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ACTIVE LEARNING IN HISTORY CLASSES

Peter Frederick
Wabash College

Tell me, and I'll listen
Show me, and I'll understand
Involve me, and I'll learn.
--Lakota Indian

> I believe that the great challenge confronting historians today is the challenge of the classroom. To meet it we shall have to give to teaching a higher place in our scale of values than we do today . . . . We shall ourselves have to be the best teachers that we know how to be, the most humane, the most sympathetic, the most dedicated.
> --Dexter Perkins, AHA Presidential Address, December 1956

and thirty years later . . .

> I am suggesting that unless we restore to the teaching of history at every level that humanistic aspect that sees history primarily as the story of people living in a distant time and in another place--unless we do that we lose the greatest strength that history has to offer . . . . Teaching history well is one of the best things a person can do.
> --Gerda Lerner, OAH Address to Teachers, April 1986

Henry Adams had a problem. Actually, he had several, not least his incomplete education as he pursued thirteenth-century unity in the midst of twentieth-century multiplicity. Adams, moreover, was concerned with the moral collapse of American politics, which mirrored the decline of the Adams family itself. Descended from two former presidents and a distinguished diplomat father, Henry was "just" an historian. But the immediate problem he faced in 1870, as Charles Eliot called him to teach medieval history at Harvard, was how to do it.

Adams began his academic career in a way familiar to thousands of subsequent history professors: No one helped him learn how to teach. Worse yet, he did not know much about his field. Adams confessed later in *The Education of Henry Adams* that he had not given more than "an hour, more or less, to the Middle Ages," knowing only "enough to be ignorant." Although contemporary historians, unlike Adams, "know their field," many have little if any preparation in how to teach it. The highest challenge we face is to motivate our students to love history as we do by involving them more actively in its study.

Henry Adams tried several approaches to involve his students in class: discussions, lectures, and seminars. He decided that he wanted to get students "to talk," which meant "he had to devise schemes to find what they were thinking about, and induce them to risk criticism from their fellows." But Adams could not discover what was on his students' mind, he reported, in part because "their professor had nothing in his." Discouraged with discussions, Adams shifted to lectures, which he thought appropriate to a course on "the twelfth century." But lecturing "suited Adams not at all," he wrote, because he wanted "to teach his students something not wholly useless." Only one in ten, he estimated, was stimulated by what he had to say.

Finally Adams resolved to "cultivate this tenth mind" by involving students in a seminar to instruct them in the use of the "historical method" as a way of finding out what he and they did not know. After a period of illusory pleasure with this system, Adams concluded that "his wonderful method led nowhere" and was "doomed to failure." He declared both himself and the educational system as "fallacious." After six years he "was content neither with what he had taught nor with the way he had taught it," and resigned. As Adams wrote in *The Education*, he "tried a great many experiments, and wholly succeeded in none."[1]

History professors today, unlike Adams, do not have the luxury of an independent income and therefore must teach. And we do so "gladly," as Dexter Perkins said in his AHA presidential address in 1956. Nevertheless, like Henry Adams we, too, struggle with the challenge of getting students motivated and involved with the texts, themes, issues, and questions of history that excite us. Many of us have tried in vain to get students "to talk." Many, too, have encountered classes of students who confessed that they thought history was "boring," "a bunch of names and dates and facts." Although there are small signs of recent resurgence, history enrollments have plummeted overall in the past two decades. Cultural priorities partly explain the flight. A recent Gallup and National Geographic Society survey revealed that only 36% of the people surveyed said it was "absolutely necessary to know something" about history, compared to 83% for math and 64% for computer skills. Geography ranked higher than history by 1% and only the foreign languages, at 20%, ranked lower.

But history suffers from internal fragmentation as well as from external social attitudes. Like other disciplines, history has become "excessively compartmentalized and irrelevant except to our own diminishing numbers," as one representative historian complained in an OAH survey in 1986. David Thelen, who reported on the survey, expressed his surprise not that there was a gap between narrow scholarship and the "generalist" goals and needs of most historians, but rather with "the depth and breadth of dissatisfaction with 'overspecialization' of scholarship."[2]

"Our academic arrogance," Bernard Weisberger has written recently, has "allowed many professors to lose touch with their base in popular culture." The irony he points out, is that just as the study of history has expanded to include more and more social groups and public purposes, historians have widened the gap between themselves and others--including students. Although "history is not sick," Weisberger writes, "the *teaching* of history may be."[3] Some critics, such as Theodore Hamerow, Gertrude Himmelfarb, and Bernard Bailyn, blame the new social history for the loss of a coherent narrative story of the past. Many others, such as Thomas

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[1] Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918), 300-304.

[2] David Thelen, "The Professor and the *Journal of American History*," *The Journal of American History*, 73 (June 1986), 9.

[3] Bernard A. Weisberger, "American History is Falling Down," *American Heritage* (February/March 1987), 32. See also Diane Ravitch, "Decline and Fall of Teaching History," *New York Times Magazine*, November 17, 1985, 50-56, 101, 117.

Bender, Robert Kelley, and Carl Degler, call for incorporating social history into a new narrative synthesis. Multiculturalism adds to the challenge.

In 1988 in the *OAH Newsletter*, Deborah and Robert Kuhn McGregor summarized many current dissatisfactions: "We stand justly accused," they wrote, "of writing only for one another." But unlike other critics, the McGregors took action by conducting a summer institute for secondary history teachers on the new social history and in developing pedagogical materials to help students learn it. Their experience was not entirely a happy one. They concluded that "the chasm between history taught at the secondary level and history researched at the university level seems very wide and imposing."[4] But surely, a similar gap exists in post-secondary history teaching as well.

These colleagues exhort us, as did Dexter Perkins and Gerda Lerner, thirty years apart, to devote more energy and creativity to bridging the chasm between scholarly specialization and our responsibilities to both the public and our students to teach history well. A recurring theme in Joan Hoff-Wilson's annual reports to OAH on the various crises besetting the historical profession, as she wrote in 1986, is that the crisis "involving better teaching of history in secondary and higher educational institutions (especially the survey classes) remains very much with us."[5]

This article seeks to support the need to achieve "better teaching of history" by suggesting several practical strategies for involving students more actively in the history classroom, thus revitalizing their--*and our*--enthusiasm for learning history in colleges and universities. Nowhere is this challenge more important than in survey courses. The suggestions made here, though applicable to history courses at any level, are focused on building active learning into the survey. These strategies are appropriate for any size class--40 or 400--and for any kind of room, even a conventionally-tiered lecture hall with students in chairs bolted to the floor in rows facing a lone professor standing behind a lectern.

Every study of effective educational practices in recent years, including even medical education, cites active and small group cooperative learning, high expectations, and the giving of caring, constructive, and frequent feedback to students, as the most crucial elements for learning.[6] Despite the consistency of these recommendations, most college and university professors, historians among them, in most classes most of the time, continue to lecture to mostly passive and increasingly inattentive, unmotivated audiences. We lecture for many compelling reasons, as we have all said: "Id like to do less lecturing, but there's too much to cover." Or, "I teach the survey and I've got to get from the fall of Rome to the French Revolution." Or, "I'd like to try some new methods, but I can't--I have 300 students in the class, you know." Or, "Student interaction is impossible in my classroom--the chairs are in rows bolted to the floor--all I can do is lecture." Or, "With all the recent criticisms of how little college students know about American history and geography, I'd better lecture to make sure they know the important facts."

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[4] Deborah Kuhn McGregor and Robert Kuhn McGregor, "Strange Brew: 'New' History and Old Methods," *OAH Newsletter* (May 1988), 10-11.

[5] Joan Hoff-Wilson, "Report of the Executive Secretary," *OAH Newsletter* (May 1986), 1.

[6] See especially, Arthur W. Chickering and Zelda F. Gamson, "Seven Principles for Good Practice in Undergraduate Education," *AAHE Bulletin* (March 1987); *Involvement in Learning: Realizing the Potential of American Higher Education*, National Institute of Education (October 1984); Ernest L. Boyer, *College: The Undergraduate Experience in America*, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (New York: Harper & Row, 1987); and *A New Vitality in General Education*, Assn. of American Colleges, 1988.

There are valid reasons for lecturing, and it is not my intention to repudiate the use of lectures to achieve such legitimate learning goals. It is wrong to assume that students listening to a lecture are necessarily inactive. Lectures are necessary to impart new information and to structure an important topic or series of events, or to explain, clarify, and organize difficult concepts, or to analyze and compare relationships among two cultures or two different eras, or to tell a compellingly interesting story, such as the course and significance of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, or the Seneca Falls convention, or the election of 1912. Lectures, most importantly, can inspire student enthusiasm for further learning and informed right actions, in Emerson's words, "to set the hearts of youth on flame."

Unfortunately, not all lectures meet the Emersonian standard. Even when they do there is substantial evidence of diminishing attention and retention after about 20 minutes. The point, however, is not to quit lecturing but rather to vary our lectures with active learning strategies. The lecture is but one instructional method among many, all intended to increase ways of involving students actively in large impersonal history classes. Our choice of strategy depends on our goals. When "covering" or synthesizing new material, no doubt we can lecture. But for teaching students to decipher documents, to detect historical interpretations and develop their own, to distinguish underlying and proximate causes of events, and to appreciate the complexity of human motivation, much less to learn how to write and speak well, students need to be more active learners.

Three pervasive principles are important for active learning. First, given the fact that students have diverse learning styles, teachers should use a variety of different strategies in order to reach these diverse students. We need to vary our methods not only on different days but also within any single class period. Energy shifts about every 20 minutes, in which both the activity and the voices that speak are changed, continually reenergize student attention and aid their learning. For example, after 15-20 minutes of a lecture how Puritan theology gave energy to Massachusetts Bay, students will need a few minutes to absorb and integrate what they have learned. They need to reflect, ask questions, and repeat their understanding of covenant theology (no easy task) or how one knows one is saved. After hearing several students struggle to explain, in Edmund Morgan's terms, how one seeks to purify a flawed institution by leaving it, students may need the teacher's clarification. Within a 50-minute period, the energy shifts twice as students listen to a concept explained, work with it themselves, and then get feedback on their understanding of the concept.

Students also need visual reinforcements, a second crucial pervasive principle for learning. Like it or not, we compete not just with TV but with MTV. The larger the class the more need for the visual support of chalkboards, handouts, and overhead transparencies. In our class on Puritanism it would help to have the essential points of Calvinism and of Winthrop's "city on a hill" speech on the *Arabella* listed somewhere, as well as to see on a map the geographical relationship between Old and New England. Personalizing an issue is also a way of visualizing it. Pick a student, John, for example, in the third row, who like a good Puritan is concerned with the question of whether or not he is saved and how knowing that might make a difference in the kind of life he leads. Focusing on John is a way of activating the involvement of the entire class and making abstract issues concrete and personal.

Or consider the evocative power of slides, not just in a slide-lecture, but as a way of involving every student actively in the interpretation of a single visual image. For example, show a slide (or overhead transparency) of a Thomas Nast or Herblock cartoon, or a photograph of a family or famous scene (Pearl Harbor or Kent State), or a presidential campaign poster, or a powerful painting or lithograph of an historical scene. Ask students first to describe what they see and then to analyze what it means, perhaps even to suggest a title or caption. My favorite is John Gast's "Westward-Ho," also known as "American Progress," which shows Indians, buffalo, and a bear fleeing westward as Miss Liberty, carrying a schoolbook and stringing telegraph wire, brings light and "civilization" as she leads miners, farmers, ranchers, stage coaches, wagon trains, and railroads across the country. There are lots of details to describe. The analysis includes noting the various stages of westward "development" as well as a lively debate on whether to title the painting from the perspective of the settlers from the east or those fleeing off the edge to the west.

The third pervasive principle is that students will retain their learning when they are able to claim ownership of it. This will happen more often to the extent that we can hook their experiences to our teaching goals, which is partly achieved by the examples we choose. If we provide spaces, or holes, in the content we are presenting, students will fill in the spaces with their own insights, reading, analysis, or experience.

The Puritan dilemma, for example, which is usually discussed early in a U.S. survey when students are still adjusting to their housing assignment, is more easily comprehended when they are invited to connect their understanding of the dilemma to their own situation, in this case living with others in a dorm or sorority or fraternity house. Assuming students have some ideal of social relationships, how do *they* handle the imperfections of their current living arrangement, and what options do they have in trying to achieve better human interactions, in an imperfect situation? As they explore various options, they might begin to understand John Winthrop's dilemma whether or not to leave the Church of England in seeking to purify it.

These three principles of learning--diverse methods and energy shifts, visual reinforcements, and ownership--permeate the active learning strategies described in this article. The strategies, or teaching ideas, are grouped into six sections: interactive lectures; questioning; using small groups in large classes; critical-thinking and problem-solving exercises; large class debates and role-playing; and affective learning through the use of media.

1. INTERACTIVE LECTURES

The interactive lecture involves various forms of student participation in the process of ordering a topic into a coherent pattern. In one form, students are invited to help create a lecture by brainstorming. When beginning a new topic, start by asking students to call out "everything you know or think you know about World War I" (or Darwinism, China, slavery, the Renaissance, the Constitutional

Convention, or whatever). As recorded on an overhead transparency or blackboard, a list will unfold of a mixture of specific names, dates, and events; descriptions of natural phenomena and human experience; feelings and prejudices; and possibly even interpretive judgments. Students bring to most courses both a degree of familiarity and considerable misinformation. Brainstorming provides teachers with a quick sense of the class, including its interpretive point of view. To ask students to call out what they know about slavery, for example, as an introduction to that topic elicits many images about the politics of the Civil War and the physical horrors of slavery but very little about slave culture and community. Another use of brainstorming is to invite students to suggest everything that comes to mind in defining a key term: "romanticism," for example, or "progressivism," or "imperialism," or "feminism."

Since "anything goes," brainstorming provides an opportunity for many students to participate as well as for faculty to find out what students already know and don't know. The only rule of brainstorming is to acknowledge every comment by writing it down, thus both providing visual reinforcements and honoring the student contributions. As ideas are proposed, clever teachers might arrange the ideas in rough groupings, perhaps political, economic, social, and cultural. Alternatively, one might ask students to suggest appropriate categories and to comment on the accuracy and relative importance of the array of events, experiences, and interpretations. Refinements can be dealt with by erasures, a luxury not allowed in the formal lecture. Thus begins the jointly-created coherent understanding of the topic.

In an interactive, participatory lecture it is necessary, as in any lecture, for the professor to have a clear idea what should be revealed and discovered in the process. Some key points about slavery, or World War I, or feminism, surely must be made. At the same time, however, it is imperative that teachers guard against excessive manipulation and be free and flexible enough to depart from their preconceived ideas. The final creation should legitimately reflect both student and teacher conceptions of what is important about a topic. When the class is over, the teacher and students will have created an organized configuration of salient points and concepts. In this interactive process, students spend more time thinking than recording as they concentrate on contributing to the evolving "lecture" before them.

Obviously, the participatory lecture can be done badly. When students have not brought to the class the knowledge provided by their prior experience or reading, or when the professor manipulates student statements to a rigidly preconceived schema, the experience can be dreary. But when the mutual participation is free and open, students are actively engaged and teachers might even learn new insights about how to view historical material. Although obviously less efficient than a traditional lecture, the participatory lecture involves many students actively and can be done in any size auditorium.

A variation of the interactive lecture is to ask students at the beginning of class to call out one concrete visual image that stands out from a particular reading, event, cultural object, or period of time. "From your reading about the Constitutional Convention (or Frederick Douglass's life, or the Pullman Strike, or Mary Fish's experiences in the American Revolution, or the 1920s, etc.), what one specific scene, event, or moment stands out in your mind?" The recall of concrete scenes prompts further recollections, and a flood of images flows from the students.

As students report their images, list them on an overhead transparency or blackboard, thus providing a visual backdrop to the lecture or discussion that follows. After a few minutes, ask the class: "What themes seem to emerge from these items?" "What connects these images?" "Is there a pattern to our recollected events?" "What is missing?"

In this inductive approach, facts precede analysis, the learning moves from lower order "what happened" questions to higher order "why" and "what do you think and feel about it?" questions. A few minutes hearing concrete descriptive images at the beginning of a traditional lecture (or in the middle) activates student energy, enhances the vividness of the content for the day, and helps students visualize the professor's analysis of the meaning of that content. Moreover, many students get to say something early in class and every contribution gets written down to aid the collective memory and provide a visual backdrop and reinforcement to learning.

Another way to introduce a new topic--or to check on learning halfway through one--is to ask students to make statements they think are true about some particular issue. "It is true about the Vietnam War that . . ." "We have agreed that it is true about the New Deal . . ." "It is true about Reconstruction that . . ." And so on. I have found this strategy useful for dealing with a topic--slavery or the American Indians, for example--where demythologizing may be necessary. This exercise reveals the complexity and ambiguity of knowledge as students present their truth statements and other students raise questions about or refute them. It also generates a list of questions and issues demanding further study.

2. USING QUESTIONS FOR INVOLVEMENT

The generation and appropriate use of questions is at the heart of learning and is an obvious way to shift energy back and forth in large classes. Teachers ask rhetorical questions all the time in lectures. But we can also ask real ones, and expect responses. There are several approaches.

From "Paper Chase" we all have an indelibly stereotyped view of one method of asking questions in large classes. One student is singled out and interrogated unmercifully in order to tease out the significance of a particular legal case. When I watch John Houseman at work I always think of Socrates, who was a mixture of a great teacher genuinely guiding others to their own self-discoveries and a skillfully manipulative intellectual hustler steering others to his desired answers. Having admitted that, we can do variations of the same approach, presumably more mercifully than either Houseman or Socrates.

One approach is to address a somewhat open-ended question to the class: "What were the causes of the Civil War?" Or, "What major constitutional questions have persisted throughout American history?" Or, "What is the meaning of the green light at the end of Daisy's dock?" Or, "What was the Renaissance?" Or even, "Why was Socrates condemned to death?" A student answer is met with a follow-up question directed at the class generally. We need not put one person on the spot, for the primary point is to convey substantive content and raise further questions through a participatory question and answer format. In the end, as in brainstorming, a number of points and arguments are articulated, and probably should be listed on the board. A further question can invite students to begin to analyze critically the various arguments. "Which of these points, or arguments, or definitions makes the most sense to you, and why?"

A second approach to questioning, perhaps the next step, is to put a question to the class and ask three students sitting next to one another to explore it for five minutes. "How would you, as a nineteenth-century married woman, assert your autonomy?" "Do you think Truman had the authority to send troops into Korea?" "Would you have voted for Socrates' death? Why or why not?" The best kinds of questions are not those simply seeking information but those requiring students to make judgments and choices among compelling alternatives. After only five minutes in the trios, enormous energy is generated by putting questions to the class: "How would you assert your autonomy?" Or, "How many would have voted to put Socrates to death?" "How many not?" "Why?" A lecture could indeed have presented both the pertinent information and alternatives more efficiently but without the interaction, dispersal of energy, and multiplicity of voices, points of view, and controversy. The students own more of their learning.

So far we have looked at questions we ask. But students have their own questions, and even in large classes we can provide ways for them to ask those questions and learn how to formulate better ones. Being able to ask questions about a particular text or issue is essential in coming to terms with it. There are many ways of generating student questions. Ask students ahead of time (on Wednesday for Friday's class) to prepare one or two questions about their reading or a topic and bring them to class. One way to put the assignment to them is as follows: "A question I still have about the immigrant experience (or Puritanism, the New Deal, the sexuality of slavery, or whatever) but have been afraid to ask, is . . ." Students can either walk into Friday's class with their questions or be invited to put them on cards and submit them ahead of time, a technique that helps reticent students' questions to be heard.

Another variation is to ask students as they enter the classroom to call out questions about the text or topic they hope will be answered that day. At the end of the hour ask them to write down one or two still unresolved questions they want explored at the next class (as well as the one or two most significant things they learned that day). Or, at some point halfway through a period divide the class into pairs or small groups of three or four and ask them to "take five minutes and agree on one question that you think is crucial to explore further." This will sort out fewer, more thoughtful questions. In addition, and importantly, this task leads to some peer teaching and learning as one member of a group answers another's query in the course of the search for a consensus question. Hearing student questions is an excellent way, in addition to brief, one-minute written reports, for a professor to get feedback on how well students are learning. The quality and substance of their questions indicates both areas of strength and gaps in understanding.

A "press conference" questioning variation is a good way to conclude a unit. Students are invited, as investigative reporters, to ask questions of their teacher about the topic they have been studying. They may seek to clarify confusing material, or to find out new information or, like a budding Socrates or Mike Wallace, to press their professor's interpretation of an issue to a point of contradiction or inadequate evidence. The teacher's responses might be crisp and short, or could constitute mini-lectures. Professors can structure questioning sessions in any number of imaginative ways to facilitate and humanize the learning process.

In any event, this lecture hall variation is feasible in any size class, succeeds in providing interaction, energy shifts, and different voices, and underlines the importance of student responsibility for their own learning.

3. SMALL GROUPS IN LARGE CLASSES

The strategies mentioned thus far suggest that active learning is enhanced by breaking large classes into small groups. No matter the size of a class, it can always be broken down into groups of two, five, eight, or whatever, thus serving many purposes. The first is to provide energy shifts and interaction, enabling more students to think during class, to write or say something, and to generate more ideas about a text or topic. Groups also lend themselves to a healthy, competitive spirit, whether asked to or not, as students in one group are inevitably interested in "what they're doing over there." Moreover, there is potentially more intimacy in the class when broken into groups. Not only do students get to know each other but also the teacher has an opportunity to establish personal contact with more students as she or he moves around listening to a sampling of the small group discussions. Furthermore, reticent students find it easier to express themselves in the smaller groups and can gain some confidence in speaking up not possible in the larger setting.

There are three crucial points to consider in helping small groups to work and learn efficiently. First, the instructions should be clear, simple, and task-oriented. Examples: "What do you think is the crucial turning point in Malcolm X's life?" "Which person in *The Iliad* best represents the qualities of a Greek hero?" "Which example of imperialism defines it best, and why?" "What options did slaves have to seek their freedom or assert their self-worth?" "Look at the map and explain Iran's strategic importance to both the United States and the Soviet Union." "Identify three positive and three negative features of Lyndon Johnson's administration." "Generate a list of restrictions on women's freedom in the 1850s." "If you were Lincoln, what would you do about Fort Sumter?"

The second necessity in giving instructions is to give the groups a sense of how much time they have to do their work. "Take ten minutes to define your group's position, or decision." And third, be sure to ask each group to select a recorder and to provide ways of reporting back and debriefing the process. In smaller classes one way is to invite each group briefly to state their conclusion(s) orally in turn, with the teacher recording them on the board. Another is to ask the recorder from each group to write its conclusions on a transparency or on newsprint posted around the room. Still another is to ask the groups to write their ideas down, to be collected, collated, and reported by the professor at the next class. A variation writing strategy is to ask students first to write for a couple of minutes on the question before getting into groups. Both the writing and the group discussion provide space for the student to explore, or "own," his or her thoughts before the general discussion.

In very large lecture classes with 200-400 students, writing and breaking up into pairs or trios will provide that space. At an appropriate point, interrupt your lecture to ask two or three students sitting next to each other to discuss an issue or question together for a few minutes, perhaps preceded by writing. "What's the most important point I've been making for the past ten minutes?" "Which explanation of the causes of the Civil War makes the most sense to you?" "Who is the real hero here?" "What's the major constitutional concern in this case?" "Which aspect of Puritan theology bothers you the most and why?" After as little as three or four minutes, invite volunteers to call out their conclusions and concerns. Obviously, one needs only to hear a sampling of the trios to get a sense of the class.

This process provides public affirmation of the thinking of a room full of students, thus giving feedback both to other students and to the teacher on how well they understand a particular topic. Even "wrong feedback is instructive and can dictate the next appropriate mini-lecture and reading assignment. Without this brief energy shift into small groups, the professor might not have known the gaps in student knowledge and gone ahead into the next unit, at the cost of losing a good portion of the class. Moreover, the break not only gives students an opportunity to hear a variety of other voices but also reenergizes them (wakes them up, perhaps), making it more likely they will listen more attentively to the teacher's next 20 minutes of lecturing.

4. PROBLEM-SOLVING AND CRITICAL THINKING

These suggestions have been predicated upon shifts of energy and voice in about twenty-minute blocks of time, thus supporting the conclusions of various attention span studies. A typical fifty-minute class period, therefore, should usually involve three segments in various orders: a mini-lecture, a small group active student experience, and some general interaction and feedback. Other activities are perhaps even more appropriate to this alternating approach, especially in helping students develop critical thinking and problem-solving skills.

The problem-solving lecture begins with a question, or an enigma, or a compellingly unfinished human story that ends with an unresolved problem that hooks student interest. "What will happen to the confident Athenians in Sicily?" "What brought Captain Parker's men to Lexington Green that cold April morning? "Why did the handsome Crown Prince Rudolf, heir to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, kill Mary Vetsera and himself?" "What will Lincoln do?" "Will the freedmen on the Allston plantations achieve their goals in those chaotic months of 1865?" "What will happen to this young immigrant woman as she arrives in New York?" As these examples suggest, it is best to tell a story that focuses clearly on a human decision or fate. The answer, no doubt a complex one involving historical narrative, unfolds during the class hour; if skillfully developed, the unfolding will be completed with only a few minutes left in the period.

Resolving historical human dilemmas is an effective way to break a class period into alternating chunks of time and dispersed energy. The problem, or question, is woven throughout the lecture, inviting students to fill in spaces in the story with their own unfolding outcomes as they listen. Or, to break the narrative after 15-20 minutes, the resolution could be an interactive process in which the teacher elicits the students' proposed completions of a story, lists them on the board or an overhead, and discusses them. "What do you think will happen?" "Which outcome to this story makes the most sense to you?" If no consensus, the teacher lectures a little more, invites a new set of student responses, and asks the question again. Ideally, when the narrative is finally resolved, most students will have figured it out for themselves as the class ends.

The most important skill our students need is how to read, and the large class lecture setting also provides an opportunity to practice an old-fashioned but woefully ignored technique: *explication du texte*. We can teach our students how to read, even in large lecture classes, by going directly to a text and reading and analyzing passages together out loud. At first, the professor models how to read and interpret a passage. The students, following along in their books (or on handouts or an overhead projection), observe the professor working through a selection from a speech, sermon, essay, poem, or fictional passage. In the survey courses one can also spend important class time early in the term showing how to read and highlight a survey textbook.

Then it is their turn: how better for students to develop their reading skills, and to think like historians, than to see close textual analysis modeled, followed by an opportunity to practice analyzing a text themselves. There are many ways to select appropriate passages and structure such a class. Invite students, either ahead of time (preferably) or at the start of class, to "find one or two quotations from the text you find particularly significant." Or, "Find one quotation you especially liked and one you disliked." Or, "Identify a passage that you think best illustrates the major thesis of the chapter."

Students are then ready to read these passages out loud and discuss them. "Jennifer, would you please read the top paragraph on page 144?" Be sure to pause long enough for everyone to find the right spot in their book: "Top of page 144--is everyone with us?" Lively and illuminating engagement is guaranteed because not all students select the same quotations nor do they all interpret passages the same way. Upon reaching a particularly ambiguous passage, small groups of three or four students could be asked to struggle with the meaning. "Three of you sitting next to each other: Put your heads together and in your own words state what you think is the main point of the passage: What's it mean?" Or, "What's happening here?" Invite a few groups to report their reflections, giving the teacher an opportunity to react to the substance of their interpretation, comparing it to his or her own thoughts. Breaking into small groups disperses the energy and provides practice and feedback for students before returning again to the professor's voice and analysis. After having struggled with a passage themselves for a few minutes, hearing the teacher's interpretation has more lasting learning value.

This process of modeling how to read analytically can be done for other than just verbal texts. Art historians, musicologists, economists, and anthropologists have traditionally used lectures to demonstrate how to "read" an abstract painting, or sonata allegro form, or a supply and demand curve, or artifact. Historians can use the lecture period for "history labs" to train students in other critical skills: how to do quantitative analysis of graphs, charts, and tables, how to interpret census data, and how to read maps. Many of us hand out short historical documents in class--a tax record, a household inventory, a diary entry, a folk tale, a will, a ship's manifest, an old tool, a family photograph--and ask: "What do you see? What does the document say?" After teasing as much descriptive content out of a document, then ask the higher order questions of significance: "What does it mean? What implications can you draw from the document on how people lived?" To summarize: make sure students have a copy of the source in question in front of them (or visual access through slides and overhead transparencies), and then follow three steps: modeling by the professor, practice by the students, and feedback.

5. LARGE CLASS DEBATES AND ROLE-PLAYING

Although assigning specific tasks to small groups of students disperses the energy in large classes, not all instructors are comfortable with the uncertainty and potential lack of control implicit in the decentralized large class. Let me suggest, therefore, some ways of achieving more student participation and engagement in large history classes without changing the professor's central controlling role in the classroom.

The debate, formal or otherwise, is an energizing way of involving students actively in the classroom. Although neither one of two polar sides of an issue obviously contains the whole truth, it is pedagogically desirable to force students to choose one or the other side of a dichotomous question and to defend their choice. Consider, even in a large lecture setting, a debate on such questions as the following: "Was Burke or Paine more right about the French Revolution?" "Was Nat Turner's revolt justified?" "If you are a black sharecropper in 1905, does Booker T. Washington or W. E. B. Du Bois have the better strategy for your progress?" "Should the United States annex the Philippines or not in 1898?" "The United States: Melting Pot or Preserver of Cultural Identity?" "Vietnam: Hawks or Doves?" Some of the old "Amherst series" problems in American civilization might still make excellent debates: "John D. Rockefeller--Robber Baron or Industrial Statesman?" Or "The New Deal--Revolution or Evolution?"

The logistics are not as difficult as one might imagine. One obvious strategy is to take advantage of the central aisle dividing large lecture halls in order to structure debates. Students can either support the side of an issue assigned to the half of the hall where they happen to be sitting. Or, as prearranged in conjunction with the stimulation of a film or reading assignment, they could come to class prepared to take a seat on one side or another. When I have taught in a large auditorium with two doors, I have put up signs over the doors directing students to the two sides: "Burke" and "Paine." Once students have physically, as it were, put their bodies on the line, they are more receptive to answering a simple question: "Why have you chosen to sit where you are?" That is usually enough to spark a rather lively debate.

In a large class, more structure is necessary. The following process permits the professor to maintain rigorous control from the podium in leading the debate: "From the right side of the hall we will hear five statements on behalf of the 'Hawk' side of U.S. involvement in Vietnam (or Burke's position), after which we will hear five statements from the left on behalf of the 'Dove' side (or Paine's position)." The process can be repeated, including rebuttals, before concluding by asking for two or three volunteers to make summary arguments for each side, and perhaps a final vote. Sometimes though the class ends, the argument continues all day long.

Most important questions, however, do not divide into halves. Our good students would never settle for forced dichotomous choices. When some students (quite rightly) refuse to choose one side or the other, create a middle ground and space and invite their reasons for choosing it. Some large lecture halls have two central aisles, which makes legitimizing a third position both intellectually defensible and logistically possible. "Those who repudiate both the Hawks and the Doves (or Burke and Paine) for what you think is a more reasonable position, sit in the middle." Now three groups are invited to state their positions. The dimensions of learning increase. Students in the middle, for example, might learn how difficult it is to try to remain neutral on heated emotional issues during revolutionary times.

Role-playing is another strategy with powerful potential for learning by injecting energy, emotions, and interactions in a large classroom. One form is for the professor to enter the class in the role of an historical figure (including dress and props) to give a speech or sermon and invite questions. Another is to give several students (or groups) time to research several historical characters and bring them together on stage for some variation of a panel, press conference, debate, or dinner party. The figures are usually well-known people: Benjamin Franklin, Sojourner Truth, Horace Mann, Teddy Roosevelt, Emma Goldman, or Malcolm X. The intellectual convictions, controversies, and contradictions of real people are brought out by this kind of role-playing.

But the strategy can also be used to illuminate the experiences and difficult choices of anonymous ordinary people in social groups. There are many simulation games on contemporary issues and social conflict in history and the social sciences, but most are too expensive, complex, and time-consuming to use in our large classes. Therefore, one can create less elaborate situations in which historical groups struggle with conflicting interests and roles.

The process is not as complicated as one might think. First, a mini-lecture establishes the context and setting for the role-playing. Second, the class is divided into a number of small groups (of varying sizes and including collective roles depending on class size), each group assigned a clearly delineated role, usually of a group. Third, each group is given a specific, concrete task--usually to propose a position and course of action. And fourth, the proposals emanating from different groups will inevitably conflict with each other in some way--racially, regionally, ideologically, tactically, or over scarce funds, land, jobs, power, or resources. Given these conflicts, closure is as difficult to achieve in a role-play as in history itself.

The following examples will suggest others. One of my favorites is to set up a New England town meeting in 1779, in which a variety of groups (landed elite, yeoman farmers, Tory loyalists, militiamen and soldiers of the continental army, lawyers, ministers, and tradesmen, etc.) are charged with drafting instructions for delegates to a state constitutional convention. Another is to challenge several groups in the summer of 1865--defeated Confederates, southern Unionists, victorious northern Republicans, moderate northerners, and the freedmen--to develop lists of their goals and the strategies for accomplishing them. Still another is to put a whole class (working in small groups) into the same situation, say, emancipated slaves on a Texas plantation in 1865, or unskilled and skilled immigrant steelworkers facing a lockout in Pennsylvania in 1892, or female abolitionists in the 1830s, or civil rights activists in the 1960s and ask them to decide in each case what to do to enhance their freedom. A political history variation is to make yourself a national leader facing a serious crisis, say, Napoleon in 1799, or Lincoln in 1861, or FDR in 1933, and create "brain trust" groups on different issues to advise you.

Given careful planning, clear directions, assertive leadership, and a lot of luck, the format of group role-playing can fulfill many objectives. One could hear the proposals of different groups and immediately incorporate them into a lecture on how what really happened reflected many of these same conflicts. Or, one could carry out the role-playing process longer by structuring a meeting or convention to consider the differing groups' proposals. The student groups could be instructed to prepare speeches, to caucus to develop strategies, coalitions, and tactics for achieving their goals, and to see the deliberations through to some conclusion. Neat, simple, clear closures are not easy (short of the class-ending buzzer), but this variation for large lecture classes has tremendous potential for experiential learning, and of course involves enormous energy and interaction.

In all these role-playing situations the professor should play an active role, as moderator of the meetings or as the President, organizing and carefully monitoring the interactions. Because role-playing in conflicting groups can get heated, emotional, and potentially out of control, it is necessary to wield a vigorous gavel and forcefully direct the process. This in itself models another point about leadership in history. Whenever teachers wish to restore order they can terminate the role-playing and shift to debriefing what was learned from the experience about the realities of the historical experience. This is, of course, crucial, and a rule of thumb of role-playing is to spend as much time debriefing in order to clarify what was learned as in doing the exercise in the first place. After debriefing, the professor makes the transition to the next topic and pedagogical approach, which, after role-playing, would probably be a synthetic summary lecture.

6. AFFECTIVE LEARNING WITH AUDIO-VISUAL MEDIA

No account of engaging students in the active learning of history is complete without acknowledging the power of media for inspiring student motivation. Much has been written on the use of films and other audio-visual techniques. This section will focus on the role of slides and music in evoking students' emotional learning. This is a seriously neglected but crucial area of teaching and learning, for we need to teach to both sides of students' brains. Emotion has surely played an enormous role in history; therefore, it belongs in the classroom, not just because the use of media "hooks" the student and is motivating but also because evoking emotions can set the tone of a topic, raise questions, deepen analysis, and compel review and rethinking. In short, emotional experience leads to cognitive insights.

Here are some examples. As students enter the classroom, it is an opportune time to establish a mood to ready them for the content for a particular class period. At the beginning of class show some slides, say, of war scenes, or of farm life in the Great Plains, or of men and women performing gender-distinct roles, or of material culture objects. Or, as they walk in, they hear an inspiring speech--FDR, or Churchill, or Malcolm X. Or, music is playing, say, Civil War, labor movement, or civil rights songs. Or, put several powerful short quotations on a transparency or place several objects around the lecture hall. Each of these openings makes clear the tone and content of the day, and hook student interest, or at least their curiosity, right away.

Even more engaging is to combine a piece of music with some slides. Imagine, for example, walking into the first class of the first half of the United States history survey hearing Dvorak's "New World Symphony" while looking at slides of American Indians. Although few students these days know Dvorak's music, the dissonance of the classical tones with images of Indians arouses immediate interest and raises questions before a word has been spoken. The first words of the class invite students to suggest all the things wrong with the sentence, "Columbus discovered America in 1492." Within the hour shift to Neil Diamond singing "America," as students view slides of immigrants, "boat people," streaming to the

United States from all over the world. His refrain, "we come to America," leads to a discussion of who "Americans" are and where they came from and how and why. The earlier discussion of Native Americans becomes unavoidably a part of the explorations.

The combination of slides and songs can be used again later in the term to illustrate slavery (with spirituals and blues) and the Civil War. Imagine looking at battlefield scenes while listening to "We are Coming, Father Abraham" or George Frederick Root's "Battle Cry of Freedom." Or, more poignantly, imagine the combination of slides of gutted, demolished, southern cities while listening to "Dixie" and "Marching Through Georgia." Or consider the evocative power of showing scenes of young Civil War soldiers, North and South, alive, dying, and dead, while listening to "Just Before the Battle, Mother," "The Drummer Boy of Shiloh," and "Johnny Comes Marching Home."

Even more powerful is to synchronize one or two slides with each lyrical line of a song. For "Tenting on the Old Camp Ground," for example, show slides of tent camps and tired but hopeful soldiers to accompany such lines as "We're tenting tonight on the old Camp ground / Give us a song to cheer / Our weary hearts, a song of home / And friends we love so dear. / Tenting tonight / Tenting tonight / Tenting on the old Camp ground."

Rather than lecturing on the overall battle strategies of the North and South during the Civil War, which are usually covered well in textbooks, I prefer to make a slide and music presentation and then deal in some detail with only one strategically-crucial battle, say, Chickamauga, where 34,000 died in two days. Students understand the unbelievable human and physical devastation of the Civil War with their hearts and emotions as well as with their heads and reason.

The possibilities for the twentieth century are obviously much more extensive. For example, imagine the effect of listening to Elton John's "All Quiet on the Western Front" while looking at scenes of World War I trenches, or Billy Joel's "Goodnight Saigon" while viewing slides of American soldiers and Vietnamese peasants. There are many effective combinations of labor songs and struggle, or of civil rights songs with scenes of the movement and the resistance against it. Or use speeches, again with visual slide images. To show the shift in the mood of the black liberation struggle in the mid-1960s, compare Malcolm X's "Message to the Grass Roots," delivered in November 1963, with Dr. Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech three months earlier. Even more powerfully, put some slides together synchronized with the visual images suggested during the last five minutes of Dr. King's Memphis speech in the evening of April 3, 1968, "I See the Promised Land . . . I've Been to the Mountaintop," concluding with images of King's assassination and funeral.

The singer, Harry Chapin, who also died tragically too young a few years ago, wrote and performed songs that told poignantly human stories of ordinary people's everyday struggles and tragedies. He also sang of the changes from the 1960s to the 1970s. "She Is Always Seventeen" presents a metaphoric story of broken and persisting dreams while moving historically through the period from 1961 ("when we went to Washington . . . And said, 'Camelot's begun'") to 1975 ("when the crooked king was gone . . . [we were] sayin, 'the dream must go on.'"). After listening to a slide-tape of this song, ask students, "Which visual image or lyrical line moved you the most?," and then, perhaps in pairs, to consider the question of "the meaning of the chorus and title."

After exploring students' immediate emotional responses to Chapin's, or any other song, it is helpful to go back through the piece again slowly, slide by slide, discussing the historical context and meaning of each line of lyrics and how it is further illuminated by the visual image that accompanies it.

The use of music and slides, though presentational, is an intensely active experience for students. But the use of powerful emotion in class raises significant questions of power and freedom in the classroom. The emotions that are evoked are overwhelming as we hear Dr. King conclude his "Mountaintop" speech with the words, "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord," and the visual image shifts from King at a lectern to lying on the balcony of the Memphis motel. The intensity of emotion is palpable and I am aware that, after an excruciatingly long moment of silence to let the image sink in, whatever I choose to say next, if anything at all, has enormous power to be deeply heard and retained. It is a humbling responsibility, suggesting the need to make quiet and gently understated comments about justice and the meaning of Dr. King's life. Or better yet, ask students to write for a minute or two, and then talk with the person next to them before we intrude with thoughts or questions.

Emotions are a powerfully affective learning strategy and we need to learn how to deal with student feelings as well as their intellect in responding to music and slides (and films). We do not abuse our responsibility if we respect the students' need for personal space to absorb the experience. Quiet writing time and talking in pairs can provide this space. Sometimes it is best to let the music and slides make the whole point, without our comment, and just simply conclude the class. Let the students leave with whatever each individual carries away in his or her heart and head from the experience. This guarantees that they will entirely own their feelings and insights.

The last point has been the pervasive theme of this article. The key to effective learning, the kind that is both lasting and transforming, is in empowering students through various strategies of active involvement to own their own learning. Emerson wrote once in his journal that a wise person "must feel and teach that the best wisdom cannot be communicated [but] must be acquired by every soul for itself." In each of the teaching strategies suggested here, I have sought to show that large impersonal lecture hall classes need not be barriers to providing the kind of interactive, investigative, and even intimate experiences that enhance student learning.

What is more difficult to show is how to balance the time it takes for active learning activities from the imperative to "cover" as much material as possible in each class. It is inherent in being an historian to make choices about what to select, or cover. In our writing we are always selecting themes and events to emphasize, thus leaving out something else. As teachers, too, we choose whether to spend a given 10-15 minute block of class time for a writing exercise, or to analyze a document or painting, or to create small groups to decide an historical question, or to lecture on, say, mercantilism, or the party battles of the 1830s, or money policy in the 1870s, or men's responses to feminism. Our choices depend on our goals as teachers, on what kinds of students we want to turn out, on how we have resolved what we think are the essential questions and irreducibly significant facts and concepts of our field, and to some extent on institutional mission. As economists would say, "It's a trade-off," and we all make our own difficult choices.

I have chosen to give up "covering" mercantilism, the Specie Circular, the Dingley Tariff, and many other events, for example, in return for more interaction among students, more writing and close analysis of primary documents in class, including the crucial documents of American history, and more use of visuals and music to evoke emotions. And I spend twice as long as I used to on the experiences of women and minorities. I also give map questions on every test. These choices are made clear to me by my goals, which begin fundamentally with structuring ways of empowering students to discover, and own, historical knowledge, skills, and attitudes for themselves and to feel good about themselves as learners. To bolster student self-esteem in a history class makes it more likely that their knowledge of history will be increased and their motivation for further learning will be intensified. Who knows, with more options for actively involving students in the learning of history, Henry Adams might have stayed in teaching.

HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND MAPS: TEACHING WORLD HISTORY

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As Geography without History seemeth as carkasse without motion, so History without Geography wandereth as vagrant without certain habitation.
--attributed to Captain John Smith

History is geography over time.
--Andrei Lvovich Botvinnik
in A WALK IN THE WOODS (1988)
by Lee Blessing

History . . . is exceedingly difficult to follow without maps . . . and, it may be whispered, geography untouched by the human element is dull to an extraordinary degree, duller even than mapless history, and that, the Dodo said, was the driest thing that it knew.
--Sir Charles Arden-Close

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

History and geography are inseparable. The first two statements above, one ascribed to an early seventeenth-century North American explorer and the other spoken by a Soviet diplomat in a recent play (most eloquently by Sir Alec Guinness in its London performance) dealing with arms negotiations, clearly point to this fact. Historians have known its truth and substantiated it with their study, writing, and teaching since Herodutus.

Geography is a major causative factor in history, and of all the subject areas in the school curriculum, the two are among the most closely related. Classically, history has been defined as the study of humanity's past and has asked the questions "When?" and, more importantly, "Why?" Geography has been defined as the study of humanity's interaction with the physical environment and has asked the questions "Where?" and, also more importantly, "Why?" The two actually merge in historical geography, the geography of the past, a legitimate area of study for both.[1] And as the third statement above by a former director general of the Royal Geographical Society indicates, history and geography also come together in their reliance on maps for the investigation and presentation of data.[2]

Consequently, it is almost impossible to study or teach history without considering the geographic dimension. This is true especially with regard to the teaching of history where the infusion of relevant geography into the process facilitates and enhances it; a geographic dimension provides greater insight into the course of human events. And teaching geography as part of history also may be one way to address the well-publicized issue of students' geographic illiteracy to better prepare them for the coming age of global civilization. History coupled with geography provides a context of time and space essential for students to understand the past.

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[1] See Dennis Reinhartz and Judy Reinhartz, *Geography Across the Curriculum* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1990).

[2] See Dennis Reinhartz, "Teaching History with Maps: A Graphic Dimension," in *Essays on Walter Prescott Webb and the Teaching of History*, ed. Dennis Reinhartz and Stephen E. Maizlish (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1985), 79-98.

If we grant the reasonableness of integrating geography into the teaching of history, then, for teachers of history and social studies, some important questions yet need to be considered: What kind of geographic information, and how much of it? To what ends? And perhaps most importantly, just simply "how?" In the following pages, we shall seek to offer some answers to these questions.

In the process of confronting the problem of the geographic illiteracy of students, the Association of American Geographers and the National Council for Geographic Education have identified five fundamental themes in geography for geographic education in the schools to focus on:

1. *Location*--position on the earth's surface.
2. *Place*--physical and human characteristics.
3. *Relationships within places*--humans and environments.
4. *Movement*--humans interacting on the earth.
5. *Regions*--how they form and change.[3]

And implied in each of these five themes is a sixth, *time*. These themes can serve as a framework for teachers to incorporate the geographic dimension into history courses.

Location describes where people and places are positioned on the earth, specifically and in relation to each other. Comprehending location is the beginning of geographic understanding which is essential to discerning historical development. Before students can learn about the achievements of the Bronze Age in a world history course, they must know where the various civilizations of this era first arose. Knowing that Chinese Civilization developed in a great river system in East Asia or that Minoan Civilization developed on an island in the eastern Mediterranean Sea at the crossroads of three continents helps to explain why civilizations began in those specific locations and to explain the nature of the accomplishments of each civilization. Knowing the precise positions of the civilizations of the Bronze Age also provides students with a basis for understanding cultural transfer and/or cultural uniqueness. By pointing out their positions on a map of the world, the impact of Mesopotamia's agricultural discoveries on the growth of Egypt is readily visualizable, as is the isolated evolution of Olmec Civilization in Mesoamerica that produced its characteristic sculpture, for example, uninfluenced by any other civilization.

From these examples from the Bronze Age, it is clear that site is a major determining factor in the situation of a civilization. Situation is *place* and is defined by its physical and human qualities. Climate, landforms, water bodies, soils, and flora and fauna create a place while human conceptions and activities form its individual character. Thus, it was the Bosporus and Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmara, waterways connecting the Black and Mediterranean seas, that convinced Greeks from Megara to plant a trading colony, Byzantium, in the area in 667 B.C. After centuries of human habitation (Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Muslim), Byzantium was transformed into the great city of Constantinople/Istanbul. The situations of many other cities, for example medieval Cologne or modern New York, likewise played a significant role in their influencing the spread of civilization. The process of radiating out from urban centers exemplifies what can be called "place building."

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[3] *Guidelines for Geographic Education: Elementary and Secondary Schools* (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers and National Council for Geographic Education, 1984), 3-8.

In contrast to place building, there is "place annihilation." Such destruction can be naturally caused or initiated by humanity. In a recent article in *Geographical*, the monthly magazine of the British Royal Geographical Society, an example of "place annihilation" in history is cited. The author analyzes the effects of the German "Big Blitz" of 1940-1941 on London. In the telling conclusion, contrasting natural acts of "place annihilation" (e.g. earthquakes) to those wrought by humanity, the author states:

> The blitzes came to be strategies of "place annihilation" more than warfare. They sought to lay waste the historic places of settlement, physically by bomb damage, socially by uprooting, and exterminating residents that made them living spaces . . . . the Big Blitz influenced the future . . . . The Allied air forces learned from it, and felt justified in outdoing it [Cologne, Dresden, Hiroshima, etc.] in their turn . . . . These developments led to strategic air power and the nuclear threat that emerged after the war. They provided the military impetus and moral environment for dozens of campaigns against human settlements . . . .[4]

This passage also clearly demonstrates how the geographic theme of place provides added insight to historical events.

Having a grasp of the physical and human qualities of places helps students understand the *relationships within places* over time. Changing human-environment relationships in history are both common and important. Such relationships force students to deal with the physical features of the land while simultaneously learning about humanity's role in influencing it over time. Classic case studies can be found in the study of the transformation of the earth's vast grasslands, be it the steppes of Eurasia or the Great Plains of North America.[5] Accordingly, the change from fluid nomadic frontiers sparsely populated by Cossacks or Comanches to settled modernizing agricultural heartlands often proclaims the rise of major states like the Russian Empire or the United States. A similar phenomenon of more current significance is the destruction of tropical rainforests in the historical contexts of the emergence of the third world countries of Africa, Asia, and South America on the one hand and the emergence of a global civilization in the late twentieth century on the other. In all these instances, geography can supply students with a valuable backdrop for and a greater understanding of the complexities of modernization.

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[4] Kenneth Hewitt, "Our Cities Bombed," *Geographical* (May 1990), 13.

[5] For example, see William H. McNeill, *Europe's Steppe Frontier 1500-1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), and Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (New York: Grossett & Dunlap, 1931).

Movement, the relationships between and among places,[6] is fundamental to history; in effect, the movement of people, ideas, and goods and services helped to write world history. One major example of movement has come to be known as the "Columbian exchange."[7] The "Columbian exchange" is the massive transfer of populations, ideas, diseases, plants, and animals between the Old World and New initiated by Columbus's discoveries, and it continues into the present. Hence, when considering disease vectors as part of this spatial interaction, it becomes apparent that the unwitting introduction of European germs like smallpox and measles into the Amerindian populations decimated them and thereby facilitated the Spanish conquests of the sixteenth century and after. This decimation also contributed to a labor shortage that eventually necessitated the importation of human power that was more disease resistant (e.g. African slaves) to work New World Spanish estates. In turn, the introduction of more virulent New World strains of venereal diseases proved to be yet another major plague for the Old World. Similar interaction case studies can be found, for instance, in the Middle Ages, concerning the transfer between Europe and Asia via the silk and tea roads or between the Baltic, Black, and Mediterranean seas via the Eastern European river systems.

Ideas and literary forms also were part of the transfer process. Thus, Scandinavian and German concepts of political and military organization moving down these river system from the north in the ninth century played a role in the formation of the first Polish and Russian states. And in the two hundred years that followed, Byzantine church literature moving up the rivers from the south became an important foundation for modern Russian literature and especially the world of Dostoevsky and Tolstoy in the nineteenth century.

Regions are essential units of study in geography as well as history. A region can be defined as any area delineated by some physical and/or human uniformity. The Greater Southwest and Central Asia are two parallel, yet distinct examples. Aridity is the physical common denominator of both regions, but the human common denominators are quite different. The extent of Hispanic culture forms the basis for the human definition of the Greater Southwest, whereas Islamic culture and the Mongol heritage form the basis for Central Asia. In both cases, the delineations are physical and cultural, and they ignore current political boundaries like those between the United States and Mexico or the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. In this way, comprehension of regions, their histories, and their current problems and importance is often enhanced.

While regions are fundamental geography and history, it is the study of *regional effect*, the impact of geography on history, that is at the core of historical geography.[8] So, for example students can be taught that early Spanish explorers of the Greater Southwest like Cabeza de Vaca or Coronado were not really trailblazers, but actually followed already well established natural routes pioneered by Indians before them, and that today railroads and modern interstate highways still follow many of these same routes. And in Central Asia, cities like Tashkent, Bokhara, and Samarkand, first brought to prominence as centers of commerce and/or religion by the Mongols eight centuries ago, still function in similar capacities today, regardless of the fact that they are now part of the Soviet Union.

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[6] *Guidelines for Geographic Education*, 6-7.

[7] For example, see Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972).

[8] 8. For example, see W. Gordon East, *The Geography Behind History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1965).

THE ROLE OF MAPS

In a world history course, maps play a key role. Using maps is one of the most efficient ways for teachers to interpret the five fundamental geographic themes--location, place, relationships within places, movement, and region--and to illustrate them as well as the related historical information. Maps are invaluable to the study and teaching of history and geography; they "comprise a powerful, widely used, complex, and little understood form of communication that is as old as language itself. Humanity achieved 'graphicacy' even before it achieved literacy. We learned to draw before we learned to write, and we also probably mapped before we wrote."[9] When maps are used in the classroom, the emphasis is on visual education and visual perception, thereby heightening students' graphicacy. "Graphicacy" is nonverbal, nonliterary, and nonnumerical communication; it is simply a realization of the old adage that a picture (or a map) is worth a thousand words.[10] As Thomas Jefferson, himself a mapmaker, once pointed out, "A map can give a better idea of a region than any description in writing."[11]

When considering the awesome universal tapestry of world history, maps make it easier for students, for example, to locate the global address where the battle of Tours in Western Europe in 732 occurred, a city like Timbuktu in West Africa arose, or a civilization like that of the Indus River Valley of South Asia developed. Beyond simple location, if maps depicting the physical environment like landforms and rivers are used, place (e.g. Australia) also is readily demonstrable. And more sophisticated thematic maps (that is, those showing the spatial distribution or variation of a geographic and/or historical phenomenon), usually of a comparative nature, will allow teachers to discuss the relationships within places like those between resource availability and centers of production in the early English industrial revolution, movement like the spread of Islam, and the physical (e.g. equatorial rainforests) and human boundaries (e.g. Bantu languages) of regions like Central Africa as well as regional effect such as that on Israel in the Middle East since 1948 to name but a few examples.

Maps do more than merely illustrate history; they are the very "stuff" of history. Maps are texts and artifacts, landmarks of human achievement, that can be used to let students reconstruct the past.[12] Maps summarize the scientific, technological, intellectual vigor of an era, and they document the political, economic, social, and aesthetic and artistic values of the times in which they were created. A Baroque map for example like the representation of "The Territory of Frankfort" in the *NOVUS ATLAS* (1640) by the Dutch cartographer Willem Janzs Blaeu mirrors the values of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Age of the Baroque as well as those of the vigorous bourgeois Dutch who dominated much of European worldwide trade and exploration at the time. In this way, maps have been instrumental both in the recording and the writing of history,[13] and as such, for students especially they "can kindle the imagination, sustain trips through time and space, make real the milieux of . . . history."[14]

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[9] Reinhartz, "Teaching History with Maps," 79.

[10] See Edmond T. Parker and Michael P. Conzen, "Using Maps as Evidence: Lessons in American Social and Economic History" (Bethesda, MD: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 125 935, 1975), and Reinhartz and Reinhartz, *Geography Across the Curriculum*.

[11] Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. William Peden (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 5.

Using originals or readily available facsimiles of older maps descriptively encourages deductive reasoning among students, and using maps to teach the critical evaluation of historical evidence stimulates inductive reasoning. In addition, using older maps of historic value depicting the geography of the past like a copy of the famous "Vinland Map" (c. 1440) forgery also is conducive to "hands-on" education and will encourage students to participate in the learning process and to develop their research skills.[15]

SUMMARY

As stressed throughout this article, studying history with a geographic dimension provides an interdisciplinary context for addressing the philosophical, political, economic, social, and artistic issues and/or events of the past. Such a context promotes the development of analytical skills, comparative perspectives, and critical decisions. These competencies develop when focusing on broad themes and questions rather than on a fact-driven curricular program.

In addition, this broader focus provides students with numerous opportunities to use these skills and historical knowledge and concepts when dealing with the five geographic themes of place, location, relationships within places, movements, and regions. When studying place, location, and relationships within places, unique questions are posed: "What is this place like, how and in the past?" "Why is this place like it is?" And "How and why does it differ from, or resemble, other places?" To be effective, a physician conducting research to eradicate a disease (e.g. AIDS) must know not only where the disease is thriving, but also where it has thrived (e.g. equatorial Africa) to discover a cure. It is here that maps are helpful. When considering these relationships, students analyze how people respond to their changing physical and cultural environments. They are trying "to make connections between cause and effect on the earth and to view events in their proper continuum rather than isolation."[16]

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[12] J. B. Harley, "Texts and Contexts in the Interpretation of Early Maps," in *From Sea Charts to Satellite Images: Interpreting North American History Through Maps*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 3-15.

[13] Reinhartz, "Teaching History with Maps," 82.

[14] Michael and Susan Southworth, *Maps: A Visual Survey and Design Guide* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1982), 12.

[15] Reinhartz, "Teaching History with Maps," 91-94.

In connection with the themes of movement and regions, yet other questions come into play: "In what ways is this place connected with other places?" "How is this place changing, and why?" And "What would it feel like to be in this place?"[17] In answering these questions, comparisons readily can be made between places and also between what a place was like in the past and is like in the present. In the process, students are asked to respond to the environments of the past and present by making decisions and judgments about these places. In total, these themes encourage students to think about people and historical events in a different way.

It is our belief that if history is given a geographic perspective in the classroom, students better comprehend the "combined power [of history and geography] to explain the past and the current human condition, and future possibilities."[18] Together, history and geography are more powerful than if taught separately. History conveys the essential knowledge while geography provides a bridge for understanding these facts, concepts, theories, etc. History and geography are the "twin disciplines" around which to organize the social studies curriculum.[19]

We hope that we have provided a convincing argument for integrating geography into the teaching of world history. Using such an approach "gives us unique perspectives about places and their relationships to teach over time."[20] These unique perspectives will help students to deal with change in their current environment as well as the changes they will face as they assume their adult roles in society. To be effective problem solvers, students must understand and be connected to their world. It is through this comprehension of and connectedness with the past and present that a pattern of unity begins to emerge.

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[16] See Reinhartz and Reinhartz, *Geography Across the Curriculum*, and Richard Daugherty (ed.), *Geography in the National Curriculum* (London: The Geographical Association, 1989), 5-6.

[17] *Geography in the National Curriculum*, 6.

[18] *Charting a Course: Social Studies for the 21st Century* (Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools, 1989), x.

[19] Ibid.

[20] *Guidelines for Geographic Education*, "Preface."

THE LEVELS OF HISTORY: AN INTRODUCTORY LESSON ON THE NATURE OF HISTORY AND THE HISTORICAL PROCESS

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Harding University

Every history teacher who has practiced the craft for any time has had some well-meaning colleague from another discipline observe, "Well, at least you teach a subject that isn't constantly changing; once something has happened it can't be changed." Of course, those of us in the discipline understand both the denotative and the connotative meaning of this statement, with its insinuation that the historian does not need to keep abreast of new developments in his field as the speaker does in his. We may just laugh along with our self-satisfied colleague who has just delivered himself of some version of this (in his own mind) profound and humorous observation. We may not want to take the time to disabuse him of his naivete. I admit to having taken this path of least resistance at times.

But on further reflection, I have concluded that such naive views of the nature of history and the historical process need to be combatted, not humored. We may well have to adopt a passive approach with our colleagues, confronting them as opportunities arise. But we can and should be more aggressive in combatting equally widespread misconceptions among our students. To that end I have recently started introducing my basic Western Civilization course with a lecture on the nature of history and the historical process. I have built the lecture around the concept of the "levels of history," using a diagram (Figure 1) to help illustrate some of the key relationships between the "past" and "history." One goal of this lesson is to convince students that these terms are not synonymous and that the historical process may be thought of as the means by which historians transform the "past" into "history."

There is, of course, a sense in which the notion is true that once something has happened it cannot be changed. The base of the pyramid model suggests that there is a true, unchanging "past reality" that consists of everything that has ever happened. This level of the past serves as the objective basis for a reconstruction of the past, i.e., "history," but is not itself "history." It is not even the raw material from which the historian works to reconstruct the past, since so little of this level of "history" has even left a surviving trace of its existence. At this point an obvious inherent weakness of the model becomes apparent--it is in no way drawn to scale. The ratio between the totality of persons and events and those that have left some tangible evidence of their existence and occurrence could not begin to be estimated. I illustrate this point by asking my students what percentage of the events in their own lives have left any surviving record of their occurrence anywhere outside of their own memories, and for that matter, what percent exist even there. When the abstract principle is reduced to the personal level, students immediately grasp that of the totality of events and thoughts of their lives, only a minuscule percentage has left any trace of their existence even in the intangible form of recollections. They begin to see that a biographical sketch written about them relying only on tangible evidence would be brief indeed. The application of this principle to the process of writing "history" is simple and direct.

In the process of making this point, the discussion can easily move to a consideration of the second and even third levels of the model. Only events and persons about whom some tangible record exists are potential or possible components for a reconstruction of the past. But what percentage of surviving

THE LEVELS OF HISTORY

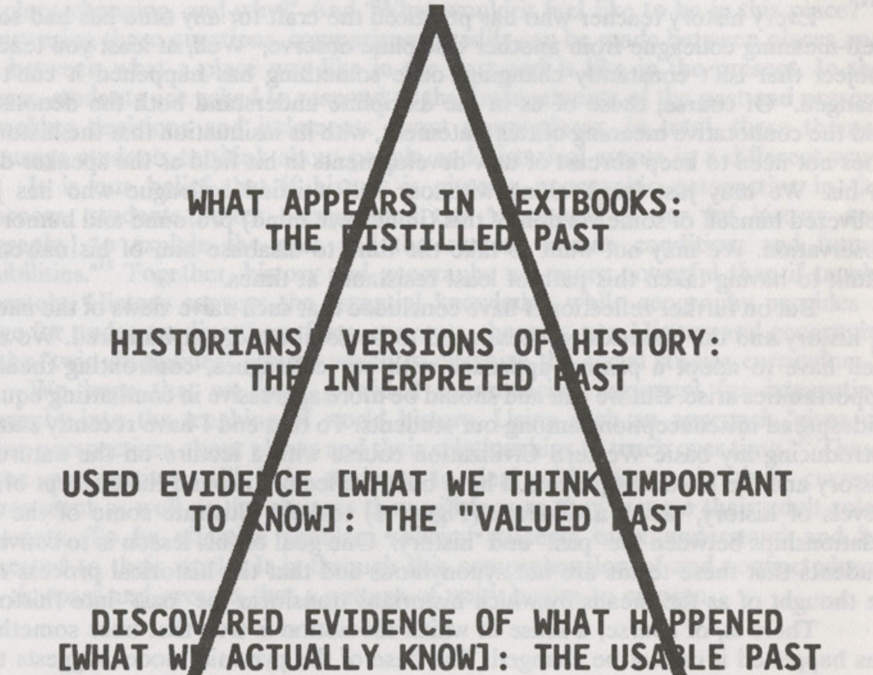
WHAT APPEARS IN TEXTBOOKS:
THE DISTILLED PAST
HISTORIANS' VERSIONS OF HISTORY:
THE INTERPRETED PAST
USED EVIDENCE [WHAT WE THINK IMPORTANT
TO KNOW]: THE "VALUED PAST
DISCOVERED EVIDENCE OF WHAT HAPPENED
[WHAT WE ACTUALLY KNOW]: THE USABLE PAST
SURVIVING EVIDENCE OF WHAT HAPPENED
[WHAT WE CAN KNOW]: THE "POSSIBLE" PAST
EVERYTHING THAT EVER
HAPPENED: THE COMPLETE
AND TRUE PAST

Figure 1

material is unusable because it is undiscovered, buried beneath a tel in the Middle East, covered by jungle growth in Southeast Asia, locked away in the archives of some governmental agency with "CLASSIFIED INFORMATION" stamped on it, or merely collecting dust in a trunk or box in someone's attic or garage. Every year archaeologists bring to light new information about ancient civilizations and enterprising researchers stumble onto hitherto unknown or long-forgotten caches of documents and records in a variety of both expected and unexpected places. This is the "usable past," for only at this point do we have the actual raw materials from which the past, or more accurately some facets of the past, can be reconstructed. And it is at this level that the "past" can and does change in ways unexpected by our original naive antagonist. Of course, the total volume of events occurring and even leaving surviving evidence grows daily. But only when we reach level three of the model do we see the potential for "history" (commonly thought of as the "unchanging past") to change, i.e., our understanding of events, personalities, and periods can be perceived differently today than these same events, personalities, and periods were perceived yesterday.

James Bacque's controversial book *Other Losses* is a recent and dramatic illustration of the process.[1] Using previously unknown military documents from the closing days of World War II, Bacque has alleged that approximately 1,000,000 German prisoners of war were allowed to die from exposure, malnutrition and dehydration in U.S. and French detention camps on the direct orders of Supreme Allied Commander Dwight D. Eisenhower, apparently out of his personal loathing for Germans. Although acclaimed Eisenhower biographer, Stephen E. Ambrose, has leveled a withering blast at Bacque's central thesis and prisoner mortality figures, he has noted that Bacque has uncovered a previously untold story of German prisoners' suffering in holding camps at the end of the war.[2] This illustrates how our understanding of *what* happened can be changed. The question of the potential impact of Bacque's allegations on Eisenhower's historical image anticipates another level of the model as we move to a consideration of the questions "why" and "so what." But more about that later.

To this point, questions concerning the ultimate philosophical and technical problems inherent in the concept of "knowing" anything about the past have been ignored; those involving the philosophical dimensions will continue to be ignored. But the observant reader will have noticed by this time the quotation marks around the word "know" in both the second and third levels of the model. This is merely to acknowledge that our ability to "know" the past, or even to know facts about the past, is intimately bound up in complex technical problems of document authenticity and reliability, i.e., the credibility of our sources, and our ability to make discerning use of those sources that have survived and been discovered. It is beyond the scope of this introductory lesson to explore the technical problems associated with source authenticity and credibility, but students must be made aware that it is a significant concern of historians. The exposure of a long-accepted source as a forgery or the discovery of evidence that calls into question the version of an event contained in a previously-relied-upon document may alter our perceptions of what actually happened; thus "history" changes.

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[1] James Bacque, *Other Losses* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1989).

[2] Stephen E. Ambrose, "Ike and the Disappearing Atrocities." *New York Times Book Review*. February 24, 1991, 1.

Soviet historians are currently engaged in a major reconstruction of their country's history, a not unprecedented enterprise there. The generally held assumption here is that this time, in contrast to previous exercises, something much closer to the real truth will emerge from the reconstruction process. All who are concerned with the pursuit of objective truth as a goal of the historical process will applaud that outcome. One may legitimately wonder, however, if this current rewriting is not motivated by any fundamentally different aim than that which inspired previous revisions, i.e., is the pursuit of truth an end in itself in Gorbachev's U.S.S.R., or is the need to discredit predecessors as a foil for vindicating current leaders or policies the underlying motive? Of course, the keys to this reconstruction will be access to archival materials never before available to scholars with even a modicum of objectivity and the absence of ideologically-imposed interpretive guidelines. As this article was being written, the Soviet government finally released the official casualty figures for World War II (approximately 26 million) and the KGB body count from Stalin's party purges (approximately 780,000). For all their legitimate concerns for the reliability of government-generated data, Western historians have not had to be accomplices to official misrepresentations of their countries' "history," misrepresentations of the sort that moved one wit to define a Soviet historian as someone who could accurately predict the past. We can all hope that this witticism has now become as anachronistic as the Berlin Wall in the age of *glasnost*.

As we move to the next level of the model, we encounter a related, but qualitatively different dynamic behind the changing contours of history. Here history changes less from the discovery of hitherto unknown source material than from the exploitation of material that was either available but of little interest to historians or for which no satisfactory methodology for its effective utilization had been conceived. The famous dictum that "History is past politics" may not have been emblazoned above every historian's door in the nineteenth century,[3] but judging from the content of published work, it was a widely-accepted definition of the discipline. That definition was extended, of course, to include von Clausewitz's equally famous dictum that "war is a continuation of politics by other means."[4] The traditional conception of history as essentially the development of political and military themes, occasionally supplemented by attention to the "high culture" of the socio-economic elite, was supported by the sources available to chroniclers and historians. Sources to support research focusing on these traditional themes were more numerous, more easily accessible in governmental archives, and required relatively little ingenuity or imagination to use. Of course, the preoccupation with these themes rendered irrelevant a vast array of potential source material that had to await a more comprehensive view of the proper scope of the historical enterprise.

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[3] These words were inscribed above the office door of Henry Adams at Johns Hopkins University.

[4] Karl von Clausewitz (1780-1831) was a Prussian army officer and military theorist. His classic *On War*, published posthumously from 1832-1834, contains the statement capsulizing his analysis of the relationship between political and military objectives.

J. Harvey Robinson's call for a "new history" early in this century had a salutary effect in causing American historians to begin emphasizing non-traditional themes and exploiting previously unused materials.[5] Scholars in the fields of socio-economic and cultural history have clearly been the most imaginative in exploiting a variety of public and private sources that in previous centuries would have been dismissed as of no historical value, such as census data, parish records, and police records. Some of the most impressive pioneering work with these types of sources was done by French historians associated with the *Annales* school.[6] Not only did these scholars see the potential use of these previously ignored sources, but they devised novel methodologies for mining their wealth. Entire new subfields of history emerged from the expanding conception of "proper history," including such now familiar and well-established disciplines as labor, ethnic, family, women's and psycho-history. The emergence of these disciplines, of course, reflects the focusing of societal concern on issues relating to these groups and themes. Labor's struggle to organize in the 1920s and 1930s, the Afro-Americans' intensified drive for full legal equality in the 1950s and 1960s, and the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s all spawned a thriving cottage industry in historical research that mirrored the emergence of these new issues on the socio-political agenda. Each generation's concerns create a new sense of the relevance of the past that has a bearing on those concerns. This is the "valued past," a past whose contours change as society's interests change, thrusting some concerns to the front and pushing others to the back. Some historians will reflect the tenor of their times by the very subjects they choose to explore and sources they choose to exploit.

As we reach the next level of the model, it is well to note that in one sense historians' interpretations of the past cut across the top three levels of the model. Decisions relating to the themes and topics to be investigated and the types of evidence that will be used are, to some extent, a function of the historian's professional preferences, viewpoints, and value system i.e., biases (in the non-pejorative sense of that term). The decision to use some types of evidence, but not others, at least partially structures the parameters of the content to be covered, and most definitely impacts the analysis of causation and significance of historical events. British historian A.J.P. Taylor unleashed one of the most acrimonious debates in the history of historical writing when he decided not to use the documentary evidence introduced in the Nuremberg trials of surviving top Nazi leaders in his general history of the background of World War II.[7] He did not deny the authenticity of the documents, just their historical utility for explaining the outbreak of the war. Since they had been assembled by the victors for the express purpose of condemning the policies of the vanquished, the collection represented a "stacked deck" whose purpose was purely political. As a result of that decision, Taylor proceeded to reject the validity of the major conclusions of the War Crimes Tribunal. Hitler, he argued, had no blueprint nor timetable for conquest. He operated well within the parameters of the traditional German statecraft. He was an opportunist, albeit a bold and clever one, who merely took advantage of situations created by his counterparts in other countries. Clearly Taylor's decision to exclude the Nuremberg War Crimes evidence had the same impact on his verdict as a trial judge's decision to exclude a defendant's confession on the 5th Amendment grounds would have if it were the prosecution's primary evidence.

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[5] James Harvey Robinson. *The New History: Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook* (New York: Macmillan, 1912).

[6] In 1929 Lucien Fevbre and Marc Bloch founded the *Annales d'histoire economique et sociale* as a vehicle for challenging conventional historiography. By combining traditional questions and methods with new ones adopted from other disciplines, the *Annales* school promoted what Bloch later referred to as "that broadened and deepened history which some of us . . . have begun to conceive."

[7] A.J.P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* (New York: Atheneum, 1961).

All the major schools of historical interpretation in the "modern" period, from the theological/eschatological to the Marxist, have made some fundamental assumptions about the relative merits of certain types of sources. These assumptions, in turn, have defined the interpretive framework within which the adherents of a given school operate. Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*[8] is as incomprehensible to the "modern" mind for its assumptions about the nature of God and His continuing active role in history as Charles Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*[9] would have been to Mather. Mather could no more have produced his historical account without references to Biblical history and prophecies than Beard could have produced his without reference to "class" and "economic interests." On the other hand, neither found a place in his respective account for references to the role that sunspot activity may play in the great scheme of human affairs. One suspects that even if either had known what sunspots are, he would have considered them irrelevant to the topic under consideration, as virtually all contemporary historians do. However, it is not impossible to imagine that someday no general history of any period will be complete without an analysis of the impact of sunspot activity on climatic trends and how long-term weather patterns, in turn, impact various aspects of human activity, especially agricultural production, demographic patterns, long-term price structures, and even political and social unrest that could be responses to any and all of these factors[10]

If the most distinctive historiographical patterns result from the use or neglect of certain *types* of sources, the fact is only the beginning of the explanation for the diversity found in historical interpretations. As was illustrated in the discussion of level three above, equally striking differences can result from the use of the same type of source, as when new conclusions or interpretations are forced by the discovery or utilizations of previously unknown or unused data. Differing views relating to the occurrence of events or even the existence of entire civilizations may be explained by this factor. But the most startling, and for the average student most disconcerting, source of *differing* interpretations arises from the diverse conclusions historians seem capable of drawing from essentially the same sources and data. Teachers can help students understand this type of interpretative diversity by emphasizing that it typically relates to questions of historical causation, motivation, and significance of events rather than to the occurrence or non-occurrence of those events. In other words, these are questions relating to the "why" and "so what" rather than to the "who, what, where, and when" concerns of historians. It is simple to illustrate the sort of differences that arise among historians when they tackle such thorny questions as: Who was the best general in the Civil War? Who was most responsible for 'causing' World War I? Would Russia have had a revolution without (a) World War I, (b) Lenin, (c) any number of other factors? Could the Germans have won World War II if Hitler had not made his well-documented blunders in conducting Operation Barbarossa? What role did Stalin's personality play in the development of the Cold War? Was Gorbachev deserving of *Time*'s Man of the Decade designation? Every student has had the experience of trying to analyze and explain his/her own decisions and actions to him/herself and others, and each has had the experience of seeing different interpretations placed on those decisions and actions by parents, teachers, and peers. Each has been in the position of interpreting others' actions and being aware of the differences that may arise between their interpretation and that given by the other party. As a result of these everyday life experiences, students can be led in fruitful analyses of the reasons for differing conclusions and interpretations and even of the very real difficulty in achieving genuine (non-rationalizing) self-analysis. Every facet of such a discussion has a corresponding application in understanding the process of historical interpretation.

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[8] Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana: or The Ecclesiastical History of New England* (London: T. Parkhurst, 1702).

[9] Charles Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (New York: Macmillan, 1913).

[10] The seventeenth-century crisis has generated some analyses along these lines, *viz*, Geoffrey Parker and Lesley W. Smith, eds., *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan, Paul, 1978).

As we arrive at the last level of the model, the concept contained there will be easily anticipated and appear self-evident to students who have followed what has been covered to this point. Far from the previous tendencies students may have had to regard a text as a definitive account, they will now see that it represents merely the tip of the iceberg of "history" and one of the last steps in the process of reconstructing and transmitting a knowledge of the past.[11] The text may now be seen as a product and as a tool. It is a product of the very process of historical interpretation of which it is itself a part. Textbooks both present interpretations of the past and are distillations of other historians' interpretations. The text can no longer be viewed as "history," but as a peephole through which one might squint for fragments of information and insight into the past.

I believe that a class period or two devoted to the "levels of history" and the nature of the historical process at the beginning of introductory courses can pay considerable dividends in students' understanding and appreciation of some of the most critical concepts involved in our discipline. And at the very least, it may prevent one from someday saying to a historian/colleague, "At least you teach a subject that never changes."

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[11] Arguably, the teacher further distills the text and other materials in written and/or oral form for the final stage in the process of transmitting history to the student.

REVIEWS

MEDIA REVIEWS

***Eyes on the Prize II: America at the Racial Crossroads - 1965-1985*. Produced by Blackslide, Inc., Boston, MA, 1989. Order from PBS Video, 1320 Braddock Place, Alexandria, VA 22314. (800) 424-7963. 8-part series: $395.00 (VHS) or $575.00 (3/4" U-Matic)**

Of all of the cataclysmic events of the mid twentieth century the American civil rights movement ranks among those whose eventual outcome is still being played out in various individual and societal struggles. Unlike other great social movements, this one developed and matured at a time when a great communication revolution was also occurring, namely the advent of television as a mass medium within our society. As both evolved, the record kept by television provides us with a powerful means to reexamine not only the historical outcomes but the actors and their motivations during critical moments of this period.

PBS first provided us with an early look at the civil rights struggle in *Eyes on the Prize Part I*. This second series of eight programs picks up the story in 1964 with a look at the impact of Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam on black Americans and carries us through the reelection of Harold Washington as the first Afro-American mayor of Chicago in 1987.

In viewing each of these programs the sense of a personalized view of this era comes through. The camera takes us from Harlem in the mid 1960s through James Meredith's march in Mississippi. It focuses on Martin Luther King as he attempts to integrate a hostile Chicago after the Watts riots of 1965. It continues to Cleveland as Carl Stokes is elected mayor. The use of force in controlling these unleashed forces is presented during a confrontation with Huey Newton. The assassination of King and the rise of black pride is examined as well as white reaction to the civil rights movement in the form of the Boston school boycott and the reverse discrimination issues raised by the Bakke case. The series concludes with a look at the black communities in Miami and Chicago.

In addition to the eight video tapes, an extensive teaching guide is also provided. This guide has a lengthy bibliography for each program as well as teaching suggestions and explanatory notes.

This series would be an excellent addition to a media library and could be a focal point of a course in Recent American History or a History of the American Civil Rights movement. It is appropriate for both secondary as well as collegiate audiences. In an age when students spend more time in front of the television than in elementary and secondary classrooms combined, these tapes are a perfect vehicle to capture their interest and, at the same time, provide them with an open window to their heritage.

The University of Texas at San Antonio — Richard A. Diem

***The Western Tradition*. With Eugen Weber. The Annenberg/CPB Project, 1989. A television course in two semesters of 13 units, 52 half-hour programs. VHS or Beta 1/2", $350.00 semester I or II, $650.00 both semesters, $29.90 per cassette, 2 consecutive programs. 3/4", $500.00 semester I or II, $950.00 both semesters, $45.00 per cassette, 2 consecutive programs. (Order from: The Annenberg/CPB Project c/o Intellimation, P.O. 1922, Santa Barbara, CA 93116-1922. 1-800-Learner)**

The Western Tradition is a major new college television course constructed around the western civilization lectures of Eugen Weber, Professor of History at UCLA, and the author of *A Modern History of Europe* (1971) and the highly praised *Peasants into Frenchmen* (1976). The tendency in recent successful telecourses, such as Kenneth Clark's *Civilization*, J. Bronowski's *The Ascent of Man*, or the recent Annenberg/CPB Project, *Art of the Western World*, has been to consciously take the host or scholar of the series out of the classroom, away from the lectern, and transport him to some dramatic historical backdrop such as the palace of Versailles or the Parthenon. Sensing quite naturally that television is an action oriented medium, directors normally like to have their hosts in constant motion. So when the scholar in the *Art of the Western World* describes a Gothic cathedral, he appropriate enough does so while casually walking around the ambulatory. Such a format does solve the problem of the boring talking head with spectacles that marked so many educational films from the 1950s, such as the Encyclopedia Britannica series. Still, such a format can easily give an impression of being staged or contrived, with an actor merely reading his lines, rather than a scholar/teacher engaged in a dialogue with his audience or students. Eugen Weber has not been transported to exotic locales in *The Western Tradition*. He remains firmly entrenched behind the lectern back at UCLA. Each program opens with Professor Weber standing before a shadowy class of students as he proceeds with his analysis of western culture. So students viewing the television image are given a sense of intimacy with the instructor, given a sense of his persona as professor. In the course of the series they get to know his peculiarities of speech, and other eccentricities, that mark the inspiring teacher. So I think you do have here a very successful marriage between the intimacy and naturalness of a front row seat at a university lecture with television's ability to deliver the visual image. Slides, films, and audio segments form an integral part of every program.

Such a marriage is successful largely because of Weber himself. He possesses an engaging style, an aura of European culture, and humor, that does seem to hold the attention of students, including those who have only a minimal amount of interest in history. Indeed, I have had several students who initially thought he was Harvey Korman doing a European professor routine! Weber draws upon a lifetime of teaching and research for the presentation of fascinating anecdotal material that cannot be matched, yet he always keeps it within the context of a tight historical analysis. The series is also particularly strong in the area of social history, where so much new research has been done in the last 25 years. This fact would make programs in the series particularly appealing to those teachers who are not familiar with some of the new trends in scholarship, but desire to add some social history to their courses. However, the programs are a bit uneven. Program 41, "The Industrial Revolution,' I found inspired and touching as Weber described famine in Europe when people simply fell dead in the streets or ditches, or tried to eat their own hands. I found Program 47, "The First World War and the Rise of Fascism," less than inspiring, but that might have been because I was expecting so much. That there would be some unevenness in the course of 52 programs is not surprising, but the overall quality of production and performance is excellent. Weber always remains within himself, never trying to be something that he is not, for instance, never worrying about breathing correctly so that you get a professional, "canned," narration sound. And I believe that this sincerity comes across to students.

The Western Tradition can be used as a complete college credit course, or as supplemental material for courses in western civilization, world history, literature, and art history. Personally, I have had a great deal of success using specific programs to give historical background in an interdisciplinary humanities course. Individual instructors will have to determine for themselves what programs work best for them. Jay Boggis, a novelist and Harvard University Ph.D in history, has written excellent, and very useful, student and faculty guides to accompany the course. In addition to the usual lecture outlines, test banks, and optional readings and activities, the faculty guide has suggestions for administrators about course promotion in the school and community. This innovative television course should make the teaching and learning of history at the college level more popular and interesting, without trivializing history.

Cameron University Richard A.
Voeltz

BOOK REVIEWS

Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. Pp. xi, 314. paper, $12.95.

Juliet Gardiner, ed., *What is History Today?* Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1988. Pp. vi, 167. Cloth, $39.95; paper $12.50.

Oral history is the oldest variety of all, probably beginning with tales told around cooking fires in the era before written language. It went on to troubadours' tales, Norse sagas, and finally to well organized projects and archives of interviews. Paul Thompson, of the University of Essex, has now given us both a why-to-do-it and how-to-do-it book. Tracing the development of oral history, he shows us its value in various ways, even as a counterweight to official documents, commenting, "When social historians are reduced to writing history from the records of government spies, the constraints imposed are clearly extreme." With oral history one can go far beyond surviving documents (which have their own bias) and balance leaders' accounts with those of followers or bystanders.

Thompson moves on to explain how to interview people to get as much information and as much accuracy as possible, how to handle the emotions provoked by interviews (whether of

Armenians who survived Turkish massacres or survivors of the Holocaust), how to choose subjects, what kinds of questions to ask, how to use teamwork, what background information is necessary to make interviews meaningful, how to store and index information, how to get permission to use data, the difficulties in transcribing recordings, and how best to use the results (A sound medium only, possibly using parts of recordings? Portions of videotapes or still photographs in a visual presentation? Printed publication?). Finally, he suggests ways of verifying the data, looking for internal consistency, cross checking with other sources, and seeing if the data fit a known context.

At every step along the way Thompson is explicit and clear, and he offers many examples. Even a novice could do a creditable job by using this book. But there is more, almost thirty pages of valuable notes and suggestions for further reading and ten pages of model questions for interviews, ranging from childhood activities to political views. *The Voice of the Past* belongs in every university, high school, and public library, as well as in departments of history. My only personal regret is that Thompson did not use the works of Harvard psychiatrist Robert Coles (*Children of Crisis* and the next half dozen volumes).

What is History Today? contains thirteen chapters, each dealing with a variety of academic history: military, political, economic, social, religious, scientific, women's, art, intellectual, popular culture, diplomatic, European (but not American), and "third world." In each, four to six historians working in the field furnish their views of their specialties. Since each historian has but a page or two, the discussions are largely superficial, probably best aimed at bright undergraduates who want to explore in advance what fields might be interesting for further study. Too, since the historians are overwhelmingly British, some of their essays will seem a bit strange to American students. One might want to keep a copy of this book in departments of history, but few historians will get much out of it.

Georgia State University Robert W. Sellen

Zev Garber, ed. *Methodology in the Academic Teaching of the Holocaust*. Lanham MD & London: University Press of America, 1988. Pp. xxxvi, 327. Cloth, $36.75; paper, $17.50.

Charles S. Maier. *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1988. Pp. xi, 227. Cloth, $22.50.

Although the two books under review both deal with the subject of the Holocaust, they are of a very different order. *Methodology in Teaching the Holocaust* is a collection of essays purporting to offer practical advice on teaching various aspects of the Holocaust. *The Unmasterable Past* focuses on the current historical conflict (*Historikerstreit*) in Germany over the place and memory of the Third Reich and the Holocaust within German history. Since the books are so different in their goals, I will treat them separately.

Maier's book, if less directly concerned with teaching, is the more interesting and stimulating work. Maier offers a comprehensive analysis of the historical debate currently raging among historians in Germany over how to deal with the legacy of the Nazi Third Reich. On the one hand, according to Maier, are the "revisionists" who, while not denying the horrors of the Nazi regime, seek to "historicize" them by comparing them to other twentieth-century atrocities, thereby denying their special character. On the other hand, critics like Jurgen Habermas, one of the leading philosophers and social thinkers of contemporary Germany, have charged that conservative German historians were seeking to "relativize" the Final Solution to create a new nationalist and conservative usable past. Thus, according to Habermas, these historians are distorting and politicizing history.

Andreas Hillgruber, a noted scholar of diplomacy and World War II, is among the most respected of these "revisionists." In 1986 he published a work in which he discusses both the shattering of the Third Reich and the end of European Jewry. In it Hillgruber justifies the Wehrmacht's bitter resistance against the advancing Soviet forces in the winter of 1944-45. He not only asks us to "identify" sympathetically with the ordinary German soldier and with the danger to the German population that might follow a Russian victory (rape, pillage, mass murder), but he argues that the only right action for a good German was to support the Fatherland against the gathering hordes. This at a time when resistance to Hitler might have meant the ending of the extermination of the Jews.

Indeed, Hillgruber groups the demise of the Reich with that of European "Jewry" as equivalent phenomena: in the one case the end of a state and national community with deep roots in East Central Europe, and in the other, the end of the corporate existence of European Jewry. As Maier so pointedly indicates, such use of comparison dangerously obfuscates rather than clarifies. It was the end of several million individual Jews at the hands of the Nazi regime and its military, not of the corporate existence of "Jewry," that is critical and that belies the comparability. And, of course, Germany brought on its own end by starting the war.

The most salient hallmark of revisionist historiography in Germany centers on the analogy and even interconnectedness between the Holocaust and the Soviet massacres of the Kulaks and old Bolsheviks of the 1930s. By denying the uniqueness, even the special character of the destruction of European Jewry, Ernst Holte and Joachim Fest hope to cleanse the conscience of the German people and rebuild German national pride. They maintain not only that the Gulag served as a precedent and was even "more original" than Auschwitz but that "class murder on the part of the Bolsheviks [was] logically and actually prior to racial murder on the part of the Nazis." Thus Nolte suggests that killing the Jews was a defensive mechanism against the potential threat to Germany by the "Asian" menace.

Maier makes his own superb analysis of the comparability of the Holocaust with other atrocities of the twentieth century and comes down on the side of difference. What sets apart the National Socialist crime from that of the Soviet, he argues, is the murder of the Jews. Only in the case of the Jews was every individual targeted for extermination; only the Nazis established camps exclusively for extermination; and only the Nazis defined all the Jews of Europe as their enemy. Maier does not try to minimize the Stalinist slaughters nor to suggest that they were less bad but rather to argue for their differences. He also insists on separating the ideology of Bolshevism from that of National Socialism, arguing that there is a difference between a philosophy whose logic is monstrous and one that can be given a monstrous interpretation.

Maier draws heavily from Habermas's critique of the revisionists but maintains that he too has politicized history far too much and has dismissed too summarily the potential legitimacy of comparison and historicization of the Nazi regime. Comparing the Nazi regime in all its aspects to other regimes in Germany or outside is legitimate and can bring important insights, according to Maier. All too often, however, these comparisons have been misused to reshape historical memory in order to "normalize" Germany today. According to Maier, if Germany is to retake its place among the community of nations it must not forget but "overcome." The basis for achieving a new and proud national consensus is not by obscuring but repairing so far as possible.

Some of this book is heavy going and would be difficult for many undergraduates. Still, the chapter on the comparability of the Holocaust is among the best I have seen on the question of uniqueness and would be useful for a course dealing with genocide and other mass atrocities. The chapter on "Museums, Memory and Identity" is a superb case study, as is much of the book, on the interconnectedness between historical memory and contemporary politics, and would serve as a useful component of a course on historiography.

Edited by Zev Garber, the second book under review is a collection of articles that supposedly treat teaching methodology. In fact, only a few of the essays are directly devoted to teaching; most are on a hodgepodge of subjects. Grouped in four parts, "Theory and Methods," "Teaching Others," "Literature and the Arts," and "Surveys and Reports," the book pretends to more coherence than it actually has. Perhaps because of my expectations for some good ideas on how to approach teaching the Holocaust at the college level, I found this book disappointing. Some of the articles that do directly touch on teaching are little more than sketchy outlines, while others make only a forced bow at the end of the article to classroom teaching.

The book, however, has some interesting essays. Arye Carmon's piece on teaching the Holocaust in Israel reveals much about that country's changing political culture. Livia Bitton-Jackson usefully traces the "blood myth" to early Christian times, arguing that the Christian populations of Europe were desensitized to Nazi atrocities because of this long history. Ruth Zerner, "Resistance and Submission: Teaching About Responses to Oppression," has a suggestive if short piece on personalizing the Holocaust for her students through the reading of personal memoirs and the use of student journals. But even some of these essays are not as clearly focused on teaching or, for that matter, as clearly focused as I would have liked.

The most useful and well thought out essay was on "Teaching About the Rescuers of Jews" by Lawrence Baron. Baron is involved in an international project interviewing rescuers and analyzing the variables that help explain their assistance to Jews. His article briefly describes the "altruism" project and its findings and then offers some specific recommendations on readings and how to teach this segment of the course. Unlike so many of the other articles, this was a model combination of important new research with effective ideas on how to teach the findings.

SUNY College at Cortland — Sanford Gutman

Daniel Brower. *The World in the Twentieth Century: The Age of Global War and Revolution*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1988. Pp. 363. Paper, $27.80. (Second edition due September 1991–paper, $26.67.)

For high school teachers, one of the difficulties in introducing new courses or new approaches to traditional courses is finding suitable textbooks. In the typical secondary school system, the Contemporary World History course has been traditionally a Modern European History course with periodic references to the rest of the world.

The World in the Twentieth Century: The Age of Global War and Revolution by David Brower is a fairly new textbook that can be used for world history courses either in college or upper-level high school classes. Though there is still greater emphasis on Europe, in general it is a worthy attempt at an encompassing twentieth-century world history text.

The overriding theme of the book is expressed in the subtitle--the Age of Global War and Revolution. The book is political rather than social history. Brower is also concerned with industrialization, imperialism, and nationalism, all of which are related to war (hot and cold) and revolution. Each area of the world is discussed as it pertains to the theme of a particular time period. The United States is not treated separately, but, refreshingly, as part of the world system, as part of a world theme.

At the beginning of the book there is a time chart showing, by rows, a date followed by key events in the area of the world designated by column headings. This chart provides good information for a teacher to use for background settings and comparisons.

Brower makes a good attempt to give relative importance to each world region connected with a chapter theme. For example, the discussion of post World War I includes European recovery, but also the Middle East and imperialism in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. On the other hand, if an area is not particularly related to a theme, he does not include it just to "cover the world." For example, the chapter "Depression and Dictators" mentions the global impact of the Depression but focuses on two fundamental results in terms of the world--Nazi and Stalin's Russia.

Brower also may pick a country or region that particularly emphasizes his point even though it may not be the usual example, such as the attention given Turkey after World War I or Cuba when discussing Latin America and the Superpowers.

One of the best features of the book is the writing style. Brower uses narration more typical of a general nonfiction work than a textbook. The facts and detail are there, but they are part of the "essay" rather than the bulk of the writing; the facts support his thesis. Brower makes his opinions clear which also makes this text different from the usual. Two excerpts illustrate this point:

> After four years of bitter, bloody fighting, the postwar world depended only partly on the decisions of statesmen. Political events took a course of their own. . . .
>
> Did Castro really intend at that point to collaborate with other liberal forces in a constitutional democracy after the revolution? Probably not, for he had fundamentally revised his political objectives since 1952. His definition of democracy stressed rule for the people, not by the people.

Because this book is more an interpretive history than a presentation of objective information, it is also more likely to generate discussion from students than is usually the case in a high school class.

At the end of each chapter is a suggested bibliography for each major topic covered. In addition, Brower has a welcome addition with suggested memoirs and novels. Though there are a few maps and photos, one of the weaknesses of the book is the lack of documents and excerpts from original writings. This is a greater problem for high schools because, in general, they have very limited access to original works. In sum, however, *The World in the Twentieth Century* is definitely worthy of consideration as a global history text.

Anne Arundel County Schools Diane Johnson
Annapolis, MD

Gordon A. Craig & Alexander L. George. *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of Our Time*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990. Second edition. Pp. xiv, 310. Paper, $12.95.

The first edition [1983] of this practical book of international relations evolved from the authors' course on contemporary problems of foreign policy at Stanford University. Case studies by students, some of whom later taught history at the U.S. Military Academy, contribute to the book's intended purpose of presenting working hypotheses about problems of American foreign policy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The current edition, like the original into three parts, provides updated material on the United Nations, the Soviet Union, and the dramatic, recent events in European affairs. Each author's expertise, one in diplomatic history and the other in political science, contributes to a thoughtful exercise in comparative analysis and contemporary strategic assessment. The authors certainly realized that conditions in Europe and the Mideast were volatile as they crafted this revision; if they erred at all it was in judging the pace of change just underway as the book was published.

Part I, consisting of eleven chapters, describes the development of the international system from the seventeenth century to the present. Part II, seven chapters, deals with the processes of foreign relations, such as negotiation, crisis management, and war termination. Part III, two chapters, deals with the complications arising from moral and ethical convictions that emerge in the affairs of states. Each chapter is concluded by a short, updated bibliography.

This book is a useful classroom aid for the teacher who deals with the complexities of international politics. There is an abundance of well chosen examples and analytical approaches to permit application to recent international situations. For example, the chapters dealing with problems of coalition management, deterrence, and negotiation all have relevance to the recent crisis in the Persian Gulf region. The chapters on coercive diplomacy and crisis management are equally instructive.

"The strategy of coercive diplomacy . . . employs threats or limited force to persuade an opponent to call off or undo an encroachment--for example, to halt an invasion or give up territory that has been occupied." The emphasis is on diplomacy with the judicious use of force to persuade the attacker of the resolve of his adversary. The authors illustrate this strategy with the Egyptian crisis of 1938-41, U.S.-Japanese relations from 1938-41, and Arab oil diplomacy of 1973-74. The similarities of those examples with the Persian Gulf crisis of 1990-91 are numerous and pertinent. Coercive diplomacy "deals not with absolute power but with relative power under specific circumstances," and is "difficult to employ when one is faced by a recalcitrant opponent."

In a crisis, diplomatic and military moves must be carefully coordinated because timing often dictates the way intentions are perceived on the other side of the brink. Communication of objectives, both to allies and to each participant's citizenry, is crucial to a successfully negotiated outcome. Leaving an opponent, particularly a parvenu, with "a way out of the crisis compatible with his fundamental interests," but at the same time not surrendering your own vital interests, is most difficult. We might hope that the next edition of this excellent book will include the resolution of the Persian Gulf crisis of 1990-91 in the chapter on coercive diplomacy, rather than in the one titled "war termination."

The First Division Museum at Cantigny John F. Votaw

Arina Angerman, *et. al. Current Issues in Women's History*. London & New York: Routledge, 1989. Pp. 340. Cloth, $45.00; paper, $14.95.

Bonnie G. Smith. *Changing Lives: Women In European History Since 1700*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath & Co., 1989. Pp. 560. Paper, $15.00.

Current Issues in Women's History, a collection of papers delivered at the International Conference on Women's History at Amsterdam in March 1986, and Bonnie G. Smith's textbook, *Changing Lives: Women in European History Since 1700*, provide abundant evidence of the richness and diversity of women's history scholarship. The anthology contains some interesting essays and offers a suggestive overview of the debates that arose at the conference, but it is an uneven collection of only limited value for undergraduate teaching. Bonnie Smith, however, has written a lively and comprehensive synthesis of recent scholarship on European women's history that should become one of the standard texts for classroom use.

The editors' preface to *Current Issues in Women's History* and Selma Leydesdorff's introductory essay, "Politics, Identification and the Writing of Women's History," refer to criticisms of the conference as "Eurocentric" and "Western oriented." The Western focus is apparent in the anthology; with the exception of essays on Egyptian and Algerian women, all of the research included details the history of women in Europe or the United States. Leydesdorff explains that most historiographical differences were "nationally determined," with divisions apparent between "historiography in those countries where women's history has gained a place at universities . . . and those countries where this is not the case." Specialists will lament that she did not elaborate on these provocative comments.

The essays in *Current Issues in Women's History* are organized around three major themes: 1) the "presence or absence of women in power structures and organization;" 2) the meaning of language and the "ways in which a certain culture does or does not restrict women;" and 3) historiography. The contributions vary considerably in their effectiveness, ranging from Mineke Bosch's sketchy and somewhat disjointed "Gossipy letters in the context of international feminism" to Amy Swerdlow's sophisticated analysis in "Female culture, pacifism and feminism: Women Strike for Peace." Two excellent essays on British women's history in the collection are Alison Oram, "'Embittered, sexless or homosexual': attacks on spinster teachers 1918-1939," and Anna Clark, "Whores and gossips: sexual reputation in London 1770-1825." Although instructors will refer students to some of the essays, it is unlikely that many will consider assigning the entire collection.

Bonnie G. Smith's *Changing Lives: Women in European History Since 1700* is a wide ranging, thorough, and gracefully written survey text. In addition to drawing on rich data from England, France, and Germany, Smith has included considerable information on Scandinavia and Southern and Eastern Europe. Smith generalizes about women's experiences, but she demonstrates a keen sensitivity to national, ethnic, religious, and class differences in each of the four parts of the text: "Life and Death in the Eighteenth Century;" "Work and Domesticity in Industrializing Europe, 1815-1875:" "A World Torn Asunder, 1875-1925;" and "The Fruits of Twentieth Century Technology." Each section, prefaced by a concise introduction to the major themes in women's history in that period and a time line, concludes with an annotated bibliography.

Throughout the text Smith provides useful background information on major political, social, economic, intellectual, technological, military, and diplomatic changes and explains how these developments affected and were affected by women. She reveals the complexities and ironies of developments that often had disparate impacts depending on gender or on class. For example, she sums up her discussion of the Napoleonic Code in the early 1900s with the observation that:

> The Code cleared the way for the rule of property and for individual triumph. It ushered in an age of mobility, marked by the rise in the energetic and heroic. The Code gave women little room for that kind of acquisitiveness or for heroism. Instead, women's realm was to encompass virtue, reproduction, and family.

Changing Lives effectively balances treatments of notable women--rulers, scientists, writers, artists, farmers, intellectuals--with discussions of ordinary women. Although considerable attention is devoted to elites, social historians will find this text quite satisfactory. Smith presents crisp portraits of famous women in which she notes their backgrounds, accomplishments (often providing succinct discussions of the merits of their work), and the ways in which they defied conventional norms. For example, readers learn much about Florence Nightingale's character and background in this passage:

> Born to wealth, Nightingale led an intense social life with her mother and studied classical subjects just as intensely with her father. While still a teenager, she heard a call from God and spent the next decade struggling between the demands of upper-class domesticity and her driving ambition to escape them. Many aspects of household life infuriated her, including long meals, meaningless sociability, and insistence on attention to any number of rituals. She proposed various projects to her parents, in particular that she train with a religious order for hospital service. They greeted this with rage and hysteria, for nurses came from the lowest classes, did menial chores only, and charged patrons for special services, including sexual ones . . . . After various small stints at nursing--each the cause of a family uproar--her great opportunity arose with the Crimean War . . . .

A final strength of this exemplary text is the inclusion of excerpts from primary documents in each chapter. Preceded by informative headnotes, the documentary selections illuminate and enhance Smith's narrative. These materials, drawn primarily from women's writings, include poems, speeches, political testaments, reform tracts, stories, and letters. Smith has thus written not only a superb historical synthesis, but she has also made rich documentary material easily accessible for students. Instructors of general European survey courses and European women's history courses will find *Changing Lives* a splendid text.

DePauw University — Barbara Steinson

Mark A. Burkholder & Lyman L. Johnson. *Colonial Latin America*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990. Pp. x, 360. Cloth, $34.00; paper, $13.95.

It is fitting to look at *Colonial Latin America* in terms of efforts to invigorate the teaching of history in behalf of education, citizenship, and civilized discourse in a conflict-ridden and diverse world. In this milieu, the colonial history of Latin America can be exceedingly serviceable. The subject's difficulty is not the real problem; the entire historical enterprise is daunting, full of surprises and mystery, and hard to fit into the mold of easy generalizations. The problem lies rather in the historical profession's responsibility to bring subject matter to life and demonstrate this liveliness to students who may then become energized by it.

In this effort, texts on the pre-revolutionary history for lands inhabited for millennia by native peoples, and conquered and settled predominantly by Spain and Portugal, have been singularly uninspiring for many American college students. *Colonial Latin America* by two able and accomplished scholars, appears not likely to become an exception. Yet Professors Burkholder and Johnson present excellent material well and in clear, straight-forward prose. Their well-edited synthesis nicely incorporates important findings of reasonably prolific and highly creative researchers, who in recent decades have mined archives and made significant advances in knowledge, in particular concerning colonial Latin America's economy and society.

The didactic problem, in large part, is one of organizing and presenting the material, and surely no single strategy will be satisfactory. The authors here follow a rather conventional route. In eight chapters, beginning with America and Iberia before the European conquest, they also cover the age of conquest; the structure of empire and church; population, labor, and slavery; the economy; social life; expansion of imperial domains; and the growth of revolutionary and independence movements into potent forces.

The first three and the last two chapters of *Colonial Latin America* offer a basic chronological presentation of material, with the usual separations in each between the Spanish and Portuguese areas. The fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters focus on demographic, economic, and social developments during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. "Living in an Empire," the sixth and longest chapter, for example, presents the elements of social existence in colonial Latin America, with attention to earning a living, race, class, marriage, the family, and culture. It is organized by category, with information about Brazil generally integrated within that about the Spanish-controlled lands. Such discussion by category seems more prevalent, in the text, than narrative exposition; both are helpful, but students may have some trouble integrating the information without the assistance of frameworks provided by instructors in the form of lectures or study outlines and notes.

The book contains no maps; the illustrations are useful but relatively few in number. A significant list of additional readings appears at the end of each chapter, but annotations would have made them more useful. A glossary of terms offers minimal definitions; here, as well, more well-developed statements linking the terms to events and the text would likely have been a benefit to readers.

This reviewer has no immediate remedy for the dilemma discussed here. To note contrasts, one may gain perspective by examining two dated standbys: Bailey W. Diffie's *Latin-American Civilization: Colonial Period* (1945), a large volume with good pictures and maps; and the first third of Hubert Herring's *A History of Latin America, from the Beginnings to the Present* (3rd. ed., 1968), with its excellent maps and bibliography. A third text, E. Bradford Burns's relatively short *Latin America: A Concise Interpretive History* (4th ed., 1986), contains nowhere near the amount of information that *Colonial Latin America* provides because, in part, it moves up to the present era. But Burns engages the minds of students, without oversimplifying the entire study, by employing clear categories of analysis--tradition, class, race, conflict, and power--throughout the book.

SUNY, Empire State College — Robert N. Seidel

Simon Schama. *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989. Pp. 948. Cloth, $29.95.

In his preface Simon Schama, a British-born, Cambridge-educated, Harvard history professor, writes that "in *Citizens* I have tried to bring a world to life rather than entomb it in erudite discourse." He has succeeded, producing a bestseller more popular with general readers than specialists.

In this "mischievously old-fashioned piece of storytelling" Schama portrays the Revolution down to 1794 through vignettes of leading personalities, dramatically told tales, lurid anecdotes, and occasional theorizing. Rejecting the influence of social forces, he sees the Revolution as the product "of contingencies and unforeseen consequences," especially "individual agency" and "revolutionary utterance." Historiographically, Schama follows Tocqueville's lead in emphasizing the continuation of long-term trends rather than new beginnings. But he goes farther, characterizing the old regime as "troubled more by its addiction to change than by its resistance to it." As a primary cause of the Revolution, he sees a burgeoning patriotism that was humiliated by the loss of the Seven Years' War to Britain. His Louis XVI is a caring social activist whose plans and good works were destroyed by the Revolution.

In his choice of emphases Schama melds a trendy concern with semiotics and political culture with a conservative abhorrence of revolutionary violence which, he says, was largely rooted in hostility to modernization. The moderate revolutionaries of 1789, like their successors later, were morbidly preoccupied with "the just massacre and heroic death" and they all repeatedly evoked violence for selfish political ends, outbidding their predecessors for the support of the bloodthirsty mob. Revolutionary violence "was not merely an unfortunate byproduct of politics, or the disagreeable instrument . . . [of] more virtuous ends . . . . violence *was* the Revolution itself." Schama relishes the gory details of atrocities, consistently showing more sympathy for the aristocracy than either the revolutionaries or the poor. Revolutionary leaders, having created a newly powerful state, then subjected their newly free citizens to its interests, making militarized nationalism "the heart and soul" of the Revolution. In sum, the French Revolution, as Schama sees it, was fundamentally a bad thing that accomplished very little.

Before *Citizens*, Schama was best known for his work in Dutch history, and specialists in the Revolution have been less enthusiastic than Book-of-the-Month-Club readers about this book. (When he appeared on a bicentennial panel at the AHA's 1989 meeting in San Francisco, the murmuring was intense.) Frequently using the first person, Schama sets himself apart from the specialists, contrasting his views with theirs, and then expressing surprise at such a commonplace as the role of the aristocracy in undermining the power of the king. Indeed, Schama's knowledge of the Revolution appears to be as uneven as the coverage of his 27-page bibliography, sometimes well informed, up to date, and reasonably thorough, but occasionally inaccurate, superficial, and sketchy. For example, he erroneously credits Danton with coining the phrase "Terror is the order of the day" and places Hérault to the right of Robespierre on the political spectrum of the Convention. The book includes no footnotes, even for quotations, so his contentions are difficult to verify.

No book that vividly tells the story of the Revolution is without merit, and this one has the additional advantage of good maps and over 200 black-and-white illustrations from the period. I recommend it to friends seeking an undemanding but entertaining account, though Christopher Hibbert's *The Days of the French Revolution* is better. For classroom use, William Doyle's new book, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*, especially when paired with Keith Michael Baker's documentary collection, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*, is a much more judicious choice.

College of the Ozarks — Michael W. Howell

Robert Jackson. *The Prisoners 1914-1918*. London & New York: Routledge, 1989. Pp. viii, 162. Cloth, $35.00

Robert Jackson, former RAF pilot, military historian, and author of some fifty books, offers in this short work a sketch of the life of British POWs captured by the Germans during the Great War. Based on previously unpublished British prisoner narratives from the Imperial War Museum and some dozen or so similar accounts, most of which appeared in print soon after the war, the book relies on several long quotations from its sources to tell the story.

Jackson organizes his history clearly into chapters that keep the narrative moving. Explaining that both the British and Germans followed rules of war laid down at the Hague Conference of 1907, he then discusses how POWs were treated in the early war years in Germany. Since many of the narratives he uses were written by officers, the perspective on prison life is sometimes skewed a little. While officers planned amateur theatricals, sports contests, and kept up the mess, the rank and file did not fare so well. Nor did the other allied prisoners. In a typhus epidemic at Schneidemühl camp in 1914-1915 some 20 Britons died, but Russian deaths averaged 30 per day or 11,000 for the duration of the epidemic. Romanian, Serbian, and other allied prisoners likewise suffered terribly.

Still, in comparison to German treatment of prisoners, both military and non-combatant, in World War II, what British prisoners experienced in World War I seems mild and their accounts of it almost quaint. Rarely did the prisoners suffer from hunger because the Red Cross and other relief organizations saw to it that each POW received thirteen pounds of bread and one ten-pound parcel every two weeks. The German allowed these through to the very end of the war, even as the Germans' own rations were running short. There was little brutality or punishment, except of course for men who made escape attempts. However, in anticipation of Saddam Hussein's "human shields," towards the end of the war the Germans deliberately located POW camps in areas vulnerable to allied air attacks. As a precaution, though, Britain did the same thing on a limited scale.

At the end of the book, Jackson adds a brief chapter on the condition of German POWs in Britain. What is striking is the tremendous increase in numbers over the duration of the war: from 69 camps with 26,000 German prisoners and internees in April 1915 to 518 camps with 250,000 captives in October 1918. Treatment was humane, if not munificent, and Jackson relates only one spectacular German escape from Britain.

The Prisoners provides an interesting perspective on a little-known side of World War I. If that perspective is mostly British and a bit aristocratic, it is valuable nonetheless. Students and teachers will find here some of the drama, tedium, and humaneness that prisoners experienced while the great machine of war churned bloodily toward its end. Such insights make the whole event more real.

West Georgia College W. Benjamin Kennedy

R. Jackson Wilson, *et al. The Pursuit of Liberty: A History of the American People*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1990. Second edition. Vol. I: 560 pp. Paper, $27.00; Vol II: 634 pp. Paper, $29.75.

Reviewing textbooks is like visiting the dentist for a checkup. The experience may be painful or it may be beneficial for you. Since Frances FitzGerald's onslaught on the American textbook in the 1980s, publishers at the collegiate and pre-collegiate levels have been experimenting in order to upgrade and improve the backbone of classroom instruction, the textbook. Many publishers have heeded FitzGerald's remarks about the dullness of textbooks by expending large sums of monies on the production of a grand design classroom teaching package. Textbooks now come fully supplemented and include glossy transparencies, computerized test packets, blackline document masters, student worksheets, map exercises, drills, skills, and other frills. Despite all this seventh avenue marketing, what have publishers done to the textbook itself? Has it been substantially improved? Is it still all gloss and glitter with no substance?

Textbook writing has become a lost art. Seldom does one writer attempt the task of analyzing the historical scene, whether it be American, European, or World in perspective. Where are the Beards, Muzzeys, and Toynbees when you need one? For better or worse, textbooks are now written by committee. No one person seems to have the time (or probably even the wherewithal) to tackle the full-time task of developing a synthesized version of history and historiography as it developed over the past three decades. Usually a team of college-level historians surround themselves with a geographer, a curriculum developer, a reading specialist, and one or two master teachers when developing today's packaged historical products. The material is then field-tested in a variety of school settings--inner city, suburban, and rural--to show that indeed this production will meet ALL students' needs.

Despite these recent efforts by publishers to improve their classroom products, many recent forums such as the Bradley Commission and the Commission for Social Studies still bemoan the lack of synthesis in historical writing and research, especially in textbooks. So what can the classroom student and his mentor use if there are not any suitable books with which to study and analyze the past? The obvious answer is to choose from the best of the lot until a "new" history is written.

Five notable scholars, R. Jackson Wilson, James Gilbert, Stephen Nissenbaum, Karen Ordahl Kupperman, and Donald Scott, have attempted to wrestle with today's upheaval in curriculum development as well as the shifting winds of pedagogical change by approaching the study of the American past in an innovative way. Starting from the premise that students today "seem to know something in general, but nothing in particular," the authors have produced a college-level textbook, *The Pursuit of Liberty: A History of the American People*, based on two convictions. First, that it is "possible for students to see and *understand* the ways that specific sequences of human action were related to the general setting in which they took place." Second, "historians ought not to keep a secret of the remarkably exciting and dramatic ways people actually acted in the past." Since "most history textbooks contain no narrative, no stories, no accounts of the dramatic," the authors have designed a textbook that involves the "sometimes triumphant, often shameful efforts and struggles of human beings."

In the *Pursuit of Liberty*, the authors alternate between the specific and the general, between narrative and explanation in hopes that in the end the reader "will have a much better grasp of the way history works." For example, each chapter begins with a story, a narrative if you please, of Bacon's Rebellion, the Salem Witch Trials, the Trail of Tears, Nat Turner, the Haymarket Riot, Hiroshima, or Chicago 1968. These episodes foreshadow the explanations that follow. The episodes (the specifics) establish the tone for the chapter discussion (the general). The narrative is interspersed intermittently with maps, prints, charts, and sidebars that graphically depict the content mentioned. A wonderfully creative section entitled "American Images" punctuates the narrative presentation with additional pictorial information. The authors have followed the old adage that a picture is worth a thousand words and utilize the pictorial image as another potential teaching device to entice today's visually sensitized youth.

The authors, obviously influenced by their own historical training and educational upbringing in the 1960s, cleverly grab the reader's attention with provocative human interest stories, such as Lizzie Borden's, that could be found in any of today's grocery-line checkout counter press offerings. Once hooking the reader's attention, the authors slide into discussion of the sometimes less than interesting study of, say, the Gilded Age. Let's face it, not all of history is exciting or glamorous but the authors have attempted to smooth over the "dull" spots. Throughout the chapters they have adeptly hung biographical hooks on which to capture the attention of the modern reader who is accustomed to the synesthesia of MTV. These biographical sidebars are representative of the people who have made America what it is today [Anne Hutchinson, John Marshall, Sequoyah, Jackie Robinson, and the Marx Brothers] and are part of the humanness that the authors offer as one of their themes throughout the book. The authors have cogently chosen figures from the entire kaleidoscope of American heroes, heroines, and villains. Succinctly put, *Pursuit of Liberty* is a 1960s interpretation of American history. It highlights social injustices and flaws in American society that have been overcome by humaneness and because of this humanity, America has become a better place in which to live.

The rest of the book is traditional in layout--a valuable chronology section, further reading on each subtopic in the chapter, maps, charts, and prints. *Pursuit of Liberty* is a highly illustrated book; scarcely a page goes by without graphics appearing. The prints, especially the section on "American Images," will excite the imagination--hangings of witches will stir the reader's interest to see what may be on the next page.

On the down side the color is visually unappealing and macabre in nature. The block lettering is unattractive stylistically and gives the book a primer style format usually reserved for handicapped readers. One hopes that the reader's initial eye reaction to the printing and coloring won't dull the senses because the authors have produced an excellent, readable, and exciting textbook of which Frances FitzGerald could be proud. Although some critics may disagree with the authors' approach to the study of the American past as unconventional and somewhat sensationalized, *Pursuit of Liberty* offers much to today's students of Clio.

Anne Arundel County Public Schools — James F. Adomanis
Annapolis, Maryland

Diana Karter Appelbaum. *The Glorious Fourth: An American Holiday, An American History*. New York and Oxford: Facts on File, 1989. Pp. 180. Cloth, $19.95.

Diana Karter Appelbaum, author of a similar book on Thanksgiving, has written a concise, popular history of Fourth of July celebrations from the Declaration of Independence in 1776 until the 1986 centennial of the Statue of Liberty. She presents a delightful chronicle of how patriotic commemorations have changed to reflect the changing nature of American society. Her thesis is that the national holiday "has been imperialist and nostalgic, frivolous and political, drunken and teetotal, but always, it has been an accurate mirror of the mood of the American people."

Beginning with a very fine summary of how the Second Continental Congress declared independence on July 2 and approved Jefferson's Declaration two days later, Appelbaum shows that only a few cities celebrated the first anniversary of independence, but that the celebrations of 1778 established "an enduring pattern of holiday observance by featuring large amounts of noise." The book is full of anecdotes and events relating to various Fourths of July in the nation's history, including early partisan activities, chauvinistic celebrations during wartime, enthusiastic festivities of the centennial and bicentennial years, and ways in which diverse movements--from the Ku Klux Klan to the abolitionists--have tried to exploit Independence Day. There is an especially fascinating discussion of the widespread death and injury that resulted from giant firecrackers and toy pistols before about 1910 when reformers achieved some measure of success in promoting "safe and sane" activities.

In addition to very readable narrative, *The Glorious Fourth* provides an impressive number of useful bibliographical references to books, pamphlets, and articles dealing with various aspects of the topic. Also, there is an abundance of paintings, photographs, contemporary speeches, and poems that add to the charm of this delightful history.

Although a work of popular history, most teachers of American history can learn some interesting stories and insights from the book. For supplementary reading, the work is the kind of short, readable account that has a great deal of appeal for students in introductory undergraduate courses.

Mount Senario College — Thomas T. Lewis

Philip Weeks. *Farewell, My Nation: The American Indian and the United States, 1820-1890.* Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1990. Pp. x, 250. Paper, $9.50.

If you teach a class on nineteenth-century American history, a survey class in which you focus on the American Indian, or even a social anthropology class, you might want to use this fine study. It is well-written, easy to read, and nicely organized. It has an added feature of four maps that helps the reader to follow the ever-changing geographic situation of the tribes. Philip Weeks's study is a well-balanced account of what to do with the Native Americans.

Weeks deftly traces the development of a national Indian policy, the circumstances that undermined that program, and the formulation of a new, though unsuccessful, policy. It is a tragic story, filled with regrettable events, climaxed by the Wounded Knee Massacre in South Dakota in 1890. Beginning in 1820, torn between Gradualists and Removalists, the federal government, led by Andrew Jackson, an experienced Indian fighter and landgrabber, naturally resorted to a policy of separation, a removal program for the Indians from east of the Mississippi to "perpetual Indian territory," where they would become more civilized and assimilable. Though some argue that his policy did save the complete disintegration of the Eastern tribes, the general result was a more rapid cultural disintegration brought on by disease, alcohol, relocation, and the constant intrusion of outside events, that undermined their cultures. Running against the theory of separation was the American cultural drive to expand, to eat up the land. With the Mexican Cession in 1848 came a new situation, and the tribes were no longer quite so separated. Now they were trapped between two U.S. territories; California and gold acted like a magnet pulling the East closer and catching the Indians in a vise. The cession also helped to bring on the Civil War, a maelstrom that many Indian cultures could not avoid and some took sides. The result for pro-Rebel and even pro-Union Indians was a continuation of their troubles: losing lands to miners, hunters, ranchers, farmers, railroads, landgrabbers, and their buffalo destroyed.

To protect themselves, some braves fought the white intruders, an action that led to a new government policy of concentration that meant reservation. Though not usually supported by their whole tribe, Indian militants set out on the warpath that led to the well-known dramatic clash of the great horsemen of the Plains against the cavalry of an industrial nation. This offensive strategy lasted a good twenty years, and the Little Big Horn was the apex of their success. But they were doomed by a determined and relentless federal government, as the sad fate of Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce showed. Pressed by reformers, the government then resorted to an Americanization policy to make the Indians white. Seeing this danger, many Indians turned to alcohol, left the reservations, or sought cultural renewal in religious experiences like the Ghost Dance. All these were forms of resistance to that concentration policy. The frozen corpses at Wounded Knee were a grim comment on the success of that federal policy.

Many kinds of lessons can be built around this study. For the localist, there are many tribes that Weeks's short book could not include, especially tribes of the North and Far West. You could use this work to initiate an investigation into what happened to your local Indians. Who were they; what treaties did they sign; how did the federal government convince them to leave; to where were they removed; and then what happened to them? Most students do know something about Indians and seem to have a strong curiosity about their way of life. They also know that Indian history gives them a different point of view of their own history. It is one that raises harsh questions about the justice of decisions and events.

Another approach is to look at Hollywood's interpretation of events between 1820-1890. Compare *They Died With Their Boots On* to *Little Big Man*. Indians and Custer are quite different in each movie; then compare Weeks's general account to those movies. Such an approach can lead to a different avenue of inquiry--a discussion about historiography of the Indian. Students will probably see similarities between the fictional Grandfather of the latter movie to the real Black Kettle in Weeks's book. The made-for-television movie, *Lonesome Dove* has a devilish Indian, Blue Duck, who ends his life like the real-life Satanta, a fearsome Kiowa chief. Did the author, Larry McMurtry, pattern Blue Duck after Satanta? Of course, there are many other movies that fit in with Weeks's book. *The Unforgiven, The Searchers, A Man Called Horse*, and *Ulzana's Raid* are four that come to mind. The important thing about this study is that it makes the reader want to know more about the Indian problem.

Lockport Central High School Brian Boland
Lockport, Illinois

John Niven. *The Coming of the Civil War 1837-1861*. Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1990. Pp. xiv, 181. Paper, $8.95.

The price of books these days has made reading lists difficult to make up for those of us who teach at colleges and universities where most students have modest budgets. Many instructors may find that this book, and others in Harlan Davidson's American History Series, edited by John Hope Franklin, will go a long way in solving that problem.

Niven's book makes no pretense to being an exhaustive survey of the era from Martin Van Buren to the firing on Fort Sumter. As he explores the background of the Civil War in this short discussion (there are only 143 pages of narrative), he finds the cause of the war to be slavery, pure and simple. It was slavery that led to sectionalism, and of course the war was the extreme expression of north-south sectionalism. He mentions other issues, such as the role of the Know-Nothings, the impact of the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the Kansas controversy, the pace of modernization, emotionalism and mistrust, and economics, all emphasized in a way that makes the sad outcome seem so inevitable. State rights and racial adjustment are included, of course, but the bottom line was that the war was caused by slavery. "The institution of slavery precipitated the conflict," believes Niven, "because it stood in the way of a modernizing process that was changing the character not just of the United States but of the entire Western world." There is no beating about the bush here, for limitations of pages and price force him to come right to the point.

Some instructors may find that much important detail is omitted in this largely political study of the generation before the war. This is true, for Niven paints in broad strokes. Yet it is difficult to see how he could have included much more without making the book longer and hence more expensive.

Instructors will find this straight-forward account of the pre-Civil War era useful. The dilemma is that if one teaches the coming of the war, the war itself, and the Reconstruction in a single course, Niven tells only part of the story. The problem is partially solved, for Michael Perman's *Emancipation and Reconstruction, 1862-1879*, which appears in the same series, can be hooked on to Niven. (The resulting gap in coverage could be picked up by lectures, for Perman concentrates narrowly on emancipation, although his Reconstruction discussion is more comprehensive.) One bonus is that Niven starts his story a little earlier than historians of this era usually do, providing useful background.

One final feature of *The Coming of the Civil War* that many instructors will appreciate is an excellent bibliographical discussion. Students who cannot grasp the concept of revisionism should get the point when they read the first half of this essay.

University of North Dakota Richard E. Beringer

Joseph T. Glatthaar. *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers.* New York: The Free Press, 1990. Pp. xiii, 370. Cloth, $24.95.

Many Americans--apparently including at least a few textbook authors--still assume that blacks were essentially passive recipients of emancipation during the Civil War. Joseph Glatthaar's new book makes it perfectly clear that tens of thousands of blacks played an active and important role not only in the abolition of slavery but also in the preservation of the republic.

Glatthaar's *Forged in Battle* is the most detailed and illuminating account yet published on the experience of the 180,000 "colored" troops in the Civil War. The author competently discusses various aspects of life and death in the Union army for black soldiers and their (mostly) white officers, including recruiting and training, camp life and combat, and the pervasive racial bigotry that existed within and without the service. Unlike earlier standards such as Dudley Cornish's *The Sable Arm* and Benjamin Quarles's *The Negro in the Civil War*, which largely focus on the politics and propaganda involved in creating black units, this book examines what it was like to be a part of such a unit.

The author accurately points out that despite the amount of print, celluloid, and bronze lavished on the 54th Massachusetts, most recently exemplified by the motion picture *Glory*, the honor of first combat by blacks in blue was won by several regiments of Louisiana freemen and freedmen who fought at Milliken's Bend and Port Hudson months before the assault on Fort Wagner. He is also probably correct in concluding that because of reluctance to put black troops in battle--largely due to the widespread belief that they were inferior soldiers--their greatest contribution to the Union cause was in the uninspiring but vital area of logistics.

Forged in Battle is a fine study of a complex subject, but it is not without flaws. There is an annoying amount of repetition, and the catchy title promises more than the author delivers. Glatthaar never convincingly demonstrates that more than a small number of black soldiers and white officers overcame the barriers of prejudice and social convention to form an "alliance" despite shared hardships and dangers. These relatively minor problems aside, however, all Civil War historians (and the best and brightest of their students) will benefit from a careful reading of this important and informative book. Regrettably, some may find that the book's strengths--solid research and rich detail--make it too lengthy for effective use as supplemental reading material in their undergraduate courses.

University of Arkansas at Monticello William L. Shea

Don H. Doyle. *New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860-1910.* Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 1990. Pp. xix, 369. Cloth, $39.95; paper, $12.95.

The *New Men* in the title of this volume include a variety of people who led the South after the Civil War, but the important ones were middle-aged businessmen who had lived in the South before the Civil War and who were less than enthusiastic about the formation and activities of the southern Confederacy. This would not today be considered a revisionist view, but it certainly does not comply with older interpretations of these leaders. The *New Cities* in the title of this volume refer to the four cities in the subtitle that are used as examples of a developing urban South. This volume is filled with comparisons and contrasts of these four cities, stressing both similarities and dissimilarities. This is a considerably more useful approach than separate studies of each of these cities. The *New South* in the title of this volume refers to the industrializing, urbanizing South of that era. The author artfully weaves together the three concepts in his title as he leads his readers from 1860 to 1910.

While the focus of this volume is economic, it has passages on religion, leisure time activities, social classes, social clubs, women, and blacks. Unfortunately the author makes no references to political activities. He does not address questions such as: Did the political urban leaders challenge the politically dominant agrarians? If so, how successful were they? Did the cities challenge the rural-dominated county political structures? If so, what was the outcome? How did the Progressive Movement affect the southern cities? Were the cities' political leaders Progressive?

In the past thirty years or so historians of the South have "discovered" the urban South. A considerable body of literature now exists on that subject. The strength of this volume is that it fills in a great deal of detail in the generalizations that previous writers have made concerning the rise of the urban South. For that reason, it is a valuable addition to the continually growing literature on the New South. College instructors of courses on the New South can find material in this volume for new lectures or to refresh old ones, and they will want to add it to the reading lists they hand out to their students. But this is probably not the sort of book that a high school teacher of American history would find particularly useful either as recommended reading or from which to draw material for classroom presentations.

New Mexico State University Monroe Billington

Michael Simpson. *Franklin D. Roosevelt.* New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989. Pp. 90. paper, $7.95.

This is an admirable synthesis and condensation of the existing literature enriched by the author's own shrewd assessments of Roosevelt the man and his achievements. Despite sparing use of anecdote, a clear and convincing portrait both of Roosevelt's character and of his major policies, foreign and domestic, emerges from Simpson's narrative. This is no small accomplishment in so few pages. The book's four chapters, one each on youth and early career, "the road to the White House," the New Deal, and world affairs are followed by a brief conclusion and useful "notes on further reading."

To Roosevelt's upbringing at Hyde Park is attributed the calm self-assurance, eagerness to please, persistence, and "determination to play his cards . . . close to his chest" that became characteristic of his leadership. An ambition to follow in the footsteps of his famous cousin Theodore may have influenced his courtship of Eleanor Roosevelt, TR's niece, as well as his pursuit of appointment as Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the Wilson administration.

Further clues to Roosevelt's leadership and decision-making style are found in his four years as governor of New York and his triumphant 1932 presidential campaign. Roosevelt surrounded himself with able subordinates (the "Brains Trust") who had useful ideas of their own, demonstrated his eagerness to learn from them, and inspired great loyalty in them. But he continued to keep his own counsel and follow his own uncanny political intuition. Stressing his belief that the depression was a domestic problem and revealing his bias toward government action, Roosevelt urged "bold, persistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and try it; if it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all try something."

The numerous initiatives of the first and second hundred days reflected his willingness to experiment; their underlying similarities rather than differences are stressed. Although Simpson awards only "two cheers" to the New Deal because of issues left imperfectly addressed, he nonetheless credits Roosevelt and the New Deal with "profound and enduring" achievements (the development of a managed economy and the launching of the welfare state that strengthened business and finance, business opinion to the contrary notwithstanding), restored public confidence, and united the country physically and spiritually.

In world affairs, Roosevelt cautiously awaited the moment when the conjunction of domestic and international politics would enable him to assert the interests of the United States without undermining his support at home. "He brought a united nation into the war, devised and carried out his own strategy, and ensured that the United States would at last play a part in world affairs commensurate with her might and her destiny." Truly a Commander in Chief, FDR played a critical role in strategic planning of the successful international war effort and demonstrated "a happy knack of selecting and then inspiring outstanding commanders, fitting the man to the task with exactitude." If he unwisely delayed talks on the post-war future of Europe and exaggerated his ability to influence Stalin, these miscues must be seen in the context of his successes. The survival of democracy "was due in a large measure to his presidency."

Franklin D. Roosevelt can be recommended with confidence to teachers at both the secondary and collegiate levels as supplemental or required reading for their students. The narrative is so spare, however, that students whose knowledge of the Roosevelt era is derived primarily from Simpson's account may fail to develop a full appreciation of its dramatic context.

St. Louis, Missouri Marvin Reed

CHANGE IN BOOK REVIEW EDITOR

After almost a decade of service as Book Review Editor of *Teaching History*, William Mugleston has asked for a change in his work with the journal to allow more time for a variety of other professional activities. With the 1992 publication year, he will shift over to the Board of Editors. Bill Mugleston has given *Teaching History* exceptional leadership and good direction in the book review section, and we thank him for the fine work he has done for the journal.

Moving into the position of Book Review Editor is Bullitt Lowry of the University of North Texas. Lowry has been on the Board of Editors of *Teaching History* since we began publication in 1976. He brings to his new position experience as a book review editor and a distinguished record of teaching and scholarship.

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