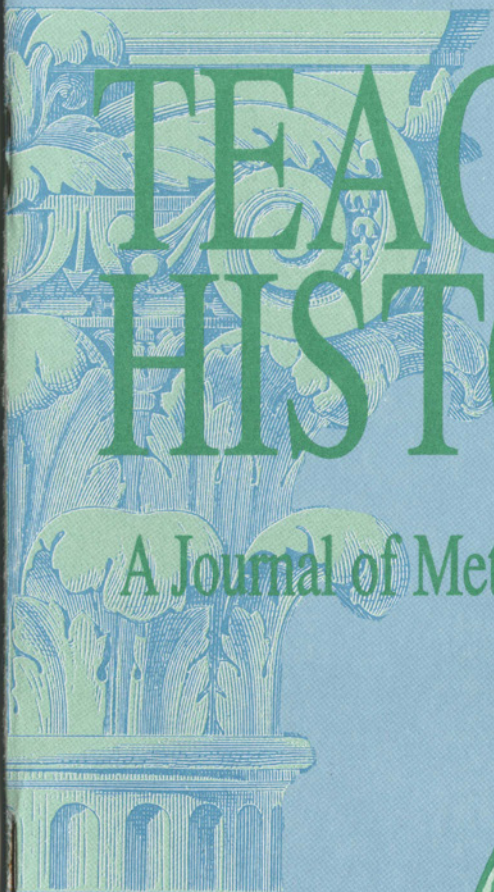
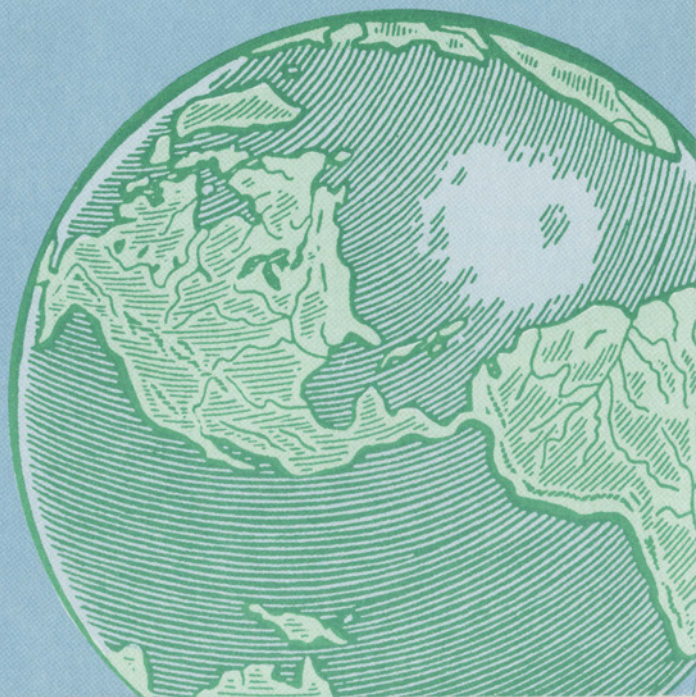


Volume 21 • Number 1 • Spring 1996

TEACHING HISTORY

A Journal of Methods

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TEACHING HISTORY A JOURNAL OF METHODS

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Teaching History: A Journal of Methods is published twice yearly in the Spring and Fall. *Teaching History* receives its chief financial support from the Division of Social Sciences and the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences of Emporia State University. It also receives support from the College of the Ozarks. Annual subscriptions in U.S. currency are \$7.00 for individuals and \$10.00 for libraries and institutions. All business communications, including subscriptions, should be sent to Sam Dicks, Campus Box 4032, ESU, Emporia, KS 66801-5087, fax 316/341-5143, e-mail dickssam@esumail.emporia.edu.

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A JOURNAL OF METHODS
Volume XXI, Number 1, Spring, 1996
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ROUTE 66: THE NEXT GENERATION HITS THE ROAD

Terri Ryburn-LaMonte
Illinois State University

In 1926 construction began on an American institution—Route 66. Upon completion, the highway “reached across more than 2,400 miles, three time zones, and eight states”¹ from Chicago to Santa Monica. In time, Route 66 became a symbol of America’s heritage of travel and of our desire to make a better life for ourselves by moving west. The road was especially important to rural areas. Many small, sleepy towns came to life as the road snaked its way through them. Restaurants, gas stations, truck stops, and other businesses sprang up along the road to accommodate the business travelers and vacationers who traveled Route 66. As American grew, with the resulting demand for faster and safer roads, the original two-lane road was replaced by a four-lane highway that closely paralleled the first. This new road generally skirted towns, so some businesses moved closer to the road; others counted on the “Business Route 66” signs to funnel traffic off the new four-lane and into their places of business. Eventually, this four-lane highway was replaced by an even more efficient, and impersonal, pavement: the Interstate. Some towns survived this change better than others.

Recently, there has been a grass roots resurgence of interest in the road. As a Route 66 enthusiast, I decided to conduct an interdisciplinary colloquium in which honors students at Illinois State University would learn the history of the road as well as study material and popular culture associated with the route. Students would also conduct oral histories with people who lived or worked along the road and compile the interviews into a book. (Students signed a Copyright Release form which meant that any proceeds from the sale would be designated for honors scholarships.) Although taught at the college level, this course on the social history of an American highway could be adapted easily for a high school United States history course or an interdisciplinary course in American history.

In the fall of 1991, 25 honors students enrolled in my course titled “Route 66: 1926 to the Present.” Most of the students were between eighteen and twenty-one years old; there were three non-traditional (25 years or older) students in the course. Their majors ranged from English to History to Accounting and Communication.

I began the course by talking about my interest in Route 66 that began at the age of five, in 1953, when my family traveled the road from Illinois to California. Personal anecdotes seemed especially effective at conveying the mystique of Route 66, and prepared the students for the interviews they would conduct with people who had traveled the road.

During the early class sessions, students were taught about the history of roads in America, beginning with the Native American and buffalo trails that preceded European settlement. They learned about the muddy, often impassable, National Road that began in Maryland in 1803 and reached Vandalia, Illinois, in 1840. I covered the Federal Aid Acts and Laws and spent time discussing the “Father of Route 66,” Cyrus Avery of Oklahoma.

¹Michael Wallis, *Route 66: The Mother Road* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1990), 1.

Avery was appointed the state highway commissioner of Oklahoma in 1923 and was the first chairman of the State Highway Commission that laid out the state highway system. He was also the leader of the American Association of State Highway officials. At their 1924 meeting, they proposed that the Secretary of Agriculture select and designate a comprehensive system of interstate routes. As a result, Avery was chosen to lay out and create what would be known as the United States Highway System. On November 11, 1926, a committee of federal and state highway officials met in Pinehurst, North Carolina, and signed documents that made Route 66 official.²

The new highway passed through Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and finally California. The pavement was poured in six to ten-inch slabs across two lanes, each nine-feet wide. Route 66 funneled wealthy Midwesterners to magical vacation spots and desperate Dust Bowl refugees to hoped-for jobs on the West Coast. The road later became four lanes and served as a major military corridor during World War II, which, ironically, may have been the origin of its decline in importance. General Dwight Eisenhower (soon to be President of the United States) was said to have been so impressed with the speed and efficiency of traffic on the German Autobahn that he determined to replace American highways with superhighways to be called interstates.³

I frequently began or ended the class period by asking students to write essays on topics designed to stimulate their thinking about the road and/or personal experiences related to the road. This activity also gave me useful insight into their thoughts. For instance, the first assignment was to write about "My First Car Ride." Another essay required them to write about the day they got their driver's license, which proved for many to have been a nerve-wracking experience.

We were fortunate to have Tom Teague, author of *Searching for 66*,⁴ as a guest speaker. The book was required reading for the students because it dealt with two important topics: Tom's own journey along the road in 1985 and interviews he conducted. It was very helpful for the students to be able to ask him questions about the situations and people he encountered along the road and his experiences in collecting oral history. Hearing Tom's story gave them confidence in their ability to conduct their own interviews.

One class period was devoted to showing the movie, "The Grapes of Wrath," based on the John Steinbeck novel. John Ford directed the movie, which effectively captured the desperation of the 1930s Dust Bowl refugees as it focused on the Joad family and their flight from poverty and near-starvation in Oklahoma. The movie follows them along Route 66, contrasting their hopes of employment and a better life in California with a realistic portrayal of the experiences of many nameless, faceless others who traveled the

²Susan Croce Kelly, *Route 66: The Highway and Its People* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 12-13.

³Wallis, 25.

⁴Tom Teague, *Searching for 66*, (Springfield, IL: Samizdat House, 1991).

road in search of salvation. The black and white photography by Gregg Toland created "sweeping panoramas of the dustbowl road-scape [that] have a bleak grandeur."⁵

I wanted my students to experience a ride along the entire highway in Illinois. Students had been prepared through lectures and guest speakers for the sights they would see. They were not quite as well prepared for the physical hardships encountered on such a long trip. Early one morning, we left in a van for Chicago, returned to Normal for lunch, and then left immediately for St. Louis. We stopped at various historical places along the way, including the Welco Truck Stop in Joliet, Funk's Grove, and the Cozy Dog Restaurant in Springfield. The Welco Truck Stop impressed the students but not necessarily in a positive way. One student wrote:

... most of the group went to encounter the slovenly waitress. I went into the gas station office instead, past smoking truckers sitting around a grimy table watching TV. The restrooms were down a long, dark hallway that wound deep into the building. Foul propositions on the wall above the urinals invited me to knock on the third stall door and ask for Bubba. I didn't.⁶

Fortunately, our stop at the Cozy Dog Restaurant turned out to be a very pleasant experience as students met the famed Ed "Cozy Dog" Waldmire:

Arms flailing wildly, he flagged us to a stop in front of the restaurant. Warily, I stepped down from the van with the fear that this energetic little man would pick me up and swing me around in his excitement. Inside the Cozy Dog, he showered us with little presents—notebooks, maps, pencils—all bearing the Cozy Dog logo, of course. I can definitely say that Ed Waldmire was one of Route 66's true characters.⁷

We also saw the Chain of Rocks Bridge crossing the Mississippi River into Missouri before heading back. After a brief stop at the Illinois Route 66 Hall of Fame at the Dixie Truck Stop in McLean, we returned to Normal just after midnight. Perhaps because of the length of time they spent on this trip and the level of discomfort produced by bouncing around in the van, students who went along on the field trip "bonded" with each other and with the images of earlier Route 66 travelers. Students wrote an essay about their bone-rattling experience and the images it provoked. One said:

⁵Mark Williams, *Road Movies: The Complete Guide to Cinema on Wheels* (New York: Proteus Publishing Company, Inc., 1982), 66.

⁶Scott McCullough, in-class writing assignment, 1991.

⁷Susan Fitzgerald, in-class writing assignment, 1991.

As we were taking our trip, I tried to imagine what it would have been like to travel on 66 in the 1940s and '50s, and I tried to piece the road back together with what I knew about it, in order to make the picture complete. I couldn't help but feel anger for people who don't let anything stand in the way of "progress." They tear down old houses to make way for gas stations and parking lots. They tear down interesting old buildings to make way for corporations enclosed in glass and steel. And they push aside old highways like 66 in exchange for a way we can get somewhere faster. In doing so, highways have lost the human aspect that used to be so important to people. No one is anyone's neighbor anymore because they don't have time to stop and talk. No one notices the scenery anymore because they're driving by too fast. That's why most of the new interstates just cut through the land instead of following the hills and dips and plains that make it interesting and beautiful. I can understand the need to get somewhere quickly sometimes, but why are we *always* hurrying today? I think that now I understand why people are still so fascinated by Route 66. People miss going a little slower and being able to stop and talk to people along the road. They miss *real* people; not the robots in McDonald's uniforms, programmed to say certain things. And they miss the feeling of adventure that the land has always brought with it.⁸

Another major activity for the class involved oral history, an historical research method that records the spoken memories of eyewitnesses to events. These memories are important to the understanding of events and their effect upon the people who experienced them.

I trained the students in oral history collection, beginning with such basics as tape recorder operation and selection of cassette tapes, as well as how to set up the interview, establish rapport, ask open-ended questions, etc. Students were referred to the *Oral History Guide* by Elizabeth Bryant Merrill⁹ for further guidance. Some students had family members or friends whom they would be able to interview; those students who did not were assigned a person. Because of time and geographic restrictions, our interviews were limited to people who had lived or worked along the route in Illinois, although some interviews were conducted with those fortunate individuals who had used the road for vacation purposes.

After learning about the history and popular culture of the road, students compiled a list of questions to use as an outline for the interviews. These questions included:

⁸Lori Erickson, in-class writing assignment, 1991.

⁹Elizabeth Bryant Merrill, *Oral History Guide* (Salem, WI: Sheffield Publishing Company, 1985).

- What memories do you have of your first trip on Route 66?
- Why did you travel on Route 66 and how did the new interstate affect this?
- When was the last time you were on Route 66? For what reason?
- In what ways has Route 66 changed or influenced your life?
- Why do you think Route 66 is so important to many people?
- Was there any one experience that happened on 66 that stands out in your mind?

Students were told not to read the list to the interviewee but to use it as an outline to guide the interview.

A total of 41 interviews were conducted by the 25 students. Students found that they formed friendships with those people whom they interviewed; one student in particular made many trips to a nursing home to visit her new friend. Another student interviewed her father, an Illinois State policeman who spent his entire 27-year career on Route 66. She gained an insight into his life as well as her own:

... I learned about Route 66, but I discovered something about myself as well... I know how much his life was affected by his experiences on Route 66. As a child, I remember my father being gone on Sundays, holidays, at night, and in bad weather. I know about the nights he didn't sleep because he had witnessed a bad accident. And now, I understand.¹⁰

Students were warned that transcribing would be the hardest part of the process, requiring many hours of uninterrupted tedium and concentration. Even with repeated warnings, many of them put off the transcribing until the last minute, which was reflected in the quality of their transcription. Once the interview was transcribed, students then had to edit it into a coherent and useful document. "How to" sheets were provided to help in this process.

Students participated in other classroom activities as well. They were given a form with the outline of a t-shirt and asked to create a design that incorporated images of Route 66, Illinois State University, and the honors colloquium. This proved to be a very popular exercise and even those who claimed no artistic ability turned in crudely-drawn but well-thought out designs.

Another project involved Burma Shave jingles. Burma Shave, a brushless shaving cream, was advertised by the unique marketing technique of placing a set of six rhyming 1'x3' signs at 100-foot intervals along Route 66 and other highways. The literary quality of the signs varied, but they were generally corny, utilizing folk humor and wit. Contests were held beginning in the early 1930s, with a prize of \$100 for a rhyme selected for use by

¹⁰LaWanda Henry, in-class writing assignment, 1991.

Burma Shave.¹¹ Students were given examples of the 1927 through 1963 signs and a form with spaces for them to write two of their own sets. For instance, two original Burma Shave signs read:

Riot at/drug store/calling all cars/100 customers/99 jars/Burma Shave
(1936)¹²

and

When you lay/those few cents down/you've bought/the smoothest/shave
in town/Burma Shave (1953)¹³

The students thought up their own signs, including:

The lights may be dim/the mood/just right/but a stubbly face/brings an
early 'good night!'/Burma Shave¹⁴

And as a reflection of the changing status of women:

Women have always/been deprived/now we can gloat/we've finally
arrived/Burma Shave/for women¹⁵

Burma Shave finally was sold to Philip Morris in 1963, and in 1964 a set of signs was given to the Smithsonian, which declared "Shaving Brushes/You'll Soon See 'Em/On the Shelf/In Some Museum," a fitting epitaph for an art form that provided pleasure for motorists for so many years.¹⁶

In another activity students role-played the part of a business owner along the recently by-passed old Route 66. They were divided into small groups and asked to devise ways to lure business off the road and into their town. Students were especially intrigued by this exercise as they took on the role of gas station, motel, or restaurant owner who must find ways to revitalize the town and their own businesses. Students gained valuable insight into the dilemma faced by those in this position and they offered creative ideas for this

¹¹Frank Rowsome, Jr., *The Verse by the Side of the Road: The Story of the Burma Shave Signs and Jingles* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1990), 24.

¹²*Ibid.*, 82.

¹³*Ibid.*, 113.

¹⁴John Duffy, in-class writing assignment, 1991.

¹⁵Amy Bosse, in-class writing assignment, 1991.

¹⁶Rowsome, 67.

revitalization. They understood why towns might want to "cash in" on the current Route 66 nostalgia boom, which includes motor tours, festivals, etc.

When the course was over I extended an invitation to the students to continue working with me to edit the interviews into the book; four students volunteered, and named the manuscript *Route 66: Illinois Remembers*. These students have been especially faithful to the project, helping to edit the interviews as well as collect additional information as necessary. One student described the process:

Over several semesters we tunneled through a mountain of transcripts and other assorted resources, hoping to divine some understanding from and impose some order on the mass of materials we had collected. The effort to do so is staggering: with nearly 1000 single-spaced pages of transcripts to study, we spent over a month just cataloguing and summarizing the interviews . . . None of the chapters evolved as we had anticipated. Writing around other people's words required a delicate touch. Too much narration on our part stifled their voices, while too little narration left them floating in space and time.¹⁷

The book is in the final editing stages, maps and photographs are being selected, and a query letter found three publishers willing to read the manuscript.

On the first day of class, when faced with traditional-aged students, I had some doubts about the success of the course. How could I communicate something to them that they had not experienced? But, of course, that is what all historians must do. It did, indeed, prove to be challenging; it was also extremely rewarding. Besides providing students with historical information, and the practical and very useful skill of conducting interviews, I tried to be creative in my approach, incorporating fun activities such as writing, t-shirt design, Burma Shave jingles, and small group exercises in the course. In addition, I was able to watch the students "bond" with each other and with their interviewees. A side effect, which I had not considered, was intergenerational: the opening up of dialogue between the students and their parents and grandparents, who remembered Route 66, or a road for which they felt similar affection. Students reported that their parents called to ask what they had learned in class that week and to share stories of their own about cruising, drag racing, and road trips. Students discovered a common bond with their parents, which, in some cases, surprised them both.

Students became introspective and contemplative as they considered their current "in a hurry" lifestyles. Commenting on the mystique of Route 66, one said:

Route 66 is much more than just pavement. More than just a go-between, Route 66 is a place to go. For years, I have traveled [Interstate]

¹⁷McCullough, in-class writing assignment, 1991.

55 and other highways and turnpikes, feeling extreme satisfaction with the speed and convenience of my trips. However, looking back at the history of Route 66, I now wonder what it is we are missing by opting for the non-stop method. The answer to that question appears in the faces and words of the people whose lives were touched by the route. After reading about and talking to these people, I find myself, an outsider, removed by both time and locale, caught up in Route 66.¹⁸

Another student commented on the legacy of the road:

For some, it was a road of dreams. For others, it was more than that. It was a road that had many meanings . . . because of the aura that 66 has projected over the years, it is a road that will *never* die. The mystique and vision of old 66 will linger in the minds of current generations, and generations to come, and because of this, stories of escape, salvation, vacation, exploration, and trips from here to there will live on as well.¹⁹

I am encouraged about the future of the road. The "torch" has been passed as the next generation "hits the road."

A Selective Bibliography on Route 66

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¹⁸Amy Shelton, in-class writing assignment, 1991.

¹⁹Jason Berke, in-class writing assignment, 1991.

ACTIVE LEARNING IN AMERICAN HISTORY CLASS

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Lost in the vast recesses of dates and names, battles and economic forces, my American history class struggled to choose correctly from among a dizzying number of a-b-c-d "pick-a-winner" multiple-choice questions. Where, I asked myself, is the joy of history? Where is the human experience that makes history speak to those who will hear? On a more practical level I asked myself how much of this content was actually acquired? What would be remembered in a few years? I found myself saying too often, "Imagine yourself . . . how would you feel?" In the end I asked myself, "Why not let them feel, in so far as the limits of time and the classroom will allow?" Why not?

My classes have always been regular classes with mainstreamed students. When I began teaching American history, it was a required 9th grade class, but now it is required of 10th graders. My class sizes have ranged from 15-25 students. I have found these activities to be especially effective for those students who were not highly motivated in history class.

Exploration

The first opportunity to engage the students actively presented itself in a discussion about the motivations of the explorers of the New World and the reactions of the American inhabitants. On the surface the explorers seem to represent advancement and, therefore, their actions appeared to the students to be justified. I had some trouble getting them to understand the hubris of these men who so blithely declared land belonging to others as possessions of their nations.

The way to help them understand occurred to me in connection with our nearly-new gymnasium. One day we formed ourselves as an expedition and sallied forth from the classroom on an exploratory mission. Lo and behold, we discovered a wonderful, large enclosure with an exceptionally fine floor. The locals we found were strangely dressed and wore shoes of marvelous design. Planting the flag we had made before we left the classroom, we declared the area to be the possession of our nation. We even took a prisoner and returned with him to our country (classroom). We had enough time to consider and discuss what happened. To be honest, for most of the students the dominant reaction was pleasure at "getting out" of American history class. But subsequent discussion showed some greater understanding of what it meant to claim land in the New World. I counted this first experiment a success. Perhaps the real success was simply that the activity was carried out without any students disappearing into the bathrooms or staying behind in the gym to shoot baskets.

French and Indian War

The next opportunity came with the French and Indian War. This project caused me to laugh the most. In order to prepare the students for an understanding of military strategy in that war and the Revolutionary War, I introduced the British military square. After a few minutes of explanation at the board, which left it looking as if I had diagramed some insane play in athletics, we were off to the parking lot to give it a try. To those who had listened, it seemed simple, but not all had listened. As we practiced shooting-kneeling-reloading and facing attacks from various sides, we saw students fall in droves as they forgot to kneel after they shot their imaginary muskets and were shot in the back of the head by the soldier behind. When most had seen the light as a result of their "valorous" deaths on the battlefield from friendly fire, we returned to the classroom with a new appreciation for the discipline involved in that type of fighting. However, the students were quick to pick up on its weaknesses, too. So the stage was set for the French and Indian War as well as Lexington and Concord. This year I plan to videotape the exercise so that the class can analyze what happened and what went wrong. This should provide some new insights as well as a few laughs.

Our school is fortunate to have an outdoor classroom that became for our class the American frontier. I divided the class into two groups. The "Indians" melted into the underbrush without much encouragement from me. I gave them about ten minutes and then the "British" proceeded to occupy the territory. I suppose I should say attempted to occupy the territory. The guerrilla tactics of the Indians were clearly demonstrated to be superior as our military square tried to press its way along narrow wilderness paths. The square was repeatedly lengthened and it, therefore, lost its effectiveness. Followup discussion showed a deeper understanding of military strategy as did the responses on essay tests. All in all, the activity made its point and was enjoyable, especially when the weather cooperated.

Starting a Nation

The unit that is often called "Starting a Nation" or some such description that covers the period from the Declaration of Independence through the Constitutional Convention offered a number of activities centered around the creation of our nation. On various days and in various groupings the class chose a name for their country, designed a flag, wrote a pledge of allegiance, and the musically-inclined composed a national anthem. Then we formed ourselves into a convention and began to write our own constitution. The only problem I had with this activity was the students' desire to simply adopt the U.S. Constitution. I dealt with this by stirring up some gender trouble. Should the gender minority (depending on the composition of the class) have more voting power in the legislature to insure it would not be abused by the majority? Should the constitution require that the executive be a certain gender? How else might the minority be protected from the tyranny of the majority? We thus arrived quite naturally at the Bill of Rights. While these

activities took quite a few days, they were a good combination of cerebral and physical activity, and essay tests showed that much was learned.

Civil War

Theatrics is a more appropriate word to characterize the next activity that tied into the Civil War era. The first challenge was to choose the person to play the starring role in the little play. Since the person was to be "sold" as a slave, it was necessary to choose someone with a strong ego who could take some public abuse in stride. I usually gave the student I selected a general idea of what I was going to do before I asked permission to make him or her my victim. When everything was in place, I dragged out my black box which I use as a soapbox when I want to express my own opinions, picked up my pointer, and presented for sale at auction one perfectly healthy slave. The buyers were invited to check his or her teeth, squeeze muscles, and otherwise inspect the merchandise. What has interested me the most is the response of the buyers. After some initial giggling enjoyment, the students found themselves rather embarrassed by what was going on. Personal-response essays showed that the reality of the "slave's" humiliation hurt them, and I was only left with the task of explaining how this activity was merely a shadow of what slavery was about in terms of human degradation.

The Gold Rush

A social studies teacher never knows what resources will be needed to do the job. In the case of the Gold Rush, it was a can of gold spray paint, some small stones, dirt, a bucket, and a pan. So one day we panned for gold. I cannot say that this was completely successful because it required my attention to small groups while the others were not engaged in the activity. I am not sure that I would use this one again and have toyed with other ideas to replace it, e.g. a reenactment of Preston Brooks's attack on Charles Sumner on the floor of the Senate.

Industrialization

The stark realities that were reenacted in the activity related to the Industrial Revolution made it exceedingly difficult in terms of student discipline. It was not enjoyable and was not meant to be. It meant that the students had to be kept on task for a full class period and that task was not to their liking. Therefore, the discipline had to be carried out by sheer force of will of the foreman, who was me. In accord with accounts of workers in the early days of factory production who reported harshness from their superiors, I made no effort to be kind or personable in any way. I was severe and critical of their work. The students arrived that day to a dark classroom. The windows were open and the room was cold. If I could have found a safe way to make the room smoky, I would have. They were now assembly line workers. They were told to form a circle and "be quiet about it." There

was no talking while working. I then presented them with a large bolt that contained a washer and a nut. As per instructions, the first worker was to take off the nut and hand both the nut and the bolt to the next worker who was to take off the washer and hand all three to the next worker who was to put the washer back on and hand both to the next worker who was to put the nut on . . . and on . . . and on. At first the students thought it was funny. I then produced 20 such bolts and began the line. No talking was allowed, and I often berated them for being so slow. Soon it was no longer funny, it was stupid. Irritation increased as minutes seemed like hours. By the end of the forty minutes, I was having great difficulty keeping them on task.

The activity, I admit, does not come close to recreating the deadening, poverty-stricken lives those workers must have led, but personal-reaction essays showed that it caused the students to think seriously about assembly line work. I know for a fact that it made one student reevaluate his goals. This student was simply not able to keep up in the line. At one point I noticed a number of bolts were missing from production. He had stuffed them into his pockets when they piled up. He realized, I believe, that what had seemed to him the easy road after a lackluster career in high school was not what it seemed to be. He went on to college rather than enter directly into the work force with only a high school diploma in hand.

World Wars

I do not believe there is any real way to create an activity that allows a true simulation of war. I have experimented with a few ways in our school's gifted program. I tried making the students the joint chiefs of staff coping with a military emergency. Also people who have been in combat have spoken to my classes about their experiences. Both were effective, but they did not catch the magnitude of the issue.

The activity I have used in the classroom is aimed at the competitive nature of nationalism. After all, the class had already formed itself into a nation. Suddenly the class (nation) began receiving threats and insults from the world history class that met at the same time. These "attacks" were dismissed at first. Even the delivery of a formal declaration of war from the "other" history class was not taken too seriously. Then I began having the students from the previous class turn the desks over before they left. Now my American history students were getting irritated. They asked who disturbed the "peace" of their nation. I answered the world history class had done it. Some grumbling resulted the first time, and by the third time the declaration of war was mutual. The battlefield was an academic quiz bowl complete with buzzers. It was hotly contested and enthusiastically watched. My class complained a little because the world history class had already had American history. This led to a lively discussion about whether any two nations go to war with equal resources. The war was won by world history students and accepted by my class, but it seemed to leave them bitter. These feelings were used to explain events in pre-World War II Germany.

Evaluation

Since these activities were designed to appeal to the student in the affective domain, evaluation was somewhat difficult. I was also very careful how I assessed the value of the activities since I believe that many a brilliant lesson has been ruined by the tiresome worksheet that followed it.

The key to assessment was discussion, discussion, and more discussion. If the discussion lagged or too few students took part, I assigned a personal-response essay. Evidence of learning as a result of these activities could be found in the students' essay answers on chapter tests. In a less formal way I measured success by the number of times students asked me about upcoming activities and how often they talked to each other about what had happened as they left the classroom.

Long-term learning has been demonstrated to me when former students reminded me of past activities and shared memories with me. Students who visit me after they have gone on to college have told me that they have shared what we did in American history class with their college history classes.

Overall, I believe these activities were worthwhile. I worried that the time lost from "content" material would be a price that was too high to pay. I suppose that with the pressure of state achievement tests that argument might be valid. However, I do know that the students enjoyed the activities and that they remembered them long after the course was over. Their contributions in discussion and responses in essays demonstrated a deeper understanding of the material.

Sometimes I fear that we teach something else when we put so much emphasis on names, dates, and battles. We teach hatred for a subject that should be the most interesting class in school—history.

OLD BATTLEFIELDS AND THEIR LESSONS: THE CASE OF ANTIETAM

John F. Votaw

The First Division Museum at Cantigny

A drive by Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on a warm summer day will convince you that many people think of old battlefields as a vacation destination. These same places, however, are excellent outdoor classrooms to teach and learn about history. In the United States Civil War battlefields were preserved intentionally as places to instruct officers of the militia and regular army, as well as to honor those who fought and fell there. The U.S. Army began to place interpretive markers on several battlefields more than a century ago and army officers still visit those same battlefields today to study military history. Today's military visitor prepares for a close examination of a Civil War battlefield using an old educational technique called the staff ride.

From the outset, Civil War battlefields were natural "classrooms" within which practical exercises could be restaged. Abundant reference materials about the Civil War were available and the terrain often was little changed from the events of the 1860s.¹ Even today pristine trench lines can be found on the lesser-known battlefields of the Virginia peninsula and in the woods above Chattanooga. Sadly, many terrain features, such as earthen forts and trench systems, are falling prey to housing developments and other construction. But enough locations survive to conduct productive discussions on sites where momentous struggles occurred, often those turning on opportunities lost or seized.

In their study of the Civil War, students quickly learn that war is an enormous catastrophe for all involved--combatants and noncombatants alike. Modern war is an affair of the nation and its people, not just the government, and the teacher should emphasize that its frequent recurrence demands its study. A visit to an old battlefield reinforces insights that are hard to simulate in the classroom. Preparedness, military and civil, even if only intellectual, is a reasonable premium to pay to avoid defeat on some future battlefield.

The practical utility of the staff ride for professional military people is evident, but there are also many useful historical applications for other students. In fact, a great deal can be gained from an interactive dialogue with the nation's military past. The Civil War has endured as a watershed event in American history. When Ken Burns produced his epic television mini-series using archival photos and first-person accounts of the war, the American viewing public was spellbound by the power of history presented that way.

¹*The War Of The Rebellion: A Compilation Of The Official Records Of The Union And Confederate Armies* [short title *ORs*], published in 128 vols. from 1880-1901; reprinted in 130 vols. in 1985 by The National Historical Society; also *Battles And Leaders Of The Civil War*, serialized in "The Century Magazine" in the 1880s and later published together in 4 vols; reprinted in 4 vols. facsimile by Castle.

Exploring old battlefields offers the same kind of first-person experience, providing an opportunity to grapple with the imponderables facing men and women caught up in war.

For example, the battle at Antietam Creek in Maryland in September 1862 provided President Abraham Lincoln with the opportunity to issue his Emancipation Proclamation, which had been crafted earlier that summer. Although the battle was a draw tactically, with each army suffering about the same number of casualties, General Robert E. Lee was forced to retreat into Virginia with his Confederate army, creating a strategic advantage for the Union that prompted Lincoln's action. France and Great Britain, watching the fortunes and misfortunes of the Confederacy, decided not to grant recognition to the Confederate States of America because they clearly were not "winning" the war. This sort of background information only introduces Antietam to students. But a visit to the battlefield offers realism for those same students at the boot-top level--with images of real soldiers struggling face to face for limited objectives with carnage all around them. There is something to learn of the resiliency of the human spirit in those circumstances.²

Moreover, the Maryland Campaign of 1862, of which the battle of Antietam (or Sharpsburg if you prefer) is part, is an excellent example of the operational level of war and battlefield tactics. As Jay Luvaas and Harold Nelson explain in *The U.S. Army War College Guide to the Battle of Antietam: The Maryland Campaign of 1862*, you can begin east of South Mountain, visit Harpers Ferry, and end up standing in the cornfield near the barn where Clara Barton plied her nursing skills, all in the same day.³

In that cornfield the two opposing army corps collided and bloodied each other--Union armies under Major General Joseph Hooker, whose name attaches to later actions at Fredericksburg, and Confederate forces commanded by Major General Thomas J. Jackson, whose "Stonewall" brigade at the first battle of Bull Run (or Manassas) established his reputation. For many Union soldiers Antietam was their first real fight. Robert Gould Shaw, a young captain in the 2nd Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, later the colonel of the 54th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, was wounded and lost all illusions of war's splendor in the East Woods and that cornfield. Brigadier General George Gordon, the brigade commander, reported after the battle that the 2nd Massachusetts and the 13th New Jersey:

²James I. Robertson, Jr., in introduction to James V. Murfin, *The Gleam of Bayonets: The Battle of Antietam and the Maryland Campaign of 1862* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1965), 26; James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry Of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 546- 567 passim.

³Jay Luvaas and Col. Harold W. Nelson, eds., *The U.S. Army War College Guide to the Battle of Antietam: The Maryland Campaign of 1862* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1988), v, ix-xxi passim; Stephen W. Sears, *Landscape Turned Red: The Battle of Antietam* (New Haven: Popular Library, 1983), 337-338.

were received with a galling fire, which they sustained and returned for a brief period, then fell back on their supports. So strong was the enemy, that an addition of any force I could command would only have caused further sacrifice, without gain. The loss in the Second Massachusetts was severe.⁴

Colonel George L. Andrews commanding the 2nd Massachusetts reported that his regiment:

received a very heavy fire from a large body of the enemy posted in the [West] woods. Our fire was opened in return; but the enemy having greatly the advantage, both in numbers and position, his fire became very destructive. Being unsupported, it was impossible to advance and a useless sacrifice of life to keep my position. The regiment was accordingly marched back in perfect order to the position from which it had advanced.⁵

In Andrews's U.S. command 12 men were killed in action, 56 wounded and two captured or missing. That fight was presented in the film "Glory" in a most realistic way.

The *Official Records* also lets us understand something of the Confederate operations at the same location and same time. Brigadier General John R. Jones, commanding Jackson's Division of Jackson's Corps reported that:

Two companies were at once [late afternoon September 16] thrown forward as skirmishers, and Pogue's battery was placed in the road on the right At the dawn of day on the 17th the battle opened fiercely.⁶

Jones was wounded by an artillery shell that exploded just above his head early in the engagement. He turned command over to Brigadier General William E. Starke, one of his brigade commanders. Starke was killed a half-hour later leading an advance and was replaced by Colonel A.J. Grigsby, commander of Winder's Brigade. Brigadier General Jubal A. Early, commanding Ewell's Division of Jackson's Corps, came up on the right flank of Jones's Division as it was retiring before heavy enemy fire. Early positioned his

⁴ORs, Series I, Volume XIX, Part I—Reports, 494-498.

⁵ORs, Series I, Volume XIX, Part I—Reports, 198, 495-496, 500-501.

⁶ORs, Series I, Volume XIX, Part I—Reports, 1007-1008; the date of General Jones's report is January 21, 1863. It was not uncommon for after-action reports to be delayed that long in the Civil War.

available units to best advantage throughout the morning, holding the key ground along the Hagerstown Pike near the Dunker Church.

What might students learn from reading those reports, while standing on the very ground described? Questions about bonding and cohesion in an infantry regiment that faced withering fire from rifled muskets and cannon at short range probably easily come to mind. The teacher also would have an opportunity to discuss how soldiers sought cover--at a rail fence, a fold in the ground, or a sunken road--and how difficult it was for company and regimental officers to get them up out of sheltered positions and move forward in the attack. Fear in battle and fear of showing cowardice to one's friends (often from the same hometown) in the unit worked in opposition. Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage* and Gerald F. Linderman's *Embattled Courage* can be used successfully to illustrate these points. As Linderman notes:

Often the most powerful fear was that one's fear would be revealed--and that meant a prohibition on discussion, frequently even among comrades, of the topic of greatest concern to each soldier. Fear was not an anxiety to be shared but a weakness to be stifled Civil War soldiers were thus unable to draw on that reassuring conviction of mid-twentieth-century soldiers that battle fear was 'normal.' Instead, the terrors of combat seemed to grow larger because so often they were suffered wordlessly.⁷

Richard Holmes, in his book *Acts Of War*, explains that "Fear is the common bond between fighting men.... Only a tiny percentage of soldiers never know fear at all."⁸ This aspect of Civil War battle is one that students need to understand when they are looking for explanations of seemingly illogical actions on the battlefield.

Other points can be introduced through the combination of assigned readings and walks on the battlefield. For example, the lethality of smoothbore cannon was displayed many times over on the morning of September 17, 1862. Captain William T. Poague commanded the 1st Rockbridge (Virginia) Battery in Jackson's Corps, which was in position to receive the attack of Hooker's infantry near the Dunker (or Dunkard) Church. He remembered the "awful fight" in his memoirs, *Gunner with Stonewall*:

We fought from four different positions that day. Our first was some distance in front of Dunkard Church woods and our second at the edge of said woods, both places being left of and near Hagerstown pike.

⁷Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), 23-25.

⁸Richard Holmes, *Acts of War: The Behavior of Men in Battle* (New York: The Free Press, 1985), 204.

Soon outflanked by Union infantry from his right, Poague withdrew his battery "to a little ridge about 500 yards distant on a line with the [Dunker] church."⁹ There General Jackson inspected the battery and commended their performance earlier that morning.

On the Union side, Second Lieutenant James Stewart, commanding a section of Battery B, 4th U.S. Artillery, in support of Brigadier General John Gibbon's brigade, positioned his two guns forward of the North Woods near the Hagerstown turnpike where they could fire on the Confederate positions in the West Woods. In this advanced position Stewart's guns were only about 400 yards from the enemy infantry:

After firing two or three rounds from each gun, the enemy partially broke, ran across a hollow in front of the section, crossed to the left of the turnpike, entered a corn-field, and, under cover of the fences and corn, crept close to our guns, picking off our cannoneers so rapidly that in less than ten minutes there were 14 men killed and wounded in the section.

At this point, his battery commander, Captain Campbell, "brought the other four guns into battery on the left of my [Stewart's] section, and commenced firing canister at the enemy in the cornfield, on the left [east] of the turnpike."¹⁰ Captain Campbell was severely wounded and command passed to Lieutenant Stewart. The brigade commander, Gibbon, was in the battery position "acting both as cannoneer and gunner" at one of the guns. Gibbon had been an artilleryman before donning the blue epaulets of the infantry in order to be promoted to general officer. The battery suffered 40 killed or wounded, and 33 horses killed or wounded.¹¹

Students standing on the ground occupied by Battery B might learn the following from their staff ride: (1) aggressive use of artillery in the offensive often could break the momentum of a sizeable infantry attack, particularly if delivered from a flank; (2) artillery could only stay in an advanced fighting position if accompanied by a strong infantry escort; (3) battle at the infantry-artillery level was deadly and often decisive; cavalry had very little effect on the battlefield, although the mounted troops performed essential reconnaissance and security at the periphery of the battlefield; (4) folds and undulations in the terrain

⁹William Thomas Poague, *Gunner With Stonewall*, ed. Monroe F. Cockrell (Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1987 [1957]), 46.

¹⁰Report of Lieutenant James Stewart, *ORs*, Series I, Volume XIX, Part I—Reports, 229-231.

¹¹*ORs*, Series I, Volume XIX, Part I—Reports, 229; also printed in Luvaas and Nelson, *The U.S. Army War College Guide to the Battle of Antietam*, 143-144.

provided some cover from direct fire of muskets and cannon; (5) skillful personal leadership at brigade and lower levels often made up for inferiority in numbers or weaponry; and (6) differences in artillery organization affected the quality of fire support in both armies. These kinds of lessons and more can be woven throughout a study of the Civil War and in this specific case the Battle of Antietam.

The main point of this discussion is that battlefields and the documentary record provide extremely effective teaching tools, and vicariously walking in the boots of a Civil War commander can be informative and stimulating. Study of the American Civil War needs no apologies, but for students of history there are added benefits from the use of the staff ride technique. Just as a laboratory course adds a practical dimension to the study of chemistry or biology, an old Civil War battlefield used as the laboratory for a historical examination of one of the most trying of human experiences can make clear some of the details less apparent from the two dimensional pages of a text. An informed teacher who links the reading materials and the "laboratory" helps to bring an important historical event into clear focus.

For my next visit to Shiloh, I plan to read Shelby Foote's novel, *Shiloh*, in addition to the standard non-fictional sources. Works of historical fiction, some previously mentioned, can help both students and teacher to understand some of the emotions that come into sharp focus on a battlefield. The combination of preliminary reading of historical analyses, first-person accounts, and historical fiction, followed by an organized visit to the battlefield, promises the rewards of enhanced understanding of our martial past.

The author thanks Dr. Harold W. Nelson for his critical reading of this article and the many helpful suggestions for improving it. Dr. Nelson and Dr. Jay Luvaas have skillfully edited the U.S. Army War College series of battlefield guides, published in both hardbound and soft cover editions.

A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF TEXTBOOKS FOR MIDDLE EASTERN HISTORY

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At the 1995 meeting of the Middle East Studies Association a group of colleagues and I were sitting around a table consuming a variety of beverages and discussing, of all things, textbooks. Predictably, there was not consensus, especially as one of the group was the author of a text and each of us had a slightly different approach to our courses that rendered one text more useful than another. Three points of general agreement emerged and all are predictable: no text was perfect, there are several good texts available, and there are also some texts that are not recommended.

This article is a critical assessment of selected texts currently available for Middle Eastern history. It is not exhaustive; I have not included every possible text; and I hope that this piece will encourage readers who know of other texts to write reviews and submit them to the journal. My principal audience is the non-specialist college teacher who, though he or she might have had a Ph.D. field in Middle Eastern history, now has responsibility for teaching a course but feels ill-prepared. I have been there. In a previous academic incarnation I taught a survey of East Asian history with my own training limited to a one-year survey taken in the first year of my undergraduate career. Those teaching the world civilizations survey, at both the college and high school level, will also find some of these texts useful as references for covering Middle Eastern topics.

The first issue to be resolved in selecting the text is the geographic content of the course. My own course is a two-semester Islamic World survey that covers everywhere that one finds Muslims, which for the twentieth century, at least, is the entire world. A more traditional approach is the Middle East survey that covers Turkey, Iran, Israel (at least for the twentieth century), and the Arab world, sometimes including North Africa, sometimes not. I teach a one-semester upper-division course "The Modern Middle East" (sometimes including North Africa, sometimes not) that covers the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Finally, there is the Arab World option, that generally excludes the Turks, Persians, and Israelis. Textbooks exist for all three options.

Other issues to be resolved include where to divide the course chronologically and whether one prefers a thematic or geographic/country approach. The two-semester survey seems most common, and I divide my survey with the nineteenth century. One could just as easily pick an earlier time period, such as the establishment of the Ottoman hegemony throughout the Middle East in the sixteenth century. The "thematic or country" question applies mostly to modern history, and I have alternated between the two. Once again, there are textbooks to suit these various considerations.

Two comprehensive Islamic World surveys exist that could be used as texts but are more valuable as reference works: P. M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton, and Bernard Lewis, editors, *The Cambridge History of Islam* (2 volumes [cloth] or 4 volumes [paper]; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), and Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (3 volumes; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974). Volume one of *The Cambridge History* covers the political

history of the "central Islamic lands" (the paperback edition divides at 1918) and volume two includes political developments in India, South-East Asia, Africa, and the Muslim West, and more general cultural history of Islamic society and civilization (the paperback edition separates the political from the society and civilization). This is your straightforward Cambridge history tradition with first-rate articles written by leading authorities. The presentation of the political history is divided among geographic regions (Arab lands, Anatolia, Persia, Central Asia) throughout, while the cultural history is more integrated. Its major weaknesses as a text are expense and organization. Another serious problem for the *Cambridge History* is that it is now almost thirty years out of date.

The *Venture of Islam* is something different, a comprehensive personal interpretation of Islamic World history by a single scholar. The volumes are divided into "The Classical Age of Islam," "The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods," and "The Gunpowder Empires and Modern Times." Hodgson has sought to integrate all aspects of "Islamdom" into an integrated "civilization," in the grand tradition of "Western Civilization." It is a stimulating but occasionally frustrating work as Hodgson offers sometimes unique interpretations of Islamic civilization. It is obviously best suited for a three-semester or three-quarters survey. Its problem is, like the *Cambridge History*, that it is now dated.

If you still want to teach the entire Muslim World, do not despair. Highly recommended is Ira Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988 [available in paperback]). Although one might assume that this is either a summary or updating of the *Cambridge History*, it is closer to Hodgson's *Venture of Islam* in style and content. Lapidus has sought to present a single narrative of "one of the great spiritual families of mankind" from pre-Islamic times in the Middle East to twentieth century Islam in Africa and Asia. The major weakness is that modern Islam in Europe and America is ignored, although this is understandable within Lapidus's definition of Islamic World (societies dominated by Islamic values). The book is nicely suited to a two-semester survey, with slightly less than half dealing with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Lapidus follows a geographic approach, focusing on specific regions. This is the text that I use in my "Islamic World" survey.

Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples* (London: Routledge, 1980), lays claim to being the "first one-volume history giving the story of all the Islamic states and people from the beginning to the present day." The first part of the statement may well be true, but the book actually covers the Middle East, North Africa, Sudan, and Afghanistan. The major weakness of the book is that it was originally published in 1939, although some material has been added in subsequent imprints to bring it up to date.

While texts for Islamic world history are somewhat limited, the more traditional Middle East survey offers more choices. An excellent multi-volume survey is the *Near East History Series* edited by P. M. Holt and published by Longman. The series includes seven volumes by six different authors: Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphs*, 1986; P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades*, 1986; Colin Imber, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1574*, forthcoming; M. E. Yapp, *The Making of the Modern Near East 1792-1923*, 1987; M. E. Yapp, *The Near East since the First World War*, 1991; and David

Morgan, *Medieval Persia 1040-1797*, 1988. These works cover the Middle East proper (no North Africa). While this series does not offer the comprehensive coverage of the Muslim World found in *The Cambridge History* and *The Venture of Islam*, a minor disadvantage for most course offerings, it is more up to date than either, offers a more traditional narrative than *The Venture of Islam*, but has the advantage of the interpretive history of the single author for each of the major time periods lacking in the *Cambridge History*. The disadvantage is the division into seven volumes; I would have preferred that Iran be integrated into the other volumes. Also, a four-volume series would have been more useful for the two-semester survey, although, like *The Venture of Islam*, this division works well for a three-semester or quarter survey. Finally, these are detailed works dealing almost exclusively with political history that threaten to overwhelm even upper-division students. On balance though, I recommend this series highly and use the two volumes by Yapp as the text for my Modern Middle East course.

Two single-volume texts stand out for the Middle East survey: Sidney Nettleton Fisher and William Oschenwald, *The Middle East: A History* (Fourth Edition, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990 [available in paperback with the fifth edition currently in preparation]), and Arthur Goldschmidt, Jr., *A Concise History of the Middle East* (Third Edition, Boulder: Westview Press, 1988). Fisher and Oschenwald has been around since 1959 and is as close to a standard as exists in the field. Coverage is the Middle East proper (no North Africa but includes Sudan) from pre-Islamic times to the present with a very nice balance between political and cultural history, especially for the period through the golden ages of the Ottoman and Safavid Empires. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries receive more extensive coverage and the approach is markedly more political. As the title implies, the Goldschmidt work is much briefer. Coverage is essentially the same (Goldschmidt generally ignores Sudan), although the approach is very different. Oschenwald tends to focus on political entities (Ottoman Empire, Iraq, Saudi Arabia) whereas Goldschmidt is more thematic ("Shi'is and Turks," "The Roots of Arab Bitterness," "The Reassertion of Islamic Power"). Like Oschenwald, Goldschmidt emphasizes the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Goldschmidt is perhaps a bit more accessible to the average student. My one criticism of Goldschmidt is that he does tend to see the entire twentieth century as focusing around the Palestine/Israel issue.

Other general Middle Eastern texts exist. Glenn E. Perry, *The Middle East: Fourteen Islamic Centuries* (Second Edition, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1991), is a briefer survey. The text covers the Middle East proper and has more of a thematic approach. Almost two-thirds of the book is devoted to nineteenth and twentieth-century events. Peter Mansfield, *A History of the Middle East* (New York: Penguin, 1992), should more accurately be entitled *History of the Modern Middle East or even Modern Arab World and Iran* as the coverage of Turkey is weak. It is a good narrative political history. Yahya Armajani and Thomas M. Ricks, *Middle East: Past and Present* (Second Edition, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1986), includes the Middle East proper and follows the country by country approach. Like the Perry book, about two-thirds of the text is devoted to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The book is plagued by some major factual errors.

For the modern Middle East a brand new text is William Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994). Cleveland covers the Middle East proper (no North Africa, no Sudan) from the late eighteenth century to the present. He presents a brief but useful background. The theme of Cleveland's text is the "transformation" of the Middle East from the traditional Islamic milieu to the modernizing or westernizing (terms with which Cleveland is uncomfortable) of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (xiv). Like Oschenwald, Cleveland tends to focus on individual or groups of states and has much less emphasis on the Palestine/Israel issue than Goldschmidt. While similar in approach to the Yapp volumes mentioned above, Cleveland does not have quite the detail. That is not a fatal flaw for a text. It does offer the advantage of reasonable price. I am giving it serious consideration for adoption for my undergraduate survey and using Yapp at the graduate level. For the non-specialist, Yapp would be an outstanding reference with Cleveland as a text.

Finally, there are several texts that focus on the Middle East specifically through the Arab world. The most recent is the much publicized Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1991). Hourani covers the Arab World (including North Africa and Sudan but not Iran, Israel, or Turkey) from pre-Islamic times to the present with a fairly even division around the nineteenth century. The approach is thematic for the modern period with the great strength of the book being its coverage of social and cultural issues. It is a wonderful book and recommended for anyone wanting to understand the Arab world and Islamic civilization. The weakness as a text for Middle Eastern history is that it only covers the Arabs.

Among the other Arabocentric texts are William R. Polk, *The Arab World Today* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), which originally was published as *The United States and the Arab World*. The current title is more accurate as the book emphasizes Arab political history since World War I and includes a discussion of United States relations with the Arab world as the final chapter. Polk includes Libya and Sudan in his Arab World and tends to emphasize the Arab-Israeli struggle. Peter Mansfield, *The Arabs* (New York: Penguin, 1992), is actually a more detailed presentation of material in his *History of the Middle East*. John Bagot Glubb, *Short History of the Arab Peoples* (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1970), is a dated popular history. Finally, the pioneering works by Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (Tenth Edition, New York: St. Martin's, 1970), and *The Arabs: A Short History* (Longwood, FL: Regnery Publishers, 1956), are classic works of more value historiographically than as texts.

There are, of course, many things to be said against all of the books discussed above; there is no perfect textbook, although this is more commonly a complaint of the specialist. However, at almost any level of instruction, both teachers and students will be well-served by selecting texts by Lapidus, Oschenwald, Goldschmidt, Cleveland, or Hourani for classes in Middle Eastern history.

THE PRICE OF INTEGRATION: A REVIEW ESSAY

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Henry Louis Gates, Jr. *Colored People* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1994). 232 pp. \$24.95.

Julius Lester, *And All Our Wounds Forgiven* (New York: Arcade, 1994). 228 pp. \$19.95.

More than a generation after the summer of 1964, the passage of the Civil Rights Act, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, we are beginning to see and feel the effects of those intense struggles for civil rights and full citizenship that black people waged and obtained. For those who remember the intense days of the Sixties, the passage of time may not seem so long ago but, as teachers, we have new generations of students who, when we present the material of those days to them, stare back at us in either disbelief or boredom. Like the study of slavery, the Civil Rights Movement, through media saturation, both laudable and inexcusable, has reduced the desire for students, black and white, to truly understand the full meaning of the period. I have to earnestly stress that the Civil Rights Movement was a *revolutionary* period that continues to affect their lives in ways that I, when their age, would never have thought imaginable. And that may yet be another significant part of the problem in teaching about the Civil Rights-Black Power Movements: We are still working out the consequences and the legacies handed down to us by those movements. It has been well documented in historical scholarship how the Civil Rights Movement gave birth to a renewal of the Women's Movement; how the concentration on the rights of minorities has reshaped the way that America looks at groups; and how African Americans have benefitted from the passage of laws that have improved their political and economic status as well as the way that they have been perceived in the larger society.

That is not to say that all is well and that racism is dead or even dying. In fact, more so now than in 1968 at the time of the Kerner Commission Report, American society has evolved into two societies: but not necessarily one white and one black with the one having an equal advantage while the other clearly does not. Now the situation is not so clear in terms of black and white. For one of the prices of integration has been an enlargement of the black middle class such that the growth has seen more black professionals than at any other time in Afro-American history. Another price of integration has been a clear movement of that black middle class to the suburbs of the nation's urban areas, and recently back South. At the same time that this happened there has been left behind a mass of people whose quality of life, which was always on the edge, is even more grim than ever.

In the days of segregation there existed in the urban areas of our nation gangs, drugs, and a propensity towards violence. However, the presence of institutions in the community that showed the youth of poor and working-class parents that there were avenues out of the ghetto tended to mask or, to put it more bluntly, keep a lid on the cruel life lurking just below. Black churches, black teachers in the schools (especially in the Jim

Crow South), and various small businesses that produced a black middle class worked hard not only to uplift themselves from the stagnation of segregation but also to provide uplift for the masses of blacks. In more ways than can be recounted here, segregated black communities provided the glue that bound a people together almost regardless of class.

Since the Eighties, African American intellectuals have been advancing thoughts and analyses that have tried to address the continued, indeed, worsening, immiseration of the so-called black underclass. At the same time, these intellectuals have tried to grapple with the implications of their own success, whether in the academy, various professions such as law, or politics. In many ways from the late Eighties to the present, despite the pull of the nation to the right ideologically, there has been surfacing a rich and variegated neo-Black Renaissance. Henry Louis "Skip" Gates, Jr., is one of the more prominent black intellectuals, and his memoir of coming of age in the Fifties and Sixties is a solid example of the ambivalence of some observers about the fruits of integration. Gates provides us with good insight into what growing up "behind the veil" was about for a young black male in the last days before segregation's demise. In these days of annoying clatter about the "authentic black voice," I feel confident in saying that most Afro-Americans of Gates's generation are going to find familiar many of the cultural and social items covered. Whether talking about Afro-American hair or Amos n' Andy on television ("What was special about Amos n' Andy was that their world was *all* colored just like ours."), Nat King Cole and the pride that black people felt when seeing a Negro on television, or even the social etiquette required to be around white people, these vignettes can go a long way towards helping students understand what life was like in the not too distant past.

However, what seems to be lacking from Gates's autobiography is the emotional turmoil that went with growing up in that period. For example, becoming a black militant in the late Sixties was a very painful process; going from being a Negro or colored person to Black was full of angst and not a little bit disconcerting after having been raised in an almost all-black environment that protected one from the worst ravages of white racism. Nonetheless Gates went through that phase and still retained his integrationism. As he states in his prefatory letter to his daughters explaining why he is writing this book: "Even so, I rebel at the notion that I can't be part of other groups, that I can't construct identities through elective affinities, that race must be the most important thing about me."

While Gates stops short of really exploring the emotional aspect of growing up in the midst of integration, his intention seems to be to wonder if something has not been lost in the demise of segregation. The question that confronts Gates and other black intellectuals might be put as follows: Has the glue that held the black community together been so diluted as to splinter the common bonds that held black people together? Take religion as an example. In Gates's view, "what the church did provide was a sense of community, moments of intimacy, of belonging to a culture." One could also add that it was a decisive political force, as any casual glance at black leadership in the Civil Rights Movement will attest. But today there are far too many young blacks who are "unchurched." Masses of poor blacks take spiritual solace in the survival of the fittest ethics as portrayed in gansta rap and hip-hop culture. And while there are references to the Nation of Islam and Malcolm X in this mainly urban landscape, these citations are to the Nation's

earlier Fifties and Sixties beliefs of complete separation of the races. And the Malcolm X referred to is the Nation's Malcolm who was a mouthpiece for the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. The later Malcolm moved closer to integration and became a mainstream Moslem.

The real questions here are: What is integration really all about? Is it about black people assimilating and disappearing into American society? Gates states that "Only later did I come to realize that for many of the colored people in Piedmont . . . integration was experienced as loss. The warmth and nurturance of the womb-like colored world was slowly and inevitably disappearing." Or is it about America finally realizing that the essential value of African Americans to American history is the creolization of American society? Or in the end, is Gates displaying the guilt of middle class black intellectuals who have made it and cannot seem to find a way to pass on the fruits of integration to the masses of African Americans who have seemingly decided that any attempt to integrate into American society is basically "whitening up"?

Some of these questions are taken up in Julius Lester's novel *And All Our Wounds Forgiven*. Using the character John Calvin Marshall as a stand-in for Martin Luther King, Jr., Lester has given himself some latitude in which to explore those questions as well as to mount a fascinating revision of the history of the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement. At the same time, this novel works emotionally as the reader clearly relives the stresses and strains of what it meant to give one's life to "the Movement." Teachers using this book will find that it will surely provoke discussions about the nature of social change, as this early passage by Marshall indicates:

. . . once set in motion, social change, regardless of its noble intent and pure righteousness, cannot be controlled. You think you are changing "this" and you are. But you did not anticipate "that" changing also. By the time recognition of the unanticipated consequences comes, it is too late to do anything—except hope you survive.

Likewise teachers will be able to initiate discussion by using examples of the rigors that young people, black and white, put themselves through in order to bring about empowerment for black people as citizens and the costs that such commitments had on those involved. A pertinent passage by one of the characters, Lisa, underscores this:

Blacks did not hate whites then. We were black and white together, as we sang "We Shall Overcome." White southerners were right. The civil rights movement *was* about mixing the races. How could it have been otherwise? If keeping the races separate was the problem, mixing them had to be the solution.

But something happened and blacks became racist. I'm not supposed to say that, am I? But I can't rationalize and call the current black antipathy to whites 'antiracism racism,' or some such

doublespeak. Being black does not confer automatic immunity from being racist.

One important thing about this book is that it starts from the vantage point of the Nineties and through several key characters unfolds the story. Above all of these characters is John Calvin Marshall, who figures intimately in their lives. He attempts, as in a Greek chorus, to provide some coherence and understanding to what has transpired. Within this setting of fictional events woven into the cloth of real history, Lester has set forth a revision of the Civil Rights Movement. Teachers can use that interpretation in order to get their students to raise questions about the meaning, value, and ultimately success or failure of integration.

The Sixties has often been called a time of sex, drugs, and rock and roll. By invoking those symbols and incorporating them into his characters to show how they played out against and within the Civil Rights-Black Power movements, Lester has come closest to writing just about the clearest and most meaningful history of the period. On those grounds this is going to be a tough book for many blacks to take, as Lester is unsparing in his condemnation of the most extreme attitudes taken by the nationalists and the militants in the later years of the Movement. It is here that the revisionist interpretation is also critically important.

There are currently two schools of scholars regarding the Civil Rights Movement. The most dominant sees the Civil Rights Movement as a "Freedom" or "Liberation" struggle that heavily emphasizes grassroots participation of black people. The scholars writing in this school tend to be politically liberal-left. The second school cannot be affixed with any ideological label other than that they would like to see a revival of the early days of the Civil Rights Movement notion of a "beloved community." Lester, though he was strongly militant himself during his tenure in SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) in the Sixties, is in the forefront of this school. The interpretative force of this revision in many ways sees a moral fervor or strand in those early days of the Movement that is very important for the nation as a whole today. At a time when the country is witnessing tension-filled discussions regarding "identity politics," "culture wars," and the merits of Afrocentrism and the need for African values within AfroAmerica, this revisionist school may well point the way out of the gloomy miasma that is before us. One of the more hopeful features of this school of thought is that it shows true integration at work with blacks and whites free to talk and criticize and be willing to work through some pressing and difficult problems.

These two books come highly recommended, as they take our students back into a world that still has important and relevant lessons to teach us. Our students especially need to see why the Civil Rights Movements were an important epoch in American and African American history. They, who will be the leaders in the twenty-first century, will need all the historical knowledge there is about this period as the changes in America are going to be immense and challenging. These two books are excellent examples, among many, that will help guide them.

Marc Anthony Meyer, ed. *The Search for Order: Landmarks of World Civilizations*. Gullford, CT: Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., 1994. Vol. I: *From 3500 B.C.E. to 1550 C.E.* Pp. x, 432. Vol. II: *From 1500 to the Present*. Pp. x, 448. Paper, \$17.35 each.

The Search for Order is a two-volume collection of primary sources. This work is designed to be used in the world history classroom. The selections cover the gamut, from political to social to cultural topics. Each volume is divided into three parts, each part containing twenty-three sources in the following geographical subheadings: Southwest Eurasia and Africa; South and Southeast Eurasia; East Eurasia; West Eurasia; and, when appropriate, the Americas. The students may be unfamiliar with these designations, but once they are accustomed to them there should be no problem. To aid in this endeavor, Meyer provides a shaded map before each section to reinforce student knowledge of geography.

The layout of *The Search for Order* is highly organized—a boon to students. The introduction (contained in both volumes) is geared toward helping students understand the concept of order in history. The language is accessible, but never cloying. Meyer obviously has a good grasp of survey students, as he writes to challenge their notion of what history means: “Societies maintain purposeful standards that reflect what ought to be and what actually is. In the processes of building and maintaining society, the cultural need for stability struggles against discordant elements of flux.” Following the introduction is “An Approach to the Analysis of Primary Historical Sources,” which contains particularly pertinent material. Students are led through an analysis of sources (their benefits and pitfalls), then given eight exercises to complete. These exercises allow students to use everyday situations and items to hone their detective skills. An example is Exercise One: “What’s in a Name,” in which students analyze the contents of someone else’s purse or wallet. They then must write a brief biography of that person based solely on the items they find. I believe that if students take advantage of these exercises, they will find new ways of looking at historical questions.

Prior to each part, Meyer gives a brief overview of that era. One interesting feature of these intros is that Meyer tells students which of the readings relates to a particular theme he is presenting. Directly before the readings for each geographical designation, Meyer provides a map and a brief chronology of that area. Finally, at the end of each volume, there is a glossary of terms and one last invaluable tool. Meyer has taken the twelve leading World History texts (Stearns, Esler, Upshur, Greaves, etc.) and cross-referenced their chapters to each of the articles. Provided that you use one of these texts, this chart allows you to refer each of Meyer’s sixty-nine articles to the chapter and page of your particular text. I found this a highly unique and useful aspect of *The Search for Order*.

The sources themselves provide a variety of social viewpoints, from Kublai Khan’s Mongol Law Code of China to Simone de Beauvoir’s *The Second Sex*. As often is the case, in all but one of the parts (the Ancient World) the section on West Eurasia (Europe) outweighs the others. However, there is a nice mix in each section of very familiar excerpts, such as Plato’s *Republic*, and more obscure ones, such as Selected Writings of Sarojini Naidu. Meyer also takes care to include sources from women writers whenever possible. Each source is accompanied by a brief introduction. Several of the introductions are a little overwhelming in terms of the background information they give, but overall they are appropriate. Following each selection is a series of study questions. In addition to simple summarization of the material, the questions ask students to analyze what they have read. Meyer also includes the helpful element of relating texts to each other through the questions.

As supplementary material, *The Search for Order* should prove highly valuable. The variety of voices will appeal to students. Another effective tool is the inclusion of an illustration in most sections. Some examples are: Shang Sacred Yu Vessel; Ptolemaic World Map; Janus Headpiece of Ekoi Tribe for Ekkpe Society, Ekparabrong Clan of West Africa; and Pablo Picasso’s “Guernica.” The illustrations are also accompanied by explanatory material. This periodic break in the texts should help keep the students’ interest. There are no lists of supplemental material, so be aware that you will have to provide additional information for students who want to follow up on what they have read.

These volumes have been crafted with great care. They are extremely thorough and the extras help provide an excellent framework for students to start their exploration of primary sources. Be aware that as with all sourcebooks, students may have trouble with the language of some of the earlier examples.

A little guidance from you (and perhaps an extra reading or two) will get them through it. It is a special challenge for world history teachers to make documents such as *The Jainist Book of Sermons* and *The Meiji Constitution and the Imperial Rescript on Education* relevant and interesting to students, but by balancing them with such tidbits as Christine de Pisan's "L'Avison Christine" and the Traditional Oral Texts from Africa, it should be easier.

Floyd College

Laura Gilstrap Musselwhite

Evan Mawdsley and Thomas Munck. *Computing for Historians: An Introductory Guide*. Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1993. Pp. xvi, 231. Cloth, \$59.95. ISBN 0-7190-3547-3. Paper, \$19.95. ISBN 0-7190-3548-1.

Daniel I. Greenstein. *A Historian's Guide to Computing*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. Pp. xiii, 268. Cloth, \$48.00. ISBN 0-19-824235-2. Paper, \$16.65. ISBN 0-19-823521-6.

Computers have changed everyone's lives and historians confront a variety of choices of how to utilize this technology to increase their productivity. The real challenge, however, lies in their discovering how to incorporate the computer into teaching and research tasks. The first step is to inquire about what is available at his or her workplace and then talk to colleagues who are already familiar with computers. This reality alone makes it difficult to write any one book that accurately and in a timely fashion deals with how to employ computers and their accompanying technology in any one setting, since every institution has a different framework and wide discrepancies exist even among departments on the same campus. Furthermore, every individual using computers has their own preferences—especially when disagreeing about IBM versus Macintosh platforms—and it takes time to figure out what is best for any one person. Finally, the explosion of the Internet is so recent that it is only dealt with briefly by Greenstein and barely at all by Mawdsley and Munck.

The authors of both *Computing for Historians* and *A Historian's Guide to Computing* have obviously utilized this technology in their own work and do a reasonable job of explaining the results of their work. Both books, however, tend to be overly technical for anyone without some previous computer knowledge. Oftentimes, it is simply a case of too much highly-detailed information being too overwhelming for the beginner to comprehend. Furthermore, both works concentrate only on the use of computers in research and do not deal with employing them in the classroom. (For the best book on this topic consult J. B. M. Schick's *Teaching History With A Computer*. The *History Microcomputer Review* is the best journal currently published specifically about computers and history. For sources on both, contact Schick, History Department, Pittsburg State University, Pittsburg, KS 66762; 316-235-4312 or e-mail at jschick@pittstate.edu). All the authors readily admit that any book can hardly claim to describe the "leading edge" because of the publication lag time.

Both books, however, do a good job in their explanation of how to utilize databases in research projects. Economic historians Mawdsley and Munck, in fact, point out that databases and their utilization are the primary forces of their book. On the other hand, Greenstein provides the best description of the advantages and the limitations of their use. Both give concrete examples and tables showing their work with these types of projects. Mawdsley and Munck, for example, discuss the "Gorbals Census Datafile," voting and census sources, and the use of multiple tables in analyzing data. These authors, as well as Greenstein, also argue the validity of this type of research and demonstrate that it can help make previously unmanageable data intelligible for further historical analysis. Both works correctly point out that "garbage in is garbage out" and that data tables in and of themselves do not necessarily yield worthy results. Anyone wanting to enter the world of quantitative history would find both of these books useful. Professors could also assign them to graduate students and some upper-division students who plan to utilize this historical research method.

In comparing the two books, Greenstein's contains the broadest coverage of the use of the computer. He discusses spreadsheets, word processing, and text analysis. In addition, he discusses the growth of the Internet and Janet, as its sister network in the United Kingdom is known. Any book on this

topic, however, is dated before it is even published. Greenstein gives an adequate introductory explanation of electronic mail (e-mail), discussion lists, and file transfer protocols. The latest information on any of these topics, however, can only be found on the Internet itself since daily changes are common. The next best sources are Internet magazines and more general computer periodicals.

A further detractor to both works is their lack of discussion about computer simulations and their use in today's history courses. These activities provide some of the best ways to interest students in history and develop their critical thinking skills.

Anyone interested in learning computers should first talk to colleagues. Attending on-campus workshops is another step that novices can take to learn how to use the equipment available to them. It would then be a good idea to consult some of the e-mail discussion lists of interest to them and ask other subscribers what they recommend in the way of both hardware and software since both often rely on personal preferences. There is division in most departments concerning the use of Macintoshes or IBMs—often what is available at the institution can determine this choice until one is knowledgeable enough to decide which they prefer.

Although Greenstein describes a few of the word processing options, neither book adequately describes the currently available options in this arena. This is important because it is the most logical place for any historian to begin using the computer. First, find out which word processing program is preferred on your campus and compare it to those accepted by journals in your field. More and more journals prefer submissions on disk as well as paper format to decrease the cost of publication. Also, consult computer magazines or the computer section in the larger newspapers about comparisons and contrasts between the programs. Microsoft Word and WordPerfect stand at the forefront, and knowledge of at least one of those is usually sufficient. Furthermore, these programs are becoming increasingly interwoven—the latest version of Microsoft Word provides on-screen help for users familiar with WordPerfect so that they can easily manipulate text in the Word format. Once you become familiar with this use of the computer, expansion into the use of spreadsheets and databases in both research and teaching is much easier.

The best books about computers and some of the major programs are the "Dummies" series available in almost all stores. Their titles, such as "WordPerfect for Dummies" should not offend anyone. These guides provide instant answers to what you want to do and save you from searching through pages of information in the user's guide.

In conclusion, Mawdsley and Munck would have been better served to title their book "The Use of Computer Databases for Historians." They do, however, correctly assert that the computer "is a truly multi-purpose machine able to carry out a wide variety of complex operations quickly and accurately." Greenstein's book deals with the use of the computer more broadly, yet often superficially enough just to confuse the novice even further; experienced computer users already know the information he is providing. Any historian wanting to enter the world of quantitative history would find these books useful. In the realm of teaching, however, they provide little that cannot be found better explained in other sources.

Pittsburg State University

Kelly A. Woestman

Adam Sisman. *A.J.P. Taylor. A Biography*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994. Pp. xiv, 468. Cloth, \$30.00.

Christina Scott. *A Historian and His World. A Life of Christopher Dawson*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1992. Pp. 238. Cloth, \$34.95.

Christopher Dawson and A.J.P. Taylor were major mid-twentieth-century English historians of international repute. Dawson's major interest was the role of Christianity in Western culture, Taylor's English and European history, especially international relations, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Both men were also what Russell Jacoby has termed "public intellectuals," speaking out in their time on a variety of political issues. For Dawson these issues had mostly to do with the increasing secularization

of Western society and the need to restore the primacy of Christian values to the modern social order. Taylor's net was more widely cast, with newspaper columns and television spreading his views on such things as the Suez invasion, the Committee on Nuclear Disarmament, or the expulsion of Anthony Blunt from the British Academy. In the not quite sixty years between Dawson's first book (1928) and Taylor's last (1984) they wrote hundreds of essays, innumerable reviews, and almost fifty books, although in Taylor's case a fair amount of the writing was undertaken to meet the material needs of a thrice married man.

Yet for all their renown, achievement, and scholarly productivity, neither man ever made it to the center of English academic life. To one degree or another they remained outsiders, marginal men, denied the accolades bestowed upon their more conforming if less brilliant contemporaries. In Dawson's case the reason was undoubtedly religious prejudice. Born into a land-owning military family and educated at Winchester and Oxford, he could have moved, but for his 1914 conversion to Rome, to the very center of the Oxbridge establishment. Instead he spent the next sixteen years in intellectual solitude, supported modestly by a family allowance, until he was offered a part-time lectureship at Exeter University; not until 1959, when at the age of seventy Harvard offered him the Stillman Chair in Roman Catholic studies, did he enjoy his first full-time faculty appointment. With Taylor the reasons were more complex and personal: He simply would not "play the game." Strutting, arrogant, and unquestionably brilliant (as he would be the first to acknowledge), he took a perverse pleasure in twitting his colleagues as well as those in authority. A suspicion of him set in early—he was encouraged to go abroad rather than remain at Oxford for post-graduate studies—and he was never able to escape from its shadow. He had friends and supporters as well as powerful enemies; but the latter always outnumbered the former, and he is probably the only English historian of note of his generation to live to be eighty-four and yet go to his grave without ever having been made a professor or receiving a government honor.

Paradoxically, however, as outsiders both Dawson and Taylor were at the heart of what can be described as alternative establishments. Dawson was a major presence in the English and American Catholic communities, the high points being his editorship during World War II of the *Dublin Review* and the 1959-62 Harvard appointment. Taylor, born into the commercial aristocracy of Manchester, inherited not only the Nonconformity of the North but the leftist sympathies and politics of his parents and would literally grow up "in the bosom of the left."

Christina Scott's biography of her father was first published in London a decade ago and soon went out of print. It has now been issued in an American edition. The book offers an informative and intimate account of Dawson's life and his disciplined scholarly activity. What comes through most poignantly is the intellectual isolation, at least in relation to the English academic community (the two distinguished Gifford Lectures notwithstanding), that characterized much of her father's life. As a Roman Catholic apologist Dawson was at the center of the English Catholic community, but that community was peripheral to English intellectual life as a whole. His real influence was in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s where his work, especially *Understanding Europe* and *The Making of Europe*, supported efforts by American Catholics to make Catholic culture an integral part of the intellectual mainstream. Dawson's return to England in 1962 after a debilitating stroke can be viewed as a critical loss to the midcentury attempt at a Christian culture revival. All of this is deftly presented in Scott's well written biography that develops chronologically and provides a solid account of the writing of her father's books. Read along with the special issue of the *Chesterton Review* (May 1983) devoted to Dawson, for which Scott wrote the introduction, it is an excellent exposition of Christopher Dawson's life and work.

Adam Sisman's biography is worthy of its subject. Written with a clarity and verve that Taylor himself would have appreciated, it is both critical and sympathetic. At times Sisman seems to be standing back and shaking his head as Taylor again indulges in a bout of self-maiming. As with the Scott book, the approach is chronological; but Sisman's canvas is much more thickly peopled, his insight into his subject less tempered by filial devotion and, correspondingly, more psychologically acute. He also has had the advantage of an autobiography whose misrepresentations and omissions—Taylor, for example, forgets one of his marriages—he uses to effect. Sisman locates Taylor firmly within the intellectual outlook of English Nonconformity, sees his Leftist sympathies and anti-Establishment disposition emerging from it, and provides a first-rate account of how outlook, sympathies, and disposition all meld together to

shape his thinking and historical writing, especially in two of his most celebrated and controversial books, *The Troublemakers* and *The Origins of the Second World War*. Manchester, Oxford, L. B. Namier, Hugh Trevor-Roper, G. N. Clark, *The Manchester Guardian*, the *Times Literary Supplement* Lord Beaverbrook, the Oxford histories of modern Europe—all figure prominently in the rich narrative that Sisman gracefully weaves, one that can also double as a superb study of the English historical community from the 1930s through the 1970s.

Both Scott and Sisman are essential reading for students of twentieth-century English culture. Each also would be appropriate for use in graduate as well as upper-level undergraduate courses in historiography or historical method. The Dawson biography can serve to introduce students to a major statement of the mid-twentieth-century Catholic interpretation of the middle ages and the debate over the origin and extent of the "medieval synthesis." Sisman's biography of Taylor presents students with a wide range of historiographical issues, most especially the controversies over appeasement and the origins of the Second World War. And because both Dawson and Taylor frequently wrote for a public outside of the academy, each biography implicitly explores the tension between professional scholarship and popular writing. Their lives, professional and personal, open a revealing window on the "historian's craft."

Pace University

Michael Rosenfeld

Merry E. Wiesner. *Women & Gender in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Pp. xii, 264. Cloth, \$49.95; ISBN 0-521-38459-1. Paper, \$14.95; ISBN 0-521-38613-6.

Merry Wiesner's *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* is a well-written college-level textbook that presents an introduction to research on women in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. In her introduction she explains that until recently, women's historical research focused on two major issues—how women contributed to accepted developments in history (the search for "women worthies") and the effect of these developments on women. More recently, additional questions have centered on women's biological experiences and on private or domestic matters. In addition, the ever-expanding quantity of research has resulted in four rather conflicting conclusions: Historical experience of early modern women was much less uniform than thought; the role of gender in determining historical experiences of men and women varied over time, and from group to group; the kind of questions asked about the female experience must also be asked about the male; and, gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power. Throughout the book, Wiesner has attempted to keep these conclusions in mind while presenting research on women's lives and gender roles in early modern Europe.

The book is divided into five sections. The first is an overview of ideas and laws about women during the time period. The main body of the book is divided into three parts corresponding to traditional Western philosophy—the body (women's life-cycle and economic role), the mind (literacy and learning and women's creation of culture), and the spirit (religion and witchcraft). The final chapter discusses gender and power.

A central theme in the book is the discrepancy between what we might expect to happen in early modern Europe and what actually happened. We might expect an expansion of rights, opportunities, and power because this is what traditionally has been described (for men). For women, however, in many instances, roles and opportunities became more restrictive. For instance, in their economic roles, women were increasingly pushed out of craft guilds. Also, there were no women in financial or political affairs of the church. In a third example, middle- and upper-class women could pursue experimental science because little equipment was used. However, their knowledge would not be used professionally; in fact, the field of science increasingly came to be considered male, a field beyond the limited capabilities of women.

Another major theme that emerges in the book is the centrality of marriage, which dominated all roles and activities for women. In the early modern period, women were still seen as dependent on men,

even though increasing numbers of women chose not to marry and to pursue their own interests. Many others pursued interests even if they were married. A third theme is the rather obvious class differences.

Wiesner is thorough in her review of research, and she also suggests areas in which further research will probably reveal new perspectives on women's roles in early modern Europe. One of the major strengths of the book is the bibliographic information. Each chapter ends with an extensive bibliography related to specific points on the topic discussed. For example, in the chapter on the female life-cycle, Wiesner cites sources on early modern family, childhood, sexuality, female homosexuality, ideas of women about their own bodies, motherhood, and widows. This textbook provides plenty of bibliographical material for any student to continue research on topics about women.

Maryland State Department of Education

Diane Nagel Johnson

David Chandler. *On the Napoleonic Wars.* Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1994. Pp. 270. Cloth, \$23.95. ISBN 1-85367-158-4.

Perhaps the greatest ambition of a professional historian is to become so associated with a subject that he or she is instantly recognized as the "leading" authority. Many distinguished scholars are readily known by their work in a certain field—G.R. Elton on the Reformation and C.V. Wedgwood on the English Civil War, to name but two. Similarly, when one thinks of Napoleon, one immediately associates the name David Chandler with him. Chandler is easily identified by his mammoth and weighty tome, *The Campaigns of Napoleon*, certainly the most exhaustive and lengthy study of the erstwhile French Emperor. Chandler has added to his work with the recently published *On the Napoleonic Wars*, a collection of essays that updates and offers new interpretations in many areas of Napoleonic history.

On the Napoleonic Wars covers a wide range of Napoleonic topics, from strictly military questions to more universal historical themes. The first essay, "The Origins of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars," is a concise and useful summation of the many wars fought during the French Revolution and Napoleon's time as ruler of France. This essay also helps to clarify and differentiate the many coalitions of nations arrayed against the French Emperor. From this overview, Chandler proceeds to specific topics. There are essays on several of the largest Napoleonic battles, such as Austerlitz, Borodino, and Marengo. These essays are not mere narratives, however, and Chandler seeks to address historical problems or themes within them. The essay on Marengo, for example, attempts to put to rest the idea that the battle was a brilliant Napoleonic victory; Chandler tries to show that French victory was rather an extreme case of good luck on Napoleon's part.

Chandler also provides an essay on Wellington and his ability as a commander as well as an excellent essay on Napoleon's colorful and intriguing subordinates, the French Marshals. Finally, perhaps the most important theme in the book concerns the personality and ability of Napoleon himself. Chandler does not seek to deify Napoleon or enhance his already bloated historical reputation. Instead, he seeks to interpret Napoleon as a real person and give him credit and criticism as it is deserved. The essays on Borodino and Marengo offer criticism of Napoleon's conduct at these battles. Similarly, Chandler also seeks to demonstrate that Napoleon was not, as is widely believed, a great innovator. Rather, he simply built upon ideas and concepts begun during the French Revolution.

Perhaps the only criticism of Chandler's book can be found in its somewhat "anglocentric" view. As an Oxford graduate and British Army officer, this is somewhat understandable, but Chandler gives far too much attention to the British perspective on the Napoleonic Wars. There are, for example, several essays on Wellington and the tactics of the British Army. Considering that England was Napoleon's most implacable enemy, this is certainly justified, but there are no essays concerning Prussia and Austria, nations that suffered much worse than England at Napoleon's hands. Also, it was these nations, not England, that were the primary continental enemies of Napoleon and fielded the largest armies and fought the biggest battles against the French. Similarly, while there is an essay on the Russian Army, Chandler writes it from the perspective of a General Wilson, who was the British liaison to the Russian Army. The Napoleonic Wars were certainly not simply a case of the English versus the French, and a

more universal perspective might have helped convey how many people and nations were affected by Napoleon's reign. That said, the book is nonetheless an excellent, wide-ranging study of the Napoleonic Wars. Any teacher or scholar at all interested in this monumental historical era would find the book enjoyable. It would be especially useful on the college level, as the essays address many important historical questions from this vital historical era in brief and cogent fashion. The only concern might be that some of the essays focus on technical military questions that would be difficult for students to grasp.

St. John's University

Michael Marino

Keith Robbins. *Churchill*. London & New York: Longman, 1992. Pp. viii, 186. Paper, \$19.50. ISBN 0-582-03136-2.

Kevin Jefferys. *War & Reform: British Politics During the Second World War*. Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1994. Pp. xii, 171. Cloth, \$49.95; ISBN 0-7190-3970-3. Paper, \$18.95; ISBN 0-7190-3971-1.

Half a century after the end of the Second World War and the Labour Party landslide election in the summer of 1945, scholarly interest in Winston Churchill's wartime leadership and British domestic politics during the war has never been greater than it is today. These two books under review offer students and teachers alike different approaches to a better understanding of Great Britain in the twentieth century—the effects of two world wars, the postwar social welfare legislation, diminished great power status, and the climax and decline of the British empire.

Keith Robbins, the author of *The Eclipse of a Great Power: Modern Britain, 1870-1975* (1983), is Principal of St. David's University College, Lampeter, in the University of Wales, and general editor of the Longman *Profiles in Power* series. His brief biographical study of Winston Churchill is a welcome addition to that series. The author succinctly outlines Churchill's career and offers a balanced account of both domestic and foreign policy development and the role Churchill played in them. In the spirit of the series, Robbins seeks to evaluate the role of the individual in historical change, to uncover the nature and source of Churchill's power, and to discover what made possible his often "commanding role in national and world affairs in the first half of the 20th century." More of an interpretative biographical essay than a full-fledged biography and based on printed sources only, the work offers a quick and almost painless way for students to view Churchill's whole career and to grasp the nature of Churchill's personality in just under two hundred pages of reading. Needless to say, a large portion of the text treats Churchill's wartime coalition. The book can serve as a guide to Martin Gilbert's massive, multivolumed Churchill biography and to the more specialized, and often controversial, works of Paul Addison, John Charmley, Andrew Roberts, Norman Rose, and others. While some may question some of Robbins's interpretations, the author succeeds in displaying Churchill's brilliant successes, his failures, and the many apparently contradictory aspects of his complex personality. The work can be used with profit in advanced courses on twentieth-century Britain or in specialized courses on the individual and the nature of political power. The book includes footnotes, a brief bibliography, a chronological table, and an index.

Kevin Jefferys is a Senior Lecturer in Contemporary History at the University of Plymouth, the author of several scholarly works, including *The Churchill Coalition and Wartime Politics, 1941-1945*, the editor of the wartime diaries of James Chuter Ede, and general editor of the Manchester University series *Documents in Contemporary History*. His contribution to that series conforms admirably to its purpose of providing advanced secondary students and university undergraduates a concise overview of the results of specialist research on British domestic politics during the Second World War, a guide through the major historiographical debates, and an introduction to the methodological problems involved in the use and interpretation of the extracts from a wide range of primary sources included in the text. Students will encounter selections from political diaries, private letters, memoirs, official government records, party manifestos, newspaper articles, political cartoons, and evidence of the state of public opinion in wartime Britain. Teachers will find the introductory chapter useful in preparing for courses at almost any level. In only fourteen pages the author lays out the major historical debates about wartime

politics in Britain, the significance of the war years for longer term trends in British society, whether the wartime coalition government committed the country to domestic social reform and the welfare state, and the nature and causes of the Labour landslide in 1945.

The primary source documents with accompanying headnotes and explanatory footnotes are judiciously selected and arranged to illustrate six historical issues. Topics include the fall of Chamberlain's government in May 1940, and the undermining of the prewar Tory pattern of government; the complex political developments behind the scenes of the battle of Britain; the problems of war production and the questions of leadership before the allied victories of late 1942; political pressure for commitment to social and economic reforms from Labour backbenchers and others beginning with the debate over the Beveridge Report at the end of 1942; the last years of the war and the resurfacing of party competition supposedly submerged during the wartime emergency; and the 1945 election culminating in the Conservative party's devastating political defeat and the voters' rejection of Churchill as a postwar political leader.

War and Reform is a model for what a collection of primary sources should be. It can serve as assigned reading in advanced courses on modern Britain; any one of the topics can serve as the basis for written assignments at almost any level. There is a helpful chronology of events, a short guide to further reading, and an index (most unexpected in a collection of primary sources).

The University of Southwestern Louisiana

Robert J. Gentry

Philip Longworth. *The Making of Eastern Europe*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994. Pp. xiv, 320. Paper, \$17.95; ISBN 0-312-12042-7.

As communism came to an end in country after country of Eastern Europe in the second half of 1989, Philip Longworth was already at work on *The Making of Eastern Europe*, which was first issued in 1992. Not a conventional history but "an enquiry into the factors which shaped Eastern Europe's development and have given it the character it has today," the arrangement of the book is anti-chronological, beginning in 1989 and proceeding toward the past.

The disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire under stress of war and force of national self-determination may be seen as the sharp end of an era of, albeit awkward, political and economic order. The Bolshevik displacement of czarist autocracy is seen by many as marking a less sharp break with imperial policies but a sharper swing in society and politics. Philip Longworth contends that the Soviet and kindred regimes of Eastern Europe "may have been less of an aberration from the previous course of the past than is commonly assumed." Characteristics Longworth ascribes to the region before the advent of communism include economic backwardness, bureaucratic rigidity, a disinclination to compromise, and tendencies to both utopianism and romantic excess. These characteristics contributed to a predisposition to "Stalinist methods of industrial generation." They remain in the Eastern Europe of today. Following forty to seventy years, depending upon location, of communist social and economic engineering, "the nations of Eastern Europe remain the poor relations of the Western world."

In addition to both familiar and obscure dynastic and interdynastic politics and warfare that Longworth outlines, he attributes much of Eastern European character to the sixteenth-century emergence of serfdom and the nineteenth-century population explosion that saw a doubling in the last forty years of that century. Communism "solved a deep-seated agrarian problem only to transform the 'sullen, alienated peasantry into a sullen, alienated proletariat.'"

Writing in 1991, Longworth is more prophetic than objective in suggesting that, communism having failed to transform the region, ancient patterns have been re-emerging since 1989. That willingness to go beyond merely describing ancient societal forces to venture prediction of their resurgence makes this book recommended material for the reader hoping to understand current events, even atrocious events in former parts of Yugoslavia; hoping to find Western economic expectations materializing, and hoping

to see Western political idealism taking root. Only on the first of these does Longworth offer the reader any confidence.

History teachers may find here a literarily pleasing study experience for themselves and their students. There are succinct supplementary materials for lectures or assignment.

Somewhat troublesome is the anti-chronological order of the work. Since the book begins at the present and works backward to Constantine, there are irritating instances where the reader encounters terms that are identified and explained only in a latter portion of the book. The index is helpful with this problem.

For those of us less well-traveled in Eastern Europe, geographically or intellectually, this is a fascinating and entertaining survey. Especially refreshing and valuable for class use is the spirit of friendly neutrality in the treatment of communist governments of Eastern Europe in the Cold War era. Do not, however, look for coverage of the Soviet Union itself, though the Soviet role in promoting the events of 1989 in other countries is an interesting note.

Floyd College

George Pullen

David Bushnell and Neill Macaulay. *The Emergence of Latin America in the Nineteenth Century*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. Second edition. Pp. 341. Cloth, \$39.95; ISBN 0-19-508401-2. Paper, \$16.95; ISBN 0-19-508402-0.

Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson. *Colonial Latin America*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. Second edition. Pp. viii, 360. Cloth, \$39.95; ISBN 0-19-508088-2. Paper, \$16.95; ISBN 0-19-508089-0.

Since their appearance on the scene four and six years ago, respectively, Burkholder and Johnson's *Colonial Latin America* and Bushnell and Macaulay's *The Emergence of Latin America in the Nineteenth Century* have been widely adopted for course preparation and classroom use.

The colonial volume, well written and rich in social and cultural history, served well either as a comprehensive primer for graduate students, or as an accessible text for the advanced undergraduate. Its combined use of the chronological and the topical approach made it possible to utilize it in a colonial course using either structure. Its bibliographies also served as a useful source for additional reading assignments and a guide to background reading for the nonspecialist. The nineteenth-century volume, while too detailed and lengthy for most single-semester surveys, offers the comprehensive approach needed for the nineteenth-century segment of courses focusing on the modern period. Its content and bibliographies have served as aids to graduate students and nonspecialists teaching the modern period. For all this, the authors and Oxford University Press, which published both works, are to be commended. I do, however, have some concerns about these second editions.

Teachers who appreciated the considerable strengths of the original editions of these works as texts for classroom use will be pleased to note that both second editions retain the virtues of the original. This is unsurprising since, in fact, each second edition is nearly identical to its original.

In the Burkholder and Johnson volume the format and content of the first edition are retained. The authors keep their mixture of the chronological and the thematic. In fact, they appear to wholly retain their text. All eight chapter headings, all subheadings, and the pagination are identical between the two editions. A spot check indicates that the text is essentially (perhaps totally) unchanged from the earlier edition. Maps, tables, the glossary and index appear identical as well. In the after matters, one new list, "Monarchs of Spain and Portugal," has been added.

The discernible changes in the new edition come in two areas, illustrations and bibliography. Perhaps half of the original illustrations have been replaced or reformatted, although their placement in relation to the text and their themes remain the same. The "Suggestions for Further Reading" at the end of the chapters have been updated to reflect the scholarship of the early 1990s. While the bibliographic update is commendable and useful, the need for the substitutions in illustrations is questionable. It is not clear that either of these additions warranted a new edition only four years after the first. If there are

serious errors or faults in the first edition that have been pointed out to the authors and corrected, the authors do not call attention to them; they do not include an introduction that points out the important changes and improved strengths of the revised work. Thus, these changes appear to represent at most a slight refinement of the first edition. For textbook course adoption, the second edition will not require changes in syllabus page assignments for readings. For scholars and teachers who already own the first edition as a reference, purchase of the second should be of limited utility.

Although the same general approach to revision is reflected in the second edition of the Bushnell and Macaulay work, there is some change in the text. This work includes no charts or illustrations interspersed in the text and only one map, which remains the same. The organization, chapter headings, and pagination remain constant for twelve of the book's thirteen chapters. However, the final subsection of the final chapter, "The Liberal Order: Demise and Rebirth," has been rewritten and doubled in length. This reworked section does a better job of linking the legacies of the nineteenth century to the twentieth century. It discusses in more specific terms than the first edition political and economic assaults on liberalism in the first three quarters of the twentieth century. As well, it discusses the trend toward more democratic regimes and neo-liberal economics in the 1990s. As in the case of the Burkholder and Johnson text, the bibliography has been updated to include more recent works and some older works have been deleted. There are two statistical appendices, and each manifests a slight modification in figures presented. The scope of the chronology is extended to cover from 1880 to 1891, which entails the addition of a few new entries on the list. A spot check of the index indicates that, while the print face appears slightly larger, which changes the pagination moderately, entries seem unchanged. Nouns indexed, subheadings on entries, and page references are unchanged except for materials in chapter 13 and following. The result of these changes is that the total number of pages expands from 335 in the first edition to 341 in the second edition.

Classroom teachers are always interested in having texts that reflect up-to-date information in the field. However, given the costs to consumers involved in bringing out a new edition (the lack of available used copies in the short run), the changes made should be extensive and vital enough to warrant it. This seems to be more true of the Bushnell and Macaulay text than it is of the Burkholder and Johnson one.

Austin College

Victoria H. Cummins

William F. Mugleston & John K. Derden, eds. *Benedict Arnold, Anne Hutchinson, Sam Adams, Witches, and Other Troublemakers: Essays in Early American History*. New York: American Heritage Custom Publishing Group, 1994. Pp. viii, 277. Paper, \$23.75. ISBN 0-8281-0607-X.

Anyone teaching the survey in United States history at the college level knows that the number of textbooks and readers of various kinds for use in that course continues to multiply at an amazing rate; here is another addition to that list, and overall a very good one indeed.

Let's get a few criticisms out of the way first. I am inclined to rather long titles myself, but isn't this one a bit much? More serious than its length, though, is the fact that, while clever, it is really misleading: not descriptive of the contents of the book—if there is a "troublemaker" theme carried throughout, it was not obvious to this reader, and in what sense were these people "troublemakers"? It is not explained here. Numerous mistakes sneaked through the proof-reading process. An index would have been nice. And, more importantly, readers deserve to know where the selections were found. Basically, of the twenty-four items included, we know in only eight cases, those where the editors were apparently obligated to list them for copyright purposes.

Probably it is inevitable that anyone's selections for an anthology will look a bit eccentric at times to any other teacher. Much of it has to do with the way you teach your course. But the selections here are generally very good, sometimes excellent, and should make for a fine supplement to any textbook. Sadly, it seems to be difficult in many college classrooms in America today to get students to read; if you can get your students to read anything, you should be able to get them to read these selections—and think

about them, because they are that kind of material (though some are "popular" and some more traditionally "scholarly").

Mugleston (from Floyd College in Georgia, and the Book Review Editor of this journal) and Derden (from East Georgia College) begin with a brief preface, which, while excellent and on target in its suggestion that today's complex times intensify our need for history, fails to provide any rationale for their approach and specific selections. They divide their material into four parts. Part one, "Colonial America," features essays by important environmental historian Alfred W. Crosby, well-known historians Gary B. Nash (on the African's response to slavery) and John Demos (on witchcraft in Salem and elsewhere), and other selections on indentured servants, John Smith, and Anne Hutchinson.

Part two, "Revolutionary and Early National America," includes the essays on "troublemakers" Sam Adams and Benedict Arnold, Valley Forge, a not-very-effective brief piece by Don Higginbotham taking issue with those who would compare the American Revolution with Vietnam, and essays on the Constitution by Jack N. Rakove and Richard B. Morris.

"Expanding America," the third part, is strong, featuring outstanding essays by Lois W. Banner on the early women's rights movement, Jack Larkin on daily life (students should love reading how Americans then drank much, bathed little, etc.), Stephen B. Oates on Nat Turner, co-editor Mugleston on Tocqueville and Dickens, and David McCullough on Harriet Beecher Stowe; also, a not-quite-so-strong piece on Eli Whitney.

The fourth and final part, "Divided America," begins with C. Vann Woodward's "John Brown's Private War." This reviewer would argue that Woodward gets too bogged down in what are basically side issues—such as Brown's impractical plans, criminal past, and possible insanity—and fails to emphasize adequately the essential point of his vital contribution to the end of the evil of human slavery. Also included are essays by Bruce Catton on common soldiers in the Civil War and on Jefferson Davis (Catton could write, couldn't he?!), Stephen B. Oates on the politics of emancipation, Eric Foner on internal conflict in the Confederacy, and James M. McPherson on how participants on both sides viewed the war. Professors who break their survey course at 1877 might wish for an additional section, or at least an essay or two in this section, on Reconstruction.

If you are looking for a good reader for your survey, consider this one.

Kossuth University (Debrecen, Hungary)

Davis D. Joyce

Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook. *Japan at War: An Oral History*. New York: The New Press, 1992. Pp. 479. Cloth, \$27.50. Paper, \$14.95.

Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook have compiled a gripping and revealing oral history of Japan during World War II. The authors, who interviewed several hundred survivors, selected a broad cross-section of Japanese society, including staff-level military officers, enlisted men, journalists, diplomats, artists, workers, and those barely of school age at the time of the war. The translations are exquisite, allowing the voices to speak for themselves. The result is a poignant, sweeping, and often provocative view of the war from the Japanese perspective. It is oral history at its best; neither the specialist nor general student will be disappointed.

The intensely personal accounts vitalize the chronology and deepen concepts associated with the Pacific War. The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere is seen through the eyes of exuberant schoolchildren tracing its growth from Harbin to Bandung on a classroom map. Journalists celebrate the sending of the manhood of Japan to liberate the "exploited" of Asia; the young are solemnly reminded of their Samurai ancestors and the divinity of His Imperial Highness. In a scary display of power the government squelches "thought criminals" and "complicated intellectuals" who question the geopolitics of expansion and grandiose military plans to subjugate East Asia.

Testimonies relating the horrors of the war are piercing. A young platoon leader attests that the bayoneting of "a living human being" was a standard of training in his command and that massacres of suspect civilians were "routine." American pilots are executed in defiance of international law; Koreans provide both "forced labor" and "comfort women" for the Japanese war machine. A Japanese army doctor describes ghoulish experiments in human vivisection. Okinawan villagers engage in mass suicide to avoid capture by Americans intent, they have been told, on violating them.

The Japanese people do not escape the agony and pathos. Those who experienced the Tokyo fire bombings and the atomic attack on Hiroshima share the ghastly trauma of the moment. Fourth graders harvesting the fields scurry to avoid strafing from American planes. Women widowed by the war lay plans to have their ashes scattered in the Pacific where their pilot-husbands were lost half a century ago. Octogenarian mothers mourn sons who never returned, lighting candles and burning incense before Buddhist altars. Despite the pervasive suffering the acceptance of the surrender was met by disbelief and anger by many who had given so much of themselves and their families for what they considered to be a glorious and just cause.

The commentaries of the authors are succinct, syndetic, and probing. Their salient message: The war for the Japanese was "lost" amidst the facile political and economic transformation of the post-war era and remains, therefore, "unresolved," lacking even a definitive title, and neglected in textbooks and public discourse. They urge that the nagging residue—including "war responsibility"—be "faced and examined in public" in both Japan and the United States.

For secondary social studies in America, *Japan at War* offers a rich and fascinating supplement to the Pacific War presented in American textbooks, from Manchuria to Hiroshima, in a few laconic paragraphs. It is also a lesson in historiography for high school students who can learn how much history is contained in the lives of the people around them.

Kean College of New Jersey

William W. Goetz

David Steigerwald. *The Sixties and the End of Modern America*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995. Pp. vii, 328. Cloth, \$35.00; ISBN 0-312-12303-5. Paper, \$14.50; ISBN 0-312-09007-2.

David Steigerwald is assistant professor of history at The Ohio State University at Marion. He has written a number of articles for scholarly journals and has a forthcoming monograph, *Wilsonian Liberals and the Passing of the Universal Ideal*.

The basic theme of this book is that the sixties marked the passing of U.S. society from the modern to the postmodern age. The author dates the modern era as beginning at the turn of the twentieth century and reflecting the nature of modern industrial capitalism. The mass production in heavy industry and in consumer goods fed on labor from the great cities. Out of these changes come what the author refers to as the administrative state that liberals used to promote social reform at home and to oppose colonialism in foreign affairs.

In the postmodern era technology allowed manufacturers to move plants, automate work, and "deindustrialize." City cores deteriorated as urbanization moved into suburbanization. Modernist artists and intellectuals dissolved old ideals of politics, philosophy, and taste and abolished all traditions. Steigerwald sees the one real "winner" of the sixties as consumer culture. It was adaptable enough to turn many of the sixties' challenges into marketing opportunities. The author acknowledges a political purpose in his hope that "interpreting the decade as neither heavenly nor diabolical can help us break the current social and political stalemate." That's a pretty lofty hope that an academic work will bring reason to extremists in American society, but it makes for interesting reading.

After stating his theme and hopes for the work, Steigerwald then gives us ten chapters analyzing the various aspects of this tumultuous decade. There are two chapters on the Vietnam War and chapters dealing with the civil rights movement, student radicalism, the urban crisis, and crisis of authority, among others. He spends little time on the flower children and rock and roll. The civil rights movement was an "unambiguous" development for good and the Vietnam War appalling to the author.

In politics Steigerwald sees the 1968 defeat of Hubert H. Humphrey marking the end of the New Deal coalition based on the party machines, organized labor, the white working class, and southern conservatives. What emerged is the New Politics of left-leaning civil rights advocates, mainstream women's organizations, academic remnants of the university revolts, and by 1972 gay liberation and environmentalists. The New Deal groups could not relate to the New Politics and the result was demonstrated in McGovern's historic defeat when he captured only Massachusetts and the District of Columbia.

The chapters are nice summaries and analyses of the various movements of the sixties. These chapters could be a good source of lectures on a particular aspect of the decade. There is also a large annotated bibliography organized for each chapter. The paperback version would be worthwhile considering for supplemental reading for a more advanced course.

Southwest State University
(Marshall, MN), Emeritus

David L. Nass

Stephen Skowronek. *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to George Bush*. Cambridge & London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993. Pp. ix, 526. Cloth, \$29.95. ISBN 0-674-68935-6.

Skowronek, a Yale political science professor, has conceived a new framework for examining the leadership of United States presidents in the past. He contends that there have been four different modes of governmental operations in which presidents have had to work. (1) The Patrician mode of 1789-1832 was one in which the characteristic presidential resource was his personal reputation among notables and his typical strategy was to stand as national tribune above faction and interest. (2) In the Partisan mode from 1832 to 1900, party organization and executive patronage constituted the characteristic presidential resource, and the typical strategy was to act as a broker for the national coalition by distributing patronage to party factions and local machines. (3) The Pluralist mode from 1900 to 1972 was a period when the characteristic presidential resource was the expanding executive establishment needed to attend to newly nationalized interests and America's rise to world power; the typical strategy was to bargain with leaders of all institutions and organized interests as the main steward of national policy making. (4) In the Plebiscitary mode, from 1972 to the present, Skowronek maintains that the main resource the president had was his independent political apparatus and mass communication technologies, while the typical strategy was to appeal for political support over the heads of Washington elites directly to the people at large.

It is the author's thesis that it is these changing modes of governmental operations that account for what he sees as recurring patterns in leadership characteristics throughout the history of the presidency. Consequently, he examines in considerable detail the leadership of Presidents Jefferson, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Jackson, Polk, Pierce, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt, Lyndon Johnson, and Jimmy Carter, and winds up with a brief look at Reagan, Bush, and Clinton. His argument is that the presidents that we have seen as important leaders have been Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, FDR, and Reagan, who reconstructed the new modes. Skowronek calls Monroe, Polk, Theodore Roosevelt, LBJ, and, in a way, Bush, "faithful sons," or "articulators," of the new mode. Finally, he argues that presidents who have been seen as poor leaders had the misfortune of presiding at the point of disjunction for the old modes. In this category he discusses the leadership of John Quincy Adams, Franklin Pierce, Herbert Hoover, and Jimmy Carter. In the process of doing this the author comes up with many original insights. Most of them will have to be taken into account by political scientists and historians who study the matter of presidential leadership.

Although his book is not easy to read, once the reader gains an understanding of Skowronek's framework and his thesis, reading is not at all a chore for anyone who has a good knowledge of United States political history. Skowronek knows his history and his broad generalizations about presidential leadership in different eras rest on his mastery of a mass of historical facts. If students or other readers

are not familiar with these facts they will not fully appreciate or comprehend many of the generalizations in this book. Consequently, it is probably not a good book to put in the hands of students in public school, but it will be useful to both undergraduate and graduate students with a professor to aid them in analyzing and comprehending it.

Finally, this is a very important book for political scientists interested in political leadership and an important and useful one for political historians. It may change, in many significant ways, historical interpretations about presidential leadership.

University of North Texas

E. Dale Odom

John Robert Greene. *The Presidency of Gerald R. Ford.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995. Pp. xv, 256. Cloth, \$29.95; ISBN 0-7006-0636-6. Paper, \$15.95; ISBN 0-7006-0639-4.

Burton I. Kaufman. *The Presidency of James Earl Carter, Jr.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995. Pp. ix, 245. Cloth, \$29.95; ISBN 0-7006-0572-X. Paper, \$14.95; ISBN 0-7006-0573-8.

Gerald R. Ford and Jimmy Carter seem fated to be linked together, both in the popular mind and in historical interpretation. Most Americans would probably describe them as decent men who tried their best in difficult times, with modest if any success and few if any lasting accomplishments. In fact, most people might have difficulty differentiating between the two presidents. Oh, the occasional person would mention Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon, and surely Carter's role in brokering a framework for peace in the Middle East would not go entirely unnoticed. Certain details would also stick in the public mind: Ford's occasional gaffes and errant golf balls, Carter's sweater and reputed encounter with a crazed rabbit—and the gray, stricken faces of both men as they ultimately conceded the political defeat that denied them the chance to finish what they had begun.

In a way, these two men shared a single "presidential period" that was squeezed between the intensity and turmoil of the Nixon years and the polarizing impact of the Reagan years. Their seven years in the White House will inevitably be overshadowed by what came before and after; most interpreters will not be able to avoid the temptation to treat them, together, as a mere interlude between two more interesting eras. Unfortunately, in their case the whole will probably be seen as smaller than the sum of the two parts.

From the perspective of these two authors, the conventional view of Ford and Carter is actually pretty close to the truth: They did not succeed, and they left little to show for their work. They *should* be linked together, for both leaders shared an inability to make the political process—virtually unchanged between 1974 and 1980—function successfully. They also shared certain intractable problems—"stagflation," the ups and down of detente with the Russians, energy shortages, the Middle East, and more. Both men, though certainly well-meaning, seemed captive to events, surrounded by ineffectual administrations (to say nothing of a fickle public), unable to develop or articulate clear plans for their administrations, and ultimately unsuited for the presidency—though for somewhat different reasons.

In Ford's case, according to Greene, the problem was that he did not have "an executive mindset" and too often let political expediency rule his decision-making. In addition, the shift of power from the White House to Capitol Hill blunted Ford's ability to govern and to lead. Greene's strengths include his economic and political analysis, but in my opinion he pushes a bit too hard his argument that Congress was "the beneficiary of [a] Power Earthquake." His writing shows tinges of 1960s rhetoric in places, and I believe he gives too much emphasis to the 1975 investigation of the Central Intelligence Agency. Nevertheless, Greene's volume on Ford shows an impressive grasp of its subject and excels at dealing with conflicting or absent historical evidence.

In Carter's case, according to Kaufman, the problem was, ironically, actually the opposite: The President continued to view himself as a political outsider, stubbornly followed his own mind (or sense of what was right), failed to galvanize his own administration, and unwisely held his course in the face

of what most other people would regard as political realities. Carter "never adequately defined a mission for his government, a purpose for the country, and a way to get there." Brick by brick, Kaufman builds the structure that would ultimately be named "Jimmy's Failure." Whereas Greene evinces respect for Ford, but not much more, Kaufman reveals the disappointment in Carter of someone who really did want him to succeed, and thinks he could have succeeded. (Along the way, incidentally, Kaufman makes the interesting observation that Carter was actually closer to being a Progressive than a Populist.)

Greene and Kaufman each had the task, then, of describing a presidency that lacks the natural drama of Roosevelt's New Deal or the lasting legacy of Truman's stewardship. Both authors have overcome this difficulty well: Their books are effectively organized, clearly-written, well-edited, grounded in the historical record (the archival record in particular), and carefully reasoned. Both volumes smoothly place the presidency under discussion into a broad context that is itself capably summarized. Both books are occasionally critical of their subjects without being harsh, although Greene does succumb to second-guessing Ford from time to time. In short, these two volumes in the University of Kansas series were a pleasure to read as reasonably straightforward accounts of the two presidencies between 1974 and 1981.

Both of these books would make fine resources for the classroom, either as supplementary readings in an advanced course in recent American history or the presidency as an institution. Reading them would benefit an instructor who wishes to have capable overviews of the modern presidency as well as of the events of the 1970s. Both have annotated bibliographies that students and instructors alike will find useful.

Kaufman makes the point about Carter's foreign policy that although most Americans "did not fault Carter on any specific issue . . . their overall assessment was negative," and that he was "a prisoner of events he could not control." These themes run through both of these studies, in fact, leaving the reader with the nagging suspicion that *no* president during the late 1970s could have succeeded—in overcoming the public's disillusion and distrust, in countering a newly energized and ornery Congress, and in finessing a series of domestic and foreign shocks that exposed some of America's most severe limitations. Perhaps Ford and Carter were destined to be failures as well as soulmates in the presidential interlude between Nixon and Reagan.

I realize this line of thinking brings me perilously close to wondering if a Reagan Administration or something like it was required to put the country back on track again in its attitude toward the presidency itself, and to prove that the country was indeed governable. Fortunately, the book review editor did not send me the next volume in this series!

National Archives and Records Administration

Donn C. Neal

Michael L. Conniff and Thomas J. Davis. *Africans in The Americas*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994. Pp. xi, 356. Paper, \$23.00.

Africans in The Americas is a useful addition to the growing revisionist literature on the diasporic experience of Africans. The object of the authors is clear and concise, ". . . to convey to the college student and the informed reader the intellectual challenge and excitement of the recent research that has greatly sharpened our understanding of the myriad of ways that the African-American experience has shaped today's world." True to this purpose, the text is the outcome of a collaborative project involving seventeen historians working at the advanced edges of their field.

The text is divided into four parts, with a total of fifteen chapters. Each chapter is written in lucid, concise, and insightful narrative. Part I, "Africa, Europe and the Americas," contains a survey on the dawn of human existence until the fifteenth century, focusing on the great African kingdoms of the Nile valley and the Sudan region. Other chapters in the section examine the economic relationship between Africa and Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and also the Africans' early experiences in the Americas as slaves in an emergent economic system. Part II, "The Slave Trade and Slavery in the Americas" presents detailed accounts of conditions of slavery, accommodation, and resistance in Colonial America, Latin America, Brazil, and the Caribbean. Part III, titled "Ending the Slave Trade and Slavery,"

focuses on the enduring efforts to abolish the iniquitous slave trade, and the enervating struggles of enslaved Africans for freedom and human dignity. The central theme of this section is that formal emancipation in the nineteenth century marked only a tiny step towards full citizenship and equality for blacks. In the four regions surveyed, extralegal barriers not only prevented freed blacks from fully integrating into the socioeconomic system but also fostered racial injustice and inequality.

Part IV, "Africans in the Americas since Abolition," illustrates how abolition of involuntary servitude changed the countenance of the Americas notably by initiating population movements, as freed blacks, determined to improve their life circumstances and conditions, entered both local and long distance migrations. This phenomenon, of which the northward migration of Blacks in the United States from 1910 to 1940 is a paradigmatic case, not only redistributed millions of blacks from rural area to urban area, from island to mainland, but subsequently transformed social attitudes and atmosphere in the recipient regions. A final chapter examines America's fragile ties and relationships with the modern states of Africa.

This text's merits are its multicultural approach and the interconnectedness of its four sections. Indeed, the historical sojourn of black people in the Americas is viewed within the context of global history. For instance, the black diasporic struggle for emancipation, political citizenship, and social equality is delineated within the context of the Age of Revolution—that period from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, when discontented and oppressed people the world over fought to free themselves from inherited socio-political, economic, and intellectual restraints.

An especial strength of the text is that the synthesis of the various parts is well executed. For instance, it is obvious in Part I that economic and not racial considerations underpinned chattel slavery. Yet it is clear in Parts II and III why the opprobrium of racism, which complemented the iniquity of slavery, was necessitated by the need to maintain an ethnocentric social order in a constantly evolving social climate. Additionally, while the text portrays elements of a common legacy vis-a-vis the shared and similar experiences of peoples of African descent, it does not yield to the common albeit false notion of a monolithic experience of Black people. In this respect, Black people are presented as active participants in what anthropologist Van Sertima called the rendezvous of history—that common meeting ground of humanity.

Overall *Africans in the Americas* is a contemporary and vibrant survey. And although its narrow focus—the diasporic experience of blacks—limits its use to essentially a corollary text for Caribbean, Latin American, and African-American history courses, its revisionist interpretations of the diasporic experience in a style that is clear and unpretentious, makes it a text that can appeal to students and instructors alike.

Broward Community College

Cheedy Jaja

Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob. *Telling the Truth About History*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1994, Pp. 322, Cloth, \$25.00; Paper, \$13.95.

This book—part intellectual history, historiographic essay, and salvo in the contemporary culture wars—attempts to rescue history from the clutches of an increasingly fashionable cultural and intellectual relativism. Though perhaps too demanding for most undergraduate students, this important book should be read by every historian whose students have argued that one opinion about the past is pretty much as valid as another, or who has encountered those who dismiss history as a form of literary diversion, the truth of which is only in the eye of the beholder.

No brief review can do justice to the many layers of this timely and thought-provoking book. The authors argue that since the 1960s old intellectual certainties and absolutes have collapsed in the face of a growing skepticism that "any form of knowledge, including history, could be modeled on the scientific method inquiry." While acknowledging the merits of the skeptics' case, in this book the authors successfully reassert history's claims. "We are arguing here [they state] that truths about the past are possible, even if they are not absolute."

Not the least value of *Telling the Truth* is the authors' nuanced and masterful analysis of three centuries of western intellectual history in which they explain how the "heroic science" model of history (i.e. the historian's work is disinterested and value free; the history that is written is objective and "true") emerged out of the Enlightenment, and how that model (dominant until recent decades) fell by the wayside when a new generation of historians came of age in the 1960s.

It was the history profession itself, claim the authors, that opened the door to the skepticism and relativism they are trying to counteract. When history became "democratized" by opening the doors of graduate schools to women, blacks, and the sons and daughters of recent immigrants, the consensus view of the American past was put to the test and found wanting. Broad agreement about the national past was replaced with a medley of competing "truths" written from a variety of ethnic, gender, and class perspectives (the origins of multiculturalism). One result: a growing conviction that writing a universally valid history for an increasingly fragmented nation had become an impossibility.

At the same time the natural sciences' reputation for value-free objectivity was undermined by countless studies (often social histories of science) showing that even scientific knowledge was to some degree socially constructed and contextual. Finally, post-war deconstruction and postmodernism (e.g., Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault) advanced doctrines that challenged the very possibility that scholars could say anything about "the world out there" that was objective in even a limited sense. (A primary value of this book is its brief, coherent summary of postmodernism [of which deconstruction is a part] and its implications for history—an excellent primer, in other words, for those who finished their professional training before postmodernism became a staple of academic life.)

In the face of such intellectual currents, Professors Appleby, Hunt and Jacob attempt, in a balanced and reasonable way, to reassemble Clio's mansion. As beneficiaries of the democratization of education referred to earlier, and as practitioners of the myth-challenging social and intellectual history that has caused so much consternation to cultural conservatives of late, they welcome a certain amount of skepticism as an ally in the search for truth. "Complete skepticism, on the other hand, [they argue] is debilitating, because it casts doubt on the ability to make judgments or draw conclusions." In essence (and this greatly oversimplifies), they argue that even though history can never deal in absolutes historians must continue to trust the reality of the past and its knowability. As for those who claim that all investigations are inherently subjective and self-referential, those critics cannot "imagine the complexity of a human situation in which workable truths appear as the result of messy, ideologically motivated, self-absorbed interventions undertaken by myopic people whose identities may be vastly different from one's own." In other words, as imperfect as an individual's efforts might be, *collectively* we can discover "workable truths" that can satisfy our curiosity about ourselves and our society. And, by reading this book, historians will discover (or rediscover) many workable truths about our common enterprise.

Webster University

Michael J. Salevouris

Robert Blackey, ed. *History Anew: Innovations in the Teaching of History Today*. California State University, Long Beach: The University Press, 1993. Pp. xi, 324. Cloth, \$65.00; ISBN 1-878981-03-X; paper, \$22.50; ISBN 1-878981-04-8.

Bob Blackey served as vice president of the Teaching Division of the American Historical Association from 1992 to 1995. In 1988 he had assumed major responsibility for the "Teaching Innovations" column of *Perspectives*, the AHA's monthly newsletter. In 1993, at the midterm of his tenure as vice president, Bob published *History Anew*. It is an anthology of 43 articles by history educators. 41 of these articles were published under Blackey's aegis in *Perspectives* during the previous period, most of them since 1984.

History Anew is a contribution that has become immediately useful to teaching historians and student teachers. *The American Historical Review*, departing from precedent, published a short but

favorable review in its December 1994 issue. The AHA and the Society for History Education have helped with promotion.

History Anew marks the appearance among academic historians of a fresh awareness of the importance of historical pedagogy for our profession and for the public. A glance at the book's table of contents shows that starting in the 1980s "Teaching Innovations" began to publish articles with an appeal to audiences ranging from secondary school historians to teachers of graduate students. Textbooks, Student Activities, Advanced Placement Teaching, Multimedia Approaches, Quantitative History, World History, Social History, History of Science, Local History, and Teaching Teachers, are among the topics debated and explored.

Blackey has focused attention on the role that the history teacher is called upon to play both in the classroom and in the country's public life. This, be it said, could not have happened without a struggle. Few impresarios have worked harder than Robert Blackey in coaxing and cajoling contributions out of busy writers and teachers. The book, by the same token, salutes teamwork. It drives home the elementary truth that professional growth is stunted and students shortchanged unless teaching historians learn from each other.

Thanks to this book and the "Teaching Innovations" column of which it is an accurate reflection, the American Historical Association is being helped to rediscover an historiographical tradition in this country linking the historian as writer or scholar with the historian as teacher. This tradition had its roots in the progressive movement a century ago, flourished in the New Deal, and was disrupted by the outbreak of World War II and the deep political freeze that followed. Responding originally to the needs of Advanced Placement teachers, the AHA is now beginning to develop perspectives that reach far beyond this starting point and to achieve a new stature as a professional organization.

History Anew is just the tip of the iceberg. Blackey's exploration of the history teacher's world has led him to create fresh themes and formats for his column. The innovative quality of this work has stimulated exchanges of ideas on many fascinating and important topics of concern to a broad historical audience; and the space allotted overall to history education in *Perspectives* has continued to expand impressively since the publication of *History Anew*. With this book and his subsequent work Blackey has laid the basis for an upsurge of creative writing on many aspects of the history teacher's craft.

The time is ripe for the publication of a second volume of *History Anew* to bring together for the benefit of the wider teaching public some of the remarkable articles that have appeared in the "Teaching Innovations" column since 1993.

Independent Scholar

John Anthony Scott

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