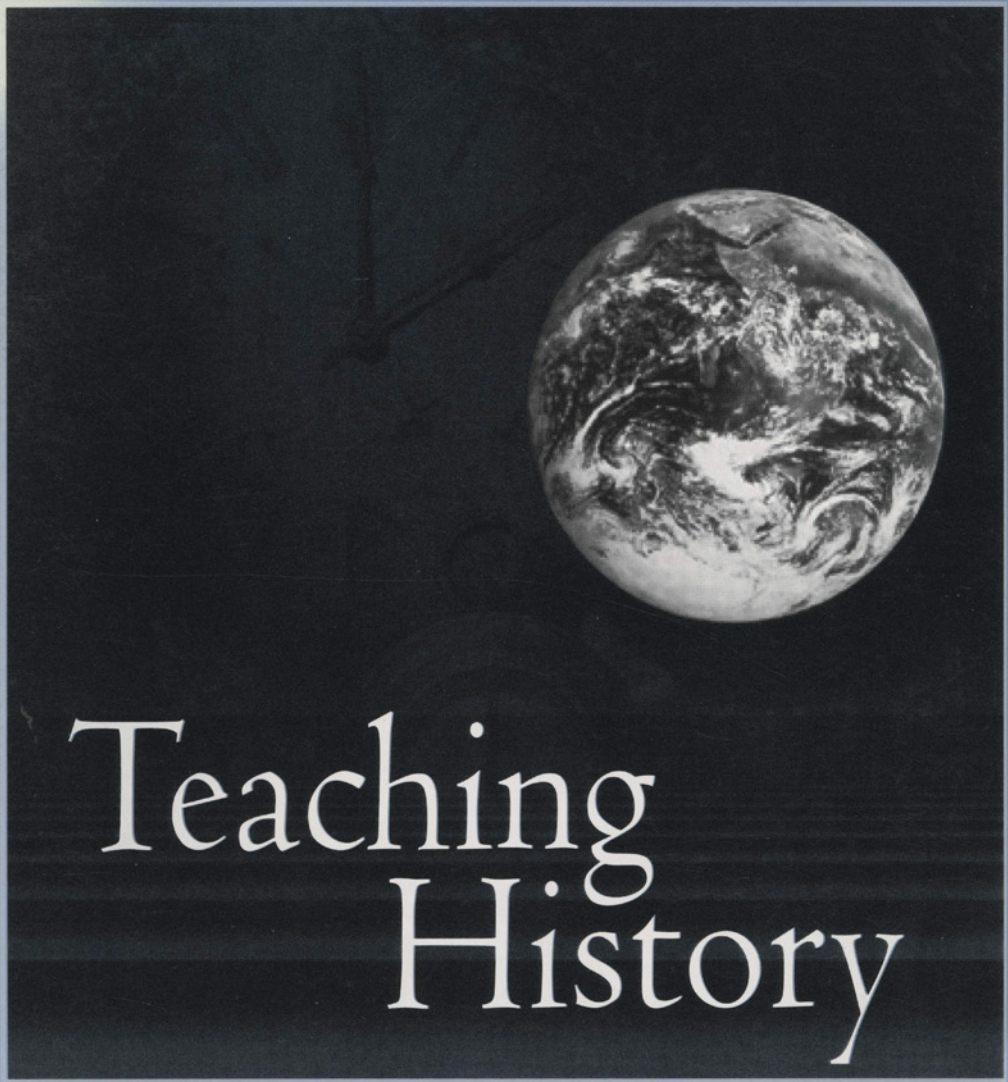

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TEACHING THE SILK ROAD:
A JOURNEY OF PEDAGOGICAL DISCOVERY

A. J. Andrea
and
William Mierse
The University of Vermont

Four years ago the rasher of the two of us, A.J. Andrea, a historian who specializes in long-distance travel and cultural encounters before 1492, suggested to William Mierse, an art historian and archeologist specializing in the late Hellenistic World, that sometime in the future we should jointly teach a course on the Silk Road. At the time Andrea was preparing the third edition of Volume I of *The Human Record* (1998)–now into a fourth edition–a global history source book that emphasizes travel and cultural exchange as two of its main themes, and the idea seemed exciting. Given our respective schedules, we concluded that the spring semester of 2000 would be the first mutually convenient term in which we could offer the course, and we would do so as a seminar for first-year students. It all sounded so nice and easy–until we began to plan our syllabus.

As we mapped out the course, several problems became obvious:

(1) There is no textbook, good, bad, or mediocre, on the Silk Road.
(2) There is no way, even with a textbook, that we could cover in depth and in any reasonable chronological fashion the 1,500 years or so during which the Silk Road flourished–especially within the context of a seminar.
(3) It would be necessary for us to introduce our students to several key and quite different disciplinary perspectives, namely anthropology, archeology, art history, and history, without unduly confusing them–a tall order.
(4) In all probability our first-year students would know absolutely nothing about the Silk Road, the lands over which its many routes ran, and the multiple cultures that played key historical roles in its long history, and we were right–not one of them had ever heard of a Parthian, a Tangut, or even a Uighur (as difficult as that might be to believe).
(5) Of all the gaps in the students' knowledge, the most critical would be basic geography–as we have learned in our combined half century of teaching.

With the naive optimism, perhaps, of John of Plano Carpini setting off for the court of the Great Khan, we decided to forge ahead, regardless but not mindless of the perils that lay ahead. Like Friar John, we also had faith–in our case, faith that there were some resources that we could use and maybe even some skills we could call upon. First the resources:

(1) Video programs–the teacher's lifeline! There exist twelve fifty-five-minute video programs on the Silk Road. Divided into two six-part series, they were produced respectively in 1990 and 1992 and aired on the Discovery Channel. The earlier series–a less satisfactory series–is *The Silk Road: An Ancient World of Adventure*; the later series–and somewhat better–entitled simply *The Silk Road*, is a joint production of NHK of Japan and CCTV of China. Neither is ideal, but there they are.

(2) Andrea's global history sourcebook contains a fair number of sources, both documentary and artifactual, that relate to the Silk Road and the many cultures that were involved in Silk Road interchanges, and these sources could serve as bases for class discussion and student exploration.

(3) The University of Vermont (UVM) has an excellent collection of Asian art slides from which Mierse could extract many examples of artistic evidence of cross-cultural encounters and exchanges along the Silk Road.

(4) Regardless of the fact that there was, at the point in which we were preparing our syllabus, no single textbook or book of any sort in print on the Silk Road, there were a few books and special journal issues (all of which appear in the annotated bibliography below) that could serve as guide posts, or maybe even oases, along the Silk Road. As our momentary lapse into the past tense suggests, several books on the Silk Road appeared subsequent to the start of our seminar, and they also appear in our appended bibliography. Would that they had been available to us!

(5) Vermont is a rural state, but it is not that far from major museums–museums that hold materials relevant to the Silk Road, the two most important being Boston's Museum of Fine Arts and Harvard's Sackler Museum. The former has one of the richest collections in the world of East Asian artifacts; the latter is the proud (embarrassed?) possessor of several Mahayana Buddhist frescoes and a kneeling Bodhisattva lifted from the Mogao Caves of the Thousand Buddhas near Dunhuang in the Gobi Desert, as well as many other artifacts relevant to the Silk Road. Visits to both museums would have to be fit into the schedule.

The skills we believed we could call upon were less tangible but, we hoped, just as real. Apart from our respective disciplinary perspectives, training, and professional research, both of us emphasize geographical knowledge in all our courses–so we at least know how to use maps and, what is more, help students to learn how to use them.

As we prepared our syllabus, we decided on several basic strategies and tactics:

(1) Although this was a seminar, it was composed of first-year students; we would, therefore, meet three times a week in fifty-minute segments, in order to allow us to deal with the material in easily handled pieces. In our view, a three-hour, once-a-week session would not work at an introductory level.

(2) There is no way we could teach 1,500 years of Silk Road history seriatim without its degenerating into a series of "one damn thing after another." So strict chronology was out, even though both of us professionally are slaves to chronology. We would not abandon chronology totally, inasmuch as we would quite often hand out chronological charts to help students sort out the cast of characters, but we would not follow a strict chronological sequence from the late second century B.C.E. to around 1400 C.E.

(3) Given our concerns about chronology, we would approach the Silk Road geographically, moving from Chang'an (modern Xian) to Antioch, from China to the Mediterranean. As we moved westward, we would deal with various historical and artistic phenomena as we encountered them along the Silk Road. For example, when we reached the Mogao Caves at Dunhuang, we would consider the transit of Mahayana Buddhism into China along the routes of the Silk Road and the creation of Buddhist art along those same roads. In other words, place and not chronology would drive the sequence in which we dealt with materials. For that reason, we would deal with the thirteenth-century Mongol empire long before we discussed the Parthian empire, which took shape a thousand years earlier in Iran and Iraq.

(4) Having decided on a geographical rather than chronological approach to teaching the Silk Road, we would focus the course around those twelve fifty-five-minute videos that move the viewer from modern Xian to the Pamir Mountains in far western Chinese Turkistan. (Unfortunately, they go no farther.) But we would not show them in class. After all, this was to be a seminar, and even if it were not, we believe the classroom is no place for videos. So students would have to view them outside of class at our media center, just as they read assigned books and articles outside of the classroom.

(5) A seminar must emphasize writing and informed discussion. Students would have to write weekly papers that critique each of the twelve video programs.

(6) But these are first-year students, who need a lot of guidance. Therefore, we must provide them with focus questions and lists of terms to help them view these programs profitably. To be honest, the programs are not easy to follow, inasmuch as they assume a general knowledge of Chinese history and an easy familiarity with Chinese place names–most of which never appear in Roman letters on the screen. Moreover, created by Japanese filmmakers in collaboration with a state television network of the People's Republic of China, the programs have cultural and ideological layers that students need help in identifying and deconstructing.

(7) Seminars must emphasize both individual and group exploration. Although all written work should be done individually–and each student would write about fifty typewritten pages over the course of the semester–there is great value in group think, when it is properly channeled. Therefore, we would divide the

seminar into four four-person study groups, which we would name the "Han," the "Kushana," the "Parthians," and the "Romans," after the four empires that dominated portions of the Silk Road in its first age of efflorescence. Each group would be urged to assemble weekly to view and discuss the video program of the week, using focus questions to guide their collective study and analysis of the program. Moreover, each week a single group would be charged with the responsibility of leading class discussion on the assigned video program. At the same time, every student would be required to compose privately an individual paper–a paper that would be read, commented upon, and returned for revision.

(8) We are academics who are wedded to our respective disciplines, and we must, therefore, introduce students to the ways in which we use evidence and reconstruct the past. Therefore, each week we would have to devote one fifty-minute class to the analysis of several relevant documentary sources from *The Human Record*–that is, sources relevant to the video program of the week; we must equally devote one class each week to studying relevant artistic and archeological artifacts. In looking at artifacts, especially works of art, it would be necessary to show students that they had to analyze these images just as deeply and thoroughly as the textual documents they were reading. In other words, the art we incorporated into class could not be seen or used as peripheral illustrations to jazz up a subject that we feared would otherwise bore the class.

(9) Given these imperatives, we decided to discuss the video of the week on Monday and receive the students' papers that day; we would discuss the documents of the week on Wednesday, and Friday would be given over to the art and artifacts of the week. Focus questions would be handed out to the students prior to the Wednesday class, and they would be asked to use these questions to guide their analysis of the documents to be discussed. Unlike the Monday class, we would not ask them to study the documents within their respective study groups, but they could, if they so wished. Inasmuch as we would be taking a road trip to the museums of Boston and Cambridge in April, the Friday session in which the students would learn to use their eyes to read these pieces of art would be crucial to the seminar's success, and for this reason no study questions would be handed out ahead of time and the art and artifacts shown the students would be sprung upon them in our now-darkened classroom. Each Friday's exercise would be aimed at helping students learn to dissect images, to understand visual language, and then to see how that language can be joined with textual evidence (Wednesday's matter) to form a richer understanding of a given period or phenomenon. This would mean working slowly and deliberately, but the goal was worth the effort.

(10) In light of all of the preceding, it became clear to us as we outlined our course that the seminar would be driven more by methodology than content. (And we use that term with a full knowledge of its Greek roots–"a study of modes of

inquiry.") Given the vast and amorphous nature of the chosen subject, our primary goal would have to be twofold: to help our students become aware of how historians, art historians, archeologists, and anthropologists use evidence critically and to assist those same students in developing their own critical skills. Obviously, in the process of studying all of this evidence as they conceptually traveled across Asia, they would become quite knowledgeable about the Silk Road and its place in the history of trans-Eurasian cultural exchange.

(11) Finally, we decided that before we could progress in this course, we had to make sure that everyone knew some basic geography. Without it, all else would be useless. For this reason, we would devote, possibly to our students' chagrin, the first several weeks of the course to mapmaking.

We began our mapmaking on the floor with crayons and blank pieces of paper. All of us–professors included–took a half hour to draw *from memory* a map of Eurasia, with fifteen key items–such as the Black Sea, China, and Mongolia–clearly delineated. We then taped up the maps and held a nonjudgmental critique. Each person, including the two graphically challenged professors, explained her or his map, and none was perfect. Some, of course, were less perfect than others. One even placed India in Siberia. The tone we tried to set was light, even humorous, but still serious. The sole point we tried to make was that everyone needed to do some basic work on geography. We then asked students to redraw their maps at home–again, largely just outlines of Eurasia–and to sketch in the major routes of the Silk Road. To aid them, we directed their attention to various historical atlases and several books on the Silk Road that have excellent maps. (See the bibliography below.) While engaged in this second map project, which was due the next class, the class received a third project: Over the course of a full week each person was to draw yet a larger and more detailed map with fifty sites clearly delineated on the map–all of those sites, of course, being relevant to the Silk Road. Most of the students put quite a bit of effort into those maps, but when we received them we still were not satisfied. A major problem for most was scale; Central Asia was about as broad as the area from the Atlantic to the Rhine in too many maps. Neither of us was happy with any of the maps handed in on the third go-around. What to do? We then required each of the four groups to create a single collaborative map. Those four maps, which were handed in fully four weeks into the semester, were worth the effort and time. We now knew that our students had at least a reasonable grasp of the basic geographical face of the regions of Eurasia touched by the Silk Road.

While all of this map work was taking place, we stayed active on other fronts. Early on we asked the class to view–outside of class–the video program *Riddle of the Desert Mummies*, which deals with Caucasian mummies discovered at various sites in the eastern region of the Tarim Basin between Mongolia and Tibet; the mummies, which are variously dated, indicating a long period of residence in this desert region,

date in some instances as far back as 4,000 years B.P. Our purpose in assigning this program was twofold: to help students discover that regularly traveled, long-distance routes crisscrossed Inner Asia well before the reign of Emperor Han Wudi (r. 141-87 B.C.E.), who is often credited with providing the impetus that led to the initial opening of the Silk Road; and to begin to help students learn how archeological sites and artifacts are interpreted, used, and even misused. Discussion of this film, which was led by Mierse, was quite eye-opening for many students, as they saw how archeologists piece together and evaluate evidence. We also had students read Andrea's Prologue to *The Human Record*, which deals in some detail with how the historian uses documentary and artifactual evidence. As the resident historian, Andrea prepared questions for each of the four groups to help them understand what documentary sources are and how one uses them critically. On his part, Mierse led discussion in a subsequent class on a piece of art that is also included in *The Human Record*'s Prologue, in order to help the students see how an art historian studies a piece of art and the types of questions he asks of the object. With these three introductions to the ways in which one uses various sorts of evidence, we believed our students were ready to begin looking critically at an interpretative study of the Silk Road–the video programs–and at some of the evidence that scholars use in their reconstruction of the past

For twelve weeks we traveled, video program by video program, from Chang'an through the Gansu Corridor, by way of Dunhuang and the oasis towns along the periphery of the Taklamakan Desert, to the Pamirs, visiting along the way numerous sites and cultures relevant to the Silk Road. For the first four of those weeks we provided the focus questions for each Monday's discussion and required each of the four study groups to lead discussion on one question. Additionally, each student passed in on Monday a one-page (no more) typed analytical essay that addressed the core issue raised by that week's program. This issue had also been given them the previous week along with a list of key terms and focus questions. The paper would be read and commented on by both professors and handed back on Wednesday, with a typed revision of the paper due the following Monday. Thus, once we were fully operational, each student passed in two essays each Monday–a revision and a first effort.

For the fifth and subsequent weeks of our video odyssey, we asked one of the four study groups to undertake, in full consultation with us, the duty of preparing the study sheets and leading the entire Monday discussion. With eight remaining programs and four study groups, each four-person team would have two chances to show its stuff. Members of the group-of-the-week would first view the program and then meet with both of us to work out exactly what they would put on those study sheets and what classroom tactics they might employ while leading discussion. Of key concern, of course, was the big question: What issue would be the essay topic of the week? Needless to say, we, the professors, had to review the video program of the

week so that it was fresh in our minds and so that we could provide guidance to the study group. We used this review session, normally scheduled for Friday afternoon at Andrea's house, as an opportunity to discuss at leisure where we had gone that week and where we were headed in the near and not-so-near future. These regular pedagogical and social interludes were in keeping with the traditions of the caravansaries of the Silk Road that offered opportunities for both business and pleasure to weary travelers.

On each Wednesday we explicated documents, ranging from Chinese poems describing the realities of life along the western frontier to the eyewitness accounts of such Silk Road travelers as Zhang Qian, Faxian, William of Rubruck, and Marco Polo. As noted, the texts always were related to Monday's video program. Students who had never heard of Manichaeism or Nestorian Christianity prior to entering our seminar were now explicating Manichaean documents from Turfan and a document detailing the reception of Persian Nestorian monks in Tang China.

On Friday these same students studied images that related to themes raised in the previous two classes. Students who a few weeks earlier had had no idea whatsoever of the basic outlines and beliefs of Buddhism were now discussing the iconographical qualities that delineated the artistic traditions of Theravada, Mahayana, and Tantric Buddhism.

By early April the class was ready for its road trip to Boston and Cambridge. But well before then Mierse had contacted the East and South Asian curators at the Museum of Fine Arts and the Sackler to arrange our own meeting with them to go over exactly what we would be showing our students at each museum. Because we would be visiting on a Saturday, when the curators would not be available to us, it was necessary for them to brief us on what our students should see and also to provide us with information that we had not previously had. For example, the East Asian curator at the MFA, Dr. Wu, pointed out that a ceramic camel from the era of the Sui Dynasty on display bears two stringed instruments. Well, we both knew that, but what we did not know was that one instrument was of Persian origin, whereas the other originated in India. Both made their way to China (and to Japan), where they were adopted and modified. As serendipity would have it, we were pointing out this instrument-bearing Bactrian camel to our class just as we were studying the Silk Road video program that deals with the influx of musical instruments and traditions into China and Japan from lands far to the west. In like manner, the curator showed us how Chinese crafters of porcelain imitated the look of Roman glass. With this knowledge, Mierse was able to lead the class first to an exhibition of Roman glass and then to a piece of Sui Dynasty ceramic, thereby allowing the students to discover the connection for themselves. It is one thing to talk about syncretic connections along the Silk Road, but when properly used, nothing rivals a good museum for making those connections clear and concrete.

The six or so hours spent at these two museums deserve their own lengthy essay. Suffice it to report here, the experience was worth every penny paid by UVM for the

van and assorted expenses and the two eight-hour roundtrip drives that we took in order to plan and then execute this road trip (not to mention the frustration of trying to park ["pahk"?] the van in Harvard Square). Judging from our students' expressions of appreciation and the quality of their post-visit papers, this was a winner.

In summary, thanks to a fair amount of planning and good luck, as well as the availability of such key resources as the Silk Road video programs, carefully selected documentary and artistic pieces of evidence, and two first-class museums within driving distance, we were able with some success to travel some 1,500 years through time and about 5,000 miles across Eurasia, and to visit with a variety of cultures and states that were significant in the long and convoluted history of the Silk Road. And we achieved all of this without having followed a strict chronological sequence.

Select Bibliography

Bentley, Jerry H. *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Inasmuch Bentley's book deals with cultural encounter and syncretic exchange across the Afro-Eurasian World prior to 1500, it is must reading for any person engaged in a study of the Silk Road. All of its chapters, not just Chapter 2, "The Era of the Ancient Silk Roads," are important. Each student was required to purchase the paperback edition of this book and to write a critical review of it as an end-of-semester project.

Christian, David. "Silk Roads or Steppe Roads: The Silk Roads in World History." *Journal of World History*, 11 (Spring, 2000), 1-26.

Although this important article appeared only weeks before the end of the semester, we quickly incorporated it into our syllabus as required reading and the subject of a class-long discussion. Christian's main thesis is that "trans-ecological" routes of exchange, which linked regions of pastoralism with regions of agriculture, crisscrossed the steppes of Eurasia for several millennia prior to the opening of the "trans-civilizational" Silk Roads and continued to feed the main arteries of the Silk Roads into modern times.

Foltz, Richard C. *Religions on the Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Exchange from Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.

The title says it all. Although this book is rather brief (186 pages) and therefore covers the religions under consideration in less detail than a specialist might wish, it is ideal for the novice, especially a student. Although Foltz employs the now largely abandoned Wade-Giles system of Romanization of Chinese (e.g. Tun-huang rather than Dunhuang), which might confuse students, we would have adopted it as a text had it been available when we began the seminar.

Franck, Irene M. and David M. Brownstone. *The Silk Road: A History*. New York: Facts on File Publication, 1986.

No longer in print, this is a good overview of the Silk Road through the ages, with generous quotations from extant sources, several helpful maps, and good but not lavish illustrations. Our library copy was placed on reserve for student reference. Even if this book were still in print, we would probably not adopt it as a core text because of its ponderous detail.

Hopkirk, Peter. *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road: The Search for the Lost Cities and Treasures of Chinese Central Asia.* Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1980.

This book, which details the exploits of those late-nineteenth and twentieth-century Western explorers and scholars who began the process of recovering the history (and artifacts) of Central Asia's Silk Road, is well worth the reading. It is in print as an inexpensive paperback. We chose not to adopt the book, despite its small price, because we did not wish to deal in detail with the Silk Road as a magnet for modern adventurers and scholars. At the same time, we did have to share with our class a few stories regarding Langdon Warner, the man who secured (stole?) the treasures from Dunhuang that we viewed at Harvard's Sackler Museum.

Lawton, John et al. "Traveling the Silk Roads," *Aramco World*, 39 (July/August 1988).

This special issue is, as is true of everything done by *Aramco World*, lavish with its color illustrations, and it also has a finely executed map. Its articles, written for a general audience, are quite good–as an introduction to the several main routes of the Silk Road and the role of silk in driving commerce along these many roads. When we requested multiple copies of this issue, we were initially assured that we would receive (gratis, of course) back issues–subscriptions to *Aramco World* are free (write: *Aramco World*, Box 469008, Escondido, CA 92046-9008). Apparently back issues did not exist, and we received photocopies. Despite *Aramco World's* generosity, we were disappointed, because the oversized map and color illustrations did not reproduce well. Our single bound library copy was put on library reserve and proved valuable for student reference.

Orientations, 27 (April 1996) and 30 (April 1999).

This magazine for collectors of Oriental art has several special issues devoted to the arts of specific regions of the Silk Road. Issue 4 of Volume 27 centers on the Buddhist art of the Tangut Xia (Xixia) empire (ca. 928-1227); issue 4 of Volume 30 centers on the art of the Turfan Oasis. Despite the technicality of some of its articles, we opted to require our students to read the issue on Turfan, where archeological digs since the early twentieth century have uncovered large caches of artifacts and

documents that have forced an essential reinterpretation of the history of the Silk Road and the peoples, goods, and ideas that traveled along it. Thousands of fragments of Manichaean texts found there, for example, have revolutionized our understanding of this world religion that found a pathway from Persia to China along the routes of the Silk Road.

The Silk Road: An Ancient World of Adventure (published by Central Park Media, 1990, 1992, and 1998; for further information see <www.centralparkmedia.com>). This joint production of Japanese (NHK) and Chinese (CCTV) state television runs to thirty fifty-five minute segments–a total of 1,650 minutes of footage! Viewing the entire series is almost the equivalent of trekking the 4,000 or so miles from Chang'an to Antioch.

When we taught our seminar, only the first twelve segments were available, leaving us at the Pamirs–only halfway across the Silk Road. Subsequently an eighteen-unit Silk Road II appeared on the market, carrying the story and the viewer south into India and west to the Mediterranean. We found the first twelve units useful but flawed, whereas the last eighteen are quite a bit better, probably because certain political subtexts become irrelevant outside of the lands encompassed by the People's Republic of China.

The twelve segments that our students viewed do a good job of showing the landscape and built environment of the various main sections of the classic Silk Road that lie within the borders of the PRC. The videos also give a good idea of the rigors of travel along these routes, but they have their shortcomings. All too often Chinese names and historical events are mentioned without any context, the assumption being that the viewer knows the basic outlines of Chinese history and can recognize the names and events. As noted in our essay, students need guide sheets in order to follow these programs with any success. By implication these twelve programs also seem to help perpetuate certain myths: viz. that most merchants traveled the length of the Silk Road–to the contrary, goods generally moved from one merchant to another along these routes; that there was a single road with only a few forks and branches–in fact, it was a network of connected caravan routes; that the same basic routes were open and used continuously for over a millennium and a half–routes opened, closed, and shifted due to many factors.

The last eighteen units, which we hope to use in future seminars on the Silk Road, appear to have corrected or avoided some of the flaws of the earlier productions. Chronological sequence is still a problem, as viewers jump back and forth by centuries and even millennia as they travel across the Silk Road, but this is unavoidable–as we discovered when we chose, like the video producers, to adopt a geographic framework for our seminar. Teachers are, therefore, cautioned to provide clear chronological handouts to help their students avoid being lost in the constant mixing of historical eras. If one has time to show only two or three of these programs, we recommend

Episode 4, "Xuanzang's Travels in India," Episode 11, "The Sogdian Merchants," and Episode 12, "The Glory of Samarkand." All are well worth viewing.

Whitfield, Susan. *Life Along the Silk Road.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

This excellent book, which is based on the author's profound scholarship, brings the Silk Road alive by recounting in fascinating detail the lives of ten individuals who flourished at different times and in different places along this vast network of Central Asian trade routes. A work that must be read by any serious student of the Silk Road, we would have adopted if it had been available when the course began. Its inexpensive price ($19.25 for a hardcover edition) makes it even more attractive.

Wriggins, Sally Hovey. *Xuanzang: A Buddhist Pilgrim on the Silk Road.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996.

Wriggins tells the epic story of the Silk Road's most famous traveler, the early seventh-century Buddhist monk who trekked to India in successful search of (almost six hundred) sacred sutras. Xuanzang's adventures, which Wriggins narrates clearly and in detail, deserve retelling for many reasons, not least of which is that the record of his sixteen-year-long pilgrimage provides vivid glimpses of the social, cultural, and political complexities of East, Central, and South Asia during one of the Silk Road's golden ages. Richly illustrated and filled with excellent maps, this is a book that every Anglophone student of the Silk Road should read.

A reasonably priced ($26) paperback edition is now available (ISBN 0-8133-3407-1), making it an excellent choice for adoption as required reading in any course on the Silk Road. Student reaction to the book has been unanimously positive. Richly illustrated and filled with excellent maps, students praise it for its readability and the author's obvious empathy for Xuanzang and love of her subject.

PUTTING EASTERN EUROPE BACK INTO WESTERN CIVILIZATION: OR, WHY IS THE RUSSIAN STUFF ALWAYS AT THE END?

John K. Cox
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Introduction

This essay offers a brief description of efforts by a specialist to rework courses for a general curriculum. Needless to say, this adaptation is a common concern for faculty at colleges and small universities. Where there is a strong core curriculum, professors are often called upon to teach surveys or other general courses that include but move well outside their specialties. My own graduate work was in East European history; my foreign research languages are Serbian, German, Slovene, and Hungarian; my visceral frames of reference for historical questions are quintessentially East European concepts such as nationalism, *irredenta*, great power hegemonism, lagging economic modernization, linguistic diversity, and cultural fault lines; my dissertation was a biography of a revisionist Yugoslav communist. But much of my time in our required freshmen classes is spent teaching a lot of different material, from Hatshepsut to Hiroshima. My colleagues have similar experiences. How do we adapt, and what constructive perspectives can a specialist bring to a general course?

This essay, however, also has a second aim: to help historians who are not specialists in Eastern Europe improve the way they integrate that region into general European history courses. The history of the lands east of Germany is complex, especially to North Americans. While I am sure that other historians approach the history of this region with nothing but the best of intentions, we cannot all be trained in everything, and, as it turns out, too often the textbooks we use are not without shortcomings.

What Exactly is Eastern Europe, Anyway?

Before a treatment of our two main topics, we need a clear understanding of just what constitutes the region of Eastern Europe. Unfortunately there are almost as many definitions of Eastern Europe as there are scholars of the region. One common (but now superannuated) definition was of Eastern Europe as the Soviet-dominated communist countries of Europe. This created problems for scholars of Albania and Yugoslavia, which–though communist (or socialist)–were maverick states, beyond the control of the USSR. This definition also left Germanists in the lurch. What was one to do with East Germany, which ended up in Eastern Europe by an accident of military history and, although temporarily a loyal Soviet satellite, had precious little in common historically with Bulgaria or Romania? The East Germans, of course, had their minds on the other Germans during the Cold War, trying to build a relationship with their cousins to the West, while determining whether or not the German Democratic Republic really had its own cultural identity.

Another, and better, way to define Eastern Europe is as the sum of the countries of Central Europe plus the countries of the Balkans. Such a formula, of course, immediately requires further definitions. What constitutes Central Europe?[1] Undisputed candidates for inclusion would be Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovenia; scholars debate over Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia (the Baltic states) as well as Croatia and Slovakia; historians would include Austria during the Habsburg period. What countries comprise the Balkans?[2] Sure bets for inclusion here would be Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia, and (historically speaking) Greece. Questions of what to do with East Germany, the European provinces of Turkey, Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine make this solution less than comprehensive, however.

Yet another approach is embodied in the term "the other Europe."[3] Given the scholarly impetus to achieve equal "air time" for Eastern Europe, this emotionally charged term works. But in practice its advocates have not used it to include any of the former western republics of the USSR (the Baltic states, Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus). Russia itself would seem to belong in this definition; Russia certainly deserves inclusion in some definition of Europe that would produce more integrative thinking in the historical community. But its inclusion in "the other Europe" opens tricky doors to Siberian, Caucasian, and Central Asian studies, and it runs the risk of overshadowing small cultures and countries such as Slovakia, Macedonia, and the Baltic states. A more arcane way to conceptualize parts of this region, most often used by Germans and scholars of Germany, is the term *Mitteleuropa* ("Middle Europe"). But many East Europeans themselves dislike this notion, because it often connotes both Germany and the zones of Europe adjacent to the eastern border of Germany where Germans have historically played dominant (or at least important) economic, cultural, and political roles. In some people's minds, it is only a short leap from factual

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[1]See Czeslaw Milosz, *Central European Attitudes*, in *Cross Currents 5: A Yearbook of Central European Culture*, 101-108.

[2]The term "Balkans" is derived from a Turkish word meaning "wooded ridge" or mountain. See Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 22-25, and L.S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1943* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), 2. It is commonly applied to those regions of southeastern Europe that were, for varying lengths of time, under Ottoman Turkish dominion.

[3]See E. Garrison Walters, *The Other Europe: Eastern Europe to 1945* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988), xi-xii. Walters notes that he borrowed this term from the American writer Philip Roth, who edited a series of novels that included works by Jerzy Andrzejewski (Poland), Tadeusz Borowski (Poland), Geza Csath (Poland), Milan Kundera (Czechoslovakia), Bohumil Hrabal (Czechoslovakia), Danilo Kis (Serbia), and Bruno Schulz (Poland). These novels were published by Penguin books in the 1960s and 1970s.

recognition of *Mitteleuropa* to the ideological and genocidal nightmares of the Third Reich's *Lebensraum* ("living space," to be added to Germany at the expense of East European neighbors) and *Drang nach Osten* ("push to the east"), although recent German history gives no indication that these expansionistic concepts linger in the minds of German diplomats.

The simplest and most reliable approach seems to be Alan Palmer's notion of Eastern Europe, set forth in 1970 in *The Lands Between: A History of East-Central Europe since the Congress of Vienna.* For Palmer, the phrase "the lands between" stood for the countries in between the German and the Russian cultural zones. The most concrete presentation of this approach is a good old-fashioned (but long) list: Albania, Belarus, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine, Yugoslavia (currently consisting only of the two provinces of Serbia and Montenegro). In terms of their history, Austria (up to 1918) and Greece (up to about 1950) should also be on this list. For the characteristics (besides location) that make this region a cohesive corpus for the purpose of scholarly study, see the section below entitled "Tips on Teaching Eastern Europe."

The Importance of Eastern Europe

This section begins with a brief set of statements about important East European persons or events with great impact outside the region. While many historians are familiar with most or all of these points, a list can serve as a convenient source of ideas when re-thinking lectures and readings at both the high school and college level. The section concludes with more general remarks.

a) The Byzantine Empire was the most important successor state to the Roman Empire. The much-heralded collapse of "Rome" in the fifth century AD was in actuality a collapse of the western half of the Roman Empire.

b) The Eastern Orthodox churches represent an important branch of Christianity, both spiritually and historically. Often overshadowed by Christianity's Western European variants, Catholicism and Protestantism, Orthodoxy deserves study not just for its religious significance but also for its function as a pillar (or even department) of the state and as a cultural repository for smaller national groups.

c) Medieval Poland was a great power. It was also known for its religious tolerance and its proto-democratic (or stubbornly feudal) limitations on monarchical authority that paralleled those of England.

d) Culturally and economically, Medieval Eastern Europe was more advanced than Medieval Western Europe, especially its Christian (non-Iberian) parts. The glorious city of Constantinople and the trade routes of the "caravan world" characterized this relatively high development.

e) The Ottoman Empire was also known for its (relative) religious toleration, as is shown by the immigration of the Sephardic Jews from Spain after 1492 and the

millet (religious community) administration. Christians and Jews, while discriminated against in civic terms, were not systematically forced to abandon their faith. This example of Muslim respect for "peoples of the book" is a worthy antidote to many of the supposed lessons of late twentieth-century world history.

f) The Habsburg Empire played an important long-term role in industrializing many regions of Eastern Europe, especially Bohemia and Hungary, and also in familiarizing them with the procedures of democratic government in the late nineteenth century.

g) The cultural and intellectual achievements of cities such as Cracow, Prague, Vienna, and, in the twentieth century, Belgrade are well known and center on music, medicine, psychology, and of course literature. The region produced many famous authors, such as Ivo Andri and Czeslaw Milosz (Serb and Polish Nobel laureates, respectively) and Milan Kundera (Czech).

h) Cities such as Sarajevo, Prague, Vienna, and regions such as the Vojvodina and Bukovina have proven to be important crucibles of cross-fertilization in both high and popular culture. Politically, different national and religious groups have often lived harmoniously in these places.

i) The communist governments of Eastern Europe provided for massive improvements in the standard of living of their populations. This upswing was, sadly, accompanied by great state curtailment of civic and political freedoms and, during the Stalinist period, by the use of political terror. Furthermore, the basic methods of Soviet-style industrialization, focusing on heavy industry and central planning, were not able to sustain East Europe's economic growth or meet the rising expectations of a consumer economy. Nonetheless, economic modernization occurred under communist rule and Eastern Europe is today clearly a part of the industrialized world.[4]

j) The fall of communism represents a heartening example of the triumph of civil society and the possibility of nonviolent political change, except in the former Yugoslavia, which ironically was long the most liberal of all the communist regimes in Europe.

k) The four wars accompanying the break-up of Yugoslavia can serve to remind scholars and students of the responsibility of the international community for keeping the common peace in Europe. As in the case of the Spanish Civil War and the Holocaust, the temptation of short-sighted noninvolvement has obviously not disappeared.

Nowadays many teachers are redesigning many canons and curricula by attempting to build more non-Western or non-traditional history into courses. If the concept of "worthwhile history," like that of a canon of great literature, is to continue to exist, it will obviously be in an updated and more inclusive form. If we are

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[4]See Geoffrey Swan and Nigel Swain, *Eastern Europe Since 1945* (New York: St. Martin's, 1998).

considering more issues from women's history, for instance, and if we are now looking much more closely at class and race, may I make a plea for another "forgotten" history? Appreciation of diversity can begin at home. That home, for many historians who teach surveys, is Europe. Europe, in turn, is much more than France, Great Britain, Spain, Germany, and Italy.

There are many perspectives and types of knowledge that an Eastern Europeanist can bring to courses in Western Civilization. Geographical and linguistic considerations, a fuller cultural appreciation of Europe in general, and parallels that deepen one's understanding of West European events and trends–these are examples of the intellectual advantages at the fingertips of the East Europeanist. Terms such as *irredenta*, ethnic nationalism, and historical (as well as ethnic and strategic) rights have been popularized through discussion of Eastern Europe. Scholars of "the lands between" have traditionally needed to be familiar with both Western European and Russian history in order to flourish in intellectual life and survive in the profession.

We turn now to the second issue to be treated in this essay: how to improve the teaching of Eastern Europe by non-specialists.

What Makes Teaching About Eastern Europe Difficult?

Looking at my Western Civilization courses, I have noticed that most textbooks pay too little attention to Eastern Europe. Sometimes, as well, they give insufficiently detailed or even erroneous information. Since most of us have far more training in West European history than in East European, and since the same is true of our students, I realize there is a natural tendency to build on what we know in our classes. It pays to link new material to old material. We do this, however, on pain of propagating unbalanced stereotypes about East European ethnic groups, religions, political persuasions, and levels of development.

Imparting cross-cultural exposure and enabling students (and teachers) to deepen their thought processes require breaking new ground by coming to terms with alien concepts, adopting fresh approaches, and digesting new nomenclature. It might be helpful for teachers to be aware of the types of problems likely to be faced in the classroom.

The first hindrance is students' unfamiliarity with Eastern Europe when they arrive at our universities. Few high schools teach about the region, at least to judge from the comments and answers to my questions provided by WJU freshmen. When in English literature class, they might have studied the English kings and queens. When studying the American Revolution, they might have examined eighteenth-century France to serve as a comparison. When studying World War I, their emphasis was almost certainly on the trench warfare of the Western Front (as opposed to the battles on the Alpine front in northeastern Italy, the campaigns in Serbia and Greece, and the huge seesaw struggles in Russia, East Prussia, and Poland). What they know about World War II likely will turn on the Battle of Britain and D-Day, not the dive-

bombing of Warsaw and Belgrade, the partisan struggles of Ukraine and Bosnia, and the colossal German defeat at Stalingrad.

A second factor accounting for part of students' lack of knowledge about Eastern Europe is their lack of genealogical connection to the region. In parts of North America, such as Chicago, Toronto, Cleveland, St. Louis, New York, Saskatchewan, Indiana, and Western Pennsylvania, this statement would be seen as an absurdity. But in many parts of the United States, East European ethnic heritage is not widespread. Where it exists, it is not always clearly defined or valued. In addition, few of the dominant features of American society derive from Eastern Europe. American culture is obviously much more influenced by West European, African-American, Hispanic, or Asian societies; politically the United States is modeled on the English system and on various Enlightenment principles (from Western Europe).

Another consideration is the legacy of the Cold War. Until 1989, most of Eastern Europe was closely tied to the Soviet Union in foreign policy and economics. The difficulty and expense of traveling to beautiful cities such as Krakow, Prague, Budapest, and Weimar meant that the region tended to fade in popular consciousness. The military alliance commonly known as the Warsaw Pact, which bound Eastern Europe to the Soviet Union, meant that Eastern Europe tended to become part of "them," or, even worse, part of "the evil empire." In other words, during the Cold War, many people saw Eastern Europe either as the political enemy or simply thought about the place as distant and submerged and less worthy of touristic or cultural appreciation.

A final factor–to me this seems to be the most important nowadays–is simply the geographic, linguistic, and ethnographic complexity of "the lands between." The unfamiliarity discussed above obviously heightens the students' sense of mystification when faced with the lists of working vocabulary of East European studies. But I will also be the first to admit that the number of "proper nouns" necessary to understand this part of the world is rather large. For example, can we really fail to understand the students' quizzical looks the first time we ask them to distinguish between the toponyms Slavonia, Slovenia, and Slovakia?[5] To prepare students for unavoidable deluge of proper nouns, I usually warn them about what is coming and provide them with lots of maps and lists and recommendations of good atlases. Then we might need to carry out intellectual triage by jettisoning the approach of the gazetteer and

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[5]How many of us knew the difference between a Serb and a Sorb when we were their age? Or how about the difference between a Serb and a Serbian, or a Croat and a Croatian? (Yes, there is one, sometimes.) Why do Slavs now live in Macedonia, which used to be so very Hellenistic? And what country is Macedonia really in, when cartographers tell us there are three Macedonias: Vardar, Pirin, and Aegean? What religion do the Romany (Gypsies) adhere to? How do we find maps with regions such as Bukovina, Dobrudja, Epirus, Teschen, Moravia, Transdnistria, and Friulia? What was the relationship of the Kashubians to the Poles, and of the Ruthenians and Hutzuls to the Ukrainians? Who in the world are the Kutzovlachs and the Lipovans? All this is to remind us, I suppose, that figuring out the family linguistic tree of the various Slavic peoples isn't so hard after all!

exercising restraint by choosing regions and peoples that are emblematic of large issues.

Tips on Teaching Eastern Europe

Fortunately, there are plenty of steps we can take to lessen the difficulty of teaching about this polyglot and formerly remote half of Europe. First of all, I suggest taking a few minutes in a class near the beginning of a course to do some "taxonomical work." I try to give students an idea of which languages are Slavic and what the various branches of the Slavic family are. Then I discuss how Romanian, Hungarian, Greek, Albanian, Romany, and Estonian fit into the picture. On geography, I explore the terms discussed above such as "Central Europe" and "the Balkans," and I also always mention that the Balkans comprise one of Europe's three southern peninsulas; somehow this helps to remind people that Romania is part of Europe too!

A great number of scholars have pointed out the characteristics that make Eastern Europe generally different from Western Europe.[6] This list of characteristics represents the single most important aid to understanding the region, because it links the countries of the area together and provides a contrast to other parts of the world. The list includes the predominance of ethnic over civic nationalism; a much slower process of industrialization, due in part to a lack of participation in the exploration and exploitation during the Age of Discovery and to a position as a supplier of raw materials to Western Europe during the Industrial Revolution; a lower population density; a mixed Byzantine, Islamic, and Roman Catholic religious heritage with smaller Jewish and Protestant admixtures; the absence of primogeniture in many regions; a smaller historical role for cities with their rising commercial classes, professionals, and intellectuals; multi-national empires imposed by outside powers that lasted for hundreds of years, resulting in the preservation of a jumbled ethnic map long unsimplified by cultural, economic, and political homogenization; a historically closer relationship between church and state; and, contrary to received wisdom and journalistic shorthand, the often harmonious or indifferent *modus vivendi* between many ethnic groups in the region, at least until World War II.

Whenever possible I also look at the relationship between East and West in Europe. That is, I try to weave East European material as seamlessly as possible into the courses by discussing even-handedly the effects of important ideas and trends (e.g., industrialization, socialism, nationalism) throughout Europe. I also encourage students

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[6]See, for instance, Dennis Hupchick, *Culture and History in Eastern Europe* (New York: St. Martin's, 1994) George Schopflin, "The Political Traditions of Eastern Europe," *Daedalus*, 119 (1990), 55-90; Peter Sugar and Ivo Lederer, eds., *Nationalism in Eastern Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994); Piotr Wandycz, *The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 1992); and Gale Stokes, *Three Eras of Political Change in Eastern Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

to follow the trajectory of ideas and movements beyond their points of origin in Western Europe on into Eastern Europe and the rest of the world. The Crusades are a good example. It is not enough to study the motives of the Crusaders and the havoc they wreaked in the Middle East; the atrocities they committed against East European Jews and Orthodox Christians are an important part of the full picture. Likewise, when studying the Holocaust, I encourage students to "think all the way through the topic," which means thinking beyond *Kristallnacht* and the Anne Frank story. We then confront the thorny issues of East European anti-Semitism and collaboration with the Nazis, as well as the patterns of Jewish settlement in Poland, Ukraine, and western Russia, the regions where the Nazis found and murdered the majority of their Jewish and non-Jewish victims. That, in turn, brings us to the issue of Jewish military resistance to the Nazis and their henchmen, an important topic long obscured by political concerns in Eastern Europe.

Finally, I find that it often works well to expose students to the nature of daily life and the daily hopes and frustrations of Eastern Europeans. Since I have lived and studied in Hungary and the former Yugoslavia, I have plenty of photos, memorabilia, and anecdotes to weave into the class. Many excellent East European films are available with English subtitles. When confronted with "the other" or "the unknown," another way to encourage student open-mindedness is to do things such as quoting Sting's otherwise unremarkable song from the 1980s, to the effect that "I hope the Russians love their children too." Of course they do, as do the Latvians and the Bulgarians and the Serbs. Although these activities do not exactly pave the way for political harmony in the world or impart a great deal of historical knowledge, they are tools for helping demystify other cultures for our undergraduates.

BUILDING HIGHER-ORDER HISTORICAL THINKING SKILLS IN A COLLEGE SURVEY CLASS

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While over 99 percent of college faculty state that it is their goal to get students to "develop the ability to think clearly," according to a recent survey conducted by the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, those who teach history are among those most committed to this process. Sixty-two percent of history faculty surveyed in 1990 believed that developing students' "effective thinking abilities," or helping students to "acquire general intellectual skills to use in many situations," is the single most important goal of history classes. Ninety-four percent of history faculty list developing effective thinking abilities as an important goal, the highest of any discipline reported. However, of all the skills that history faculty attempt to develop in students, critical thinking about the past is the most slippery to define and difficult to teach. What steps need to be taken to break students out of their accustomed ways of thinking and to consider points of view other than their own? How do we tell students who are used to history as "names and dates" that in some cases historical questions do not have only one correct answer?[1]

There is no easy teaching technique to ensure the development of higher-level thinking skills, especially in survey classes that are expected to cover over a century of material in a term. While many history departments have created upper-level research and writing methods classes to teach historical thinking, the survey class in many cases has not had this element of critical thinking structured into it. This placement of teaching historical thinking in only one class (or only upper-level classes) does not serve our students. The goal of history education at the college level should be the development of critical thinking throughout the curriculum. This means that each class within a history program should have an element of historical thinking built in, from introductory surveys to graduate-level classes.

In my own American history survey classes, I have had success in provoking historical thinking among students with exercises based on a series of inexpensive paperback books, the Bedford Series in History and Culture. These books each contain an introductory essay, a series of primary documents, and a chronology of important events around a specific topic in United States or European history. These assignments and activities relating to them have taken up relatively little time in class and have been manageable for students to read and write about, but they have not overwhelmed me with grading. My student ratings in these classes have been high, despite the extra

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[1]Joan Stark, et al., *Planning Introductory College Courses: Influences on Faculty* (Ann Arbor: National Center for Research to Improve Postsecondary Teaching and Learning, 1990), 52; *Chronicle of Higher Education* (September 1, 2000), 40.

work such assignments involve. These assignments also help address the diversity of preparation and previous coursework found in survey classes, as the papers challenge both novices to history as well as those with some background in the subject, each at their own level.[2] In this article, I will discuss how I structured my survey class assignments to move students further along in their historical thinking, and how I have changed these assignments to focus more on moving students to the level of thinking required of upper-level history classes. These assignments could also be used in secondary schools, with adjustments for numbers of pages assigned, time given to students to complete the assignments, and length of writing required.[3]

Critical Thinking in the Context of the History Survey

Before considering how to build critical thinking into history classes, it is important to be specific about the meaning of the term. One useful definition of critical thinking comes from the literature on the development of "reflective judgment," measuring the ability to think through complex problems using logic and evidence. Patricia M. King and Karen S. Kitchener have developed an index of "reflective judgment" that quantifies a student's overall intellectual development. In college, students typically move from a position of "pre-reflective thinking," in which knowledge is "limited to one's personal impressions about the topic (uninformed by evidence)," to a belief that knowledge is the result of a reasonable inquiry using evidence. Thus, students actually lose certainty of knowledge in their college years, passing through stages of relativism in which they may believe that all beliefs are equal in validity.[4]

Students improve their critical thinking skills through tackling "ill-structured problems" that have no easy, straightforward answer. This does not mean that questions presented to students should be vague or poorly thought out on the part of

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[2]In my first survey class taught at EMU, I discovered that I had both first-year and graduate students in the same survey class, giving me a considerable range to address.

[3]There are currently over 50 works in the Bedford Series, a list of which can be found at http:www.bedfordstmartins.com. This selection allows flexibility in designing the assignments, as well as rotation of works each term to prevent paper recycling among students. As the assignments described in this essay are customized to a specific class, they also effectively discourage plagiarism and the purchase of papers from online paper mills. This focus on the Bedford Series is not to imply that other series in the past, such as the Amherst Series, would not be suitable for this type of assignment. However, the Bedford Series is widely available now and affordable (especially when bundled with a survey textbook), making it ideal for this type of writing assignment.

[4]Patricia M. King and Karen S. Kitchener, *Developing Reflective Judgment: Understanding and Promoting Intellectual Self-Growth and Critical Thinking in Adolescents and Adults* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994), 224, 14-15.

the instructor; the question must have depth and complexity, and present the opportunity to think through a series of possible answers. History is full of such problems that cannot be reduced to yes or no answers or to bubbles on a scantron form. For instance, when the Holocaust occurred is a well-structured problem; what Americans could have done to save European Jewry is "ill-structured," provoking a wider range of thought and argument.[5]

This road to reflective judgment is not smooth, however. King and Kitchener, in their interviews of college students, found students often got stuck in a rut of relativism or nihilism. Many believed at times in their development that all opinions were equal, that all arguments were biased, and that there could never be enough evidence to know the answer to a question. However, as students progress in their education, and became producers, as well as critics of knowledge, they begin to see that evidence and arguments can be evaluated. This process is familiar to anyone who has taught classes on writing or has written a dissertation–it is only when called upon to create historical narrative or analysis that one can appreciate the work that goes into creating an argument or marshaling evidence on its behalf.

The Bedford Series in History and Culture

In order to build some critical thinking skills into my survey classes (United States 1492 to 1877 and United States, 1877 to present), I used the Bedford Series in History and Culture.[6] As mentioned earlier, these books each include an introductory essay and a collection of documents related to the topic. As a series, these books are for the most part balanced, and the documents are chosen well. For example, the Bedford volume on Ida B. Wells's *Southern Horrors* contains background material about Wells and her crusade against lynching and several journalistic works on lynching by Wells. Therefore, the book provides students with several decades of Wells's reportage on lynching, from the 1890s to 1910s, allowing them to assess change and continuity in the phenomenon. Introductions to the volumes provide background material on the historical period that the book covers, as well as on historiographic debates that surround the period in question.

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[5]King and Kitchener, *Developing Reflective Judgment*, 11.

[6]I do not mean to imply that the Bedford Series is the only way to build these sorts of assignments. The genre of conflicting interpretations in history has been a part of history teaching for generations. *Problems in American Civilization* published by D.C. Heath, and edited volumes such as Sidney Fine and Gerald Brown, *The American Past: Conflicting Interpretations of Great Issues* (New York: Macmillan, 1970) have also served this purpose. The current D.C. Heath series *Major Problems in American History* serves a similar purpose to the Bedford volumes, though the scope of each volume lends itself far better to upper-level classes. Information about *Problems in American Civilizations* and *Major Problems* can be found at the Houghton-Mifflin website, http://college.hmco.com/.

In the survey of American history from 1492 to 1877, I have used *The Confessions of Nat Turner and Related Documents* and *Declaring Rights: A Brief History with Documents* to give in-depth treatment of events we were studying in class. Students chose which book to write about, thus vastly reducing complaints about the assignment. The students in this class were heterogeneous in every conceivable way–race, class, age, background, and level of study. As is par for my institution, many in the class were studying to become teachers, and several had returned to school as post-baccalaureate students. This assignment became a way for more advanced students to tackle a historical problem at a higher level than they had thus far in the class and for novice students to make a first attempt at a college paper.

This first assignment I wrote (see Appendix I) was designed to provoke in-depth thinking about the historical nature of the events we were studying. Since survey classes must move at a fast clip, names, dates, and facts often become a blur to many students; focusing on one topic allows them to see history as a field with depth as well as breadth. In this first assignment, I did not incorporate any interplay between primary and secondary sources, and the more alert students realized that one could do the assignment by using only the documents, never needing to venture into the introductory essay. To help ease students into the assignment, I spent class time discussing how to write a solid thesis, the guidelines for an acceptable paper, and outlining a paper before writing (see Appendix II). To ease my grading load, I provided a series of questions for students to address, making their papers more focused and easier to grade. I also limited the length to two pages, which would force them to be more concise. I allowed students to turn in rough drafts but did not require it–only a handful took me up on the offer. The paper assignment was well-received by the vast majority of students, though some wrote in their evaluations that the Bedford books were "no fun, very boring books."

The second set of assignments (see Appendices III and IV), written for my winter term honors history survey (1877 to the present), took the earlier assignment a step further. As this honors class was supposed to be more challenging (though not simply through a greater volume of work), I added a Bedford book to the syllabus in the first half of the term–*Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900*. Then, in the second half, students could choose from three works to write about–*America Views the Holocaust, 1933-1945: A Brief Documentary History*, *My Lai: A Brief History with Documents*, and *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents*. While the students' workload in the winter term was substantial, the assignments worked better at forcing students to think about history rather than just summarizing a book's argument. Making drafts of the paper mandatory allowed me to help lost students refocus their papers before the final draft was turned in. This especially helped students sharpen the thesis of their papers, as it took many a full draft to discover what they believed about the topic.

In the first assignment of the term, students analyzed Ida B. Wells's book detailing the hideous crime of lynching in the American South. I had decided to focus on one work in common for the first assignment, to allow us to discuss the book and the paper more extensively in class. Borrowing an idea from another history teacher, I asked students to hypothesize why lynching was so important in the American South: What social function and whose interests did it serve? This is a good example of an "ill-structured problem," as the work of Ida B. Wells contains hundreds of case studies, each of which could lead students into different directions of analysis. My students examined the role of lynching in cementing ties in the white community, in keeping white supremacy alive, and in keeping African-Americans from gaining economic prosperity or social equality. Students needed to back up their arguments with evidence from the primary documents in the book and to assess counter-arguments to their position.

The second assignment of the class (see Appendix V) asked students to locate an historical debate related to their topic in the introduction to the book, then to choose a side in the debate and deploy evidence for their position from the documents. This was more difficult for students to do, as thinking about an historical debate was not what they were used to doing. This assignment also forced them to develop a thesis for their topic, in which they argued their position relative to the historiographic debate they found in the introduction to their book. I found this paper more satisfying to read than the first, as students began to discover where historians disagreed, and then weighed in with their own opinion and evidence. The nature of the three topics–McCarthyism, the My Lai massacre, and America's reaction to the Holocaust–made for some strong historiographic conflicts, which in turn, led to interesting, lively papers on the subjects.

In both papers, I limited the page length to two to three pages, in order to fight off the tendency (especially among honors students) to try to bury the instructor in paper. Keeping these assignments short and developing rubrics to aid in grading them kept the time needed to assess the student essays to a reasonable amount. This allowed me to provide quick and focused feedback to them to help on the next draft or paper. (For an example of one of the grading rubrics, see Appendix VI.) As Barbara Walvoord has pointed out in her book, *Effective Grading*, cutting down the time needed to grade each assignment allows instructors to assign more writing as part of a class, giving students greater opportunity to write and improve their writing during the term.[7]

Adding these assignments to the class without subtracting other work had some negative effects, however. There was too much work for those students who had

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[7]Barbara Wavloord and Virginia Johnson Anderson, *Effective Grading: A Tool for Learning and Assessment* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1998).

difficulty keeping up with all the class reading: One student wrote on an evaluation, "Bedford books were just very hard to read–too many documents in them." Another suggested I assign only one Bedford book and paper, and a third responded that I should "find something else to write papers on." These criticisms did not significantly affect the overall ratings of the class by the students. However, they indicate that when new assignments are added to a survey class, it is important to remove some work in order to avoid overwhelming students, however painful this is to the instructor.

On my side, structuring class around these Bedford assignments did take more class time than I expected. I carved out some in-class time to teach thesis writing, as well as to give a class session to allow students reading the same book to discuss their papers together. I wrote poorly constructed thesis paragraphs for students to rewrite. I also found that I needed time to talk through my comments on rough drafts with them, and I canceled one lecture to allow time for me to meet with each of them briefly to discuss my comments. Throughout the term, I reserved time to allow students to read and analyze historical documents in class, in order to build the skills necessary for the papers. As a result, I did lose some of the time I had set aside for content in the class so we could focus on the process of historical thinking and writing. However, even though I only made it to 1975 that term, I judged the results well worth it, as students had spent more time sifting through evidence and weighing interpretations, suffering a reduction only in time listening to my lectures.

This shift in how time is used in class can be seen as an opportunity to broaden the kinds of skills taught in history surveys and to add variety to the mix of activities that students are asked to do. While some students will resist these elements as inappropriate for a survey-level class, the vast majority will rise to the challenge, and leave the class with a deeper appreciation of history as a discipline and methodology.

Conclusion

If students are introduced to critical thinking and writing throughout their careers in history, the result will be a deeper understanding of history. While not all students will go on to be history majors, many students can benefit from the critical thinking that goes into historical analysis. Particularly for students going into teaching at the elementary or secondary level, the skills of critical reading of sources, thinking about evidence, and questioning interpretations are vital, as they can pass these skills along to their own students. Finally, whatever their major, students will need to write and back up what they believe in their upper-division classes; if survey classes help prepare them for these challenges, we will earn the gratitude of their future teachers as well. In my ongoing classroom research, it will be necessary to examine pre- and post-test data to assess whether this type of assignment has an effect on overall student learning in history surveys. However, my own early assessment of student written work indicates that, at the least, these types of short, structured assignments based on

primary materials can start students thinking about the issues of argument and evidence that are at the core of the discipline of history.

Appendix I:
Paper for History 123: *Declaring Rights: A Brief History with Documents* or *The Confessions of Nat Turner and Related Documents*

Choose one of the following topics:

1. After reading *Declaring Rights: A Brief History with Documents,* choose one right in the Bill of Rights. Describe:
   a. How this right was understood in English law before 1787, such as in the Declaration of Rights;
   b. How American feelings about this right helped lead to the American Revolution in 1776;
   c. Why Americans wanted this right to be part of the Bill of Rights;
   d. How Americans now think about this right–this can be how people today understand this right, how they misunderstand the right, or how the right has changed.

In this paper, give me specific quotations from documents in the book that back up what you are saying.

2. After reading *The Confessions of Nat Turner and Related Documents*, answer the following questions about the revolt:
   a. Who was Nat Turner? What led him to revolt?
   b. What does his revolt tell you about slavery in Virginia in the 1830s?
   c. How did southerners react to his revolt?
   d. How did northerners reach to the revolt?
   e. How did Turner's actions help lead to the end of slavery in America? Think about both indirect and direct effects of his revolt.
3. Other options–these topics require my explicit approval before you start on them.
   a. If you would rather make a short 3-5 minute video documentary about either of these topics instead of writing a paper, please speak to me at office hours or make an appointment as soon as possible.
   b. If you would rather create a curriculum unit for any level of education based on one of these two topics, please speak to me at office hours or make an appointment as soon as possible.
   c. If you would rather write on some aspect of historic preservation in early American history, please speak to me at office hours or make an appointment as soon as possible.

Appendix II: Guidelines for writing a History 123 paper

1. Do not plagiarize. See below.
2. Proofread your work. This means more than simply using the spell check feature of Microsoft Word (though that is a good idea to do as a first step). After you are done with a paper, let it sit for at least an hour and then read it over with an eye for grammar or spelling errors.
3. Make sure that there is a thesis in the introduction of the paper, as well as a description of what you will cover in the paper. It is not your job to surprise me in the paper–I should know exactly what you are writing about at the end of the first paragraph.
4. Use evidence from the readings by paraphrase or quotation. A paraphrase is a summary of a passage; a quotation is using the same words as the book, enclosed in quotes and with a reference to where you found this quotation.
   Example of a paraphrase: In *Declaring Rights*, Jack Rackove argues that the rights found in the Declaration of Independence were originally found in English law (Rackove, page 2).
   Example of a direct quote: Thomas Jefferson, in the "Third Draft of a Constitution for Virginia," wrote "No person hereafter coming into the country shall be held within the same in slavery under any pretext whatsoever." (Quoted in Rackove, page 80).
   Please note that both paraphrases and quotes are referenced. Any thought that is not your own in the paper needs a reference. Otherwise you are stealing by plagiarizing the work of an author.
5. You should outline your paper before you write a rough draft. This will let you know if you are confused or ready to write. Make sure that this is a detailed outline, containing all your major points for the paper.
   Example:
   The Right to a Fair Trial
   A. Right to a Fair Trial in England as found in the 1688 Declaration of Rights
      1. Trial by jury (page 42)
      2. Excessive bail (page 42)
      3. Excessive fines (page 42)
      4. Cruel and illegal punishment
   B. Right to a Fair Trial in Colonial America as found in the Continental Congress, Declaration and Resolves, 1774
      1. Right to a trial by a jury of peers, not an admiralty court (64)
      2. Right to elect and pay judges (64)
      3. Right to be tried in the local area, not England (64)

Appendix III: Thesis writing exercise for *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900*

Note: I wrote the paragraph below–complete with mistakes–that students rewrote in small groups before discussing the thesis as a whole class.

Transform this paragraph to one with a good introduction, a thesis or argument about why lynching took place, and a piece of evidence, properly cited, that backs up the thesis:

Lynching was a very serious crime. Many people, innocent, guilty, and other, were killed and often beaten up more after they were killed as a result of lynching. Throughout the South, there were many reasons for lynching, such as a desire to make African-Americans just like slaves, but, of course, slavery had been abolished, so it was not exactly like slavery, I think. One case that is an example of this was in New Orleans, where a man was killed by an angry white mob for no reason. The whole city was at the mercy of the mob and the display of brutality was a disgrace to civilization. It was really pitiful. This shows that mobs in the south were out of control. It was as though the people as a group had lost their minds, and just went around killing people.

Appendix IV: Assignment on *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900*

In a well-written three-page essay, answer the following questions about the writings of Ida B. Wells:

1. According to white southerners, why were African-Americans lynched? How did they justify lynching as a fair way to administer justice?
2. What criticism did Wells have of lynching? Why did she believe it was unjust?
3. As a historian reading Wells's work, what theory do you have about lynching? What political and social function did lynching serve for whites in the South?
4. Using the cases that Wells writes about, find three examples that support your theory and describe how they support your view.
5. How did lynching fit into the larger political and social history of the U.S. after Reconstruction?

Be sure to give references (page numbers) to the book whenever you quote a passage from the book as evidence.

Appendix V: Assignment for *America Views the Holocaust, 1933-1945: A Brief Documentary History, My Lai: A Brief History with Documents*, and *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents*

Using one of the three Bedford books on My Lai, the Holocaust, or McCarthyism, write a three-page paper that:

1. Identifies a major debate or difference of opinion involved with how historians interpret this issue. You should be able to find this in the introduction to the book. Tell me clearly what the difference of opinion is, and who (or what types of people) would take each side of the debate.
2. In the documents section of the book, find at least three documents that you believe help one to decide which side of the debate you identified is correct. Explain what each document tells you, as a historian, and how this document helps resolve the debate you discussed in question 1.
3. Tell me the problems you see in the position you took above. How would another historian, holding opposite views, object to your analysis? For instance, what types of documents, not included in the book, might change your mind about the debate? Be honest here about your level of certainty.
4. If you had to do further research on this subject, what kind of information would you find most valuable to address the historiographic debate you have discussed in the paper. Where might you look for this evidence? It can be written evidence, oral history, etc.–you can use your imagination.

This paper should not be longer than three pages. If it is substantially longer or shorter, tell me and I will help you refocus your writing, as you might be misunderstanding the assignment.

Appendix VI: Rubric used for the rough draft of the papers on *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900*

Note: This checklist enabled me to focus on a few key elements of the paper, and to ensure that each paper had a proper thesis, evidence, and historical context about the subjects.

(1) Paper described the argument of the book.
(2) Paper accurately described Wells's criticism of lynching.
(3) Paper contained the student's theory about lynching.
(4) Paper contained three examples that back up the theory.
(5) Paper described how lynching fit into the period of history during which it took place.
(6) Paper had an introduction that previewed the paper and a conclusion that summarized what the paper said.

Bedford Series Books Used in this Essay:

Aabzug, Robert H. *America Views the Holocaust, 1933-1945: A Brief Documentary History* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999).

Greenberg, Kenneth. *The Confessions of Nat Turner and Related Documents* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1996).

Olson, James Stuart, and Randy Roberts. *My Lai: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1998).

Rackove, Jack N. *Declaring Rights: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1998).

Royster, Jacqueline Jones. *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997).

Schrecker, Ellen. *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1994).

REVIEWS

Dennis A. Trinkle & Scott A. Merriman, eds. *History.edu: Essays on Teaching with Technology*. Armonk, NY and London, UK: M.E. Sharpe, 2001. Pp. xviii, 266. Cloth, $64.95; ISBN 0-7656-0549-X. Paper, $23.95; ISBN 0-7656-0550-3.

This collection of seventeen essays on using technology in the teaching of history confirms a lot of what I am already doing and might do the same for other readers. *History.edu* provides a wealth of information on the state of current practices in using the Internet, electronic mail, and the World Wide Web in today's history classroom. As described in the introduction, the essays are intended to "help further the discussion and formulation of successful practices" in using technology.

History.edu begins with the results of a survey of about 3% of history instructors at American colleges and universities: "The survey clearly reveals that marriages of history and computer technology have occurred." The survey questionnaire is included as well as a citation for the results.

Other essays describe what is going on in the classroom and in the teaching of history. This book is not meant for the classroom, but for the classroom instructor who seeks to incorporate the use of technology into his or her pedagogy. One essay in particular, "Reinventing the American History Survey," by Larry Easley and Steven Hoffman, specifically described how these two instructors "reinvented" the traditional survey course by making lectures more interactive, by placing all course materials on the Internet, and by having students develop their own web pages.

Brian Plane addresses the effect of information technology on the standard, entry-level college history text. Plane foresees the development of electronic texts with customized materials and offers his own sample of what such a "book" might look like. Indeed most publishers have entered the market for electronic textbooks and supplementary readers. In a similar vein, Jose E. Igarta's "Integrating Multimedia Technology into an Undergraduate Curriculum" looks at the pedagogical considerations of the new technology and describes three experiments in which multimedia technology was introduced into history courses. Igarta offers the welcome caution that "pedagogy, rather than technology," must be the driving force behind the introduction of all this new technology.

Kathleen Ferenz outlines answers to several questions concerning information technology, specifically How can it be used? and Will it result in meaningful learning? She describes how the Bay Area National Digital Library (BANDL) Project used the Library of Congress's "American Memory" collection and adapted curricula, assessment methods, and instruction to integrate the Library's collection into three classrooms. Deborah Lines Andersen reports on her experiment to find primary and secondary source material on the Internet. Her article, "Heuristics for the Educational Use and Evaluation of Electronic Information," advises that "faculty and students need extensive training about the uses and misuses of electronic information." Andersen

goes on to describe competencies and attaches a series of exercises to develop these competencies.

In closing, *History.edu* provides a valuable service in describing what is being done to incorporate technology into the classroom. Its articles are thought provoking and idea stimulating. Its footnotes are a virtual goldmine of usable information. *History.edu* is well worth the price.

Tidewater Community College & Saint Leo College John R. Moore

David Loades. *Power in Tudor England.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. Pp. viii, 183. Cloth, $49.95; ISBN 0-312-16391-6. Paper, $18.95; ISBN 0-312-16392-4. Roger Lockyer. *James VI & I.* London & New York: Longman, 1998. Pp. vi, 234. Cloth, $63.75; ISBN 0-582-27962-3. Paper, $17.95; ISBN 0-582-27961-5. Derek Hirst. *England in Conflict, 1603-1660–Kingdom, Community, Commonwealth.* London: Arnold (co-published in the U.S.A. by Oxford University Press), 1999. Pp. vii, 359. Cloth, $80.00; ISBN 0-340-74144-9. Paper, $24.95; ISBN 0-340-62501-5.

Tudor-Stuart England has long captured the imaginations of Americans, and that fascination has certainly been reflected in the realm of textbook publication. The three works discussed in this review attempt to make accessible to the current generation of students the most recent scholarship on early modern England–unfortunately, with mixed results.

It is a common assertion that the Tudor monarchs created an efficient and centralized state with none of the traditional tools of despotism–an army, navy, or large bureaucracy. It is also widely acknowledged that the secret of Tudor success was the widespread support, cooperation, and free service of local and provincial elites. In *Power in Tudor England*, David Loades takes all of this a step further by examining exactly how this alliance between the "political nation" and the monarchy actually worked. Using an extensive range of secondary and primary sources, Loades examines "the interaction between the central machinery of government ... and the local and provincial elites" who dominated their own communities. His self-stated aim is to do all this in as "succinct and comprehensible a manner as possible."

He is certainly succinct. In a series of short chapters Loades examines the nature of Tudor monarchy, the economic and administrative structures the Tudors inherited from their medieval predecessors, the Council, Royal Commissions, Parliament, and the royal court. He finishes with a look at the exercise of Tudor power in "special jurisdictions" (e.g. Wales, Ireland, the Channel Islands) and the problems posed by distinctive regional and cultural identities. With the exception of Ireland, Loades writes, Tudor government worked. The monarchs created a partnership with the

nobility and gentry and town elites, establishing "a ruling class of remarkable comprehensiveness and durability." Though much of the material is technical and not especially suitable for introductory classes, instructors will find the chapters on the monarchy and parliament valuable. Also, the final chapter on regional identities is certainly relevant given the challenge that ethnic and religious nationalisms pose to many traditional nation states, including the United Kingdom.

Lamentably, the book is not reader friendly. While there are informational gems strewn throughout the book, the author's penchant for dense, extremely long paragraphs (often a page in length, sometimes two) makes the gems difficult to mine. As a result, most students, I imagine, would find the book unreadable, and even scholars with a passion for administrative and legal history will find the book a rough go.

Far more readable and interesting is Roger Lockyer's *James VI & I*, part of Longman's Profiles in Power series. James Stuart has never had a good press, and he often gets little attention in history surveys, sandwiched as he is between the reign of Elizabeth and the dramatic events of the English Civil War. Contemporaries with an ax to grind, and later historians, have portrayed James as a crude, cowardly, ineffectual king who, in Macaulay's words, talked "in the style alternately of a buffoon and of a pedagogue" (a picture not much altered in D.H. Wilson's standard biography published in 1956). James's reign, in this view, was a corrupt and dismal coda to the golden age of Elizabeth.

Lockyer takes issue with much of this. Using primary sources and the work of many revisionist historians whose work is not widely known, Lockyer rehabilitates James. He admits there is no reason to think the first Stuart deserves the title "James the Great," but "he deserves to be remembered as 'James the Just' or 'James the Well-Intentioned.' Given the fact that the vast majority of rulers merit no such appellation," Lockyer continues, "James's subject were lucky to have him as their king."

After the first chapter, which provides an overview of James's life before he assumed the English crown in 1603, the book is organized topically. In successive chapters Lockyer examines James's political ideas, his attempts to unify England and Scotland under a single government (he failed), his relations with Parliament, and his successes and failures in finance, religion, diplomacy, and government. James, according to Lockyer, was "probably the best-educated ruler ever to sit on an English or Scottish throne" (a chilling thought, that), and displayed real political savvy as king of Scotland, successfully negotiating the Byzantine political intrigues of the age.

As king of England, Lockyer states, James was far more effective than he is usually given credit for. James was a moderate who tried (often unsuccessfully) to temper the extremes of public opinion in politics and religion. He attempted, for instance, to marginalize radical Catholics and radical Puritans in the hope that the great majority would conform to the Anglican Church, or, at least, keep a low profile. Internationally he tried to counter the extreme anti-Spanish sentiments that constantly

threatened to plunge England into a war he couldn't pay for. (A map of Europe in 1618 would have been a useful addition.) Finally, Lockyer makes the point that even James's "failings" (e.g., selling of offices, advancing the interests of his personal favorites, his spendthrift ways) must be understood in the broader context of European politics. Much of what James did, Lockyer insists, "was typical of early modern monarchies."

In sum, this is a good book, but perhaps more appropriate for instructors than students, especially beginners. The topical organization assumes some prior familiarity with James's reign and the extensive use of contemporary quotations (often confusing for the uninitiated) would make the book a challenging read for many typical undergraduates. Also, I wonder why instructors would choose to assign a book on James I, when other titles in the same series include *Elizabeth I* and *Cromwell*.

Ths final book in this trilogy is Derek Hirst's *England in Conflict*, a "reconceptualisation" of his 1986 book, *Authority and Conflict*, which was published originally as part of Edward Arnold's series of texts covering English history from the late middle ages to the twentieth century. *England in Conflict* is an erudite and nuanced survey of the early Stuart period that attempts to embed the English story into a broader British framework. The accession of James Stuart, in Hirst's opinion, marked a major turning point in English history, in part because Ireland and Scotland had, by that time, come firmly into the English political orbit. "What gives a tragic, and chaotic, character to the years 1603-60," Hirst claims, "is their determined and often violent probing of the new British realities." As such, many of the traditional verities about political progress during this period become "harder to sustain when English history reverberates in the experience of Scotland and Ireland." In addition to paying greater attention to the British context, this re-visioning of Hirst's earlier volume incorporates the work of "the historians of women, whose increasingly richly layered work has been the other great historiographic development of recent years."

Three introductory thematic chapters provide an overview of politics, religion, and the economy. Ten narrative chapters then carry the story chronologically from 1603 to 1660. Throughout the book Hirst judiciously balances the most convincing elements of both traditional and revisionist scholarship. (The bibliographical essay is an excellent compendium of the most up-to-date scholarship, for the most part published since the earlier edition of this book.) Hirst argues that England ultimately followed a path to revolution when the Stuarts, father and son, refused to implement necessary economic and political reforms. Emphasizing the contingency of day-to-day events, he shows that the civil war was only one of many possible outcomes. The subtitle of the book–"Kingdom, Community, Commonwealth"–reflects a persistent leitmotif in which Hirst argues that the upheavals of the period resulted in the transformation of the traditional organic conception of the state (the "body politic") into a more modern understanding of the state as a collective enterprise, representing a broader public interest.

However rich the tapestry woven by Hirst, the book is more suited to professors and graduate students than to American undergraduates. (I would alter this assessment were I writing for a British audience.) The conceptual sophistication of the book assumes at least a basic grounding in the subject, a grounding most American undergraduates don't have. Furthermore, the writing is dry, and, too often, abstruse. A strength of the book is the attention to myriad regional differences, yet the lack of maps will put American students unfamiliar with British geography at a disadvantage. Finally, scholars will be disappointed with the lack of source references, apparently a mandate of the publisher.

Webster University Michael J. Salevouris

John E. Archer. *Social Unrest and Popular Protest in England 1780-1840.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Pp. 110. Cloth $39.95; ISBN 0-521-57216-9. Paper, $12.95; ISBN 0-521-57656-3.

This book is a brief study of the current historical literature on just what the title describes, English social unrest and popular protest over a sixty-year time span. Its target audience in Great Britain is high school age students preparing for examinations. The most likely audience in the United States is graduate students preparing for doctoral qualifying examinations. The reason for this disparity is that, because of limited space, the author must presume a great deal of knowledge on the reader's part. As a result, someone who cannot identify Captain Swing or a knitting frame or the Combination Acts will find very little of use. However, for those with the background, it is a useful, well-written study of the major subjects and their subdivisions.

The topics covered include both urban and rural protests as well as the governmental responses to them. One of the principal themes is that the move from a paternalistic style of economics, in which the English upper classes supposedly felt some sense of obligation to the working classes, to the laissez-faire economy of the industrial age, in which the "invisible hand" would take care of everyone, rich or poor, to mitigate social and economic problems, was useless at best and harmful at worst. The author explains that the earlier type of economics is what one of the key historians for the period, E.P. Thompson, refers to as the moral economy, and goes on to point out how much of the early protest was an effort to convince the dominant classes to restore that sense of moral obligation. The book also discusses another of the chief historical researchers of this era, George Rudé, who noted that when the protesters of the era used violence, they generally focused it on property rather than people. What is more, so-called mob action was usually very much under control and directed at specific targets. Despite some early protester successes, the new economy gradually drove out the old.

From that point the book looks at political protests that took new directions, such as the reform of House of Commons elections. It also looks at the reasons why something like a French-style revolution did not occur in England. When the next generation of protesters concluded that the moral economy was never coming back, they tried to find ways of getting people sympathetic to the working classes into the House of Commons. Minimally that meant franchise expansion, which did begin in 1832. When it comes to the question of determining why a revolution did not happen, the author recognizes that such a task is quite tricky, but based on the available literature, does offer some tentative reasons including expanded private charitable work. An interesting omission is any discussion of the influence that the growth of Methodism had on English society. In fairness, that is about the only significant weakness in this thoughtful, well-balanced piece of secondary research.

Indiana University South Bend Roy Schreiber

***Napoleon*. 2000. Written and directed by David Grubin. Produced by David Grubin Productions. Narrated by David McCullough. Approx. 4 hours on two tapes. Distributed by PBS Home Video and PBS Adult Learning Service. $29.98. Order: shopPBS.com or 1-800-645-4727.**

PBS video histories are well-known classroom commodities for historians and educators, covering everything from Lewis and Clark to the Spanish American War, and yes even Napoleon. The production quality generally remains consistently high, and they always have a distinguished array of talking heads, i.e., historians and other authorities used to interject commentary, that elevates them above such programs as A&E's *Biography* where the Napoleon piece, narrated breathlessly by Jack Perkins, falls squarely into the Hollywood celebrity biography, the rise and fall of a star genre that populates so much of cable television these days. David Grubin's *Napoleon* is a joint French-American endeavor financed by Canal Plus in Paris, PBS, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Grubin is not new to documentaries, having received Emmys and Writers Guild Awards for programs on Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and Lyndon B. Johnson. He brings the same cinematic flair and vision to *Napoleon*.

In keeping with the style of the PBS documentary, Grubin skillfully uses familiar contemporary paintings by David, Gros, Ingres, and Goya, as well as less familiar etchings, engravings, Napoleonic memorabilia of all sorts, spectacular location shots from Corsica, Egypt, France, Elba, St. Helena, and of course the mandatory–certainly for Napoleon–battlefield shots and reenactments of Austerlitz and Waterloo. The visuals and musical themes are interrupted with "sound-bite" comments of British, French, and American academics, a distinguished lot that includes Alistair Horne and

the leading authority on Napoleon, Jean Tulard of the University of Paris. Oleg Sokolov of the University of St. Petersburg offers some unique insights into Napoleon's ill-fated Russian campaign of 1812 as well as giving the Russian perspective on Napoleon. Given the nature of the medium, comments have to be brief and catching to the ear, with no time for long analysis, yet there is actually much of substance that comes from the experts, although some of the American military historians clearly went over the top in their exuberance for Napoleon and the hyperbole of their animated expositions of his battle tactics. And somewhat surprisingly, the highly competent, but very over-exposed David Chandler of Sandhurst, veteran of many British military video documentaries, does not make an appearance. Bringing the whole story together–and story is appropriate here, because Grubin has structured the program as a biography of Napoleon, not an historical analysis (the celebrity biography genre of A&E dies hard)–is the deep baritone narration of David McCullough, giving the whole production a sense of sententious *gravitas*. Yet still, after viewing *Napoleon*, this reviewer has to agree that Grubin has created a captivating and alluring vision of Napoleon that leaves few events or battles out, and while anecdotal (we learn for instance that Napoleon's favorite campaign meal consisted of fried potatoes and onions), still offers some sophisticated insight into the man and his times.

Isser Woloch of Columbia University, who acted as a historical consultant to Grubin in the filming of *Napoleon*, also serving as an on-screen presence, wrote an article in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (November 10, 2000, pp. B18-B19) deriding the *auteur's* decision-making in the creation of this documentary. One would have to agree with him that Grubin "zeroes in on Napoleon's military ambition, leaving the emperor's civil legacy relatively unexplored." But what would one expect from a mass-audience historical piece dealing with Napoleon? Woloch also pinpoints a historical consultant's frustration with many documentaries, not just *Napoleon*: "Grubin's on-screen commentators speak to particular issues but are not edited into de facto debates about interpretation." Issues such as the Civil Code, conscription, and the campaign in Spain never really get vetted. Much is made of Napoleonic leadership, grandeur, and creativity, while the carnage and tyranny, not ignored completely, are certainly underplayed. And one can be certain that Napoleon's complicated sexual relationship with Josephine de Beauharnais receives a central focus with many bedroom shots and a shift to harp music, of which Woloch observes: "Connubial unions are one of Grubin's fortes; he previously offered a riveting exposure of the almost pathetic relationship between Harry and Bess Truman." All of this leads Woloch to conclude that viewers "may be left wondering about the whys, and about the consequences" of this handsomely illustrated story of the rise of Napoleon "for the people of France and Europe." All of this might be well and good, but until historians such as Woloch stop being consultants and talking heads, and start making documentaries themselves, directors such as David Grubin will continue to make the

choices they think will produce the best visual narrative, something that Woloch himself will have to readily concede, because that is what historians do in their own written texts and monographs.

Finally, documentaries such as *Napoleon* are still tied to some boring, dry narrative conventions. For instance, Grubin lifted directly from Sergei Bondarchuk's *Waterloo* (1970) the riveting, clicking boots image as Marshal Ney and the other Marshals of France arrive at Fontainbleau to tell Napoleon in no uncertain terms that he must abdicate. Indeed, the entire story of Napoleon's return from Elba, the Hundred Days, and the Battle of Waterloo itself was done much more dramatically (more expensively also), if sometimes histrionically, by Rod Steiger as Napoleon in a 1970 fiction film. In contrast, Napoleon's return gets a rather staid presentation in the documentary, something not unimportant to an MTV generation of high school and college students to whom history teachers will certainly direct this very useful and evocative, if somewhat skewed, and not particularly historically new or revisionist, account of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Cameron University Richard A. Voeltz

John Davis. *A History of Britain, 1885-1939*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999. Pp. x, 241. Cloth, $59.95; ISBN 0-312-22033-2. Paper, $19.95; ISBN 0-312-22034-0.

Martin Pugh. *Britain Since 1789: A Concise History*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999. Pp. x, 244. Cloth, $45.00; ISBN 0-312-22358-7. Paper, $18.95; ISBN 0-312-22359-5.

These admirable surveys are written by scholars who have previously made singular contributions to the monographic literature of modern British history. Martin Pugh, Professor of Modern History at the University of Newcastle, is the author of works on David Lloyd George, electoral politics of the late nineteenth and twentieth century, and twentieth-century women's history. The Oxford historian John Davis has written heretofore on the politics of metropolitan London. Each is familiar with the major revisionist interpretations of modern British studies and incorporates recent monographic research into their respective works. Pugh is perhaps the more successful in integrating work in social history into his compact narrative, Davis more helpful in explaining the complicated twists and turns of economic and fiscal policies that bedeviled twentieth-century British governments. Nonetheless, each author assumes the centrality of politics and demonstrates its indispensability to narrative history.

Pugh's succinct overview is all the more useful for having originated in response to an Italian scholar's proposal for an introductory volume on modern British history for Italian students. Hence, the customary assumptions made by British scholars about

the reader's knowledge of the subject are mercifully avoided. One incidental result is an excellent beginning survey for American undergraduates as well as a handy up-to-date reference for advanced students and a quick refresher for teachers. While politics predominates, the study is hardly confined to the "high politics" of an older historical school. Pugh begins with a clear discussion of the economy, social structure, and political system of eighteenth-century Britain. His chapter on the "Industrial Revolution" admirably summarizes differing interpretations, the author retaining the conventional phrase for the event while stressing the current consensus on more gradual economic growth over a longer period of time, and the prolonged coexistence of an older traditional society with the newer industrialized one. The "condition of England" question and the accompanying topics of the New Poor Law, Chartism, and free trade are effectively compressed, as are discussions of the Victorian idea of progress bolstered by the Pax Britannica. Pugh deftly analyzes the complicated party system as it developed in later Victorian Britain and the peaceful emergence of mass democracy. In the course of his judicious treatment, he manages to address, if not fully answer, some basic questions that have long intrigued historians of modern Britain: How did the country manage to avoid the violent revolutions that plagued the European continent in the nineteenth century? What does the historian mean by the decline of "liberal England"? How can one account for Britain's on-again-off-again relationship with Europe in recent decades? Ironically, the post World War I period, about which Pugh has written extensively elsewhere, is perhaps the least satisfying section of the book, principally because the complicated economic adjustments from the gold standard to Keynesianism to the monetarism of the Thatcher government require a more detailed explanation than space allows. Pugh excels in his treatment of foreign policy, giving short shrift to recent detractors of Winston Churchill and apologists for the failed policy of appeasement. The episode of decolonization is adequately discussed as is the emergence of the twentieth-century "welfare state" with the post-war Labour government in 1945. The author's treatment of the last quarter-century necessarily lacks the broad historical perspective that he brings to his discussion through the 1960s. Like many academics, Pugh finds little if any redeeming value in the long tenure of Margaret Thatcher, who is characterized as an exceedingly lucky politician whose prolonged government, nonetheless, capped the Conservative Party's twentieth-century dominance.

Davis, on the other hand, distinguishes between the Conservative Party and the "conservative state" that came to prevail in the half-century from the first unsuccessful effort to enact Home Rule for Ireland until the outbreak of the second World War. The liberal values of free trade internationalism and splendid isolation were to give way to a Britain absorbed with empire, nationalism, and protectionism. Davis skillfully discusses the breakdown of the Liberal Party, the Unionist ascendancy of the late nineteenth century, and the growing linkage of imperialism with social reform among such prominent politicians as Joseph Chamberlain. He is particularly effective in

locating the Irish question within the imperial context and in examining its effects on party politics. Davis also excels in analyzing the impact on national party politics of continued political decentralization at the constituency level in such legislation as the County Councils Act of 1888. His treatment of the New Liberalism in the early twentieth century is superb, and he is able to devote attention as well to such significant if elusive movements as National Efficiency. World War I is, of course, the great divide that produced an enhanced electorate and a far different society, whose concerns about unemployment and security would accelerate the growth of the state. The reader's patience is sometimes tested, but ultimately rewarded, by Davis's careful examination of the Conservative and Labor governments' economic policies of the 1920s and the Tory-dominated National Government presided over by Ramsay MacDonald. The intricate three-party politics of the twenties, Pugh argues, was unable to sustain the pre-war mix of free trade and welfare reform, while the post-1929 slump provided conditions favorable for the Chamberlainite protectionism proposed three decades earlier. Thus, "a Tory statism" triumphed. Ironically, as Davis persuasively argues, the same difficult conditions spawned the expansionism of totalitarian states on the continent that was immune to "the unedifying policy" so naively persisted in by Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain. "The failure of appeasement exacerbated the danger of war," Davis concludes. And that war would in turn result in the end of the "Conservative state" that had been constructed in the preceding half-century.

Davis's is a stimulating book for undergraduates and advanced graduates and provides a rich store of material for teachers of modern British history. Pugh's is the broader and more general introduction, but each volume is highly recommended. Davis provides an especially useful bibliography.

University of Memphis Abraham D. Kriegel

Frank McDonough. *Hitler and Nazi Germany*. New York and Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Pp. vii, 152. Paper, $11.95; ISBN 0-521-59502-9.

Peter Neville. *The Holocaust*. New York and Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Pp. vii, 103. Paper, $11.95; ISBN 0-521-59501-0.

The National Socialist period in Germany (1933-45) is of central importance to any understanding of modern Germany—indeed, to twentieth-century Western and world history as a whole. The complex and diverse economic, social, and political aspects of these twelve years have occupied historians for decades and no doubt will continue to do so. Nevertheless, despite the central importance of the Nazi experience, until now instructors and undergraduate students of the period have had very few comprehensive, yet brief, one-volume studies that are appropriate for survey-level

courses. Frank McDonough, Senior Lecturer at Liverpool John Moores University, fills one of these gaps with his *Hitler and Nazi Germany*, while Peter Neville, Senior Lecturer in Twentieth-Century European History at the University of Wolverhampton, fills another with *The Holocaust.*

In *Hitler and Nazi Germany*, McDonough has produced a clearly written and well-organized book that incorporates the findings of important recent scholarship. McDonough attempts to place Hitler's role and his motives "within a broad-ranging social, economic and international framework." In this the author largely succeeds; while Hitler is prominent in McDonough's interpretation, the reader is made aware that the German leader operated "within the complex power structure of the Nazi state."

Chapters are organized around a specific theme, beginning with Hitler's early life, military career, and political activity through the seizure of power in 1933; in this chapter as in all others, different topics are clearly divided by subheadings, making it easier for students to approach the material. Other chapters cover economics, social and cultural developments, resistance inside Germany, foreign policy, war, and mass murder. The final chapter, "The Verdict of the Historians," introduces students to several important, and current, debates about the nature of the National Socialist regime: among them the ongoing debate as to Hitler's role within the Nazi state and the different approaches to studying the Holocaust.

Hitler and Nazi Germany provides students and instructors alike with several extras that increase its overall value and make the text a more user-friendly volume. In addition to a glossary of German terms, a chronology, and a bibliography with suggestions for further reading in English, each chapter also features a "document case study," with excerpts from a number of primary source documents and accompanying questions. Because of the brief length of the selections (usually no more than a paragraph) the sources could easily be read in class and be used to facilitate discussion; likewise they could serve as the basis for an out-of-class written assignment. The questions encourage students to read the source document and then form their own opinions.

Peter Neville's *The Holocaust* is organized in the same way as *Hitler and Nazi Germany*. Chapters are centered around specific themes, and there is a "document case study" at the conclusion of each chapter. Neville's interpretation, written in a straightforward and readable style, places the Holocaust against "the historical backdrop of European anti-Semitism in earlier centuries." The author clearly suggests in the first chapter the connection between this anti-Jewish prejudice and the Third Reich. Subsequent chapters explain the importance of anti-Semitism in the early years of the National Socialist party, and the escalating pressure on the Jewish population once Hitler came to power in 1933. Students will benefit from this discussion.

Other themes covered by Neville include the death camps themselves and the post-1945 legacy of the Holocaust. Further contributing to an international perspective

are chapters dealing with foreign reaction to the Holocaust and the varied wartime experiences of Jews outside Germany.

Yet this book has several shortcomings that should be mentioned. First among these would be brevity: *The Holocaust* is only 103 pages, meaning that sufficient depth is at times a problem. For example, chapter seven, on Holocaust deniers, attempts to summarize this important debate and several of the more prominent authors in just four pages of text; while it is certainly necessary to expose students to this topic, it simply requires more space than this to do it justice. Also the bibliography: It is brief on most of the book's themes, at times suggesting only one or two titles for further reading, and leaves out some important current scholarship.

How might an instructor best use these books? The brief length of the texts means they are logical choices for freshman/sophomore level courses on twentieth-century European history, world history, or Western civilization; instructors searching for texts for upper-level courses or an offering on modern Germany, however, will likely desire more in-depth coverage of the subject matter. This is especially true of the Neville volume. Any decision ultimately would depend on the level of the class and the overall goals for the course.

These two volumes are also effective as sources for lecture material. Especially instructors responsible for twentieth-century European or world history survey courses who are not specialists in the areas of German history or the Holocaust will find these books helpful in organizing main ideas for their class lectures. Main themes, as well as conflicting viewpoints, are neatly laid out and explained, with enough detail to serve as a useful basis. Important interpretations are also nicely summarized: In McDonough's chapter dealing with the Holocaust, for example, the positions and arguments of Christopher Browning and Daniel Goldhagen are succinctly explained and put into a broader context. All in all, these two volumes represent welcome additions to the available options for instructors teaching various survey-level courses in twentieth-century history.

Concordia University Thomas Saylor

Christopher Clark, Nancy A. Heweitt, Roy Rosenzweig, Stephen Brier, Joshua Brown, and Eric Foner, eds. *Who Built America? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture, and Society.* New York: Worth, 2000. Vol. I: From Conquest and Colonization through 1877. Pp. vii, 721. Paper, $43.90; ISBN 1-57259-302-4.

Nelson Lichtenstein, Susan Strasser, Roy Rosenzweig, Stephen Brier, and Joshua Brown, eds. *Who Built America? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture, and Society.* New York: Worth, 2000. Vol. II: Since 1877. Pp. vii, 786. Paper, $43.90; ISBN 1-57259-303-2.

Although not technically second editions, the volumes under review are based on the original *Who Built America* series sponsored by the American Social History Project and authored by Bruce Levine, Stephen Brier, David Brundage, Edward Countryman, Dorothy Fennell, and Marcus Rediker (volume one) and by Joshua Freeman, Nelson Lichtenstein, Stephen Brier, David Bensman, Susan Porter Benson, David Brundage, Bret Eynon, Bruce Levine, and Bryan Palmer (volume two), published in 1989. I have used volumes one and two of the most recent editions to teach both halves of the American history survey course offered at a small liberal arts college in the Midwestern United States. I offer here both my own and my students' experience with and reactions to the texts so that readers might decide whether to adopt them for either American history survey courses or perhaps for a working-class or labor history class.

Both volumes one and two are extremely accessible. It is for this reason alone that I will continue to use both volumes in coming semesters. Students have consistently commented on how easy and "fun" the texts are to read. One student not majoring in history informed me that she, to her surprise, read the book because she enjoyed it. Another told me that she enjoyed it so much she read passages of it to her roommate. Another volunteered to tutor for the course because partial payment for tutoring was a free copy of the text. Yet another student enrolled in an upper-level history course continually referred back to *Who Built America* in her efforts to make sense of the post-World War II United States. Another student has used the texts as the basis for lesson plans for high school-level classes she is preparing to teach. Thus, the most consistent comment I receive both unsolicited and in course evaluations is, keep using these texts.

The second most consistent response I receive from students is some version of an exclamation of "I never knew that." Both volumes of *Who Built America* differ from other textbooks because the series consciously writes American history from what the authors call "the bottom up." As a result, many students are surprised by what they find in these pages. The authors and editors of the texts, as explained in the preface, study workers, women, consumers, farmers, African Americans, and immigrants, and their fields of study influence the way they interpret American history. While textbooks I have used in the past certainly include the same groups of people in their renditions of American history, the authors of *Who Built America* structure the narrative so that these "groups" of people are the driving force behind the major developments traditionally discussed in American history. I welcome such an approach, for it fits with my own understanding of American history. In taking this approach, the series does not avoid or even downplay the more traditional narratives of American history that focus on domestic politics, military engagements, and foreign policy initiatives. Rather, the book makes clear, in a way in which other texts do not, the role of "ordinary" people in influencing the events we deem central in American

history, while at the same time restructuring the narrative of American history to include events we might not have previously but should consider central.

For example, the authors of volume one tell the story of the American Revolution by, as do most texts, invoking the importance of the French and Indian War. The authors explain that Britain's victory helped the colonies expand and also set the stage for Britain's insistence that the colonies help pay for the expenses Britain incurred during the war, resulting in the famed Stamp Act, the Townsend Duties, and the Navigation Acts, which eventually forced the colonies to come together to oppose "taxation without representation." *Who Built America* goes beyond most texts' treatment of the coming of the Revolution to explain that, while politicians debated the merits of the new taxes, a revolution never would have succeeded without the support of ordinary colonists in the countryside who were engaged in their own process of rejecting established authority. A section of the text is devoted to "Land Rioters and Demands for Freehold Rights" in which the authors describe how tenant farmers in the colonies of New Jersey and New York asserted their right to ownership of the small tracts of land they had cleared and improved. Tenant farmers' claims to ownership put them in direct conflict with landlords whose claims to ownership were supported by the Crown and by English law. The authors place equal weight on what they call "Elite" and "Popular" protest in fomenting revolutionary spirit in the years before the Declaration of Independence was signed.

Similarly, the authors of volume two place a significant amount of weight, more so than other texts I have used, on the growth of labor unions and other expressions of working-class protest in not only the late nineteenth century but throughout the twentieth century as vehicles through which ordinary people shaped the United States's economic, social, and political policy. A quick review of the topics covered in another textbook for the period 1877 to 1920 demonstrates this point. The other textbook organizes the time period around Reconstruction, the frontier, the rise of industrial America, and the transformation of urban America. The authors of *Who Built America* cover the same time period by looking at the ways in which both progress and poverty and community and conflict shaped it. They devote a chapter to examining the ways in which working people responded to industrial capitalism and another to an exploration of "the producing classes and the money power." Likewise, while most texts discuss the 1930s and the Great Depression in terms of President Franklin Roosevelt's ability to expand the role of the federal government and usher in New Deal legislation in response to the general misery experienced by so many Americans, *Who Built America* spends a great deal of time explaining the ways in which poor people's movements and strike waves helped shape FDR's response to the crises of the 1930s.

Students who read volume two observed (more often than those assigned volume one) a "bias" in the textbook toward labor unions and class-related analysis. While that might have been a result of what I chose to emphasize in lecture and class discussion, the comment most often appeared in the section of the course evaluations devoted to

the textbook. After thinking about the many reasons why the word "bias" came up in a rather negative way in some of the evaluations, I concluded that I would use the comments to incorporate more fully discussions of "bias" and historical interpretation the next time I teach American History II. Students pick up "bias" when they are exposed to material with which they are unfamiliar. Because the comments came up in relationship to class, I am more adamant in my recommendation of this series because the analysis of class is so often overlooked in American history. I see these comments regarding the text's "bias" as indicative of the authors' success in their intention to write American history from the "bottom up" and challenge the dominant narrative in doing so.

Finally, I would recommend that this series be adopted for introductory-level American and United States history courses. Volume two would also work well as a text for a working-class or labor history course. Both volumes are extremely readable. The authors have taken great pains to incorporate documentary evidence, images, and maps into the text in key places and I use them routinely as a basis for class discussion. For example, I found the reprints of anti-Japanese and anti-German propaganda posters issued by the War Department during World War II quite helpful in explaining the reasons why the U.S. chose to intern Japanese-Americans but not German-Americans. I find the overwhelmingly positive response by students to be the most compelling reason to adopt the texts. Once students are engaged in the reading, the text provides a great deal of material to analyze and offers students and teachers alike the opportunity to get beyond the events and details and really consider the ways in which history is a process over which everyone has an influence.

Edgewood College Lisa W. Phillips

Jack N. Rakove. *Declaring Rights: A Brief History with Documents.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. Pp. 217. Cloth, $35.00; ISBN 0-312-17768-2. Paper, $12.45; ISBN 0-312-13734-6.

Garry Wills. *A Necessary Evil: A History of American Distrust of Government.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999. Pp. 365. Cloth, $25.00; ISBN 0-684-84489-3.

In contemporary America, ongoing controversies about rights, as Jack Rakove points out in *Declaring Rights*, have spurred an interest "in the historical origins of the Bill of Rights." It is hard enough defining or talking about rights, but when we engage in discussions about how rights were conceived of in the eighteenth century, the difficulty is only magnified. The author writes that

> how we think about rights is a function of our education and upbringing, our history and our experience. Just as our ideas of rights are not universally held, so we know, too, that these ideas have not existed since

> time out of mind. They have a history of their own, which we have to reconstruct to be able to think critically about what those rights should mean today.

The phrase "to reconstruct" signals the difficulty posed in historical study, indeed, any study in which the hermeneutic act rests not only on the rational adjudication between texts, but also what these texts *mean* for us today. While Rakove's work is heremeneutically weak (for instance, he does not address the effect of the simultaneous dual transformation the revolution *and* industrialization had upon shaping American ideology), he does a credible job in setting seventeenth to eighteenth-century rights talk within a limited cultural setting. This weakness might, however, be both an effect of the limited space that the Bedford Series offers its writers and the narrow scope of Rakove's study.

While the concept of rights emerged in Roman jurisprudence, Rakove does not go back this far in his archaeology of American rights talk; instead, he traces the evolution of American revolutionary and post-revolutionary conception of rights from 1776 to 1789 in accordance with its antecedent British constitutional history. However, the author is quick to note that "American claims to rights were not simply derivative or imitative of British precedent and practice." The new directions that resistance, revolution, and republicanism were taking rights talk sent American constitutionalism quickly on its own innovative way. The conception of rights underwent such rapid and radical changes that the framers of the Constitution could hardly keep up.

Rakove does a fine job presenting the difficulty and complexity that setting up a radically new kind of government entailed for people such as John Adams, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, George Mason, Elbridge Gerry, and Richard Henry Lee. Americans, in their predilection for the facile, tend to get misty-eyed and nostalgic for a past that never existed in quite the monolithic way we imagine. We romantically rhapsodize the founders as if they all had more or less the same things in mind. We mythologize the past in much the same way as Thomas Paine engaged in his own "mythic drama of forming a new government" by imagining a context for the Magna Carta that never existed. Part of our dramatic recreation of the Founding Fathers assumes that they were better at solving their problems than we are with ours. By including some of the important documents from the debates, including two drafts of the Bill of Rights, we can see how tenuous the whole process was and how great men's minds persistently shifted between contrary ideas. Indeed, the inclusion of documents, the series' principle thrust, is one of the strongest aspects of the book.

If Rakove's text underscores the significance of understanding the origins of American rights talk in a complex fashion that eschews the simplistic and downright false presentation of this period in American history as strictly a conflict between Federalists and Antifederalists, then Garry Wills's *A Necessary Evil: A History of American Distrust of Government* is a reduced version of this era and its implication

for the development in our country of what Wills terms "antigovernmental values." Taking up the Federalist position as "today's weapon," Wills sets out to show that "the historical and constitutional evidence constantly used" in the argument that more power for the government entails less liberty for the governed "is largely bogus." Furthermore, Wills argues that the "government has a part to play" in our lives as we strive to become human.

Wills argues fervently and with careful attentiveness to historical documents using many of the same sources as Rakove, to counter "the ways our fears of government has found expression." The list, of course, is more numerous than Wills can address in one volume, but he picks some of the more common arguments. He groups these antigovernmental arguments under the headings of revolutionary myths, constitutional myths, nullification, secession, insurrection, vigilantism, withdrawal, and disobedience. As my colleague Dan Shiffman who teaches a course in American Democracy notes, Wills's cases make for strong ammunition in the classroom to dispel the ignorance about revolutionary militias, mythologization of the western frontier, and the so-called right to bear arms.

While Wills's arguments against government being a necessary evil are historically and philosophically sound (most are pro-Aristotelian and anti-Lockean), he offers little defense of his claim that government enhances liberty and freedom. In fact, the section of the book where we hear his arguments in favor of government as a necessary good comprises all of twelve pages, hardly sufficient to bolster so bold a claim that government is good in itself. Wills's argument *a fortiori* that since government enhances life on the trivial level, it enhances life on the significant level, seems commonsensical enough; we can hardly assume that our trivial experiences are necessarily linked to our significant experiences in the same way.

What detracts from the authority of both works is the failure to address two pitfalls of American historiography: naiveté about power and the continued refusal to examine and act upon the violation of the rights of indigenous peoples. We are today just as naive about power as the Founding Fathers were in their time. Instead of rehashing the archaic federalist vs. antifederalist debates, we should be addressing the real threats to democracy: multinational corporate hegemonic control over governments and their respective militaries, and, in our own country, hostility toward third party politics. Ultimately, Wills's book fails to take a hard look at the limitations of American constitutionalism.

While both texts can be useful in American history courses, Rakove's is more suited (because of its degree of specialization) to upper-division classes in colonial American history and American political philosophy. Rakove's book is the more rigorously academic work with strong footnotes and a selected bibliography. As if envisioning its use as a textbook, that author has included a short list of seven questions for student consideration. Wills's book has a notes section with some excellent resources on the specific arguments he makes in the course of the work;

however, he often paints a sweeping picture of specific events, such as the Wyoming range war (1886-1892) and McCarthyism and these sections will need to be enhanced by the instructor.

Floyd College Tom Pynn

Catherine Clinton, ed. *Southern Families at War: Loyalty and Conflict in the Civil War South.* Oxford, UK and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. Pp. xi, 244. Cloth, $35.00; ISBN 0-19-513683-7. Paper, $17.95; ISBN 0-29-513684-5.

Catherine Clinton has edited a collection of essays that derive from a conference held in April 1998 to discuss issues relating to family, loyalty, and conflict within the Civil War and Reconstruction South. *Southern Families at War* covers a variety of topics in great detail, showing the diversity of experiences of blacks and whites, men and women. Each essay relies heavily on primary sources with enough secondary sources cited to provide background.

The first three essays discuss various aspects of slave and freedmen's marriages. Some former slaves went to great lengths after the war to find their families, including placing expensive advertisements in newspapers and journals aimed at African Americans. Other former slaves seemed content to leave old marriages behind when they started their lives as freedmen. The war itself played havoc with slave families, especially in areas where fighting occurred and where the men escaped to join the Union army.

White families also suffered during and after the war. White women petitioning the Confederate government to let their men come home used the argument of family necessity. Planter families were devastated by the loss of the slaves and had to find new ways to survive, both physically and as families, after the war. Marriage patterns did not change as much as might be expected, but the urgency of war caused some women to make hasty decisions and poor marriages. There were, of course, many widows in the Confederacy who struggled either to find a suitable new husband or to make ends meet without one. Some white women found solace in religion, and they kept diaries that provide an interesting glimpse into the mindset of the Southern elite woman. The war changed family structures, as well. Old gender roles did not survive the exigencies of war, and women took more powerful positions in families where men were absent.

Religion was an important aspect of Southern society. Some Jews converted to Christianity to avoid the stigma of being different, and foreign-born Confederates went to great lengths to prove their loyalty. Rhetoric of an afterlife where families would be reunited kept many soldiers in the field and reinforced Confederate ideals.

Because each essay is short and well-grounded in primary sources, this book could easily be used in graduate or undergraduate courses on the Civil War and Reconstruction, women's and gender studies, or as a text to show how to research and present archival findings. It would also be useful for finding lecture material, as the stories presented are interesting and in-depth, perfect for holding a class's attention. The only fault with the book is that, like many collections of essays, it lacks a coherent focus. The authors studied very different families and their struggles, in different parts of the Confederacy and at different times. There is no unifying framework to allow the reader to compare the situations presented in the various studies.

Texas A&M University Jean A. Stuntz

John Baylis. *Anglo-American Relations since 1939: The Enduring Alliance.* Manchester, UK & New York: Manchester University Press, 1997. Pp. xvi, 272. Cloth, $59.95; ISBN 0-7190-4778-X. Paper, $24.95; ISBN 0-7190-4779-X.
Stephen Ryan. *The United Nations and International Politics.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. Pp. xiv, 209. Cloth, $55.00; ISBN 0-312-22824-4. Paper, $19.95; ISBN 0-312-22825-2.

Several recent works on late twentieth-century international relations conclude in the 1980s with the end of the Cold War. While this is a natural stopping point for many studies, one of the most important projects for historians and teachers in the future will be integrating post-Cold War issues into the understanding of how world diplomacy operates. Foreign policy scholars cannot ignore the impact Cold War actions had on global developments following the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Both books under consideration here attempt to begin this process by connecting the international concerns of the 1990s to what has happened on the world stage since World War II.

John Baylis's collection of primary documents examines the diplomatic "special relationship" between Britain and the United States from 1939 through the Clinton presidency. Treating the concept of the "special relationship" alternatively as a description, a diplomatic tool, and a myth, Baylis suggests that the ties binding the two nations together have usually tightened during political and military conflicts and loosened in peacetime. Nevertheless, he emphasizes that the paradigm has been used differently by the United States and Britain throughout their histories, and that other factors, such as the personal relationship between the President and the Prime Minister, have also had a significant influence on the strength of the bond.

Baylis begins with a brief chronology of the major events in American and British relations since 1940. He then provides in his introduction a concise historiography on the field of Anglo-American relations, as well as a discussion of

some of the current debates about the interpretation of documents. The following nine chapters, which detail the various stages in the political relationship between Britain and the United States, are the focus of his work. Each chapter begins with a short summary of the time period and then includes six to eleven primary sources, each preceded by a short analysis of the important issues in each document. The readings cover published and unpublished government documents, the writings of key political figures, and newspaper editorials from both the United States and Britain. Baylis concludes with an annotated reading list and an extensive bibliography.

Baylis does an outstanding job at presenting the "special relationship" as more complex and less homogeneous than usually depicted. His selection of materials for inclusion indicates a superb understanding of the most significant and interesting issues in Anglo-American relations. There is, however, greater emphasis on British sources than on American writings, especially in the last chapters of the book. This imbalance leads one to wonder if the "special relationship" has been more important to Britain than to the United States. While this document reader is appropriate for inclusion in undergraduate classes, the narrowness of the topic perhaps limits its use to courses in twentieth-century American foreign policy, British history since 1945, or international relations of the West. In addition, the lack of any questions to consider at the end of the chapters might make it difficult for instructors who are not experts on the topics to encourage constructive discussion.

Stephen Ryan's examination of the United Nations explores the changing roles the organization has played in resolving international problems from the late 1940s through the 1990s. While other studies of the UN have either lambasted it as ineffectual or hailed it as the central institution in international affairs, Ryan argues that the real position of the organization lies in the middle of these two viewpoints. Relying primarily on a large number of secondary sources, as well as the writings of UN and American leaders, government documents, and UN committee reports, Ryan suggests that the ability of the United Nations to act effectively as an agent of collective security, an international peacekeeper, and a defender of human rights has been linked historically to the rise and fall of the Cold War. At the height of the Cold War hostilities between the United States and the Soviet Union made it difficult for the organization to accomplish much on a global scale. However, as these tensions receded, the UN experienced a number of successes internationally.

Ryan opens with a description of the foundations of the United Nations, its relationship to the League of Nations, and its initial design. Chapters two through four, the core of his study, focus on the actions of the UN during the Cold War. While the collective security role of the international organization was severely limited because of the inability of the Security Council to act forcefully on issues, due to the rivalry between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., certain UN Secretaries General were able to carve out a role for the association in some peace and security situations. Ryan's last two chapters examine the role of the United Nations since the end of the Cold War, and the

organization's efforts to deal with international economic and social issues. Although the UN began the 1990s optimistic about its ability to intervene in world disputes, it experienced a series of dramatic failures in Yugoslavia, Somalia, and Rwanda. Ryan argues that the United Nations's missteps during this period were due to its inability to adapt to the realities of the post-Cold War world. On the other hand, in the area of human rights and environmental protections, the UN has been much more successful.

Ryan does a good job in this concise history of touching on the major issues and contractions that impact the work of the United Nations. His conclusion is especially valuable in its listing of the current problems that plague the organization and its suggestions for future UN reforms. The most problematic aspect of Ryan's study, however, is its reliance on the Cold War as the explanation for the United Nations's successes and failures. While there is no doubt that the Cold War had a tremendous impact on the ability of this and other international organizations to function effectively throughout the late twentieth century, Ryan himself points out other factors, including the growing influence of the third world, that might also account for the UN's accomplishments and disappointments. In addition, this theory does not offer a satisfying rationalization of why economic and social agreements could prosper during the same period that peace and security measures floundered. The Cold War analysis falls most short, however, as an explanation of why the United Nations suffered such massive setbacks in the 1990s.

Despite this problem, *The United Nations and International Politics* provides a fine overview and exploration of the concerns surrounding world government after World War II. Its style and clarity make it accessible to undergraduates and advanced high school students. It could be used as a supplementary text in an international government course, a world history course, or a transnational diplomacy course, since it raises several theoretical issues that should stimulate discussion.

Berry College Christy Jo Snider

Tamara L. Roleff, ed. *The Atom Bomb*. San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, Inc., 2000. Pp. 272. Paper, $14.96; ISBN 0-7377-0214-1.

This is a collection of primary and secondary sources about the development of the first atomic bomb and some of its results. The first chapters show the development of the bomb from its conception to its successful test at the Trinity site in New Mexico. The editor includes articles that relate to the debate about using the bomb. We hear from Secretary of State Henry Stimson, military analyst Hanson Baldwin, and historian Gar Alperovitz. The most personal and moving accounts are by Atsuku Tsujiko, a Hiroshima survivor, and Charles Sweeney, the pilot of *Bock's Car*, who dropped the second bomb on Nagasaki. A short chapter tries to show the bomb's effects on lives

and culture in the postwar era. This is followed by an evaluation of the bomb by scientists who worked on its development. The concluding chapter takes the reader to the 1995 *Enola Gay* controversy at the Smithsonian.

In this book the student will find eighteen primary sources, a handy glossary of terms, some discussion questions, a sketchy chronology, and a short, incomplete list of readings. Though this inexpensive book can be used at the college level, this is a high school book, and its publisher lists it for young adults. To help younger readers, most of the articles have been altered with thematic words to highlight sections of an article. Unfortunately there are no photographs.

There are problems with this book. Most apparent is the criterion for selecting the readings. Editor Roleff admits that these essays were "chosen for their accessibility." Imagine if accessibility was the basis of our understanding of any history! A second problem is the editor. Tamara Roleff is more a professional editor than an historian. She has edited books covering such subjects as global warming, abortion, rights of animals, gay rights, the homeless, teen sex, and extraterrestrial life. There are thirty-one more of which *The Atom Bomb* stands out as the only one related to a specific historical event. All the other books are sociological, not historical. This accounts for the weakness in historical development in the book. Though the text does begin with a brief overview of the bomb's history, this introduction is sketchy when it deals with the last forty years of the nuclear age. To help the student, each chapter should be introduced with some comments that tie the various articles together.

Still this book does have merit. Many of the articles are good. Because the readings suggest much, the instructor can use the book as a springboard into many related areas. A physics teacher could explain the development of nuclear bombs. For the literary-minded, the way is open for students to read John Hersey's *Hiroshima* or Nevil Shute's *On the Beach*. An analysis of words or phrases born of the atomic age, such as bikini, ground zero, meltdown, and fallout, would be a good assignment. From the sublime to the ridiculous, such films as *Fail-Safe*, *Silkwood*, *Them*, *Dr. Strangelove*, or *The Mouse That Roared* all treat the dangers of nuclear materials. Most students would enjoy the dark satiric humor found in postwar music and cartoons. Instructors can select what articles they want to use, and they can then turn to a variety of websites to supplement the class. Two among the many are www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/hiroshima.htm, which relates to the bomb's development and has many primary documents, and www.trumanlibrary.org/teacher/abomb.htm, which comes with suggested lesson plans. Students can continued the debate over using the bomb or keeping our nuclear arsenal. The ideas go on and on, waiting for a teacher to develop them into a great class. This book may be the right tool for that class.

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Clarice Swisher, ed. *John F. Kennedy*. San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, 2000. Pp. 240. Paper, $14.96; ISBN 0-7377-0224-9.

This is a classroom text anthology of secondary writing, with a few documents, on the presidency of John F. Kennedy and thus reflects some strengths and weaknesses of anthologies. A diversity of authors offers multiple points of view on different aspects of Kennedy's administration. This is well done on civil rights, where Henry Fairlie and Allen J. Matusow offer contrasting insights, and in the chapter assessing Kennedy, where three authors highlight his policy weaknesses, character flaws, and contributions to liberalism. Anthologies can also be tools for interpretation and historiography. This strength is not well developed. Headnotes do not mention schools of interpretation, and only a few selections represent different schools of thought. Especially lacking are right-wing opinions of Kennedy. By limiting their text to select topics, anthologies can offer greater depth of analysis. This strength, too, is only partly realized. While civil rights, Berlin, and Latin American policy are discussed in detail, only limited aspects of other topics, such as economic policy, are presented. Kennedy's personal life and background are discussed at length, while some important areas of his presidency, such as Southeast Asia, are scarcely touched.

The weakness of anthologies are evident to varying degrees. The disjointed text is alleviated by grouping readings into topical chapters. But most readings are excerpts from books or abridged articles, leaving some topics with inadequate backgrounds to appreciate their significance. Headnotes are short and summarize the contents of the excerpt rather than putting it into broad perspective. Anthologies can also be a mixed genre of selections that are difficult to interrelate. This is most obvious in the first chapter, on Kennedy's ancestors, which says little about him and only obliquely relates to his presidency. Another problem is selections that are essentially narrative descriptions of events that do not readily fit in with the broader analyses of his presidency.

Crucial to any anthology are the skills of the editor. These are evident in some aspects of the book, missing in others. Many readers will find the overview essay at the beginning disappointing. It is essentially hagiography, repeating the Camelot image of Kennedy and his family with heavy emphasis on their personal lives and too little on main trends running through his presidency. No mention was made of other essays. Throughout the book, the editor does a good job of inserting subtitles to provide an outline of what each article covers. Occasional boxed excerpts from other sources are in some essays, and footnotes clarify names and terms. This anthology has more auxiliary features than many. Several of Kennedy's speeches are appended, and there is a chronology, a limited bibliography, and an index. Finally, the editor is responsible for errors of fact. Two unfortunate ones were a headnote that attributed to Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. a book by his father, and not correcting Fairlie's misspelling

of the Los Angeles lawyer-editor Loren Miller as "Loreen" and referring to him as "she."

This book has possibilities as a text on the Kennedy era for a course in recent United States history or for a survey, especially for faculty who like to include personal anecdotes and lives with political analysis. But if the class is using several books, this work, by its nature, might be difficult to combine with monographs or period histories. For teachers who want primary documents, the Kennedy speeches are offered at the end with no accompanying explanations, and readers have to pick out scattered references to them in the articles. For advanced courses or ones devoted extensively to Kennedy, most excerpts are too short and lacking in interpretation to serve as anything beyond an introduction to the period.

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BULLITT LOWRY
Professor of History, University of North Texas
Board of Editors, *Teaching History*

Bullitt Lowry, one of the original and continuing members of the Board of Editors of *Teaching History*, died on the morning of January 17, 2002.

When *Teaching History* was born in the mid-1970s, Bullitt Lowry was one of the first people we invited to join us in what we saw as a grand but challenging adventure. He served us for 27 years as a member of the Board of Editors, but over time he became more. For me, he became a close advisor, suggesting new ideas for the journal, seeking out good essays, helping plan sessions at our gatherings, and always he provided insightful and detailed reviews that set a high standard for other readers to emulate. In 1992 and 1993 he took on added duties temporarily as Book Review Editor, and he maintained the standard of excellence that we all expected of him.

This spring, *Teaching History*–at Bullitt's invitation–will sponsor two sessions at the Southwest Historical Association in New Orleans. He would have joined us in those sessions. We will dedicate our workshops to him, knowing that he still will be with us in spirit.

Bullitt Lowry and his wonderful wife Sharon often opened their home and their hearts to friends. He was a caring person who loved to write, but most of all who loved to teach. He was an integral part of what we want to be with *Teaching History*. We will miss Bullitt very much.

Stephen Kneeshaw
Editor of *Teaching History*