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# TEACHING HISTORY A JOURNAL OF METHODS

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# THE BALTIC STATES: HISTORY AND HISTORY EDUCATION

The Internationale Gesellschaft für Geschichtsdidaktik (International Society for History Didactics) met at the European Academy at Leck, Germany, September 9-12, 1991, for a conference on history and history education in the Baltic region. Scholars from Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Russia, Poland, Germany (including former East Germany), The Netherlands, and the United States participated. When plans had been laid for the conference more than a year earlier, no one could have foreseen the timeliness of the conference. During the August coup in what was then still the USSR, conference organizers wondered whether their Soviet colleagues on the program would be able to attend. Not only were they able to do so, but in the wake of the coup all resistance to the independence of the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania withered, and the participants were able to toast the freedom of all the states surrounding the Baltic.

A high point of the conference was the presentation by Dr. Silvia Oispuu, printed below. Her paper, which I edited for publication here, had a freshness and optimism appropriate for an historian and history teacher who, as she said, could celebrate that she "no longer had to teach lies." Some other participants raised questions in the discussion periods about whether the vigorous nationalism so evident in her paper would have to be modified in the long run, as Estonians realize that they will have to share their small country with citizens of other ethnic backgrounds. My own contribution to the conference, also printed below in an edited form, pointed out that American textbooks too often fall short of giving their readers the insights

necessary for an appropriate treatment of this subject.

The Internationale Gesellschaft für Geschichtsdidaktik was founded more than a decade ago by Western Europeans interested in history education in its broadest sense. Over the years it has expanded to Eastern Europe and the Americas, and it has added several members from Asia and Africa. The papers below raise some interesting questions about what we learn from history and how we learn it. Dr. Oispuu's paper points out that the Soviet Union did everything possible to destroy the concept of an Estonian national history. Yet, given the opportunity, the distortions and outright lies of the old Soviet-dominated history have been swept aside, and historians, teachers, and students, are now studying the national history of the Estonian people. As we Americans enter the post-Cold War world, we would do well to ponder the significance of the questions raised here.

Editorial Note by Gordon R. Mork, Purdue University

# TEACHING HISTORY IN ESTONIA, YESTERDAY AND TODAY

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#### Introduction

As you know, Estonian history, and therefore history teaching in Estonia, is very complicated. Estonians often have had to fight against foreign authorities even while these foreign invaders fought over Estonia among themselves. Estonia, or some part of it, was once governed by medieval orders of Germanic knights, by the kings of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, by the Russian czars, and by both the Nazi and the Soviet governments. An independent Estonian Republic existed only from 1918 to 1940. According to the Peace Treaty of Tartu of February 2, 1920, Soviet Russia recognized Estonia as a de jure independent state and renounced voluntarily and forever all rights of sovereignty formerly held by Russia over the Estonian people and territory.

Unfortunately, as we know, historical events developed in another way.

Already more than half a century has passed since the catastrophe that befell the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. For foreigners it is difficult to understand the magnitude of this catastrophe. The exact number of those deported by Soviet power is still not accurately known, but it is difficult to find a family whose relatives the deportations did not touch.

Out situation was so tragic that for almost fifty years we were not publicly permitted to call Estonia our homeland. Even in our elementary school textbooks the official line was "our native country--the USSR." We had to ignore everything national, virtually eliminating the word "Estonia." Only in the song festivals, especially at the end of a festival, could the Estonian people express their national feelings. At the end of the official finale of a festival, after the official anthems of the Soviet Union and the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic were presented by the choir, the people stood and sang together with the choir the song "My Native Land Is My Love." The author of the words was the poet of the era of Estonian national awakening in the nineteenth century, Lydia Koidula, and the composer of the melody was the most popular choir conductor during the last half of the century, Gustav Ernesaks. Almost all the people would be in tears.

With this background, the outbreak of our "singing revolution" of 1988 becomes understandable. It proclaimed the beginning of the new era of national awakening. Again we began to sing the Estonian national anthem and other national songs. Quickly new national songs were composed. One of the most popular songs was composed by two young men, Alo Mattisen and Jueri Leesment. It begins "I am an Estonian, I will remain an Estonian, because I was

created an Estonian."

Our national flag, three horizontal stripes of blue, black, and white, had long been banned. But on the evening of February 23, 1989, the flag of Soviet Estonia was lowered from the tower of Pikk Herman Castle in our capital, and, on February 24, the national flag was raised.

Now that Estonia has declared its independence, there remain a great many economic, political, and cultural problems to be resolved. Every field of society, including education, needs reorganization. I shall describe the teaching of history to 1988 and then turn to our work in reorganizing the teaching of history in Estonia today.

## The Teaching of History to 1988

During the period of independence before 1940, both world history and the history of Estonia were taught in our schools. Great emphasis was placed upon the history of our native country. Our schools inspired a love for their native country in the children. According to the last curriculum guidelines of the Estonian Republic issued before the Soviet takeover, there were three main objectives:

- 1. To promote in the students an acquaintance with the past and an understanding of the present; to excite an interest in history; to familiarize the students with the political and cultural history of their own nation and of other nations.
- 2. To develop historical thinking; to shape the will to participate in constructive work both in political and in cultural life.
- 3. To implant into the students a more profound understanding and appreciation of cultural values of our own nation and of mankind, as well as feelings of both national and international solidarity.

When the Soviet Union took power in Estonia in 1940, radical changes took place in the teaching of history. History teaching in Estonia became similar to that in the USSR. After the Second World War the course in Estonian history vanished. Two history courses were taught, the history of the Soviet Union (really it was Russian history) and the history of foreign countries. The history of our own republic was taught only very superficially. Officially it was called "questions on the history of Estonia in the course of the history of the Soviet Union." These "questions" had to be taught within the framework of Soviet history. All guidelines for history teaching and all history textbooks were compiled in Moscow, and we were obliged to translate them word for word. There were textbooks and programs on Estonian history that were prepared in Estonia, but their contents had to be analyzed in Moscow.

All courses in the social studies had to be based only on the ideology of the Communist party. The leading concept of the national policy of the Soviet Union was the formulation of a historically new human society, "the Soviet nation." History had to be presented as a predetermined sequence of events. A great deal of attention was paid to class relationships and class struggle. Revolutionary

violence was presented in an elevated manner. We had to teach Estonian history too on the basis of such a scheme. In Estonia, Soviet historians revised Estonian history, with the result that the history of the independent Estonian Republic became a history of class struggle. The War of Independence of 1918-1920 was considered a civil war and a class war. The period of the republic was called "Estonia in the period of bourgeois dictatorship." The period from March 1934 to 1940 was called "Estonia in the period of fascist dictatorship." Our students did not get to know about the economic and cultural achievements of the independent Estonian Republic.

Our achievements by 1940 were similar to those of our neighbor Finland. Therefore, we would presume that if our life had proceeded in a normal way, we would be living today very much as people do in Finland. But you know only too well what the situation in Estonia and the other Baltic states really has been. For that reason Estonians are especially indignant. We lost fifty years in our development.

Now I want to make one admission. Inevitably I had to describe the situation that occurred with the teaching of history in Estonia and with the life of the Estonians during the Soviet occupation and the part played by the officials in Moscow. We know that many people are now supporting democracy in Russia. There were progressive thinkers in Russia among the historians as well. In the All-Union Pedagogical Academy in Moscow many research workers were most supportive of the representatives from the Baltic republics. Though we criticize the Soviet system, we do not wish to insult these good friends.

# Reorganization of the Teaching of History since 1988

Our active reorganization of the Estonian education system, including the teaching of history, actually began in 1987. In that year the Congress of Estonian Teachers began some very intensive discussion on how to transform both our educational system and the content of the education. In 1988 we already had teams working out programs for all subjects. (Directly translated, we called them the "bees of thought.") As a result of the work of the history curriculum group, the preliminary conception and programs were published in 1990 and from 1990/91 onward history teaching has been based on these three programs.

Our most important task was to reform the content of historical education and to decide which structure was best fitted for the purpose. The teachers, students, parents, and community did not want us to continue teaching falsified history in our schools. Old textbooks were thrown out and new ones were demanded.

According to our conception, the teaching of history occurs (a) by the systematic learning to know the life of a society that most characterizes the corresponding era and (b) by understanding the problems of contemporary society and making them meaningful. We formulated objectives for the study of history

under three headings: knowledge, skills, and attitudes. (Actually, I have my doubts that the three can be strictly separated.)

With these objectives we have accentuated the following:

1. students should have an all-around understanding of the major stages of the historical evolution of humankind and a systematic understanding of Estonian history from ancient times to the present day.

2.students should have enough knowledge to analyze human culture and the reality that surrounds us in order to find their way within the flood of information dealing with the evolution of the life of society. They should be able to adapt themselves to the ever-changing world, to maintain a critical attitude toward the phenomena of social life, and to contribute actively to the development of the society.

We have a twelve-year school system. According to our present program, history is taught in grades six through twelve as a single world history course (from ancient history to the twentieth century, including Estonian history and the history of the present day Soviet Republics). In the eleventh grade of secondary school a systematic course on Estonian history is taught.

The content of history teaching has been changed thoroughly. I will cite below some examples from the course of Estonian history. Most falsified was the history of the twentieth century, but many falsifications occurred in the history of the earlier period too. Working out the content of history teaching for the twentieth century was very difficult. As I have said above, all of Estonian history had been revised on the basis of the Soviet model. Therefore, absolutely all history books compiled and published by Estonian historians between 1940 and 1988 were falsified.

Only progressive-minded historians participated in our curriculum group. With the help of these scholars we worked out new programs. But much more difficult was compiling new textbooks. Especially necessary was getting quickly a new textbook for the study of Estonian history. In the school year 1989/90 we decided to begin teaching a systematic course on the history of our native country. In 1989 I called together eighteen historians and we compiled the new textbook. A genuine miracle occurred under these conditions: After half a year the book was compiled and published. At the same time the Ministry of Education advertised a competition for another new textbook on Estonian history. In the coming school year this textbook will be published. But the previous textbook was revised and will now be published not as a school textbook but as a trade book for sale to the general public.

All of the new textbooks for world history are now compiled; some will be published in 1991, some later. Our teachers are in a very difficult situation now, because there is a serious shortage of textbooks. But Estonia as a whole is in a very difficult situation and must survive this transition period. There is no other way out.

Now I will turn to some examples of the differences between the treatment of Estonian history under the Soviets and the new treatment.

One of the differences concerns the treatment of earlier history, particularly the treatment of czarist Russia as a colonial empire, similar to other empires, that conquered Estonia. For example, in the Soviet textbook it was written that uniting Estonia with Russia in 1710 had a very great and progressive importance. Nothing was mentioned about the ravaging of Estonia by the Russian army. Now in the new textbook there will be a description of the events of the war, and the way things really were. On Estonian territory foreign forces fought each other. From the standpoint of Estonia, all these forces were conquerors, including the Russian forces. And as a matter of fact, the ravages of the Russian army were the most terrible. Especially brutal was Field Marshall Sheremetjev (naturally at the command of Peter I). Conscientiously he reported to Peter I what kind of territory was ravaged. In January 1702 the whole district of Tartu was ravaged. In August 1703 the towns of Rakvere, Paide, Viljandi and other Estonian district towns were conquered and burned. In July 1708 Tartu was fully destroyed. No house was left.

The time of the Great Northern War, 1700-1721, was one of the hardest periods in Estonian history. As a result of the war itself and the accompanying plague two-thirds of the Estonians were destroyed. The Estonians were in danger of dying out. The previous textbooks did not speak about all of that. Instead, they emphasized the positive importance of the results of the Great Northern War in the life of the Estonian people.

There are very great differences between the previous and the new textbooks concerning the history of the independent Republic of Estonia, 1918-1940. Now students have the possibility of getting acquainted thoroughly with the evolution of economic, political, and cultural life of this period.

The events of 1939 and 1940, and the Soviet period, are now treated quite differently. While earlier textbooks said nothing about the secret protocols of the so-called Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, now the text of this document will be presented in the textbook. The students may now know that the fate of sovereign, independent peoples was decided between the two dictators.

In the previous textbook it was written that the bourgeois dictatorship in Estonia was overthrown by working people and that Estonia voluntarily joined the Soviet Union. In that book there were descriptions of the construction of socialism in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic in sympathy with the Soviet system. Although in the textbooks of the more recent past (under the Soviets) there was some mention of shortcomings during the Soviet period, there were no doubts expressed about the rightness of the socialist choice.

Now the new textbook gives a true survey of the events in 1940. On June 16, 1940, Estonia received from the USSR an ultimatum that required an answer within eight and one-half hours. The ultimatum demanded, among other things, the reorganization of the Estonian government. The Soviet Union broke all its contractual pledges with respect to Estonian sovereignty and its obligation to abstain from interference in Estonian internal affairs. The Red Army occupied

Estonia during the night of June 17-18, 1940. On June 19 the representative of the Soviet Union, Andrei Zhdanov, arrived in the capital, Tallinn, to direct the incorporation of Estonia into the Soviet Union.

In this essay I have insufficient space to describe all the events of 1940. In our new textbook these events will be dealt with thoroughly. I will say only that both the president, Konstantin Päts, and the armed forces chief, Johan Laidoner, were arrested and deported with their families to the Soviet Union already in July 1940, before Estonia was officially incorporated into the USSR on August 6, 1940.

In our new textbooks the process of sovietization of life in Estonia will be described. I will say only the following: It began with the destruction of life at every level.

- 1. The destruction of social life: It began immediately with the destruction of all free organizations and institutions in the service of society at every level. All the cultural, social, educational, economic, and other institutions and organizations were destined for the same fate. The expressive example of the result of this destruction was the lack of ability to think independently.
- 2. The destruction of economic life: the nationalization of industry and the revaluation of the Estonian currency. Estonia was completely isolated from normal economic intercourse and relations with the free world. The land was expropriated from those who cultivated it. Within a short time there was a frightening drop in the standard of living.
- 3. The destruction of cultural life: A beginning was immediately made in the field of education. The demolition of the Estonian educational system was begun, including the universities. The fate of the libraries at every level was dismal. The works published during the period of the Estonian Republic were destined for removal and destruction. The books were hacked into pieces with axes.

The higher spiritual life was equally savaged. Religion became a chief target. All free creativity was paralyzed.

I have confined myself to the examples above, although more consideration ought to be given to the special problem of the deportations of the Estonian people.

The changes in the content of teaching Estonian history and world history are very great. In contrast to our old programs, now the histories of all the states of the Baltic Sea area are studied in our schools.

We consider it very important that learning the circumstances of historical events ought not to create negative attitudes toward one or another nation. The students must understand that a nation as a whole is not guilty. But inevitably the historical events of one or another period influence people's attitudes. In other times these attitudes have been different. But we have no solid sociological studies concerning this problem, and we have no studies about the earlier period at all.

Therefore, in all my official presentations I simply say that one cannot tell about attitudes. In the minds of the Estonians both sympathies and antipathies exist. And to all people they are well known.

# The Perspective for the Future

Parallel with the first step of reorganization of our educational system and the content of that education (including history education), we have begun a second step. The Education Research Institute of Tallinn Teacher's Training Institute is investigating the content of education. We are working out conceptions and programs for all the subjects.

The second stage of reorganization of our educational system and the contents of education will be done thoroughly. We are most interested in the experience of other countries. For my research group this means: (a) We want to familiarize ourselves with the conceptions and teaching methods of the social studies in other countries; and (b) we would like to find out which research methods are being used to investigate both content and methods of teaching. But it is not easy at all.

I finished writing my presentation in the middle of August 1991. At the end of the presentation was the following sentence: "The Baltic states never voluntarily joined the Soviet Union, so they do not need to secede, they just need the occupation to end and their independence restored. I call upon you to support us in our endeavors to restore our independence. We want to rejoin the free nations of Europe."

I am very happy that now already [September 1991] many countries have recognized the independence of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian Republics. We are convinced of this: The Baltic states will be peaceful and friendly states toward all other countries, including the Soviet Union.

-- Edited by Gordon R. Mork

#### THE BALTIC REGION IN U.S. WESTERN CIVILIZATION TEXTBOOKS

# Gordon R. Mork Purdue University

History textbooks in the United States have been much criticized recently, and not without reason. Nevertheless, they appear to be essential to the teaching of new and complex subject matter. American students usually encounter non-U.S. history systematically for the first time as advanced high school or beginning college students. They welcome a comprehensive textbook, and very few instructors would try to teach the course without one.

This essay will review five major textbooks on "Western Civilization," as well as one self-consciously "global textbook," in order to determine the scope and nature of the treatment of the Baltic region, i.e. all areas bordering on the shores of the Baltic sea. How much coverage do they have of the countries and peoples that border the Baltic? How accurate is the information? What are the interpretive themes? What improvements might one wish for, and expect, in the treatment of the subject?

These questions are not merely of academic importance. As we enter the 1990s the areas bordering on the Baltic have been regularly in the news in the U.S. and around the world. It is vital that students, and those who teach them, have accurate and well balanced textbooks at hand as they seek to learn about this region and its peoples and to bring historical understanding to contemporary problems.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Books

Each of the books reviewed here is a major effort, written by well known history professors at prestigious institutions and published by established commercial textbook publishers. They all (except one that is brand new) have gone through several editions. In addition to the authors, there are staffs of editors and other authors to review the work and provide study guides, teachers' manuals, and test materials. They are attractively printed with many pictures and maps, and run from 700-1150 pages. They range in cost from \$40 to \$50 each. In short, these books all represent substantial investments, for those who write them, for those who produce and sell them, and for those who buy them. (Sales figures are not publicly available.) One could add another three or four books to the list, but only

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See the exchange between John Anthony Scott and Gary B. Nash in AHA Perspectives, May/June 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Thanks to Inta Carpenter of Indiana University and to Janis Gaigulia, who have called to my attention a study on the treatment of the eastern Baltic countries in textbooks, Report of the New Jersey Governor's Commission on Eastern European and Captive Nation History, by Thaddeus V. Gromada, July, 1989, 40 pp. A welcome addition to the literature is John Hiden and Patrick Salmon, The Baltic Nations and Europe: Estonia, Latvia & Lithuania in the Twentieth Century (London and New York: Longman, 1991).

with diminishing returns and without affecting the outcome of the study appreciably.

Here are the books:

Robert R. Palmer (Yale) and Joel Colton, A History of the Modern World (6th ed., New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984). First published in 1950, this book defines the "modern world" as Europe and the world as it has been touched by European culture since the Renaissance and Reformation. It tends to emphasize political, diplomatic, and intellectual history.

Robin W. Winks (Yale), Crane Brinton, John B. Christopher, and Robert Lee Wolff, A History of Civilization: Prehistory to the Present (8th ed., Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992). First published in 1955 with Brinton (Harvard) as principal author, it is now undergoing revision under the direction of Winks. The earlier editions emphasized political, diplomatic, and intellectual history, but new emphases on social history are becoming evident.

John P. McKay (Illinois), Bennett D. Hill, and John Buckler, A History of Western Society (4th ed., Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991). This book makes social history the core of the text, emphasizing the lives of ordinary people as well as high politics and the actions of the elites.

Donald Kagan (Yale), Steven Ozment, and Frank M. Turner, The Western Heritage, (4th ed., New York: Macmillan, 1991). First published in 1979, the book emphasizes the emergence of Western society, the development of constitutionalism, and the importance of both religion and science.

Mark Kishlansky (Chicago), Patrick Geary, and Patricia O'Brien, Civilization in the West (New York: Harper Collins, 1991). The newest of the books under review, it seeks both to make the lives of ordinary men and women central to the book and to give a new emphasis to Eastern Europe.

William H. McNeill (Chicago), A History of the Human Community: Prehistory to the Present (3rd ed., Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990). Written by the best known advocate of a global (as opposed to "Eurocentric") history of civilization, it covers more time and space in fewer pages than any of the other books reviewed here. Thus Asian and African history is emphasized for its own sake, rather than just for what it contributes to "Western" history. Global in concept, this book is not just one in which non-Western chapters are added on to a Western civilization book. As might be expected, this approach makes necessary the sacrifice of many details that the author does not see as essential to his story.

A systematic content analysis of these books reveals several preliminary conclusions:

A. The Baltic as a topic in and of itself is not prominently treated in any of the texts, and it is virtually ignored by two of them.

B. The books tend to look at countries (i.e. nation-states), and they emphasize the larger countries over the smaller. Prussia/Germany and Russia/USSR loom large in the textbooks, though some of the treatment of these countries is irrelevant to the Baltic region. Poland is treated frequently, while Latvia is mentioned rarely. Sweden holds a middle ground.

C. The books that emphasize social history deal with the Baltic and the Baltic states less frequently than the books that emphasize political and diplomatic history. The one book that seeks global coverage ignores the Baltic region.

Except for the McNeill, with its global approach, the books have many similarities in the content of their coverage. The Baltic area is mentioned in treatments of the Teutonic Knights and the Hanseatic League. It is treated prominently in the chapters dealing with the Protestant Reformation and the Thirty Years' War; Denmark and Prussia are mentioned, but the role of Sweden is correctly recognized as particularly important during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Each of the books devotes significant attention to the rise of Brandenburg-Prussia and the leadership of Peter the Great in Russia, and the Baltic region is important in both these stories. Poland and Lithuania are linked in the early modern period. The partitions of Poland in the eighteenth century are treated in some detail, including at least one map in each case; the reestablishment of the Polish state in the twentieth century is welcomed. Each of the books devotes special attention to the founding of the independent states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in the Eastern Baltic region after the Russian Revolution and World War I, and their subsequent loss of independence during and after World War II. The Cold War and the development of movements toward freedom along the Baltic beginning in the late 1980s are treated substantially in each of the newer books.

None of the book explicitly sees the Baltic as a region with common interests, themes, and problems. Indeed, many American students are so poorly informed on geography that they confuse the BAL-tic with the BAL-kans until the difference is explained to them. Those students who do have some general notion of the area, often think narrowly in terms of the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, rather than in terms of the entire Baltic from West to East.

It is true that time and space are limited in survey texts and courses, and the capacity of students to absorb and understand complex material is not infinite. Nevertheless, the books would do well to treat regions like the Baltic, instead of just states, to help students comprehend modern history.

Poland occupies a key position in treatments of northeastern Europe. The Poles as an ethnic group, and the Polish state in its various forms, have played a vital and instructive role (and often a tragic one) in modern European history in general and in the region in particular.<sup>3</sup>

On the whole, the treatment of Poland in these books is fair and balanced, pointing out both the failures of the Polish aristocracy to modernize the state in the period before the partitions and the struggles of the Poles to establish a viable and independent state in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In some cases, however, there might be a tendency to see the Poles simply as heroes and martyrs, rather than to examine more critically their place in the history of the region.

None of the books gives a very clear picture of the complexity of the ethnic issues in the Baltic lands, i.e. the strife caused by the competition among ethnic groups living within the boundaries of any given state at a given time. Indeed, the books tend to mislead students, by implying through maps and descriptions that the ethnic groups of the Baltic area live in neatly divided national states, all the Danes in Denmark, all the Swedes in Sweden, all the Poles in Poland, all the Russians in Russia, and so forth. Actually, of course, the opposite is true. Much of the chaos and bloodshed that the Baltic region has seen has been caused by the geographic mixing and the movements of ethnic groups. American textbooks try to point out this source of tension when discussing the problems of the Balkans, but they do not sufficiently emphasize it for the Baltic region. This omission is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Among the most popular American authors is James A. Michener, whose historical novels have done much to influence the world view of the American reading public. His book *Poland* (New York: Random House, 1983) was particularly timely, published as the Poles were developing their own independence in the 1980s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For example, Kagan's map (p. 1149), "The Real Nations in the Center of Europe" after 1945, shows Hungarians and Germans in Romania, Turks in Bulgaria, and something of the ethnic segmentation of Yugoslavia, but (aside from Germans in the new Poland) it does not deal with similar ethnic mixing in the Baltic region. A new set of five maps has been added to show border changes for Germany, 1914-1990, but it has serious inaccuracies, and makes no attempt to relate political to ethnic geography (p. 1131).

McKay, though it emphasizes social history, ignores the social impact of ethnic overlap in the Baltic almost entirely; it mentions that predominantly German Danzig was placed within the Polish tariff lines (p. 885), but neither its maps nor its text deal adequately with the social and political significance of the attempts to create (or recreate) nation-states in mixed ethnic areas.

Winks has a full color map (p. 633) "Nationalities in Central and Eastern Europe about 1914," that shows well the overlapping of German and Poles, Germans and Danes, and Swedes and Finns, but there is no hint at the significant numbers of Jews in Poland or Baltic Germans in Lithuania, Latvia, or Estonia at that time.

Kishlansky, with its sensitivity to both Eastern Europe and social history, might be expected to be somewhat better than the other books. Four color maps address the nationalities question: (1) Jewish migrations (p. 768), (2) Linguistic groups in the Balkans (p. 812), (3) Linguistic groups in Austria-Hungary (p. 819), and (4) European Migrations after World War II (p. 939). Only two of these show the Baltic region, and they barely hint at the problems involved.

McNeill, with its world-wide scope, should perhaps not be expected to deal with the details of population mixing in the Baltic area; but one might expect some attention to the general problem of

particularly important, because without an understanding of the mixed population issue many of the other social, economic, political, and military questions cannot be reasonably addressed.

The books do not point out clearly certain facts that might be politically embarrassing to groups in the United States that enjoy strongly positive reputations. For example, the consensus of historical interpretation in these books is clearly that Germany was the aggressor in World War II and that Stalin aided and abetted Hitler through the 1939 pact. But the fact that Finland was allied to Germany in World War II, and the reasons for that alliance, were not made clear. The fact that local antisemitism in Baltic areas conquered by the German armies was an important factor in the Holocaust is passed over in silence, leaving the Germans to bear that burden of guilt alone. Although Stalin is blamed for crushing the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, the books do not make clear that the U.S. government never formally recognized Soviet annexation of these countries during or after World War II, so U.S. responsibilities toward Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are left unclear.

This disinclination to discuss controversial issues is particularly upsetting because all the books are written by scholars and published by private firms for use in college and university classes (though they are sometimes used in advanced

attempts to achieve nationalistic goals in mixed population areas, and the Baltic region would have provided an excellent example. Unfortunately his treatment is unnecessarily simplistic (pp. 623/624 on Hitler as a "fanatic nationalist" who appealed to the "right of national self-determination," a concept that McNeill does not discuss in sufficient depth). His map (on p. 622) ignores the relocation of the Danish-German border after World War I and gives Memel to Germany already in 1923.

Palmer has a map "Languages of Europe" (p. 441) that clearly implies that overlapping and intermixing of ethnic/language groups does NOT affect the Baltic region, except for Swedes along the coast of Finland. Yet the best attempt to show the complexity of the ethnic mixing and border shifting is in Palmer, (p. 328), a series of maps of Poland from 1772 to 1950, showing how the borders have shifted to the west, and giving some understanding of the ethnic groups within the various boundaries; the maps show the languages spoke in the area as Polish, Lithuanian, Lettish, White Russian, Ukranian, and German, and the caption adds that "Yiddish was spoken by the large scattered Jewish population."

- <sup>5</sup> Kishlansky (p. 906) has a map with both Denmark and Finland colored brown, under "Axis control." The maps in Palmer (pp. 810-811), Winks (p. 815), McKay (p. 950), and Kagan (p. 1044) are more accurate, showing Finland as an Axis ally and Denmark as Axis-occupied territory. Yet the texts do not explain the Finnish position, beyond brief references to the "winter war" of 1939/40.
- <sup>6</sup> Many Americans were amazed and confused when persons recently accused of World War II war crimes were immigrants to the U.S. from Eastern European states, rather than Germans. See Allan A. Ryan, Jr., *Quiet Neighbors: Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals in America* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984), which describes cases of several Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians, as well as more well known figures like John Demjanjuk.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Note how carefully President George Bush's statements treaded the line between supporting Mikhail Gorbachev and expressing vague support for freedom in the Baltic states. For comparison see Report of the Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression and the Forced Incorporation of the Baltic States into the U.S.S.R. Third interim report of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression. House of Representatives, Eighty-third Congress (Washington: Govt. Print. Off., 1954).

courses in secondary schools as well). They therefore are not beholden to governmental guidelines (let alone censorship). The books ought to be better.

## Prospects

I would like to be able to close on a note of optimism, suggesting that the inadequacies of the textbook treatments are likely to be repaired in the near future. But I fear that is not the case. There are two reasons for this:

First, the "new" social history, which provides the foundation for books like the McKay, tends to ignore individual countries and peoples and make broad generalizations based on social and economic groups. Countries like Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland, Sweden, and Denmark, therefore, are rarely named. Instead, we find much interesting material on northern and eastern Europe in general, such as birth rates, the place of women in society, the lives of the serfs, and so forth. The "older" history, which stressed wars and treaties, at least had the virtue that smaller countries were mentioned whenever those wars and treaties affected them. Generations of younger historians who emphasize social history, and those whom they teach, may lose track of the smaller states and peoples entirely.<sup>8</sup>

Secondly, traditional courses and books are often criticized for being too "Eurocentric." As people in the United States come to recognize, quite correctly, that the age of total domination by people of white skin is over, more educators are calling for a history that treats the entire globe rather than just Europe as the area of "our" origins. Ocrrect though this may be, one runs into the problems of

<sup>8</sup> The Kishlansky book sets as its goal both to emphasize the lives of common people and to give us a greater understanding of Eastern Europe. Its sections on the early modern period in the Baltic go beyond the standard treatments of the rise of absolutist Prussia and Russia and the decline of Medieval Poland, to emphasize the importance of Sweden and the struggle over the eastern and southern shores of the Baltic (pp. 465-480, with color maps on pages 466, 469, 471, 477, and 478). There are family trees showing the Jagiellon monarchy of Poland and the Swedish house of Vasa, indicating the interrelationships. Yet the book could have done much more very easily. The maps and text switch back and forth between references to "Danzig" and "Gdansk" without explaining clearly that the two are names of the same city, or explaining the implications of the use of the differing forms. Danzig was a "German town" of the Hanseatic League in the later middle ages (p. 307), but Gdansk was a "Polish Baltic port" in the sixteenth century (p. 467). A box inserted in the text on "Bias in Place Names," such as used by Winks (p. 273) on differing forms of Napoli/Naples, would be very useful here. It could address the problem of which name to use in the textbook of the 1990s but more importantly show how shifts of names reflect the idea that "the victor writes the history." On Gdansk/Danzig see Herbert S. Levine, Hitler's Free City (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970). The Kishlansky textbook also indicates something of the ethnic mix and the sufferings of the common people; there is a picture of a Livonian peasant (p. 470), with the comment that Livonians were a Finnish people conquered by Ivan the Terrible and then later by the Swedes. By the twentieth century, however, the "Livonians" have disappeared from the book without explanation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See the lead article in *Time* magazine, July 8, 1991, "Whose America? A growing emphasis on the nation's 'multicultural' heritage exalts racial and ethnic pride at the expense of social cohesion."

time and space. If Africa and Asia must get as much textbook space and classroom time as Europe, then areas like the Baltic may receive but little treatment indeed.<sup>10</sup> The McNeill textbook illustrates this problem.

I would suggest that such deemphasis is neither inevitable or desirable, even if the social and multicultural historians gain in influence. If the Baltic is treated as a region, rather than as a list of larger and smaller states with constantly shifting boundaries, its story is worthy of inclusion even under the pressures of politically correct curriculum revision.

Historically, the peoples of the Baltic region have suffered under various forms of economic, military, and political exploitation. Swedish, Russian, and Germanic empires have come and gone. Common people have toiled as serfs in the fields and as factory hands in industrializing economies; sometimes they have been controlled by the aristocracy, sometimes by the state, sometimes by private entrepreneurs. The Baltic peoples have known both the exultation and the disasters of political systems that were highly centralized and of those that were decentralized virtually to the point of anarchy. Nationalistic leaders have promised their peoples freedom and glory, leading them to temporary victories and ultimate tragedies. Ethnic groups have sometimes lived side by side in productive harmony; sometimes they have fought each other bitterly.

In recent years, Denmark, Finland, and Sweden appear to have solved their national and economic problems and achieved prosperous and stable democracies, but they still have to contend with the social problems of a "postmodern" society, problems that are not easily put to rest. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania still have to determine how their reestablished national independence will affect their relationships with the larger states of the region. Along with Poland and Russia, they must develop new ways of political and economic organization, now that orthodox authoritarian Communism has proven impractical.

The Germans and the Russians must determine ways to live peacefully with each other and with their less numerous neighbors. Within each of the states of the Baltic region the social stress among ethnic and religious groups must be dealt with, hopefully in constructive and positive ways. Old ideas of forced assimilation (or bloody "final solutions") have proven disastrous for all concerned.

Surely by studying the history of the Baltic region there are lessons to be learned by Americans of every social and ethnic group. And the same may be said of history students around the world.

One way to keep up on the debate, including primary and secondary education as well as higher education, is in Social Studies Review: A Bulletin of the American Textbook Council, published by the American Textbook Council, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 518, New York, NY 10115. See for example, "The Multiculture Watch," in its Spring 1991 edition, 10-11.

# THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT: TEACHING WOMEN'S HISTORY IN THE URBAN SOUTH

# Mary E. Frederickson Miami University of Ohio

When asked to participate in a panel discussion about teaching women's history back in June 1988, I responded enthusiastically. I knew the occasion would provide an opportunity for me to speak about the students I had taught at the University of Alabama at Birmingham over the preceding five years. "UAB," as the university is called, is an urban campus that sprawls over 60 square blocks of the city, about one and one-half miles from the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, and two miles from Birmingham's infamous City Hall. The undergraduate college at UAB was 20 years old in 1989; organized after the Birmingham civil rights movement, the college is a vibrant symbol of the "New Birmingham." Today, the University is the city's largest employer, with a student body of 15,000 that is twenty percent black. Students come from an area once known as "The Birmingham District," the mountains and valleys of north central Alabama, rich in the coal and iron-ore that formed the bedrock of Birmingham's economy.

The first course I taught in women's history at UAB was in the spring of 1983. The class was small (about a dozen students or so), and made up of half men and half women. Surprisingly, the two students in that class who stand out in my mind were both men. I remember them because they taught me an important lesson: that in a place like Birmingham the past impinges so heavily on the present that one cannot possibly escape it, and that if you make a claim to teach history in that southern city, you have to be willing to acknowledge the "ghosts" who slip quietly into your classroom and fill the empty seats in the back row.

The two students I remember so well from that first women's history course introduced me to these "ghosts." One raised his hand immediately when I asked the class how they responded to Myra Page's book, Daughter of the Hills. I had been a bit reluctant to use Page's book for I feared that her perspective as a proletarian writer, a political radical of the 1930s, would put UAB students off. "The book was all right," this student said, "but there was one thing I didn't like about it." "What was that?" I asked, bracing myself for a reactionary retort. "Page was too easy on the coal operators," he explained. "Those guys were meaner to the miners and their families than she described." "I know," he continued, "because my dad and granddad worked in the mines around Birmingham, and we grew up in a coal town."

The other student in that class who opened my eyes in an unforgettable way was a young black man in his twenties who spoke out when we talked about the history of interracial relationships between southern men and women. "I know now," he said, "what happened to my grandfather who loved a white woman." He told the class that his grandfather had been publicly whipped in a south Alabama town, and then had disappeared; the family knew that he must have been lynched

but older relatives would not speak about what had happened. Another ghost took up residence in my classroom.

Racial issues and concerns have dominated life in Birmingham since the first iron furnace opened in 1872; little has changed in that regard, and the long shadows cast by the events of the 1960s still darken the city. "We are the children of the rioters," one of my students wrote, and inside each student's mind is a unique, often unconscious, history of their own relationship to the Birmingham civil rights movement. In classrooms at UAB, daughters and sons of the Klan sit next to the sons and daughters of those who marched for their freedom. Some of the older black students played a special role in the Birmingham movement as participants in the children's marches. (If these students did not march, they provide a careful explanation about why they did not; usually it's that their concerned and worried parents successfully restrained them.)

Taking great pride in the civil rights movement, black students in Birmingham share a legacy of courage and hope; white students in the same city share a legacy of fear. A young black woman described herself as one who inherited the motto "to struggle." She saw the women in her family as "superhuman," and remembered the civil rights movement as a time when "women young and old were willing to go to jail for equal rights." "Some protested by marching," she wrote, "others by listening to what the people they worked for were saving and carrying the information back to their leaders." She argued that there were many ways black women in Birmingham were involved in the struggle for their civil rights, "and not always did people know it."

In sharp contrast, a white student wrote: "I grew up in Birmingham in the 1950s and 1960s, and as a child . . . I learned fear from my parents; fear of violence, fear of revolution, fear of blacks. For the first time in my life my father got his pistol out, and my father hates guns. Although he never loaded it, he bought bullets." The same student remembered when the city closed the parks: "I was told it was so the blacks couldn't integrate them," he explained. "I had a big beautiful park two blocks from my house, overgrown with weeds. No one [white or black] was allowed to swing, play baseball, or feed the ducks. It seemed [so] stupid to me."

How does one make sense out of the history of a particular time and place? How do young students, and older students, black and white, female and male, weave the past and the present into a reasonable future? Racial issues, so close to the surface in Birmingham, involve thorny problems that have no easy solutions. Gender roles and the history of women's roles, within and outside of the family form another, closely related, set of challenges with which UAB students are struggling.

The students in my classes, ranging in age from nineteen to fifty (with an average of 26) have inherited a complex legacy regarding gender roles. The story of one white student depicts an almost uncanny microcosm of the classic way in which women's lives are transformed. This woman married her high school sweetheart at seventeen, and as she put it "began [her] wifely duties." She wrote

that "I personally feel I was born about 100 years too late. I would have loved being a Southern belle on a plantation somewhere." She felt her "foremothers" influenced her life and her feeling that it was her responsibility to be a wife and mother and stay at home. She wanted to be like her mother who was considered "a true Southern woman," and "raise babies." She had two children within three years and in her words, "stayed home and played the loving domestic wife and mother." Her world was self-contained, and, as she described it, the domestic sphere was all she knew. As her children grew older and she turned thirty, she began to wonder what she was going to do with the rest of her life; how she would lead a "fulfilling life" once her children were gone. This time, a specific female relative provided a model. As the student explained: "My grandmother was the business manager of a successful radiator company when this was not a socially accepted way of life. I felt if she could have a fulfilling career, so could I." Having returned to college three years ago, this woman will soon graduate. "I feel like a totally different person," she writes, "and if my 'foremothers' had not opened the doors for career and educational opportunities, I might never have found the courage to take that first step." Clearly, while we do not choose our relatives, we can carefully select which "foremothers" we want to emulate at specific turning points in our lives.

Grandmothers have played a special role in the lives of many of these students, both black and white. The generational divide seems to have provided essential space, allowing a type of objectivity that rarely occurs between mothers and daughters. More concretely, the economic and work experience of these students, struggling to get on their feet in the 1980s, is more similar to that of their grandmothers who were young in the 1930s, than to that of their mothers, who grew to maturity in the era of rapid economic growth after 1945. This is especially true in Birmingham where the decline of the steel industry since the early 1970s has had an overwhelmingly negative effect on the economy during the years when most UAB students were attaining their majority.

Grandmothers' lives provided important models for students whose families lived in the city, and equally significant examples in agricultural communities. One white student wrote: "My Grandmother, who had a great influence on my life, was a very strong willed woman. She encouraged me, telling me 'You can do anything you set your mind to." Raised in a rural agricultural economy, this grandmother had few occupational options open to her, and she married a farmer--which in her granddaughter's words, "destined her to a life of hard and exhausting work." Another white student explained it this way, drawing on the details of her own family history:

For the generation of women my grandmother belonged to, there were few alternatives. Once of majority age, one either married right away or one went to Columbus, Georgia, to work in the cotton mills, hoping soon to find a husband. My two great aunts did this. Unfortunately, their husbands worked in the factory, therefore their

incomes would not allow my great aunts to quit their jobs. My grandmother was fortunate to marry immediately after she finished school, and she seemed satisfied with helping her husband with the restaurant business.

In an interesting way a granddaughter's respect can transcend the confines of regional cultural norms, as this student continued: "Being a southern woman, [my grandmother] possessed an equal status in the marriage. I could never see my grandmother placing herself second."

Black and white students hold in common this critical link to their grandmothers' experience. One black student eloquently traced the history of the

women in her family, writing:

My great-grandmother was a medicine woman and mid-wife; for her the land was one with the soul. She believed that everything you did was connected with mother earth. She taught her daughters how to read the moisture on a leaf that told of coming rain, which herbs and plants were good for what was ailing you. Childbearing was made easy on women who followed her advice. My grandmother followed in her footsteps, but hers was a restless spirit that traveled from Georgia to Tennessee to Alabama in search of better opportunities. My mother and her sister were raised to be independent, able to survive on their own. When nursing opened up to black women, my mother went into nurses' training in 1933. She was the first professional woman in the family's history, yet she was merely following in the footsteps of her grandmother. My mother taught my sister and me to be independent and self sufficient. First you get an education, then you get a job, and then you can marry, whatever pleases you as long as you remember to think for yourself and have the business sense to not allow anyone to run over you.

What have I taught these students? Much less than they have taught me, that is for sure. As they have read the works of Nancy Cott and Suzanne Lebsock, Susan Porter Benson and Glenda Riley, Anne Firor Scott and Jacqueline Jones, they have worked hard to put their own personal version of women's history into a larger and now very rich historical framework. Often this proved difficult. As one student wrote about Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: "Jacqueline Jones lets us go deeper into history than we ever wanted to go." For many of these students a survey course in American women's history provided a first exposure to women's history as an academic subject, and to the idea of women's liberation, as well as their only link to what remains of the contemporary women's movement. As one older student wrote:

The rhetoric of the Women's Movement passed over me, probably because of the economic and social environment I was raised in. I knew about Betty Friedan's book, but at that time I was too busy being a housewife to read it. Even though I was consumed with caring for a child, keeping house, and being a good wife, I never thought too much about the limitations it imposed on me. I was too tired.

As my women's history students make plans for the future they are at once unbelievably optimistic and disarmingly modest in setting goals for themselves. "I am twenty-two years old with my entire life before me, wrote one young white student, "and I can do anything I want . . ." Another white student wrote, "When I hit the real world of work, I expect to be paid lower wages than men, expect to do more work and expect to put up with sexual harassment. I expect these things, but I don't have to accept them." With particular insight a young black student wrote: "Today, I can go in any restaurant that is public domain. I can even go to the college of my choice. Yet still I have seen how gender and color can hold a person back. All the roads have not been made smooth, all the ways have not been made easy . . ." As these women's lives unfold, they use the history of American women as a guidebook. Within that context, I have encouraged them also to face those "ghosts" in the back of the classroom. To not allow them to haunt us any longer, but rather to let them sit with us as we struggle to understand the past and plan for the future.

I left Birmingham, Alabama, several months after participating in the June 1988 panel on teaching women's history at the Southern Association of Women Historians' Conference in Spartanburg, South Carolina. Since then I have been teaching American Women's History at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, a university with about the same number of students as UAB, but one that contrasts sharply in every other way. Founded in 1809, Miami is as old as UAB is new. Miami's campus, in contrast to UAB's 60 urban blocks, covers hundreds of acres in the small town of Oxford, a community that grew up around the four colleges and seminaries located there in the nineteenth century. Miami students live on or near the campus, in a cloistered environment removed from urban realities. Miami is the quintessential American college campus, with Georgian red brick buildings surrounded by carefully tended grounds. Non-traditional students are the exception at Miami, as opposed to the rule at UAB. While African-American students comprise twenty percent of the student body at UAB, at Miami the percentages are an order of magnitude lower. Few Miami students work full-time; most can afford to attend college, and the majority come from suburban families with middle-class resources. Most Miami students, women and men, are grappling with the legacy of the women's movement; students with direct ties to the civil rights movement are rare, Unlike the older students at UAB, the younger college students at Miami are hesitant to expose their backgrounds, to consider their personal stories part of a larger history.

Returning women students, the fastest growing group of university students in the country, even at traditional four-year colleges, are particularly drawn to courses in American women's history. These women use their rich life experiences to evaluate their socialization and education in terms of gender, race, and class. They can analyze how the political, economic, and social history of women in the United States has touched past generations of women in their family, and they know how to evaluate what bearing the history of American women has had on their own lives. Generally survey courses in American history, largely because of their emphasis on political history, rarely provide students the opportunity to relate the historical to the personal, to discover their own past in the context of the national story. Because of American women's exclusion from the political realm, women's history courses cannot simply follow the traditional political format. Freed from the rigid structure that most survey courses reflect, women's history naturally has encompassed more social, economic, and cultural history, the very nature of which emphasizes grass-roots participation, collective movements, individual contributions, and demographic analysis. It is therefore difficult for any group of students to study American women's history without dealing in some way with their own personal history.

And yet, it can be done. The past does not impinge on the present as blatantly in Oxford, Ohio, as it does in Birmingham, Alabama. As one Miami women's history student, a young white woman from the Detroit suburbs, wrote, "It seems as if a lot of history happens outside of us." Another white male student in the same class of fifty students concurred: "In many ways, I feel isolated from history." Miami students, and professors alike, can hold history at bay more easily than their counterparts in the urban south. But not completely, for those "ghosts" continue to slip into the back of the classroom. I can see them clearly, although they are invisible to most Miami University students who truly believe that history has never happened to them. Students like this need encouragement first to name, then to meet face to face, the "ghosts" of the American past. Their understanding the complexity of a history that is not homogeneous, middle-class, white-dominated, or punctuated with one success after another, is essential to our weaving the past and the present together into a future that is viable and humane.

#### TEACHING THEM HOW TO TEACH THEMSELVES

# Anne Firor Scott Duke University

One of the encouraging signs on the educational landscape just now is a renewed interest in teaching. We seem to be remembering again that knowledge and thinking about knowledge do not come automatically.

If we ask ourselves: what is the very best teaching or learning experience we have ever had, chances are the answer will not be some time when we sat and listened to even a very great lecturer, but it will be a time when something so inspired our interest as to overcome the natural human tendency to inertia, and we went searching for answers. And the reason we remember those moments favorably is because we come out of such experiences feeling more competent to learn what we need to learn. It is just such learning experiences that sometimes transform negligent students into dedicated ones, that start people on the road to a lifetime career, or that give rise to significant new ideas.

Teaching and learning, which I would argue are two sides of the same process, are among the most complex activities in which human beings can engage, and neither is fully understood. Why, for example, can a boy who cannot remember the date of the war of 1812 tell you who was up to bat in the 9th inning of the 1929 Yankees-Red Sox game? Why does a young woman who has slept through half your classes suddenly come alive when you come to the subject of black women's history? Why did a boy I know well, hitherto resolutely against learning to read, learn in two days when his sister bought him 16 volumes of *The Handy Man's Encyclopedia?* Why did John Munro find his students at Tugaloo College, hitherto resistant to reading, devouring *Manchild in a Promised Land* and *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*?

There may be more mysterious reasons, but in each case the student really cared about the subject. Part of our job, therefore, is to think constantly about finding ways to make it possible for our students to really care about what we are

doing. There are a number of ways to do this.

Primary sources are almost surefire. I would suggest that no generalization of the kind that fills textbooks means anything to a person who has never experienced at least some of the concrete evidence on which the generalization is based. So primary sources *first*--before there is any context--to arouse interest and then there will be a serious wish to find out about the context. Why were these people writing these things at this time and place? And soon the student is off badgering the Documents Librarian, ransacking the textbooks, and asking the teacher all sorts of questions she cannot answer.

Second, it helps if people can relate what they are studying in history to things they already know. I am recurrently astounded at the amount of work undergraduates are willing to put into writing a paper on "Women in My Family." Some particularly energetic ones will do a pretty good history of some urban or rural area or of some immigrant group in order to understand their own family's experience. Of course it is not in human nature that all would do equally well, but every year some moderate B student turns into an A+ one under my eyes as she

or he devotes nearly every waking hour to the paper that has so engaged attention. In a course called "Frontier and City" I had equally encouraging results when students traced the movement of their families from first arrival to twentieth-

century resting place.

My third proposition is that you should NEVER lecture unless you have something to say that cannot be found in any book or source. In that case go to it, and your students may be excited by the fact that you are telling them something new. But for the learning of established knowledge it works much better for the student to read and for the class to discuss the reading. Real learning occurs when people change the way they think. They change the way they think when they are actively engaged in discovery-discovery of "facts," of what other people think about certain questions, of what we mean by knowledge of history, and when they discover or formulate their own questions.

None of this is likely to occur as a result of listening to lectures. It is likely to occur when students know they will have a chance to participate in the class discussion. When they read with a purpose it is surprising how much they learn and how much they remember. I try to structure things so that the student grapevine, that most marvelous of communication systems, sends out the word: "You don't dare to come to that class unprepared, and you certainly don't dare cut

... so you have to do the reading."

At this point colleagues say - well, what you say makes sense, but I simply can't lead a discussion. To which my answer is, of course you can--but like any other skill (including the skill of lecturing) hardly anybody is born knowing how.

Let us say you want to plan a semester's work based on discussion. First, you need to formulate your goals so that you can say on the first day: this is what I hope to accomplish in this course. Then ask them--what are YOUR goals in taking this course? Ask them to be honest: nothing is off limits. (Some remarkable answers come back that have very little to do with the study of history!) The answers themselves open the way to some stimulating discussion. And if they don't have any goals they are right away challenged to begin developing some.

Second, you need a reading list carefully designed to include a sequence of articles, monographs, primary sources, and the student's own research. The syllabus should be absolutely clear about what is expected each time the class meets--even including a few questions that may form the opening of the discussion. Questions should include such things as "Upon what evidence does X argue that southern women were entering the labor force in ever increasing numbers?" "Is the evidence reliable? Is there more than one way in which it might be interpreted?" And so on.

Your own class preparation requires designing a list of logically related questions in which one thing lead to another and so the whole session may lead to some tentative generalizations. No matter how carefully you prepare, however, you must expect surprises. Students will sometimes take off in directions you had not expected or even thought of, and you may learn something . . . always a nice bonus. Your questions should rarely be the kind that can be answered with information. Instead ask the students to think about the matter at hand with all

the information they have. Tie things into their own experience: For example, have you ever had an experience that would help you understand what it was like to be a slave? a mistress?--or what do you think the women who wrote to Margaret Sanger for information about birth control were really saying (this after they have read that collection of letters, *Motherhood in Bondage*)?

People ask me practical questions. What do you do when nobody has anything to say? Well, on bad days, say the Monday after spring break, you may have to resort to some lively extemporaneous lecturing. But most of the time if you rephrase and ask particular people about things you know they are interested in, you can get things going. I try to talk to individual students early in the semester and to give papers from the first day that will enable me to get some line on what their interests are. In one class this year I had two very bright engineering students. They were absolutely delighted to enlighten us all on questions having to do with technology. The economics graduates are full of generalizations that they have taken on faith, which they will offer and the class will sometimes devastate. And so on.

I call on people--on everybody. This is generally frowned on in theory but well responded to in practice. (Of course I warn students while there is still time to drop the course that his will happen. If they are really unwilling to be called, it's better that they find another course.)

I like individual projects. Let every member of the class be the expert on something--once this year my women's history class decided to figure out what we really meant by the term "middle class" in the late nineteenth century. Each person took a biography of a person who we could agree was certainly middle class and, after they had all done the reading, we discussed the question: What do these women have in common? It was a wonderful day and left me, at any rate, with a lot of unanswered questions about that category. (In case your curiosity is aroused, what we discovered was that the ONLY thing these disparate middle class people had in common was a higher-than-average level of education.)

There is a fringe benefit to the kind of teaching I am describing: You can never get bored. Every class is different, what students know and understand changes rather rapidly over time, the effort to bring them into the process keeps you from going stale and, so they tell me, keeps you young. What more can a teacher ask?

Note: For those who may be interested in pursuing the question of discussion as a mode of teaching I have a little article called "Why I Teach By Discussion" in Leigh Deneef, ed., *The Academic Handbook* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988). It is available in paperback.

#### **REVIEWS**

#### **MEDIA REVIEWS**

Making Sense of the Sixties. 6 hours. Six videocassettes, discussion guide. Available in Beta (as a special order) or VHS (MSIX 101 - MSIX 106). Order from PBS Video, 1320 Braddock Place, Alexandria, VA 22314-1698. (800) 344-3337. \$295.00 for the series, \$59.95 for a single videocassette.

Twenty years ago, when I taught a seminar on the 1920s, the so-called Jazz Age, many of the students I interviewed for admission said the decade was their favorite one. Current undergraduates are more likely to name the 1960s. The PBS videocassette production, *Making Sense of the Sixties*, is an attempt to recreate this tumultuous period for a post-60s generation and to explain it in analytical and conceptual terms. The series generally succeeds, but does have a number of flaws and limitations.

The first videocassette, "Seeds of the Sixties," reviews the preceding era, often stereotyping and oversimplifying it. There is extensive (and warranted) coverage of the negative side of the 1950s, from segregation to cultural repression, and little mention of the decade's positive features, such as the steady rise in real income.

The second videocassette, "We Can Change the World," deals with the early 1960s, taking up the Civil Rights Movement, the impact of John Kennedy, and the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, among other subjects. The video does a good job with each individual topic, but can be confusing in places as to how they relate to each other. Precursors of the student revolt, particularly the 1960 anti-HUAC demonstrations in San Francisco are ignored.

The next three parts, "Breaking Boundaries, Testing Limits," "In a Dark Time," and "Picking Up the Pieces," cover the middle and late 1960s. These are the best segments of the series, with many excellent clips and commentaries. As in the first two parts, an off-screen narrator supplies a descriptive and analytical matrix, supplemented by statements from a wide variety of individuals: black, white, Hispanic, female, and male. Some of the comments were recorded during the 1960s, others were elicited expressly for this series. Housewives and blue collar workers get to speak, along with academics and activists.

The final part of Making Sense of the Sixties, "Legacies of the Sixties," consists mostly of "talking heads," with far less documentary footage than the first five parts. Provocative questions are raised, along the lines of "Why hasn't America gotten over the 1960s?," with the answers varying in effectiveness.

The strengths of this documentary include a haunting musical score, much stirring footage, and a laudable attempt at balance (with the exception of the treatment of the 1950s). The failures and costs of the 1960s are clearly presented along with the achievements. In addition, quantitative generalizations receive careful qualification so that younger viewers are unlikely to come away from the series thinking either that every twenty year old of 1968 was a political rebel or a hippie, or, conversely, that their numbers were negligible.

A serious defect is that too little of the footage is identified. This documentary seems to assume that Bull Connor, Mario Savio, Joan Baez, and the Texas Schoolbook depository are so prominent in the national visual memory that students who were born in the 1970s will generally know them on sight.

The final limitation, and the most pervasive one, is the series' failure to provide a reasonably complete basic linear history of the time. Coverage of the civil rights movement omits Birmingham and Selma, of the cultural revolt the Rolling Stones, of the Vietnam War, the Gulf of Tonkin incident, and of the political scene, Eugene McCarthy and George Wallace. Such omissions contrast with the more inclusive approach taken by WGBH's notable Vietnam: A Television History, and greatly restrict the usefulness of Making Sense of the Sixties. As a stand-alone audiovisual presentation it will not be adequate; it must be connected to a detailed historical framework, supplied either by the instructor or a textbook. Employed in this manner, Making Sense of the Sixties, particularly its middle segments, can be an effective classroom instrument.

Mercy College

#### **BOOK REVIEWS**

Kent Freeland. Managing the Social Studies Curriculum. Lancaster, PA: Technomic Publishing Co., Inc., 1990. Pp. x, 375. Paper, \$29.00.

Those condemned to sit through the tedium that typically characterizes most social studies methods courses will be surprised to learn that there is now a book that tells "how to do it" in a straightforward yet engaging way. Mr. Freeland has covered all the bases succinctly, objectively, and comprehensively. If you want a profile of the evolution of social studies education, you will find it here. If getting a handle on how to plan a unit and organize a lesson, or how to structure a test, or how to set up a field trip, then this book will be manna from heaven. But the chapters describing the core disciplines of the social studies—history, geography, political science, sociology, anthropology, and economics—are its best feature. Each provides a state-of-the-discipline summary of what ought to be taught and even includes sample lesson plans on how to deliver the key concepts.

Elementary and middle school teachers are the target audience but the book has value for everybody in professional education from pre-service teaching candidates to teacher trainers, and from curriculum specialists to state education department administrators and school board members. The information is not only timely and accurate but precisely presented as well. In the chapter on geography, for example, the five themes that presently define school geography (i.e. location, place, human-environmental interaction, movement, and region) are briefly described with suggestions for their implementation. There is also a segment on map and globe skills accompanied by convincing and manageable strategies for bringing geography to the classroom. Each of the chapters treating the other core subjects is similarly structured. An adequate bibliography appears at the end of each chapter, but there are some surprising omissions. For whatever reasons, some of the "key" names have been excluded. Paul Gagnon, Diane Ravitch, and Chester Finn are among the missing in history and so are Salvatore Natoli, Christopher Salter, and A. David Hill in geography. That, however, is a meager flaw when there is so much of substance to recommend this book.

As one uses this volume, increasingly it begins to serve as an almanac for social studies education. On the one hand, it is a data base full of pertinent facts organized in lists, tables, charts, and graphs. On the other, it presents a history of the social studies and provides an update on what is happening across the curriculum. One of the appendices even provides the names and addresses of professional journals and organizations in the social studies on a state-by-state basis. In fact, the reference features gradually become the book's most appealing attribute.

Such a book is broadly adaptable. It is, at the same time, a methods text, a fact finder, a resource guide, an historical treatise, and a philosophical commentary. Above all else, it is a no-frills reference manual presenting what is happening in social studies education as the new decade gets underway. Although it may appear unassuming in its drab gray cover, if kept within reachable distance on the bookshelf, it will quickly become as much used as National Council for the Social Studies bulletins and Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development updates. Perhaps more so. Freeland has done a remarkable job of synthesis and of making less more.

New Trier High School Winnetka, Illinois James F. Marran

Anthony Kemp. The Estrangement of the Past: A Study in the Origins of Modern Historical Consciousness. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991. Pp. viii, 228. Cloth, \$32.50.

An erudite and powerful essay, such as Kemp puts forth here, rests at bottom not only on the quality and scope of evidence but also on its governing assumptions. The evidence is drawn largely from classics in medieval and Reformation historiography, ending with the disconsolate and familiar views of Henry Adams as he confronted the modern world.

The core of the author's argument is that the syncretic unity of the medieval historical mind, one which held that revealed time was essentially seamless and sameness, became dynamic and supersessive by the eighteenth century. Beginning with Eusebius, medieval historiography rejected historical innovation as a denial of Christ's teaching. Augustine's universal history is thus "total" as well, despite his well-known engagement with the life of this world. Orosius completes the author's medieval triptych.

"The medieval mind would not tolerate the new . . . every work of literature or art must be a recapitulation of the universal atemporal unity of what is already known." The past is all that is most worthy; the Roman Empire never fell. The overemphasis on the Church Fathers here is only slight, and against them Kemp places the distinctive and rambunctious historiography of the Reformation, where men like Luther, John Foxe, and American Puritan leaders barbecued the Catholic Church as the betrayer of primitive (and correct) Christianity. "To sin is nought else than to despise unity, and to depart therefrom to multiplicity," Dante had said. But depart the reformers did; Luther believed Church tradition to be the Devil's work and saw a tremendous gulf, or difference, between his present and the primitive Church of his ideals. Foxe flayed Catholicism into bloody strips, and the muchadmired Lorenzo Valla began by assuming that history was change, difference, and mutation.

Once the papacy was identified with antichrist, and once the notion that the bedraggled Holy Roman Empire was "neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire" became common, the road to historical modernism was paved. In another overstatement, still not far off the mark, Kemp argues that the western perception of the past was reversed within a single generation. Reformation historiography brought the idea of historical supersession into the western imagination, and there it has remained, to the discomfiture of Henry Adams and, one suspects, of the author. Time became dynamic, but its appreciation had within its own tension: "The greatest fear of the supersessor is to be superseded."

Here is an excellent analysis, not least because the author includes copious documentation resting on original texts in classic Greek and Latin, as well as in vernacular German and Italian, all juxtaposed with excellent translations. His argument, however, despite its broad scope, rests not only on specific historians who prove his case, but also on his assumption that history is words only, a semiotic approach: "History is made of language and nothing else . . . the past has no perceivable existence beyond its literary expression." This assumption is simple, elegant, and beguiling; accept it, and the "estrangement of the past" is Q.E.D. Once this notion is believable, then history, according to Kemp, is "invented, although not consciously, to justify ideology."

The Estrangement of the Past is for graduate students only, an exceptional example of carefullyreasoned argument from clearly-stated assumptions and rigorously-marshalled evidence. Kemp's analysis, within these bounds, is insightful and remarkably suggestive.

United States Naval Academy

Michael T. Isenberg

Walter L. Arnstein, ed. Recent Historians of Great Britain: Essays on the Post-1945 Generation. Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1990. p. ix, 207. Cloth, \$24.95.

It is not surprising that historians, more than most professionals, are interested in their own antecedents. Scholars delving into uncharted waters must know what has been done previously, and the history and impact of historical scholarship has a fascination of its own. In the modern era varying methodologies have produced controversy and a history of their own. Ultimately the historian becomes grist for his own mill.

In response to such interests and in honor of Lacy Baldwin Smith, Walter Arnstein has collected historiographical essays about eight of the most influential students of modern British history. Included are Geoffrey Elton, Joel Hurstfield, Christopher Hill, Lawrence Stone, J.H. Plumb, E.P. Thompson, Norman Gash, and F.S.L. Lyons. To allay criticism--or perhaps lay the foundation for a sequel--Arnstein is at some pains to assure readers that the scholars chosen are by no means the only

significant figures in the field. He even offers an alternative list. The historians chosen for this volume, however, need no defense. Each has indeed made major contributions.

In one sense, the content of these essays is not remarkable. Without exception, the authors have provided readers with a clear, generally chronological outline of the major works produced by their subjects. Innovative interpretations--Elton's Tudor revolution and Hill's seventeenth-century class struggle, for instance--are effectively summarized. Methodological debates, such as that caused by Stone's plunge into and retreat from social science, are also given due attention. Since the contributors are all established scholars, competent essays were to be expected, and as far as this aspect of the book goes, it is to be recommended mostly to graduate students preparing for preliminary exams that will cover modern Britain.

What makes the book of interest to a wider audience, however, is that most of the authors have tied their subjects' personal lives into their interpretations of the past. The most dramatic such connection is made by Thomas Heyck, who links E.P. Thompson's love of Romanticism and respect for the common man to a relationship with an older brother. The brother read the romantics with Thompson, and then having parachuted into Bulgaria to fight with the anti-fascist partisans, died at the hands of Nazi torturers. Barrett Beer's association of Elton's childhood experience of fascist dictatorship with his tendency to dismiss the idea of a Tudor dictatorship is also deftly done. Alan O'Day, who does not treat F.S.L. Lyons in quite so personal a fashion, does use Lyons's career as a means to comment on the nature of British academe in the mid-twentieth century.

In only two cases do the authors fail to provide such personal insights. Robert Braddock gives us only a historiographical summary of J. H. Plumb, but given Plumb's relatively traditional approach to his work, the omission does not particularly jar. It does, however, in Cynthia Herrup's discussion of Christopher Hill. She drops occasional hints, such as her remark that Hill's doctrinaire Marxist interpretations became more flexible after his resignation from the Communist Party, but she fails to get to the reasons behind both resignation and flexibility. Although working with living subjects can make the collection of information particularly difficult, it is too bad that Herrup was unable to make the sorts of biographical connections that most of the other contributors did.

The weaving of personalities and scholarship makes this a book that will interest historians quite generally. It will also be useful reading for students, who should be aware of the influence that experience can have on even the diligent scholar's interpretations. I hope that the title, which makes the volume sound a bit pedestrian, will not dissuade those not particularly interested in British history from picking up the book.

Fort Valley State College

Fred R. van Hartesveldt

William Bruce Wheeler and Susan D. Becker. Discovering the American Past: A Look at the Evidence. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1990. Second Edition. Volume I: to 1877. Pp. xi, 308. Paper, \$14.97.

This work is offered as a supplemental book for survey courses in American history. In the preface, the authors state that they believe their "doing history" approach effective for "seminars, small classes, and large lecture classes with discussion sections." Eleven episodes are presented for analysis: early explorer-Indian contacts, the religious trial of Anne Hutchinson in Massachusetts Bay (1637), a demographic study of social trends in the Massachusetts Bay colony, eye-witness accounts of the "Boston Massacre," the 1794 congressional election in Philadelphia, debates on manhood suffrage in the New York constitutional convention of 1821, the conditions and attitudes of girl workers in the textile factories of Lowell, Massachusetts, stories and songs of blacks under slavery, U.S. politics and diplomacy leading to the Mexican War, the question of black-soldier enlistment on both sides of the Civil War, and the work of New York cartoonist Thomas Nast. Pictorial or graphic materials are used in the Indian section, the social-trends study, the "Boston Massacre," the Philadelphia election, the "factory girls" study, and the Thomas Nast material. The topics are well

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chosen for the authors' stated purpose of presenting American history to students "in a way that they

find challenging and stimulating."

In each of the eleven selections, six steps guide analysis. These are "problem," "background," "method," "evidence," "questions to consider," and "epilogue." The "evidence" section of each episode includes relevant letters, political statements, records of interviews, graphs, and drawings or photos. The student is encouraged to look behind conventional interpretations, in search of less obvious influences. An example occurs in the "Boston Massacre," where an unnamed civilian may have come up behind the soldiers and urged them to fire, before their captain gave any order. Other points that will arouse interest are the literacy and critical thinking of the "factory girls," and the prejudices of some Union Army soldiers against the use of black troops. Included in the "method" are techniques of segmenting information in chronological steps, and of grouping facts around a significant person or trend.

The collection really cannot be faulted on quality of material or the proposed method of analysis. There could be quantitative and selective problems on the use of the episodes. This reviewer sees the "factory girls," Mexican War," and "Thomas Nast" sections as demanding considerably more time than the others. Which will be kept, skipped, or condensed? Will there be time for students to gain adequate conventional perceptions of the eras of American history from the main course text and lectures? One obvious answer is that students will develop better perceptions, in the end, from the involvement of the "doing history" approach on which the book is built.

This collection and its approach are highly creative and challenging. However, the course that uses it in conjunction with a full-size narrative text will be a rather high-performance vehicle. It will put a great demand of involvement and versatility on both instructors and students.

LeMars, Iowa Arthur Q. Larson

Nancy A. Hewitt, ed. Women, Families, and Communities: Readings in American History. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman/Little, Brown, 1990. Volume I: To 1877. Pp. xxi, 245. Paper, \$11.15. Volume II: From 1865. Pp. xv, 272. Paper, \$11.15.

Nancy A. Hewitt of the University of South Florida has compiled this anthology with the purpose of drawing "a new portrait of our national past," one that examines "how ordinary people both shaped and were shaped by the persons and events traditionally considered central to the nation's development." In other words, this is social history at its best, focusing on the ways that commoners--black, red, white, workers, immigrants, and women--shaped their world and our history. Designed for use in the traditional two-semester survey of American history, these volumes would also be suitable--perhaps even more so--for single term family or women's history courses. Broken at the Civil War, the traditional dividing point in such collections, Hewitt's articles--fourteen in volume one and fifteen in volume two--begin with Suzanne Lebsock's discussion of women in seventeenth-century Virginia and conclude with Jane J. Mansbridge's insights into the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment.

This excellent anthology is praiseworthy on several counts. In the first place, its focus on social history, one of the more exciting developments in historiography over the past twenty-five years, makes it a timely as well as useful supplement to the traditional political and military approach to our past. The scholarship is recent as well, all but six of the selections being drawn from works published in the 1980s or later. In the first volume, contributions by Carroll Smith-Rosenberg on "Sex Roles and Sexual Standards in Jacksonian America;" Theda Purdue's "Southern Indians and the Cult of True Womanhood;" Lori D. Ginzberg's insights into the Sanitary Commission's "Passion for Efficiency;" and Jacqueline Jones's "Freed Woman," an investigation of post-Civil War blacks, deserve special commendation. Articles by Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Hull House in the 1890s;" Joanne Meyerowitz, "Sexuality in the Furnished Room districts of Chicago" during the teens and twenties; Alan Clive, "The Home Front and the Household" in Detroit during World War II; and David J. Garrow, "The

Origins of the Montgomery Bus Boycott" are equally laudable in volume two. Secondly, this work is distinguished by its editing. All of the eleven parts, which begin with "Peopling the New World" and continue through today's "Post-war Society," are introduced by an excellent three-to-four page overview of the era, and each article is preceded by a page of editorial comment, serving to give unity and continuity to the entire work. Finally, a word should be said about the short but select bibliographies, that follow the introductory sections as well as each article: they are excellent, abreast of present scholarship, and judiciously chosen.

There is little to criticize in this fine anthology, though some readers may find themselves longing for the inclusion of footnotes that would locate the sources of these fascinating exercises in social history. On the whole, the work is remarkably free of error, historical or typographical, and the writing is good and generally interesting, a quality undergraduates sometimes find missing from "common people" history. Professor Hewitt has provided us a text that deserves close consideration for adoption in women, family, and survey American history courses.

Transylvania University

Paul E. Fuller

John Anthony Scott. Settlers on the Eastern Shore: The British Colonies in North America, 1607-1750. New York and Oxford: Facts on File, 1991. Pp. x, 133. Cloth, \$16.95.

John Anthony Scott, known to many in education for Teaching for a Change, but also the author of numerous historical works, is both the author of this volume and the editor of the series of which it is a part, the "Library of American History." (Settlers on the Eastern Shore was originally published in a different form by Knopf in 1967.)

In the preface, Scott refers to Frances FitzGerald's 1979 critique of textbooks, America Revised, and speaks of "growing dissatisfaction" with "supremely dull and uninteresting" standard textbooks. Our history "ought to arouse wonder, compassion and delight," Scott rightly contends, and one of the reasons this so-seldom happens "is that the texts do not often draw upon the marvelous original sources that this nation inherits, which constitute the lifeblood of history, and which are indispensable to its study, no matter what age of the student."

The only problem with all this is that the *idea*, as Scott sets it forth, sounds better than this book actually is. Scott does indeed make the effort to weave "original sources . . . throughout . . . the narrative." But it is not clear to me that the end product will automatically produce the "wonder, compassion and delight" he seeks. Certainly if one goes to Settlers on the Eastern Shore, as I did, based in part on the subtitle, expecting a comprehensive history of colonial times designed for any age level, disappointment must result. The intended target is apparently high school students, and I don't work at that level, but I would say if this book were going to succeed, it would have to be a part of a package deal and used by a very good teacher. But then the much-and-appropriately-maligned "standard textbooks," while they may supply the comprehensive coverage, have seldom inspired "wonder, compassion and delight" either, and probably never without being used by an excellent teacher.

Settlers on the Eastern Shore consists of ten chapters, each basically an "episode" from the colonial era. "The Weatherbeaten Shore," for example, deals with the Pilgrims, and William Bradford's Of Plymouth Plantation is the primary source. "The Captivity of Mary Rowlandson" has its chapter--which might raise questions in some about priorities--based, of course, on her narrative. "Outposts of Empire" is the chapter on Virginia--placed rather strangely after such later-developed colonies as Plymouth and Pennsylvania--and draws on a greater variety of sources. The Zenger trial has its chapter, as does Jonathan Edwards and the Great Awakening, and the last chapter on popular songs reflects Scott's earlier interest in that subject. The conclusion, while a remarkably brief (two-page) overview of colonial America, seems to convey no sense of the tragedy of the era for Native Americans and Africans. (While there is a "Black History" chapter, it is mostly on the slave trade, and among other problems exaggerates the role of Africans in that trade.)

I enjoyed reading this book. But then I already have a sense of wonder, etc., about our past. I hope this book will be successful in conveying it to high school students. As someone who's been reading, writing, and teaching history for some twenty-five years now, I both have trouble understanding why the wonder is not there automatically for all upon exposure to the incredible human past, and in knowing best how to stimulate it in those who don't have it. These days, reading more and more in Will and Ariel Durant's Story of Civilization and Page Smith's People's History of the United States, I am inclined to think big, broad, narrative history in the grand classic tradition might have the most potential--at all levels.

East Central University

Davis D. Joyce

Robert F. Dalzell, Jr. Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World They Made. Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press, 1987. Pp. xviii, 298. Cloth, \$27.50.

In this fine collective biography of the merchants-turned-industrialists who developed the famed Waltham-Lowell system of textile manufacture, Robert F. Dalzell has produced a book of considerable importance in the history of American industrialization, entrepreneurship, and philanthropy. Dalzell presents a well-researched and lucid study of this wealthy, closely knit group of businessmen, a study that appropriately places these men and their activities in the broad sociocultural setting. The Boston Associates, according to Dalzell, were industrial pioneers who introduced integrated innovations on a hitherto unparalleled scale, but whose motivation was essentially conservative.

In the first three chapters, which account for about one-third of the book, Dalzell traces the origins, beginnings, and expansion of the Waltham-Lowell system. The success that the associates enjoyed in textile manufacturing and the demands of that enterprise itself led these entrepreneurs to expand their efforts to transportation, banking, and insurance. Dalzell deftly presents these interrelated developments in the fourth chapter. He demonstrates that, while the associates introduced an impressive range of structural innovations in these fields, their central objectives in such endeavors were the protection and development of the textile industry and the preservation of their traditional family interests. The final two chapters are devoted to the associates' philanthropic and political activities. In philanthropy and politics alike, their objectives centered on supporting and developing social and political harmony.

By the early 1840s the Boston Associates' influence was broad indeed, affecting not only diverse elements of the economy but social, cultural, and political institutions as well. The world that these enterprising elite had made seemed secure. In the ensuing years, however, much of this world disintegrated. Although fortunes that the associates had secured for their children were not lost, the control that this innovative but conservative group exercised in the economic, social, and political order waned. They were no more able to control the changing social and political realities than they were to prevent overproduction in the textile industry. By the time of the Civil War, the world envisioned by the founders of the Waltham-Lowell system was gone. Nevertheless, as Dalzell points out in the epilogue, the associates had demonstrated the value of the corporate form and had secured for their families "a remarkably durable position at the top of the social order."

This book is well-organized and gracefully written. The first three chapters (on the rise of the Waltham-Lowell system) are organized essentially chronologically. The rest of the book is organized topically, but with sufficient referencing between topics to tell the story clearly. Dalzell has included excellent illustrations supporting the text. The diverse but interconnected economic interests of almost eighty associates are clearly presented in a useful appendix.

Enterprising Elite is an important book that should be included at least as suggested reading in coursework on the social and economic history of the United States in the nineteenth century. Those teaching specialized courses in the business history of the period may well wish to include it as required reading, not only because of its important content but also as a model of excellent work in business history.

Alan T. Nolan. Lee Considered: General Robert E. Lee and Civil War History. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. Pp. xii, 231. Cloth, \$22.50.

Robert E. Lee holds almost as much fascination among today's population as he did among the generation that fought the Civil War. Except for Thomas L. Connelly's 1977 critical book, *The Marble Man*, Lee has virtually escaped scholarly analysis and has remained on a pedestal of public worship that borders on the dogmatic. To reconsider these gilded assumptions, Alan T. Nolan, author of several combat histories on the Civil War, examines the wide variety of existing sources on six particular themes: Lee as opponent of slavery, devoted Virginian forced into the war; brilliant military strategist; magnanimous adversary; nobleman who maintained a sense of honor even in defeat; and promoter of post-war reconciliation. The author enters this historiographic fray not as a polemicist, but as one who hopes to set the record straight and to "humanize" a true American hero. At the outset, he frankly states, "I believe that Robert E. Lee was a great man--able, intelligent, well-motivated and moral, and much beloved by his army. He did what he believed to be right."

One of Lee's most ennobling qualities supposedly was his utter revulsion at the Peculiar Institution. Yet this is more of a post-war public relations image than an honest sentiment. Before the war he owned slaves, traded in them as if they were commodities, and helped apprehend runaways for anonymous masters. In a long letter to his wife in December, 1856, Lee spelled out his true feelings that black people were more fortunate as American slaves than if they had remained as freemen in the barbarism of Africa, for white civilization and Christianity bestowed upon them the tools for being temporally uplifted and spiritually saved. Lee placed some faith in a long term plan of gradual emancipation, but he ardently opposed the abolitionists and clearly saw righteousness in the Confederacy's defense of slavery. Likewise, he represented the mainstream of southern sentiment when he elected to leave the Union and serve the cause of the Confederacy. He did this not simply because of his personal loyalty to Virginia, as so many people have long claimed, but because of his loyalty to the South and its institutions against a perceived tyranny.

On the battlefield, Lee's strategy and tactical performance were brilliant, contends Nolan, but he never constructed a realistic "grand strategy" for winning the war on terms that were consistent with the South's strengths and its stated purposes in the war. Nolan's conclusion that Lee should have adopted a "grand defensive strategy," in place of the daring offensive plans that led to Antietam and Gettysburg, will rankle many historians, but the argument is well-grounded. On an equally harsh note, Nolan contends that the general needlessly sacrificed tens of thousands of soldiers even after there was no hope for victory, and that after the war, Lee became more defensive about the South's "noble cause" and an obstructionist against Reconstruction policies.

Lee Considered promises to be a controversial book whose unorthodox conclusions necessitate responses from serious scholars. The History Book Club and the Book-of-the-Month Club have already included the work among their offerings, and thus it will receive broad exposure within the general reading audience. It likewise has great potential in college classrooms because of its brevity, lucid style, fast pace, and impeccable scholarship. Certainly for Civil War and historiography classes it has the most utility, but even a freshman-level survey class in American history can appreciate this book, and better understand how and why historians differ in their interpretations about past events and personalities. An inexpensive paperback reprint would clearly find a welcome place in the college market.

University of Nebraska at Omaha

Michael L. Tate

Jane H. Pease and William H. Pease. They Who Would Be Free: Blacks' Search for Freedom, 1830-1861. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990. Pp. xi, 339. paper, \$14.95.

First published in 1974, *They Who Would Be Free* remains a work of considerable insight and importance. Reprinted in 1990 by the University of Illinois Press as part of their fine series on Blacks in the New World, edited by August Meier, both the scope and the interpretive quality of the Peases'

study stands up well in light of sixteen years of additional historical analysis. Indeed, the only change made to this new edition is a bibliographical essay that updates the scholarship since 1974.

What makes *They Who Would Be Free* impressive is the care with which the authors explore the complex nature of Afro-American ideologies, attitudes, and activities from the "abolitionist crusade" beginnings in the 1830s to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. Not only do the Peases tell us much about American and Afro-American life during this era, but their work provides considerable understanding of the racial and interracial debates of our own time. Although antislavery was the cause that helped shape black American activities within the North and drew blacks and whites together in the only meaningful interracial endeavor in pre-Civil War America, it was an experience that symbolized the difficulties and conflicts of black and whites learning how to live, work, and respect one another in a society "half free and half slave." As the Peases and others have shown, it was one thing for white abolitionists, a minority themselves, to engage in the good fight against southern slavery in alliance with former black slaves and free blacks; it was another matter for them to truly embrace Afro-Americans as their equals and imagine a society where black leaders and ideas were truly valued by the dominant white culture.

Thus, as the sub-title of this book indicates, it is the "search for freedom" that defines the experiences of Afro-Americans in the North as they responded to and helped shape the abolitionist movements and were affected by the critical events leading to civil war. "Freedom" extended, in this respect, well beyond the termination of slavery; at its basic level, it involved for blacks issues of personal respect, dignity, equal rights, and self-determination. Despite the efforts of Afro-Americans, who were often as much in conflict with one another as they were with their white friends and adversaries, the absence of any real power--political, economic, and cultural--made significant interracial interaction and understanding extremely difficult. By the end of the 1850s, black Americans of differing political and social persuasions were in common despair over the possibilities for either ending slavery or achieving racial equality within the North. It was ultimately only the violence of war itself that made possible the end of southern slavery.

This is a book that needs to be pondered by both teachers and students since almost all of the racial and interracial struggles of our own time are clearly present in the battles of the early nineteenth century. As the post-World War II civil rights movement reflected, it is when blacks and whites are brought together most directly in the cause for racial and social justice that historical and cultural differences emerge most acutely and painfully. To realize that inequality involves far more than simply the absence of legal rights but is rooted also in the cultural attitudes of a nation that often refuses to take seriously--respect--the very people whose freedom it celebrates, is one of the sobering lessons of the Peases' study. They Who Would Be Free deserves to be read and contemplated.

Denison University

John B. Kirby

Charles P. Henry. Culture and African American Politics. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990. Pp. ix, 140. Cloth, \$22.50.

When W.E.B. Dubois observed the "two-ness" of the African-American he brought attention to a theme that would pervade writings in black studies to the present day. While a majority of works have considered blacks as Americans and focused upon their inequitable treatment or condition compared to other segments of the population, a growing literature has sought to portray African-American moral and social life as distinctive from that of other Americans. This work summarizes some of this thinking and attempts to extrapolate from it a political ideology unique to black Americans.

Henry begins his book by refuting the works that have defined black politics in terms of elite leadership groups and strategies. He presents an alternative model linking ideology, cultural symbols, and political action and postulates that the values found in the mass culture of African-Americans form a type of ideology. He goes on to hypothecate that this "distinct black politics based on a unique

style and combination of worldviews . . . contains the possibility of a synthesis between selfish individualism and group responsibility that could provide an instructive moral vision for the entire society."

The bulk of this book analyzes select aspects of black culture for traits that would define such a unique ideology. In African proverbs, slave folk-tales, and blues music, Henry finds a distinctive "style and ethos." Several prominent figures and events from Nat Turner to the Watts Riot are offered as evidence of the mix of religion and politics in black culture or the importance of the "bad nigger" as a hero, an expression of manhood and liberation. Marcus Garvey and Martin Luther King, Jr., are portrayed as adapters of the Puritan jeremiad to black values, producing both a unique political style and a potential goal of liberating all oppressed people. The book culminates in an analysis of Jesse Jackson's campaigns, which the author sees as containing the style and themes of African-American culture and as an effort to recapture the "moral hegemony of the Civil Rights era."

Henry supports these ideas by citing other works on Afro-American culture and values. This methodology is at once a strength and central weakness of the book. That quite a few works are abstracted makes this work a handy introduction to the literature on black consciousness and cultural uniqueness. But such is Henry's emphasis on the writings of others that those authors often become the topic of a subchapter, and a coherent and clear development of his own thought is obscured. The reliance on other writings also leaves many key ideas resting on little more than the authority of other generalizations, often themselves drawn from abstract or theoretical works.

Historians will also be troubled by the very selective presentation of figures and events from the black past, sometimes arbitrary interpretations of these (e.g., Frederick Douglass as a classic example of the "bad nigger" with no reference to his many assimilative efforts), and the overall paucity of historical facts. This is not a history of black politics or political figures. But the nationalistic and often radical perspectives it synthesizes have been an important part of black scholarship since the late 1960s, and for teachers unfamiliar with that literature, this book could provide a useful orientation.

California State University, Fullerton

Lawrence B. de Graaf

Milton Meltzer. Brother, Can You Spare a Dime? The Great Depression, 1929-1933. New York & Oxford, Facts on File: 1991. Reprint of 1969 edition. Pp. x, 130. Cloth, \$16.95.

The Great Depression was one of the more harrowing experiences in American history. Most Americans were affected either directly or indirectly by the collapse of the Stock Market in 1929. By the time of the election of Franklin Roosevelt in 1932, more than thirty percent of the nation's workforce was unemployed. Men, women, and children faced deprivation that would affect them for several generations. For African Americans and farmers in the nation's corn belt, the Depression came much earlier. And yet, as Milton Meltzer points out in this brief but excellent social history survey of the Great Depression, the top five percent of the nation were not affected at all. Moreover, where one might have supposed that there would have been fervent political activity, most Americans had internalized the work ethic and the idea of individualism so well that they more likely blamed themselves rather than the system for their economic misfortune.

Milton Meltzer has done American history survey courses (as well as advanced high school history classes) an immeasurable service in producing this volume. Not only does he succinctly provide reasons for the Depression, but through his uses of ordinary people's observations and popular culture as well as newspapers and weekly news magazines accounts, students should walk away from this book knowing more about the underlying causes of our modern day welfare state and the reasons why we still can't, as they say, "get it right."

The book is divided into fourteen very short chapters that first show how and what caused the Depression and then the impact that the Depression had on the nation's people. In this time when American history continues to undergo a massive narrative change so as to be as inclusive as possible

of all the various constituencies that make up the nation, Meltzer has proven that it can be done and done well.

Within these pages, students will find what the Depression's impact was on African Americans, women, farmers, factory workers, and the middle class who got hooked into the new wave of advertising, installment credit, and consumerism. Throughout the narrative, Meltzer provides snippets of essays and commentaries from distinguished writers such as Edmund Wilson, John Dos Passos, and Gordon Parks, as well as popular music that was composed by Florence Reece and Woody Guthrie, among others. But for the most part it is the people themselves to whom Meltzer gives much space, thereby enabling students to read and hear the words of the Kentucky mine worker or the wonderful account of the young hobo who travelled throughout the South and then on to California in search of work. Meltzer does not slight the ways in which families coped with the Depression, especially women who were abandoned by their husbands who could no longer support them. There are many specialized studies that are appearing that deal with gender in the Depression, but the overview here is a good starting point for students who might want to do theme papers on that topic.

A word of caution must be given here about the bibliography at the end of the book. To my mind it is very thin. Over the last twenty years there has been a wave of studies on the Great Depression covering all of the areas that are looked at in this book. Yet I found that nothing is provided on the intellectual history that figures so importantly during that period (Richard Pells's work, Racial Visions and American Dreams: Culture and Social Thought in the Depression years, should have been cited.) Undoubtedly, students are going to wonder why there was not more political upheaval and there are books such as Pells's that address that very matter. Likewise, Raymond Wolter's and John B. Kirby's work on African Americans in the Depression and during the Roosevelt

era should have been mentioned.

In the end, this is a work, despite the bibliographic caveat, that is well worth presenting to students. Meltzer has deftly woven in an understanding of current events in an effort to get students to better understand the meaning of the Great Depression. But despite the possibility that the subject may be very depressing to address and somewhat complicated, the best part of this book is its demonstration of how all Americans were affected and how they coped. For that we are in Professor Meltzer's debt for this wonderfully lucid and moving account.

Colgate University

Charles Pete T. Banner-Haley

Carole Ann Pearce. Amelia Earhart. New York and Oxford: Facts on File Publications, 1988. Pp. 169. Cloth, \$16.95.

In Amelia Earhart, Carol Ann Pearce has written a brief biography of the famed pioneer in American aviation. Pearce is a free lance writer who produced this work for the "Makers of America" series of biographies, under the general editorship of John Anthony Scott, an historian. The series is primarily for young and general readers.

The book is written in an easy to read style and focuses primarily on Amelia Earhart, a pioneering woman, in a field and a time when women were not thought capable of doing things like flying airplanes. There are no footnotes, which may bother some educators, but there is a bibliography. This is not a scholarly book about Earhart or her times, but it is an interesting book probably most useful in introducing high school students to the topic of women's history or aviation. Young women in particular might appreciate the difference between today's society and the twenties and thirties in terms of a woman's options.

There is a general theme to the book of Earhart showing the world that women can, and should, do the daring, dangerous, and foolish things that men do. Her list of accomplishments and awards takes up two pages. She was the first woman to solo the Atlantic by air in 1932 and the first person to solo over both the Atlantic and Pacific. Earhart also set altitude and speed records at

various stages of her career as flyers constantly sought to outdo each other in the headline grabbing stunt and speed competition of the 1920s and 30s.

Amelia Earhart is portrayed as a bright and daring young woman who grew up in a household with a strong and steady mother, but with an alcoholic father who wandered from one job to another. Amelia decided early that she would fly and set about wheedling flying lessons in an age when many men simply refused to teach women flying. Eventually Neta Snook, the first woman to graduate from the Curtiss School of Aviation, gave her lessons and started her off on a dramatic career.

Amelia's life with George Putnam, the prominent New York publisher, is developed in some depth. Her marriage arrangement was again unusual by the standards of the day as she kept her own name, although newspapers often referred to her as Mrs. Putnam. She also pursued her career with great independence. On the other hand, her husband was supportive, and actually helped promote her career. He was her campaign coordinator and publicist as well as her greatest admirer.

The author portrays Earhart as supremely self-confident in her skills and careful about details. Yet in her last fatal trip there were some gaps that are hard to explain. Her navigator, Fred Noonam, was drinking heavily, yet she kept him. Earhart also chose tiny Howland Island as a landing spot despite warnings about the difficulty of locating it given the radio and instrument capacity of the time. Inexplicably she set out on the most dangerous journey of her life without agreement between herself and the navy and coast guard on such crucial items as the radio frequency she would use and the directional equipment she would need. Was it tempting fate, foolish, or supreme self-confidence in her own flying ability?

The author discusses several theories about what went wrong and what happened to Amelia Earhart between Loe, New Guinea, and Howland Island in July 1937, but doesn't make any conclusions. In fact, this is a technique she used often in the work to raise questions but not draw conclusions on Earhart's motives or judgment.

This reviewer would recommend this volume for the young reader or as an introductory work to the topic of women in aviation.

Southwest State University Marshall, Minnesota David L. Nass

George Donelson Moss, Vietnam: An American Ordeal. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1990. Pp. xii, 420. Paper \$23.00.

Jeffrey P. Kimball, ed. To Reason Why: The Debate About the Causes of U.S. Involvement in the Vietnam War. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990. Pp. xvii, 355. Paper, \$14.95.

George Moss's Vietnam: An American Ordeal is the most thorough, up-to-date, and analytical account of the Vietnam War since George Herring's classic America's Longest War. Setting out to provide an "objective" account of the long agony of Vietnam, Moss has made splendid use of a vast variety of sources to provide a balanced and comprehensive history of the American experience.

Some readers may not agree with Moss's central thesis that there was never any realistic prospect for America's goals in Vietnam, but their argument must be with his sources, not with his interpretation. Moss asserts, for example, that at no time from 1954 to the final collapse in 1975 was the South Vietnamese government a viable state. Profound corruption, incompetence, and an unwillingness to reform to win popular support Moss locates in what he calls "the essential South Vietnamese conundrum: How to achieve a stable political order without supporting revolutionary changes." He is equally harsh with his assessment of the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN). In neither period during which self-defense was the assigned task for the ARVN by the American war managers--1954 to 1965 and "Vietnamization" 1969-1975--was the ARVN more than an illusion. Incompetently led by largely corrupt officers, unlike their revolutionary counterparts, ARVN soldiers were "serving time, not a cause."

When the United States took over the major military effort in 1965 Moss argues that the central flaw in the U.S. approach was the failure to translate U.S. political objectives in South Vietnam into a viable military strategy. General William Westmoreland's choice of the attrition strategy never asked the critically important question of how many of the enemy soldiers had to be killed in order to win? Relying on the self-induced myths of fire power and technology, Westmoreland committed the nation to a war in which "a U.S. military victory was probably never a realistic strategic possibility." It never seemed to occur to U.S. political and military leaders that the North's ability to absorb pain was greater than the U.S.'s ability to inflict pain.

On the home front Moss concludes that the "stab-in-the-back thesis"--that the U.S. lost in Vietnam because of the media (especially television) or the radical left student movement--is wholly unwarranted. In the first case he points out that it did not take television to turn the American people against the war in Korea in 1951-1953, and that even if the media had told the story the U.S. Army wanted told in Vietnam the results would have been no different. The radical left was less instrumental in turning the nation against the war, Moss argues, than the "wide spread opposition of ... mostly patriotic, law-abiding, and God-fearing mainstream Americans" who came to loathe the war that could not be won.

Moss does not mythicize the enemy in Vietnam. He recognizes that while "the insurgency was a genuine revolt based in the South . . . it was organized and directed from the North." He also points out the many strategic errors made by the North Vietnamese such as the early decision to pursue conventional warfare in the spring 1972 offensive.

Moss also separates the warrior from the war. American soldiers fought with courage and dedication, he argues, and should not be blamed for errors in judgment and policy of their political and military leaders.

In all, Moss's work is recommended for advanced students--high school or college. It is thought-provoking, comprehensive, and well written.

Jeffrey Kimball's To Reason Why treats a more narrow aspect of America's involvement in Vietnam: a variety of views on why the U.S. became involved in Vietnam 1945 to 1975. Divided into seven sections that consist of excerpts from primary sources and secondary accounts and analysis, the book would be useful to students who wish to focus on this important aspect of U.S. policy. It would not suffice, however, for a book of readings to supplement either Herring's America's Longest War or Moss's Vietnam: An American Ordeal. Teachers looking for a companion to either of these fine histories would more likely turn to Moss's A Vietnam Reader: Sources and Essays (1991).

SUNY College at Cortland

Frank A. Burdick

Robin Frame. The Political Development of the British Isles, 1100-1400. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. Pp. viii, 256. Cloth, \$39.95; paper, \$12.95.

Frame (University of Durham), an expert on medieval Irish history, attempts to reorient readers' views of later medieval political development in the British Isles. His deceptively simple thesis, that the British Isles have formed a natural unit, not only in terms of geography but also in terms of political organization, provides a powerful challenge to the usual examination of the period and the topic. Frame provides a detailed examination of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, with rich bibliographic sources, with the view of laying the groundwork for studying them as legitimate but regional centers of political power. The author warns that the book is "idiosyncratic" and "experimental," and the thread that holds the fabric together is the expansion of political power, the responses it encountered, and the limits placed upon his organizing themes. The main themes are: (1) the impact on the British isles of the dominant power within them, represented by the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, church, and monarch; and, (2) the successor of the above, the English state. It should be noted that despite the intentions of the author and his different orientation, this book is often rather deterministic as if what happened was probably for the best. Thus, while the book provides, especially for American readers,

a different perspective and a rich, original source of material for students and teachers, the overall thesis is finally not persuasive. His work might prove interesting to American students who are used to examining history from regional perspectives. Frame notes that this examination was stimulated by recent regional nationalism and the U.K.'s closer current and future ties with Europe. The maps and dynastic charts are adequate, but most students would benefit from access to a good atlas. This is an original, learned approach that is probably a bit rich for general classroom use.

Whitman College

Donald P. King

Henry Kamen. Spain, 1469-1714: A Society of Conflict. London and New York: Longman, 1991. Second edition. Pp. xv, 307. paper, \$16.95.

The difficulty in teaching renaissance and early modern Spanish history is not so much the long rise of Iberia to its time of greatness covered by Professor Kamen's work, and certainly not the post mortem of its social and institutional collapse from the early eighteenth until the late twentieth century, but in intelligently analyzing the period in between. All major societies have these richly detailed moments, and they sometimes recur after lulls of exhaustion. Spain, unfortunately, thus far has only this 200-year period of true national greatness: world discovery, empire, the Siglo de Oro, and great power status all in one. Everything about Spain accelerates during this period, and woe to the disorganized teacher who fails to make the most of the Spanish sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Most of the best works of Iberian historiography naturally focus on this magnificent (and sometimes awful) moment of Spanish history: Elliott, Lynch, Domínguez Ortíz, Fernández Álvarez, Carandé, and Maravall, to name only a few. It is not an easy period about which to write, but the task is made easier since many of the earlier English-language histories are out-of-date and do not include the impressive work done of late by historians in Spain itself, now once more in possession of an

unfettered historical profession with a modern mentality and methodology.

Kamen's five chapters divide the period into three royal administrations (the Catholic Kings, Charles V, and Philip II), leaving an almost equally long time in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to be summarized more abruptly in a crisis chapter and a recovery chapter. Throughout the 276 pages of his book, there is little space for indepth analyses of the various reyes, which is not Kamen's specialty in any case. Economic history and administrative development in relation to social history has been his format in other works, and he uses it here to marshal a great deal of difficult material behind his chronicle of the sudden emergence of Spain as a dynamic society. One of his most useful ideas is to compile the special administrative and fiscal vocabulary of the times, which can be maddening to do in lecture. Had he paid equal attention to the development of the laws and special legalistic Spanish mind of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he would have dispatched another topic difficult to lecture on without mystifying class members.

As a possible textbook for a course on early modern Spain, however, Kamen's work offers the attractive strategy of allowing the lecturer to concentrate upon the character of the Spanish monarchy and aristocracy, and to develop such topics as the character of the *conquistadors*, the enormous intellectual growth that Spanish society enjoyed during this period, or to broaden the scope of

coverage of the hopelessly complicated foreign relations during the period.

Kamen's brevity makes a complicated period understandable to the student and provides the lecturer with a choice of spectacular topics upon which to concentrate. It may be the best short book on the period in English.

University of New Mexico

Robert Kern

Immanuel C. Y. Hsu. The Rise of Modern China. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990. Pp. xxxi, 971. Cloth, \$35.00.

It has been more than twenty years since the first edition of Immanuel C.Y. Hsu's classic text on China's rise since the early Ch'ing dynasty, yet the book has remained almost unchallenged throughout that entire period. In fact, only recently with the publication of Jonathan Spence's *The Search for Modern China*, did serious students looking for a truly sophisticated and comprehensive overview of modern China even have an alternative.

And China has changed enormously in those twenty years. In 1970, when the first edition appeared, the Cultural Revolution had hardly played itself out. Subsequent editions took on the enormous challenge of narrating and making sense of a Chinese revolution that wrenched itself back and forth between Maoists of the Cultural Revolution and the followers of Deng Xiaoping. This last edition, published within months of the Tiananmen Square crackdown, nevertheless successfully attempts a serious effort to explain the crackdown and to put it into the context of modern China's historical ambivalence regarding both the West and various alternative forms of economic planning. In that effort, as with the material dealing with China as early as the seventeenth century, Professor Hsu's text remains a gold mine of information and clarity.

Despite the above, The Rise of Modern China does pose some serious problems for the classroom instructor. Two issues are most fundamental: (1) the retention of the Wade-Giles transliteration system in an academic world clearly turning toward Pinyin makes the later chapters on recent China clearly out of "sync" with the other published materials students might be drawn to, thus creating unnecessary problems; (2) the very length of the book makes it a problem for many undergraduate academic settings, especially when the instructor might be anxious to assign additional readings. Nevertheless, a two-semester course on modern China would not have the same problems with the size of the work. Although not all instructors will be able to use the book as a classroom text, The Rise of Modern China will continue to be one of the very best resources for all those who attempt to teach about modern China.

Russell Sage College

Steven A. Leibo

J. M. Bourne. Britain and the Great War, 1914-1918. London and New York: Edward Arnold, 1989. Pp. xi, 257. Cloth, \$49.95; paper, \$14.95.

"War," said Thomas Paine, "involves in its progress such a train of unforseen and unsupposed circumstances that no human wisdom can calculate the end." History is replete with examples of wars that didn't exactly go as planners planned, but one conflict above all, the "Great War" of 1914-1918, has been responsible for our contemporary fear of the "unforseen and unsupposed circumstances" of war. The short, heroic, victorious war that most Europeans foresaw in August, 1914, became an unimaginable tragedy that buried a generation in the mud of the western front. It is, therefore, not surprising that books on World War I continue to flow from the presses.

John Bourne's Britain and the Great War is a recent addition to the flood, and a very good book. The writing is literate; the scholarship thorough (Bourne makes full use of the most recent literature on the war); and the judgments controversial, convincing, and even entertaining. Bourne's compact style and knack for pithy obiter dicta (reminiscent of the work of A. J. P. Taylor) make the book a pleasurable reading experience.

Front and center in this study is the British army, for, as the author notes, the Great War marked the first time "Britain put a truly national army into the field . . . and it was the only time in which that army bore the principal share of the military burden." And it was the creation of that army and the struggle in which it participated, that served as "the mechanism by which British government, politics and economic life and national values were changed." The theme is of Homeric scope, but within the compass of slightly over 200 pages Bourne covers the military history of the war, the

organization, planning and management of the war by the politicians and generals, and the impact of the war on British values and economic life.

Bourne provides the reader with a valuable overview of a society at war, but he does more. This book should prompt many teachers and scholars to rethink some of their traditional positions on World War I. Bourne states, rightly I think, that World War I "is still overwhelmingly seen as pointless, mismanaged and futile." It seemed "at best a mistake, the result of bungling and miscalculation by 'small men in great places." It is these impressions, at least in the context of the British experience, that he attempts to counter, and, in general, he is successful.

To Bourne, the reasons for Britain's entry into the war are more sane (preserve the empire, the source of Britain's power); her generals (especially Haig) more competent; and her strategy more reasonable than conventional wisdom allows. Throughout the book Bourne reassesses, reevaluates, and revises with confidence and good sense. He punctuates his generalizations with arresting anecdotal details that provide glimpses of the personalities behind the decisions. Yet, as successful as Bourne is in prompting us to rethink the history of 1914-1918, his is not an attempt to create the impression that World War I was just an earlier version of the "Good War." He admires the soldiers who "gave their lives . . . their posterity . . . their peace of mind . . . their youth," but he never tries to present the war as other than what it was: a tragic cataclysm that slaughtered thousands and changed the face of Britain forever.

This book, in sum, is an excellent choice for those, especially teachers, seeking a brief, comprehensive treatment of Britain at war. In appropriate courses, students too would find the book interesting and informative. It is illustrated and includes a number of useful maps. There is no bibliography per se, but the first footnote of each chapter contains a list of suggested readings.

Webster University

Michael Salevouris

Alan Wood. Stalin and Stalinism. London and New York: Routledge, 1990. Pp. xvii, 68. Paper, \$8.95.

Edward Acton, Rethinking the Russian Revolution. London and New York: Edward Arnold, 1990. Pp. 229. Cloth, \$49.50; paper, \$13.95.

Written by two English scholars--Edward Acton is a Lecturer in Russian History at the University of Manchester and Alan Wood is his counterpart at the University of Lancaster--both works are intended for undergraduate students. While the two books share a common audience, they are very different.

Acton's work is an extended historiographical essay that focuses exclusively upon several key problems surrounding the events of 1917. Its purpose is to synthesize for undergraduate students the major traditional historical interpretations, both western and Soviet, of the Russian Revolution; more specifically, it addresses the pivotal questions of how and why the Russian Revolution erupted in February, 1917, why it took the course it did and ultimately, in October, 1917, resulted in the victory of V.I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks. In addition, the Acton book aims to show undergraduate students how historical interpretations rely upon primary source material and how interpretations evolve over time, given the availability of new evidence and new ways and methods of interpreting old evidence. Moreover, Acton presents a clear and detailed treatment of three traditional and established historical perspectives on the Russian Revolution, i.e., the liberal, the Soviet (or Marxist), and the "libertarian," as well as the more recent revisionist approach. The latter represents a shift away from traditional emphases upon political factors, "great men" or elites, and deterministic viewpoints to an emphasis upon the social dynamics of the Russian Revolution. Recent revisionist studies concentrate, accordingly, on the masses and view the Russian Revolution as a "revolution from below." Overall Acton's summaries and analyses of the respective viewpoints on the Revolution are balanced, concise, and up-to-date, although some very recent Soviet and western work is, understandably, not included. The book is well done, but it does presuppose a knowledge of the events of 1917 and some

understanding of historical methodology. Rethinking the Russian Revolution, therefore, may be suitable only for senior history majors enrolled in an advanced seminar. The book is not suitable for the nonspecialist, nor is it likely to have much value or appeal in an introductory survey course.

Alan Wood's Stalin and Stalinism is a fine complementary volume to Acton's historiographical essay, for its focus is on the single most significant consequence of the 1917 revolution--Joseph Stalin and his impact on the U.S.S.R. Wood's purpose is not to survey western and Soviet historiography on Stalinism (surely the central problem of Soviet history) but to offer undergraduate students a short biographical sketch of Stalin that covers the entire span of his career, with emphasis upon the nearly thirty years (from 1924 through 1953) during which he led the Communist Party and thoroughly and violently transformed the party, the state, the economy, and the nation. This small book is clearly written, well organized, and includes all the essentials necessary for a quick survey of Stalin and his place in Soviet history. As one volume in a series of pamphlets, the book is of necessity superficial; it simply does not provide enough detail or depth on any of the central issues of the Stalin era. It is a good but very sketchy outline of more than fifty years of turmoil, revolution, terror, war, civil war, and personal intrigue. Given its brevity, it is difficult to imagine that it will (as it is intended) "stimulate critical thought." It may be a useful guide or outline for undergraduate students or even secondary students (e.g., it includes a glossary of terms and a chronology), but it does not have nearly enough humanity, drama, or complexity to engage or provoke.

Fitchburg State College Pasquale E. Micciche

Keith Eubank. The Origins of World War II. Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1990. Second edition. Pp. xi, 182. Paper, \$9.95.

A substantial amount of scholarship on the origins of World War II has been published in the two decades since the first edition of this work appeared. Aside from some minor modifications, however, this study retains the same organization and interpretation as the 1969 edition.

Keith Eubank has published several works in twentieth-century diplomatic history and is thoroughly familiar with the variety of interpretations about the origins of the Second World War. His Heath series anthology on the subject is known to a generation of college students. In this volume, Eubank seeks "to explain the origins of the world war that began in 1939 and ended with 30,000,000 people dead and unbelievable devastation over much of the world."

The period from the Treaty of Versailles to Hitler's rise to power is briefly surveyed, the bulk of the volume being devoted to the six years preceding the war's commencement. Eubank reminds the reader that the Treaty of Versailles was hardly as severe as that of Brest-Litovsk, imposed by Germany upon Russia. Indeed, as a result of the First World War and the various treaty arrangements following it, Germany was in an ideal position to exploit a power vacuum created in eastern Europe. Moreover the diplomacy of the allies in the twenties was ineffective, a grave mistake being committed by evacuating the Rhineland. "Had the occupation forces remained there until 1935, as the Versailles treaty had planned, the Nazi threat might have been averted." The "spirit of Locarno" and the Kellogg-Briand Pact merely provided an illusion of peace.

The depression facilitated Hitler's triumph in Germany and set the stage for German expansion on the continent. Eubank argues that Hitler was an opportunist, not a systematic planner. He intended to acquire German "lebensraum" through a series of short wars and did not envision a conflict of the magnitude he finally precipitated. Eubank discusses Hitler's destruction of the Versailles restrictions governing German rearmament, and the inability of western statesmen to deter him from his expansionist goals. He was "a man unlike anyone they had ever had to deal with."

It is in this context that Eubank treats appeasement, a policy derived from the British experience of the First World War, and based on the assumption that that conflict had been avoidable and that Britain shared responsibility for it with Germany. When Hitler achieved power, the appeasers were thoroughly entrenched and considered Communist Russia to be a greater threat than Nazi Germany. Even after Hitler seized Prague in March, 1939, Chamberlain "still wanted to practice appeasement if only Hitler would let him." By that late date, Europe had already witnessed the remilitarization of the Rhineland, German support for Franco in the Spanish Civil War, and Anschluss and, of course, the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia at Munich. Eubank does not condemn appeasement. Indeed, he is convinced that Hitler's remilitarization of the Rhineland could not have been easily resisted by France and Britain, that Stalin was duplicitous from the start and an alliance of the western powers with him improbable, and that resisting Hitler's demands over Czechoslovakia would not necessarily have been a wiser decision than was the appeasement at Munich.

Still, the reader is left with the inescapable conclusion that at a time when courage and decisiveness were required, the leadership of Britain and France devolved upon a series of mediocrities. Chief responsibility for the war, nevertheless, is placed squarely on Hitler. Given recent scholarship with which the author is familiar, Eubank might well have addressed the question of whether the war from 1939 to 1945 was as much a German war as it was Hitler's war.

This work serves as an admirable introduction to the diplomatic background of the war for the college level student. The author provides an excellent and current bibliography.

Memphis State University

Abraham D. Kriegel

M.K. Dziewanowski. War at Any Price: World War II in Europe, 1939-1945. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1991. Second edition. Pp. xix, 393. Paper, \$29.00.

War at Any Price is a general history of the Second World War in Europe written by a participant. M.K. Dziewanowski was a diplomatic correspondent stationed in Berlin when the war broke out. During the war he served as a platoon commander in the Polish army, an instructor-interpreter for parachutists and saboteurs near London, an editor of a secret radio station that maintained contact with the Polish resistance movement, and a military attaché at the Polish embassy in Washington. After the war he studied history at Harvard and later taught at the University of Wisconsin. His first-hand experience, his excellent academic credentials, and a lifetime of reading and research on the war enabled him to produce an excellent one-volume synthesis of World War II in Europe.

The title War at Any Price states clearly the author's position that this was not a war that Hitler accidentally stumbled into, as A.J.P. Taylor advocates in The Origins of the Second World War, but rather that it was the outcome of Hitler's planning and objectives. Not only was this Hitler's war in terms of causation but also in terms of its character and impact on the future of Europe and the world. Hitler's stubborn refusal to admit defeat after all hope of victory vanished brought about Germany's utter defeat and shaped the post-war world for the next fifty years. One of the strengths of this work is the way the author integrates the intelligence war and the resistance movements with the more familiar battles of the war. Dziewanowski gives due credit to his own countrymen for the discovery and deciphering of "Enigma," the German cipher machine. This discovery allowed Allied war leaders to know what the enemy was going to do often before German and Italian commanders in the field obtained the information. The author points out the crucial role that intelligence played in key phases of the war, such as the Battle of Britain and the invasions of North Africa and Normandy.

The story of the war is told in twenty chapters, the first three dealing with the war's origins from World War I to the invasion of Poland and the last two covering the war's aftermath, including the Nuremberg Trials and the consequences of the war for Europe. The last chapter has been rewritten in the second edition to include the significant events of 1989 in an analysis of the war's impact. Seven chapters are devoted to the period 1939 to 1942/43 when the Axis powers were on the offensive, and eight chapters cover the Axis retreat from 1942/43 to the end of the war in 1945. This history of World War II also includes a chronology of the war, a selected bibliography, many helpful maps and

illustrations, as well as footnotes that direct the reader to additional works covering significant and controversial issues.

The author writes in a clear and compelling style that holds the reader's attention. The book is organized in a manner that allows the reader to see how one event was caused by or influenced by another event. Based on up-to-date secondary works and considerable primary material, this one-volume synthesis of the Second World War in Europe is an excellent introduction suitable for history courses in junior and senior colleges and universities and for the general reading public; however, the two column format may discourage some of the general public from reading an excellent account of the war. Of the many books that came out in time for the fiftieth anniversary of the war's beginning, two are exceptionally well suited for the classroom: War at Any Price for an indepth look at the war in Europe, and John Keegan's The Second World War for a comprehensive view of all theaters of the war.

East Texas State University

Harry E. Wade

Roy Douglas. The World War 1939-1945: The Cartoonists' Vision. London and New York: Routledge, 1990. Pp. xii, 300. Cloth, \$29.95.

Edwin J. Swineford. Wits of War: Unofficial GI Humor--History of World War II. Fresno, CA: Kilroy Was There Press, 1989. Pp. xii, 659. Paper, \$18.50.

In his book, Roy Douglas makes the excellent point that the conflict between 1939 and 1945 "is today called the Second World War, and the name is too firmly fixed for anyone to shift; but it was truly the first and only World War." Douglas's title reflects this point of view which I am surprised more scholars of World War II do not adopt.

It is ironic, therefore, that the 217 cartoons (what Americans would term *editorial* cartoons) Douglas has chosen do not reflect the point of view he expresses in this statement. Indeed, they represent chiefly a British (and, to some degree, a French, German, and Russian) perspective on the Second World War. The first U.S. cartoon is number 39; the first Italian one is number 117. Douglas observes that the language barrier kept him from including any Japanese cartoons, but does he know Russian? And Greek? Cartoons in both languages are included. Furthermore, although Douglas says U.S. cartoons were an embarrassment of riches, he chose only twenty for this collection, mostly from the *Washington Post* and the *Chicago Tribune*. In truth, his selection represents a rather narrow slice of opinion, even taking into account only the major combatants.

Following an excellent summary of the interwar period, Douglas leads the reader--I almost said viewer--through 23 chapters, each on a different phase of the war. Each chapter has a 2-3 page summary and then from six to sixteen cartoons (usually about nine). Each cartoon is documented and accompanied by up to a page of context and analysis. Douglas helpfully points out details, nuances, and subtleties the reader might otherwise miss, and he explains allusions that might be lost. His analysis sometimes expands beyond the subject matter of the cartoon itself to discuss more general topics related to strategy and importance. He delights in noting the irony of certain cartoons; one wishes he had compared cartoons more than he actually does.

Although the cartoons are interesting, I found myself drawn to the text, which is admirably perceptive and accurate. (A few exceptions: the United States lost several battleships but not "a great part" of its Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor. The Philippine Islands were not an American "colony." It is the Battle of Midway, not of Midway Island.)

The quality of reproduction is generally satisfactory, although I sometimes wished for a slightly larger image and less black-and-white contrast. On several occasions, awkward layout leaves the reader having to flip the page between a cartoon and its accompanying text.

There is not much doubt this book is intended primarily for--even assumes--a British audience. The attention to India in the chapter on Asia are tip-offs, but the clincher is Chapter 22, "British

Wartime Politics." With few exceptions, the 217 cartoons relate to diplomatic and (to a lesser extent) military aspects of the war. There is little attention to the impact of World War II, or to the war on the several homefronts.

The book ends rather abruptly, and I am sorry there is not an index by country or topic that would have made the book more useful. There is also, unfortunately, no note on sources: Where does one go to find cartoons of this sort? Where did Douglas find them?

Douglas says his purpose was to examine how the war looked from different angles: from different countries, from the same country at different times, and from the same country at the same time. These contrasts are not always so clear in the reading, and Douglas does not quite achieve the comparisons he cites. Nor is it clear how typical these cartoons, and the publications in which they appeared, are. One concludes that they were chosen to illustrate the author's points, not necessarily as a representative sample of editorial cartoons during World War II. This is an important distinction students in particular should keep in mind.

Nevertheless, *The World War* is a commendable effort to bring this neglected voice to the classroom. It is recommended as a valuable and compact resource for the right course, probably an advanced course on World War II itself or perhaps a modern European diplomatic course. It would have only limited application in a U.S. history course.

I wish I could be as positive about *Wits of War*. Although its collection of GI humor from World War II (principally from Europe) actually gives a reader more of a sense of the war's character than *The World War* does, *Wits of War* is not well-suited for teaching purposes. It contains 1,500 jokes, one-liners, anecdotes, examples of exaggerated language, cartoons (drawn for this publication), and assorted nonsense that reflects well the offbeat and irreverent GI humor of the Second World War, in which Swineford himself served. Browsing through its nearly 700 pages is enjoyable, but it is difficult to see the classroom application of this collection, except perhaps in a course dealing specifically with the humor of the Second World War.

Wits of War will serve me as a source of contemporary humor to work into speeches and writings on World War II, and it would serve a teacher as a source to enliven lectures. I am afraid I cannot recommend it, however, for much more than that.

National Archives and Records Administration

Donn C. Neal

Deli Strummer. A Personal Reflection of the Holocaust. Edited by Nancy Heneson. Baltimore: Aurich Press, 1989. Pp. 70. Paper, \$6.95.

At first glance, A Personal Reflection of the Holocaust appears to be a simple, brief description of what we know is a complex situation. However, this glance is deceiving. In her simply written autobiography, Deli Strummer tells a horrifying story of Nazi abuse, juxtaposed with a moving story of human courage and sacrifice.

At times today's readers may feel overwhelmed with information or stories about the Holocaust. Yet, in this book, without needing great detail, the reader becomes very aware of the pain and horror Deli Strummer experienced. Her language is simple. Through her choice of words and the particular experiences Strummer chooses to describe, the reader can easily picture the terrible times she endured, while appreciating her courage and faith. Two citations illustrate this point:

We were not idle in Mauthausen. The electrified fences that ringed the camp soon became entangled with bodies--bodies of those who tried to escape, or, out of illness and despair, had thrown themselves against the wires. When the fence was full, the guards turned off the electricity, and whoever was left had to remove the bodies.

By the time the train left Czechoslovakia, they [Czech freedom fighters] had succeeded [in loosening the sides of the train cars]. People began escaping... My heart and soul felt

rejuvenated. I wanted to run away with them, but I realized at the same moment that Nita [a fellow nursing student] could go no farther . . . It took me less than a moment to swing my legs back into the cattle car . . . Inexplicably, I could not go. I could not break my promise.

A Personal Reflection is the story of a young woman's strength, though she faced separation from family and loved ones and endured the horrors of Nazi concentration camp. During the entire ordeal, Deli continued to help others. The climax of the narrative occurs when, at the very moment Deli and Nita were to enter the gas chamber, they were freed by American soldiers.

Deli and Nita returned to destroyed Vienna to search for Deli's family. She found them, but reunion was not enough for her. Instead of dwelling on her own troubles and terrible experiences, the author sensed that she must continue to give her life to serving others and helping them through bad times. She stayed for a few years in Vienna working in a hospital as well as with the organization "Bring Them Home," which tried to return children to their families.

Eventually she came to the United States, where she continued to dedicate her life to alleviating others' pain. In New York, she worked at the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital in antibiotic research, at Sloan Kettering in blood research, and at Sinai hospital in Baltimore in hormone research. Now retired, Deli continues to volunteer as an Eyewitness at the Capital Children's Museum in Washington, D.C., and as a Grief Recovery Group Facilitator.

Deli Strummer's autobiography is well-suited for middle school and high school readers, yet for college students also the book is an excellent point of departure for discussion of human rights. Adults, too, will find that this beautifully written, seemingly simple book is decidedly moving and powerful. It carries the message of the horror of the Holocaust while at the same time illustrating the human courage and caring that one needed to survive.

Anne Arundel County Schools Annapolis, Maryland Diane Johnson

Wayne C. McWilliams and Harry Piotrowski. The World Since 1945: A History of International Relations. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990. Second edition. Pp. xi, 492. Paper, \$18.95.

Cascades of news reports should have convinced us during the past few years that every educated person needs a systematic orientation into the global environment of public affairs. McWilliams and Piotrowski address this need with an excellent textbook for a history course on international relations since 1945. The book is written for instructors and students. It has nineteen chapters of more or less equal length grouped into five parts. Each part has a boxed introduction that forecasts what students will encounter in each chapter. The paragraphs are firmly drawn and the sentences structured for clarity without "talking down" to readers. Each chapter has an up-to-date annotated list of recommended readings in English and endnotes referring to sophisticated sources. The index is extensive and accurate; photos are clear; fourteen maps show political boundaries.

The text is proportioned to avoid "Western-centered approaches" and Europe and the United States are discussed when necessary to explain their participation in main themes. The themes are Origins of the Cold War, Nationalism and the End of Colonialism, the Shifting Sands of Global Power (referring to the 1960s), the Third World, and the End of the Postwar Era (referring to the 1980s). The text does not adhere to an overall chronology but subthemes clarify the order of events. Especially useful subthemes include the Sino-Soviet rift and its distress to the Eastern bloc, the Vietnam War and its impact on the Western bloc, the travails of postindependence in Asia and Africa, the evolution of Arab-Israeli confrontation, the economic triumph of Japan, and the nuclear arms race and negotiations to contain it. With more refined concepts of nationalism, secularism, and modernization, the discussions of militant Islam and the Iranian revolution and relationships between rich and poor nations, could be strengthened.

It is risky to write a history book that ends with the present time because that present constantly changes. McWilliams and Piotrowski know this well, as radical new developments in world affairs during the late 1980s forced them to undertake a thorough revision of their book long before they had contemplated doing so. Then even more drastic changes in Germany, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and the United Nations occurred after the revision went to press. How can instructors best deal with books that are dated before they reach the classroom? They should not give up on textbooks or try to base their reading assignments solely on non-academic sources. A subject as volatile as recent world history needs a firm topical, chronological, and geographical framework. A good textbook should be long enough to address complicated matters and short enough to allow teachers and students to supplement and update it with outside reading, viewing, and writing assignments. This book meets these requirements for college course work admirably. It should also be useful for special assignments for advanced high school students. In future editions, the authors would do well to advise instructors and students how to follow specific topics after they have finished the course and future events have superseded those in the textbook.

Georgia State University

Gerald H. Davis

## A REQUEST FOR HELP

Teaching History has received a request for materials relating to the teaching of history from Professor Mihai Manea, history professor and headmaster of Bucharest College, Roumania. A colleague who specializes in Roumanian history tells me that this institution is equivalent to our secondary schools.

Professor Manea lacks foreign currency because of present conditions and makes a desperate plea for materials he can share with his colleagues and students. I plan to send him back issues of our journal and a complimentary subscription. We urge our readers to also send such materials as they can spare. As future requests come from Eastern Europe or elsewhere, we will share them with you.

His address is: Professor Mihai Manea

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Oficiul PTTR Nr. 20

ROMANIA

