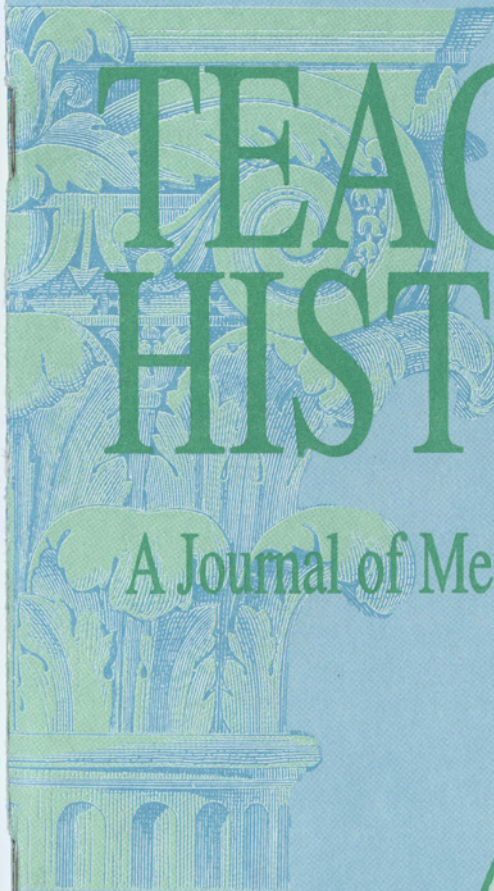
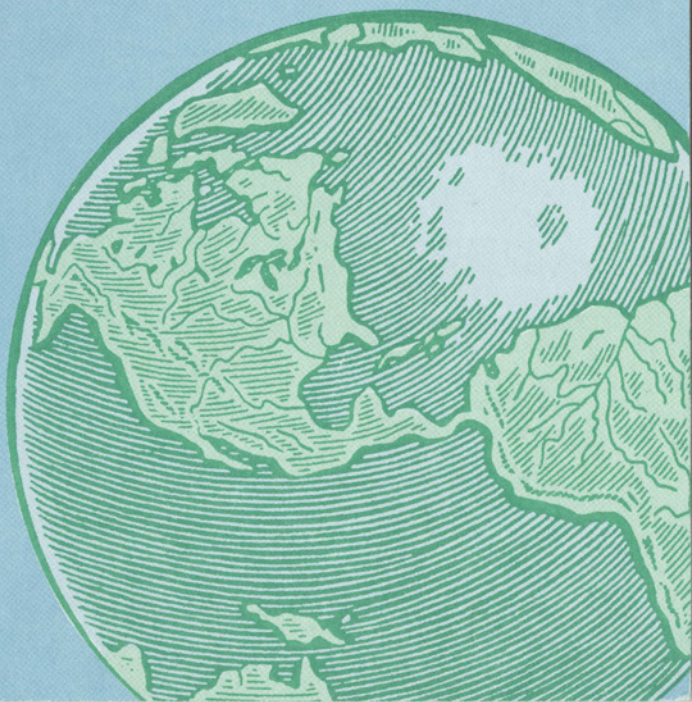


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# TEACHING HISTORY

A Journal of Methods

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**TEACHING HISTORY**  
**A JOURNAL OF METHODS**

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## FOR THOSE WHO DO NOT REMEMBER THE PAST: BRINGING THE HOLOCAUST TO THE CLASSROOM

Christopher C. Lovett  
Emporia State University

In the summer 1987, Ellis Hawley, chair of the Department of History at the University of Iowa, hired me to teach a class on World War II. It was my first academic position. When I was designing the course, I decided to integrate a component involving the Holocaust, since the German effort to exterminate European Jews, Slavs, gypsies, and homosexuals dramatized the evil that National Socialism encompassed. Well through the course, I discovered that students found the Holocaust the most interesting component of the class. It became clear that the Holocaust had awoken an unconscious concern that students felt not only about the war but about society itself. Since then I have integrated the Holocaust into other European history courses. Last year, I offered a semester course The Holocaust. The class was an overwhelming success and the course will be offered on alternating years.

I was not a complete novice to the field. Earlier in 1995, I developed a Holocaust program designed for secondary school teachers that aired on a local PBS station. I selected texts, televised prior PBS programs that supported the readings, and supplied a learning packet for each teacher who enrolled. Smoky Hills Public TV in Bunker Hill, Kansas, did the promotion, and the course was successful. All told, over thirty students enrolled and asked me to offer it again for their associates. I soon realized, however, that not everyone views the Holocaust as I and other academics do--during the TV programs, the station received a few telephone calls from anonymous individuals asking when the "real" story of the alleged Holocaust was to be told.

Intrigued by the program's response, I decided to design a regular, on-campus class devoted to the study of the Holocaust for traditional students. I wanted to avoid a class that was solely lecture-centered with the usual ritual of midterm examinations. Instead, I wanted to integrate film, literature, and guest lecturers to provide an all-encompassing learning experience. The first task was to select a time frame--the traditional fifty-minute class or eighty minutes? I decided that a Tuesday/Thursday schedule, giving me eighty minutes of instruction, was most practical, since it allowed me to bring speakers to campus and use documentary films in class without becoming a prisoner to the clock.

Next I needed to locate speakers. My wife Cherylene told me of an organization in Overland Park, Kansas, that is committed to furthering Holocaust education in the region. I contacted Jean Zeldin, the executive director for the Midwest Center for Holocaust Education, and told her of my plans. I sought survivors, survivors' children, and trained academics to confront students with the evil effects of National Socialism and to show the need for toleration. Another goal, a mistake often made by academics and teachers, was to separate the Holocaust from Jewish history. Although the

Holocaust was an important phase in Judaic history, it targeted many other people, such as gypsies, homosexuals, the infirm, the weak, and Slavs.

I also wanted students' understanding of the Holocaust to go beyond *The Diary of Anne Frank*, no doubt the sole exposure many undergraduates had to the Holocaust.<sup>1</sup> To convey that point, I needed to bring survivors and survivors' children to campus so students could grasp what had happened and how it could happen again.<sup>2</sup>

Next, I decided that an independent film session would give students the most complete understanding of the Holocaust. Moreover, students would see a wide range of films about the Holocaust that were too long to be shown in a typical class. A short list of the films we viewed includes *Primo Levi: The Memory of the Offense*; *The American Experience: America and the Holocaust*; *Frontline: Memory of the Camps*; *Nova: Nazi Designers of Death*; *Night and Fog*; *The World at War: Genocide*; and excerpts from *Shoah*.<sup>3</sup>

I present feature-length videos in the evening to make the films available to the community. Students enrolled for one hour of college credit and the public attended free. The program was very successful--recently students have asked if the class will be offered again. The films I selected were a blend of Hollywood productions and documentaries. Before the screenings, I gave a brief introduction and afterward students and audience held lively discussions about the films. Developing such a program is time-consuming but rewarding in the sense that it fosters a better understanding of the Holocaust and its long-term effects.<sup>4</sup>

Reliable texts do not dispel erroneous assumptions about the Holocaust either. Last year, after assigning Christopher Browning's *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, a few students claimed that the

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<sup>1</sup>There are many editions of *The Diary of a Young Girl* available. The best editions are Anne Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl: The Definitive Edition*, edited by Otto H. Frank and Mirjam Pressler (New York: Doubleday, 1995) and Anne Frank, *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (New York: Doubleday, 1989). *The Critical Edition* was prepared by the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation in order to counter the effort of Holocaust deniers to denounce *The Diary of a Young Girl* as a forgery. *The Critical Edition* includes all the versions of Anne Frank's diary and indicates how they were edited in subsequent editions.

<sup>2</sup>There are many books that deal with this subject. For additional information, see Helen Epstein, *Children of the Holocaust: Conversations with Sons and Daughters of Survivors* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1977); Sylvia Rothchild, ed., *Voices from the Holocaust* (New York: New American Library, 1981); and Art Spiegelman's *Maus* books, which chronicle the life of his father and his own effort to come to grips with the Holocaust in *Maus: A Survivor's Tale I: My Father Bleeds History* (New York: Pantheon, 1973) and *Maus: A Survivor's Tale II: And Here My Troubles Begin* (New York: Pantheon, 1986).

<sup>3</sup>For a complete list of films shown, see the filmography at the conclusion of the paper.

<sup>4</sup>See the filmography for video presentations used in the class.

"Germans had to kill the Jews because they were the enemies of Germany!" My teaching assistant and I were shocked by this response, as well as many students in the class. How could they be so uninformed? How can academic historians bring the Shoah to their college classrooms?

Today's scholars have multiple sources readily available through modern technology. We can go to the World Wide Web and find information without leaving our home or office. We can go to the library and borrow any book on the topic. If the library does not have the title we wish, the interlibrary loan department will. Readers can turn to videos or CD-ROMs to further expand their interests. Despite all the available data, some students either disbelieve or are so desensitized to contemporary violence that they fail to grasp the horrors of genocide. A few years ago a high school student told me that after reading Primo Levi's *The Survival at Auschwitz*, "For the longest time I did not believe that this had happened." Unfortunately, he is not alone and there are many others like him. It is historians' task to inform this generation and future generations of the Holocaust and to remember the millions who perished.

Many historians have made their mark in Holocaust studies: Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (1985); Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry* (1987); Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War Against The Jews 1933-1945* (1975); George Kren and Leon Rapport, *The Holocaust and the Crisis of Human Behavior* (1980); and Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1961). Of these, Raul Hilberg is by far the best. *The Destruction of the European Jews* remains the benchmark for Holocaust studies. Hilberg's work is not only well researched, but it places the Holocaust within a historical context involving religious persecution, nineteenth-century antisemitism, and the Nazi persecution that culminated in the murder of European Jewry and others the Nazis considered subhuman.

My introductory lecture involves an examination of those who deny the undeniable. I use Deborah Lipstadt's *Denying the Holocaust* (1993), for students to confront the political agenda of the deniers. The purpose of the "revisionists," as they call themselves, is to make fascism popular once again. But for deniers to reach their objective, they must argue that the Holocaust did not happen in order to make their political agenda viable. Consequently, the deniers attack the victims--they claim that gas chambers were a hoax, and *The Diary of Anne Frank* is a fraud.<sup>5</sup> The World Wide Web provides splendid opportunities for students, but also has considerable pitfalls--there is no censorship and any theory, factual or fabricated, can be expressed. To illustrate that point, I have printed samples from the Institute for Historical Review's Web Site. Students are shocked at what they find--deniers not only deny the Holocaust, but also fabricate history.

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<sup>5</sup>See Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (New York: Free Press, 1993), 223-235.

Students are often naive and they can be swayed easily by what they read or see. High school, for instance, teaches them not to be "judgmental," but how can one not be judgmental when it comes to mass murder? Overcoming that obstacle is easy, but when students find that Noam Chomsky, a leader of the American Left, defended Robert Faurisson, a notorious French Holocaust denier, what are they to think?<sup>6</sup> One student in the honors program asked after class when I was going to "tell the other side"? I informed him that there is "no other side" when it comes to the Holocaust.

Textbooks are only one source in developing a Holocaust course. The selection of supplemental sources is vital to support the instructor's objectives. The first task for an academic who seeks to teach the Holocaust is to become thoroughly familiar with the literature in the field. One book that deserves attention is *The Jew Accused* (1991), which provides the instructor with the necessary insights into the evolution of nineteenth-century antisemitism. The author, Albert Lindermann, reviews the Dreyfus, Beilis, and Frank cases, all major anti-Jewish episodes that occurred in the waning years of *fin-de-siecle* era. From Lindermann's study, it is possible to see how politicians used antisemitism as a political tool to mobilize the masses for short-term partisan gain. Moreover, it was only a slight jump from that level of antisemitism to the likes of "Julius Striecher and Adolf Hitler."<sup>7</sup>

The years before World War I are fundamental to a Holocaust class, since they served as a testing ground for industrial killing. Imperialism and the merging of Social Darwinism with eugenics allowed Europeans to view the inhabitants of the undeveloped world as subjects for exploitation. It is a short step from exploitation on one level to mass destruction, as Joseph Conrad documented in his famous novel *The Heart of Darkness* (1902).

Sven Lindqvist, a Swedish scholar, believes that a relationship exists between imperialism and genocide and he demonstrates that point in his book *Exterminate All The Brutes* (1996). Hannah Arendt stressed the same point in her classic, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951). "Auschwitz," according to Lindqvist, "was the modern industrial application of a policy of extermination on which European world domination has long since rested."<sup>8</sup> Instructors can take imperialism, revolution, and nationalism and create the background for an early example of modern ethnic cleansing.

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<sup>6</sup>Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 65-73.

<sup>7</sup>Albert S. Lindermann, *The Jew Accused: Three Anti-Semitic Affairs (Dreyfus, Beilis, Frank) 1894-1915* (New York: Cambridge, 1991), 279.

<sup>8</sup>Sven Lindqvist, *Exterminate All The Brutes* (New York: The New Press, 1996), 160.



Adolf Hitler told his generals of his plans for a Germanized Poland on August 22, 1939. He then asked them: "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"<sup>9</sup> The Armenian genocide, the first effort in the twentieth century to destroy a people, should have provided a primer for the world in how to respond to such a catastrophe. Robert F. Melson notes in *Revolution and Genocide* (1992) that the rise of revolutionary parties, combined with the outbreak of war, served as a catalyst for genocide in both Turkey and Germany. In such an environment, "Nazism was the very essence ... of the radical evil that is revolutionary racism."<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, many people have forgotten the Armenian genocide of 1915. Donald Miller and Lorena Miller's *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide* (1993) and an A&E presentation of *The Hidden Holocaust* in 1994, provide insights and tangible evidence into the "ethnic cleansing" of Armenia by the Turks, which the Turkish government continues to deny.

World War I played a predominant role in the Holocaust, since total war created the climate for "industrial killing" on an unimaginable scale. The Great War, according to Omer Bartov, established the foundations for the T-4 program and the subsequent killing complexes in Poland, since those "vast operations were lifted directly from the realities of 1914-1918."<sup>11</sup> *Murder in Our Midst* (1996) is an important contribution in that direction so scholars can grasp the horrors of modern war that later shaped the perpetrators' methods during the Final Solution.

Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929) demonstrates the dehumanization of World War I. While the book is perceived as antiwar, in reality Remarque is describing the male bonding that was typical of the front fighters. Paul Bauer, a part of the "iron youth" and the main character in Remarque's novel, could have been another Theodore Eicke, the founder of the concentration system, if he was real and if he survived the war. Tom Segev, in *Soldiers of Evil* (1987), stresses that the war's aftermath, particularly for the younger generation, was influenced by "the political, social, economic, intellectual, and psychological chaos of post World War I Germany" all related to the wartime experience.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Hitler quoted in Donald E. Miller and Lorna Touryan Miller, *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993).

<sup>10</sup>Robert F. Melson, *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 281.

<sup>11</sup>Omer Bartov, *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation* (New York: Oxford, 1996), 5.

<sup>12</sup>Tom Segev, *Soldiers of Evil: The Commandants of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1987), 55. For the intoxicating influences of the front, see Ernst Junger, *Storm of Steel* (New York: Fertig, 1993). World War I shaped public perceptions; for insights into that trend see George L. Mosse,

Even during the Weimar Republic policies were established that helped the Nazis create the groundwork for the destruction of European Jewry. The German government, like many American states that had adopted a policy of eugenic sterilization programs, viewed sterilization as a method to protect the gene pool from hereditary contamination. Much of the intellectual framework came from the pioneering work of American eugenicists. Stefan Khl dramatizes this point in *The Nazi Connection* (1994) when he indicates that for many years, "'Mainstream' history, however, continued to underemphasize the Nazi connection to eugenics."<sup>13</sup> A shift occurred when Nazi racial policies crossed the pale, and by the late 1930s American eugenicists had broken with the Germans and sought a policy of "democracy with eugenics."<sup>14</sup> The change took place not because the American eugenicists disagreed with Nazi racial policies, but because of the totalitarian nature of Hitler's regime.

When Hitler came to power in January, 1933, the New Order embarked on a comprehensive policy of eugenics that included sterilization, racial segregation, and the eventual euthanasia of the sick, infirm, and, according to National Socialists, racially inferior. Henry Friedlander, a distinguished Holocaust scholar and a victim of Nazi persecution, traced the evolution of the German euthanasia program to the Final Solution in his acclaimed study, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide* (1995).

Friedlander rightly believes that when the murder of children started, it was crucial "because [the children] represented posterity; elimination of those considered diseased and deformed was essential if the eugenic and racial purification program was to succeed."<sup>15</sup> But this policy could not continue without the willing compliance of German doctors. *Racial Hygiene: Medicine Under the Nazis* (1984), a landmark study by Robert Proctor, traces how German physicians became willing tools of the regime in implementing racial hygiene. Proctor discovered that the purpose of racial policies was not solely to cleanse Germany, but they were also used to control women's bodies to increase the birthrate. Awards were given to mothers who had four, six, and eight

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*Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York: Oxford, 1990).

<sup>13</sup>Stefan Khl, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German Nationalism* (New York: Oxford, 1994), xv.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, 83; See Edward J. Larson, *Sex, Race, and Science: Eugenics in the Deep South* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1995) for an examination of the spread of eugenic thought into the American South.

<sup>15</sup>Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 61.

children. Likewise, abortion was a state crime and was considered to be "racial treason."<sup>16</sup>

As students become involved in the class, the professor should walk students through the various schools of thought that interpret the Holocaust. I begin with the erroneous argument made by David Irving in *Hitler's War* (1977) that Hitler did not know about the decision to murder European Jewry or, as Irving writes, "how he [Himmler] pulled the wool over Hitler's eyes."<sup>17</sup> Today, Irving has moved from being a mere admirer of Hitler to an open fascist.<sup>18</sup> Gerald Fleming countered Irving's contention in *Hitler and the Final Solution* (1982). Fleming believes that locating a specific Hitler order to commence the Final Solution is unnecessary, since Hitler's minions already knew what Hitler wanted. *Einsatzgruppen* commanders were instructed that "the Fuhrer is to be kept informed continually from here about the work of the *Einsatzgruppen* in the East." Consequently, Fleming calls this knowledge and command authority, "the Fuhrer's wish."<sup>19</sup>

Arno Mayer, on the other hand, believes that the decision to murder European Jewry came only after the Germans were checked in the East. *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* (1988) argues that as a result of the Wehrmacht's defeat around Moscow in late 1941 and early 1942, "the Fuhrer was entrapped in a war that could neither be won militarily nor terminated politically." With the war in the balance, Hitler, according to Mayer, "stepped up his malediction of the Jews."<sup>20</sup> The initial order to hold the Wannsee Conference was issued in July 1941, and the meeting was delayed because of the sudden Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

But the mass executions had already begun as the *Einsatzgruppen*, the German special action troops assigned to murder Jews and political officers, advanced deep into

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<sup>16</sup>Robert N. Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine Under the Nazis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 121. For additional information on racial hygiene, see Michael Burleigh, *Death and Deliverance: 'Euthanasia' in Germany 1900-1945* (New York: Cambridge, 1994); Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wippermann, *The Racial State Germany 1933-1945* (New York: Cambridge, 1991); and Gotz Aly, Peter Chroust, and Christian Pross, *Cleansing the Fatherland: Nazi Medicine and Racial Hygiene* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1994).

<sup>17</sup>David Irving, *Hitler's War* (New York: Viking, 1977), 392.

<sup>18</sup>See Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust*, 8, 14.

<sup>19</sup>Gerald Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 45.

<sup>20</sup>Arno Mayer, *Why Did Not The Heavens Not Darken?* (New York: Pantheon, 1988), 279.

the Russian heartland on June 22, 1941.<sup>21</sup> With the outbreak of the war, the solution to force immigration was no longer feasible. Earlier, it was evident that few nations would grant visas to Jewish refugees. David Wyman's twin studies of the refugee crisis, *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis 1938-1941* (1968) and *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust 1941-1945* (1984), go a long way toward answering one of the major questions: Why did so many slots in the American quota for Germans go unfilled during those critical early years of the Nazi regime?<sup>22</sup>

Yehuda Bauer first reviewed the American Jewish Distribution Committee's response to the plight of European Jewry in *American Jewry and the Holocaust* (1981). Bauer highlights the heroic yet futile effort of the JDC to save Jews from the Final Solution. In a recent volume, *Jews for Sale?* (1994), Bauer shows that Hitler was willing for Jews to leave Germany, but once the war began, Himmler took charge and all efforts to "buy" Jews was doomed by unscrupulous SS officials who sought to defraud the World Jewish Congress and other Jewish officials as they attempted to halt the deportation of Slovakian Jews to the East.<sup>23</sup>

On July 31, 1941, long before the German defeat became evident, Herman Goering sent Reinhard Heydrich a memo outlining the regime's intention to solve the Jewish Question. Goering's directive noted:

Wherever other governmental agencies are involved, they are to cooperate with you. I request, furthermore, that you send me before long an over-all plan concerning the organizational, factual, and material measures necessary for the accomplishment of the desired solution of the Jewish question.<sup>24</sup>

Heydrich scheduled the meeting for December 9, 1941, but it was postponed until January 20, 1942, because of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The film *The*

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<sup>21</sup>Babi Yar, one of the better known Jewish actions conducted by the *Einsatzgruppen* is well told in A. Anatoli (Kuznetsov), *Babi Yar* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1970).

<sup>22</sup>For information concerning economic discrimination against German Jewry, see Avraham Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation: The Economic Struggle of German Jews 1933-1943* (Hanover, NH: New England University Press, 1989).

<sup>23</sup>For a damning indictment of American indifference, see Arthur D. Morse, *While Six Million Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy* (New York: Random House, 1968).

<sup>24</sup>Goering quoted in Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1961), 262.

*Wannsee Conference* brings this event to life for students so that they can grasp the cold indifference the Reich's leadership harbored for European Jewry.<sup>25</sup>

With the establishment of Operation Reinhard Death Camps the system was in place to systematically murder European Jews. Yitzhak Arad in *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka* (1987) chronicles not only the death camps between 1942-1943, but more important, the lives of the 1.5 million victims as told from the perspective of the 200 survivors. I encourage my students to read Jean-Francois Steiner's *Treblinka* (1967) for a fictional account of the day-to-day operations of the Treblinka death camp.

While students are familiar with Elie Wiesel's *Night* (1960), Primo Levi's *Survival in Auschwitz* (1960) and *The Drowned and the Saved* (1989), and various other accounts of Auschwitz, few understand the organization of the camps.<sup>26</sup> *Auschwitz 1270 to the Present* (1996) provides a general overview of how a small Polish town, Oswiecim, became the center for a mass killing operation that resulted in the deaths of over 1.2 million persons. The authors, Deborah Dwork and Robert Jay van Pelt, highlight the ultimate intentions of the Nazis of Germanizing the Polish plain with Teutonic farmers, and the design of Auschwitz was a means to their gruesome end. On the other hand, Wolfgang Sofsky in *The Order of Terror: The Concentration Camp* (1993) details the camp system from within the electrified wire, an organization based on forced labor, systematic terror, and death.

Yet can students really comprehend the evils found within the camps? Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, the editors of *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (1994), do their best to provide explicit examples. The contributors' essays tell the complete history of Auschwitz, from the profiles of the Auschwitz SS to the crimes of Joseph Mengele. I often use a powerful film in conjunction with a discussion to bring students to a higher level of awareness concerning Auschwitz. Although it provides only a snapshot of the victims, *Sophie's Choice* dramatizes the horrors victims confronted on a daily basis. Students are so influenced by the film that many go on to read William Styron's novel or Sherri Szeman's book, *The Kommandant's Mistress* (1993).<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Earlier, the Nazis sought three possible external solutions to the Jewish Question: the Syrian Solution, the forced immigration of German Jewry to the desert wastes of Syria; the Ecuadorian Solution, the removal of Jews to a remote fever-infested region of Ecuador; and the Madagascar Solution.

<sup>26</sup>See also Rudolf Vrba and Alan Bestic, *I Cannot Forgive* (New York: Bantam, 1964).

<sup>27</sup>William Styron, *Sophie's Choice* (New York: Random House, 1976). For background on Rudolph Höss, see his autobiography, *Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz* (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1992), and for additional information on Camp life, see Wieslaw Kielar, *Anus Mundi: 1,500 Days in Auschwitz/Birkenau* (New York: Times Books, 1972) and Filip Muller, *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979).

Students often ask why the Jews didn't fight back? Why didn't Europeans help the endangered? Those questions also confound the general public, but by examining the literature instructors can construct important and powerful lectures that include the record of Jewish resistance and efforts to rescue Jews. The Germans designed ghettos in Poland and the occupied territories to exploit the Jews. *The Path to Genocide* (1992), a series of essays by Christopher Browning, chronicles the evolution of the German resettlement policy that culminated in the Final Solution's daily horrors that confronted Jewish communities in Poland. Benjamin Jacobs's memoir, *The Dentist of Auschwitz* (1995), records the arrival of the Germans in his village in 1939, his term in a labor camp, his life in Auschwitz, and the time he spent in Dora, building V-1 and V-2 rockets. Jacobs, more than many other survivors, provides readers with the sheer terror of the German racial policy in the East.<sup>28</sup>

The Warsaw Ghetto was the best known of the ghettos in Eastern Europe. *The Jews of Warsaw 1939-1943* (1982) remains the best single-volume account of the ghetto available. Yisrael Gutman reveals the life of the ghetto and the origins of the resistance as well as efforts to contact the Polish underground. Raul Hilberg's edited version of *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow* (1979) demonstrates the difficulties that the "mayor" of the ghetto faced in his dealings with the Germans. Czerniakow had hoped that complying with German directives would make the Jews indispensable to the German war effort. Unfortunately, the SS never harbored the same goal as Czerniakow and other Jewish leaders, such as Chaim Rumkowski, Chairman of the Lodz Ghetto. The Germans only wanted to kill the Jews; their indispensability to the war effort did not concern Berlin.<sup>29</sup>

The Jews did fight back; the best known resistance effort was in the Warsaw Ghetto. Despite all odds, in April 1943 the remaining Jews of the ghetto, armed with a handful of weapons, rose against the SS and kept them at bay for thirty-three days. Yitzhak Zuckerman, a leader of the resistance, has documented not only Jewish life within the ghetto, but also the ghetto fighters' operational plans in *A Surplus of Memory: Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (1993). Gutman's *Resistance: The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (1994) also is a valuable source in understanding the ghetto's history and uprising.

Readers can turn to literature as well historical accounts to learn about the ghetto uprising. Leon Uris's classic novel, *Mila 18* (1961) and John Hersey's *The Wall* (1950), told the story of the ghetto fighters' heroics available to the general public at

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<sup>28</sup>For more information on Dora, see Jean Michel, *Dora* (New York: Holt Rinehart Winston, 1975).

<sup>29</sup>See Lucian Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicle of the Lodz Ghetto 1941-1944* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984) and David Sierakowiak, *The Diary of David Sierakowiak* (New York: Oxford, 1996) for a history of the last ghetto in Poland. For the Kovno Ghetto readers are directed to Avraham Tory, *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto Diary* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

the same time William L. Shirer published his record of German crimes during World War II in *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (1959). The Jews also fought back at Treblinka and Auschwitz. Richard Rashke's *Escape From Sobibor* (1982) recalls the largest escape during World War II from one of the most gruesome of the Operation Reinhard Death Camps. However, few today remember these people's sacrifices. Nechama Tec, a respected scholar of the Holocaust, describes Jewish guerrilla operations in western Poland in *Defiance: The Bielski Partisans* (Oxford, 1993). Since the publication of her book, other scholars and Jewish resistance fighters have come forward with their accounts as well.

The popularity of *Schindler's List* caused students to inquire about the rescue of European Jews from the Gestapo. How was this accomplished? How many people were involved? What dangers did the rescuers face? Samuel P. Oliner, and his wife Pearl, examine these important questions in *The Altruistic Personality: Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe* (1988), an important study scholars should consult. They conclude that rescue depended on the terrain of the region, the level of antisemitism in the area, and the probability of success. Individual rescuers were often political activists, highly motivated and influenced by their revulsion to the Nazis. Many sought anonymity and often avoided the spotlight.

Students may be familiar with better known rescuers such as Oskar Schindler, whose tale is well told in Thomas Keneally's *Schindler's List* (1982), and Raoul Wallenberg, whose story has been popularized by Frederick E. Werbell and Thurston Clarke in *Lost Hero: The Mystery of Raoul Wallenberg* (1982) and John Bierman in *Righteous Gentile: The Story of Raoul Wallenberg, Missing Hero of the Holocaust* (1981). But there were other rescuers whose stories have been lost in the fog of history.

The Swedish diplomat was sent to Hungary by his government and the OSS to save Jews. Schindler had a vested economic interest in the rescue of the *Schindlerjuden*. Chiune Sugihara, a Japanese diplomat, had no practical reason to save over 10,000 Jews. According to the Hillel Levine, Sugihara actually violated the Japanese government directive to cooperate with the Germans in the Baltic region. In *Search of Sugihara* (1996), Levine's poignant biography, also asks serious questions whether an unofficial Japanese policy existed to save Jews from extermination. Levine's question is one well worth asking, since the Japanese had no racial animus toward Jews.

*The Fugu Plan* (1979) details a secret Japanese government operation, first proposed in 1934, that would have allowed a million Jews to resettle in Manchuria. Marvin Tokayer and Mary Swartz indicate that the plan "could have saved a million Jews from Hitler's Holocaust and even halted the war between Japan and the United

States before it began." The end result could have been an unassailable Japanese empire.<sup>30</sup>

Yet in occupied Europe select individuals, in some cases whole villages, were driven to hide and protect the weak and defenseless. *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed* (1979) is the story of the French Protestant village of Le Chambon, well told by Philip Hallie, where a thousand or more Jewish adults and children were hidden from the Vichy authorities and the watchful eyes of the SS. In *The Hidden Children: The Secret Survivors of the Holocaust* (1993), Jane Marks interviewed thirty-three survivors who recounted their experiences in hiding, often for the first time. Nechama Tec recalls her experience of "passing" as a gentile when her family was forced into hiding in Poland in *Dry Tears: The Story of a Lost Childhood* (1982). Tec, a distinguished professor of sociology at the University of Connecticut, explores in depth the Christian rescue of Jews in Poland, no simple task, in *When Light Pierced the Darkness* (1986).<sup>31</sup>

Yet it was much easier to hide children, since adults often sought freedom and left their hiding places. Then there were others, sometimes even Jews, who sought out other Jews for the Gestapo. Peter Wyden, a popular writer, details such an event in *Stella* (1992), who was notorious for identifying Jews in wartime Berlin. Those Jews who sought to "pass" were called "U-boats." Stella collaborated with the Gestapo in order to save her parents. But Wyden, who knew Stella in prewar Germany as did the historian Peter Gay, discovered that not only did Stella not save her parents after identifying Jewish hiding places in Berlin, she also lost her daughter after being convicted for war crimes following the war.

After German victories in Western Europe in 1940, Germans sought ways to rid occupied areas of Jews. In Hitler's view, "Jews were a tremendously powerful parasitic force, eating away at the foundation of state and society, utterly lacking in allegiance to any nation, spreading corruption, demoralization, and degeneration."<sup>32</sup> At first, the Germans expelled over 6,500 Jews from Baden into occupied France as a means to free Germany of unwanted Jews. The record of the Vichy government is told in *Vichy France and the Jews* (1981). Michael R. Marrus and Robert Paxton, detail the level of collaboration between the Vichy authorities and their German overlords in developing a comprehensive anti-Jewish policy. The anti-Jewish laws first led to the

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<sup>30</sup>Marvin Takayer and Mary Swartz, *The Fugu Plan: The Untold Story of the Japanese and Jews during World War II* (New York: Paddington Press, 1979), 9.

<sup>31</sup>For another perspective of rescue of European Jewry see Evan Fogelman, *Conscience and Courage: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust* (New York: Anchor Books/Doubleday, 1994).

<sup>32</sup>Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, "The Nazis and the Jews in Occupied Western Europe, 1940-1944" in *Unanswered Questions: Nazi Germany and the Genocide of the Jews*, Francois Furet, ed. (New York: Schocken, 1989), 177.



confiscation of Jewish property, then the internment of Jews, and the subsequent deportation of over 75,000 French Jews and their murder in Auschwitz.

Still, as Susan Zuccotti notes, over 250,000 French Jews survived the war. In *The Holocaust, the French, and the Jews* (1993), Zuccotti relates that Vichy authorities were more willing to expel foreign Jews to meet their fate. Moreover, she describes French Jews' realization of the danger they confronted and measures the Jewish resistance took to save their coreligionists from the Nazis. The Nazi persecution of the Jews still resonates in France. First came the arrest and trial of Klaus Barbie, well told by the film *Hotel Terminus* and in Tom Bower's *Klaus Barbie: The Butcher of Lyons* (1984), and the later trials of other collaborators and government officials. Ted Morgan's *An Uncertain Hour: The French, the Germans, the Jews, the Klaus Barbie Trial, and the City of Lyons, 1940-1945* (1990) describes the problems with the Barbie Trial and the difficulties the French confronted as they attempted to come to grips with their own national responsibility for Hitler's war against the Jews, a difficult task for Morgan, who had to recall the fate of his own family during the occupation of the city of his birth.<sup>33</sup>

In Belgium and the Netherlands, the Germans relied on local bureaucrats to assist them in their efforts to rid Europe of Jews. But what about Hitler's continental Axis partners? In *Perpetrators Victims Bystanders* (1992), Hilberg notes that many of Hitler's allies defined a Jew with "substantial deviations from the German formulation." But "almost all of Germany's allies were avid expropriators."<sup>34</sup> Susan Zuccotti's early study, *The Italians and The Holocaust* (1987), notes that in Italy approximately 85 percent of Italy's Jews survived the war. Although the Italian record is spectacular, Zuccotti cites a number of reasons to explain why Italian Jews were able to avoid the tragedy that befell so many other European Jews. The small number of Italian Jews, approximately 45,200, made it much more simple for Italian Christians to mobilize efforts to rescue their fellow nationals. Likewise, the lack of a well-entrenched antisemitic legacy in Italy allowed the Italian public to outlast the brief interlude of German occupation. The Italians by this time were disgusted with the war and fascism and were not disposed to cooperate with the German authorities. Still 6,800 Italian Jews perished during the war, according to Zuccotti. In *All or Nothing* (1990), Jonathan Steinberg explains how the Italian military often protected not only Italian Jews from the Germans, but Jews of other nationalities in their zone of occupation. The "Brutal Friendship" between Hitler and Mussolini apparently did not apply to active persecution of European Jewry.

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<sup>33</sup>For further information concerning French collaboration with the Nazis, see Paul Webster, *Pétain's Crime: The Full Story of French Collaboration in the Holocaust* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1990).

<sup>34</sup>Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators Victims Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933-1945* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), 76.

Besides Italy, Bulgaria, another ally of Germany, had a decent record of protecting their Jews. The story of King Boris's efforts to protect Bulgaria's Jews is told in Michael Bar-Zohar's *Beyond Hitler's Grasp* (1998). King Boris followed Berlin's lead in most matters and even instituted anti-Jewish laws, yet not one Bulgarian Jew was deported to certain death to the killing centers in Poland. How was this accomplished? The effort to rescue Bulgaria's Jews was the work of many individuals, civilians, government workers, and the clergy who have gone unnoticed in the annals of the Holocaust. Still, the rescue of Bulgaria's Jews remains one of the most remarkable events in World War II.

Recently Daniel Jonah Goldhagen has attracted considerable attention with his book, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (1996). Goldhagen argues that the Germans harbored "eliminationist antisemitism," which made it possible for ordinary Germans to partake in Hitler's Final Solution. Although he appears to have won over younger German nationals to his cause, Holocaust scholars have taken him to task.<sup>35</sup> Still, his argument tends to minimize the tragedy and offers a ready-made excuse for the German wartime generation. Norman G. Finkelstein and Ruth Bettina Birn argue in *A Nation on Trial: The Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth* (1998) that Goldhagen's thesis is, in fact, their perfect alibi. Who can condemn a "crazy people."<sup>36</sup> But could Goldhagen be correct? Fortunately, Christopher Browning already explored this theory in *Ordinary Men* and he and other scholars find it lacking.

Robert Gellately's *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy 1933-1945* (1990) indicates that fear and the extensive use of informers kept the German public complacent. Gellately notes the case of Ilse Sonjia Totzke, who was constantly denounced by neighbors for her apparent pro-Jewish feelings, which led to her arrest by the Gestapo in 1941. In *The Germans and the Final Solution* (1992), David Bankier reports that the German security services polled public opinion and found that the German public was aware that something had happened to Jews, and that later in the war when Germany was under intense Allied bombardment, "many

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<sup>35</sup>For commentary on Goldhagen, see Josef Joffe, "Goldhagen in Germany," *New York Review of Books*, 19 (28 November 1996), 18-21; Amos Elon, "The Antagonist as Liberator," *New York Times Magazine*, 26 (January 1997), 40-44; Fritz Stern, "The Goldhagen Controversy: One Nation, One People, One Theory," *Foreign Affairs*, 6 (November/December, 1996), 128-138; Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, "Germans vs the Critics," *Foreign Affairs*, 1 (January/February, 1997), 163-166.

<sup>36</sup>Norman G. Finkelstein and Ruth Bettina Birn, *A Nation on Trial: The Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth* (New York: Henry Holt, 1998), 13.

[Germans] interpreted the bombing as retaliation for what they had done to the Jews.<sup>37</sup> The situation for German Jews is examined in Marion Kaplan's *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (1998). Unlike other works that explore German persecution from the perspective of the perpetrators, Kaplan looks at German Jews seeking to survive and navigate in the perplexing world of Nazi anti-Jewish measures. With immigration no longer an option and former friends turning on Jews at will, Kaplan creates a vivid picture of German Jewry's plight, and in the process, what the German public knew as the Final Solution approached. Even more telling is the first volume of Victor Klemperer's diary, *I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years 1933-1941* (1998). Klemperer, a distinguished scholar, maintained a diary of the mounting discrimination German Jews faced on a daily basis, and refutes the claim that average Germans did not know what was happening to their Jewish citizens. Gordon J. Horwitz's *In The Shadow of Death* (1990) scrutinizes communities near the Mathausen concentration camp and found that the public outside the walls was indifferent to the plight of the prisoners. When prisoners escaped, according to Horowitz, "All able-bodied men, young and old, ... received orders to take part in the hunt and the killing."<sup>38</sup>

If the German public was aware of German crimes, what did the Allies know and when did they know it? Walter Laqueur's *The Terrible Secret* (1980) and Martin Gilbert's *Auschwitz and the Allies* (1981) contend that Jews and non-Jews alike knew of Operation Reinhard Death Camps as soon as the program was operational. In *Breaking The Silence* (1986), Laqueur and Richard Breitman recount the story of Eduard Schulte, a German industrialist, who passed information about the Final Solution to Allies and the World Jewish Congress. Moreover, it is clear that Enigma, the German cipher system that was broken by the Anglo-Americans, helped out, since the SD, the SS's security service, passed daily tallies of *Einsatzgruppen* operations from Russia via code to Berlin, which was broken at Bletchley Park, England, the Government Code and Cypher School during World War II.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>David Bankier, *The Germans and the Final Solution: Public Opinion under Nazism* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992), 147. Ernest Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Riess, eds., "The Good Old Days": *The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders* (New York: Free Press, 1988) goes to great length to dramatize the Wehrmacht's awareness of what was happening in the East during the Holocaust.

<sup>38</sup>Gordon J. Horwitz, *In the Shadow of Death: Living Outside the Gates of Mauthausen* (New York: Free Press, 1990), 131.

<sup>39</sup>For information on codebreaking and the Holocaust, see William J. Vanden Heuvel, "The Holocaust Was No Secret," *New York Times Magazine*, 22 (December, 1996), 30-31 and Richard Brietman, *Official Secrets: What the Nazis Planned, What the British and Americans Knew* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1998).

Yet in *Forgotten Victims: The Abandonment of Americans in Hitler's Camps* (1994), Mitchell G. Bard recounts that during the course of the war, the U.S. government made limited efforts to protect American nationals stranded in occupied Europe and American POWs in the hands of the Nazis. By putting the letter H on their dogtags, the War Department unwittingly placed Jewish GIs in particular danger. After the war ended, Washington found that "It would have been embarrassing to admit that American Jews were victims of the Nazis, that their government would not or could not protect them."<sup>40</sup>

Early in the 1990s reports appeared in various news magazines of Switzerland's role in the Holocaust. Soon publishers were offering the public new tales of Swiss misdeeds in World War II, further tarnishing the Swiss image in the eyes of the international community. *Nazi Gold* (1997), an exposé by Tom Bower, provided the first detailed information concerning Swiss bankers' cooperation with Germany and how they hid Jewish assets from grieving relatives for over fifty years. Jean Ziegler, a Swiss national and academic, followed with *The Swiss, the Gold, and the Dead* (1998). Ziegler indicates that the illicit arms and money laundering arrangements between the Swiss and Nazis allowed for the prolongation of the war. Adam LeBor, a British journalist, argues that the Swiss assisted the Nazi cause in *Hitler's Secret Bankers* (1997) by funneling somewhere between \$200 million to \$400 million in gold bullion to Spain and Portugal. But this should come as no surprise to scholars, particularly in light of the Allied unwillingness to assist Jewish refugees before the war and Allied awareness of the Final Solution during the conflict.<sup>41</sup>

What lessons can teachers and students learn from the Holocaust? The answer is simple: It could happen again. The West, despite all claims to the contrary, will only react to the next example of genocide. Public officials argue in the media that the United States is not the world's policeman or that the problem at hand is not one of vital concern to the United States. Perhaps elected officials and the general public will argue that the issue is a "European problem" or an "African dilemma." Some citizens will contend that we are not "our brother's keeper." Those sentiments are similar to the ones Americans, British, and French nationals echoed in the 1930s and the 1940s as the Nazis were preparing for the Final Solution.

One has only to go to the current affairs section in a local bookstore to find such books as David Rieff's *Slaughterhouse: Bosnia and the Failure of the West* (1995), Fergal Keane's *Season of Blood: A Rwandan Journey* (1995), Peter Maass's *Love Thy Neighbor: A Story of War* (1996), and Ben Kiernan's *The Pol Pot Regime: Race,*

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<sup>40</sup>Mitchell G. Bard, *Forgotten Victims: The Abandonment of Americans in Hitler's Camps* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 129.

<sup>41</sup>See also, Alan Cowell, "How Swiss Strategy on Holocaust Fund Unraveled," *New York Times*, 26 January 1997; Roger Cohen, "The (Not So) Neutrals of World War II," *New York Times* (26 January 1997).

*Power, and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979* (1996). These accounts of Bosnia, Cambodia, and Rwanda tell us firsthand what the world can expect when the international community faces genocidal regimes. The lesson is clear: If we forget what has happened in the past and fail to learn from those mistakes, we will be condemned to see them repeated.

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## Filmography

<u>Title</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Director</u>	<u>Running Time</u>
<i>America and the Holocaust</i>	1995	PBS/American Experience	60 minutes
<i>The Diary of Anne Frank</i>	1959	George Stevens	170 minutes
<i>Escape From Sobibor</i>	1987	Jack Gold	118 Minutes
<i>Europa Europa</i>	1991	Agnieszka Holland	115 minutes
<i>Exodus</i>	1960	Otto Preminger	207 minutes
<i>Final Solution: Seeds of Hatred</i>	1975	Jerome Kuehl	52 minutes
<i>Final Solution: Repression and Resettlement</i>	1975	Jerome Kuehl	52 minutes
<i>Final Solution: The Last Journey</i>	1975	Jerome Kuehl	52 minutes
<i>Hotel Terminus</i>	1989	Marcel Ophuls	267 minutes
<i>Judgement At Nuremberg</i>	1961	Stanley Kramer	187 mins
<i>Kitty Returns to Auschwitz</i>	1979	Trident	82 minutes
<i>The Lodz Ghetto</i>	1993	PBS	120 minutes
<i>Memory of the Camps</i>	1993	Frontline	90 minutes
<i>The Music Box</i>	1989	Irwin Winkler	126 minutes
<i>Nazi Designers of Death</i>	1995	Nova/PBS	60 minutes
<i>Night and Fog</i>	1985	Alain Resnais	30 minutes
<i>The Nasty Girl</i>	1990	Michael Verhoeven	94 minutes
<i>Partisans of Vilna</i>	1987	Josh Waletzky	130 minutes
<i>Primo Levi: Memory of the Offense</i>	1994	PBS	90 minutes
<i>Schindler's List</i>	1993	Steven Spielberg	197 mins
<i>The Seventh Cross</i>	1944	Fred Zimmerman	112 minutes
<i>Shoah</i>	1985	Claude Lanzmann	540 minutes
<i>Sophie's Choice</i>	1982	Alan J. Pakula	150 minutes
<i>Trial of Adolf Eichmann</i>	1997	PBS	120 Minutes
<i>Triumph of the Spirit</i>	1989	Robert Young	120 minutes
<i>The Wannsee Conference</i>	1988	Heinz Schirk	87 minutes
<i>The World at War: 20: Genocide</i>	1975	Thames	60 Minutes

## Cybrary

**Anne Frank on Broadway** This site is for the Broadway production of *The Diary of Anne Frank*. <http://www.AnneFrankOnBroadway.com>

**The Armenian Genocide** Students and Scholars can locate here photographs of the circa 1915 and circa 1916 Armenian Genocide. <http://imia.cc.duth.gr/turkey/arme.e.html>

**Armenian Research Center Home Page** This site provides important facts that are important for anyone interested in the problem of genocide. <http://www.umd.umich.edu/dept/armenian>

**Bibliography on the Holocaust in France** Excellent bibliography in both French and English concerning sources of the Holocaust in France. [http://www.amgot.org/fj\\_bibl.htm](http://www.amgot.org/fj_bibl.htm)

**Cambodian Genocide Program** Yale University provides important data on the 1.5 to 2 million Cambodians murdered in the killing fields of Cambodia. <http://www.yale.edu/cgp>

**Concentration Camps** The Jewish Student Online Resource Center (JSOURCE) provides directories to many camps and testimonies of the victims. <http://www.us-israel.org/jsource/Holocaust/cc.html>

**Cybrary of the Holocaust** One of the most detailed links to other Holocaust sites on the net. <http://remember.org>

**Forgotten Victims: The Abandonment of Americans in Hitler's Camps** The site is the creation of Mitchell G. Bard, the author of the book listed in the works cited in the text. It helps tell the story of those Americans caught in the Third Reich. <http://members.aol.com/bardbooks/index.htm>

**The Genocide Research Project** Linda M. Woolf has compiled numerous links on genocide throughout the world. <http://www.holocaust-history.org>

**Genocide: Resources for Teaching and Research** The creators designed this site for educators seeking materials for teaching the Holocaust in their classrooms. <http://www.people.memphis.edu/~genocide>

**The History Journals Guide** Provides a ready reference to many historical journals that can be found on the net, particularly journals devoted to the Holocaust and Genocide studies. <http://www.crispinus.com/nfh2/zeitschriften/hjg-frame-06-e.html>

**Holocaust-Era Assets Records and Research at the National Archives and Records Administration** Provides access to primary sources and current information for research as well access to additional secondary sources. <http://www.nara.gov/research/assets>

**Holocaust and Genocide Studies** Information on this important journal that serves as a forum for literature in the field. <http://www.oup.co.uk/holgen/>

**The Holocaust History Project** Archive of documents, photographs, recordings, and essays regarding the Holocaust, including direct refutation of Holocaust-denial. <http://www.holocaust-history.org>

**The Holocaust Journey** This site is based on the journey of the creator to Germany and Holocaust in 1985 in a search for meaning to the tragedy of the Holocaust. <http://www.webcom.com/penina/holocst1.html>

**Holocaust Teacher Resource Center** Materials and other educational aides for scholars seeking to teach the Holocaust. <http://www.Holocaust-trc.org>

**Jehovah's Witnesses** This website is for those who wore the purple triangle, the Jehovah's Witnesses. Currently this site is expanding and includes diagrams of camps that housed the religious enemies of the Reich. [http://www.watchtower.org/library/g/1995/8/22/nazism\\_exposed.htm](http://www.watchtower.org/library/g/1995/8/22/nazism_exposed.htm)

**The Journal of Holocaust Education** Formerly The British Journal of Holocaust Education and renamed in 1995 with a new editorial staff. This journal provides a forum for materials dealing with Holocaust education in Britain and worldwide. <http://www.frankcass.com/jnls/jhe.htm>

**Missing Identity** Allows individuals to track and locate individuals who were set to the camps. <http://www.jewishgen.org/missing-identity>

**Nuremberg War Crimes Trials** The goal of this site is the complete proceedings of the Nuremberg Trials. Currently the designers have completed four volumes. <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/imt/imt.htm>

**Pink Triangle Pages** This site details the fate of gays in the Holocaust and is named for the triangle worn by homosexuals within the German concentration camp system. <http://www.telarama.com/~corwin/?directory=pts>

**Shoah-Projekt** The project has numerous links to other Holocaust sites as well as additional information on "The White Rose" Resistance organization and select concentration camps. <http://www.shoahproject.org/>

**United States Holocaust Memorial Museum** The site provides all the information the public needs for trips, calendars of upcoming events, access to museum resources, and on-line exhibits. <http://www.ushmm.org/>

**Vichy Law and the Holocaust in France** This site provides additional links to other locations dealing with Vichy France and the Holocaust. <http://www.amgot.org/weisberg.htm>

Additional links are on the **Teaching History Web Page** at <http://www.emporium.edu/socsci/journal/main.htm>

The links above are also available under "Current Table of Contents" on the Teaching History Web Page.

## INTEGRATING WRITING IN THE CLASSROOM WITH READER RESPONSES

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In recent years many colleges and universities have implemented "Writing Across the Curriculum" programs to train faculty to integrate more writing assignments into their courses. These programs, based on the idea that writing is not just a skill to be mastered in English courses, provide a much-needed resource to professors, most of whom received minimal training in teaching during their graduate studies. Indeed, writing across the curriculum involves more than improving effective written communication. Instead, it also can be a powerful tool for learning content and for developing critical thinking in all disciplines. For history teachers, these programs can have particular value. The traditional model for teaching college history, especially in survey courses, has been the lecture format and hour exams in "bluebooks."<sup>1</sup> While such methods are useful for teaching content, they frequently do not foster long term retention or even a deeper understanding of the material.

The "reader response" is one type of writing assignment that I have used in both world civilization surveys and upper-division European history courses to get students to engage more closely with reading assignments and to promote class discussion.<sup>2</sup> A reader response falls into a pedagogical category called "writing to learn." In contrast to writing assignments that test students or involve a research paper designed to communicate what has been learned to an audience (usually the professor), the reader response is more personal; it is a means of "thinking on paper."<sup>3</sup>

The reader response only works, however, if well integrated into the overall course goals.<sup>4</sup> These goals, stated at the beginning of every syllabus for my courses, are: 1) to introduce and to promote understanding of the major themes of an era or field of history; 2) to increase student understanding of historical sources; and 3) to develop

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<sup>1</sup>Toby Fulweiler, *Teaching with Writing* (Portsmouth, NH: Boynton/Cook, 1987), 2.

<sup>2</sup>I owe a special thanks to colleagues Kent Hackmann and Janice Cappel-Anderson of the History and Philosophy Departments of the University of Idaho. The idea of using reader responses originally came from collaboration with them in a team-taught interdisciplinary world civilization course in the University of Idaho Honors Program. I also owe special thanks to Elinor Michael of the University of Idaho Writing Across the Curriculum Program and to Spelman College's Program, where I first received my introduction to "Writing Across the Curriculum."

<sup>3</sup>Andrew Moss and Carol Holder, *Improving Student Writing: A Guidebook for Faculty in All Disciplines* (Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt, 1988), 6, 8; Fulweiler, 3-4; and Henry Steffans, "Journals in the Teaching of History," in Toby Fulweiler, editor, *The Journal Book* (Portsmouth, NH: Boynton/Cook, 1987), 219.

<sup>4</sup>Art Young, *Writing Across the Curriculum* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994), 5.

the skills intrinsic to the liberal arts, namely, writing, oral communication, and analysis. Used in conjunction with a series of quizzes (answers about a paragraph in length in response to questions drawn from a list handed out in advance), take-home essays, and class discussion, the reader response promotes all of these goals. At the most basic level, the response assists students to remember the information in a reading assignment. More often, however, the response helps students to think more analytically about what they have read, relate it to other material in the course, and connect it to their own experiences or ideas about the contemporary world. The reader response helps students to write more fluently and read more actively, and it fosters independent and critical thinking.<sup>5</sup>

Students in both my upper-division and world history survey courses write a reader response for most non-text reading assignments. Usually these assignments involve reading a set of documents, but sometimes a novel or, in upper-division classes, an article or a book. Students also write responses for films and music-listening assignments. After completing the assignment, they are required to write roughly half to three-quarters of a page in reaction to the reading. The suggested time spent writing after reading, seeing, or listening is fifteen minutes. The reader responses are similar to a journal in that they are personal, unpolished, and ungraded, but students are required to hand them in on specific dates that often coincide with a discussion of the material to which they responded. Unlike out-of-class journals, the due dates ensure that the students write at regular intervals.<sup>6</sup>

Reader responses are "ungraded" writing which encourages spontaneity. As writing to learn, any kind of evaluation would be inappropriate. Consequently, I read the writing and write brief comments or simply make a checkmark by the main points so that students know that I have read their work. I do not mark grammar or spelling, although at the beginning of the semester I might write a note to a student who seems to have a major writing problem. Reading forty to fifty responses and commenting usually takes about two and one-half hours. In large classes even a relatively inexperienced teaching assistant could read these responses. For each reader response completed--usually about ten in the course of the semester--students receive ten points. A student who completes all of them, therefore, has earned the equivalent of an "A" on an examination. Although most teachers would like students to work so as to learn rather than simply earn a grade, concern about grades is a real one. Addressing this issue directly often works better than ignoring it. Offering automatic credit for the reader responses as a major component of the course rewards the student for working

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<sup>5</sup>Moss and Holder, 27-28; Steffans, 223.

<sup>6</sup>Young, 18; Sarah M. Lawrence, "Making Meaning Through Journal Writing: A Look at Two Teachers and Their Classrooms," in Toni-Lee Capossella, editor, *The Critical Writing Workshop: Designing Writing Assignments to Foster Critical Thinking* (Portsmouth, NH: Boynton/Cook, 1993), 175.

hard and doing the reading. The reader responses also give students a measure of responsibility and choice about their grades. For students who learn and understand the material but have weak writing skills, the responses provide a way to improve their grade as well as their written work.

The responses, although informal and unpolished writing, do help students to develop writing skills, which is an important class goal. First, they promote fluency--the ease with which students write--by encouraging them to write, often in a non-threatening situation.<sup>7</sup> Second, reader responses help students try out ideas that they might use later in a take-home essay. Students are given a great deal of latitude about what to write. Prior to each assignment, students receive a short set of study questions. Although some specialists recommend that students do their initial writing prior to hearing what the professor thinks, I have found that prefacing the questions with a paragraph explaining the purpose of the reading assignment, and sometimes providing background, has been more successful.<sup>8</sup> (See examples at the end of the article.) Students have the choice of addressing one or more of the study questions, or they are free to write on something else in the reading that interests them. The study guides include a variety of questions. For example, students might be asked to identify the main themes in Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, to assess the validity of using a certain type of document as an historical source, or to compare and make connections between readings.

Occasionally, the assignment will be more focused. For example, in my nineteenth-century Europe class, I have asked students to come up with a comparison of the ways in which Cavour and Bismarck united their respective countries, Italy and Germany. For those students who have difficulty getting started, I offer the option of simply discussing their reaction to the material. For example, did the student like the reading/film/music and why or why not? The reader response also can include questions about the assignment. In the last analysis, the reader response, although it must be turned in, is for the student. One of the most important points that I make when explaining these assignments to students is that they should think about what kind of written record they would like to have in their notebooks to review for quizzes or to prepare for writing take-home essays.

One of the strengths of these responses is that they encourage students to think critically about the reading. For example, an assignment that included the Declaration of Independence, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, and Bolivar's "Jamaica Letter," demonstrates how students often use a personal reaction to get a more

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<sup>7</sup>Syrene Forsman, "Writing to Learn Means Learning to Think," in Anne Ruggles Gere, editor, *Sawdust: Writing to Learn Across the Disciplines* (Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1985), 164.

<sup>8</sup>Lawrence, 169.



analytical assessment of the larger issues.<sup>9</sup> The students often start with their personal reaction to the most familiar document, the Declaration of Independence, thereby enabling them to build upon what they already know.<sup>10</sup> They then usually remark on the common themes, write about the Enlightenment influences on all three revolutions, or discuss the relationships among them. In an upper-division course, "Modern France, 1815 to 1980," students listen to Stravinsky's "Rite of Spring" prior to a lecture on the avant-garde and the approach of World War I. Students write about the music with different levels of understanding of instrumentation and atonal scales, but the names of the movements tell the story and they can all discuss the way they felt as they listened to each section of the piece. They then can discuss how this music and the story related to earlier cultural movements, and why it offended Parisian audiences and evoked violence at the first performance. In class we take the point a step farther by comparing it to slides of art from the period and the underlying tensions in European society just prior to the outbreak of World War I. In both cases, students often start with a personal reaction and end up with a critical and insightful assessment of the material.<sup>11</sup>

Reader responses also promote learning through class discussion. Class discussion offers the best opportunity for students to improve their oral skills. Talking about the material is also another way for them to master content and to understand it--if only they will participate. Consequently, one of the important points of most reader responses is to prepare students for discussion. Reader responses are due at the beginning of the class period for which they are assigned or students can submit their responses before class on e-mail. Before I began to use reader responses, even if the students did the reading, they did not take time to think about it afterwards, and they came to class with little to say. Although a few students simply do not enjoy discussion, reader responses have nonetheless produced a marked improvement in class participation because most students have done at least some of the reading and have given some thought to it.

By using reader responses in connection with small-group activities, discussion can work in larger classes. In my survey classes, which enroll about 40 to 50 students, I choose three questions from the study guide or group the study questions and divide the class into six small discussion groups (two groups per question). In very large classes, more groups can be used. Alternatively, the method can be used with the help of a teaching assistant or in discussion sections. Students are not assigned to groups

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<sup>9</sup>These documents can be found in Alfred J. Andrea and James H. Overfield, editors, *The Human Record: Sources of Global History*, Volume II (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), 176-178, 183-190.

<sup>10</sup>Lawrence, 168.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 169.

on the basis of what study guide question they addressed in their response because some of them choose to cover other issues. The random assignment to a small group also means that they will then have to discuss the material from another angle. Once assigned to a small group, students must introduce themselves, pick a reporter (someone who has not assumed this role previously), and discuss their question. After about twenty-five minutes, each pair of groups reports to the class on the points that they covered. Another method of getting discussion started is to have students share their responses with one another. Giving each group a particular assignment, however, helps focus the students and ensures that the discussion does not degenerate into conversations about weekend plans. My role is to summarize their points on the board for the class. This procedure assists the students in taking notes because they often do not know what is important in a discussion. After each pair of groups reports on the results of their discussion, I encourage additions and questions from the rest of the class. Participation in the small groups is usually good and often lively.

The reader response assignment can also be used to set up a class debate. In my French Revolution course, students read a set of documents that offer the Girondin and Montagnard views on the trial and execution of Louis XVI.<sup>12</sup> In class the students divide into two groups, one representing each viewpoint. After some time to prepare their arguments, they face off and play the roles of the Girondins and Montagnards, debating with each other. This class period is the single most successful one I teach. In my world civilization course, a reading assignment on Commissioner Lin's letter to Queen Victoria prior to the Opium Wars can be used in several ways.<sup>13</sup> One option asks students to write Queen Victoria's reply, which then can be shared with another student at the appropriate place in a lecture. Alternatively, the assignment can be used to promote a larger discussion by dividing into small groups and having students collaborate in writing letters from Queen Victoria that they then share with everyone.

Another strength of reader responses is that they offer opportunities to increase interaction with the students, which offers students the opportunity to get individualized attention. It also improves the classroom atmosphere. Through reader responses I also come to know my students better. For example, on one recent assignment in which the students wrote a reaction to documents on the Atlantic slave trade, I discovered that one member of the class was of Brazilian/Portuguese ancestry. He wrote a very moving response about his family's plantations and history of slaveholding and how this history affected his understanding of the slave owners at the same time that he recognized that slavery was inhumane. Sometimes the assignment

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<sup>12</sup>These documents can be found in Keith M. Baker, editor, *University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization, Volume 7, The Old Regime and the French Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 302-324.

<sup>13</sup>Andrea and Overfield, Volume II, 341-344.

will evoke insights about experiences in foreign countries. Recently, in response to an assignment on the Spanish conquest of Mexico, a student wrote about his experiences visiting that country every year with his family. When students offer this information about themselves, I have the opportunity to connect with them more personally. These kind of connections make the class less anonymous and more comfortable. This interaction with the students on paper often creates a class atmosphere that facilitates class participation even during lectures.

Reader responses also provide continuity between class periods. I return the responses in the class period after they were due and supplement the written comments with an oral follow-up. Whenever possible, I share student insights that did not come up in the class discussion. Often the follow-up involves answering questions that students wrote in their responses. Sometimes my oral response allows correction of any common misunderstanding that came out in the responses. For example, in my world civilization class, responses to a document written by Anna Comnena, a Byzantine princess, about the Investiture controversy in western Europe includes many of her misperceptions about the pope's behavior and the West in general.<sup>14</sup> The responses revealed that part of the class believed her allegations that the pope had castrated the Holy Roman Emperor. At the beginning of the next class, I corrected the misunderstanding by reviewing the cultural differences between Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Europe that explained Comnena's prejudices. After a class discussion on Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* in a world civilization class, I pointed out that both the novel and an earlier selection from Olaudah Equiano's autobiography covered the Igbo, a connection that the class had missed. The result was that no one had mentioned that the novel did not address the Igbo's experience with slavery prior to the coming of the missionaries in the late nineteenth century.<sup>15</sup> Thus, following up the next class period enables me to point out connections between topics covered at different points in the course, clear up misunderstandings, and answer questions. By responding orally to the responses in addition to writing brief, individualized comments, class sessions get linked together more tightly. Consequently, the responses offer a way to integrate student ideas and needs into the course despite the fixed nature of most history syllabi. They keep the dialogue with students open rather than bringing closure on a topic in the way an exam or research paper does.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>This document can be found in Alfred J. Andrea and James H. Overfield, editors, *The Human Record: Sources of Global History*, Volume I (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), 211-217.

<sup>15</sup>Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart* (New York: Fawcett Crest, 1959); Andrea and Overfield, Volume II, 198-202.

<sup>16</sup>Fulweiler, 8.

Overall, most student comments on the use of reader responses in end-of-semester evaluations have been positive. In some cases, the responses motivated students to do more of the reading and in a more timely way than they might have done otherwise: "The reading logs were useful to keep up/motivate students to do the required readings on time." Another student indicated the responses were useful if s/he did the reading: "Often I didn't feel like I had to read, but I was more prepared when I did." Another student observed that some peers wrote the responses without doing all the reading. She then reflected that, nonetheless, these students still had to think about the material prior to coming to class. Students who did not do the reading, disliked the material, or preferred lecture to discussion, were less likely to find these assignments helpful or complained that the reader responses were simply busy work. Students have been more likely to criticize the discussions themselves than the reader response simply because they find this type of class period uncomfortable. Many students, however, have said that the periodic discussions were helpful because they varied the format of the course and provided a break from lecture.

Good communication with the students about the purpose of the reader responses has been essential to getting a positive student reaction to these assignments. I have found that student reaction is best when class rapport is good and I work at communicating the goal of the assignment to them. At the beginning of the semester, many students are, in fact, skeptical. I make a point of explaining the purpose of this type of assignment on the first day. Afterward, I remind them of the goals and expectations for the responses before the first few responses are due. An informal but anonymous evaluation about four to five weeks into the semester also provides the opportunity to explain again the purpose of reader responses and offer feedback on how students are approaching these assignments. When students have obviously not done the reading, I write a note on the response asking that s/he address the reading more directly. In cases where the abuse is obvious, I give only half credit for the assignment. The key to the success of the responses, however, is the relevance of the reading to the course and effective communication of class goals to the students.

In conclusion, when linked with course goals and integrated into the structure of the class, the reader response is a useful teaching method. This type of assignment promotes the goals of my courses by helping students understand the material, giving them the chance to practice writing, and promoting critical thinking. When used in connection with discussion, they facilitate class participation and therefore the development of oral skills. Most important, however, is the way in which students become engaged in the learning process and with the material. Reader responses draw students out and encourage them to take an active rather than a passive role in their educations.

**Appendix: Sample Assignments****World Civilizations II: The Age of Atlantic Revolutions**

The revolutionary era affected both sides of the Atlantic and encompassed revolutions in Europe, the North American colonies, and the European colonies in Latin America. Therefore, we are reading some of the key statements of the principles that inspired these revolutions during the years 1775 to 1825. These documents should suggest the lofty ideals and aspirations of the revolutionaries, the influence of Enlightenment ideas, and the connection among the revolutions.

Questions to think about as you read:

1. What are the principles set out in the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of the Rights of Man?
2. How are these two documents similar and different?
3. How do they reflect Enlightenment thinking?
4. What are the limitations of these principles as conceptualized by the framers?
5. What were Bolivar's grievances against Spain?
6. How were these grievances similar to those of the North Americans against Great Britain?
7. What kind of future does Bolivar foresee for Spanish America? Why?
8. What were the common features of these revolutions? The differences?

**Modern France: 1815 to 1980****Debussy's "Prelude to the Afternoon of a Faun" (1894) and Stravinsky's "Rites of Spring" (1909)**

At the end of the century, as earlier, the world of music was well integrated with that of painters and of writers. With the increasing emphasis on the irrational at the end of the century, musicians began to experiment with new sounds and new themes. In terms of sound, the music began to be less dependent on melody and harmony. Debussy's work has often been considered "impressionistic." He tried to give each instrument a particular color, then blended into the whole "painting." In other words, his music creates an atmosphere. Debussy (1862-1918) and other musicians such as Stravinsky (1882-1971) also started to experiment with the twelve-tone scale. Stravinsky also incorporated unusual rhythms into his music.

Thematic material for the music also changed. The "Prelude to the Afternoon of a Faun" drew on a poem by the symbolist poet Stephan Mallarmé (1842-1898). Make sure that you read the poem prior to listening to the music. Symbolists drew

away from realism, reacted against bourgeois values, and disdained the masses. Instead, they created their own dreamy world of signs and symbols that explored the invisible.

Stravinsky's "Rites of Spring" drew on "pagan" or "primitive" themes of a spring festival. In this piece, the music tells the story of a girl who dances herself to death before the tribal elders in order to appease the god of spring. Again, the theme explores the irrational. Debussy described it as "a beautiful nightmare." Each section of the piece (listed below) tells part of the story.

#### Part I: The Adoration of the Earth

Introduction

Harbringers of Spring (Dances of the Young Girls and Boys)

Mock Abduction

Spring Rounds

Games of the Rival Tribes

Procession of the Wise Elders

Adoration of the Earth (Wise Elder)

Dance of the Earth

#### Part II: The Sacrifice

Introduction

Mystic Circles of the Young Girls

Glorification of the Chosen One

Summoning of the Ancients

Ritual of the Ancients

Sacrificial Dance (Chosen One)

(Information from Robert Gildea, *Barricades and Borders: Europe 1800-1914* [Oxford, 1987].)

Questions to think about as you listen:

1. To what extent do you find the Debussy to be the musical equivalent of impressionism? To what extent is it more like avant-garde?
2. As you listen to Stravinsky, look at the titles for each movement on the back of the CD. To what extent does the music tell a story?
3. In what ways does the Stravinsky parallel the avant-garde in art? Why do you think that it caused a riot when it was first performed?
4. How do these pieces make you feel as you listen?
5. How would you compare these pieces with Berlioz's "Symphonie Fantastique"? (A previous assignment.)

**M.J. Lewis and Roger Lloyd-Jones. *Using Computers in History: A Practical Guide*. London & New York: Routledge, 1996. Pp. xiii, 248. Cloth, \$59.95; Paper, \$18.95.**

The advent of the computer allows the historian to manipulate data and extract meaningful information from a conglomeration of facts and figures. Unfortunately, there are few guides to the process of using a computer to manipulate data in a meaningful fashion. The writers of most computer manuals are more interested in presenting the how and why of computers and computer programs than in describing their use by real people. Few technical books on computers really guide the struggling reader through an actual example of their use. M.J. Lewis and Roger Lloyd-Jones have written a book that fills this void and bridges the gap between the technical writer and the user of computers. Beyond this, they have written a book that is easily read and followed through the intricacies of actually using a computer for a practical purpose.

*Using Computers in History* is a practical book designed to acquaint the historian with the use of spreadsheets and databases in the study of history. This is a worthwhile book because it not only covers the theory of spreadsheets and databases; it also has several practical exercises that take the reader through the use and presentation of historical data using the concepts described earlier in the book. While the book is based on the Windows 3.1 operating system, the writing is so clear that users of DOS programs and Windows 95 can easily follow the text and complete the practical application.

It needs to be emphasized: This book describes the use of computers and then provides examples of how to use the information presented. This is something usually left out of most books on computers. It was written for British readers, and the examples used are British.

*Using Computers in History* introduces the reader to the theory behind spreadsheets and their application to Clio's art. It describes a number of purposes or functions of spreadsheets for historians. These functions include the storage and retrieval of data, the calculation of results from original data, and the presentation of these results in a graphical form. The practical application exercise allows the reader to test several propositions about the standard of living in nineteenth-century England by using spreadsheets. Similar exercises allow the reader to present data using graphs and charts.

The latter half of the book is dedicated to using a database to organize and manage historical information. The practical application builds a database of information on cinemas in Sheffield, England, circa 1931. Exercises require the reader to construct the database and to answer several questions based on the information in it.

*Using Computers in History* could be used in an upper-level undergraduate class in the historian's method or as a supplementary text for a project based on extracting

meaning from various historical data. The book is also a valuable tool for the teaching historian, as it provides the necessary background for the actual use of computers in history.

Tidewater Community College & Saint Leo College

John R. Moore

**Peter Waldron.** *The End of Imperial Russia, 1855-1917*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. Pp. viii, 189. Cloth, \$49.95; ISBN 0-312-16536-6. Paper, \$18.95; ISBN 0-312-16537-4.

*The End of Imperial Russia, 1855-1917*, which is part of St. Martin's European History in Perspective series, analyzes the decades leading to the Bolshevik revolution in 1917. Peter Waldron focuses his attention on one of the most important and controversial eras in Russian history. Most historians of Russia agree that the changes and turmoil of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries set the stage for the events of 1917 and afterwards. In this work, Waldron divides his era into five major themes.

First, the Russian autocracy, often seen as one and the same with the state in Imperial Russia, initiates reform and counterreform. The author clearly shows that the nobility was not united, especially during the reign of Nicholas II (1894-1917). Some of the nobility supported reform, while others vehemently opposed it. Waldron emphasizes the reign of Nicholas II, while leaving the reform efforts of Alexander II (1855-1881) and the counterreform initiatives of Alexander III (1881-1894) relatively unexplored. A fuller explanation of the Great Reform era (1860s) and the Counterreform era (1880s) would have provided the reader with a better understanding when analyzing the end of the Romanov monarchy.

The second theme is that of the economic sector, both agricultural and industrial. This is a well-balanced chapter that provides a vivid picture of the economic realities facing peasant and working class Russia at the end of the century. Waldron dedicates much time to explaining the redemption payments that newly-freed serfs were required to pay, which resulted in many of them not truly being economically free.

Waldron's third theme addresses the social changes taking place in the last decades of Imperial Russia. He briefly discusses the changing role of women, the rural to urban shift, changes in the commune structure, the fading importance of the nobility, and the explosion in art, music, and literature. The Silver Age of Russian culture, especially literature, reflected many of the social changes taking place in Russia. Waldron emphasizes the works of Fedor Dostoevskii, Leo Tolstoi, and Anton Chekhov as a few examples of the artists who illuminated the changing world in front of them. It is unfortunate that the author compiles such a broad range of social topics into one brief section.



Empire and the end of the old order in Russia are the last two themes in this work. Russia's imperial borders were expanded from the era of Peter the Great (if not earlier) to the middle of the nineteenth century. However, it was evident by the beginning of the twentieth century that Russia's imperial status was fading. Russia experienced three military defeats (Crimean War 1854-56, Russo-Japanese War 1904-05, and World War I 1914-1918) in this era, which contributed mightily to the political, social, and military collapse of the empire, according to Waldron. The last chapter focuses most of its attention on the collapse during World War I. Unfortunately, Waldron does not give much attention to the rising radical/revolutionary movement that was active during this period and played a role in the fall of the Romanovs.

Aside from the problems already noted, there are two other drawbacks to this work. First, it is a thematic approach that might prove difficult for undergraduates. There are three distinct eras (Alexander II, Alexander III, and Nicholas II) covered in this text, and they differ greatly. Waldron discusses his various themes across the different eras that someone with some knowledge of Russian history might find interesting; however, most undergraduates would probably be confused. The second problem is there are no maps. Since Russia has had several military conflicts, boundary changes, and internal movements, it seems necessary to include at least one general map, if not more specific ones.

Overall, the work is very readable, well-researched (archival, primary, and secondary sources), and provides an excellent bibliography that includes books and articles. The articles are a nice addition to the bibliography. This work would be very good for advanced undergraduates and instructors refreshing themselves, but for beginners in Russian history the thematic approach might prove difficult.

College of DuPage

William B. Whisenhunt

**William J. Tompson.** *Khrushchev: A Political Life.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. Pp. ix, 341. Paper, \$15.95; ISBN 0-312-16360-6.

**Mark Galeotti.** *Gorbachev and His Revolution.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. Pp. ix, 142. Cloth, \$49.95; ISBN 0-312-16481-5. Paper, \$18.95; ISBN 0-312-16482-3.

In retrospect, the last fifty years of the Soviet Union's existence constitute a case study in the decline and fall of empire. The legacy of Stalin's systematic terror, the burdens of world war, economic and industrial decline, technological backwardness, a single-party regime that stifled innovation, and the burdens of maintaining a military-industrial system capable of propping up multinational empire seem insurmountable obstacles to reforming the unreformable. These two books join the flood of works

examining efforts at reforming the Soviet Union after Stalin's death. Both books approach their topics from the perspective of the Soviet leaders and their attempts to reform the Soviet Union from the top down. Tompson's political biography of Nikita Khrushchev offers a well-written, carefully researched narrative aimed at the general reader, while Galeotti's brief study is a simple, straightforward primer for students of the last ten years of the Soviet Union's existence.

Tompson makes good use of recently accessible materials in the All-Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Recent History (formerly the Central Party Archive), the Central State Archive of Social Movements of the City of Moscow (formerly the Moscow Party Archive), and numerous Soviet newspapers and other periodicals. The author traces in great detail Khrushchev's career from his peasant origins in tsarist Russia through his forced retirement in October 1964. About half of the book carries the story to Stalin's death and the subsequent struggle for succession. From the wealth of detail Khrushchev emerges as one of the "new men" brought forward by the revolution and Stalin's rise to power. His devotion to the new regime was less intellectual than practical. His youthful experiences as a shepherd and metal fitter fixed in his mind a lifelong view of the evils of capitalism. With little formal education, Khrushchev joined the party and soon began his steady rise through the ranks with the aid of patrons such as Lazar M. Kaganovich and others. After some party schooling, he became Moscow First Secretary, helped direct construction of the Moscow Metro, and in 1938 oversaw party purges in Ukraine. Tompson uses newly available archival materials to illustrate how enthusiastically Khrushchev supported Stalin's terror and the purges of the 1930s.

The second half of Tompson's volume offers a meticulous look at Khrushchev's years in power. The author provides detailed accounts of Khrushchev's decision to deliver the famous secret speech of 1956 denouncing Stalin, the "Anti-Party" crisis of 1957, and Khrushchev's relations with provincial leaders whose political support he depended upon as a power base. There is also ample discussion of Khrushchev's foreign policy, emphasizing relations with Yugoslavia, China, the Soviet Bloc, and the United States--especially the U-2 Affair and the Cuban missile crisis. From Tompson's narrative emerges a Khrushchev who retained a fundamental faith in the Soviet system and whose diagnosis of its problems was superficial.

Galeotti's book offers a concise, crisply written analytical narrative of the last decade of the Soviet Union's existence. Brief chapters provide a telescoped discussion of the problems Russia's leaders--both tsarist and Soviet--faced in the struggle of the center to impose its authority upon the peoples and regions of an enormous and varied country. The author stresses the growing corruption of the Brezhnev era and Andropov's vital role in laying the groundwork for reforming and modernizing the party and state apparatus and his decision to bring Gorbachev to Moscow. Gorbachev is portrayed as a reluctant revolutionary who began his rule with a strong belief in the role of the party and the Soviet system. Galeotti argues that Gorbachev started out

with a very limited view of the changes required to reform the Soviet system, the ruling elite, and the party. He accelerated the efforts to streamline and modernize the system but did not want to change direction. When these policies made matters worse, Gorbachev looked beyond the party and the ruling elite to a role for the Soviet people. In doing so, Gorbachev broke with the decades-old policy of stressing party leadership. Galeotti concludes that Gorbachev grew as an evolutionary political leader who accepted the new realities that required reforms much more radical than he imagined initially.

Galeotti's account of Gorbachev's revolution will make an excellent text for twentieth-century Soviet history courses. There are helpful charts and diagrams, useful reading lists of works in English following each chapter, a bibliography for further reading, and appendices providing a chronology of events and capsule biographies of the main personalities. On the other hand, Tompson's political biography can be used as collateral reading for advanced courses and will be helpful in fleshing out lectures for nearly any twentieth-century history course.

The University of Southwestern Louisiana

Robert J. Gentry

**John W. Young.** *Britain and the World in the Twentieth Century.* London & New York: Arnold, 1997. Pp. xi, 250. Paper, \$19.95; ISBN 0-340-54013-3. Cloth, \$59.95; ISBN 0-340-69174-3.

*Britain and the World in the Twentieth Century* is a fine book. It is well written, well organized, and very informative. The work is part of a series titled "International Relations and the Great Powers," a series that includes *Japan and the World since 1868*, with titles such as *France and the World in the Twentieth Century*, and *The United States and the World in the Twentieth Century* forthcoming.

The author of *Britain and the World in the Twentieth Century*, John W. Young, Professor of Politics at the University of Leicester, also wrote *Britain and European Unity, 1945-92*, *Winston Churchill's Last Campaign*, and *Cold War Europe*. Professor Young has a firm grasp of the material and the ability to present it clearly. The author does presuppose a slight knowledge of twentieth-century English and European history on the part of the reader, but a detailed knowledge is not necessary.

After an excellent introduction to Britain at the turn of the century, the various chapters discuss the major divisions of English foreign policy from 1905 to 1997. Some examples: "Entente and Anglo-German Rivalry, 1905-1914," "Great War and Imperial Crisis, 1914-1924," "Third Power, 1945-1956," and "Reluctantly European, 1973-1997." Each section looks at the major policy makers, be they Foreign Secretary or Prime Minister, and those things that have tended to influence their decisions. The author discusses those aspects of English society that determine foreign policy

(psychological, social, historical, economic, etc.) and the policy itself. The contention is that Great Britain has not, as Dean Acheson said, become a country that "has lost an empire ... and not yet found a role," but a country whose role has changed over the century. Especially strong are the parts of the book in which the author discusses the difficulties England had in giving up her position as the world's major imperial power, her relations with the United States, and how hard it has been to decide what approach to take concerning the European Union and what role Britain should play in that Union.

The work contains a two-page list of abbreviations and what they stand for; in the modern world of "alphabet soup," this eliminates the difficulty of trying to remember what a certain collection of letters means. A very fine bibliographical essay discussing the major works on the topic of twentieth-century English foreign policy is included. This is a minor point, but it would be helpful if the author had provided a basic chronology and a list of Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers with their party and dates.

The work is on too specific a topic to be used in high school or in a general college survey on England, but it is strongly recommended for any detailed course on modern England, English foreign policy, or modern European foreign policy. The book should be in the library of any historian who teaches English or European history and it will make a wonderful source for lecture notes. The work is a must-have for all college libraries.

*Britain and the World in the Twentieth Century* is a most impressive achievement. Hopefully the other books in the series will be as clear, concise, and informative as this one.

Kennesaw State University

K. Gird Romer

**Patrick Finney, ed. *The Origins of the Second World War*. London & New York: Arnold, 1997. Pp. xviii, 461. Cloth, \$59.95; ISBN 0-340-67641-8. Paper, \$18.95; ISBN 0-340-67640-X.**

This collection of readings, based upon recent research into various German, Japanese, Italian, Chinese, French, British, and American documents that were still classified during the 1960s, presents the basis for Finney's observation that the origins of World War II were very much more complex than the traditional Eurocentric or nationalistic scholarship written largely by the victors. The readings come from a selection of works by such historians as David Dilks, Sidney Aster, Anthony Adamthwaite, Tim Mason, and R.J. Overy in the section entitled "Interpretations and Debates." In "Germany, Italy, the USSR and Japan: Dictatorships and Revisionism," there is a sampling of the works of Ian Kershaw, MacGregor Knox, Teddy J. Uldricks,

and Hosoya Chihiro. R.A.C. Parker, Stephen A. Schuker, Arnold A. Offner, and Michael A. Barnhart contribute to "Great Britain, France, and the United States: The Democracies at War." The studies by Scott Newton, Williamson Murray, John Erickson, and Philip M. Taylor contribute to "Beyond Diplomacy: Economics, Strategy and Opinion." The final section, "The Approach of War," features selections from Willard C. Frank, Jr., Gerhard L. Weinberg, Anna M. Cienciala, and David Reynolds.

One of the Arnold Readers in History series, this book provides a starting point from which to synthesize the post-1960s historiography of the origins of the Second World War. Although useful as a reader for an undergraduate course on World War II, this work would also enable a United States history survey instructor to quickly glean notes for a lecture on the origins of World War II in that it provides a basis for understanding the issues surrounding the war's origins from a multinational perspective in a thematic framework. It would also be useful in a graduate readings course on the interwar years. Moreover, each section is prefaced with an excellent introduction and literature survey. The edited bibliography and notes are also quite good.

University of North Texas

Richard W. Byrd

**Robert D. Marcus and David Burner, eds. *America Firsthand*. Boston: Bedford Books, 1997. Vol. 1—*Readings from Settlement to Reconstruction*. Pp. xv, 308. ISBN 0-312-15349-X. Vol. II—*Readings from Reconstruction to the Present*. Pp. xv, 336. ISBN 0-312-15348-1. Paper, each \$27.32.**

The fourth edition of *America Firsthand* delivers exactly what it promises. It "gives voice to ordinary Americans," providing a wide range of eyewitness accounts that permit students to sample "a broad range of human experience." The selections are substantial enough, ranging from six to eight pages each, to allow students "to immerse themselves in each writer's perspective." *America Firsthand* is intended to help meet "the challenge of connecting traditional chronology with the new materials of social history." Both volumes are organized in accordance with "the traditional markers of United States history" and include accounts of the American Revolution, the Civil War and Reconstruction, the two World Wars, the Great Depression, and the Vietnam War. The editors' introduction to each part announces the theme and briefly explains the relationship of each selection to that theme. The equally concise headnotes preceding each reading are very informative and help contextualize the subject matter for the beginning student.

For instructors wishing to assign primary source readings, this reviewer has no hesitation in recommending that *America Firsthand* be given careful consideration. Of

the 44 selections contained in the first volume, I identified six that I thought most students would find fascinating--writings of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, letters from Abigail Adams to her husband, John, and son, John Quincy, a Mexican account of the Battle of the Alamo, the journals of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, the autobiography of a female slave, Harriet Jacobs, and the autobiography of a Lowell mill girl, Harriet Hanson Robinson. I counted nine other selections that I believe most students will find very interesting. There were only five or six selections, primarily those in Part one, "Indians and Europeans: Cultural Conflict," that I thought my students might find uninteresting or difficult to move through.

Not surprisingly, I found the anticipated level of student interest in the selections in the more recent second volume even higher. I would rate eight of the 45 selections in the second volume truly outstanding, including the journal of slaveowner Henry William Ravenel at the end of the Civil War, James Rusling's description of Chinese immigrant life in the Far West in the early 1870s, J. Robert Oppenheimer's reflections on the Manhattan Project, the reminiscences of Fanny Christina Hill, an African American "Rosie the riveter," letters to the author of *The Feminine Mystique*, Betty Friedan, and conflicting perspectives on "The My Lai Incident (1968-70)." I think my students would probably find eleven more of the selections very interesting and only three or four difficult or uninteresting.

Each of the six parts of each volume begins with two differing "points of view" on a significant event or issue. As with any collection, these sections vary in quality and interest level from two fascinating accounts of the Battle of the Alamo (1836) to the more pedestrian descriptions of Sherman's "March to the Sea." One of the highlights of volume II is the section at the beginning of Part Six, "New Boundaries: Discontent and Yearning for Security," which presents the conflicting views on My Lai. The points of view on the building of the Atomic Bomb, which introduce Part Five, "Global Reach: War, Affluence, and Uncertainty," are also very interesting and informative, helping to make the section on the period 1942-1960 the strongest in either volume in my estimation.

As with any collection of primary sources, some parts of *America Firsthand* are more captivating and informative than others. Although Part Two of volume I contains several interesting selections from the late seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries, it is only with the section on the American Revolution and the Constitution, Part Three, that it really hits its stride. Part Four, which focuses on westward expansion, contains a few writings of very high interest (the journals of Lewis and Clark and the Mexican account of the Battle of the Alamo), but lacks thematic unity. Part Five, "An Age of Reform," excels in its accounts of slavery and women's rights. Part Six, covering the Civil War and Reconstruction, was the most disappointing of volume I, given the abundance of interesting source materials available for this period, through the Freedmen and Southern Society Project, for example.

Most of the selections in Part Six of volume II, which begins with the Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society (1962) and ends with a piece about the Internet written in 1996, are also well worth assigning to students, although they are not closely related thematically. The remainder of volume II, although it contains a few outstanding selections such as Ravenel's reflections on the impact of emancipation and Rusling's description of Chinese immigrant life, does not live up to that high standard. For those instructors who wish to use the example of the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire (1911), part Three "Industrial America: Opportunity and Exploitation" presents two complementary perspectives. It also contains sage advice from Andrew Carnegie on how to succeed in business and a pointed critique of the Standard Oil Company by a competing oil refiner who was put out of business. However, the other three parts of volume II contain few selections which would awaken strong interest in my students.

As with any collection of primary sources, each instructor will have to decide how many of the readings in *America Firsthand* he or she finds suitable for the survey course. For those instructors who devote considerable attention to the institution of slavery and who wish to emphasize the everyday lives of African Americans and women, volume I deserves serious consideration. For those desirous of going into considerable depth about the United States since World War II, volume II offers an abundance of excellent sources. Those teachers fitting neither of the preceding descriptions should probably do their own detailed inventory in order to decide whether these carefully edited volumes should be added to their list of required reading.

Pembroke High School, Kansas City, MO

Carl R. Schulkin

**Richard S. Dunn and Laetitia Yeandle, eds. *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630-1649*. Abridged Edition. Cambridge, MA & London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996. Pp. xxii, 354. Paper, \$19.95; ISBN 0-647-48427-4.**

Rather than a collection of daily introspections, John Winthrop consciously wrote his *Journal* as a history, with entries that sometimes follow a daily course, and others that omit large periods of time. Some occurrences are more fully treated than others, based on the importance accorded them by Winthrop. As a central character in the political events of the Massachusetts Bay colony, he often offered accounts that either defended or justified his position. Nonetheless, the journal does offer an intriguing view of the society of early Massachusetts.

Winthrop's journal often fails to provide a full account of the events it refers to. The fact that this is an abridged edition, representing approximately forty percent of

the original journal, undoubtedly magnifies this effect. The reader is aided in contextualizing the material by Dunn and Yeandle's excellent informational footnotes. Most students, unless they possess an intimate knowledge of Puritan New England, would quickly get lost in the plethora of names and places introduced by Winthrop. The notes, however, cannot fix the rather disjointed nature of Winthrop's narrative. The editors' updating of the language has made it fairly user-friendly, but the content tends to jump from one subject to the next, and a number of episodes that Winthrop raises are never satisfactorily concluded. This flaw, of course, belongs to Winthrop, but if one is looking for continuity of narrative, it is difficult to find here.

The great value of this edition of Winthrop's journal is not so much in its depiction of the standard major events such as the Pequot War or the controversies with Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson. In fact, a reader seeking definitive information on these events would be better served going elsewhere. However, the journal does shine by providing insight into Massachusetts's relations with neighboring Indian tribes and the social and political dynamics of life in New England. The kinds of interactions that usually are missing from the standard texts come to the surface in the journal. A thoughtful reading reveals the complexity of white-Indian relations in early New England, as well as the complex intersections between the secular and spiritual lives of the colonists. Another advantage of the journal is how well it reflects the Puritan conception of a God who intercedes in daily affairs. Miscarriages, storms, accidents, and other dramatic episodes are related to the reader as messages from God, lessons in the consequence of sin, or signs of God's favor. There was nothing distant about the Puritan's God.

*The Journal of John Winthrop* would be used best in advanced history courses that focus on colonial New England or devote a good portion of the semester to its study. Students would benefit, however, by using this book in conjunction with fuller treatments of colonial Massachusetts that would provide greater context and a more balanced perspective of Puritan society. From an instructor's point of view, the journal is full of material that can be used in preparing lectures on colonial Massachusetts, including numerous examples that show that the inhabitants of New England were all too human. The colonists engaged in struggles for political power, quarreled over stray pigs, committed adultery, became involved in other sexual scandals, and even committed murder. Also potentially valuable for instructors and students are Winthrop's discussions of the nature of government, and his responses to a growing population's demands for broader political representation. For those concerned with the political development of the nation, these episodes offer an interesting glimpse into the social conditions that would later lead to the establishment of a democratic republic in the United States.



**Bruce C. Daniels.** *Puritans at Play: Leisure and Recreation in Colonial New England.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996. Pp. xiv, 271. Paper, \$14.95; ISBN 0-312-16124-7.

*Puritans at Play* will be welcome by those looking for a supplementary reading to break down the stereotypical view of the gloomy, repressed Puritans and help students see them as real people. In *Puritans at Play* Bruce Daniels of the University of Winnipeg develops a neglected aspect of colonial New England society—how people spent their leisure time and what they did for fun. The first section of the book poses the question directly—"Did Puritans Like Fun?" Daniels's answer is a well developed and finely nuanced yes. He begins by reviewing the literature of "modern" Puritan studies with the seminal works that began the reevaluation of Puritanism and Puritan life, Samuel Eliot Morison's *Builders of the Bay Colony* (1930) and Perry Miller's *The New England Mind in the Seventeenth Century* (1939). The limited degree to which the more balanced image of the Puritans Morison and Miller presented has replaced the joyless, prudish Puritans of earlier scholars and Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* in the popular imagination is testimony to the powerful appeal the image has.

Daniels draws heavily on scholarship on New England communities and families since the emergence of the new social history in the late 1960s and the rich recent literature on Puritanism. He also goes back to the diaries and sermons of both prominent and obscure Puritans of the seventeenth century—before the jeremiad preachers of the eighteenth century. He also displays familiarity with recent intellectual histories of Puritanism, especially the increasing awareness among scholars of the diversity of thought within Puritanism about nearly all issues of their day. The first chapter serves as an excellent introduction to the scholarly literature on Puritan society and thought without requiring a high degree of familiarity with that literature.

The following chapters take a thematic approach that is both appropriate and effectively executed to cover a full range of leisure activities from reading to sex and courtship, alcohol and taverns, and gender, age, and class. The Puritans who emerge from Daniels's book are flesh and blood people, enjoying this life while concerned about the next.

The final chapter attempts to sum up the place leisure played in Puritan lives and to assess the extent to which Puritan ideas have affected the way American society has looked at leisure and pleasure up until today. Rather than stern and dour opponents of pleasure, Daniels's Puritans sought balance in their pursuit of pleasure and their leisure pursuits. For the Puritan everything in a person's life should be focused on the larger goal of humanity—eternal salvation. "Leisure and recreation activities had to take place within the framework of the moral community; they had to be interwoven with Scripture, workplace, village, meeting-house, home, family, and all the other parts of godly life that collectively constitute the only acceptable ritual in New England."

There is a great deal in this book about the daily lives of Puritans. They emerge as people trying to balance a demanding view of the world and of man's relationship to God with the human impulses to love, provide for children, relax, and enjoy the many good things life offers.

The book will serve well as an introduction to Puritanism in a survey course or an upper-level colonial history course. It is engagingly written and informed by an impressive command of both the literature and sources on colonial New England and Puritanism.

Murray State University

William H. Mulligan, Jr.

**Don Nardo. *The Bill of Rights*. San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, 1998. Pp. 128. Paper, \$12.95; ISBN 1-56510-740-3.**

Opposing viewpoints readers are among the most established of all forms of supplementary reading in the history classroom. By presenting history in the form of discourse, and demonstrating the steps in the process through which we move in constructing an interpretation of the past, a good interpretive reader can help students appreciate historical method. This type of assignment often facilitates student participation, from one-on-one discussions to teams in mock legislatures, conventions, and courts. With a bit of guidance from a good moderator, it's a proven path to student involvement.

*The Bill of Rights* is part of a larger series of digests being produced by Greenhaven Press. Style and length suggest a target audience of high school and community college readers, although the author is careful not to speak down to the audience. Nardo first devotes some fifteen pages to summarizing the ideas and events that surrounded James Madison as he led the fight to amend the Constitution between 1788 and 1791. Then Nardo moves through six point/counterpoint debates, each about ten pages in length, where he separately summarizes the pro and con arguments on the need for a written Bill of Rights, the limitation on free speech, the censorship of the press, the inclusiveness of due process, the death penalty as cruel and unusual punishment, and the restriction of civil liberties in wartime. Each section thus contains two briefing sheets, each with short documentary quotations, that a student could present with little editing in class discourse. A thirteen-page appendix provides the text of the Bill of Rights and excerpts from ten other documents, four of which were considered by Madison in preparing his proposed amendments and five of which relate to twentieth-century legal cases. Both the text and the more modern documents lean strongly toward debates on civil rights and liberties in wartime and other emergency situations. A short chronology, a list of study questions, and two brief bibliographies complete the supporting materials.

The volume strives to suggest the role historical understanding can contribute to debates over contemporary issues. Thus, while it devotes a fair portion of its content to eighteenth-century affairs, it will probably be more useful if used in connection with course modules where twentieth-century figures are placed in the situation of looking back in time to debate the extent and meaning of original intent within the Constitution. If you enjoy drawing your students into discussions of the contemporary relevance of the Madisonian view of politics, this could serve you well. Be cautioned, however, that Nardo's summaries presuppose that each question has one basic positive and one basic negative argument--presented in summaries so carefully prepared that students may be tempted to deliver, rather than to formulate, a position. In that important sense the book may serve debates better than discussions.

Butler University

George W. Geib

**Eve Kornfeld.** *Margaret Fuller: A Brief Biography with Documents.* Boston & New York: Bedford Books, 1997. Pp. xiii, 252. Paper, \$8.50; ISBN 0-312-12009-5.

Margaret Fuller was well known in early nineteenth-century America as a writer, philosopher, feminist, and activist. She was part of the Transcendentalist movement, a friend and colleague (and often a critic) of Ralph Waldo Emerson, the first editor of the Transcendentalists' journal, the *Dial*, and the first American woman journalist to serve as a foreign correspondent. Yet she remains virtually unknown to Americans today. In this brief biography, Eve Kornfeld, professor of history at San Diego State University, attempts to convey the essential elements of Fuller's life and her struggle to create a personal identity that would enable her to live a "fully human life" without what she considered to be artificial constraints based on gender, class, or race.

The first seven chapters of the book describe Fuller's childhood and education, her involvement with the Transcendentalists, the development of her feminist social vision, her work as literary critic for the *Dial* and Horace Greeley's *New York Daily Tribune*, and her sojourn in Rome during the Italian Revolution. Kornfeld admirably weaves background information about the time period together with an analysis of events in Fuller's life to produce a balanced account that still allows for diverse interpretation. Yet, because this is a brief biography, several areas of her life and times are not fully covered, leaving open possibilities for inquiring students to do further research. The second half of the book contains samples of the letters and writings by Fuller and contemporary responses to her.

Clearly, Kornfeld wrote this book for use in undergraduate classes. Her crisp, precise, jargon-free writing conveys the complexity of Fuller's philosophy without sounding patronizing. In particular, Kornfeld's excellent summary of Transcendental philosophy and Fuller's feminist critique of the central core values of

Transcendentalism are written in such a way as to be accessible to undergraduate students. In the appendix, Kornfeld includes a chronology of Fuller's life, a concise bibliography, and questions for consideration.

Kornfeld's explanatory footnotes are also a very welcome addition. Fuller often included references in her writing to figures from ancient Greece and Rome which many students today most likely would not recognize. In her *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, for example, Fuller writes: "More obvious is the meaning of these three forms, the Diana, Minerva, and Vesta." Without Kornfeld's footnote explaining the origin of these references in Roman mythology, the significance of this allusion might not be "obvious" to today's students.

To increase the impact and foster greater class discussion, instructors might find it useful to require students to read the documents together with the section of the biography to which they pertain rather than reading all the biography and then all the documents. While the biographical section describes, assesses, and analyzes her life, the documents reveal Margaret Fuller the person--her recollections, thoughts, emotions, and personality. By juxtaposing historical analysis and interpretation with primary documents, students can gain a greater understanding of both Margaret Fuller and the historian's craft.

This is an excellent book for use in American history, American studies, and women's studies classes.

Central Arizona College

Sue Warner

**Kenneth G. Alferts, C. Larry Pool, William Mugleston, eds.** *Perspectives on America, Volume 2: Readings in United States History From 1877*. New York: American Heritage Custom Publishing, 1997. Pp. v, 234. Paper, \$22.97; ISBN 0-8281-0097-1.

In *Readings in United States History* editors Kenneth G. Alferts, C. Larry Pool, and William Mugleston have compiled articles that include some very well-known events and people in American history, such as George Armstrong Custer and the Battle of the Little Big Horn, steel magnate Andrew Carnegie and his influence on American society and the Industrial Revolution, the Populist Movement of the 1890s, the causes and consequences of the Stock Market Crash of 1929, the "man of the century"—Franklin D. Roosevelt, the controversial Lydon B. Johnson, and finally the equally frustrating war conducted by LBJ—the Vietnam War.

In addition to the more obvious choices, the editors have included stories of lesser known events and their heroes and heroines. Some examples here would be Mary Ellen McCormack and her case that began the legal struggle for protection against child abuse, the Supreme Court's decision that undermined the Civil Rights Act

of 1875 and ushered in Jim Crow segregation, Dr. Harvey Wiley's crusade to clean up the nation's food supply, women's suffrage advocate Alice Paul, the General Motors Strike of 1937, and the significance of immigration on the recent past.

The text is a collection of twenty-four such articles focusing primarily on the social and political history of the U.S. from 1877 to the present. The book is divided into three parts: part one contains readings covering the period from 1877 to 1900; part two focuses on the years 1900 to 1945; and part three looks at America after 1945. Each unit is introduced by a brief overview of the period with an effort made to touch upon those specific topics to be addressed in the succeeding articles.

The readings are generally written in a lively, crisp manner. A couple of them deserve special mention. John F. McCormack, Jr.'s, "Hell on Saturday Afternoon" is a brief but engaging look at the Great Triangle Fire of 1911. McCormack is not only able to capture the chaos of that tragic March day, but he also illustrates well the darker side of American industrial growth in the early twentieth century. In addition, Kenneth G. Alfers's own article "I Am Not a Crook! Corruption in Presidential Politics" succeeds in placing the issue of presidential corruption in a broader historical context than merely the past few decades.

Although these articles have the potential to encourage classroom discussion, perhaps a list of questions to consider might have been placed either in the introduction to the article or immediately following the reading. This could aid students in isolating major ideas within the readings more effectively and might further encourage them to make connections to broader themes in the time periods.

In sum, for a collection of articles to be a useful pedagogical tool, it must be readable and, at the same time, challenge students to think in historical context. *Perspectives on America* has the potential to achieve both tasks and, therefore, might be an option for instructors seeking a supplemental text for the second half of the U.S. history survey course.

Northwest Nazarene College

William R. Wantland

**Colin G. Calloway, ed. *Our Hearts Fell to the Ground: Plains Indian Views of How the West Was Lost*. Boston & New York: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996. Pp. xiv, 226. Paper, \$7.50; ISBN 0-312-13354-5.**

*Our Hearts Fell to the Ground* follows the fate of Plains Indian people as they recoiled from, resisted, and accommodated the dramatic and devastating effects of military campaigns, forced removals, and cultural terrorism during the nineteenth century. Both a companion volume to Calloway's earlier *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America* (1994) and a collection of native voices able to stand on its own, this latest addition to the Bedford Series on History and Culture

is clearly aimed at a community college and four-year undergraduate audience and less obviously directed at people interested in American Indian issues.

Colin Calloway, professor of history and Native American studies at Dartmouth College and author most recently of *New Worlds for All* (1998), contributes a rich collection of native voices that tell a riveting and sorrowful story about relations between indigenous people and American settlers, government officials, reformers, and missionaries. Two elements contribute to the successful presentation of Indian insights and voices in *Our Hearts Fell to the Ground*. First, there are Calloway's wonderfully-crafted thirty-page introduction and fifty-plus pages of contextual material. Considered together, these eighty pages suggest that army bullets, transcontinental railroads, and gold rushes were experienced by native people as suppressions of local autonomy, as thefts of ancestral homelands, and as deaths of friends and family members. Within the setting developed by Calloway—the American conquest of the Plains—readers can probably acknowledge the relevance of hearing and listening to native voices.

Second, there is Calloway's excellent collection of texts and images. Through these materials, Calloway captures traces of indigenous idioms elucidated in oral tales and vision stories, inscribed in native naming practices, chronicled in winter counts, buffalo robes, and sketchbooks, and mediated through autobiographical texts. Twenty-seven black-and-white illustrations add visual support to a book that privileges a native standpoint on events in the nineteenth century. Calloway's authoritative scholarly voice, the many native voices, and the several images that make up *Our Hearts Fell to the Ground* haunt the overly-congratulatory nationalistic and popular tale of how the West was won which, shamefully, too many Americans accept as the only truth. In a three-page epilogue, Calloway suggests that Indian people not only survived the extermination campaigns and forced assimilation policies of federal officials, reformers, and missionaries, but today "continue to fight to hold on to things they deem essential to their survival as a people."

Professors and teachers could (and should) make *Our Hearts Fell to the Ground* required reading in surveys of U.S. history, in beginning American Studies courses, and in advanced undergraduate seminars, such as courses that concentrate on ethnicity, manhood and nationhood, colonialism, and subaltern political and cultural struggles and resistances. The introductory materials and the documents are short and readable enough to serve as foundations for reasonable one-week assignments aimed at training students to construct arguments from primary sources. In addition, *Our Hearts Fell to the Ground*, when used with Calloway's notes and selected bibliography, might facilitate semester-long projects wherein students further investigate Plains warfare, assimilation campaigns, and forms and criticisms of native self-narrations. Calloway's work also might encourage deeper appreciation of those native voices today that admonish sport teams whose mascots lampoon real Indian people and that insist plastic

shamans and non-Indian artists continue an American tradition of robbing native people of their cultural capital.

University of Kansas

David Anthony Ty-ee-me Clark

**Robert W. Cherny.** *American Politics in the Gilded Age, 1868-1900.* Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1997. Pp. Xi, 167. Paper, \$11.95; ISBN 0-88295-933-6.

Robert Cherny, a member of the Department of History at San Francisco State University, has written a comprehensive overview of American politics from the immediate post-Civil War period to the Progressive Era. In a lively prose style, he reviews major political happenings and suggests ways to interpret this spirited period.

Cherny contends that American voters principally responded to issues of ethnicity, religion, and race. At times a strong sense of class identity influenced behavior at the polls. Generally, Republicans represented a more homogeneous coalition of voters, who embraced Protestantism, promoted moral values, and endorsed a positive expectation that government could accomplish a limited number of social and economic goals. Democrats, on the other hand, showed greater religious heterogeneity, represented by Roman Catholics in the North and old-stock Protestants in the South, but they shared common opposition to the strong use of government. As Cherny suggests, Democrats were part of the "personal liberty party," carrying on the tradition of the Jeffersonian-Jacksonians. Moreover, there existed considerable popular interest in politics, resulting at times in fierce competition between the two major parties. Any effort to enact a national party agenda was doomed, given the need to win approval from two houses of Congress and the White House. After all, it was unusual for either Democrats or Republicans to dominate this all-powerful political trinity. And Cherny cogently argues that political assumptions, strategies, and events of the Gilded Age helped to establish the essential foundation for twentieth-century politics.

This is a solid piece of work. Cherny has crafted a readable monograph that is ideally suited for classroom use, especially upper-division courses on the Gilded Age or the Populist crusade. Perhaps, too, this book might find a place in a post-Civil War survey class. Cherny consistently explains complicated political events in a clear and interesting fashion; his review of the Greenback movement is a good illustration of such coverage. An imaginative appendix, which includes tables on such topics as farm production, crop prices, and popular and electoral votes for the presidency, should assist readers to understand this "watershed" period in the nation's political life. A bibliographical essay is also helpful; it is extensive and up-to-date. If there is a weakness, it surely involves some of the poorly reproduced illustrations. Nevertheless, quality and price make *American Politics in the Gilded Age* a smart choice for

classroom adoption. Instructors, too, will discover that this book is an ideal way to refresh their own memories about the Gilded Age.

Clemson University

H. Roger Grant

**Maria Sturken.** *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. Pp. x, 358. Cloth, \$45.00; Paper, \$16.95.

*Tangled Memories* is a challenging piece of cultural criticism that explores how a nation remembers its past and what the political battles over the construction of those memories mean for the present. The book operates on two levels. First, it has a rather dense theoretical discussion of the relationship between memory and history. Sturken, assistant professor at the Annenberg School of Communication, University of Southern California, uses psychological theory, mostly Freudian, of how an individual remembers and forgets to suggest that a culture and/or a nation selectively shapes its memory of past events to define itself and give meaning to those events for the present. These events might be specific, such as the Kennedy assassination or the Challenger disaster, or in a series like the Vietnam war or the AIDS epidemic. In either case, they produce artifacts that both memorialize and become the focus of debates on the meaning of these events.

The book is at its best when it moves from theory to analysis of specific cultural artifacts, as in the chapters on movies about the Vietnam War, the fight over the design and construction of the Vietnam veterans memorial, and the display of the AIDS quilt on the Mall in Washington, D.C. Sturken convincingly argues that both the movies and the memorial show a nation deeply conflicted over the meaning of the Vietnam war, particularly that its loss represented a weakening of American masculinity. On the other hand, she shows how a very traditional form of folk art (quilts) becomes politicized when it is used to memorialize those who have died of AIDS and exhibited at the symbolic heart of the nation. It is disappointing that AIDS movies and teledramas did not receive the same careful attention as the Vietnam movies. Productions like *An Early Frost*, first broadcast in 1985, *Parting Glances* (1986), and *Longtime Companion* (1990) contributed to documenting the early response to AIDS, particularly its devastating impact among gay men. While these three films never had the ratings or the box office receipts of the overhyped and dramatically inferior *Philadelphia* and thus did little to shape the debate over AIDS, they nonetheless deserve analysis as artifacts that are still available to influence how the nation remembers AIDS.

Uses for this book in the classroom are limited. It could be used most effectively in courses on twentieth-century America, though it presupposes a thorough knowledge



of post-1960 American politics and society. In a historiography or historical methods course, the introduction and first chapter would stimulate a lively discussion on the relationship between memory and history and the historians' role in helping a nation remember its past. Finally, of the three chapters mentioned above, the best is the one on the Vietnam veterans memorial. It is an excellent case study of the debates surrounding the meaning of war, its impact on American society, and on the healing of national wounds.

Mississippi University for Women

William R. Glass

Jacqueline Jones Royster, ed. *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900*. Boston & New York: Bedford Books, 1997. Pp. xi, 228. Paper, \$8.50.

*Southern Horrors and Other Writings*, edited by Jacqueline Jones Royster, is a new addition to the "Bedford Series in History and Culture," a collection of texts designed to give readers the opportunity to study the past the way historians do. Each text in the series focuses on a specific topic within a specific historical period. Also, each text includes a set of historical documents with the aim of facilitating a critical understanding of the documents and the social context within which they are produced. Born into slavery in 1862, Wells went on to achieve national and international fame as an investigative journalist, public speaker, and anti-lynching crusader. The documents collected in this volume represent Wells's major writings during her anti-lynching campaign period, 1892 to 1900. The purpose of this text, according to the editor, is to initiate a much needed dialogue on the phenomenon of lynching as a disquieting aspect of race relations in the American experience.

*Southern Horrors and Other Writings* is divided into two parts with an appendix. In Part One, Royster critically examines the politics of the post-Reconstruction era and illuminates the backdrop it provides for mob violence against African Americans. Royster's insightful analysis of the sociopolitical matrix of the post bellum South enables the reader to discern "lynching's complex relationships to systems of power and domination, to public discourse, and to social activism, including the activism of African American women."

Part Two contains three documents chronicling Ida B. Wells's major writings on lynching viz., *Southern Horrors: Lynch Laws in All its Phases*, *A Red Record* and *Mob Rule in New Orleans*. Each document provides vivid and disquieting portrayal of actual acts of lynching. More importantly, Wells unravels the social and political complexities of lynching and identifies several basic inconsistencies between the rationale for lynching and its actual execution. In the three documents, Wells rejects the notion that lynching is a spontaneous albeit understandable act of punishment for

the heinous crime of rape and assault of white women by feral black males. For Wells, lynching is a ritualized act of violence and intimidation designed with the specific purpose of retarding the progress of African Americans in their efforts to participate in the social, political, and economic life of the nation.

In *A Red Record* and *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases*, Wells explicates the nexus of lynching as an extra legal system of justice and social control. She ironically notes that acts of lynching occurred in places with established systems of law and order. Furthermore, Wells brings to the fore the fact that the so-called "crimes" that necessitate the lynching of African Americans include "personal achievements" by hardworking African Americans, failure by African Americans to be appropriately deferential to whites, or attempts by African Americans to exercise some constitutionally guaranteed civil rights. But more revealing for Wells is the fact that in many instances of "rape" the alleged rapist often happens to be in consensual liaison with the victim. Of the three documents, *Mob Rule in New Orleans* is, in my opinion, the most illuminating of the incendiary nature of lynching. The document is a case study that dramatically details an individual incident of discrimination as it escalates in the absence of law, order, and the application of justice to become a paradigm of what Wells refers to as "southern horror."

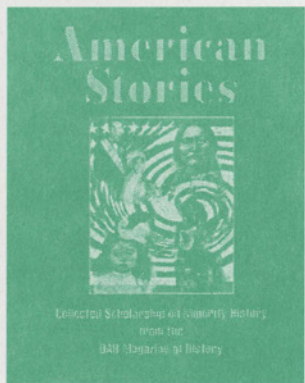
In reviewing the impact of Wells's crusade against lynching, Royster notes that Wells deemed her primary task to be the recasting of lynching in the public eye so that "it was no longer perceived as an understandable though unpleasant response to heinous acts but as a crime itself, a crime against American values." And that this purpose can be accomplished by presenting the "facts" of lynching to the American people, and to an international audience. Wells's strategy, therefore, is to intervene boldly in public discourse and to change public opinion so that the application of justice for all could prevail.

*Southern Horrors and Other Writings* has two salient merits. First, the editor presents Wells's writings in their original form, a useful strategy that enables the reader to appreciate Wells's insight and perception of the sociopolitical circumstances from which she is able to launch the most successful of the early anti-lynching campaigns. And second, the appendix contains a chronology of Wells's works and accomplishments, a set of examination questions for students, and an excellent bibliography on topics such as lynching, post-civil war history, women's history, and education. No doubt teachers and students will find this section extremely useful as a resource base. However, because of its topical orientation, *Southern Horrors and Other Writings* is best suited as a corollary text for courses in African-American history, American history, and Women studies. I strongly recommend it.



A national publication designed to address the interests and concerns of history and social studies teachers, the *Magazine* is organized around thematic issues based on recent scholarship in American history. Guest editors work with their colleagues to develop three or four short essays on particular aspects of the theme. Each issue contains lesson plans providing examples of how significant new scholarship can be incorporated into classroom exercises. Upcoming issues will focus on Congressional history, Teaching History Through Literature, Imperialism, Judicial history, Early Republic, and the Gilded Age. In addition to the topical articles, each issue includes **Dialogue**, which presents various approaches to history teaching; **Student Speak**, where students discuss their views on history and history teaching; **History Headlines**, a listing of upcoming conferences and events of interest; plus reviews, teaching resource guides, and more.

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