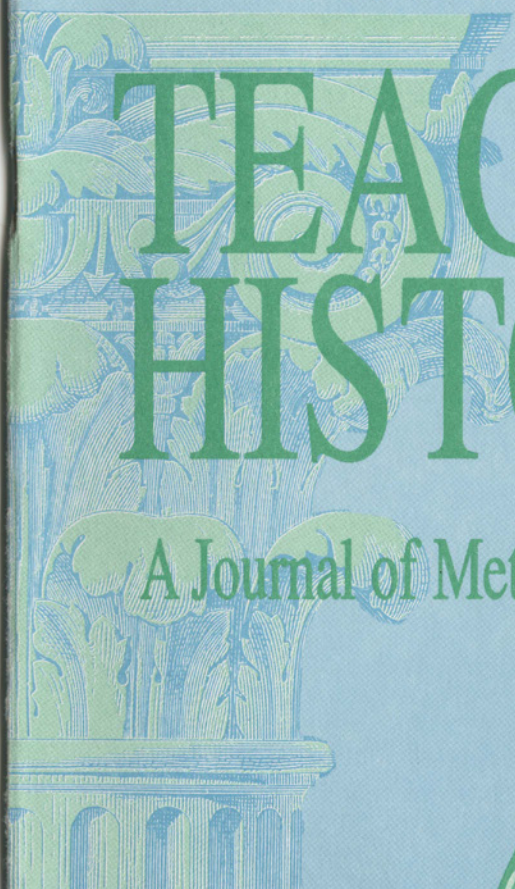
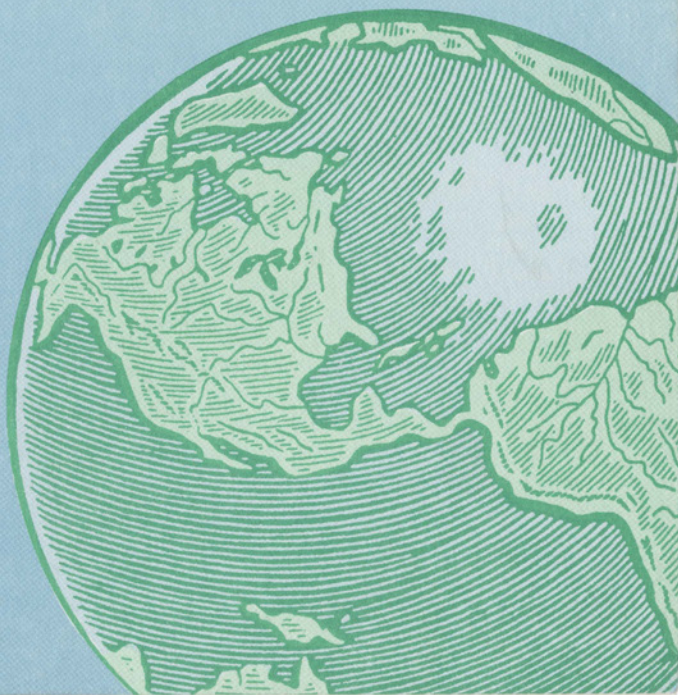


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TEACHING HISTORY

A Journal of Methods

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A JOURNAL OF METHODS

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TEACHING HISTORY IN HISTORICAL TIMES: A SIDE STAGE APPROACH

David S. Trask

Guilford Technical Community College

A paradox confronts professional historians in the United States today—although there is intense interest on the part of the public in matters historical, there is yawning apathy toward history in the college classroom among traditional-aged students. Nationally there has been a series of recent controversies including how to portray the events surrounding the ending of World War II at the Smithsonian Institution and what to teach our children in the wake of the publication of the national history standards by the Gary Nash group at UCLA. In contrast, teaching historians walk into classrooms every day and encounter students who seem largely apathetic to anything that happened longer ago than last weekend. Although frequently willing to offer opinions about past events and actors, these students often seem incapable of analyzing documents, drawing conclusions based on evidence, or constructing a coherent narrative.

Historians traditionally address student apathy by arguing for a reconceptualization of history to include new topics and unrepresented groups in a fresh narrative or, in another favorite solution, to employ technological delivery systems more in tune with student experience. In practice this means the use of more video because it is more like television, or multimedia because it is more like home computers. The conceptualization issue, expressed either as the development of a new national story or as the development of ways to connect student experience with the historical past is also important. There are, however, fundamental questions that logically precede the consideration of course content and modes of instruction: "Where do I stand—intellectually as a historian—when I deal with my students? Where do my students stand—intellectually—when they deal with history?" A thoughtful answer to these questions should help facilitate our ability to connect the past and present of our students.

Historians need to reconsider their classroom presentation of history and adopt a "side stage approach" to their subject matter and their students. This term and its meanings are drawn from the work of Joshua Meyrowitz whose study of the impact of television on American society combines the work of various theorists about media with the insights of sociologist Erving Goffman.¹ The Meyrowitz approach stands in sharp contrast to the more familiar instrumentalist arguments that often dominate discussion

¹Joshua Meyrowitz, *No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behavior* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). All analyses of the media and its general impact on society are drawn from this work unless otherwise noted. All analyses of the specific impacts on historical study are this author's unless otherwise noted.

about the impact of media on society. These latter arguments, for example, focus on the degree to which television programs promote violence with the implicit assumption that a modification of program content will ameliorate the bad impacts of television. The Meyrowitz approach demonstrates ways in which television alters the viewers understanding of the world regardless of specific program content. He argues, along with others, that television and the emerging computer-based technologies, such as multimedia and the Internet, affect our understanding of our world and our place in it. This development affects the preconceptions that students and faculty bring to the classroom and requires us to rethink our presentation of history.

Although the analysis in this essay focuses on ways in which television has changed society's perceptions of the world and thereby undermined the utility and effectiveness of traditional lecture presentations, neither this paper nor Meyrowitz's work is intended as television bashing in the luddite tradition. As Meyrowitz notes, the impact of television on society is broad and includes many developments that analysts and many Americans regard favorably. For example, the success of the civil rights movement in the South and the ending of the war in Vietnam were made possible, in the terminology to be explained in this paper, by exposing the "backstages" of southern race relations and warfare to the general public. The increased diversity of historians and the changing story that we tell can also be tied, at least in part, to the rise of television. Because this essay deals with the impact of television on traditional, widely used modes of instruction, the tenor of the analysis is negative. The solution offered in this essay, the side stage approach, builds on this analysis to argue for classroom presentations that explicitly incorporate the thought processes of the historian into the lecture presentation. In a sense I argue that historians should not conceal the ways in which they made the judgments that led to the particular form of the paper or lecture they present.

The term "side stage" has a theatrical connotation derived from Erving Goffman's analysis of how people present themselves to others and how these presentations change as individuals move from setting to setting. In general, people tailor their performances to their "theater" audiences. For example, what teenagers tell their parents about the party they attended recently is undoubtedly different from what they told their peers. The tone a doctor uses to explain a medical condition to a patient may be very different from how she discusses it with colleagues. Decisions about how to present oneself in different settings are not random. Historians, like other professionals, typically divide their worlds into front stage and back stage regions. The former involves the presentation of the fruits of historical study in an authoritative manner to audiences frequently composed of non-historians. Earlier generations of historians, as experts in historical study and specialists in a particular branch of that work, often presented their conclusions as findings brought down from Mt. Olympus. Theirs was the sort of work labeled "magisterial" by its admirers and seemed incontestable in the minds of the "layperson," a term placed deliberately within quotation marks to underscore the sense

that the front stage is a public area different from the setting where historians do their work of research and analysis.²

In contrast, although differences of interpretation, disputes over evidence, and personalities were a part of the profession in its Olympian past, these aspects of professional life were kept "backstage," out of view of all but those fully initiated to the profession. Students entered this region gradually as they progressed from the general student population to the status of major to graduate student to graduate and on up the ranks of the professoriate, at least according to the assumptions of the old job market. This arrangement separated the products of history—books, articles, lectures—from the process of doing history and made it easier for historians to claim a unique authority for understanding and explaining the nation's past. Historical expertise was a trait of society at large. Television has changed this situation for historians—and for doctors and lawyers and politicians—while it has also changed the relationships between men and women and adults and children.³

In a word television has greatly reduced the size of the backstage area that groups kept for themselves away from the view of outsiders. Through television children have gained more knowledge of the adult world; men's and women's knowledge of each other has been expanded; and much of professional life has been revealed to the "layperson." In each instance the result has been a demystification of the group by undercutting their public, front stage personas with information showing these groups to be less Olympian, more human. The appeal to professional authority is less effective as the professional seems less different from the rest of society. Meyrowitz argues that the ability to separate what different groups in society know is a prerequisite for a hierarchically organized society and "the more a medium of communication tends to merge informational worlds, the more the medium will encourage egalitarian forms of interaction."⁴ This suggests that the problem of the historian's relationship with the public may not simply be, as is often charged, that historians have withdrawn into a world of private jargon and esoteric issues. Instead the problem may be that the public now regards special language and obscure knowledge as average folks playacting as experts and not worthy of the uncritical acceptance of former days.

Although television has made few portrayals of working historians, the public has encountered the back stage regions of enough professionals to generalize those insights and resulting attitudes to a broad range of professionals including ourselves. Public acceptance of attacks on the American Historical Association as elitist are paralleled by growing acceptance of alternative medicine, do-it-yourself divorce kits, and

²Meyrowitz, 46-51.

³See Meyrowitz, Chapter 12, "The Merging of Masculinity and Femininity," and chapter 13, "The Blurring of Childhood and Adulthood."

⁴Meyrowitz, 64.

home schooling. The implications of this public attitude for the historical profession is clearest in judgments made about the past by nonhistorians about the judgments of the historians. From this perspective the paradox of national contention over the nation's history coupled with widespread student apathy appears to be more apparent than real. Behind the *sturm und drang* generated by the national debates over the *Enola Gay* or the UCLA standards, the public attitude toward history frequently boils down to the question of whose judgments about the past will prevail rather than over how to evaluate different judgments or how to ground a judgment in evidence. For the public, history has become an aspect of memory or a by-product of politics rather than a rigorous examination of evidence preparatory to reaching conclusions about the past.⁵

This reality was driven home on a CNN "Crossfire" on the UCLA History Standards with guests Lynne Cheney and Eric Foner. Co-moderator Patrick Buchanan attacked the standards on the basis of the argument that history is the judgment of what is good and bad in the past, praiseworthy and blameworthy. He also asserted that classroom history should convey those judgments. This attitude reaches beyond the political arena. One community college instructor was quoted in a student newspaper as saying it was unfair to ask students to learn in eleven weeks what it took a professor twenty years to write. He tells students, "I've learned to sort out the most important parts and to forget the rest."⁶ This suggests that the nation is returning to the history of Parson Weems, who invented episodes in George Washington's life to illustrate moral points.

This position, whether on CNN or in the classroom, reduces a three dimensional past to a series of one-line judgments comparable to the pronouncements made in the political arena and the radio talk show. This trend toward unsupported judgments is troubling in several ways—(a) there is very little effort, interest, or ability to compare or validate judgments; and (b) this condition encourages an a-historical history that decontextualizes judgments. As long as the knowledge of events and the use of evidence are not prerequisites for making judgments, there is no distinction between historian and "layperson." Students often reduce faculty presentations to the status of one person's opinion that may or may not accord with their own. In general, the nation seems to be at a point where citizens do not have the ability to move beyond the issuing of judgments to an analysis of the history involved in the judgment. Viewed in this way, the attitudes of our students are not that different from the national norm. They seem willing to regard their own judgments as equivalent to those made by instructors, although they lack the ability to show how they reached their own judgment or how to evaluate other judgments beyond an initial impression of whether or not they agree with the idea.

⁵For fuller discussions of the impact of memory on the work of the historian, see the special theme issue, "Memory and American History," *The Journal of American History*, 75 (March, 1989), and also Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), especially Part Four that deals with the period from 1945 to 1990.

⁶"Faculty Spotlight," *GTCC Gazette* (Guilford Technical Community College, Jamestown, NC), 2, No. 5 (February, 1995), 3. I do not have the date of the "Crossfire" program.

This condition, common to society and the classroom, can be identified as one of the by-products of the television age. The view that people have gotten of the back stage activities of doctors or historians has demystified the profession without shedding added light for the public on how these groups did their work. In other words, the awareness of the back stage activities of professionals was not followed by appropriation by the public of the methods of analysis that helped establish the expertise that separated the professional from the rest of society in the first place. This problem is compounded by the realization that television has restructured knowledge in society.

For example, the children of print media (most teachers) can usually point to the specific sources for their knowledge—"I got this idea from that book." Furthermore, in a recent survey many historians reported which books specifically influenced their decision to become historians or their outlook on a particular topic. In contrast, television is a general source of information about the world; all knowledge comes from the same place—the television set—and it comes without footnotes and generally vanishes the moment it reaches our ears. Except for videotaping (which is not that widely used, according to Meyrowitz), the program has no continuing presence that can be referred back to, that can be examined more closely and validated or denied. Furthermore, television emphasizes individual feelings rather than hard information. Meyrowitz argues that, in the presence of a national issue, print media present the analyses of experts while television shows interviews with people who are experiencing the problem. This also prepares our students to think that the most important part of any issue is one's own reaction to it.⁷

Also, as Neal Postman has pointed out, the new conjunction that connects thoughts in the television age is "now, this," which is used by newscasters to tie their stories together. A viewer with a remote control can achieve the same affect by jumping from channel to channel with a logic not apparent to any other viewers in the room. The original context that gave order to a set of facts or events is lost on the television viewer who is left with factoids (a CNN term) to rearrange at will. The conjunction "now, this," according to Postman, actually means "that the world as mapped by the speeded-up electronic media has no order or meaning and is not to be taken seriously."⁸

The impact of television, as outlined above, appears in student work as (a) generalizations without support, (b) "analytical" papers that convey student reactions rather than analysis, (c) inability to present events in a chronological sequence, (d) memorization of groups of facts accompanied by no ability to manipulate these events, (e) resistance to reading.

Before turning to classroom practice, it is important to underscore the role of professional judgment because it lies at the core of the argument for a "side stage"

⁷Meyrowitz, 90.

⁸Neal Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), 99-113. The quotation is on page 99.

approach to history. Some people may object to the focus on "judgment" as the critical distinction separating historians from the general public. First of all, citizens have to be aware of the background to a variety of issues in order to act as informed voters. To question their judgment on historical issues is to question their competence as citizens, although many of us cringe at the judgmentalism of the voters that passes for judgment. In addition, for historians, the proximity of the definitions of "judgment" and "judgmental" may make us uneasy in ways that did not seem to afflict our "Olympian" forebears. What has happened? In Meyrowitz's terminology, historians have lost much of their back stage area because people have seen or assume they know what is there. Therefore, for students who are unaware of the thought processes behind judgments—the rationales for what we do—our judgments can look as arbitrary as those made by students. Insisting for the validity of the teacher's judgments merely makes instructors look arbitrary and judgmental in the eyes of our students. The solution to the problem is to introduce students to the world behind the front stage performance, to acquaint them with the back stage processes that they overlooked as they assumed familiarity with what we do as historians. In short, teachers need to introduce students to elements of the world of the professional historian. This effort should present history as a way of knowing the world, as a process, not simply as a body of data to be memorized. What we need to do in the classroom is not lament the good old days when historians were regarded as Olympians presenting the fruits of their study on a classroom stage (which may be a highly idealized reading of the past). Rather students need to gain an awareness of the nature of historical study and the production of historical knowledge that ought to underlie the judgments they are so willing to make. The side stage perspective gives students insight into these issues without losing some sense of what the product of historical study looks like.

Before the first day of class faculty members should reassess their assumptions about their courses and their students. Do they really teach the course in accordance with their assumptions of what students should gain from historical study? In addition to believing in the value of teaching history as a way of thinking about the world and as a necessary preparation for being an effective citizen, this essay makes other assumptions that underscore the value of a side stage approach.

1. Students will take no history courses beyond the introductory survey. Although the number of history majors may be on the rise at elite colleges and *Workplace 2000*⁹ may state that the study of history will prove valuable in the twenty-first century job market, most students at present seem intent on selecting majors tied to specific career choices. This reality has an important implication for historians. The introductory course must be a complete introduction to the study of history—faculty cannot present a partial package that will attain "completeness" when followed by advanced study. For example, teachers cannot argue that the survey presents the "basic facts" as preparation for

⁹Joseph H. Boyett and Henry P. Conn, *Workplace 2000: The Revolution Reshaping American Business* (New York: "Plume Books," Penguin, 1992), 294-298.

advanced study that will show students the way historians locate, validate, and interpret these facts. This notion that students move along a continuum from facts toward interpretation in higher-level courses breaks down for the average student. The model makes sense to those who took the whole trip, but if our students are only going to sample our subject, they need to take more than just the first steps of the longer journey—they need some idea of the whole venture from the outset.

2. The function of college is to promote thinking rather than learning.¹⁰ Behavioral scientists use the term “learning” within the context of operant conditioning. In this field learning occurs when the test subject learns to produce a particular response in the presence of a particular stimulus. Pavlov’s dog learned to associate the ringing of a bell with food and salivated at the stimulus of the bell without the presence of food. Similarly, students learn to respond “George Washington” when given the stimulus of “who chopped down the cherry tree.” Although this may be a valuable preparation for an appearance on “Jeopardy,” it is not college. Thinking involves solving puzzles where there is no one correct answer and being able to show another person the process of analysis that led to any particular solution.

3. One of the major lessons of graduate school, a back stage activity from the perspective of the student in the survey course, is seldom presented in class. Graduate education usually includes the inculcation of a sense of the limits of a person’s historical expertise on any subject. The historian should possess a clear awareness of the line between what one knows and what one doesn’t know and should have developed the ability to extend the borders of that knowledge. Shouldn’t this aspect of historical study be conveyed to students?

The classroom implementation of a side stage view requires that students receive clear insights into the back stage regions of the historian in order to appreciate more fully what is involved in the preparation of the front stage products of historical study. In the classroom faculty should convey to students some of the perspectives and skills that students as well as society at large failed to appropriate during the process of demystifying the study of history.

1. Place your course and your structuring of the course into larger contexts on the first day of class. In general, faculty are encouraged to spell out to students the course requirements and how the grade will be determined. Historians seldom discuss why they do what they do.

a) Whether the course is western civilization or American history, faculty could discuss the genealogy of the course. For example, why do Americans require western civilization when it is not offered in Europe? Discuss the historical events that prompted Americans to adopt required sequences in U.S. history or western civilization.

¹⁰Jonathan Z. Smith, “Puzzlements,” lecture delivered to Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation/Exxon Corporation Summer Institute, “Interpreting the Humanities,” June, 1986.

b) Students are often unaware that textbooks differ beyond the color of the cover. Faculty should explain what a textbook is, their rationale for using textbooks, and the reasons for selecting the particular one listed in the syllabus.

c) Discuss the mode of testing used in the course and show how it is related to the nature of historical study.

2. Historians should incorporate a side stage approach into their lectures. A front stage lecture contains a series of judgments about past historical actions. For historians listening to historians, this is the moment to evaluate and appreciate historical judgment. Historians carry on a silent dialogue with the presenter. How were conflicting notions of causation of the particular event handled? How did the lecturer deal with alternative theories or conflicting evidence? Were there holes in the argument? Was adequate attention paid to alternative analyses? But for students the lecture may be regarded as a series of arbitrary statements no different from the arbitrary statements they hear in other contexts, be they at the dinner table or the radio talk show. They have learned to devalue expertise because they have seen so many backstages and so many experts in roles where they are merely fellow humans. Consequently, a well-crafted lecture loses a lot of its appeal.

A side stage lecture addresses the thought processes of the historian as part of the presentation of the finished product. Include discussion of the following questions: "How do I know what I know about this subject?" "What were the alternative explanations that I rejected?" "On what basis were they rejected?" For more recent topics include a discussion of the difference between history and memory, which was the distinction used by the Smithsonian Institution to justify scrapping the bulk of the *Enola Gay* exhibition. For years historians have asserted without demonstration that there is a line between history and current events. Select an example from the recent past to show how an actual historical perspective is different from what was known at the time for a specific issue. This can simply be a discussion of evidence that was not available at the time. In general, walk students through the process of making judgments. Show them the difference and have them carry out the assignments that involve this issue: Do not simply assert that there is a difference.

One model of this kind of analysis is Norman Maclean's *Young Men and Fire*, a series of analytical essays in which the author takes the reader through the thought processes undergirding his explanation for the death of thirteen smokejumpers at the Mann Gulch fire in Montana in 1949.¹¹ This tragedy represented the greatest loss of life experienced by U.S. Forest Service smokejumpers, parachuting firefighters who work in the roadless areas of the Rocky Mountains. Each chapter addresses a riddle that Maclean believed had not been adequately addressed in the official investigation. The author talks the reader through his analysis and includes the initial puzzlement over why things happened the way they did, consideration of a range of possible explanations, and the

¹¹Norman Maclean, *Young Men and Fire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

reasons for preferring one explanation over the others. Maclean died before he could transform his study into a traditional historical narrative, an act that would have deprived the reader of the opportunity to see the "back stage" operations of his mind.

3. Introduce the historiography of at least one topic into each course. This can be done by choosing two or more major interpretations and showing how and, where possible, why interpretations have changed over time. This approach should treat points of view as part of a conversation among historians that ought to reveal how historians think and why viewpoints can vary among historians and over time.

4. Use at least one "posthole" or "moment" in each course. A posthole approach devotes a significant portion of the course to the analysis of a single topic from a variety of perspectives usually using primary source materials. Students are assigned a broad range of materials that have to be organized into a coherent treatment by their use of the analytical perspectives of historians. Although the method sacrifices chronological coverage, the loss is more than offset by the increased ability of students to approach topics historically. And learning how to do this will stay with them far longer than any traditional coverage.

5. Use essay exams that require students to think historically and then evaluate their work for its effectiveness in presenting an historical argument. The exam is the students' opportunity to use their side stage insights as the basis for developing their own front stage presentations. Test questions that simply call for the restatement of a series of events reinforce student wisdom that history is "one damn thing after another."

6. Allow students to bring a 5" x 8" card of information to the first test—a cheat sheet, if you will. Have students hand it in with the test. Review the cards to see what students regard as important; the results can be illuminating. Students frequently list the generalizations they remember from class. Do they do this in the apparent hope that this information will stimulate the recall of appropriate supporting examples or do they regard examples as outside the scope of what is important to them in knowing the world? The Meyrowitz critique suggests that the latter statement is the correct analysis. In any case the card gives the instructor insight into student thought processes. In the terminology of this paper, this represents an opportunity for the instructor to see into the student's back stage area.

Classroom experience shows that students are interested in the past even though they may not approach it or comprehend it in the same way that historians do. It is the instructor's task to ensure that student interest in that past is historical. To achieve that goal they need more insight into historical thought processes than are present in the television environment. The side stage approach holds the answer—it is itself a product of the television age.

**"PASS THE POPCORN, PLEASE":
TEACHING WITH DOCUMENTARY MOVIES IN
THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE**

Earl F. Mulderink, III
Southern Utah University

One of the challenges in teaching history today is reaching an audience that is not always interested in the subject matter. The problem is often acute in an introductory class where students may be new to college or with returning students whose purpose for enrolling in the survey simply might be to fulfill requirements. James J. Lorence has commented that "student interest in history at two-year campuses is often superficial and sometimes latent." His assessment applies to many students at all colleges and universities, I fear. Lorence urged, however, that teachers of survey classes use their courses to "ignite that spark of inquiry that will lead new generations to value history as a way of learning vital lessons about ourselves, our society, and our world."¹ Now that sounds like a clarion—and a noble goal.

Lorence addressed every teacher who labors in the introductory history survey course, writing that "central objectives" in the survey "should be the development of critical thinking skills and the powers of analysis." Various methods work in this pursuit, but a favorite one for me is instructional use of documentary movies. My methods are simple and my goals are plain: I require students to watch and write critical reviews of a number of high-quality documentary movies. Through this process, students ideally develop their critical thinking skills, improve their writing abilities, and, quite possibly, strengthen their powers of concentration and imagination. Moreover, the active use of movies in the classroom can reach out to the "The MTV Generation"—represented metaphorically and comically by MTV's own Beavis and Butthead—who are but part of a larger culture in which the average household watches nearly eight hours of television each day. As teachers we must contend with the passivity engendered by television and turn a popular fascination with nonprint media to our own educational purposes. History teachers can use movies to address the "interests, situations, and needs" of today's students while introducing them to the variety and vitality of history.²

¹James J. Lorence, "Teaching History at the Two-Year Institution: A Status Report and View of the Future," *AHA Perspectives* (October 1994), 23-27.

²Some fifteen years ago, at a conference on the teaching of the introductory survey course, the late Warren Susman contended that introductory courses "should be built in large part on an understanding of student interests, situations, and needs." Susman spoke at the Annapolis Conference on the Introductory Survey Course in 1980, reprinted in Warren Susman, "Conclusion," in Kevin Reilly, ed., *The Introductory Survey Course* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1984), 153;

To make movies an integral part of my courses, I try to select provocative, high-quality documentaries and frame them with relevant reading material and discussion. I urge students to view movies as valid sources of information—as "texts" that are as important as textbook and supplementary readings. I explicitly outline my expectations for the reviews, asking students to write short (two to three pages) typewritten reviews that are due in class one week after the movie is shown. Usually I show six or seven documentaries in a fifteen-week semester, but I ask for written reviews of only three of the first four shown in class. I do not want to be overwhelmed with grading, and I do not want students to complain about excessive written work in a three-credit course.

In particular, I ask students to analyze the following aspects of each movie, using an evaluation sheet (example below) to gauge their coverage of each issue:

- themes: major ideas put forth
- sources: academics, personal recollections, narrator
- evidence: basis of factual presentation, interpretation³
- "unusual stuff": catch-all phrase
- success of the movie makers in making their points clear
- broader themes of U.S. history raised (or not) in the movie
- "thumbs up" or "thumbs down" (à la Siskel & Ebert)

In short, this exercise is designed to sharpen students' ability to evaluate nonprint sources of information by asking them to assess each movie from an historian's perspective.⁴

quoted in Lorence, "Teaching History," 27.

³Students appear to have the most difficulty in identifying and analyzing sources and evidence. A useful and brief discussion is found in M. Neil Browne and Stuart M. Keeley, *Asking the Right Questions, A Guide to Critical Thinking*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1994). Briefly, they note that the quality of evidence rests upon its source, and that major sources of evidence include intuition, authorities and testimonials, personal experience, personal observations, case studies and examples, research studies, and analogies. Once sources are known, the quality of evidence can be evaluated. See *ibid.*, 89.

⁴This movie-reviewing exercise is not devoted to film history or criticism, since I am most interested in using documentary movies to help students understand that history is an exercise in interpretation. In a pamphlet that describes how to use films to teach history, John E. O'Connor tends to examine technical issues in analyzing the "visual language" of films. O'Connor summarizes concepts such as the "shot," "scenes," "mise-en-scène"—the things "literally put in the shot to create its narrative content"—and the photographic elements of each shot. See John E. O'Connor, *Teaching History with Film and Television* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1987). A different, textual approach is offered in Robert A. Rosenstone, ed., *Revisioning History: Film and the Construction of a New Past* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), in which thirteen essays center on film as "a unique way of recounting the past" through what is called "New History cinema."

History Movie Review Evaluation Sheet

Name: _____ Grade: _____

OBJECTIVES Excellent Good Fair Poor

Format Followed? _____

Theme(s) Explained? _____

Source(s) Described? _____

Evidence Analyzed? _____

Unusual Stuff? _____

Success Analyzed? _____

Broader Themes? _____

"Thumbs up/down"? _____

Organization _____

Coherence _____

Clarity _____

Length _____

OTHER COMMENTS:

First up on the big screen in my post-Civil War survey course is *Last Stand at Little Big Horn*, a movie that compares and contrasts American Indians' and American whites' views of the infamous battle. The filmmakers successfully assault many myths associated with George Armstrong Custer, highlighting the importance of perspective and the multiplicity of sources available for historical interpretation. Next comes *Mr. Sears' Catalog*, an entertaining documentary that shows the connections between rural and urban culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Moreover, this movie has remarkably good photographic evidence and amusing excerpts from the Sears Catalog itself, punctuated by voiceovers representing Sears and his many customers. Later, students join Bill Moyers in his informative series, "A Walk Through the Twentieth Century." One of the films, *The Twenties*, offers a kaleidoscopic look at a decade shaped by the new forms of mass media, particularly the movies, and this documentary features newsreel clips and other moving images. Moyers, always the smooth narrator and often an omniscient one as well, mixes personalized anecdotes about his family with a challenging narrative thread and poignant interviews of about a dozen disparate people. I follow this with *The Democrat and the Dictator*, an engrossing biographical comparison of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Adolf Hitler. This documentary highlights the value of studying history through biography, and, with its skillful editing of both German and

American films of the 1930s and 1940s, *The Democrat and The Dictator* subtly prods students to consider the power of film as propaganda.⁵

One of the benefits of this ongoing exercise is that when I show other movies later in the semester, students usually have gained confidence and skill in evaluating movies, and we can often have fruitful, lively discussions. I usually show one episode from the thirteen-part series, *Vietnam: A Television History*, and another episode from the superb series on the modern civil rights movement, *Eyes on the Prize*, Parts I and II. In general, I have found that my active use of documentary movies has been an enriching and educational experience for my students. How do I know? They tell me. In addition, I can see their engagement in this learning process through their written work, and I am often surprised at their observations and insights culled from watching a fifty- or sixty-minute movie that flashes past them rather quickly.

Besides benefits that students obtain from critically reviewing movies, we teachers and historians gain something as well. Movies—like all sources of historical knowledge—can help us to reshape course material, to form new opinions, and to reconsider previous interpretations or understandings of the past. As more and more high-quality historical documentaries are churned out by skilled practitioners such as Bill Moyers, Henry Hampton, Ken Burns, Ric Burns, Barbara Koppel, and the independent filmmakers who produce excellent movies for "The American Experience" on PBS, history teachers cannot complain about a dearth of adequate or appropriate nonprint historical sources. We teachers have access to a wealth of sources to help us find and use appropriate movies in our classrooms, ranging from flyers to reviews in professional journals. For example, producers of *Mary Silliman's War* distributed flyers, as did PBS Video to celebrate the seventh season of "*The American Experience*." PBS proclaims a "renewed interest" in using history to teach and of using films to teach history. They write that "educators are being urged to present history as a narrative filled with lively stories, biographies, and historical analysis," with film forming a vital component of that process.⁷

Publishers of college textbooks and our professional journals also ply us with plenty of information about new documentary movies.⁶ Both the *American Historical Review* and the *Journal of American History* have dedicated many pages and much attention to films. In an issue of the *Journal of American History* devoted to "The Practice

⁵For more specific information about each movie, see the short appendix to this essay.

⁶Perhaps the most ambitious effort to link a textbook with nonprint sources is that of the American Social History Project, which has released a number of documentaries on videocassette to accompany their two-volume textbook, *Who Built America?* Most recently, the Project released a 28-minute black and white film entitled *Heaven Will Protect the Working Girl*, a film notable for winning the inaugural John E. O'Connor Film Award sponsored by the American Historical Association. Despite the movie-makers' ambitious efforts, one reviewer, Stephen Cole, complained about the movie's use of two "fictional" participants, the movie's eclectic visual style (such as adding animation to archival photographs), and the film's brevity. Still, Cole's thorough review highlights the seriousness with which historians are analyzing nonprint materials for use in the classroom. See Stephen Cole, review of *Heaven Will Protect the Working Girl*, in *The American Historical Review* (October 1994), 1264-1266.

of American History" (December 1994), no less than twenty-three reviews were offered of recent historically-related movies. Titles included something for nearly every historian's taste or teaching topic, ranging from *Mary Silliman's War* to a spate of films released under the imprint of PBS Video: *The Hunt for Pancho Villa*, *Knute Rockne and His Fighting Irish*, *Amelia Earhart*, *The Great Depression*, *The Hurricane of '38*, and *America and the Holocaust: Deceit and Indifference*.

In that same issue of the *Journal*, reviewer Douglas Flamming critiqued a fourteen-part series of half-hour videos entitled, *The American South Comes of Age*, produced by South Carolina Educational Television. Flamming touches upon broader issues that need to be raised in the context of teaching with movies:

Documentaries of recent history have one major advantage over those that deal with earlier periods: moving pictures. Indeed, moving pictures give documentaries an exceptional heuristic strength. Documentaries on colonial life or the Civil War amount to glamorized lectures. Moving pictures from the past, however, are instructive in a different way. Who would deny that students get a better sense of the historical moment by seeing and hearing, rather than merely reading, Lyndon B. Johnson's speech on the Voting Rights Act?

Flamming warns that "documentaries that resemble TV must be used with care" because "an education based on sound bites (even long ones, carefully presented) is not likely to inspire critical thought and independent analysis."⁷ He reminds us of the pitfalls of relying excessively upon nonprint sources or of presenting them without adequate context or preparation.

In that same issue of the *Journal of American History*, editor David Thelen reported on a wide-ranging survey of professional historians centered on their teaching and scholarly opinions and experiences. Historians were asked questions such as, "What is your favorite movie about the United States?" The favorite movie, named by forty-nine respondents, was *Gone With the Wind*, followed by *Citizen Kane*, *The Grapes of Wrath*, *Glory*, and *Matewan*. This eclectic list also included *Dr. Strangelove* (23), *Little Big Man* (11), *Casablanca*, *Nashville*, and *The Birth of a Nation*, each with nine votes. Only one pure documentary found favor with respondents: *The Civil War*, with seventeen votes. I find this low vote total for *The Civil War* curious and disappointing for a provocative and popular PBS series. I am not sure how to interpret the survey, but it may suggest that historians have not sufficiently investigated or embraced documentary movies.

The *auteur* of the series on the Civil War, documentary filmmaker Ken Burns, offered a number of observations in that same issue of the *Journal of American History*. Burns was frank in addressing professional historians, explaining that his "life's work"

⁷Douglas Flamming, review of *The American South Comes of Age*, in *Journal of American History*, 81 (December 1994), 1394-1396.

is centered on rescuing history from the academy. Professional historians, Burns contended, have "done a terrific job in the last hundred years of murdering our history. . . . many of our most important historians helped kill the general public's appetite for history. That, plus our television culture, the very thing that I do, has gone a long way toward killing our historical curiosity." He went on to say that historical films can, at their best, vividly illustrate historical experiences and ideally provide "an approximation so close that we can begin to feel what it was like back then." Burns complained that professional historians "have failed and lost touch absolutely in the communication of history to the public . . . I would hope that the academy would change course and join a swelling chorus of interest in history for everyone."⁸

Regardless of what one might think of Burns, his movies, or his opinions of historians, his comments do underscore the power and promise of using movies to aid in our teaching of history. After all, good teaching is founded upon good communication. Burns is right to suggest that teachers of history have to find ways to communicate their knowledge of history—and the significance of history—to a larger audience. Movies can draw students into our classes and into an active learning process that explores the meaning and discipline of history.⁹ Moreover, students asked to review nonprint materials might better develop critical thinking and clear writing, thereby sharpening their basic skills that will assist them in all learning endeavors. Movies can also stimulate students' interest in studying history at more advanced levels and in more sophisticated ways, one of the aims in teaching the survey course in the first place.

Students agree that historical documentaries spice up their history courses, and we teachers and historians have to acknowledge the power of movies as teaching tools and as sources of historical knowledge. At their best, historical films can "make the past come alive," as Ken Burns has suggested.¹⁰ Even if we as teachers fall short of attaining that quixotic goal in our survey courses, we should strive to at least enliven the teaching of history. Movies offer both a medium and a message that we teachers need most in introducing today's students to the past.

⁸"The Movie Maker as Historian: Conversations with Ken Burns," interviews by David Thelen, *Journal of American History*, 81 (December 1994), 1031-1050.

⁹We should view historical documentaries as tools and as important sources of historical knowledge. And, if we agree with the American Historical Association's Ad Hoc Committee on Redefining Scholarly Work, we should view instructional use of historical documentaries as linked to the scholarly aims of advancing, integrating, applying, and transforming knowledge. See "Redefining Historical Scholarship: Report of the American Historical Association Ad Hoc Committee on Redefining Scholarly Work," *Perspectives* (March 1994), 19-23.

¹⁰"Movie Maker as Historian," 1031-1050.

SOURCES FOR VIDEOS

PBS Video distributes some of the finest documentaries for instructional uses, including the superb series, *Eyes on the Prize, Part I, America's Civil Rights Years—1954-1965* (1987); *Eyes on the Prize, Part II: America at the Racial Crossroads, 1964-1985* (1990); and *The Civil War* (1990). For more information contact PBS Video, 1320 Braddock Place, Alexandria VA, 22314-1698; or call 800/344-3337, or FAX 703/739-5269. Under the imprint of "The American Experience," PBS has offered documentaries such as *Last Stand at Little Big Horn*, PBS, "The American Experience" (1992), 60 minutes, \$69.95 purchase price, individual order ISBN 0-7936-1115-6, individual order code AMED-506-CR94; and *Mr. Sears' Catalogue*, PBS, "The American Experience" (1989), 60 minutes, \$69.95 purchase price, individual order ISBN 0-7936-1136-9, individual order code AMED-207-CR94.

Bill Moyers has produced many outstanding documentaries, including his acclaimed series, "A Walk Through the 20th Century With Bill Moyers," a 19-part PBS series (1984); \$1,100 purchase price for entire series, series ISBN 1-55951-327-6; series order code AWTB-000-CR94. Individual titles include: *The Twenties*, PBS, "A Walk Through the 20th Century with Bill Moyers," (1984); 60 minutes, \$69.95 purchase price; individual order ISBN 1-55951-344-6, individual order code AWTB-117-CR94; and *The Democrat and the Dictator*, PBS, "A Walk Through the 20th Century With Bill Moyers," (1984), 60 minutes; \$69.95 purchase price, individual order ISBN 1-55951-332-2; individual order code AWTB-105-CR94.

The thirteen-part series, *Vietnam: A Television History*, is distributed by Films for the Humanities & Sciences, P.O. Box 2053, Princeton, NJ 08543-2053, or call 800/257-5126, or FAX 609/275-3767.

TEACHING INDIA AND CHINA IN A WORLD HISTORY CURRICULUM

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Introduction: Significance of India and China in World History

India and China represent two of the core Asian traditions as well as two of the oldest strands in the fabric of world civilizations. Indian and Chinese religions, philosophies, art, literature, technologies, and social systems have played a fundamental role in defining the human heritage and thus merit a careful assessment of their role in the world history curriculum.

Historically, India and China have been seminal influences on many other societies and cultures of Asia. For example, it was in Chinese that the Japanese, the Koreans, and the Vietnamese first learned how to read. Similarly, a large part of Southeast Asia, Sri Lanka, and the Himalayan people were greatly influenced by the Indian culture. And Buddhism, originating from India, became and still remains an important religion in several Asian countries, including China and Japan. India and China have also influenced the making of the modern world. Chinese inventions of the printing press, gun powder, and the compass were crucial to the later success of the Europeans, just as Indian inventions and innovations in science, medicine, and mathematics contributed to the emergence of these disciplines. Indian discovery of zero and developing of numerals, mistakenly referred to as Arabic numerals, revolutionized the mathematical technique of the world. Thus, the study of these key Asian societies is intrinsically important for an understanding of the rest of Asia and is relevant as well to the historical understanding of the emergence of the modern world. From a more contemporary perspective, India and China—with more than forty per cent of the world's population today—represent the two leading developing countries that are of growing attraction to consumer and labor-oriented industries of the West.

The distinctiveness of Indian and Chinese civilizations lies not merely in their antiquity, but, more importantly, in their continuity and diversity. Given the longevity of Indian and Chinese civilizations, teaching about either of these cultures can be both fascinating and frustrating. But more importantly, teaching about India and China in a world history course poses some real challenges. For example, Indian and Chinese traditions are often imaged and imagined in the West as static and unchanging, or as bizarre and mysterious. Thus, the challenge for the teacher is not so much to provide basic knowledge about Indian and Chinese societies, but rather to expose students to the connection between images and realities and to the dynamic pattern of change and continuity characterizing the two civilizations. Then, there is the challenge of time. How much time (measurable in class periods) should be devoted to discussion of Indian and

*Author's Note: An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 1994 World History Conference in Aspen and formed the basis for a program on India and China for school teachers, which was funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities (1995-97).

Chinese societies in a world history survey? Related to the question of time is that of topics: what to discuss and what to discard? Equally important are concerns teachers have about the extent of depth and detail. There is also the difficulty of how to communicate concepts that are completely foreign to many of our students.

While it is difficult to offer precise answers to these questions, it is possible to address them within the specific context of one's overall structure of and approach to the teaching of world history. If the structure entails an integrated approach to world history, for example, it is hard to measure time to be spent on a specific culture in terms of class periods just as the question of depth and detail might be subject to a given level of student-teacher interests in a certain topic. As to facilitating the grasping of unfamiliar concepts by our students, I urge my students to step out of their mental make-up to understand the "different" and the "other" within their proper cultural contexts.

This paper is not meant to be prescriptive. Rather, it suggests inclusion of select themes in teaching India and China as parts of a world history survey. Therefore, the themes selected are not meant to provide a comprehensive coverage of Indian and Chinese histories, but are meant rather to promote understanding of India and China in a comparative and global context. Secondly, I have deliberately avoided the issue of dividing the themes according to any particular periodization. This is because many of us teach the survey over three quarters and others over two semesters. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of India* and *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of China* can be used as works of general reference. These provide precise coverage to selected topics in thematic chronological order. Suggestions for further reading follows each topical essay.

In teaching world history, I emphasize a comparative approach. This format has several advantages. It engages students in a meaningful intellectual exercise to identify the unique qualities characterizing an individual civilization, while allowing them to grasp more effectively the similarities between civilizations. This approach also enables students to focus on larger issues and trends that characterize human history and thus helps broaden their perspectives. In the case of India and China, for example, a comparative analysis can be applied beginning more than three thousand years ago. At the very dawn of history, both evolved as river-based civilizations. Since then, conflict and interaction with the outside world have been a constant refrain in Indian and Chinese histories and have led to major transformations of these societies. However, the two cultures are characterized by strong currents of continuity despite revolutionary changes. For example, in both countries, classics composed originally in ancient times are still read and revered in one version or the other.

As I begin teaching India and China, I usually ask students to share their images of and associations with Indian and Chinese cultures and peoples. This brief but informal discussion helps me to understand how the students have come to acquire their impressions about India and China (e.g., through films, novels, newspapers, television, personal contact, or academic training). I then use this context to discuss the diverse range of scholarly and popular views about Indian and Chinese societies and raise key questions related to the subject, such as the impact of dominant discourse in shaping images about

other cultures by taking the case of the Orientalist discourse (see Edward Said, *Orientalism*) in shaping Western images about the "Orient" and "Orientals."

Land and People

A discussion of "imaginative" geography and culture explicit in terms such as the "Orient" and "Orientals" can be juxtaposed with discussion of the theme, "Land and People of India and China," which examines their specific place in world geography, especially on the Asian land mass, and the impact of geographical features on their cultures. K. N. Chaudhuri's *Asia Before Europe* locates these two countries as two major centers of Asia and provides a global and comparative framework for their study along the Braudel model. A discussion of the physical geography of India and China provides students with a thorough orientation to the similar and unique physical features of the two countries and their impact on the shaping of Indian and Chinese history, whereas a discussion of the cultural geography of India and China exposes students to their numerous languages or dialects as well as to their complex cultural contours. Time permitting, I have students do a short group exercise of mapping India and China, consulting historical atlases and wall maps. I conclude the discussion of this theme by fleshing out the connection between geography and history by examining how, for example, the influence of the Himalayas, rainfall, and the monsoons historically have affected these people; or how the geographical factors had influenced the relative exposure of India to and isolation of China from the outside world via land for many millennia.

The connection between geography and history can be extended further by an examination of the Indus and the Yellow river valley civilizations in the global context of riverine civilizations. This comparative analysis enables students to become aware of the similarities and differences of the two civilizations, keeping in mind the larger global context of river valley civilizations such as the Euphrates-Tigris valleys, the Indus river valley, the Nile river valley, and the Yellow river valley, while appreciating the distinctive and unique characteristics of each. Selected portions from *Harappan Civilization* and *Archeology of Ancient China* can serve as a useful basis for discussion of debates on and sources of information for the pre-history of India and China.

The Emergence and Evolution of Traditions

As the course focus moves from prehistory to an examination of the origins and evolution of ancient traditions, we can revisit India and China—two of the oldest traditions. First of all, in a very brief manner, students can become familiar with the ancient-most sources of Indian and Chinese traditions: the Epic and Vedic Literature and the Chinese Classics. Focusing on selected excerpts drawn from *Sources of Indian Tradition* and *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (a more important source for social history is *Chinese Civilization*), I examine Indian and Chinese cosmology, world view, and the role of ritual and sacrifice in the two traditions. This discussion may be enriched through examples drawn from the *Ramayana* or the *Mahabharata*, in the case of India, and *Li Chi* or *I-Ching*, in the case of China. However, it is important to discuss the above in the context of "Great Traditions" versus "Little Traditions." For an understanding of popular and folk

traditions as "Little Traditions" the above discussion may be balanced with the inclusion of select folktales from India and China. These tales can be readily found in *Folktales in India*, edited by R. K. Ramanujan, and *Chinese Fairy Tales*, edited by Moss Roberts.

The way is now paved for a more specific discussion of the evolution of Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism in India and of Confucianism and Taoism in China. Students need to be warned about the complexity characterizing these traditions, which cannot be comprehended with a linear or causal model. Illustrative of the questions to be examined here are taking Hinduism as a case in point: What is Hinduism? Is it a religion or a philosophy? Is it earthly or metaphysical? Is it spiritual or material? Is it polytheistic or monotheistic? Is it a social practice, or a complete way of life?

The discussion of Buddhism and Jainism can be used to stimulate further comparative and global thinking among students. For example, this discussion might focus on an examination of how Jainism and Buddhism emerged in India in the context of changing socio-religious trends, and why Jainism remained totally inside India, while Buddhism spread outside of the Indian subcontinent. In the same manner, the spread of Buddhism from India to China can be used to illustrate the connectedness of world regions during ancient times. *Ancient India and China* by Liu Xinru is a useful reference on this subject.

A related issue to examine in this context is the relation of these religious systems to Indian and Chinese social structures. Using excerpts from the *Bhagavad Gita* or *Dhammapada* and the *Analects* or *Tao te Ching* will allow us to examine the connections between religious or moral imperatives and the evolving social and political structures in India and China. Here, Hindu sanctions of social behavior, for example, the Four Ends of Man (*Dharma, Artha, Kama, and Moksha*) and the Four Stages of Life (the four *ashrams: Brhmacharya, Grihastha, Vanaprastha, and Sanyasa*) as illustrated in the *Gita*, can be compared to the Buddhist sense of righteousness and *dhamma* or duty, as illustrated in the *Dhammapada* and to the Confucian values of order and harmony explicit in the *Analects* and Taoist way in the *Tao Te Ching*.

In addition to examining the role of social codes and religious sanctions in these societies, it is useful to reflect on the place of individual and family in the larger social and political structures of India and China, especially when the majority of our students are unfamiliar with such issues. The ideas of order and harmony can be examined through a reference to hierarchy and stratification as organizing principles in these societies. Once again, the two societies lend themselves to comparisons: the role of Jainism and Buddhism in shaping the Mauryan state in India and the role of Confucianism in shaping the Han Chinese society. The global theme of the ancient empires can be used as a context to discuss the rise of Magadha and the Mauryan empire in India, and the rise of Changan and the Han empire in China. This theme again is representative of the interconnectedness of history through a discussion of empires and imperial expansion elsewhere in the ancient world.

Later, the discussion of Indian and Chinese empires can be resumed in the context of the Gupta period in India and China's second imperial age during the T'ang to raise another question about how Buddhism posed a challenge to Hindu society in India just as

it did to the Confucian state in China. Use of primary sources, such as Han Yu's *Memorial on Buddhism*, can help underscore the changing intellectual and social trends in T'ang China. In both societies these developments were followed by the revival of classical traditions: the crystallization of Hinduism in the Gupta period and the revival of Confucianism in T'ang China. A visual window on the classical age in India during the Gupta period and on T'ang cosmopolitanism can be provided through a slide presentation on Classical India and a video on T'ang China, *China's Cosmopolitan Age: The Tang*.

India and China's contacts with the Arab world, although starting earlier, became more frequent and significant during the medieval period. The long established trade between the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean became a subject of several notable Arabic works. Arab interest in India and China are also attested to by the records of numerous Arab travelers, ranging from Sulaiman the merchant to the globe trotter Ibn Battuta. In such accounts, Indians were seen as "men unsurpassed in science especially astronomy." The period between 500-800 was indeed remarkable for scientific activity in India, especially in astronomy and mathematics. For a long time it was believed in Europe that the symbol of zero and the decimal system of notations were of Arab origin (thus the misnomer, Arabic numerals), but it is now acknowledged by a majority of scholars that these passed from India to Europe through the Arabs.

Rise and Expansion of Islam in Asia

The rise and expansion of Islam is a major theme for medieval world history. Several important questions can be raised in this context about the advent of Islam in India and China. For example, why was the coming of Islam to India, beyond Sind, delayed until the tenth century? Why did Islam come to India not through Arabia but via the Khyber Pass, a strategic passage for all invaders of India from the northwest? Who were the people who brought Islam to India and China? These questions set a comparative and global context and allow students to grasp what was similar and what was distinctive about the spread of Islam in different parts of the world. In China, there were significant settlements of Muslim traders in South Chinese ports such as Canton, prior to the end of the T'ang era. Many Muslim troops sent by the Caliph to suppress the political rebellions in the region did not return home. They married local women and settled down in northwestern China, thus making Islam a significant minority religion there. In India, on the other hand, the coming of Islam was not only delayed, but it was accompanied by a strong political force that led to centuries of Islamic rule of the Indian subcontinent, and it paved the way for the establishment of the Mughal empire and a distinct Islamic art, architecture, and culture in the subcontinent. Again, *Asia Before Europe* is an insightful and useful scholarly resource for this theme.

While the Islamic onslaught was on the increase in India, a spirit of "refined introspection" characterized Sung China, in sharp contrast to the imperialistic mentality of the earlier Han and T'ang empires. The Sung represented an age of increased urbanism, literacy, artistic refinement, and technological, scientific, and agricultural advancement.

India and China can once again be compared. Both experienced invasions from the northwest between 1000-1300, and both cultures survived these major radical

interventions. Indian response to Islamic intrusion of the subcontinent might be compared to Chinese response to similar invasions, such as that of the Mongols. In India, despite several centuries of Muslim rule, Hinduism remained intact as the majority religion. Islam imbibed many cultural traits of Hinduism and vice-versa. Such an exchange created change as well as synthesis. An analysis of the *Bhakti* and *Sufi* movements, which evolved in India during the medieval period, reveals that these two movements shared a number of common characteristics. For example, both movements aimed at unity with god through personal love and devotion; both challenged the traditional guardians of religion, the *Pundits* and the *Ulema*, and recognized the significance of *guru* or the *pir*; both advocated the use of vernacular languages and appealed to the lower classes; and both led to a fusion of cultures. An examination of selected excerpts from these movements (see *Sources of Indian Tradition*, vol. 1) provides an insightful introduction to these cultural movements. Similarly, in spite of the changes and transformations resulting from the invasions of China, the ancient traditions of Dao, Confucianism, ancestor worship, and so forth continue to characterize Chinese society.

While Buddhism almost disappeared from its original homeland, the early medieval period witnessed its spread throughout central Asia. Tibet, Nepal, China, Korea, Japan, and parts of Southeast Asia. It was also from India that Islam spread to Southeast Asia. Similarly, the Mongol invasions of Euro-Asian land masses led to a wider spread of Chinese accomplishments, especially gunpowder and the compass (although the Arabs had been exposed to these prior to Mongols), which helped Europeans to launch what became known as the Age of Exploration. The "new order" imposed by the Mongols in what became the largest land empire known in history stimulated the transfer of ideas and artistic techniques across Eurasia just as it promoted new patterns of international trade. Abu-Lughod's *Before European Hegemony* is an interesting discussion of the pattern of cultural and commercial interaction across Eurasia during 1250-1350. Once again, the movement of peoples and ideas can be highlighted as ways for understanding the interconnectedness of history.

European Imperialism

The growth of transoceanic trade, with spices as its focus, allows us to understand early encounters between Asians and Europeans. It is important, however, to point out two things in this context. First, the spice trade to Europe was insignificant compared to total Asian trade or for that matter total Asian trade in spices. This trade was dominated by Indians, Arabs, and especially Chinese whose remarkable junks dominated the Indian Ocean. The gradual passing of this trade into the hands of Europeans marked a shift that tipped the balance of power in favor of the rise of the West. It might be useful to take a long pause here to raise the question: How or why did this shift occur? Second, the Europeans were peripheral to Asia prior to the nineteenth century. A more dominant trend prior to European dominance was the revival and reform of tradition in India and China. Excerpts from sections on Social Reform Movements (see *Sources of Indian Tradition* and *Sources of Chinese Tradition*) could be used to assess the nature of indigenous society, culture, and reform on the eve of European political intrusions into India and China. These

excerpts can be used for initiating a discussion of the revival and reform movements in India such as those led by Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanada Sarasvati, Swami Vivekananda, Kesab Chandra Sen, and others. This can help in providing a background using primary source documents for the understanding of the indigenous social reform movements prior to the efforts of the British evangelicals in eradicating "social evils" from the Indian society. Similarly, in the context of China, examination of the "Self-strengthening" movement, the restoration of Confucian morality, and the restructuring of civil and military governance, as well as the refurbishing of the Chinese economy, provide an important background to the understanding of the ensuing interaction between China and the West. For example, Feng Guifen's idea of making oneself strong became the guiding principle of the so-called Self-strengthening movement that promoted, among other things, the notion that China should "learn the superior barbarian techniques to control the barbarians." This discussion is particularly relevant and meaningful for reviewing the images the West had of the non-Western people, and vice-versa, using notions of the "barbaric" and the "civilized."

By and large, India during this time was easily accessible to the Western world, which led to its eventual colonization by the British. But a contrary trend toward isolationism during Manchu China resulted in what is known in the West as the "opening of China" by the western powers. It is, however, important to remember that the Chinese had traded with the world, including Europeans, for a long time. The Opium Wars were fought essentially to change the terms of trade in favor of Britain. (See Chang Hsin-pao, *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War*.) The initial Indian and Chinese encounters with the West can be examined by focusing on early Western missionary and commercial activities in India and China. The film, *Pacific Century: the Two Coasts of China*, can serve as a valuable visual to foster discussion on this and closely related issues of broader significance.

The multifaceted theme of culture and colonialism can be examined further by focusing on the role of technology in shaping this interaction. Selected sections from Headrick's *The Tools of Empire* can be used to demonstrate the subjugation of these highly sophisticated and relatively vast civilizations by numerically insignificant Europeans. For example, it can be interesting to illustrate how the railways in nineteenth-century India and China served as tools of imperialism(s) and as vehicles of social transformations. The contributions of Davis and Sethia in *Railway Imperialism* and select clips from the new BBC series on "Locomotion: The World the Railways Made" might serve as additional resources to facilitate an understanding of this theme. The subsequent discussion might open up questions regarding the nature of imperialism(s), such as: What is meant by cultural and economic imperialisms? Students will find the discussion interesting if the focus can be on more concrete issues rather than simply on the "theories" of imperialism. For example, focusing on the agents, the missionaries, and the trading corporations such as the British East India Company might allow us to illustrate better the *cultural and moral* implications of their activities. The case of opium production in colonial India by the British to promote the illegal opium market in China and to get Chinese tea for the British market, for instance, can help highlight the complex nature of

western imperialism that manifested itself in many different forms in India and China. Two parallel trends—the transformation of traditions, on the one hand, and the complex interaction between the colonizers and the colonized, on the other—might be illustrated through novels and films, such as R. K. Narayan's *The English Teacher* or Orwell's *Burmese Days* in the case of India. A chapter from Spence's *To Change China* and/or the film *Family*, based on Pa chin's novel set in 1910, will serve the purpose of this theme in the case of China.

Nationalism, Revolution, and Independence

The nature and the making of national identities in India and China can be examined in a comparative context of nationalism and independence movements around the world. Selected excerpts from *Sources of Indian Traditions* (Vol 2) and *Chinese Civilizations*, as well as samplings from the literature of national awakening, Premchand's *Selected Short Stories* and stories by Lu Hsun, Ting Ling, and Yu Ta-fu, can be used here and critically integrated with films such as *Bharat Ki Khoj* (literally meaning, search for the Indian nation) and, in the case of China, *The Yellow Earth*. This helps make class lectures and discussions more interesting and lively. Questions such as, why, despite many similar trends, the two countries embarked on different paths in 1947 and 1949, can help students make more lasting connections between the past, future, and present. In groups (based on excerpts from *Sources of Indian Tradition* and *Chinese Civilization*), students might be asked to sketch brief biographical profiles of Gandhi and Mao to accentuate the comparative analysis of the two societies in the context of both the internal traditions and transformations and external forces in the West and the climate of the cold war. Also important to examine, in the context of nationalism, are the rise of two different trends in India and China: the rise of communalism (separate sense of Hindu-Muslim identities) in India and the rise of Communism in China. For example, in the context of nationalism, it might be useful to raise a question, why nationalism in India resulted in the creation of not one but two nations of India and Pakistan. This discussion can be combined with the film, *Division of Hearts*, which brings out the impact of partition of the Indian subcontinent on the ordinary people of India and Pakistan. Other questions to examine might include: What roles did the leaders versus the masses play in the transformation of history and historical change? In discussion of such questions, novels or short stories can be juxtaposed with relevant pieces of scholarly writings and films. For example, a novel by R. K. Narayan, *Waiting for the Mahatma*, might be juxtaposed with Sahid Amin's "Gandhi as Mahatma" in *Selected Subaltern Studies* and the film *Gandhi*. In the same manner, short stories by Lu Xun and Ting Ling provide a good exposure to the village in Chinese society, as a microcosmic phenomenon.

Democracy and Development

In concluding the world history survey one might review Indian and Chinese societies in the larger context of the modern-day-world. The two countries today are leading developing societies. Yet, the political cultures of the two countries are different from one another. India is the largest democracy in the world today, although there are

limits to the functioning of Indian democracy. The rise of fundamentalism, for example, poses a serious challenge to the functioning of Indian democracy. This theme can be fleshed out with Anand Patwardhan's film, *In the Name of God*. China perhaps can be seen as the largest authoritarian state in the world. A longish but highly thought evoking documentary, *The Gateway to Heavenly Peace*, effectively brings out the continuing tensions in China between the forces of authoritarianism and the promoters of democracy and freedom. Yet both China and India, share a common characteristic: the continuing interaction between modernity and tradition. The nature of this interaction, however, can be seen through a more specific examination of current topics—such as the role of authority versus democratic institutions; issues of population and poverty; human rights and human development; and women and children in the two societies—to help bring out differences between the two.

Additional opportunities for gaining exposure to the present-day Indian and Chinese societies might be exploited through Indian and Chinese foods, films, and the like. Reading and discussion of selected portions from *Another India*; *Women, the Family and Peasant Revolution in China*, and *Dharma's Daughters* will allow examination of the role of patriarchy and tradition in shaping women's lives in modern China and India. This discussion might also include insights from the films *Kamla and Raji* (on Indian women) and *Small Happiness* (on Chinese women).

The study of India and China in a world history survey course is not only vital to an understanding of human heritage, but it is also critical for an understanding of the twenty-first-century world.

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THE UTILIZATION OF FOOTNOTES IN HISTORICAL WRITING: A DISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE

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Last year a student in my senior research seminar in history, frustrated by the intricacies of citing sources properly, asked what must be one of the most vexing questions of our discipline. Why not use simpler systems such as in-text citations preferred by other disciplines? Why spend so much time worrying about the natural order of a footnote (or endnote) and the alphabetical order of a bibliography? Why do we need to be so concerned over abbreviations, shortened titles, or the use of *ibid.*, the one remaining Latin abbreviation, when they are not even necessary? And why bother with all this debate over primary and secondary sources and, beyond that, whether they are even good primary or secondary sources? Why judge a paper by all the appendages, such as footnotes, sources, and bibliography, especially when most of the information could be incorporated into the text? And what about Kate Turabian's manual? It's too general, too confusing, and, moreover, the professional journals follow their own guidelines that might agree (or disagree) with Turabian on key points. Does all this prove that history, like its subject matter, really is stodgy, out-of-date, that it is an archaic discipline seeking to impress by accessories rather than persuade by narration?

For those of us who practice the craft as well as the art of historical writing, the answers seem almost implicit in what we do and write. Because we "do" history so much in terms of teaching, writing, reading, and critiquing the works of others, we sometimes are not prepared to answer such basic questions about our discipline. Why does history have such a unique style of footnoting? Perhaps the most frequent justification lies in the fact that, although historians might disagree on some minor points of style and method, there is an overall consistency in citation generally accepted by almost everyone in the discipline. In other words, we all do it, so there you have it. Thus, to displace the current system, you must demonstrate that another works better than the one currently in use. This approach almost always prevails in dealing with undergraduates, probably better with history majors than others, and with graduate students it is foolproof.

Let me suggest that the "we all do it" explanation has more to it than just consistency and initiation into the inner circle of practicing historians. Implicitly understood and accepted by the majority of practicing historians, the citation style masks many of the discipline's hidden secrets. The explanation of these secrets is in itself a footnote to the discipline as a whole.

Historians do not use an in-text or reference style of footnoting because these methods are incompatible with several standards, both major and minor, that define history as a discipline. Moreover, even the currently popular practice of placing footnotes at the end of an essay as endnotes, or in the back of a monograph behind all the chapters, tends to reinforce the same disciplinary standard despite the physical displacement. Whether at the bottom on each page or at the end of a chapter or article, footnotes, in their

relationship to what is being written, help to formulate the critical essay that is the primary genre of the discipline.

Perhaps the most critical standard has to do with how things are proven in history. In math, for example, it is true that two and two equals four, but such truths, while thoroughly predictable, do not necessarily correspond to reality. In other words, two and two must always equal four, but two cups of sugar and two cups of water do not equal four of anything. In this case, math is not real—chemistry is—and math only gives us an approximation of reality. Predictability and correspondence in math are important standards, while reality is secondarily important. In history, truth or predictability is less important than reality, narration and sequencing more significant than truth. Given a set of factors within a problem, a mathematician must come to the same answer every time. Given a set of events and circumstances revolving around a problem in history, historians can come up with any number of plausible conclusions. For example, given the same time frame, events, people, and circumstances, would the American Revolution have occurred in exactly predictable ways? If you know what caused one revolution, can you, in general, predict future revolutions? Of course not. Does this mean that history is less a discipline, less rigorous than math or chemistry? Obviously not. What it does suggest is that whatever constitutes proof in one discipline is not the same in another.

History allows a great deal of contradiction within its burden of proof, math very little to none. While most students in a history class readily would agree with the statement that George Washington was a great president, a majority might question the assertion that he hated women. Little or no proof is required in the former statement, but a great deal is asked in the latter. Exactly how would you prove that Washington was a strident chauvinist? Did Thomas Jefferson have a black mistress named Sally Hemmings? If Jefferson has scores of biographers, if hundreds of researchers had read every scrap of paper he touched and examined all his known correspondence and that of his friends and never come to that conclusion, then why would Fawn Brodie say that he had? Which assertion is the more difficult to prove? Which is more acceptable to most historians? Why? Still, each allows for some contradiction, disputation, difference of opinion, even rebuttal.

How do you make your point? Support your argument? What statements need corroboration? Which ones do not? What kind of verification or documentation is required? The answer is simple. Just look at the footnotes. In a crucial way, footnotes and their placement are central to the considerations of proof and evidential claims within history. At the bottom of a page they combine with text to allow methodology and documentation to blend into an historical argument. Place citations and references within the text itself, and, in a crucial fashion, the burden-of-proof standard within history will be changed. More will be required of narration and methodology, less of sources and documentation. More than it already is, history would become more like a social science, less like *Clio* and the humanities from whence it came.

Journal articles in a great many of the social sciences, such as sociology, psychology, economics, even political science and education, prefer to place references within the text. Any reader of a social science periodical such as *The Journal of Social*

Psychology inevitably will glance over the ubiquitous parenthetical reference to an author and page while concentrating on the text instead. That is as it should be. Quite often the sentences around a citation summarize, analyze, and respond to the reference itself. Paraphrasing an authority thus has a different function in the social sciences. It connotes a familiarity with the literature and with relevant authorities in the field. As such, an in-text citation is marginal to the burden of proof. In the social sciences, the quarrel over proof occurs within the methodology utilized and not in the sources consulted. They simply support the methodology. Generally, articles, essays, and projects within the social sciences concentrate most of their effort on setting up the schemata, defining terms, explaining the mode used, and, most importantly, on showing how data was gathered and analyzed. Internal methodology dominates proof within the social sciences to such an extent that sometimes as much as two-thirds of the content of any project or research is spent explaining the process itself. At the end, there is only a works cited appendage for fuller referrals.

For historians, methodology, while still important, is more implicit, even hidden within the framework of the argument itself. Instead of saying "This is what I am going to do" and "This is how I am going to do it," historians prefer embedded contextual explanations. In other words, narration frequently conceals methodology. Do we tell the reader that this is our model? No. Just read on. Do we define key words and phrases? Yes, but not by saying "A revolution in the eighteenth century meant . . ." The definition will be in the context of the paper itself. Do historians make a point by explaining "I will attempt to prove that . . ." Perhaps, but such connective language generally is not preferred. More appropriately, read a paragraph and relate it to the ones before and after to find out what the point is. How do you prove a point? By your methodology, even if it is not obvious? By referring to other similar studies? Of course not. Look at what you are asserting in relation to your sources. In history, the footnotes and the text together carry the burden of proof in any argument. In some articles and chapters, footnotes have as much if not more space than the text itself. That is as it should be. Does this make history more scientific, more like Ranke and the German positivists wanted? Not really. Even with a great many footnotes and less text, an historian might not have proven anything. In history, the quality of sources counts more than the quantity.

Historians who amass lengthy and tortuous footnotes at the end of every few sentences or paragraph perhaps misconceive what needs to be proven and what does not within the discipline. Sometimes they are just showing off. While it is necessary for any writer to be familiar with the content and latest developments within a field, the obligation to convey information in footnotes is less than that of proving points within an argument. Footnotes that reference and inform, while important to the text, are peripheral to the central relationship between argument and proof. It is here that most of the misapplications occur and where those who criticize the discipline have legitimate complaint.

In history, the burden of proof rests primarily upon the quality of sources. Without primary sources, arguments and theories still can be proven, but not as easily or as convincingly. Moreover, those that can be proven without relying heavily upon primary

sources are less basic to the promotion of the discipline as a whole. In this way, writings that are primarily historiographical in nature or that seek to analyze or synthesize previously published information frequently do not play the same pivotal role within the discipline as do monographs and critical articles that depend upon a close interaction with primary sources. Thus, when footnotes are used to convey a low burden of proof, i.e., for information or as references, primarily in texts and historiographic essays, they often are placed at the end.

Footnotes are also essential to the level of proof within history. If the argument of any paper, article, or monograph is solid or plausible, even with some contradictions and disagreements, what then are the implications, the positive and negative consequences, of acceptance? What has been proven? What can or should be proven? What is the level of proof? In general, historians, as reflected in their research and writing, usually prefer lower and not higher levels of proof. What are the consequences of trying to prove that Jefferson had an African-American mistress? What are the positive and negative implications if the claim can be proven? In many cases, the level of proof does not exist to carry such arguments. Thus, many of the most vexing problems within history simply cannot be proven in one fashion or another. What really started the American Revolution? Did Franklin Roosevelt positively know the Japanese were going to attack Pearl Harbor before they actually did on December 7? Of a certainty, we can never really know.

Given this limitation, historians frequently opt for lower levels of proof. In many cases they succeed only in proving the obvious over and over again. Did Hitler really hate Jews? If we know that Susan B. Anthony opposed extending the right to vote to African-American men, would anyone be surprised to learn that she also had a white upper-class bias against African-American and working-class women? No kidding! Really? Faced with a difficult and tedious burden of proof, historians, through their research and writing, tend toward lower levels of proof. Thus narrative summary and analysis and not sophisticated levels of argumentation such as metaphor and alternative hypotheses dominate historical genres. Few disciplines match history in content summary and explanation. Not surprisingly, the form and types of footnotes utilized in historical writing match the discipline's cognitive emphasis on summarizing and analyzing information. Informational footnotes and references such as "see also" and "for another view" are scattered about in historical writing, but, almost inevitably, attention of readers and critics will be focused upon arcane primary sources and on what has not been consulted. The message is simple and straightforward in historical citation. In a discipline that summarizes and analyzes, more is better. The relationship between text and footnotes accordingly becomes crucial to the burden and level of proof. Faced with a higher burden of proof, historians frequently choose a lower level of proof. In this way, history, as a field, eschews what it perceives to be loose generalizations and the lack of particularity in assertions made in other disciplines for masses of documentary support for statements that say very little. In this way, the discipline tends to be conservative in its claims, painstaking in its research, and analytical in its methodology.

In this way, historians commonly use footnotes to prove too little too much. Frequently, lengthy footnotes that give information and cite additional references are only

marginally necessary to what is being proven. Moreover, many primary sources, the most meaningful ones for historical proof, are unavailable or inaccessible to nearly all readers. The argument is not that references or relevant information is not necessary to the points made in the text or that arcane primary sources should not be utilized, but, more importantly, that they become obstacles and unnecessary restraints within the discipline. Must every journal article associated with the subject being researched be cited to exhibit a familiarity with the field? Should an article be published simply because an historian has used more obscure primary sources than others or because, for prudent reasons, he or she has a near monopoly on a particular group of primary sources? Footnotes should be used to complement and to support textual arguments, not replace them.

The persistent use of footnotes in the form of marginal referencing and unnecessary citation to avoid methodological criticism can cramp the style of historical narration, one of the chief hallmarks of the discipline as a whole. First and foremost, historians are engaged in the task of telling stories grounded in the reality of events. Thus, the art of narration, of piecing together information from the past, is the primary job of the historian. If footnotes and citations take up half a page of text, if they and not the text carry the burden of proof, if they unnecessarily restrain the conclusions of the historian, they could interfere with the narrative itself. Narration and not some ultimate truth should be the major concern of historical writing. Ultimately, historians, unlike scientists and mathematicians, can never know exactly what "the truth" was in recreating past events. In spite of attempts at objectivity and at positivistic accumulations of fact, we can only approximate some aspect of the past. Our attempts at truth and at objectivity as a standard should occur within the text itself, not necessarily in cataloging references and sources or in long lists of footnotes.

Charles Chatfield & Ruzanna Ilukhina, eds. *Peace/Mir: an Anthology of Historic Alternatives to War*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994. Pp. xxvi, 386. Cloth, \$49.50. ISBN 0-8156-2601-0. Paper, \$18.85. ISBN 0-8156-2602-9.

Lawrence Freedman, ed. *War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. Pp. xi, 385. Paper, \$13.95. ISBN 0-19-289254-1.

Does the phrase "war and peace" insinuate that war is usually followed by peace then, perhaps, war again? The first of these two books suggests in its title that peace can be an alternative to war, while the second book suggests that war is a human condition that is unlikely to change in the foreseeable future. Considering the current state of the world . . . , but one can always hope.

Peace/Mir is an interesting anthology put together by Charles Chatfield of Wittenberg University, and Ruzanna Ilukhina, with the history faculty of Moscow University. Chatfield specializes in twentieth-century U.S. and peace and antiwar movements, while Ilukhina is a member of the Institute of Universal History and chief of its working group on the study of the ideas of peace in history. The anthology is sponsored by the Council on Peace Research in the United States and the Russian Academy of Science through its Institute of Universal History. The book contains a wide range of documents, starting with an excerpt from the play *The Peace* by the great Greek dramatist Aristophanes, in which he begs for an end to the Peloponnesian Wars, and ending with the charter of an organization that has yet to provide a substitute for war, the United Nations. The primary emphasis is on western tradition.

The editors have divided *Peace/Mir* into five major sections with each further divided into three to five subsections. The various parts are introduced by finely constructed essays that explain the selections that follow. The first major part, "Premodern Ideas of Peace, 800 B.C.-A.D. 1815," includes selections from Aristotle, Virgil, Horace, the *Bible*, Vladimir II, Monomakh, and Thomas Aquinas, among others. Particularly appropriate is Document 1.36, "Hugo Grotius: The Law of War and Peace." Examples from part two, "Citizen Initiatives and Official Agreements, 1815-1914," are "Margarethe Leonore Selenka: Woman for Peace," "Leo Tolstoy: Civil Disobedience and Nonviolence," and, from The Hague Conference of 1899, "The Rules and Customs of War." Part three, "World War I and Peace, 1914-1919," runs the gamut from "Lenin: From World War to Civil War" to "The Covenant of the League of Nations." Part four, "Alternatives to War 1919-1939," has sections on "The Permanent Court for International Justice," followed by "The League of Nations: Palestine Mandate," and a most interesting letter to Albert Einstein from Sigmund Freud concerning men and war fever. The last part, "World War II and Peace, 1939-1945," includes ideas on pacifism and non-violence, Norman Cousins's wonderful "War is Obsolete" which is part of his essay "Modern Man is Obsolete," and then concludes with the U.N. Charter. All the documents have been selected with great care and the editing is outstanding—everything essential seems to be included and the transitions are unobtrusive.

War is edited by Lawrence Freedman, Professor of War Studies at King's College, London. Some of his more recent publications include *The Atlas of Global Strategy* and *The Price of Peace*. The selections start in the early nineteenth century and emphasize the Anglo-Saxon tradition, although important Asians such as General Giap are discussed. The author suggests three primary reasons for another study on war: Understanding is required to reduce the probability of war, little in human affairs can be understood without reference to war, and wars are interesting.

War is divided into seven major sections, each introduced by a well-crafted essay. The first, "Experiences," is made up of personal accounts such as "A Royal Naval Rating at the Battle of Trafalgar, 1805" and Davidson Loehr's "The Fresh Kill, Vietnam 1967." The remaining topics are (2) "The Causes of War," (3) "War and the Military Establishment," (4) "The Ethics of War," (5) "Strategy," (6) "Total War and the Great Powers," and (7) "Limited War and Developing Countries." Parts two through seven are edited selections by classic writers such as von Clausewitz, Baron de Jomini, Giulio Douhet, and the elder von Moltke, and essays by more modern authorities such as Michael Howard, Stanley Karnow, V. D. Sokolovsky (an authority on Soviet strategy), and Liddell Hart. Particularly interesting is the section by Saul B. Cohen in which he discusses the geopolitical ideas of Halford MacKinder and Albrecht

Haushofer. No book of this type would be complete without something from Mao Tse-tung: Selections from his "Military Principles" are an excellent choice.

Both books would benefit from a list of the abbreviations used and their meanings, but this is a minor complaint. *War* has an excellent brief biographical sketch of each of its contributors; the same on the authors the editors have selected would help the reader of *Peace/Mir*. But far outweighing any complaints are the consistently outstanding introductory essays, the care with which the selections were chosen, and the excellent editing of those selections. This is true of both *Peace/Mir* and *War*.

Classroom use is an interesting question. *War* could be used with benefit in almost any college course on military history. It would be particularly valuable in R.O.T.C. *Peace/Mir* would be beneficial in courses that look at international institutions and could be used by high school and college students participating in the model U.N. But professors should be hesitant about requiring either because many of the entries would not be usable in class; however, price is not a hindrance as is frequently the case. Perhaps including both on a suggested reading list would be more appropriate. Teachers in classes that discuss the subject matter covered will find both books beneficial and, certainly, all college libraries should include the two works. On a personal level, both are enjoyable as well as educational.

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Martin D. W. Jones. *The Counter Reformation: Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pp. 171. Paper, \$14.95. ISBN 0-521-43993-0.

Although this excellent book, which is part of the "Cambridge Topics in History" series, is designed to prepare student for Advanced Level Examinations in Britain, it can be used with profit in American universities for upper-level Reformation courses. Martin Jones supplements his clear and succinct narrative with a wide variety of primary sources, many of which have been translated for this book. He also provides thoughtful examination-based questions to help students evaluate the historical evidence. The author has produced a good synthesis of the latest scholarship on the Counter Reformation. Chapters 1 and 2 look at late medieval religious beliefs and institutions. The explanation of justification is not as clear as that presented by Alistair E. McGrath, for example, in his *Reformation Thought*; however, Jones weaves together some complex historical threads with style and grace. He shows that in addition to ignorance and corruption, there was a growing personal piety and structural reform. We must "discard traditional notions of a church in terminal decline." The agenda for Catholic reform was not dictated by the Reformation.

Chapter 3 examines the initial institutional moves against Luther and assesses why most of those efforts failed to halt the Reformation. Jones rightly points out that one of the problems was that the Catholic Church itself lacked a defined salvation theology vis à vis Luther's justification by faith alone. "Doctrine, not abuses, was the real issue between Protestants and Catholics." Chapter 4 focuses on the Council of Trent, so crucial to the story of the Counter Reformation. Its doctrinal definitions, together with its condemnation of heresy and the passage of laws to revitalize the priesthood, were fundamental in Catholic recovery. Although "Trent replaced medieval doctrinal pluralism with doctrinal certainties," were the new reform laws enforced? Jones looks at the effectiveness of the reform decrees in Chapters 5 to 7. Chapter 5 deals with structural reform, specifically the development of a papal monarchy and the creation of new religious orders with their emphasis on "activism in grace." The sections on St. Francis de Sales and St. Teresa of Avila are particularly useful, incorporating frontier research on feminist religious history.

Chapter 6 discusses the progress of reform among clergy and people in the parishes by looking at the quality of the clergy (with France as a case study), the use of art in the service of religion, the role of charitable activities, and the question of morality, especially sexual behavior. Chapter 7 looks at the impact of reform by focusing on three problems: popular religion, the decline of the witchcraze, and slavery in Spanish America. These two chapters, which reflect the research of Jean Delumeau and John

Bossy, concentrate on the interaction of religion and society at the local level rather than on institutional developments. In Chapter 8, Jones concludes with an examination of the traditional Counter Reformation: Spain, the role of the Jesuits, and the ambiguous behavior of Philip II.

Ball State University

John E. Weakland

Ian Machin. *Disraeli*. London & New York: Longman, 1995. Pp. viii, 194. Paper, \$14.95. ISBN 0-582-09805-X.

Ian Machin, Professor of British History at the University of Dundee, offers his discerning study of Benjamin Disraeli, earl of Beaconsfield. There are no astonishing novelties, but Machin has written a political biography that bears the mark of solid research and consistency of treatment. Thus we receive the view of Disraeli as a pragmatist reveling to climb the greasy pole of politics, and who is no ideologue where flexibility and ambition will better assure the rise to power and the keeping of it. Machin blends chronology and commentary in a tight but lucid narrative, an excellent treatment of Disraeli and his career. Among the virtues of Machin's work are its witness to the powers of compromise and alliance in politics, and instruction by inference about the system of constitutional government in Britain during a time of transformation. Thus it should be a lesson to Americans who grouse about the frustrations of Congressional politics, wherein posturing, compromise, and alliance count among our legacies from the British tradition.

Machin presents a clear, detailed accounting of Disraeli's political ascent. Disraeli showed practical ability in the early 1850s when, in order to help his Conservative party keep power, and recognizing the trend of sentiment against Protectionism, he forsook that policy that formerly had assisted his rise to power. But he had decided that in order to mount a continual opposition he must support policies that had some chance of success. Disraeli had the burning desire for political office, and loved argument and oppositional politics. He enjoyed the game of politics consummately, and because he persisted, in his full maturity he enjoyed paramount influence in Britain and Europe during the Turkish crisis and its resolution in the Berlin Congress of July 1878.

The book is the product of careful, extended research that has been balanced with the insight gained from teaching and discussion. As an aid to teaching, it has several strong points: *Disraeli* is a sound model for writing, combining chronological narrative with interpretation at each of Disraeli's career markers, and close on the facts of that career. Machin's concluding analysis merges the prominent strands of prior discussion and reiterates his evaluation of Disraeli as a political genius. The fine scholar's aids include end-of-chapter notes (with frequent brief comments) and a convenient chronology. Also, a bibliographical essay enhances comprehension of the political and social background of Disraeli's life and the abundant literature interpreting his political and literary careers.

The polished but dense writing seems best suited to upper-level undergraduates and graduate students. However, the insights and research information should make the reading worthwhile for any student or teacher. I can confidently recommend this affordable, handy volume in the "Profiles in Power" series.

East Texas Baptist University

Jerry L. Summers

Bronislaw Geremek. *Poverty: A History*. Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994. Pp. xi, 273. Cloth \$39.95; ISBN 0-631-15425-6.

Werner Rosener. *The Peasantry of Europe*. Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994. Pp. xiv, 235. Cloth \$24.95; ISBN 0-631-17503-2.

These two books are similar in several ways. Besides being published by Blackwell, both are by distinguished Central European scholars; both follow scholarly conventions but are aimed at a wider audience; both are surveys with a strong socio-economic theme; both are concise (under 300 pages).

Rosener's book is part of "The Making of Europe" series, which treats broad topics (Europe and the Sea, the Culture of Food, the European City, etc.) Cutting across standard historical classifications. Geremek's book is not part of the series, but is written with a similar charge in focus and approach. There are advantages and disadvantages to the concise chronological tour of a big topic, and some of the strengths and weaknesses of both books are similar. For one thing, they concentrate on the Medieval to Enlightenment eras and have little to say directly about the present (or even recent past). Examples are sketched quickly, explored for relevance, and then the author must move on. There is little in either book to entice the lover of narrative or of vivid historical personalities. They deal with monograph research in a scholarly manner, yet they aim to sum up a topic for an audience wider than just scholars.

Both start with excellent short introductions about what poverty and the European peasantry are. For my taste, Rosener writes a more fluid, accessible prose (or has a better translator). His book also features some helpful illustrations, maps, and charts. His index is better subtitled for easier access to material. But he is handicapped by the nature of his topic. The peasantry in Europe shrinks more and more as the author gets toward the present. The topic, you might say, dwindles away, and perhaps that accounts for the book getting less interesting as it goes on. Perhaps it is just a matter of different interests in the subject matter. But for a survey, I'd like to know more about the peasant revolts of Germany, England, and Russia and less about what gets a whole chapter: "Population, Settlement and Agrarian Zones in Early Modern Times."

I didn't find, either, that Rosener's discussion of the divergence of peasant life in Eastern and Western Europe after the Black Death added much to the standard textbook account I use with honors high school students. His concluding thought is homilistic: "Despite all the challenges they have faced, Europe's peasants have always managed to safeguard their way of life. Perhaps this fact allows us to be optimistic about the future." All in all, this is certainly a useful but not terribly interesting book.

By contrast, the further Geremek gets, the more connections between past and present (and possibly future) become stronger. He doesn't force the issue, but similarities in approaches to dealing with poverty in different places and in different historical eras emerge naturally in his discussions. His search for the reasons that efforts to eradicate or ameliorate poverty met with success or failure cut across cultural, geographical, and chronological barriers in a casually impressive way. His book is harder to approach, but more rewarding for teachers and public policy makers. There's lots to dig into here for serious college undergraduates too.

A leading figure in the Solidarity movement, Geremek has held prestigious teaching posts in Poland and France. His approach reflects a sound knowledge of the latest Western intellectual currents coupled with a more traditional Marxist concern with how theory and practice interact. Geremek moves in a straightforward chronological design: the middle ages, Reformation, Enlightenment. Because he has a solid grasp of detail and background, he can sketch them quickly, and lets comparisons arise naturally in a reader's mind. Some of his in-depth examples appear repetitious, but that is more a matter of pattern than the author's failure. His research is close and subtle, though at times I'm not sure he doesn't make too much out of small, tantalizing pieces of a picture, e.g. thirteenth-century documents that indicate a greater parceling out of land among various family members. He melds studies from Venice, Ypres, and Paris that combine acute social, cultural, economic, political, psychological, physiological, and ecological factors.

He indicates early that a study of poverty requires such disparate facets, and he is able to provide them. His main focus is not, as he explains, a history of poverty as such, but a history of attitudes towards poverty and how that influences social actions about it. He tersely suggests that the change from society seeing poverty as a necessary part of a moral landscape that was shaped by a religious world view to seeing the impoverished as inefficient at best and dangerous at worst started early in European history. His crypto-Marxian (Foucaultian?) conclusion is that "it was through attempts to combat vagrancy and ward off the social dangers of poverty that the state apparatus of repression was shaped." He does not follow up this conclusion with any doctrinaire hypothesis, though. It is, for him, just where his evidence takes him, and he is scrupulous about searching out and thinking about that evidence. The structure of his thinking is clear from chapter titles: e.g. Reformation and Repression: the 1520's, Prisons of Enlightenment.

It is easier to skim the surface of Rosener's book, and a teacher looking for some background for class lectures will be rewarded. A teacher or advanced student trying to come to grips with a persistent historical dilemma, though, will find more to contemplate in Geremek's.

Thayer Academy

Dan Levinson

Peter Duignan & L. H. Gann. *The United States and the New Europe, 1945-1993*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994. Pp. x, 357. Paper, \$21.95. ISBN 1-55786-519-1.

Peter Duignan and L. H. Gann, both Senior Fellows at the Hoover Institute, have published numerous works concerning African, Hispanic, and European studies. This work represents historical coverage far greater than the title indicates. To prepare the reader, the authors include a concise and very readable introduction that is a synopsis of American-European relations from colonization of the New World until 1945. The bulk of the work is dedicated to support of the thesis: "European and American interests coincide in the long run."

Decidedly optimistic and "Atlanticist," the authors examine NATO, the European Community, and the disintegration of the Soviet Union and its satellites in Eastern Europe. Contending that the post-World War II world order still dominates, the authors believe the United States must maintain its "special relationship" with Great Britain. The future of Europe, however, is Germany. The authors address the subliminal fear that Germany might once again dominate Europe. The "key to the continent," now tied to the reunification of Western and Eastern Germany, will require attention for at least ten years. Duignan and Gann predict that by the time reunification is completed, Germany will be bound to the European supranational organizations.

France, despite the policies of de Gaulle and disagreement with the United States on the Middle Eastern question, remains a cooperative player. Mitterand saw the United States as a "counterweight both against Germany within the EC, and against the former Soviet Union within the global context." Various members of the smaller European states, Holland, Belgium, Norway, and Denmark, have served as the precursors of Europe's economic union as well as founding members of NATO. None of these countries, though sporadic in their support of the United States, has ever relinquished ties to the United States. Postwar Italy, beset by terrorism and communist influence, eventually developed a "special relationship" with the West as the United States supplied massive aid and Italy became a geographically significant member of NATO. Spain, initially encumbered with the dictatorship of Franco, came closer to the West through a defense agreement and economic aid. By the mid-1970s, both Spain and Portugal had established parliamentary government and became part of the western coalition.

The chapters concerning the transformation of East-Central Europe and the Soviet Union are clear, interesting, and well-placed within the context of the years between 1945 and 1985. Beginning with the breakdown of the Warsaw Pact, the authors methodically describe the domino effect of the Soviet Union's decision to cease military support to their governments in Central and Eastern Europe. The 1989

revolutions began in the northern tier of states (Poland, Hungary, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia) and culminated with East Germany's decision to reunify on October 3, 1990. The southern tier states, more divided ethnically, and the poorest of satellite countries, have found transition replete with economic crises, internal wars, and the difficulty of the transformation from socialism to free enterprise. This is problematic not only because of the sheer magnitude of the task but also because the "Old Guard" has remained in many of those areas split by ethnic and religious diversity.

The breakdown of the Soviet Union was essentially completed by the end of 1991. Comprised of 15 republics, the multi-ethnic population experienced ethnic and religious xenophobia, disgust with the domination of the "nomenklatura," the failures of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, the retreat from the adulation of Leninist teachings, a foreign debt of more than \$70 billion, and the central government's refusal or inability to create a new currency. Yeltsin's initial attempts to privatize industry occurred as breadlines, energy breakdowns, and anxiety increased. The authors see the role of the United States as one of providing machinery, free trade, and technical and financial assistance to dismantle nuclear weapons.

The last three chapters are primarily policy recommendations. For example, the U.S. should promote both the EC and NATO in Europe. The U.S. should not repeat its mistake after World War II, by precipitously pulling troops out of Europe. Internally, the U.S. must stress police protection and reform of the educational system and reduction of the budget deficit. Above all, the U.S. should maintain cooperation with the Atlantic Alliance.

For the most part, this work is well-organized but suffers from the standard problem of chronology versus topical arrangement. For example, the EC, though discussed early in the book, is not clearly described until later chapters. Repetition is fairly common. And the problems of writing recent history are apparent; most of the references are secondary sources. Given the above weaknesses, this remains an excellent reference for an upper-level undergraduate course either in post-1945 Europe or American-European relations. The first five chapters are excellent. They can provide material for lectures on the history of the transatlantic alliance. Because the last three chapters are policy statements, they might best be omitted if used in an undergraduate course. Alternatively, these policy statements could serve well as a vehicle for graduate students to exercise analytical skills. Obvious supplemental work would include research of the events that have occurred since the writing of this book at the end of 1992.

University of North Texas

Sandra Weldin

George J. Sanchez. *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945.* New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. Pp. 367. Cloth, \$35.00. ISBN 0-19-506990-0.

Becoming Mexican American explores the complex process by which Mexican immigrants and their American-born children living in Los Angeles between 1900 and 1945 were transformed from being Mexicans living in the United States to ethnically and culturally identifying themselves as Mexican Americans. Following an introduction that reviews the historiography, both sociological and historical, on cultural adaptation and ethnic identity of immigrants in general and Mexicans in particular, Sanchez divides his study into four major parts.

Part one, "Crossing Borders," identifies first the changing economic and social factors within Mexico from 1900 to 1920 and then the "attracting" factors in the United States, most often economic opportunity, even if low paying or migratory jobs, that encouraged Mexican peasants and even the middle class to leave first their villages and then their country during this period. The author also sets the Mexican experience in perspective to other immigrant experiences, noting the circular pattern of migration that marked Mexican immigrants as it often did other groups. Although most Mexicans entered through Texas, the search for employment led many of these immigrants eventually to settle in Los Angeles. While students may find the use of graphs, tables, and percentages less than fascinating, this section, like others

in the book, offers instructors the opportunity to have their students evaluate whether the statistical evidence really supports the author's conclusions.

Part Two, "Divided Loyalties," discusses the early efforts by both American institutions and the Mexican consulate to "Americanize" Mexican immigrants living in Los Angeles in the 1920s. The American efforts, most often progressive and Protestant in orientation, centered on morals, habits, and English literacy, while the Mexican efforts approached the immigrant as a returning resource who could bring back skills to a developing Mexico. Leaders of both campaigns were middle class and progressive in attitude, and viewed the Mexican immigrant as a class apart since he was most often a blue collar and even more likely a migratory worker. Sanchez concludes that this separation of the classes tended to negate the efforts of both the American and Mexican establishments in truly reaching the majority of Mexicans in Los Angeles in much more than encouraging English literacy. One important exception to this limitation is that the Mexican effort to inspire loyalty to Mexico encouraged an ethnic pride that fostered a growing identity as an ethnic American.

Parts Three and Four, "Shifting Homelands" and "Ambivalent Americanism," contain the real essence of Sanchez's conclusions about why and how Mexicans became Mexican Americans. "Shifting Homelands" examines the changes in religious practices, entertainment, work, and family life that truly moved Mexicans in Los Angeles away from their Mexican orientation towards roots in American cultural patterns that they uniquely adapted to their Mexican heritage. This section could be particularly useful for instructional purposes as it demonstrates the use of diverse data such as popular music and radio advertisements to support some of the author's conclusions. His argument, that as immigrants married, children were born here, home ownership increased in the barrios, and more and more Mexicans in Los Angeles were coming to see themselves as Mexican Americans, seems well founded and logical.

It is in his final major division, "Ambivalent Americanism," that Sanchez presents his most important conclusions. Despite important changes earlier, it was the 1930s, Sanchez argues, that solidified the transformation of Mexicans into Mexican Americans in Los Angeles. The impact of economic hard times, Mexican and American efforts at repatriation, New Deal policies that encouraged labor organization, in which many second-generation Chicanos participated, and the coming of age of American-born children created a population that saw themselves as an ethnic group within America. It is not surprising that Sanchez identifies the rise of the second generation as the crucial turning point for the creation of a new identity as Mexican Americans.

A scholarly work using a multi-disciplinary approach, this book is sometimes repetitive, and at times reveals its origins as a doctoral dissertation. As such, many undergraduates would find *Becoming Mexican American* difficult reading. Far too limited in scope to be used as a text, even in a course centering on Chicano history, the book does have several strengths if used for students in upper-level or graduate history courses.

First, it is an excellent example of a case study approach to exploring broader historical questions through an in-depth analysis of what is either an identifiably representative or unique example. Second, the book and its topic are interesting, and Sanchez has done an admirable job of research. As well, he has included comparisons with other Chicano centers, such as San Antonio, and other immigrant groups. Finally, for either teachers or students the 48 pages of endnotes and 23 pages of bibliography offer a gold mine of sources and ideas for the study of Mexican Americans beyond the confines of Los Angeles. However, it seems likely that Sanchez's book will be more valuable to instructors than to students.

Kennesaw State University

Kay A. Reeve

Colin G. Calloway, ed. *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America*. Boston & New York: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1994. Pp. xv, 208. Cloth, \$35.00; ISBN 0-312-10281-X. Paper, \$6.50; ISBN 0-312-08350-5.

Alden T. Vaughn. *Roots of American Racism: Essays on the Colonial Experience*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Pp. xv, 350. Cloth, \$55.00; ISBN 0-19-508686-4. Paper, \$19.95; ISBN 0-19-508687-2.

Everybody knows that cultural conflict shaped the history of early America, which the experiences of enslaved Africans and dispossessed natives underscore. Since not all historians approach the experiences of these groups with depth, balance, and perspective, classroom texts represent critical vehicles for a journey through the multi-dimensional narrative of the past. By exploring paths of ethnicity during America's formative years, Alden T. Vaughn and Colin G. Calloway illuminate valuable points of departure for teaching about America's racial history.

Appropriate as a supplemental text for an upper-division history course, Vaughn's revised collection of previously published essays demonstrates attitudes about race that developed from and in relation to the colonial experience. Instead of a synthesis, though, this work offers a somewhat fragmented narrative with careful analysis of, first, changing perceptions, second, race and culture in early Virginia, and finally, Puritans and Indians. The interaction between diverse groups of cultural outsiders denotes the general concern of this book, while the theme centers upon mental images that Euro-Americans fashioned to politically and socially organize their new world order.

Vaughn's work is nothing if not evenhanded when dealing with such encounters of a cultural kind—particularly in regard to Indian peoples. While he clarifies the relative power of various tribal groups in relation to the English colonizers, Vaughn also uncovers a complex range of experiences in these times. Anglo-American perceptions assumed fundamental similarities with the indigenous people based upon pigment, appearance, intelligence, and educability, or so a strict reading of Puritan texts suggests to Vaughn. In fact, much of the negative racial stereotype of natives developed much later, perhaps at the time of the American revolution. The violence and vitriol of the Pequot War of 1637 manifested not so much a consequence of racism but rather a misunderstanding of intentions. Although this conclusion remains debatable, Vaughn praises the assessment offered by historian Al Cave's recent scholarship about the sources of cultural conflict in New England.

On African-Americans, the chapter entitled, "The Origins Debate," offers a persuasive evaluation of a central historiographical paradox, that is, the mutual reinforcement of slavery and racism. The discussion summarizes the chicken-and-egg debate that Winthrop Jordan confronted in *White Man's Burden*, of course, which offers an introductory assessment of the power of racism that remains as engaging as ever. In reference to persons of African descent, Vaughn concludes that the idea of races—imprecisely defined and inconsistently applied—arrived with the first English settlers and, therefore, an ideology of racism "has blighted American society since its beginnings and continues to cloud its present and future."

Critiquing this ideology of racism as it persists today often requires exposure to distant primary source materials, and *The World Turned Upside Down* initiates a dialogue with various Indian voices who responded to the conquest of America by Europeans. According to Calloway, Indian speakers "employed rich images and powerful metaphors, but they also used humor, irony, sarcasm, anger, body language, and dramatic silences." Since the introductions to each of the document selections effectively synthesize recent scholarship of James Merrell, Richard White, and Daniel Richter, the readings authenticate not only the tenacity of oral cultures but also the strategies of Indian resistance.

Best of all, Calloway's method of interplay between narrative and text links the reader to the past by focusing upon the actual words—or at least the tenuous record of them—that remains. While inclusive of common themes, the selections reveal that Indian peoples responded in diverse, even active, ways to conquest. Consider the words of two Mohegan speakers, Henry Quaquaquid and Robert Ashpo, who participated in the creation of their own people's histories that echo still: "The times are exceedingly

altered, yea the times are turned upside down; or rather we have changed the good times, chiefly by the help of the white people." When European world views undermined indigenous cultural identities, the Indians constructed their own intricate narratives filled with a tragic sense of myth and loss.

The complex interactions between and among natives, Africans, and Europeans crystallize in these works by Vaughn and Calloway, but effective use of these texts through classroom inquiry and discussion demands that an instructor act as a courageous guide. While *The Roots of American Racism* represents a work most appropriate for upper-division courses, a bold teacher of history might consider its use in a survey course as a model for the state of the art on the history of racial misunderstandings. On the other hand, undergraduates exposed to *The World Turned Upside Down* should find the book not only of value for a required reading text but also a journey into the art of doing history. Although history teachers certainly know the significance of the kind of culture clash that marked early America, the chorus of Indian voices and the awareness of racial paradoxes without a doubt will enrich students who engage the attitudes of the present.

Columbia College (Missouri)

Brad Lookingbill

Lorett Treese. *Valley Forge: Making and Remaking a National Symbol*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995. Pp. xv, 269. Cloth, \$45.00; ISBN 0-271-01402-4. Paper, \$15.95; ISBN 0-271-01403-2.

"But what can I *do* with a history major?" History teachers familiar with that student query have probably responded at some point by discussing the options of agency and museum work. Yet many attempts to draw an interested student into the topic are challenged by a dearth of good studies that explore the ongoing work of site and artifact interpretation.

Lorett Treese seeks to fill that gap with this entertaining study of the numerous private organizations and public agencies that have played a role in presenting the Valley Forge park in eastern Pennsylvania to the public in the last century. Not intended as a history of the six-month Continental army encampment in the winter of 1777-1778, the book instead relates a dozen critical episodes in the succession of groups and individuals who have sought to explain, affirm, interpret, exploit, or impose direction upon both the Valley Forge site and its potential meanings for contemporary Americans.

Treese's stories reveal a tangled network that included an Episcopal parish and its museum, several self-legitimizing antiquarian and patriotic societies, a free enterprise foundation, and three very different park commissions. Her best story is that of the Rev. W. Herbert Burk and his campaigns to place the Washington Memorial Chapel at the spiritual and conceptual center of the park after World War One, illustrating in the process the adaptive reuse of the image of Washington at prayer. Some other sections are less revealing, particularly those dealing with the Pennsylvania park commissioners who controlled much of the site before 1976, but who often fail to emerge as either distinct personalities or clear spokesmen for their planning solutions, land acquisition, building reconstruction, or monument placement.

Teachers can use this book in classes that explore the paths that led to modern interpretive methods and approaches in public history. It's a good introduction to antiquarian piety, amateur enthusiasm, Williamsburg high-style devotees, recreational land use advocates, and political showcasing. The tales of Boy Scout encampments and the assessments of Presidential addresses at (and about) Valley Forge are particularly telling. Again and again we encounter a lack of interest in either archaeological or documentary research by so many of the past participants, all too eager to make the past conform to their own norms and visions.

Yet Treese is careful to note the difficulties of obtaining reliable evidence from the records of a temporary encampment in a troubled Revolutionary winter. Her text and bibliography identify the studies undertaken since the National Park Service assumed responsibility in 1976, and offer the basis for student projects to review and assess current work. In short, the book is an open-ended volume that can introduce

students to both the bad and the good in site and artifact interpretation, while providing a model for those who are interested in bringing public history to the classroom.

Butler University

George W. Geib

Harry M. Ward. *The American Revolution: Nationhood Achieved, 1763-1788*. New York: St. Martin's 1995. Pp. xiv, 432. Cloth, \$35.00. ISBN 0-312-12259-4.

Stephen Conway. *The War of American Independence, 1775-1783*. London & New York: Edward Arnold, 1995. Pp. xvi, 280. Cloth, \$49.95. ISBN 0-340-62520-1. Paper, \$16.95. ISBN 0-340-57626-x.

These two broad synthetic works have much in common. Both seek to explain why thirteen of Britain's North American colonies rebelled, how they won their independence, and what that struggle meant for the participants. Both authors rely most heavily on secondary sources published over the last half century for analysis. Each quotes from the papers of participants to convey a sense of their feelings concerning the war and their part in it. Finally, both of the books are well written, and the authors render sound assessments of controversial individuals and events.

Harry M. Ward's scope is the broader. He devotes a quarter of *The American Revolution* to the coming of the war, half to the military conflict, including a section on "The Underside of the Revolution," and the final 25 percent to the Confederation period and the framing and ratification of the Constitution. He finds the roots of rebellion in the development of an "American" culture separate from that of Great Britain and in the removal of the French threat from Canada, which came at a time when the transitional state of the British economy, unstable political system, and society rendered Great Britain unable to respond intelligently to events in America. Once the Stamp Act crisis of 1765 "clarified the American and British positions on the constitutional relationship between the mother country and the colonies," war became virtually inevitable, though neither side realized it for a decade.

In his account of the war, Ward, the author of biographies of American generals George Woodon and Adam Stephen, skillfully weaves quotations from participants with assessments by historians into a clear and interesting narrative. He judges American leaders, especially Washington, to have usually employed good judgment and British leaders to have failed to understand the war and to have missed opportunities that possibly could have altered its outcome. Ward's social history of the Revolution makes extensive use of recent works on local, labor, ethnic, and women's history to discuss the effects of the war on common soldiers and non-combatants, Loyalists, and everyday life on the home front.

After surveying the structure of state governments and the Continental Congress, he concludes that the government under the Articles of Confederation might have been able to continue serving the U.S. had "its shortcomings been correctable by an adequate amending process." Ward devotes the final section of the book to drafting and ratification of the Constitution.

Ward's many quotations from historians and extensive bibliography make this an excellent tool for accessing the sources upon which it is based. Sections of the book could be assigned to advanced high school students with great profit.

Conway's military history of *The War of American Independence* places the conflict in an international context. He contends it was the first modern war because it was the war in which ideology became a force for political polarization and a people's war with an intensity more akin to the French Revolution and wars of the twentieth century than to the limited wars of previous eras. He also notes how the desire of "British commanders in America . . . to knock out the Continental army" marked a significant departure from the limited war paradigm of previous conflicts. Looking for indications of modernism led Conway to the conclusion that Britain called into service a greater proportion of her manpower than in previous conflicts and devoted a higher percentage of her national income (12.5%) to the war than she did to the French Revolutionary War (10.4%) a decade later. The composition of the American army, with conscripts drawn from across class lines, and the opening of its officer corps to non-aristocrats (sometimes

drawn from the ranks!) made the war "not the last of the old order [as Piers Mackesy and others argue], but the first of the new." Thus this volume is an excellent choice to launch the publisher's "Modern Wars" series.

Conway demonstrates that the belligerents were more evenly matched than often depicted, even after other European powers entered the war against Britain. While those nations possessed larger populations, armies, and navies, Britain continued to have the stronger economy and a tax and credit system better able to sustain a world-wide struggle. Indeed, Conway devotes much more attention to operations in the Caribbean, Africa, and India than does Ward.

Historians have long assessed the impact of the War on American society, but Conway extends this analysis to Great Britain where the "war's impact was both wide-ranging and profound." It significantly altered the economy, made it possible for Ireland to gain greater independence, led to pressure for constitutional reform, and increased the popularity of the monarchy. The most important change it wrought in warfare in general involved not technology or tactics, but society: It was the first "people's war" not just for the new United States but also for Britain where "a higher proportion of Britons and Irishmen served as soldiers, sailors, militiamen or volunteers than in any previous war." It was for them, as well as for Americans "an ideological struggle . . . that divided the political nation." These conclusions, amply supported by extensive quotations from common people and leaders on both sides, make Conway's book a worthy companion to Piers Mackesy's *The War for America 1775-1783* (1964), the standard study of strategy and operations from the British perspective.

The books nicely complement one another. Very few quotations from primary sources appear in these works. Each offers clues to the authors' respective nationality—Ward's is betrayed, in one example, by his locating Whitehaven, the town raided by John Paul Jones, in Scotland rather than in England, an error few Britons would make, and Conway's by his reference to Jones as a privateer (Jones never held a letter of marque), rather than as a commissioned officer in the Continental Navy. Minor cavils aside, both books can be read for profit to refresh one's memory of events as a summary of the historiography concerning the war, and even to gain apt quotations for supporting points made in the classroom.

Texas A & M University

James C. Bradford

Stanley Harrold. *The Abolitionists and the South, 1831-1861*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995. Pp. x, 245. Cloth, \$29.95. ISBN 0-8131-1906-5.

Doubtless the abolitionists and the antislavery crusade before the Civil War represented the most important reform movement in nineteenth-century American history. Harrold's work focuses on Southern abolitionists, the men and women who were the most outspoken opponents of slavery, and on their efforts within the South to do away with the institution altogether. In so doing, he attempts to modify some current considerations and understandings of abolitionists and of their role in the coming of the Civil War. To him, two older perceptions that need revision stand out, the first that, after Nat Turner's revolt in 1831, abolitionists pulled out of the South and concentrated on immediatism, mainly through Garrison's propaganda efforts, and, lastly, that they little influenced the coming sectional struggle, especially in the South.

Emphasizing analysis and not chronological summary, Harrold's chapters do not add up to a history of the antislavery movement or of abolitionists in the South. Instead, a topical arrangement points to the integration of southern antislavery efforts within northern immediatism during the three decades before the Civil War. Purely historiographical, his first chapter reviews the historical literature related to the antislavery movement. The next two highlight images of southern white emancipators and black liberators, thereby establishing that northern abolitionists did not lose interest in noninterventional efforts in the South after 1831 and, further, that blacks and whites in the South worked together in an effort that helped shape a more aggressive northern abolitionist reform culture as well. The last chapters dramatize

John Brown's forerunners, the personal price of preaching an abolitionist gospel in the South, attempts at forming antislavery colonies in the upper South, and, finally, from their direct role in the coming of the Civil War through efforts at transforming the South after the war, the legacy of abolitionist efforts in the South.

For those of us who teach history almost daily and who read *Teaching History*, what significance should be given to the additive or analytical value of Harrold's work? What does it add to the body of knowledge already extant on abolitionists and the South? In terms of analysis, what new insights or perceptions are revealed? Not much. Seemingly a reworked doctoral dissertation, the scholarly appendages, i.e., footnotes, bibliography, notes, indexes, and introduction, constitute more than thirty percent of the book. While a useful reference and bibliographical source on the antislavery movement, *Abolitionists and the South* should appeal more to upper-division research and seminar courses and less to general surveys of American history. Indeed, any teacher would do well to presuppose a class or a student's knowledge and familiarity with abolitionism before assigning Harrold's work. Moreover, even the recommendation of using *Abolitionists and the South* perhaps should carry with it the thought that its chief usage lies in its research and bibliographical value. Well written and graceful in style, broad-brushed and compendious in scope, Harrold's *Abolitionists and the South* has only marginal value for most teachers of history.

University of North Carolina - Asheville

Milton Ready

Craig M. Cameron. *American Samurai: Myth, Imagination, and the Conduct of Battle in the First Marine Division, 1941-1951*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. Pp. xiii, 320. Cloth, \$24.95.

Craig M. Cameron of the History Department of Old Dominion University has written an interesting, readable, well-researched examination of the First Marine Division during the Second World War, the occupation of northern China, and the Korean War. As a former Marine himself, Cameron brings a unique insight into this study of "the myth and imagination" displayed by the members of the First Marine Division. Indeed, Cameron sees some close similarities between the Japanese samurai and their Marine counterparts. His book explores how a variety of institutional and cultural ideas influenced and continues to influence the Marine Corps.

American Samurai is not a traditional work of military history, but rather an examination of the myths and the responses of First Division Marines to the stresses of war and organizational limits. This book grew out of Cameron's doctoral thesis and postdoctoral research. It reflects the wealth of primary materials available from the U.S. Army Military History Institute, the U.S. Naval Historical Center, and the U.S. Marine Corps Historical Center. *American Samurai* incorporates original material, oral histories, and combat art into an insightful, imaginative examination of the myth and magic of the Marine Corps.

Cameron starts his investigation into the "myth and imagination" of the Marine Corps in World War I and the banana wars of the inter-war period. The Marine Corps's search for a role in the American defense establishment and its cultivation of heroic images is described in a light that may ruffle feathers, but it does bring out a new view of this period and how the Marine Corps fit into it. Truly this book is not another description of battles and campaigns, but rather a description of the ideological background and influences that affected the wartime performance of individual Marines on the battlefield.

Cameron sees a close relationship between the integration of new weapons and technology, such as the flame thrower, and the "ideological fanaticism cultivated as part of the institutional self-image" of the Marine Corps. He traces how the Marines of the First Marine Division "harnessed their warrior ethos to this new technology and merged it with their individual identity as Marines." These images of total war, according to Cameron, would affect the conduct of operations for the next thirty years. While the author

does not treat the war in Vietnam in any great degree, he obviously sees its seeds in the "political and military hubris of the Pacific War inappropriately applied to the cold war."

In the closing pages of *American Samurai*, the author describes how the late Lewis B. Puller, Jr., the son of Chesty Puller, literally and figuratively embodied the heritage and carried the imagery of the Pacific War into the Vietnam war. In much the same manner, John Wayne's 1949 portrayal of Sergeant Stryker in "Sands of Iwo Jima" still exercises an extraordinary influence on yesterday's and today's Marines. Cameron sees the Marines of the Pacific war reflected in the present day Corps and in the society that it represents.

American Samurai presents an unsettling and unusual view of the Marine Corps by one of its own. It is worthwhile reading because of its analytical and introspective approach to the philosophical and psychological underpinnings of one of America's institutions. Cameron incorporates recent "gender studies" into his examination of marines and how they are made. Given the preoccupation of today's society with gender awareness and political correctness, this book should be read to become familiar with an unusual view of Marine Corps history posed by an academic with a Marine background. College instructors and professors might find this work useful in an upper-level history or humanities course. Readers should be forewarned that knowledge of American history and, in particular, familiarity with the history of World War II, are essential to a full understanding of this unique work.

Tidewater Community College

John R. Moore

Roger Streitmatter. *Raising Her Voice: African-American Women Journalists Who Changed History.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994. Pp. viii, 208. Cloth, \$30.00; paper, \$14.95.

Margaret Ripley Wolfe. *Daughters of Canaan: A Saga of Southern Women.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995. Pp. xii, 281. Cloth, \$37.50; paper, \$14.95.

The continuing growth and success of Women's history has seen the field move into two areas that heretofore have been seriously neglected: that of African American women and black and white women of the South. Given that African American history on the one hand and the history of women on the other has pretty much succeeded in changing the ways in which we teach, interpret, and write about American history, it seems more than overdue that specific studies of southern women, in general, and African American women, in particular, be undertaken in these scholarly areas.

Certainly the study of African American women has been neglected, giving rise to justified criticism that Women's history is more the story of discrimination against middle class white women than the stories of women who are black, poor white, or working class who live in the North and the South, the Midwest, or the West. These stories have, over the past two decades, finally begun to be recovered, recounted, and integrated into the main narrative of American history.

The two books under review here approach both black women's history and southern women's history in different ways that are, nonetheless, beneficial for use in the classroom as well as in scholarship. Streitmatter's book tackles the question of why we have not heard about the courageous and valiant efforts of African American female journalists. His goal, as was the goal of earlier black historians, is to provide a contributionist history that informs the audience of the work and importance of black women in the specific arena of newspaper reportage. Within this book we are introduced to eleven African American women throughout the course of American/African American history who were either reporters or newspaper publishers. Of the eleven, only two may be well known to students (or even educated laypersons): Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Charlayne Hunter-Gault. Those who teach African American history courses may have had occasion to use Mary Ann Shadd Cary when discussing prominent figures during the abolitionist period of antebellum America. But the remaining eight women are probably little known if heard of at all.

Streitmatter has done an excellent job of providing the necessary biographical material on these women with richly annotated footnotes that can be used by scholars for further work. For students, this book should be an eye opener as they encounter African American women who went out of their way to use the news medium to present the case for the abolition of slavery or later for civil rights to the American people. They were determined to show Americans that black people were also Americans who deserved to have and enjoy all the rights that white Americans had. Furthermore, these women journalists were also determined that black people be ready to seize the opportunities that were or would be available to them.

What is interesting about the eleven women whom Streitmatter chose is that they all were integrationists and most were of the middle class or espoused bourgeois ideals. Some of the women were engaged in radical politics, whether of black nationalism as pursued by Charlotta Bass of the *California Eagle*, or more distinctly Left politics as in the case of Marvel Cooke, who wrote during the Harlem Renaissance. There are also portraits of women who were more elitist and, in some respects, purveyors of accommodation. Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin is a prominent example here. St. Pierre Ruffin was not only elitist but also a close friend of the Booker T. Washingtons and often spent winters in Tuskegee with them. There was Delilah L. Beasley, who was also a Bookerite as well as a Roman Catholic. Streitmatter notes that Beasley, who wrote for the *Oakland Tribune* for twenty years, "believed that the strong moral fiber at the core of black life inevitably would lead to racial equality." These words have distinct echoes for today as we witness the resurgence of black conservatism.

Streitmatter's final chapter is an attempt at synthesis that is a modest effort summarizing the foregoing portraits. However, there needs to be much more intensive and discreet analytical studies of these and other black women, studies that pay more attention to the intersecting of class concerns intraracially as well as interracially before a full synthesis can be attempted.

The kind of synthesis I have in mind is brilliantly executed by Margaret Ripley Wolfe's *Daughters of Canaan*. Wolfe has taken the studies of southern women over the last twenty-five years and summarized them in a narrative that reads gracefully and powerfully. Moreover, she has also introduced some new interpretations that have emanated from her own research. Her footnotes are bibliographic in ways that are of tremendous use for students whether undergraduate or graduate. Indeed, this is a work of scholarship and synthesis that will hold up for quite some time and deservedly so.

I have only one minor quibble with Wolfe and it is one that could be said of most historians who write synthetic works that deal with slavery and Reconstruction. And that is that, in this case, there is far more attention paid to the presence of African American women during the days of slavery than there is during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Granted that a great deal of work was done during the 1970s and 1980s on slave culture and women's participation in creating that culture, but surely there was as much if not more interaction after slavery down to the present. If this is not the case, then we need to know why.

But as mentioned, this is a minor quibble. Margaret Ripley Wolfe has presented us with a much needed guide to the story of southern women, black and white, that takes them down from the pedestal and plants them firmly on the ground where they can stand next to men and be seen in all their humanness.

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