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REVIEWS

THE TRIAL OF NAPOLEON: A CASE STUDY FOR USING MOCK TRIALS

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During a recent semester, in an effort to promote active learning in the classroom and get students involved in history, I structured a class around a fictitious trial of Napoleon I, Emperor of France. I wanted the students to share my enthusiasm for the French Revolutionary period and I hoped the structure of the course would encourage students to engage in meaningful research and critical analysis and to foster a sense of student camaraderie. I also hoped that the competitive aspects of the mock trial would motivate students to work harder than they might in a more traditional classroom setting. It was my first experience with such a format and I had some concerns with how I would handle course organization, format, grading, performance, and anticipated outcome. The course that resulted, "HIS 399: The Trial of Napoleon Bonaparte," was the most rewarding teaching experience of my academic career and, based on student responses, one of their best courses as well. I offer this essay as a case study of the course: The paper will outline some of the constraints and difficulties in implementing the course, explain some of the rationale for the choices I made, offer some observations on the strengths and weaknesses of the course, and make some suggestions for how I might change the same course in the future.

The use of mock trials is not new, especially for pre-law or paralegal programs and there is an extensive body of research for using trials at all levels of education. College courses in the disciplines of English, sociology, communications, business, and even mathematics have utilized mock trials. However, comparatively little has been done using mock trials in college-level history courses.[1]

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[1]The literature cited here is not intended to be all inclusive. For secondary teachers, see: Amy Vittert Deutsch, *A Mock Trial Resource Guide for Secondary Educators* (Masters Thesis, Maryville University of Saint Louis, 1997); Charles Hou, "The Death's Head-Pin: Using a Mock Trial to Introduce the Caribou Gold Rush," *History and Social Science Teacher*, 18 (March 1983), 172-78; John G. Popenfus and Mark Kimbrell, "The Mock Trial as an Activity in High School," *History and Social Science Teacher*, 25 (Fall 1989), 35-39; Norma Thiele, "Mock Libel Trial Provides Unique Educational Experience," *Quill and Scroll*, 63 (Oct.-Nov. 1988), 4-6. For college level see: Martin V. Bonsangue, "Is It True that `Blonds Have More Fun'?" *Mathematics Teacher*, 85 (Oct. 1992), 597-81; Victoria Boynton and Jane Carducci, "Benefits of the Mock Trial in the College Classroom," *The English Record*, 43 (1993), 11; Augustine Brannigan, et. al., "Pornography and Behavior: Alternative Explanations," *Journal of Communication*, 37 (Summer 1987), 185-92; Frank M. Bryan, "Learning Through Conflict: The Mock Trial Experience," *Teaching Political Science*, 10 (Spring 1983), 127-35; Joan Palasz Alverzo, "Mock Trial: An Educational Tool," *Nursing Management*, 28 (1997), 46; Loriless R. Sandmann and Anne Gillespie, "Land Grant Universities on Trial," *Adult Learning*, 3 (Oct. 1991), 23-25; Norma J. Shepelak, "Employing a Mock Trial in a Criminology Course: An Applied Learning Experience," *Teaching Sociology*, 24 (Oct. 1996), 395-400; Eugene Howard Wade, "Development of a Mock Trial," *Journal of Business Education*, 45 (May 1970), 339-40).

I wanted to use the course for our junior seminar, a course in which all the students conduct research on the same topic. I knew I could expect anywhere from 15 to 20 history, pre-law and/or social science majors/minors who had taken the required introductory level courses. About half of the students had taken my Revolutionary Europe (1650-1815) course, some had already had quite a few upper-level courses, but a third of the class had only had the required introductory American and world history courses. All of them had taken our historical methods course which we offer at the sophomore level. Consequently, they all knew how to conduct historical research, critically analyze primary sources, and account for differences in historical approach.

Since my area of expertise is the French Revolution and Napoleon, I wanted to find a way that the students could undertake meaningful research in European history at a regional university with adequate but limited library resources. When considering the topic for my trial, my initial inclination was to use the trial of Louis XVI and have the students play appropriate roles. However, after some research on the trial, I decided to use a fictitious trial rather than a real one for several reasons. An historical trial already had a verdict and I did not want to saddle the class with a preordained outcome. In addition, I found that Louis's trial did not allow me to dig at some of the deeper questions of the era. I thought it might be interesting to put Napoleon Bonaparte on trial and began to think of some issues to consider. Eventually the purpose of the course centered around a traditional question within the historiography of the field: "Did Napoleon pervert or preserve the gains of the French Revolution?"

The class split into halves and each student assumed a role. One student played Napoleon and one student played the lead counsel (advocat) for each side. The remaining students had to assume the roles of witnesses and prepare their lead counsel to question witnesses from the other side. I assumed the role of judge and I persuaded three colleagues familiar with the Revolutionary era to act as the jury (tribunal). Deciding on the composition of the tribunal did not come easily. I wanted to use someone other than myself to make the judgment on the verdict to remove any hint of bias on my part and to add some real mystery to the process. However, I did not believe that I could use students because there were not enough of them in the class and I thought they lacked enough historical background to render a verdict. Moreover, since I initially decided to make the verdict a portion of the final grade, I felt awkward having students control a portion of the grades of their fellow classmates.

The central question of the trial–"Did Napoleon I pervert or preserve the gains of the French Revolution?"–was broad enough so that the students had to consider several issues. First, they had to arrive at some understanding of the gains of the French Revolution as defined by the Revolutionaries and several schools of historical thought. Next, they had to trace those gains through the Revolutionary and Napoleonic

regimes. Finally, they had to arrive at some consensus appropriate for their side about which gains were perverted and which were preserved.[2]

The trial took place over two successive Tuesday afternoons, each session lasting for three hours, the normal day and time of the course. I wanted to make the atmosphere of the trial as authentic as possible, so I arranged with the local civic officials to use the district courtroom. I persuaded my colleagues to wear their academic regalia during the trial, convinced the lead counsels to wear black robes borrowed from a local church choir's closet, and forbid the use of watches in the courtroom.

While organizing the details of the trial, how to manage our limited three-hour block became the most pressing concern. On the first day, I allocated fifteen minutes for each side's opening statements. The "perverters" would go first and would have two hours to present their case and produce all their witnesses. The "preservers" would have thirty minutes to cross examine as many witnesses as they liked. On the final day, the order was reversed; the "preservers" had two hours for their case, the "perverters" thirty minutes to cross examine, and each side had fifteen minutes of closing arguments. I kept track of time with a half-hour glass and gave each side some general indication of how much time they had left, e.g. "Half your time has elapsed," "You have one quarter of your time left," etc. Each side had one five minute "recess" that they could call at anytime to collect their thoughts, take a break from the trial, stretch, and/or get refreshments.

For the trial itself, I allowed objections for questions that were not germane, if a counsel badgered a witness, or hearsay. I also had to consider how to handle witnesses who gave factually inaccurate testimony, either because they lied or because they simply made a mistake. I decided to make the opposing side use cross-examination time to confront the witness, as one would in a regular trial.

Finally, I had to consider how to assess grades. The students playing witnesses wrote four to five-page "briefs" about their respective witnesses, while the lead counsels wrote a twenty-page essay detailing their strategy and how they planned to cope with the strengths and weaknesses of their respective issues. The student who played Napoleon wrote a twenty-page essay on Napoleon's background and his ideas regarding many of the prominent issues likely to be discussed, including the *Code Napoléon*, slavery, Napoleon's attitude toward women, the creation of the Legion of Honor, the creation of a new nobility, careers open to men of talent, and others.

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[2]Textbooks for the class included Roger Dufraisse, *Napoleon* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1992); Lynn Hunt, ed., *The French Revolution and Human Rights* (Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1996); Martin Lyons, *Napoleon Bonaparte and the French Revolution* (Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1994); Jeremy Popkin, *A Short History of the French Revolution* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1995); and selected articles from Frank Kafker and James Laux, eds., *Napoleon and His Time: Selected Interpretations* (Malabar, FL: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1989).

Students also would be graded on class participation, their preparedness to discuss readings, their performance as witnesses, the depth of understanding of the witness, ability to answer questions as witnesses might (to the best of their ability), and demonstrated appreciation for the issues at hand. In an effort to motivate the students, I set aside ten percent of the grade for the verdict. The winners received an "A" for the verdict while the losers received an "F." This meant that members of the losing side would have to score very well in all other aspects of the course to earn an "A" in the class. Finally, students were asked to write a five-page "summation" of how they thought the trial went, what they did well and what they thought they could do better and, finally, to give suggestions for course improvement. I also had them complete anonymous peer reviews, rating fellow group members from 1-5 in categories, including (though not limited to) responsibility, cooperation, research, and overall performance.

After six weeks of background reading to introduce the content and context of the trial, the class divided into two groups: "the perverters" and "the preservers," based on their own perceptions of Napoleon's influence on the French Revolution. Conveniently, the class divided exactly in half. A student volunteered to play the role of Napoleon and each side elected their own lead counsel and an assistant counsel based on suggestions I made. The students chose the two witnesses they would role play and the two they would prepare for cross examination from a list I had created based on available library and language sources. Since none of the students read any foreign language, I was limited in what they could use.[3] I also had the students provide both counsels with "disclosure" lists of what sources they used in their research and required that each side share resources fairly. For the rest of the course, the students researched their roles and met periodically with their sides to coordinate and plan strategy. I attended many of these sessions to make sure the students stayed on task.

When it came time for the trial, I worried about procedural problems, frequent objections, and poorly prepared students. Opening statements by both sides confirmed my fears. I inadvertently failed to give them any guidance regarding the purpose of

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[3]The single most helpful resource is Jean Tulard, *Bibliographie critique des mémoires sur le Consulat et l'Empire* (Geneva: Droz, 1971). Although written in French, Tulard's work is an annotated bibliography with a useful index. For some widely held memoirs printed in English see: Laure Abrantès, *At the Court of Napoleon: Memoirs of the Duchesse d'Abrantès* (New York: Doubleday, 1989); *Memoirs of Madame Junot*, 6 vols. (Paris and Boston: The Napoleonic Society, 1895); Louis Bourriènne, *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte*, 4 vols. (Paris and Boston: The Napoleonic Society, 1895); Emmanuel Auguste Las Cases, *Le Mémoirial de Sainte Hélène: Journal of the private life and conversations of the Emperor Napoleon at Saint Helena*, 6 parts in 3 vols. (Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1823); Napoleon I, Emperor of the French, *New letters of Napoleon I, omitted from the edition published under the auspices of Napoleon III*, from the French by Lady Mary Lyod (London: Heinemann, 1898); and *Unpublished Correspondence of Napoleon I preserved in the War Archives*, 3 vols., edited by Ernest Picard and Louis Tuety (New York: Duffield, 1913).

opening statements and it showed. However, once the perverters began their case, the trial moved with surprising ease. The perverters' case was well conceived, planned, and articulated. There were no unexpected snags, few objections, and, apart from some sharp verbal altercations between the two lead counsels, no major problems. The preservers were clearly unprepared for the thoroughness and clarity of the perverters' case in part because no one knew what to expect and in part because of student procrastination. When the first day ended, the general consensus among the students was that the preservers would have a difficult time defending their client.

The preservers rose to the challenge the following week. They attacked weaknesses in the perverters' case while highlighting the accomplishments of Napoleon. As part of a conscious policy, the preservers lured the perverters into spending most of their time questioning Napoleon, which left little time for other witnesses. When the preservers recalled Napoleon, the perverters had no time remaining for cross-examination. Consequently, Napoleon spoke eloquently and at length about his accomplishments, while his opponents watched helplessly from their tables. When I retired to the jury room with the tribunal, the outcome of the trial was very much in doubt.

Deliberations were enlightening. After much discussion, but without exception, the tribunal concluded that the preservers had presented the most convincing case. As the judge, I did not participate in the deliberations, but as the instructor I listened to the tribunal's comments, offered historical clarifications when asked, and solicited opinions about student performances. When I returned to the courtroom to read the verdict, the excitement and tension in the air was evident. Never have I been in such an emotionally charged room as part of an academic exercise.

Weaknesses

There were several evident weaknesses of the course. Without exception the most common complaint from students was the lack of time they had to research their respective parts. I assigned witnesses in the sixth week of classes and my rationale for this was simple; I wanted them to have some appreciation for where they stood on the central question before they chose sides. Consequently, students only had eight weeks to collect, process, and analyze their information. The relative unavailability of sources, especially those printed in English, was problematic. Some interlibrary loan requests could not be met in a timely fashion and several students resorted to traveling to research libraries in the region. Next time I will assign students their witnesses during the first or second week of class to eliminate some student frustration.

Other suggestions involved improving the process of the trial. Both sides complained about a lack of cross-examination time and, in retrospect, their observations were correct. Neither side used their allotted two hours to present their

cases, while both sides completely exhausted their cross-examination time. Next time, I will designate 45 minutes for cross-examination. My plan to have opposing counsel confront inaccurately presented information during cross-examination placed too much of a burden on the crossing side and cut into limited time. Therefore, in the future I will allow objections based on "inaccurate information."

Two serious issues arose over the roles that faculty played. Several students complained about the composition and behavior of the tribunal. One student noted, "I feel, for the most part, that the tribunal was unbiased, knowledgeable, and fair."[4] However, the perceptions of most of the students were quite different. One of the students wrote in her summation: "The jury, I felt, was terrible. I believe they were biased from the beginning, especially since two of them were French professors ... After the jury was there for just a few minutes one slept while another graded papers. Again on the second day, both French professors slept while the other graded papers. It made us feel like we were not getting through to any of them." Another wrote, "It is hard to believe that we had a fair and impartial jury when no one paid attention ... I thought that it was very disrespectful to us for them to sleep. The trial may not have been important to them, but it was to us." I observed similar patterns of behavior from the tribunal and instead of worrying about time constraints, I should have called more frequent breaks so we could all stretch, catch a breath of fresh air, or get refreshments.

Another serious problem involved around my own role in the trial. As an outspoken Bonapartist, I had made clear in previous classes my views that Napoleon preserved the basic gains of the French Revolution. While I assured the class that my views would not affect the course of the trial, this clearly was not enough. The assistant attorney for the perverter side wrote in her summation, "I also believed that the judge helped the preservers more and kind of left us in the dark." The student who played Napoleon wrote, "There were numerous complaints that you could or would sway the opinion of the tribunal, or rather that your decisions during the trial were made with natural biases in favor of Napoleon and the preserver side." While this was not the case, the perception that it might have been a problem bothered me. Several students offered some insightful suggestions and many wanted more influence in the composition of the tribunal. A member of the perverter side recommended having both sides chose one juror and the judge chose the third. One of my fellow colleagues suggested that jurors get educated during the trial and I should reconsider using students. In fact, it would be easy to use Phi Alpha Theta (history honor society) members, several of our pre-law club members, or even students from another class.

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[4]Quotes were taken from summations all students submitted at the end of the course. To protect the anonymity of students, names have been omitted and, where necessary, I have edited the quote to compensate for the lack of proper names.

Not only would the students in the trial class have to prove their point, they would have to do it in a way that others not involved in the course could understand.

The most controversial aspect of the class became the "verdict" part of the grade. I knew the decision would be an unpopular one, but I wanted to motivate students to work hard throughout the course. However, I found that the students were motivated enough by peer competition without the mechanism of the verdict grade. Indeed, in many ways the verdict grade was counter-productive. Students were so concerned for their grade that fear of losing eclipsed their natural enthusiasm for the course and both winners and losers objected to this aspect of the grade, especially in light of how hard every student worked and performed. It was the most serious blunder I made in planning the course and, ultimately, I eliminated the verdict element of assessment before assigning final grades.

Strengths

Despite the weaknesses, the trial was a success for student and professor alike. The mix of student majors made for an interesting class. The trial appealed to history, pre-law, and social science teaching majors for different reasons. The pre-law students obviously enjoyed the mock trial format and the competitive spirit of the course. The future teachers appreciated the novel pedagogical approach to the subject, while the history majors enjoyed the historiographical debate and the research.

Many praised holding the trial in the district courthouse, the atmosphere created by the lack of precise time, and costumes worn by the lead attorneys, tribunal members, and myself. One student confessed, "From the first moment of questioning I had the strangest feeling inside of me, it was like a rush of adrenaline just from the atmosphere of the trial." In a more detailed account, another student wrote, "I feel the use of this venue [district courtroom] was an excellent choice. It gave an aura of professionalism. The use of an hourglass to keep time gave the courtroom a sense of timelessness. The use of black robes by the judge, lawyers, and jury helped to set the ambiance of the time period we were portraying." The ambiance could be further enhanced in the future by the use of music, flags, and period art.

The ease with which the actual trial progressed surprised everyone involved. The dreaded ceaseless objections, pointless arguments, and numerous sidebars never materialized. In fact, the trial seemed to take on a life of its own, ebbing and flowing with each witness and cross-examination. One student noted, "The overall trial seemed to go very smoothly, with each side having their better days. The first day of the trial seemed to be won by the prosecution, who took the defense by surprise by being very prepared and organized. However, the next session, and the trial itself, was won by the defense, who were spurred on by their defeat on the first day. The lead advocat for the preserver side believed that, "The rules of the Court were fair, they took a little bit of

getting used to, but that is what makes it so interesting. Initially, I thought that the students should have some kind of moot court experience or something to watch or go by, but not knowing only adds to the realism." The lead perverter commented, "The fact that the trial went as smoothly as it did was a pleasant surprise."

The strategy aspect of the trial appealed to several students, mainly on the preserver side. They made better use of time by calling Napoleon to the stand to question him on several of his accomplishments. Our student Napoleon wrote, "Our side devised and implemented the strategy of calling Napoleon in the middle and asking him the toughest questions so as to incite the prosecution into using up a large amount of their [cross-examination] time. As a result, we were able to call Napoleon to the stand again and have him glorify himself without any opposition to his testimony." It was an effective strategy and a member of the perverter side lamented, "I totally forgot about recalling witnesses. I think our side was hurt by Napoleon being recalled, but it could have been worse."

Virtually all the students commented positively about the active learning aspects of the course. One wrote, "Never have I worked so hard, and had so much fun during the process of learning–this is what history is all about." Another noted, "The type of group research assigned in this class was new and refreshing ... I feel that this type class is the absolute best way to analyze history when a student gets to this level in their undergraduate career." Perhaps the most dramatic comment came from the lead attorney on the preserver side. He wrote:

> The prosecution hammered the hell out of us/me on day one. I felt alone up there fumbling for a question or two to ask on a page that had twenty. I felt shame for I felt that I let my team down, and when I was fumbling for words, I would look over and see their eyes, and then the guilt and shame would just come over me. That was the worst feeling in the world, and at the same time it was the best. It was real!

I have always struggled with how to make group learning meaningful, while ensuring that those who did the work get rewarded accordingly. Many of the students expressed satisfaction in the group aspect of the class. One wrote, "Most of the time the classes students have focus on reading and listening ONLY [student's caps] to the professor. Being able to interact with your fellow students made this class more interesting. In most classes the student does not feel like a part of the class. Yet in this class, everyone is involved and everyone is important in the class." Concerning the group work another student wrote, "It was demanding because each individual was responsible for themselves and their group members. If anyone slacked off their duties, it did not go unnoticed. The added encouragement and incentive to fellow members was enough to make sure that everyone pulled their own weight." Group

strategy meetings were held in local restaurants, dorm rooms, and apartment buildings, some lasting well into the morning hours. Without exception, students claimed their side was well prepared and devoted a great deal of time to trial preparation.

The personal attachments the students made were also rewarding, for myself and for them. One student observed, "Besides the obvious fact that everyone walked away thoroughly sick of Napoleon ... the students in the class became friends. Working so close and having individual and group meetings preparing for the trial has allowed for the personal side of everyone to come through and we have come away knowing more about each other in the process." Another commented, "Although we had a lot of hard work to do we were able to have a good time and get to know each of our fellow group members on a personal level which I enjoyed. This I believe helped us function better as a team." That same student closed his summation, "I not only enjoyed this class because ... I made some friends that I know I will not soon forget."

The effort the students put into the course impressed me as well. On a scale of 1-5, the average score to the question "Did you work hard?" on our computerized performance forms was a 4.8, higher than similar upper-level history courses. Virtually all the students mentioned the amount of work they put into the class, most of it outside formal class time. Peer competition clearly motivated them better than any other inducement I implemented, including the verdict aspect of student assessment.

Finally, as a historian, I was pleased to see the students actively engage in historiographical debate. It was clear to me that some of the arguments presented in the trial mirrored traditional lines of debate in French Revolutionary and Napoleonic scholarship. In some ways, the preservers glorified Napoleon's political achievements, praised his vision, and deified him as the champion of the *political* gains of the French Revolution. The perverter side attacked Napoleon on social grounds, for his complete unwillingness to preserve women's rights, his reinstitution of slavery, his reestablishment of hereditary nobility, and his conscious and consistent steps to erode popular participation in the judicial and political system.

In some ways this trial evolved into a debate about the "Great Man" theory of history. Undeniably Napoleon's actions influenced the course of the Revolution, and the question I asked the students to answer necessarily meant that both sides had to question Napoleon's personal role in France's Revolutionary period. In other words, Napoleon's conduct and policies formed the focus of the trial instead of more organic changes beyond Bonaparte's control. While the debate about the "Great Man" theory of history is passé for many professional historians, the structure of a trial around one influential person was a good way to get students to start thinking analytically and led to a more sophisticated interpretation of the period. Napoleon was a complex personality, full of inconsistencies, and often initiated contradictory policies. Students

discovered that changes occurred in French society that the Emperor did not anticipate or could not control.

Furthermore, the structure of a mock trial is such that it allows for changes in approach and purpose. Depending on the phrasing of the charge, one could ascertain to what extent Napoleon was a military innovator, or one could argue whether he had any direct effect on the era or whether stronger cultural influences transcended his personal reign. One could even take the question "Did Napoleon pervert or preserve the gains of the revolution?" and conduct the trial as a "class action" suit with those opposed to Napoleon (women, free slaves, republicans, devout Catholics) on one side and Bonapartists on the other. This allows students to analyze the same issues but shifts the focus away from Napoleon and redirects it to more fundamental issues.

Conclusion

In this essay I have confronted the issues surrounding a fictitious trial of Napoleon Bonaparte. This kind of pedagogical device allows historians to introduce historiographical debate and promotes meaningful critical analysis of historical sources and issues. Mock trials enhance active learning, foster a cooperative spirit, inspire hard work, and allow students to share their knowledge in a unique setting. The weaknesses I identified in this activity can be remedied and the strengths further developed to create a memorable and effective course. The trial format requires a great deal of planning, flexibility, patience, and perseverance, but the rewards are well worth it–for student and professor.

DESIGNING A HOLOCAUST INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATORS: OPPORTUNITIES AND PROBLEMS

Neil Betten
Rodney Allen
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Florida State University

A willingness to provide leadership, to seek private funds, and to interest colleagues to participate constitute critical elements in establishing a teaching institute to explore a significant historical issue. With good fortune, the results of an institute might have impressive long-term consequences. A teacher from Alabama, having recently completed the Holocaust Institute at Florida State University (FSU) concluded, "I came away with a deeper appreciation of historical events that lead to major world-shattering events. I have also made a personal commitment to concentrate on emphasizing tolerance as I teach, because of what I learned here this week." A north Florida teacher found that, "This past week was the most valuable, informative, and heart-wrenching experience I have had in 24 years of teaching. I learned more information in a week than I ever thought possible."[1]

This essay relates how a professor of social studies education and a professor of history, both at FSU, began a successful historical institute that has now completed its seventh year. Although this discussion is not intended as a blueprint, our successes and setbacks could provide insights and ideas for those who desire to expand their teaching, explore various subjects, or bring together local scholars presenting varied perspectives on an important issue.

During the summer of 1994, Florida State University held its first Holocaust Institute for Educators, primarily for middle and secondary school teachers. Six months before this event, the president of the Tallahassee Federation of Jewish Charities asked the chair of the FSU History Department if the university could organize such an institute for teachers. The request followed the publication of a national Roper poll indicating that secondary school students had very little knowledge of the Holocaust. Although some aspects of this survey were poorly constructed and of questionable value (particularly the questions dealing with Holocaust denial), even the survey's critics agreed that the poll illustrated enormous ignorance of the Holocaust.[2] Shortly after the Federation of Jewish Charities requested establishment of the institute, the Florida Legislature made the teaching of the Holocaust mandatory in public schools, but did not provide any funds to prepare teachers in the subject. The

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[1]Student evaluation of the Florida State University Holocaust Institute for Educators, FSU Center for Professional Development, Holocaust Institute files, hereafter cited as CPD file.

[2]For a discussion of the Roper poll see Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (New York: Free Press, 1993).

Institute founders asked FSU to establish a summer program examining the German onslaught against European Jewry from 1935 to 1945. The Institute would grant students either academic credit or continuing education credit that would apply toward teacher certification. Moreover, we made clear our intention to seek grants and private donors to finance the Institute, thus not financially burdening the university. With very few university procedures and requirements to fulfill, the FSU administration approved the Institute.[3]

The Institute directors outlined a program of presentations, workshops, and other events to cover a seven-day period in late June, when Florida public teachers were free for full-time study. Each year the Institute opens with a Sunday reception, followed with a presentation by a nationally prominent figure. Weekday programs begin at approximately 8:00 a.m. and end at approximately 9:30 p.m. A half-day Saturday class completes the sessions.

The Institute has two major goals, the first of which is to help teachers effectively present the Holocaust to students and to have our participants understand the historical record, such as the background of the Holocaust, what actually occurred, and why events unfolded as they did. In the mornings and early afternoons, speakers examine subjects such as the evolution of Nazi anti-Jewish policies, the history of German ideas related to anti-Semitism, economics and the role of business as an aspect of Nazi policy, the role and lack of role of bystanders and protesters, the social-psychological perspective on acceptance of authority, Jewish life in central and eastern Europe before the Holocaust, and the general patterns of destruction in the Jewish community throughout Europe. In addition, a number of sessions focus on different countries and their response to Nazi control. Germany and Austria, Vichy France, Poland, Italy, Romania, Hungary, the Netherlands, and the occupied areas of the USSR receive separate examination. The social history of the concentration and death camps, Jewish resistance in the ghettos, camps and countryside, and the role of the U.S. State Department receive attention as well. A social psychologist presents two sessions, one examining conformity and obedience to authority and the other the promotion of intergroup tolerance and cooperation. There have been yearly variations in this program, but the above description generally has remained the Institute's approach.

Two considerations determined what subjects would be explored. A core of sessions examine standard themes in the study of the Holocaust, such as Nazi anti-Jewish measures in Germany or the death camps. This traditional material is necessary for teachers with little background in the subject. Additional topics reflect the interests of the Institute faculty. Limited funds mean having primarily local faculty as

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[3]The FSU Center for Professional Development agreed to oversee Institute advertising and administration of non-academic routine, provide equipment and meeting rooms, and help with fund raising. The Institute paid CPD for these services.

presenters. However, we orient our sessions to their strengths, although their interests often deviate from the most commonly taught areas. This has worked out well. Some of these sessions, for example, focus purely on the events in Italy or Romania; those sessions were often cited as the most insightful in evaluations. Examining less typically explored topics results in the most knowledgeable of the students/teachers acquiring information that supplements their previous study.

Likewise, including as a presenter, a social psychologist with historical knowledge and formidable methodological skills, introduces ideas that avoid simple pop-psychology explanations and instead inspires discussions on empirical evidence and sound experimental studies. This also provides new insights to both teachers experienced in teaching the Holocaust and novices.

In evening sessions additional historical material is presented in a variety of settings. Evenings typically involve discussions built around documentary films, a "what is Judaism" program, and sessions with Holocaust survivors. On Friday evening, we encourage Institute participants to attend services at one of the two synagogues in the area. The Institute arranges transportation, if necessary, and the congregations are informed that the Institute visitors will be in attendance. Although no one is required to attend Jewish services, this aspect of the program has been a great success. This visit, as well as learning about Judaism in our "what is Judaism" session, might have had an especially important impact among our students who primarily came from north Florida, southern Georgia, and Alabama and have had little contact with Jewish culture.

The Institute has been judged highly successful, based on positive evaluations by student/teacher participants, highly complimentary judgments by official examiners of the Florida Humanities Council, the winning of the FSU President's Continuing Education Award in 1994, and the receipt of two major national awards from the University Continuing Education Association in 1998. Nevertheless, the Institute has faced numerous problems. Some arose from the subject matter itself. At the outset, the Institute leadership had to decide whether the focus would be solely on the destruction of European Jewry, include other major Nazi victims who suffered a similar fate, or have sessions devoted to genocide in general. Initially we took the position that the Institute focus would be on European Jewry alone for a number of reasons: The Nazis killed Jews at a much higher percentage than any other group; they designed specific plans to destroy all the European Jews; they had, in the case of the Jews alone, destroyed an entire civilization, the Jewish culture of Eastern Europe; and they set aside even resources critical to German military needs in order to continue murdering Jews. In the last weeks of the war, killing Jews became such a priority that other victims were temporarily ignored in comparison. Thus, Institute policy held the position that the destruction of European Jewry was unique, whether compared to that of other ethnic groups destroyed during World War II or genocide committed at other

time periods with other peoples. Then, at the end of the third year we completely reversed ourselves on this issue.

Although our course continued to emphasize the destruction of European Jewry, our focus became more inclusive. As speakers with various perspectives provided additional insight, we concluded that the Institute distorted history if it did not include Nazi destruction of three million Roman Catholic Poles, the killing of Gypsies, attacks on homosexuals, murder of Russian POWs, and the partial destruction of other Nazi targets. To include only European Jewry gave the erroneous impression that the Jews alone were significantly victimized and, therefore, implied that perhaps aspects of Jewish culture triggered their fate. Although Hitler and the Nazi leadership victimized the Jews early in the process (along with German antifascist elements), numerous others followed close behind. To study one segment without examining the interconnections with the whole limited the understanding of the Holocaust.

Since the 1998 programs we have devoted a session to "the other Holocaust," an examination of the planned enslavement and annihilation of non-Jewish victims of Nazi oppression. We also asked other speakers to include non-Jewish Nazi targets, when applicable to their subject matter. Our survivors' sessions are now planned to go beyond the Jewish experience. Beginning with the 1997 Institute, we placed greater emphasis on the attacks German allies and semi-independent subordinate states carried out, at their own volition, against various ethnic cultures. Still focusing on Jewish destruction, the Institute thus evolved toward more inclusion. This led to other problems.

During the 1997 program the featured outside speaker at the Institute's Sunday reception, which was open to the public, examined the death rate of Polish children, both Jews and Catholics. Some of his talk also dealt with the Nazi killing, internment, and exceptionally hostile treatment of Polish Catholics, as compared to other nationalities, which, the speaker argued, Holocaust scholars had largely ignored.

The audience consisted of university faculty from fields related to the Holocaust, school teachers who constituted the students of the Institute, and numerous people from the Jewish community, many of whom were Institute donors. This third group included children of Holocaust survivors, several were survivors themselves, and others were Jewish organizational leaders. Many in the audience responded negatively when the speaker challenged traditional interpretations and criticized Elie Wiesel (one of the Institute's outside speakers the previous year). Although the speaker took a common academic position in attempting to modify points of view that have long been accepted, many of the lay audience considered this, as one person stated in a letter to the Chairman of the Florida Board of Regents, a "very transparent anti-Semitic personal agenda that he [the speaker] demonstrated by discrediting and diminishing the

Jewish tragedy of the Holocaust."[4] Ironically, the emotional aspect of the discussion during that program might have had a positive impact on subsequent sessions with the secondary school teachers, who immediately became aware that these "historical issues" remained current passionate controversies.

Another issue arose from the student evaluations of the Institute. Should the Institute address the concept of "Jewishness," what it means to be Jewish, and what Judaism represents as a religion? When this question first surfaced, the Institute directors rejected providing some of the Institute's very limited class time to this complicated issue. We also took this position because what constituted being Jewish in Nazi-controlled Europe had nothing to do with Judaism or Jewish culture. In Germany and in territory under direct German control, German law defined being Jewish in terms of current family or past family identification, assuming a genetic or biological basis. Nevertheless, the student/teacher participants, both verbally and in written evaluations, continued every year to press for a session on Judaism. Our students clearly believed this was important. Therefore, beginning in 1997 the Institute included an evening devoted to understanding Jewish culture and religion. The Institute participants, judging by subsequent evaluations, believed they benefitted because teaching about the Holocaust in areas having few, if any, Jews, resulted in their students asking questions related to Jewish culture and religion. Although our Judaism session hardly made our participants experts, they were provided with a foundation to respond to these questions.

In addition, questions arose concerning the sensitivity of a presenter who examined subjects that some considered unpleasant or unflattering regarding Jewish-staffed institutions the Nazis created. Did Jewish Councils, dictatorial Jewish Council presidents, Jewish ghetto police, Jewish concentration camp barracks leaders and camp police act primarily in self interest or to enhance Jewish survival? Some of his descriptions of Jewish Council heads, for example, were highly negative. Does the need to seek the truth overshadow risking being insensitive in one's conclusions? Institute policy chose inclusion and accuracy over possible insensitivity.

The second key point of the Institute's mission is to provide direction and examples for integrating Holocaust material into the school curriculum in history, social studies, English, the arts, and humanities. Participants are engaged for half of each day in discussion of lecture material, discussion of the broad concepts of the Holocaust, and in reading and enacting lesson plans. Initially, the discussions and role playing all took place after group luncheons, but participants found they had no time to process and digest one morning lecture before the next one started, and they experienced a serious overload of information. We rearranged the schedule to allow an hour of discussion before lunch, and moved one lecture each day to the hour

[4]CPD file.

immediately following lunch. The remainder of the afternoon is spent developing practical applications of the material for each participant's classroom needs.

The first afternoon session engages teachers in activities designed to elicit a rationale for studying the Holocaust. After examining the Florida Statute, Evelyn B. Holt's article "Remember Our Faces–Teaching About the Holocaust," and "Guidelines for Teaching the Holocaust" published by the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C., teachers write a rationale that fits their particular students' profile and their teaching situation.[5] This activity grounds the following week's work in the larger mandates of the national and state focus, and begins the process of applying the goals of the course to the specific demands of each teacher's classroom.

The variety of uses for the material shapes discussions that follow. The Institute is designed to appeal to secondary-level educators, but each year elementary and middle school teachers and instructors from community colleges also attend. The state mandate seeks to incorporate the material into the humanities and social studies, but English and art teachers attend as well. Placing the larger concepts of the Holocaust in the multitude of appropriate contexts is one strength of the program. Grouping the participants for discussion of the state grade and subject standards according to the grade level they teach and then regrouping them in mixed grade levels results in clearer perceptions of how any one teacher's lessons fit into the whole picture of the students' formal education, by grade and subject. The discussion has always included commentary on the appropriateness of presenting certain material to younger children (such as photographs of victims) and the culture of violence surrounding students today.

Examining the breadth of application of Holocaust concepts leads naturally into discussion and identification of specific themes each teacher will want to develop. One constraint on the uses of the material is the time the teacher has to devote to the subject. A few teachers have the luxury of an entire semester to explore the Holocaust fully, but most rearrange an already crowded schedule to spend a week or two on complexities that baffle scholars and psychiatrists alike. The need to help the overloaded teacher is addressed through two approaches: first, showing them how to seek help from other domains, in this case often the English and art teachers, and team teaching one or more units on compatible subjects; and, second, identifying the concepts that recur in world and United States history that are particularly apropos to the Holocaust and showing teachers how to introduce them as they occur throughout the semester, thus readying students for the specific application of those patterns and

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[5]Florida Statutes, Chapter 233.061(1)(f); "Guidelines for Teaching About the Holocaust" (Washington, D.C.: The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1993), also available on-line. <http://www.ushmm.org/education/guidelines.html>; Evelyn B. Holt, "Remember Our Faces–Teaching About the Holocaust," *ERIC Digest*, EDD-SO-92-1, ERIC Identifier: ED 345990, February, 1992.

themes to the developments of the Holocaust. Concepts of prejudice, discrimination, genocide, enslavement, nationalism, patriotism, race, and the politics of religion shaped historical events long before the actions of the Nazis. Locating the Holocaust on a variety of time lines, both short-term and in the longer sweep of history, also helps students understand how a horror of such magnitude could happen. From here, teachers are asked to define the Holocaust, for themselves and their students, and to recognize that the events have different definitions for different groups and individuals. They are encouraged to read Ervin Staub's *The Roots of Evil* for analytical models of genocide.[6]

Faced with a board full of words such as "race" and "prejudice," many public school teachers will recognize the potential for confusion, reaction, and rejection by students and by some parents. The Holocaust presents special issues that transcend the purely historical perspective. The afternoon curriculum integration sessions give more attention to the contemporary social implications of the Holocaust than the morning or evening meetings. The next discussions center on teaching controversial material, with a review of appropriate state and county guidelines. Teachers are encouraged to have the state guidelines handy, and to have fully prepared units ready for parental and administrative inspection, using materials prepared by accredited sources. Preparing parents with a letter explaining that social studies classes examine topics and events that were controversial when they happened in the past and continue to generate debate today is one way of keeping communications open and avoiding confrontations. Leading students through exploration of the differences between fact and opinion, the significance of nuance, and the need for politeness in advance of controversial discussions and having a prearranged plan for cutting off rancorous argument, such as switching from oral debate to journal writing, are typical methods teachers use for coping with controversy. Finally, teachers can consider three levels of exploration and choose the depth that best suits their situation. The first stage of inquiry, corresponding to the lowest step of Bloom's Taxonomy, is the fact-finding level, where the teacher leads students to collect "just the facts" of when and where the Holocaust happened, who was killed, and the magnitude of the crime. The next level is to show students that the history of genocide is not Germany's alone, but also a part of American history, of the collective "we" of the classroom. The ultimate challenge is to open students' eyes to their own prejudices and to have them recognize their own biases. To succeed, the teacher must be willing to do the same self-examination expected of students. It requires a classroom atmosphere of mutual trust and respect, and it is undoubtedly safer to teach in the lower levels of comprehension.

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[6]Ervin Staub, *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence* (Cambridge: University Press, 1968).

In addition to discussions about teaching, teachers are given a huge array of lesson plans to try out themselves in the afternoon sessions. Since the Institute was created, the State of Florida has produced a *Resource Manual on Holocaust Education*, a massive collection of maps, primary sources, plays, interviews, poems, and essays designed to be easily copied and dispensed by the classroom teacher.[7] The notebook is free to Florida teachers. It is divided topically into ten chapters, including material on expected subjects such as "Antecedents" and "The Final Solution," and fleshed out with thought-provoking readings on responsibility and resistance. South Carolina has a similar publication with different handouts and interviews with survivors who happen to be South Carolina residents.[8] A videotape of interviews with survivors accompanies the South Carolina collection and provides one of the most moving experiences of the Institute. Teachers receive both the Florida and South Carolina packets, plus a collection of short paperback novels, plays, and biographies to take home, and they are given time to browse through a large collection of other books, jackdaws, posters, maps, photographic collections, and other resources displayed in the classroom. One afternoon is spent on-line, exploring two dozen web sites that offer fully developed lesson plans, photographs, essays, and interactive exercises teachers can download or assign directly off the world wide web in their own classrooms. A final collection of lessons comes from the notebooks and units created by previous participants, which are available for inspiration throughout the week-long session.

The favorite lesson plans use a combination of resources. Most teachers like to begin with a time line and several are provided. One sketches a thousand years of prejudice and discrimination against Jews, while another focuses more narrowly on events in Germany immediately before and during World War II. Both perspectives provide the opportunity for a writing assignment on the social, political, and economic impact of discrimination. "Daniel's Story," a fourteen-minute video from the United States Holocaust Museum, works well with a discussion of how society deals with differences. The video comes with an extensive teacher's guide, vocabulary review, a treatment of the multiple layers of personal identity, comparison between "prejudice" and "discrimination," and a review of the treatment of children during the Holocaust. Who helped the children? Who helps children today in Rwanda and Bosnia? Elie Wiesel's *Night* and Anne Frank's *Diary* are perennial favorites stimulating students to write plays of their own, enacting famous scenes from the books or transferring the

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[7]State of Florida, *Resource Manual on Holocaust Education*, a project of the Florida Commissioner's Task Force on Holocaust Education, 1998, Rositta E. Kenigsberg, Chairperson.

[8]Linda Scher and Judith B. Tulchin, *South Carolina Voices: Lessons From the Holocaust*, Margaret B. Walden, Project Coordinator (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Education, in conjunction with the South Carolina Humanities Council, 1992).

concepts to new characters in new situations. After spending an hour on a set of posters, teachers generate suggestions for poems, collages, and journal entries. Poetry collections, including Asher Torrens's *Seven Portholes in Hell*, Barbara Helfgott Hyett's *In Evidence: Poems of the Liberation of Nazi Concentration Camps*, and William Heyen's *Erika: Poems of the Holocaust* bridge the divide between English or language arts classes and history and social studies classes, as do plays such as Celeste Raspanate's *I Never Saw Another Butterfly*, Robert Mauro's *Children of the Holocaust*, and Sue Saunders's *In Hollard Stands a House*, which the teachers read and present during the Institute. The music of the Holocaust can be explored through Arthur Miller's *Playing for Time*.[9]

The most profoundly moving experience for participants and their students happens when the survivors speak. Teachers are put in touch with any survivors in their area who are willing to address classes. For those who don't have this option, videos are available from Steven Spielberg's collection of interviews, from the South Carolina project, and from the United States Holocaust Museum. Being face-to-face with the people who have stared into the abyss, hearing them describe the indescribable, can make students uncomfortable and might elicit inappropriate remarks, laughter, or other nervous behavior, which should be anticipated in advance and addressed. Participants at the Institute are normally noisy and talkative, bursting with enthusiasm over the activities, but the night the survivors speak the teachers are subdued; it is a night for feelings rather than analysis.

As time permits during the Institute, additional teaching resources come into play. United States policy on immigration during the Holocaust often comes up, and is well covered in a newsletter from the Constitutional Rights foundation and the movie, "Voyage of the Damned." We compare the voyage of the ill-fated *St. Louis* to the Haitian boat people, using another article from the Foundation. National Archives documents on the proposed bombing of the railroad lines to Auschwitz come from an issue of *Social Education*. Louise Jacobsen and Mary Furlong's *The Bystander's*

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[9]Elie Wiesel, *Night* (New York: Bantam Books, 1960); numerous publications of Anne Frank's *Diary* are available; "The Artifact Poster Set with Teaching Guide" (Washington, D.C.: The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1991); Asher Torrens, *Seven Portholes in Hell* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1991); Barbara Helfgott Hyett, *In Evidence: Poems of the Liberation of Nazi Concentration Camps* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986); William Heyen, *Erika: Poems of the Holocaust* (St. Louis: TimeBeing Books, 1991); Celeste Raspante, *I Never Saw Another Butterfly* (Woodstock, IL: Dramatic Publishing, 1971); Robert Mauro, *Children of the Holocaust* (Colorado Springs: Contemporary Drama Service, 1989); Sue Saunders, *In Hollard Stands a House* (London: Collins International, 1991); Arthur Miller, *Playing For Time* (Woodstock, IL: Dramatic Publishing, 1985).

Dilemma pairs well with the hard-to-find Yale study of *Obedience*, addressing issues of self-preservation, authority, and selflessness.[10]

It is a full week. The most common complaint reported on the daily evaluation forms is fatigue, but this is more than balanced by the overwhelmingly positive assessment of content, speakers, activities, and resources. At the end of the week, participants leave FSU but stay tied to the Institute and each other through e-mail and the telephone. Their assignment is to translate the material and their experiences into a suitable lesson, unit, or semester for their teaching situation. The variety of applications they create is amazing, an interwoven mix of history, drama, art, and English, causing a strengthening of traditional history curriculum through thematic development. They are specifically instructed to provide detailed outlines of lectures, copies of maps, visuals, and handouts, instructions to students for assignments, and thorough documentation. Web sites are acceptable submissions, but most send a notebook or binder.

Numerous other historical topics, in the correct setting, would be equally productive. Florida A&M University, situated adjacent to Florida State University, successfully established a similar historical institute dealing with slavery in the United States. A college or university located near an ethnic group that constitutes a significant population segment in the same area could easily house such an institute. Other programs could be devoted to state history, especially where it is required for teacher certification. Essential ingredients are a person to take the lead, interested faculty, a willingness to search for funds, and an attractive topic.

Having enough money to finance the Institute was always a problem, and still is. Nevertheless, the Institute is totally self-supporting through fees paid by participants (or their sponsoring school districts), grants, and donations. We have raised between $30,000 and $50,000 annually to diminish fees significantly. Our costs consist of scholarships for participants, honoria for local faculty presenters and additional speakers, travel and expenses for speakers who come from throughout the United States, opening session receptions for students, participants, and donors, and use of facilities and personnel of the Center for Professional Development. The Institute scholarships cover tuition, books, teaching materials, and travel and lodging for almost all of those attending. These scholarships are the largest expense.

Tallahassee, home of Florida State University, has a very small Jewish community, but has provided enormous financial and participatory support for the Institute. The Jewish congregations, charities, and private family foundations from Tallahassee and other Florida areas have joined the Leon County Schools and the

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[10] *The Constitutional Rights Foundation's Bill of Rights in Action Newsletter*, 10 (Spring 1994); *Social Education* 66 (April-May 1993); Louise Jacobsen and Mary Furlong, *The Bystander's Dilemma* (Culver City, CA: Social Studies School Service, 1995).

Education Commissioner's Task Force on Holocaust Education and the Humanities Council as steadfast supporters. Thus, the Institute fulfilled its commitment of providing a positive educational experience while remaining largely self-supporting. The FSU administration, nevertheless, has set aside a base amount approximating twenty percent of the Institute's yearly budget. This security account has never been used, but it allows the fund raising to start with a base, and makes it possible to confirm commitments before funds are fully raised for each year's program.[11] The university now provides tuition waivers, a graduate assistant, and professionals to help raise funds.

The impact of this Institute is significant. Nearly 300 teachers have completed the Holocaust program. They have provided advice to curriculum oversight committees, given in-service workshops to their colleagues, and enhanced the social well-being of their communities by addressing issues of bigotry and tolerance. The history and image of the Holocaust forcefully promotes numerous lessons. "Having heard, seen, felt, and discussed the Holocaust during this institute," one participant stated in her formal evaluation of the Institute," I have a sense of powerful urgency to return to my students armed with activities that will promote their critical thinking on topics of intolerance, complicity, and resistance."[12]

Editor's Note: For a detailed list of resources on the teaching of the Holocaust, see Christopher C. Lovett, "For Those Who Do Not Remember the Past: Bringing the Holocaust to the Classroom," *Teaching History*, 24 (Spring 1999), 3-27. On-line sources to accompany Lovett's article are available at <www.emporia.edu/socsci/journal/cybrary.htm>.

[11] Supporters include over seventy individuals and institutions.

[12] CPD file.

METAHISTORY: A REVIEW ESSAY

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Paul Costello. *World Historians and Their Goals: Twentieth-Century Answers to Modernism.* Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1994. Paper, $18.00; ISBN 0-87580-564-7.

Martin W. Lewis and Karen Wigen. *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. Paper, $19.95; ISBN 0-520-20743-2.

Fred Spier. *The Structure of Big History, From the Big Bang until Today.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996. Paper, $19.95 (originally University of Michigan Press, 1996); ISBN 90-5356-220-6.

In most undergraduate classrooms, the phrase "world history" has a specific meaning: a valiant attempt to combine the histories of the entire world into a two-semester course. Once the instructor gets past the impossibility of this notion, she does her best to convey to the students what she believes are the most indispensable parts of that history, inevitably omitting what others might deem indispensable. This type of history falls at the opposite end of the spectrum from what many world historians see as their objective.

The field of world history has undergone great changes since becoming a classroom staple in the 1970s. The dominant theme in this area has become metahistory, or more colloquially "big history." Metahistory focuses more on the larger issues of the development of man and his world, less on the specifics. In fact, many world historians such as Fred Spier would question the need for specifics (individuals, nations, etc.) at all. Eliminating time-consuming (and for some, transitory and thus unimportant) "facts" allows the student and teacher to examine large amounts of time in order to see even larger patterns. This field, which might more accurately be called universal history, has gathered many adherents in higher education. (The logistics of accountability and standards make this type of study less feasible on the secondary level.)

The three works that follow in this review essay each examine a specific area of metahistory. In *World Historians and Their Goals*, Paul Costello describes the development of metahistory through great historians such as Arnold Toynbee and William McNeill. Fred Spier, a leader in this field, gives the reader perhaps the ultimate example of metahistory in *The Structure of Big History*. Finally, in *The Myth of Continents*, Martin Lewis and Karen Wigen take the concept a step further by discussing the pitfalls of our current framework of geographical designations. (I understand that this approach leaves out some historians and some "big history" studies

that others might want included. But these three studies provide a good place to start in understanding metahistory.)

***World Historians and Their Goals* by Paul Costello**

Paul Costello defines metahistory with a quote from Christopher Dawson: "... metahistory is concerned with the nature of history, the meaning of history and the causes and significance of historical change."[1] Costello states that world historians are metahistorians "par excellence," defining them as "schematic students of the past who have attempted to specify the pattern of the past from earliest recorded time to the present."[2] Adhering to these principles requires the world historian as metahistorian to view global history as a process (or sometimes lack of process), relying more upon large, overreaching ideas of motion and connectivity than the individual timelines and major players of any given nation-state.

As Costello begins his work, the reader immediately senses some type of dread, or "overwhelming sense of crisis," which he states is held by most western world historians.[3] While setting the tone for his book, Costello appears to voice his own belief in the coming crisis of world history as seen by many of his subjects. Even when addressing the guarded optimism of William McNeill, Costello seems to downplay or trivialize such a concept. This section (or at least the attitude of the section) might better have been left to the final chapter, rather than coloring the mindset of the reader at the beginning. However, it is important to note that the crisis of which he speaks, at least for two subjects of his book, H.G. Wells and Arnold Toynbee, is only part of a teleological process that should eventually produce a more unified and positive historical outcome. The issue of whether the motion of history is teleological or not is an underlying theme of this book.

H.G. Wells was not your typical historian. Mainly a novelist writing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Wells wrote under the utopian (or anti-utopian) influences of his day. Seeing this disintegration of society in the future, Wells sought to find a solution through the creation of a better, nobler society. Wells looked to a unified body of thought and will for the salvation of future generations, as did other metahistorians of the day. "In his view, the full realization of humanity's progressive potential could only occur when individuals recognized that their private

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[1]Paul Costello, *World Historians and Their Goals* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois Press, 1995), 4.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., 3.

destinies were wedded to the destiny of the race as a whole."[4] One aspect of this chapter (a similar section is in each chapter) that is of particular interest is the biographical material. Costello reads, rightly so, much into the experiences of the writers during their younger years. Wells, for example, took his quasi-religious views of God as part and parcel of human progress, not the instigator of it, from his mother's repressive notions and his early fear of God.

Wellsian theory describes the society that will save humanity–world unity and a World State–in *The Outline of History* (1923). Loosely called socialistic, members of this state would sublimate their own will for the good of the whole, with the final vision of progress and plenty firmly in their minds. The march of time, two world wars, and increased destruction of the planet caused Wells to become more pessimistic. His certainty of impending doom, unless a unified vision of the future was implemented, created a sense of desperation in his final writings. His view of the World State was criticized by many, including George Orwell, for its dehumanizing potential. His lack of historical method is also problematic for most. Wells certainly got much of his history "wrong." It is easy enough to state then that getting it "right" was not their goal (which would be correct), but as historians, the follow up question to that assertion is important: "How much do you have to misrepresent or misunderstand before it discredits your argument?" Costello does not gloss over this point. He emphasizes throughout the text that most people understood that the data might be wrong, but accepted that in the face of the new, innovated conceptual picture.

Costello also turns his attention to Arnold Toynbee. Toynbee, as opposed to Wells, had an extensive knowledge of history, which he used to write his mammoth, multi-volume work, *A Study of History* (1933-1961). This work is infused with a cyclical, yet essentially teleological, viewpoint of the history of man. Toynbee, as Costello points out, has been criticized most heavily for the religious element in his theory, which states that civilization will only be saved by a world body unified by a common religious belief. His emphasis on religion was partly based on his notion that the collapse of civilization would stem from a moral breakdown, fitting in nicely with his theory on the internal decay of past fallen empires such as Rome. It is just this view, however, that produced some of the most violent criticisms of Toynbee's work. Many attacked his notion of "history as redeemer," and his seeming "reduction of history to theology," going so far as to name his final religious solution "Toynbeeism."[5] Costello ends this chapter (as he does them all) with some redeeming

[4] Ibid., 23.

[5] Ibid., 94.

words in the face of critics, generally referring not particularly to the inherent value of the work as some type of paradigm, but to the questions and debates it raises.

The final historian Costello examines is the most current, William McNeill. McNeill represents the most convincing argument in the book for the non-teleological viewpoint, coupled with a very interesting ecological component. McNeill's major concerns for the future of civilization deal with militarism and over-zealous nationalism, while his ecological argument emerges through "the increasing closure of a united disease pool."[6] In response to these challenges, McNeill offers a world government. Using many sociological techniques, he concludes that such a union would be a "world historical fulfillment," synthesizing contributions from all past and current eras.

Despite his great historical knowledge, McNeill advocates what he termed "mythhistory," "where historians accept their role of providing a sense of the past."[7] This interpretive sense of the past allows historians the freedom to make generalizations that logically flow from past events. Inherent in the theory of "mythhistory" is the irony that despite its obvious potential pitfalls, most historians practice it in some form each day in the classroom; generally such conclusions do indeed work.

Finally, Costello presents his summation. Even though his final chapter presents only a modicum of new ideology, it does provide a nice sense of closure and a review of some major writers not included in this text. He declares that "there is a crisis in the twentieth century, one of historical confidence, that acts as a psychological impetus in the projection of world historical theories."[8] Even though his outlining of the tragic events of this century provide compelling evidence as to why metahistorians present many of their arguments, the question remains as to how convincing their arguments are. Have we really seen a break in the cultural continuity of western civilization? If so, why have the prognostications of many of these writers not come true–and does that fact dull or diminish their arguments? One main theme throughout the text is the importance of these theories in framing our view of world history and our discussion of the progression of culture. *World Historians and Their Goals* certainly provides a catalyst for discussion.

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[6]Ibid., 183.

[7]Ibid., 185.

[8]Ibid., 218.

***The Structure of Big History* by Fred Spier**

In this work, Fred Spier presents an interesting concept–the discussion of world history in terms of the development of the universe, with mankind kept to their accurately tiny place. Having never been presented in such a way (as the author points out numerous times), this framework for world history should seem new and innovative, which the scope, of course, is. However, readers might well find themselves acknowledging the familiarity of some of the arguments, rather than being astonished by them. To be sure, the innovation inherent in the book is its use as a vehicle to teach all of history. The concept of climatic change as a spur to the development of agriculture, on the other hand, seems quite commonplace.

As an introduction to his theory, Spier describes a word that he will use frequently, "regime." He defines a regime as "a more or less regular but ultimately unstable pattern that has a certain temporal permanence."[9] Regime is a flexible word that can refer to micro and macro, organic and inorganic, social and individual, yet is not limited to these.

Spier takes the reader through an outline of the time prior to human culture. Many intriguing theories emerge from this chapter, including the basis for the entire overview: a dominant astronomical regime influences the earthly climatic regime, which dominates the biological regime (including humans).[10] The steps toward the evolution of early hominids seem logical. Beginning with the solar system, every configuration alteration affected the development of the planet. For example, changes in the biological regime could have been triggered by asteroids hitting the Earth, slight changes in the rotations of the other planets, and plate tectonics. He emphasizes the constant interaction and development of the various regimes through statements such as: "Regimes never rise from nothing. They always separate from already-existing regimes."[11] Once complex organisms began to develop on Earth, natural selection (from competition and the struggle to survive) took over to guide the biological regime.

As a lead-in to the final and largest chapter, Spier provides a brief introduction to the human cultural regime. This smaller section starts with the emergence of human life and the socialization (including forms of communication) that necessarily followed. Following is the preparation the reader needs for the last chapter on the three major ecological regime transformations that structure human history. Spier introduces

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[9]Fred, Spier, *The Structure of Big History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 14.

[10]Ibid., 19.

[11]Ibid., 28.

the three regimes–the domestication of fire, the domestication of planets and animals, and industrialization on the basis of fossil fuels, explains them in a general sense, and provides a model that underlies each process. This "simple and illuminating" tripartite model, devised by Spier's colleague Johan Goudsblom , can be summarized as follows: "In all cases there was a stage in which no one had 'it.' Then a stage came in which some people had 'it,' while others did not. The last stage was reached when all people had acquired 'it.'"[12] Spier then applies this principle to fire, agriculture, and industrialization.

The result of this last stage of industrialization has been that "the world was turned into a provider of natural resources for industry and into a market for its products."[13] Spier points out positives and negatives of this development before stating that a great "rearrangement" of the biological regime is occurring through the interconnectedness (or shrinkage) of the world. Concerns over this condition and the abuse of the planet have prompted Spier to create one new regime–the environmental regime–in which people are making a concerted effort to reverse some of the damage.

The partnership between Spier, Goudsblom, and others is unmistakable throughout the text. It seems evident that *The Structure of Big History* should have been co-authored, as Spier spends much of his space giving credit or reference to others. These constant referrals to other authors and their works at times become cumbersome, interfering with the flow of the book. Many of them could have been left to footnotes, or simply confined to the very thorough list of references in the back of the book.

The conceptual picture that is the crux of this work is also the cause for most concern. As an overview prior to a world history course, it would be a wonderful learning tool, creating connections that would stick with the students for life. As the world history course itself, I fear the implications. As students whiz through the course of humanity, they will have no concrete notions to associate with the more abstract theory. If they know that civilizations proceed from the transition to an agrarian regime, yet have no information on Mesopotamia, Egypt, or India, how profitable will their knowledge be? Granted, Spier mentions several societies by name, on one or two pages, but he gives no specific details–fine for the professor, perhaps, but certainly not for the novice. The framework is logical and enlightening, but it is insufficient on its own.

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[12] Ibid., 40.

[13] Ibid., 78.

***The Myth of Continents* by Martin Lewis and Karen Wigen**

The Myth of Continents turns old, traditional notions of geography on their head, replacing them with fresh ideas and many new, unanswered questions. Some of our most basic concepts about the world and our relationship to it are examined and unceremoniously thrown to the wolves, leaving behind new, hopefully "un-centric," frameworks in their stead.

Lewis and Wigen seek to reconstruct the globe along more objective lines, even as their anti-western stance seems to mimic the views they are trying to revise. (It is interesting that they accuse others of this very tactic, apparently not realizing their own guilt.) However, their points are well taken and any modern scholar will recognize the shortcomings of current geographical positioning.

The text is organized into six chapters, covering the problem of current geographical frameworks, the history of that problem, and possible alternatives to the old organization. The vast majority of the early portion describes why and how the old constructs are outdated and Eurocentric. This point is clear and should not be disputed. Their numerous examples point out problems that most people would recognize, but perhaps not to their full extent. Their stated goal is to conduct a long-overdue review of the frameworks of metageography, "the set of spatial structures through which people order their knowledge of the world."[14] Some of the problems associated with our current geography involve the concepts of nation-states, continents, and "the West." Lewis and Wigen discount the notion that there is something inherently unique or distinguishing about "the West," and base much of their work on undoing the damage that such rhetoric has done. The power of what we traditionally call the West in creating the mapping and designations of the globe is clear. One interesting point to remember, however, and one that the authors allude to briefly, is that many other cultures ("Eastern" and others) have committed that same offense in their own mapping.

Lewis and Wigen begin by denouncing the continent and the nation-state as true entities. The idea of the continent as some sort of unified system of thought and behavior is indeed flawed. But the concept of the nation-state is one that they take too lightly. Certainly, their examples of Nigeria and India are good for illustrating that national borders sometimes mean nothing (consider Yugoslavia); however, they are too quick to denounce all nation-states as false. It seems that other national borders, such as those of England and Japan, fit rather well with their culture and heritage. For the authors, unless a nation can match their notion of perfect "national-statehood" in the

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[14]Marin Lewis and Karen Wigen, *They Myth of Continents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), ix.

strict sense of the term, which has existed throughout all time and all situations, then they must be discounted as a fixed entity. No such nation exists and looking for that kind of precision is fruitless. We can only imagine the dismay that many (if not most) countries would feel in reading this assessment of their own "political-geographical units."

Lewis and Wigen spend a great deal of time on the East-West fallacy. They believe that this division, which has predominated for much of history, is extremely detrimental to the East. By its use, "western scholars were able to reinforce the notion of a cultural dichotomy between these two areas–a dichotomy that was essential to modern Europe's identity as a civilization."[15] Some of their best arguments come in the exploration of Asia and Europe as continents, as they point out the total inequality of comparing the two. Europe, they rightly assert, is better suited to comparison with a region of Asia, like southeast Asia, for example, rather than putting the small area on par with the vast expanse and variety of the whole of Asia. Two chapters are devoted to exploring the East-West myth.

The comparison of Europe with Asia presents several difficulties, including the shifting boundaries of each area, the introduction of terms such as "Middle East," "Far East," and "Near East," and, most disturbing, the cultural constructs of each area. The authors point to environmental determinism–"the belief that social and cultural differences between human groups can ultimately be traced to differences in their physical environments"[16]–as the most insidious aspect of the comparison. Here Lewis and Wigen point out what they believe to be the traditional "hallmarks" of western culture, then debunk them. However, they devote themselves to abstract concepts such as rationality and democracy (the love-hate relationship with the Enlightenment is interesting), which clearly are myths, while ignoring the idea that some basic environmental influences, such as climate and agriculture, can indeed affect how a society develops, thus their culture. The need to obliterate all overt differences between the two areas is cold and sterile, leaving the door wide open for offense to East and West.

The final chapters of *The Myth of Continents* look at practical matters, such as Afrocentrism (which the authors see as being based on the same faulty logic as Eurocentrism), world history texts, and, finally, a regional geographic solution that might provide some answers to persistent dilemmas. The world regions framework is one "serviceable alternative" to our received metageographical categories. While these groupings have shared culture and history, as did previous divisions, they are compact enough to prevent "cultural bleeding" from one area to another, perhaps inappropriate

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[15]Ibid., 36.

[16]Ibid., 42.

ones. Their scheme purports to create zones that are based on historical processes (rather than diagnostic traits), give primacy to spatial contours of assemblages of ideas, practices, and social institutions (rather than political and ecological boundaries), and conceptualize world regions in terms of their relations with one another.[17] Such a theory is logical, in most respects, setting up a new and possibly better way to think of the world. The difficulties arise in the implications of the work.

One basic problem is implementation. If we believe that teaching geography is crucial, why create a system that is not only different, but also more convoluted? Our children currently cannot identify India on a map. How much better will it be if they cannot even call it India anymore? On a different level, what would the people of India say? One disturbing facet of this text is its self-serving nature. Lewis and Wigen never consider how any nation or region might react to these changes. Of course, certain names and designations are centric and based on old ideas of imperialism. But they only make up a framework, not a political imperative.

This idea of objectification applies to the notion of history in general. An inherent notion is that geography should be free of loaded terms, entailing the removal of objectionable titles, names, etc. A similar scheme of stripping concepts down to their bare essence is present in Spier's *The Structure of Big History*. If we, as historians, take it down to the bare essentials, we are in danger of removing the lifeblood from our work. A distressing concept is that big history is sufficient–students do not need the details. But, what then is left for us and our students? How do we judge the value of what we do–does it have value? History cannot be objectified. We try our best to present the material with as little bias as possible. All we can do is our best, lest we reduce it so far that it slips away altogether. These three works will generate much discussion among your students, even if they do not provide the perfect solution for the teaching of world history.[18]

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[17]Ibid., 188.

[18]Suggestions for further reading: Jerry Bentley, *Shapes of World History in Twentieth-Century Scholarship* (Washington: AHA, 1996); Alfred Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism* (Cambridge UP, 1993); Philip Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge UP, 1984); Marshall Hodgson, *Rethinking World History* (Cambridge UP, 1993); Bruce Mazlish and Ralph Buultjens, eds., *Conceptualizing Global History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993); Philip Pomper, Richard Elphick, and Richard T. Vann, *World History: Ideologies, Structures and Identities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); Charles Tilly, *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1984).

REVIEWS

Wonders of the African World with Henry Louis Gates, Jr. **1999. Written & narrated by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Distributed by PBS Home Video and PBS Adult Learning Service. Approximately 6 hours on three videos. $59.98. Order from PBS at <www.pbs.org>. Click on "Programs A-Z; Wonders of the African World; Shop PBS."**

When Kenneth Clark did his monumental *Civilisation* series for the BBC some thirty years ago he subtitled it "A Personal View," which really amounts to an oxymoron, as if a survey of some two thousand years of western culture could be anything else. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., scholar-celebrity, chair of Harvard University's Afro-American studies program, director of the W.E.B. DuBois Institute for Afro-American Research, MacArthur Foundation fellow, frequent contributor to the *New Yorker* magazine, and author of the award winning *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of Afro-American Literary Criticism*, recalls the influence that series had on a young and impressionable "Skip" Gates growing up in Piedmont, West Virginia. Gates told *Newsweek* magazine, "I loved the Kenneth Clark series *Civilisation* when I was a teenager, so I always fantasized about doing the same thing in Africa." So trading in the tweed blazer and fedora of Kenneth Clark for an assortment of T-shirts and sunglasses, Gates embarks on a very personal, even emotional, encounter with Africa and the complex indigenous civilizations found there throughout history, but especially in ancient times. Yet few subjects are as fraught with so many pitfalls, pejorative myths, stereotypes, ideological minefields, hidden agendas, tourist kitsch, and sentimentality as the history of African cultures and societies. Gates not only wants to present African history to a western audience, he also wants to relate the experiences of African-Americans, particularly that of slavery, to the historical experiences of the continent. He and his producers have created a bold, personal, sweeping, and controversial documentary that if nothing else shows Africa as a land of life rather than as a world of death, war, famine, and disease.

The series is divided into six parts. The "Black Kingdoms of the Nile" deals with Gates's search for the Kingdom of Nubia in Egypt and the Sudan. Telling the audience that he had always heard about "Nubians" as a child, he was now determined to discover the ruins of the ancient capital of this Black kingdom and learn about the lives of "real Nubians." Gates quite correctly avoids the controversy surrounding Martin Bernal's thesis in *Black Athena* that the Greeks in essence stole their culture from the Egyptians, a truly African culture. In "The Swahili Coast" Gates travels the coast of Kenya and Tanzania where he encounters people who see themselves as being Arab and not African in culture and descent. In Zanzibar he confronts the reality that the island had become one of the main suppliers of slaves to the Muslim world. The segment "The Slave Kingdom" has caused a good deal of criticism because Gates states that he "had always been haunted by stories of Africans selling other Africans," and emotionally confronts the descendants of the old warrior kingdoms of Asante and

Dahomey in modern Ghana and Benin with their own complicity–a complicity, by the way, that they don't express intense regret about, since it was really seen as one ethnic group selling another, not Africans selling Africans. While the slave trade could not have existed without African cooperation, there is plenty of room for blame since most purchasers were, of course, Europeans. "The Holy Land" takes Gates to Ethiopia, a Christian kingdom for over 1600 years, whose rulers trace their lineage back to Solomon and Sheba. Here he runs into the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan, with whom he has a rather strained interview. But mostly, the episode focuses on his dogged, but unfulfilled and skeptical, search for the Lost Ark of the Covenant, which Ethiopian Christians believe rests in the city of Aksum. Beginning with the quote from Thackeray about the mythical city of Timbuktu, Gates sets out on "The Road to Timbuktu," famous for its university that educated Africans at the time the European universities were just getting started. Gates is shown books that indicate evidence of a "grand civilization, untranslated and unknown." Unknown, apparently, because they have not been translated from Arabic. The "Lost Cities of the South" tells the story of how ancient civilizations in South Africa have been kept under wraps because of apartheid. Gates then heads off for the great stone city of Great Zimbabwe that Europeans for centuries refused to believe could have been constructed by Africans. Along the way he sings "Country Roads Take Me Home" karaoke-style with Afrikaner merrymakers, visits a Disneylandesque, fantasy African theme park outside of Johannesburg, with the segment finally concluding at the grave of Cecil Rhodes in Zimbabwe.

Similar to Michael Wood in the PBS series *In the Footsteps of Alexander the Great*, Gates is the center of attention: riding on buses, waiting for broken down cars to be fixed, reading accounts of European explorers, taking a sand bath, calling everyone "brother," going to markets (where he always seems to ask, "Do you come here everyday?"), stressing the importance of "Imodium and Wipes" in the Third World, threatening to scale a fence to see the Ark of the Covenant (being then warned by a companion that that would not be such a good idea), climbing a rope to get into a monastery in Ethiopia, and after being told that he could not enter a mosque until he converted to Islam, responding with, "I want four wives." Both as narrator and actor, Gates comes across without affectation as a blend of the sophisticated, cynical, humorous Harvard professor and the wide-eyed, naive, African-American tourist.

Gates has been criticized for everything–wearing inappropriate clothing, orientalism, cultural insensitivity, ignoring the importance of Islam in Africa, being Euro-and Christian-centric in his approach, ignoring the recent history of Africa, making Africans the objects not the subjects of history, using the prism of the North American conception of race, and using a very American and highly personal style in viewing his subject. Gates has always rejected the Afro-centrist idea that Afro-American studies is a discipline rooted in a special African or Black-centered

perspective and possessing its own unique criteria of truth, seeing it rather as just a field of study subject to strict academic standards. As for the series itself, this reviewer does not think Gates was being disingenuous using some European accounts as entry vehicles for African culture, bearing in mind that it was meant to appeal to a mass, largely white, American audience, who really do not know much about Africa.

Projects of this kind will always engender criticism from academia, some of it deserved, some no doubt based upon jealousy and partisanship. And controversy is hardly new in African and African-American studies, and can in fact be beneficial. Gates's engaging style and presentation will surely create interest in African history and will find a home in World Civilization, Comparative Civilization, and African Civilization classes, as long as it is supplemented with films and videos from African directors and producers such as Djibril Diop Mambety or Mickey Madota Dube, part of a new generation of young black filmmakers who have emerged since the overthrow of apartheid in South Africa. The works of such artists are now becoming increasingly available from sources such as the *Library of African Cinema 2000* from California Newsreel. For there will always be a myriad number of African worlds that no single source can pretend to cover.

Cameron University Richard A. Voeltz

Clarice Swisher, ed. *The Spread of Islam.* San Diego: Greenhaven Press, Inc., 1999. Pp. 240. Paper, $12.96; ISBN 1-56510-966-X.
Ruth Roded, ed. *Women in Islam and the Middle East: A Reader.* London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 1999. Pp. xv, 271. Cloth, $59.50; ISBN 1-86064-308-6. Paper, $25.00; ISBN 1-86064-309-4.

These two anthologies have in common an examination of a particular theme, contained in the title, over the entire course of Islamic history from the time of the Prophet Muhammad in Arabia to the present. The similarities end there.

The Spread of Islam is one of six volumes in Greenhaven Press's "Turning Points in World History" series that seeks to examine pivotal events, evolutionary developments, or revolutionary new inventions that changed the course of history. This volume falls into the evolutionary development category as the spread referred to covers the entire period from the founding of Islam to bring a contemporary major world religion. The book comprises a series of secondary source essays selected on the basis of their "accessibility," although the term is not defined, each preceded by a summary of the author's main points. Greenhaven's in-house editor, Clarice Swisher, added an introductory essay, a collection of primary source documents, a glossary, chronology, reading list, and index. The book contains five chapters: "The Origin and

Growth of Islam in Arabia," "The East-West Spread of Islam," "The Spread of Islamic Art and Thought," "The Spread of Factions Within Islam," and "The Modern-Day Resurgence of Islam." An appendix contains extracts from fourteen primary sources also divided into four sections including "The Koran," "Personal Perspectives," "Poets and Writers," and "Twentieth-Century Resurgence of Islam."

This book does not seem to fill any specific need within the literature on Islam or to service any particular audience. While the articles are "accessible" in that they are easy to read, Frederick Denny's *An Introduction to Islam* (Macmillan, 1994), John Esposito's *Islam: The Straight Path* (Oxford, 1991), and R.M. Savory, ed., *Introduction to Islamic Civilization* (Cambridge, 1976) are equally readable and provide a more comprehensive discussion of the spread of Islam. The primary source documents (cover 20 pages with seven and one-half of those from the Koran and six of the fourteen from the twentieth-century) are too short and should be more closely related to the essays. One will find additional snippets of primary sources embedded in the essays. This reviewer also takes exception to claims by the editors that the book "features an extensive bibliography" (there are only 29 entries) and that it is an "indispensable research tool." Finally, this book will not, despite the editor's pretensions, provide "students [or teachers] with a complete, detailed, and enlightening examination" of the spread of Islam.

Ruth Roded's *Women in Islam and the Middle East* is a much more satisfying and valuable anthology. Roded, a senior lecturer in the History of Islam and the Middle East at the Institute of African and Asian Studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, has also included five chapters ("The Foundation of Islam," "Early Islamic History," "Women as Sources, Actors and Subjects of Islamic Law," "Women's Roles in Medieval Society," and "Twentieth Century Vicissitudes") covering the entire period from Islam's beginnings to the present. Roded's introduction also provides a very solid discussion of the literature on women in Islamic society within the context of social and intellectual movements in both the West and the Islamic world.

Unlike *The Spread of Islam*, the 23 articles contained here are all from primary sources and are evenly budgeted throughout the nearly fifteen centuries of Islamic history. The breadth of the sources and the length of the entries when combined with the introductory material provided by Roded means that this book provides a much better starting point for someone wishing to do research on Islamic women than the Greenhaven book does on the spread of Islam. A bibliography would have improved the usefulness of the book.

In conclusion, there are much better alternatives to *The Spread of Islam* for both teachers and students. *Women in Islam and the Middle East*, on the other hand, is highly recommended either as a starting point for the study of the topic or as a supplementary source book for courses on Islamic history or women's history.

University of Memphis Calvin H. Allen, Jr.

Ken Wolf. *Personalities and Problems: Interpretive Essays in World Civilizations.* New York: McGraw-Hill College, 1999. Second Edition. Vol. I. Pp. xvii, 172. Paper, $20.85; ISBN 0-07-071348-0.
Walter Moss, Janice Terry, & Jiu-Hwa Upshur, eds. *The Twentieth Century: Readings in Global History.* New York: McGraw-Hill College, 1999. Pp. xiv, 293. Paper, $29.25; ISBN 0-07-289324-9.
Stephen Chan & Jarrod Weiner, eds. *Twentieth Century International History: A Reader.* London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 1999. Pp. xi, 340. Cloth, $59.50; ISBN 1-86064-301-9. Paper, $19.95; ISBN 1-86064-302-7.

Finding the right book of primary and secondary source readings for a history course is never an easy task. The selections might be too long or too short, overly focused on politics and personality, the right material pitched to the wrong grade level, good in one time period but weaker in another, useful but not interesting, etc. Teachers of world history have the additional problem of breadth vs. depth. Courses can start with pre-history and run to the present; they can try to cover every continent on the globe, and, today especially, they usually try to balance western and non-western perspectives as well. The three books reviewed here all have strengths, and they all have particular areas of emphasis that will please or dismay teachers considering them for their own courses.

Personalities and Problems is the smallest and simplest book to read and use. A slim volume of under 175 pages, it is accessible from several perspectives: it's easy to hold in the hand, has some simple line illustrations, and its selections are clearly organized into 14 paired groupings that run 10-15 pages each. The idea is straightforward: present the interpretive material as a comparison of problems dealt with in the East and West at the same time in history. So we see chapters on Hammurabi and Moses on law and civilization, Thucydides and Sima Quian on the value of history, Mansa Musa and Louis IX on state-building and the monarchy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and Elizabeth I and Akbar on religion and the state. The Thucydides and Elizabeth chapters were not in the first edition, and neither was the one on Plato and Confucius. Material is designed to introduce students to world civilization from the earliest civilizations through the seventeenth century. The

featured historical figures are political leaders, thinkers, or explorers. Material is nicely set up: A handful of key questions are listed under the chapter title, so students know what to read for. The book is uncluttered and easy to follow. Essays are footnoted and followed by suggestions for further research.

Ken Wolf has taught history at Murray State University for 30 years. He designed the school's World Civilizations course and has been one of two deans of a Kentucky summer enrichment program for high school students. He writes with a sure ear for how to introduce complex topics clearly. Many students will never have heard of the non-Western personalities, and linking them to familiar issues and problems is certainly an excellent way to make their situation more comprehensible.

Choices of topic, of course, fit what he has wanted to do in his course. It is a diffuse list; it makes a clear ideological point about shared problems, etc. but stops early in history and has no focus other than exposure to new people in a new context. From my perspective as a high school teacher, the essays are too pat. He tells students what to think rather than inviting them to consider some dilemma that they could then discuss further. College students might be able to take the discussions and find their own perspectives enlarge.

The Twentieth Century: Readings in Global History cuts a far wider swath through material in a more conventional way. It is broken into three chronological periods, each with 4-10 chapters (21 in all), and includes 3-5 reading selections per chapter. The chronological eras basically break the twentieth century into thirds. The editors have chosen material for readability, variety (social as well as political), and significance. Periods, chapters, and selections all have short introductory material, providing quick context background material.

The editors themselves have specialties in Europe, Africa, and Asia studies respectively, and they strive for a balance in areas of focus. They strive, too, for other balances: major actors' and ordinary folks' autobiographical recollections; sections on Asia between the world wars; and Europe chronicling the rise of Hitler. Teachers can find better material on Europe elsewhere, but not necessarily linked to non-Western events. Sections on Korea resisting Japanese imperialism, Sun Yat Sen, and African independence movements are short but nicely balanced in focus among theory, big events, and everyday life.

The book covers huge ground, but this is still a slim volume under 300 pages. Seen as a whole, the balance of factors and focii (from America to Europe to Asia, Latin America, and Africa) make a point to students outside the value of individual excerpts. A discussion question or two at the end of chapters are useful, but not especially prominent or comprehensive–more a quick hint for how to think about material. This volume could be used from high school through college to accompany most texts in world history.

The third book under review is vastly more specialized than the other two, but it is also the longest and physically largest! It is more sophisticated too, aimed at graduate students or upper college students, chock full of the latest theorizing and jargon. Built around an examination of Francis Fukuyama's theory of the end of history and put in the context of International Relations theory in general, the book is a dense and intense study of globalization and its implications. Its editors direct programs in England and Brussels, and write with a clear sense of the big issues buried in the complex theorizing. The book is organized into four sections, all dealing with an element of theory and something else: ideas and ideology, ideas and economy, ideas and warfare. The editors write a helpful introductory essay for each section; oddly there is no biographical information about the authors of the selections, though section introductions do summarize their issues and arguments. Essays run 15-30 pages and often link micro and macro elements, e.g. one on "Technology, Business and Crime: The Globalization of Finance and Electronic Payment Systems." Issues discussed could get stale somewhat quickly, but for the moment, the issues could be stimulating for the right audience.

Thayer Academy Daniel Levinson

Richard M. Golden, ed. *The Social Dimension of Western Civilization*. Boston & New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999. 4th edition. Vol. 1–*Readings to the Seventeenth Century*. Pp. xx, 380; ISBN 0-312-17880-8. Vol. 2–*Readings from the Sixteenth Century to the Present*. Pp. xxi, 355; ISBN 0-312-18253-8. Paper, each $23.50.

Richard Golden's two volumes offer a rich collection of selections from 49 secondary-source readings in the social history of Western Civilization. The readings are organized chronologically in seven parts: "Mesopotamia, Israel, and Egypt" (4 articles); "Classical Greece and Rome" (6 articles); "The Middle Ages" (7 articles); "Early Modern Europe" (7 articles); "The Old Regime" (8 articles); "The Nineteenth Century" (9 articles), and "The Twentieth Century" (8 articles). Although the volumes slightly overlap chronologically, there is no duplication of articles. For instructors interested in a thematic approach, the editor provides a supplementary table of contents that arranges the articles by themes such as children; crime; disease and death; entertainment and sports; marriage and the family; collective attitudes and beliefs; religion; rural life; sexuality and the body; social conditions, urban life; war, terrorism, and violence; women; and work and economic life. Authors represented range from well-established senior scholars to those just beginning to make a mark. In the first volume are found, to cite but a few examples: David Herlihy on "Medieval Children"

and "The Family in Renaissance Italy;" Natalie Z. Davis on "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France;" William H. McNeill on the "Transoceanic Disease Exchange, 1500-1700;" John Keegan on "The Face of Battle: Agincourt;" Paul Veyne on "Pleasures and Excesses in the Roman Empire;" Norbert Elias on "The Development of Manners," and R. Po-Chia Hsia on "A Ritual Murder Trial of Jews in Germany." Found in the second volume are Robert Darnton on "The Great Cat Massacre;" Henry Friedlander on "The Nazi Camps;" Olwen Hufton on "Women and Work;" Eugen Weber on "Is God French?;" Philippe Ariès on "Forbidden Death;" Richard J. Evans on "The Challenge of Cholera in Hamburg;" William J. Chase on "Daily Life in Moscow, 1921-1929;" Theresa McBride on "A Women's World: Department Stores and the Evolution of Women's Employment, 1870-1920," and Ellen Furlough on "Packaging Pleasure: Club Méditerranée and French Consumer Culture, 1950-1968."

Richard Golden also provides an editorial apparatus to assist the novice student. Both volumes contain the same brief introductory essay on the nature of social history and the analytical approach favored by social historians, each chronological part is introduced by an essay that sets out the main themes of the era, and each selection is prefaced by an essay that discusses the author's method and use of sources and presents questions for students to think about before they begin reading. Terms or individuals unfamiliar to students, such as hierodules (temple slaves), Anabaptists, *hors de combat*, or the *Voie Sacrée* at Verdun, are defined or explained in footnotes. Finally, most selections close with comparative questions that ask students to make connections between essays on similar themes, like violence and war, in different periods of history. More so than most, this collection of secondary readings lives up to the promises made by the editor and the publisher.

The Social Dimensions of Western Civilization is one of the more sophisticated readers in print, both in terms of the articles reprinted and the questions provided for students to answer or discuss. New to this fourth edition are fourteen articles, a more detailed description of how historians write social history and the types of sources they use, and the comparative questions at the end of many selections. Most of the essays, it should be noted, are excerpted. Many are analytical, such as Alex Scobie on "Slums, Sanitation, and Mortality in the Roman World" or David Herlihy on "Medieval Children," while others are primarily descriptive, including William J. Baker on "Organized Greek Games" and Henry Friedlander on "The Nazi Camps." Virtually all are informative, interesting, and, for the most part, readable for undergraduates. Also valuable are the articles that serve as an introduction to how historians write history, for many reflect on the craft of history (for example, John Keegan in the essay on Agincourt). Others, like R. Po-Chia Hsia on "A Ritual Murder Trial," emphasize the difficulty of writing social history due to the paucity of sources. Such self-reflection or reflection on the nature of sources gives students an opportunity to

develop their own critical thinking skills by seeing just how self-critical historians can be, and it might embolden them likewise to critique the historians they read.

For future editions of this reader, a few suggestions might be helpful. Both the editors and the authors of individual articles stress the great variety of sources–literature, art and architecture, funeral monuments, folklore, and court records, to mention but a few–used by social historians and the methods utilized to analyze them. But, because the notes from the original articles are omitted, readers will be unable to see how such documentation and analyses are done. Also eliminated from the original articles are the illustrations. Robert Darnton's article on the Great Cat Massacre had numerous reproductions from contemporary prints and drawings. Likewise, Paul Veyne's lengthy article on Rome in the first volume of *A History of a Private Life*, from which the selection in this anthology is excerpted, included superb illustrations. Third, the definitions provided by the editor are occasionally unhelpful. Describing Aristippus as a "Greek philosopher of hedonism" without explaining what hedonism is provides scant enlightenment for most undergraduates. Similarly, he glosses Sparta as a "Greek city-state known for its spartan lifestyle."

By describing or analyzing the underside of Western Civilization, this collection reminds American undergraduates, most of whom have grown up in an era of relative peace and affluence, that throughout much of history the vast majority of people lived lives that were, in the words of Thomas Hobbes, "poor, nasty, brutish, and short." The first four essays in the second volume, for example, treat executions, poverty, pregnancy, and death. A later article deals with infanticide. Even the analysis of the post-World War II social democratic experiment in Sweden emphasizes its failure. Unhappily, this almost exclusive emphasis on exploitation, torture, executions, poverty, persecution, and the like might mentally and spiritually drain the reader. And, it also might leave students wondering just how the Western World has been able to eliminate or at least ameliorate many of the evils described in these articles. Rarely is there mention of those many who crusaded, for example, to end slavery, to clean up urban filth and disease, to abolish torture and capital punishment, or to gain equality for women.

In the near future, publishers' internet sites or instructors' course web pages are going to make many supplementary readers obsolete, particularly those that offer easy-to-find primary sources. A few examples are Harcourt Brace's site on art and architecture for Helen Gardner's *Art Through the Ages* <http://www.harbrace.com/art/gardner/>; the splendid Internet History Sourcebooks at Fordham University <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall>; or the Avalon Project at Yale <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm>. These provide easy access to such impressive sites as the Dalton School's Rome Project; the speeches of Urban II at Clermont launching the first crusade; Stephen Murray's Amiens Cathedral Web Site; or legal documents ranging from Hammurabi's Code to the Magna Carta to the

transcripts of the Nuremberg Trials. In contrast, it is unlikely that a sophisticated and well-designed supplementary reader, such as Richard Golden's *The Social Dimension of Western Civilization*, will be replaced by a web site.

The University of North Carolina at Pembroke Robert W. Brown

David Harris Sacks, ed. *Utopia*, by Sir Thomas More. Boston & New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999. Pp. xvi, 236. Cloth, $39.95; ISBN 0-312-12256-X.

David Harris Sacks, professor of history and humanities at Reed College and author of two books on early modern British history, has made an important contribution to the Bedford Series in History and Culture with this edition of Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*. The Bedford Series is designed to present important historical documents in a manner that helps the reader study the past as historians do. More's widely read and highly influential *Utopia* is certainly an important historical document, and Sacks's edition aids the reader in approaching the document as a historian would in several ways.

The document encountered here is not a translation of one of the many Latin editions, but rather Ralph Robynson's corrected and revised second English translation published in 1556. Selecting this edition allows the reader to experience the same version of *Utopia* read by sixteenth-century Englishmen with a few minor alterations. Sacks greatly aids the reading of sixteenth-century English prose by modernizing spelling and punctuation and by adding extensive annotations to explain archaic words, phrases, and idioms. Sacks's selection of Robynson's translation of *Utopia* also shows the role it played in shaping later views of the work by downplaying its philosophical and religious dimensions and highlighting its social and economic ideas.

This change in interpretation resulting from Robynson's translation of *Utopia* is analyzed in a seventy-nine page introduction by Sacks that presents the cultural and institutional framework within which *Utopia* was written and read. Divided into three sections, the first, entitled "Texts," looks at the literary and philosophical prototypes used by More in writing the book. Sacks points out how the debates among Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero over private property and the relationship of philosophy to the active life of politics is reiterated in the debates in *Utopia* between Hythloday and More. "Contexts," the middle section, looks at how part of *Utopia* was written to help More resolve an important personal issue–whether he should accept an office offered by Henry VIII. The economic, religious, and political life of England in More's time is analyzed, and Sacks shows how More's desire to bring reform to church and society leads him to accept a position in the royal government. The last section, "Developments," surveys the changes in England between the first appearance of

Utopia in Latin in 1516 and Robynson's English translations in 1551 and 1556. By mid-sixteenth century the crown was supreme over the church and England was increasingly a Protestant nation. Thus, what *Utopia* had to say on government and religion was no longer relevant, but England's social and economic problems remained, and Robynson and others who helped publish the English translation transformed *Utopia* into a treatise addressing the social ills faced by mid-century England.

Sacks's *Utopia* is ideally suited for humanities and historical methodology courses. However, the cost of the hardback version might limit its classroom use.

Texas A&M University-Commerce Harry E. Wade

Janet M. Hartley. *A Social History of the Russian Empire 1650-1825.* London & New York: Longman, 1999. Pp. xi, 312. Cloth, $72.95; ISBN 0-582-21528-5. Paper $27.95; ISBN 0-582-21527-7.

Janet Hartley's *A Social History of the Russian Empire 1650-1825* is the first volume in a new Longman series, "A Social History of Europe." The purpose of this series is to examine a nation at a critical stage of its development. Each volume is written by an expert in the field for "serious students and fellow scholars." Hartley addresses a complex period in Russian history by integrating her own research interests with the most recent developments on this period of Russian history. The author examines the period between 1650 and 1825. The second half of the seventeenth century was marked by three key events: the *Law Code* (*Ulozhenie*) of 1649, the religious schism of 1666-67, and the rise of Peter the Great to power by the end of the century. The year 1825 saw the unexpected death of Alexander I and, as some scholars say, the height of the Russian Empire.

Hartley arranges her work topically. Her first chapter is one of the most important as she discusses the land and people of Russia. She notes that her study is mainly concerned with "Great Russia," but this chapter clearly shows that Russia from the seventeenth century was developing as a multi-ethnic empire. The next three chapters look at the social structure of Russia and the rights and obligations of each group. She shows quite accurately how each social estate was fluid and varied in its responsibilities and rights from the reign of Peter the Great to Alexander I.

Each of the following chapters addresses a specific topic. She notes that law varied across the empire and the time period. Over this period urban legal and police reforms were more common than in the countryside. Hartley asserts that lawlessness and violence still reigned in the rural areas. Education and welfare both expanded greatly, but nearly all of it was initiated and supported by the rulers. Few individual efforts or religious supporters were found for educational initiatives. Clearly, Peter the

Great, Catherine the Great, and Alexander I made the most significant contributions to educational improvement in Russia at this time.

Occupations, lifestyle, and family life are also addressed. It was clear that the eighteenth century was a time of great changes for the lives of Russians. Interestingly, the nobility and townspeople were subject to change in social, economic, and political status much more than the peasantry. The change of the inheritance law in 1714 by Peter the Great brought the most change for those who owned property and how they handed it down to their children. These sections also reveal that the everyday life and customs of the nobility often did not differ that greatly from the peasants, especially if the former lived in the countryside. The last topic is belief. While the Russian Orthodox Church was dominant, it is clear that Old Believers remained strong in certain areas. In addition, the adherence to pagan and magical beliefs persisted until 1825 and beyond. In her overall conclusion, Hartley raises one of the basic questions of Russian history, the Europeanization of Russia. Was this a positive phenomenon for Russia? Did it really change Russia? Should Russia be measured by this standard? Hartley rightly warns the reader not to be too condemning of Russia's progress in a European context and to take Russia as it is.

This text has many strong points. First, the bibliography is outstanding. It includes a wide range of sources, including primary, secondary, non-English, and article entries. This is a tremendous resource for anyone interested in this period in Russia. Second, the chronology, glossary, and maps are fine reference additions. Third, at the end of each chapter Hartley provides a summary and some conclusions. This helps synthesize the extraordinary amount of material introduced here. Hartley's use of statistical information is impressive, especially considering how well she weaves it into a readable text. She also uses footnotes throughout the text from archival, manuscript, memoir, and secondary sources. It is unusual for students to see the historian at work in a textbook. For the scholar, it could be useful for further research.

The only drawbacks to this text are some minor errors. Hartley states that the United States bought Alaska from Russia in 1863 when it was 1867. In a discussion of foreigners in Russia, she notes the service of American Revolutionary hero John Paul Jones under Catherine the Great, but incorrectly identifies his place of birth as Scotland when it was Ireland. These minor errors do not diminish this extremely useful text on Russian social history. It would be most useful for advanced undergraduates, graduate students, and fellow scholars. It would probably be best used as a supplement for courses on Imperial Russia, but not as a sole or primary text because of the lack of chronological structure within each chapter. Hartley should be applauded for writing so clearly about a complex and critical period in Russian history that is accessible to a wide range of readers.

College of DuPage William B. Whisenhunt

Don Nardo, ed. *The French Revolution*. San Diego: Greenhaven Press, Inc., 1999. Pp. 223. Paper, $16.20; ISBN 1-56510-933-3.

The French Revolution certainly qualifies by any standard as a "Turning Point in World History." Its inclusion within the Greenhaven Press series of the same name should distress no one. Yet, identifying exactly what "turned" and why, remains at the heart of an analysis that began with the calling of the Estates General in 1789 and continues to this day. This volume's Foreword (a mere two pages) and Introduction, which are uncredited, go far to define the Revolution as a "turning point," and give a good narrative account of events, but do little to direct readers to any blended answers to these more pivotal questions.

Still, the volume is well crafted. As a collection of essays, the four "chapters" are evenly divided and wide-ranging. First are "Causes" such as early class struggles, the problem of royal debt, the need and desire for governmental reform, poor leadership, and the growing awareness of natural rights. The second section charts "Events in the Revolutionary Process" that are often only loosely connected to these causes. They include the calling of the Estates General, the fall of the Bastille, the Great Fear and the events of August 4, the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen*, and the mixed fates of Louis XVI, Robespierre, and Napoleon. A third chapter adds more depth to these political struggles by relating the "Social and Cultural Aspects of the Revolution," including changes to marriage and divorce practices, the Church, education, and the status of women. In conclusion, the final selections relate the "Impact and Legacy" of the Revolution as seen by three relatively recent scholars.

The research and writing are absolutely first-rate. Combining selections from classic works with newer pieces gives the volume a balance in coverage and eases the historiographical bias that is present in other anthologies. At 139 pages for the 19 entries, the secondary sources can be easily digested within even the ten-week quarter system. An extremely useful addition to the text is a selection of 26 primary sources. Running 43 pages, these entries are principally related to the political history of the Revolution but also support the secondary works. The final sections include a chronology of events, suggested further reading of many more recent titles, and a helpful index to allow readers to access information across the various essays.

These additions, and the book as a whole, will prove beneficial to instructors putting together syllabi, class projects, and lecture notes. For a more detailed, full-course treatment of the French Revolution, however, the book is too sparse for any discriminating analysis of the causes, key events, social and cultural changes, or legacies of the great conflict. For example, while nationalism and the rising role of the state is a major factor in the Revolution, little direction is given here to aid students and instructors in posing such questions. Still, the book would be an excellent addition to

a survey or term course dealing with the French Revolution as part of a larger appreciation of Europe during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Briar Cliff College David Blanke

David Stevenson. *The Outbreak of the First World War: 1914 in Perspective.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. Pp. xiv, 72. Paper, $10.95; ISBN 0-312-16539-0. P.M.H. Bell. *The Origins of the Second World War in Europe.* London & New York: Longman, 1997. Second edition. Pp. xiii, 370. $15.96; ISBN 0-582-30470-9.

Explanations of why wars break out have become far more subtle than they were even a few generations ago. Theoretical works like Geoffrey Blainey's *The Causes of War* (3rd edition, 1988) and any number of detailed expositions on the genesis of specific wars use a whole new arsenal of theory and analysis to explain events.

The two books under review here sum up recent scholarship on the related questions of why World War I broke out and why World War II emerged from the still warm ashes of the first war. In *The Outbreak of the First World War: 1914 in Perspective*, David Stevenson of the London School of Economics, a distinguished scholar of international relations, tries to explain why the assassination of an unloved royal heir in a squalid Balkan city led to the deaths of ten million men and the reshaping of the European power structure.

Deliberately avoiding a narrative history–he refers his readers to the standard works by Luigi Albertini and A.J.P. Taylor–Stevenson discusses what each major continental power contributed to the July Crisis. In a brief but very dense analysis, Stevenson explains how investigations into the origins of World War I have changed over the years. Earlier writers, from the days just after the war up to Albertini in the 1940s, looked at the international system as a whole. The second phase of scholarship, initiated by Fritz Fischer's *Griff nach der Weltmacht* (1961), focused on domestic politics inside the Great Powers. The third phase, sparked by heightened Cold War tensions of the later 1970s, looked at technical matters, such as war plans and intelligence, to determine whether the outbreak of war in 1914 was inadvertent or spawned by the systems that then prevailed. In the most recent decade, scholars have returned to exploring the role of national governments, adding to their studies the influence of cultural factors on world politics.

From this welter of research, Stevenson concludes that the Central Powers should bear primary, but not sole, responsibility for the war, with "inadvertence" and "miscalculation" being part of the equation. The lack of a strong anti-war movement also led to the outbreak of the war. Imperialism and other factors, he believes, were far

less a cause of war than the leaders' feelings of insecurity and their fear of their neighbors.

Stevenson's study is a splendid summation of the current state of scholarly opinion on the outbreak of World War I. Unfortunately for classroom use, his book requires that the reader bring a great deal of knowledge to the text, and for that reason, it would not fare well in a typical undergraduate class. Perhaps its greatest value will be to graduate students, who will welcome its concise summary of complicated questions.

Stevenson ends by observing that the war lasting for four years created the "indispensable precondition" for World War II. The second book under review here, P.M.H. Bell, *The Origins of the Second World War in Europe*, examines that theory, among others. I used Bell's book as a text for a senior-graduate course, "Europe in the Age of the Dictators, 1914-1945," in the hope that it would provide a thread to draw the course material together. Other texts in the course included Bullock on Hitler, Conquest on Stalin, and Philip Morgan's examination of Italian Fascism. My plan did not work. My conclusion is that students today are prepared to deal with facts; they are not prepared to deal with argumentation. It is entirely possible that another instructor might have a far better result with the book, which is excellent.

What Bell does is examine the Thirty Years War thesis, that World War I initiated a series of events leading inevitably to World War II. Even more succinctly, the theory is that World War II was only the continuation of World War I.

Bell looks in detail at the totalitarian and democratic nations during the interwar period and provides a sensible and balanced narrative. In particular, he looks at the role of ideology, economic issues, and "strategy and armed force." Each of those has borne the weight of blame for the war. Critical to the development of events, Bell claims, was the loss of stability fathered by the Great War. He notes also that the crisis that led to World War I had a short incubation period, essentially the month of July 1914, while World War II developed over a much longer period, with critical events occurring at least as early as the Spanish Civil War in 1936. In the last third of his book, Bell looks at the decay of peace in those years before the war from 1932 to 1939, and then at the spread of the war from 1939 to 1941.

To his credit, Bell offers no final answers, instead noting that new evidence and new interpretations constantly change our vision of those years. Against the view that World War II was a renewed conflict, not a new one, when it engulfed Europe in 1939-1941, he sets the fact that Italy had changed sides from the time of World War I, and Russia (in the guise of the Soviet Union) stayed neutral until June 1941.

In his conclusion, Bell claims that the war came about as a consequence of three major elements: the expansionism of Germany and Italy; the willingness of the other nations of Europe to allow that expansion for a time; and finally, the realization by the leaders of those other nations that the maintenance of their Great Power status, indeed

their very survival, required them to oppose the expansionist states. Thus, the war came from Germany's expansionism (Italy was no threat by itself), which the threatened nations finally confronted. That set of causes does not relate directly to World War I, so Bell is refuting the Thirty Years War thesis, although he admits that the preconditions of events might go back to1914-1918. In brief, war was bound to come in the late 1930s unless Germany limited its expansionism, which was not likely.

University of North Texas Bullitt Lowry

Charles G. Cogan. *Charles de Gaulle: A Brief Biography with Documents.* Boston & New York: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996. Pp. xii, 243. Cloth, $45.00; ISBN 0-312-12804-5. Paper, $12.95; ISBN 0-312-10790-0.

The Bedford Series in History and Culture has produced a good book for history classes, although not a perfect one. Charles G. Cogan's study of Charles de Gaulle is organized in two parts. The first two-thirds of the book is a chronological narrative with a good, if markedly sympathetic, summary of de Gaulle's views. The remainder is a collection of documents organized around the same themes: saving the nation, reorganizing the state, foreign relations, and legacy. According to Cogan, de Gaulle restored France's sense of worth after the 1940 collapse, preserved French identity during the Cold War despite U.S. demands for solidarity, enabled France to survive the Second World War and the Algerian War, and ended the debilitating right-left split in French politics by establishing a presidency more powerful than Parliament. Furthermore, he failed to "de-Atlanticize" NATO and the Common Market, impeded European integration for 20 years, and transformed French foreign policy by creating an alliance with Germany. The documents, which Cogan carefully selected, capably translated, and introduced with students in mind, are excellent, and the maps, study questions, and suggested readings in English are useful, too. Throughout the book there are good explanations following the mention of historical characters and events, though some are in inconvenient notes at the end of chapters.

Some Cogan expressions, like "prudential symbiosis" might confuse students. And his interpretation can be a bit mystical, as when he says de Gaulle sensed the perception in the country that he was getting too old to lead and "whether consciously or not, arranged his own–forced–abdication."

The author refers to the French Revolution of 1789 frequently, but his grasp on that complex era is questionable. Ignoring economics, war, and intrigue, he blames both the Reign of Terror and the advent of Bonaparte on the idea that supreme power could be vested in a national Parliament.

The author has mastered de Gaulle's published works, which account for most of his endnotes, and uses them to present his case, but his background is unusual for an author in a series "designed so that readers can study the past as historians do." Cogan, who was in the CIA for 37 years before earning a Ph.D. in public administration, is a policy analyst, not a historian. He concentrates on de Gaulle's view of events, writing little about context or major historical themes. There are very few references to unpublished sources or to the work of other historians. Cogan usually accepts de Gaulle's memoirs without hesitation or warning to student readers about the generally self-serving nature of memoirs. De Gaulle's personality, including his phenomenal ego, emerges more clearly from the documents than from Cogan's analysis. Indeed, Cogan shares the general's conservative viewpoint, and, like him, sometimes fails to distinguish between French interests and Gaullist interests. Use this book, but use it judiciously.

College of the Ozarks Michael W. Howell

Victoria Bissell Brown, ed. *Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, with Autobiographical Notes*. New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999. Pp. xii, 276. Cloth, $39.95; ISBN 0-312-21817-6.

Jane Addams is one of the most important figures of the Progressive movement, embodying many of the virtues and conflicts of this complex period of American history. A social activist and political commentator, Addams helped to create a theory of social reform and to found the practice of modern social work. She had pronounced opinions about the responsibility of both society and individual to help others. In this edition of *Twenty Years at Hull House*, editor Victoria Bissell Brown places both the author and the book in proper historical context, giving readers a fuller understanding of both.

This book presents a stark, often heart-wrenching, account of life in the Chicago neighborhoods surrounding Hull House. Addams unabashedly discusses controversial issues like urban hunger, prostitution, unsafe working conditions, and tenement housing. Her narrative gives readers insight into the lives, hopes, and dreams of the urban poor in a way that few contemporary accounts match. Yet the book also tells an interesting story of Addams's life, as well as her motivations for becoming involved in social uplift. It chronicles her transformation from a bright, middle-class student at Rockford Academy into a social crusader and advocate for the powerless. In this way, the book not only gives insight into Addams's own life, but the experiences of countless other progressive reformers.

Addams's book is more a political treatise than a pure autobiography. Brown argues that the poignant vignettes by which Addams described her experiences at Hull House had three purposes. First, descriptions of heart-wrenching conditions sought to inform readers about the true social and economic conditions of the industrial working class. Secondly, Addams used these stories to juxtapose the harsh social conditions with the success of Hull House programs in giving immigrants new social and economic opportunities. Lastly, Addams used the narrative of her autobiography to argue that a nation enjoying the fruits of both democracy and economic prosperity had a responsibility to help the less fortunate achieve full social and economic integration in American society. In short, by changing the cultural environment of the industrial working class, reformers could help individuals break out of the poverty and drudgery of their daily lives.

Victoria Bissell Brown has produced a volume that gives students insight into the life and views of one of the Progressive period's leading figures. Her biographical sketch of Addams skillfully places the reformer in both historical and historiographical context. This book should garner a broad appeal, and would be a worthy addition to any course on the Progressive period, modern America, women's history, or the history of social reform movements. It also whets reader appetites for Brown's forthcoming biography of Jane Addams.

Mars Hill College Richard D. Starnes

David W. Blight & Robert Gooding-Williams, ed. *The Souls of Black Folk by W.E.B. Du Bois*. Boston & New York: Bedford Books, 1997. Pp. xii, 287. Paper, $9.99; ISBN 0-312-09114-1.

The Souls of Black Folk by W.E.B. Du Bois is the classic explanation of racial bifurcation in the United States. The book is about the twoness of being black, trying to take advantage of what is good in the status quo while at the same time taking advantage of not being part of the status quo. Du Bois points out that a veil covers the bifurcation.

Coping with injustice, whether real or perceived, is something all humans do. When Du Bois wrote, "The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line," he included everyone. The problem of the color line is not limited to color. Du Bois himself had European (Dutch) and African (unknown) ancestry. Du Bois uses the metaphor of a veil to describe coping with the problem. When he wrote in 1903, educated people were relatively familiar with the Bible passage from Hebrews 10:19-20 that draws together flesh and the veil. The veil analogy also draws from such similar analogies as Plato's notions of a shadow play on cave walls and the widow's veil. Du

Bois shows how to lift the veil, however understood, and make everyone better for the lifting. *The Souls of Black Folk*, therefore, has a classic quality appropriate for every survey history course. The first point is the metaphor of a veil. The second point is the self-contradiction of the status quo.

"The price of culture is a lie," writes Du Bois, as "the only method by which undeveloped races have gained the right to share modern culture." Much, if not all, of what we call social history, in the sense of history from the bottom up, is about coping with culture as a lie. Just as Du Bois focused on saving the United States from itself, so, in a broader sense, is his book about saving history from itself. The place for academics to save history is in college. Du Bois has a deep concern for the meaning of a college education, "... the true college will ever have one goal, –not to earn meat, but to know the end and aim of that life which meat nourishes." For Du Bois college is about developing an identity acceptable both to the status quo and to the changes required for those whose best interests require changing the status quo. Du Bois uses the historical method to expose injustices associated with identity.

The index includes five citations for identity, two of which I could not find, except in a generic sense. I found seven uses of the word identity not indexed. That said, the five-page index is thorough, detailed, and useful for engaging the twenty "Questions for Consideration." These questions take up two pages.

The editors' notes and commentary are extensive, academic, and rarely overly basic. The three-page "Selected Bibliography" is appropriate. The seven-page "A Du Bois Chronology (1868-1963)" is useful as is the "Selected Photographs, Essays, and Correspondence" section.

Thomas Nelson Community College (retired) Raymond J. Jirran

Edward Countryman, ed. *How Did American Slavery Begin?* Boston & New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999. Pp. x, 150. Cloth, $35.00; ISBN 0-312-21820-6.

In a recent essay in *The New York Review of Books* (3 December 1998), Edmund Morgan called slavery "The Big American Crime." Indeed, it has remained, for the past fifty years, one of the central themes of the American experience, explored by some of the best minds and writers of our history. In many ways, our national genesis, our most basic values, and identity as a nation lay in the paradox of the simultaneous creation of freedom and slavery in early American history. In this way, Edward Countryman, editor of a series entitled "Historians at Work," sets out "to show students what historians do by turning closed specialist debate into an open discussion," inviting students "to confront the issues historians grapple with while providing enough support" for conflicting interpretations and reflection. To aid students, each selection

includes an informative introduction and ends with some questions for closer reading of the text. The question of "How Did American Slavery Begin?" begs others that speak to "the black beginnings of America's unique society."

The first section on the beginnings of American slavery illustrates the pretentiousness of such an approach. Ira Berlin's 1996 essay "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," reprinted in its entirety from the *William and Mary Quarterly*, comprises 45 of the 47 pages devoted to the topic. The attempt to engage students in an open discussion and to guide them with focus questions takes up two pages, perhaps not even requiring a knowledgeable scholar like Countryman to miss an afternoon's teatime. Of the 150 plus pages of text and commentary, less than ten percent even attempts to concoct background information and context for students.

The essays in *How Did American Slavery Begin?*, written by such notables as Winthrop Jordan and Edmund Morgan, embody some of the best writing and thinking on the subject of early American slavery, but, because of that, they also are among the best known, thus easily accessible in journals, reprints, and as parts of edited collections. Frankly, I'd rather have students read them in professional journals and scholarly monographs, all the while allowing them to engage in the research work of the profession as well as in the curiosity of surrounding context and content. Of course, I'd also like them to read the original documents first and to understand the debate from its origins. That's as open and as engaging as it gets. As anyone who has ever taught history courses understands, the one who always gets the most out of any class is the teacher. Why? They have done the intellectual work necessary for learning. There are few shortcuts to learning but many pretensions, especially if understanding the outcome is considered more important than the process. If, as Edmund Morgan maintains, slavery continues to be the "Big American Crime" of its past, then scholars who profit from it under pretensions of helping poor students engage in its debate surely must be guilty of a smaller academic tort.

The University of North Carolina at Asheville Milton Ready

Edward Countryman, ed. *What Did the Constitution Mean to Early Americans?* Boston & New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999. Pp. xii, 169. Paper, $11.95; ISBN 0-312-18262-7. Cloth, $35.00; ISBN 0-312-21821-4.

This book is a collection of five essays plus an introduction in which the editor provides the historical context and traces the changes in historians' approaches to the Constitution.

Probably Isaac Kramnick's "The 'Great National Discussion': The Discourse of Politics in 1787" is too sophisticated for most undergraduates both in concept and language. Understanding the interplay of the four "languages" in which the Framers thought–"the languages of republicanism, of Lockean liberalism, of work-ethic Protestantism, and of state-centered theories of power and sovereignty"–is probably beyond all but the best undergraduates, and when they run into such a phrase as "one exclusive or even hegemonic paradigm" or "the power-centered paradigm's euphemisms for power," they might give up.

In his excellent "The Federalist Reaction to Shays's Rebellion," Stephen E. Patterson shows that Charles A. Beard was right in arguing that many of the supporters of the Constitution were motivated by economics. Long before Shays's Rebellion, the commercial and propertied interests wanted a strong central government to stifle the unrest of the less fortunate. Merchants wanted federal regulation of trade to block British competition and to encourage the American carrying trade. Artisans also wanted to eliminate the competition of British goods. Holders of public securities needed a government that could redeem them. Shays's Rebellion, which many of the Federalists welcomed, was the "dramatic demonstration of the need for a stronger national government."

"In "The American Science of Politics," which is the last chapter of *The Creation of the American Republic* and which considered by itself does no justice to that book, Gordon S. Wood argues that the Federalist writers created a new political theory in "response to the pressures of democratic politics." The theory "was peculiarly the product of a democratic society." As Wood shows earlier but not here, however, the Federalist writers had little confidence in democracy. They called their governments representative democracies or democratic republics even though they excluded much of the population from participation. Still the self-deluding James Madison could call the governments "wholly popular." Wood appears to agree. "The entire government," he says, "had become the limited agency of the sovereign people."

In her frustratingly vague "'Of Every Age Sex & Condition': The Representation of Women in the Constitution," Jan Lewis claims that since government was designed to serve society, and women were a part of society, and since the counting of women in determining the apportionment of the national House of Representatives means that they were included among "the people," "the Constitution included women." What this purported inclusion was supposed to mean for women, however, Lewis never makes clear.

Jack N. Rakove's "The Perils of Originalism," which is the first chapter of *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution*, should be read by every American–and by every American politician every week. Because it is impossible to know the "true intentions or understandings" of the men involved in the writing and the ratification of the Constitution, "the notion that the Constitution had

some fixed and well-known meaning at the moment of its adoption dissolves into am mirage." Various participants attached various meanings to the document.

Since even in an upper-level college course only two of these essays would be useful without massive explanation, the teacher might prefer to look toward other sources.

Cortland, New York C. Ashley Ellefson

Larry Madaras and James M. SoRelle, eds. *Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in American History.* Vol. 1: *The Colonial Period to Reconstruction.* Guilford, CT: Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, 2000. 8th edition. Pp. xvii, 384. Paper, $19.25; ISBN 0-07-303188-7.

This book, part of the long and successful *Taking Sides* series, brings together sixteen case studies in historical disagreement, starting with American exceptionalism and ending with the impeachment of Andrew Johnson in 1868. This eighth edition adds seventeen new selections to the book, including eight new units. It also adds the Dushkin web site <www.dushkin.com> for student use and internet resources keyed to each section of the book.

The addition of the new units is a substantial gain, as the added units, on subjects such as Columbus, the abolitionists, Jefferson's political philosophy, and Andrew Johnson's impeachment, create a balance between political and social history, and between the history of men and women. They also are useful in documenting the history of different groups in early America: European-Americans, African-Americans, and Native Americans. The book is, in many ways, a model of balance, something not found in many survey textbooks.

This range of issues and selections ensure that specialists in many fields will have quibbles with this book and the topics it includes. Some of the debates do not fit together exactly, and others seem to be stale compared to more recent debates, such as the three-decade old exchange "Were the abolitionists unrestrained fanatics?" The exchange between Oscar and Mary Handlin and Carl Degler on the origins of racism in America took place in the 1950s, and recent scholarship has produced many more appropriate selections that could have been chosen for this volume.

The *Taking Sides* approach focuses on secondary, rather than primary historical literature. In some instances, there is enough primary evidence quoted within the documents to allow students to see how primary sources are used by historians. In other sections, however, the argumentation becomes disembodied from the source material. With these, it is hard to see how students are expected to make up their minds about the two sides in conflict, since there is so little evidence in either piece of writing.

For teachers of survey college or AP history classes, there is much to be said for *Taking Sides*, as it allows teachers to show students the range of topics scholars investigate and the approaches they take. Several of the topics have a great deal of promise in the classroom. For instance, the debate over the role of women in eighteenth-century America, the exchange over who emancipated the slaves, and the pieces about the inevitability of the Civil War represent up-to-date scholarship and are well edited and introduced. Madaras and SoRelle have done an excellent job of editing pieces for space, and their introductions and conclusions to each debate are informative and well-written.

However, out of the author's control, the internet support material for the book provided by Dushkin/McGraw Hill has not strengthened the book as much as it could have. The internet sites mentioned in the text are not keyed to the debates, but broadly relate to the period. They include some odd choices, and omit many noted and useful sites. For example, for the Civil War period, the book refers the reader to an online list of Civil War links, but not to Edward Ayers's famous Valley of the Shadow project. The Dushkin web site for students is a disappointment, as it is a compilation of sites that the creators believed students might find useful, without any critical annotation or real guidance provided.

Eastern Michigan University Russell Olwell

Charles W. Calhoun, ed. *The Gilded Age: Essays on the Origins of Modern America.* Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1996. Pp. xix, 347. Cloth, $50.00; ISBN 0-8420-2499-9. Paper, $18.95; ISBN 0-8420-2500-6.

In his preface, editor Charles Calhoun notes that the idea of this book grew out of conversations with colleagues who agreed on the need for a book teachers could use to introduce their students to a "reconsideration of the various aspects of American life in the Gilded Age." In general, Calhoun's anthology accomplishes this goal extremely well. Composed of an introduction and fourteen essays by, with one exception, recognized scholars of the period, most of the major developments of the period are covered. Additionally, the essays reflect many of the newer interpretations of the period that have marked the work of social, legal, and business historians since the 1960s. As with most such works, the quality and value of the essays vary, but overall the book provides an updated look at a much-maligned period in U.S. history.

In an introduction Calhoun gives a brief description of the content and major conclusions of each essay and attempts to set them into context with one another. The linkage, however, is somewhat superficial, and he does not really point to common conclusions across the essays. As well, while the essays are not specifically identified

as grouped into divisions addressing aspects of a major development in the era, it is possible to do so. Four essays provide information on aspects of industrial growth, workers, immigrants, and Gilded Age cities. Three others discuss the status of women, African Americans, and Native Americans in the era. Four essays relate to politics and government, and the remaining three discuss science and technology, foreign relations, and the legal system.

As noted, the value of the essays for student use varies. In one of the best, business historian Glenn Porter provides an excellent summary of "Industrialization and Big Business." Well organized and straightforward, the essay describes the "new order" that marked the industrial and corporate society created by the changes and developments of the Gilded Age. Porter adeptly ties together a succinct overview of factors supporting rapid and successful industrialization, of the characteristics of custom production versus "big business," and of public reaction to the latter. Reflective of Alfred Chandler's well-accepted approach, Porter emphasizes patterns and institutions rather than personalities. For students used to the typical survey textbook treatment of the growth of big business, the essay offers a concise summary of a more sophisticated approach to the topic. Other strong essays, each for individual reasons, are those on workers, immigrants, urban growth, and the legal system. Students will probably find all of the essays on politics useful, although they are likely to be surprised by Calhoun's assertion that most Gilded Age politicians worked hard and by Lewis Gould's favorable view of the Republican Party.

Other essays are not as strong. For example, "Science and Technology in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century" will be of little interest to most students. Author James Fleming provides interesting information on the professionalization of the American scientific community and the growing involvement of government funding of scientific research, but devotes only two pages to a few examples of the tremendous technological advances and inventions of the era. As well, the essays on Native Americans, African Americans, and women will probably be less useful for students. The first two are hampered by having to cover such broad topics, and the latter by its emphasis on middle-class women and their organization.

As a whole the book is an excellent addition to the study of the Gilded Age. Instructors at both the high school and college level will find many of the essays useful for providing a concise summary of newer interpretations of the period, and should be able to glean both lecture and discussion material on many topics. Some essays provide direct discussion of changes in interpretation that will be particularly valuable. College students in a Gilded Age course would benefit from both the essays themselves and the excellent citations and suggestions for further reading included with each. I strongly recommend the book for use by instructors at the secondary and college levels, and by students at the college level.

Kennesaw State University Kay Reeve