly conceived. Short draws an analogy between the causes of the Vietnam war and the nineteenth-century wars of unification in Germany and Italy. Hence, the United States stood in the way of a people determined to unite their country, a nearly impossible task. This concluding point is an interesting one, but one that Short's narrative does not adequately address.

The *Origins of the Vietnam War* is a solid work, even if written in pedestrian style. What then is the audience? The author's style and his assumption of wider knowledge make the book unsuitable for beginning audiences unless they have extensive coaching along the way. A college history course dealing with the Vietnam War seems to be the most likely market. For those who want a text that ties together the diplomatic side of the French conflict and the early stages of the American effort *The Origins of the Vietnam War* fills the bill. It does not replace works such as Peter Dunn's *First Vietnam War*, but its wider coverage makes it more amenable to classroom application. The very strength of *The Origins of the Vietnam War*, its emphasis on diplomatic history, may leave some readers cold, who desire a more campaigns-and-battles orientation. Nonetheless, it is time to go

beyond memorizing Vietnamese names and fighting the Vietnam War in the classroom and begin to help our students to place the conflict in a wider context.

Short's book is helpful in dealing with this last issue, but it is probably a book that will be neglected in the classroom. His flat writing style coupled to a narrow focus in subject matter and time limits the book's application in many settings. *The Origins of the Vietnam War* is useful, but not completely necessary.

Converse College John M. Theilmann

S.A.M. Adshead. *China in World History*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988. Pp. x, 422. Cloth, $37.50.

China in World History is a seminal, theoretical work waiting to be absorbed into the developing body of approaches to world history. Not only is China revealed as a much more interactive participant than it is usually regarded but the entire Central Asian arena blooms as much more important than most historians note. Perhaps the current events in the Soviet Union with its Asian minorities receiving mention in the western press will create some greater interest in these fascinating and significant peoples.

The volume is an immense piece of scholarship for its size. If every name of empire and leader mentioned were to be explained a whole set of encyclopedias would be required. Combine the required knowledge and complex vocabulary in this work and it is not a text for the casual reader or student. Acquiring significant understanding from the work requires previous knowledge of much Eurasian history and a well-developed mental map of the world.

Adshead is extremely well organized. His purpose is to present the history of China as part of the world. Although the emerging world system is designed largely by the West, China has made more contributions than generally recognized. He divides history into six periods: Antiquity, Late Antiquity, Middle Ages, Renaissance, Enlightenment and Modern (to 1976). In each period he discusses China's place in the world, avenues of contact, interchanges, and world institutions.

Some world historians may be surprised to find world institutions mentioned in antiquity. Although Adshead states that Buddhism is the only phenomenon approaching a world institution, he also explores commodity exchanges of food and energy sources and ecosystems. In late antiquity the T'ang court balancing ideas and elements from many sources is viewed as a world institution. With the Renaissance and a potential "birth of world history through Columbus, Magellan and St. Francis Xavier" two new institutional layers were added: a world economy and the religious internationals based on the Naqshbandiyya dervish order, Tibetan lamaism, and Jesuit Christianity. The Enlightenment added the naval "pax Britannica" and a "republic of letters" or communality of intellectual pursuits. In the modern period the international effort to reduce disease and the "world technological bank" are shared. Yet official secrecy in a polycentric world limits the growth of shared knowledge and institutions.

What were some of the key objects of exchange? Well-known commodities such as silk, porcelain, tea, and spices and the less desirable microbes are supplemented by peaches, apricots, oranges, cotton, sugar, copper, rhubarb, medicine, tobacco, Mexican silver, the chrysanthemum, and dyestuffs. Knowledge spread included nautical techniques, metallurgical techniques, mechanisms in the use of water power, the chemistry of explosives, and an Enlightenment challenge to the prevailing Mediterranean centered European views.

Adshead offers new perspectives such as viewing Europe less through its wars and conflicts and more through conflict resolution and unity. Since Adshead is from New Zealand his perspectives differ from the typical American historian. His sources are extensive, including both English and French, yet he has not had an opportunity to work with more recent relevant U.S. work such as William McNeil's *Plagues and Peoples*. Although he cites Jonathan Spence's early work he would also find useful the more recent works on K'ang Hsi and Matteo Ricci. In exchange this volume should complement McNeil's new interest in China.

The shortcomings of this book are more in the publishing than the writing. It desperately needs a good map or maps. A few sketches, especially of ship types, would help in visualizing some content. The index appears to have been written by a Chinese graduate student - simply a list of names, mostly in Chinese without the use of Pinyin. If one wishes to trace the recurring importance of silk, opium, tea, or the haj it cannot be done via the index.

Adshead at times has interesting and novel ways of expressing his observations. For example, in response to the modern exchange of flora from China to Europe, he summarizes "Szechuan was now in the suburbs, and gardening, the most widespread aesthetic activity perhaps apart from choice of clothes was deeply affected." China under Mao underwent "institutional magnification" so that "During the Great Leap Forward . . . the state practically swallowed society . . . the resultant institutional indigestion led to a partial regurgitation . . ."

In short, this is an exciting book with intellectual challenges but the consumer must necessarily be already among the well-informed.

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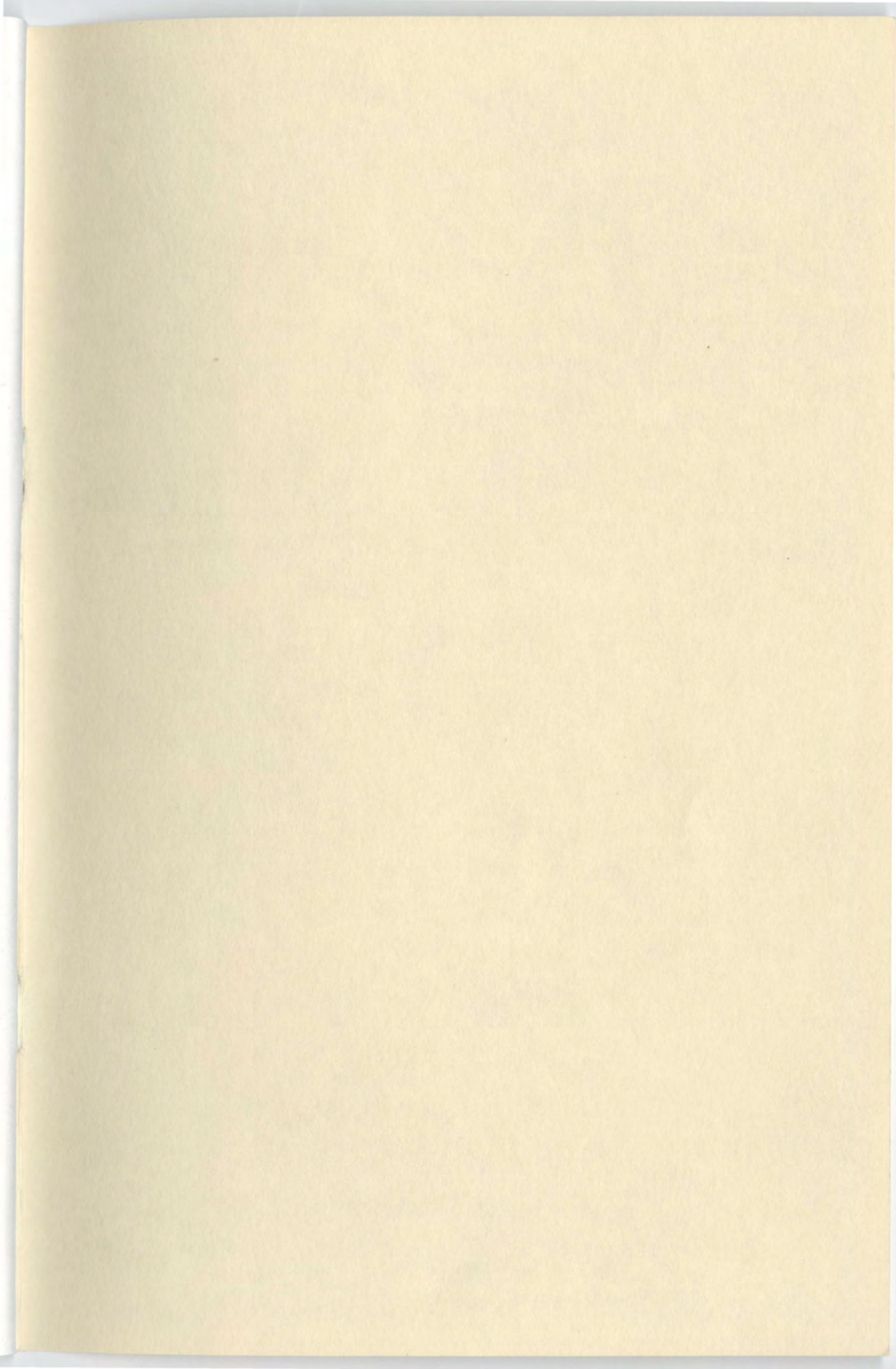

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