

TO: Participants in the 13th “Recovering Forgotten History” Conference in Poland
FROM: Joshua Cole & Carol Symes
RE: Plan for the Revised (19th) Edition of *Western Civilizations* (W.W. Norton & Co.)
DATE: 26 May 2015

In June of 2013, we had the privilege and pleasure of discussing our co-authored textbook, *Western Civilizations* (17th edition), with experts in the history of Poland and of east-central Europe more generally. This year, you will be looking at the 18th edition of this book, which was in proof at the time of our meeting in 2013 and to which we could only make a handful of cosmetic changes. In the following, we summarize the planned revisions to the 19th edition, which will more fully reflect that rich discussion and the questions it raised.

Volume 1 (Symes)

The current edition exhibits a significant restructuring and revision of the narrative of medieval European history (chapters 8-12) in light of a growing trend toward placing that narrative in a larger Eurasian, and indeed global, context. Chapter 14 has also been recast to focus on the emergence of an integrated Atlantic world. While these revisions still don't adequately address the place of Poland and its neighbors (especially Bohemia and Hungary) within that narrative, this new structure lays the groundwork for a more interwoven, connected history in the next edition. My goal throughout will be to ensure that central European examples are highlighted in each chapter, in order break down misconceptions that this region was somehow peripheral to “the West” in this era, and also to highlight the ways that this region's political institutions, religious life, economic trends, and intellectual achievements were contributing to a wider European culture of *Latinitas*. Poland stands to exemplify a multilingual, multi-ethnic society that (on the one hand) is fully characteristic of and comparable to other medieval polities while (on the other hand) offering a range of alternatives to developments in western Europe, e.g. its welcome of Jewish refugees from other medieval kingdoms, its centrality to overland trade, its cultural hybridity.

Chapter 8: The Expansion of Europe, 950-1100 ~ I will expand the current section on the kingdoms of central and eastern Europe, showing how the process of Christianization undergirded the authority of dynastic rule in ways that are analogous to the situation in Francia and England in the previous chapter – and which anticipate a parallel process in Scandinavia. I will also spend more time discussing the earliest instances of “Magdeburg law” under Otto I and (in particular) Kraków's precocious efflorescence as a center of trade and (later) royal capital. Indeed, I will either replace the map of Strasbourg with that of Kraków, or perhaps pair the two. I also need to provide important (and now missing) context for the image of Otto and receiving tribute from the iconographic representations of *Sclavina*, *Germania*, *Gallia*, and *Roma* (p. 252), which needs to be “read” more deeply. I will also include a reference to Otto's battle with the Huns at Lechfield in 955.

Chapter 9: The Consolidation of Europe, 1100-1250 ~ The section on the “making of medieval monarchies” will include coverage of the Piast dynasty and the struggle to create a unified Polish kingdom, as well as the alliance between Konrad of Moravia and the Teutonic Knights and their “crusade” against the Baltic peoples. It will also include an account of the Novgorod Republic and the tensions between this alternative, republican form of governance and the princely power of Alexander Nevsky. It should also include a reference to his important victory at Lake Peipus (the “Battle on the Ice” of 1242). The section on the “new monasticism” (p. 299 ff.) will include the founding of the abbey Mogiła and the expansion of a network of Cistercian monasteries linking western and central Europe; this could be accompanied by a map and maybe an image of one of the wonderful wooden churches of the region. Countering the current account of the rise of anti-Jewish policies in western Europe will be a section on the settlement of Jews in Poland, with special emphasis on the liberties extended by the Statute of Kalisz (1264).

Chapter 10: The Medieval World, 1250-1350 ~ The reference to the Battle of Leignitz/Legnica as a “stalemate” is problematic; I’ll emphasize that it was crucial in halting the advance of the Mongols but at the expense of many Polish, Bohemian, German lives including that of Duke Henry II of Silesia. The section on the rise of Muscovy needs a better and more nuanced treatment that avoids the teleology/propaganda of modern Russian historiography: there are still instances of confusion or conflation between “Russian” and “Rus-ian”/Ruthenian that need clarification. I also want to emphasize that this principality is also a vast commercial enterprise facilitated by Moscow’s strategic geographical position and the fact that Ruthenian rulers were gradually able to take over the khanate’s tax collection mechanisms and this to supplant the Mongols after the disintegration of their empire. The section on the quest for African gold and the depletion of Europe’s sources of silver needs to emphasize the essential importance of mines in Poland and Bohemia, crucial to the payment of Mongol tribute.

Chapter 11: Rebirth and Unrest, 1350-1453 ~ The section on the Ottoman empire’s “tolerance” of religious diversity needs to clarify that this was this was an accommodation that maintained a strict hierarchy and that did not tolerate any polytheistic beliefs. It also needs a more nuanced treatment of the status of the Orthodox patriarch. The section on Russia as the “third Rome” needs to emphasize that this an evocative and convenient myth that only takes on prevalence in the 19th c. The error in dating the Council of Ferrara (and Florence, 1439) needs to be corrected, and it should be emphasized that the Russian Church became entirely independent, as religious and political power become fused and centered on Moscow, which is being planned as a “new Jerusalem.”

In place of the misleadingly brief treatment of Poland-Lithuania, there will be a new section on the union of the kingdom of Poland with the grand duchy focusing in the kingship of Jadwiga, the new Jagiellonian royal family, and the establishment of the university in Kraków

(under Casimir III) paralleling that of Paris in its far-reaching intellectual influences. This section will also show how Poland-Lithuania comes to include much of what had been Kievan Rus' and thus stands as a challenge to Muscovy as well as to the power of German princes (cf. the Battle of Grünwald/Tannenberg). Here, I plan to highlight Jagiello's royal chapel in Lublin and the fascinating ways that Ukrainian artists had to adapt Byzantine elements to the design program of a Roman Catholic chapel (e.g. the Christos Pantokrater squeezed into a space on the ceiling, rather than in the dome of the apse, the "curtains"). I also want to have an image from or map of Lviv/Lvov as a splendid examples of this multicultural kingdom: a city governed by German (Magdeburg) law ruled by Polish kings (or for 17 years by Hungarians) in Ukrainian territory with a large and powerful community of Armenians, Jews, and Serbians (among others). The section on the Council of Constance and the conciliar movement also needs an expanded discussion of the politics of religion in Bohemia and Poland.

Chapter 12: Innovation and Exploration, 1453-1533 ~ The map showing the location of printing presses needs to include Kraków (1474), Wrocław (1475), etc. The section on "The Renaissance North of the Alps" could include examples like the Wawel Castle and cathedral (Kraków) and/or Zamość (even though it's founded in 1580). The map of "Muscovite Russia" needs to be a better map showing the complexities of the whole region. The discussion of Ivan III needs to be nuanced.

Chapter 13: The Age of Dissent and Division, 1500-1564 ~ To counter the emphasis on universal religious-political conflict, this chapter should reference Transylvania as an example of a state where Catholicism + at least three forms of Protestantism (Lutherans, Calvinists, Mennonites) coexist after 1568.

Chapter 14: Europe in the Atlantic World, 1550-1660 ~ This chapter needs a section discussing the emergence of the "Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth" after 1569, in its own right and also as an alternative to the absolutist monarchies of France, Scandinavia. It should highlight the importance of its progressive constitutional experiments and the fact that the existence of an elective monarchy is now going to enter into the calculations of all European powers. It should also take account of the religious freedoms guaranteed by the Warsaw Confederation (1573) and its importance for a diverse multiethnic polity with a very large Jewish population. The discussion of warfare needs a better treatment of the 1648 Cossack Uprising (not unlike that of Cromwell's Puritan army in England) and the loss of eastern Ukraine, as well as the terrible Swedish invasion that devastated the Polish agricultural heartland and infrastructure, leading to epidemics and famines that reduced the population by more than a third (estimated 4 million out of 11 million people).

Volume 2 (Cole)

Chapter 15: European Monarchies and Absolutism, 1660-1725 ~ Clarifications and corrections of errors in the section on absolutism in Habsburg Austria and in Russia. Greater discussion of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (following earlier discussion in Chapter 14) as an exception to the trend toward absolutism and its significance as a constitutional monarchy. Establishing this narrative earlier will allow for a clearer portrait of the ways that the Commonwealth became more vulnerable in the 18th century, leading both to an attempt at reform and eventual partition. Correction of errors regarding the privileges of the Polish nobility. With regard to Habsburg Empire, there is confusion in the existing edition of the status of Hungary, and a lack of clarity regarding the successes and failures of Joseph II's reforms.

Rewrite the section on Peter the Great: correct error on characterization of the threat to Russia by the Stenka Razin uprising. Emphasize that "westernization" began under Peter's father, Tsar Alexis. Perhaps less on Peter's youth, and a greater emphasis on the radicalism of Peter's reforms and efforts to transform Russian society, which should not be seen as necessarily in contradiction with his ambitions to make Russia a power that would rival western European monarchies. Finally, correct imprecisions regarding the Partitions of Poland-Lithuania, especially regarding date which Gdansk was acquired by Prussia. Need to be more precise about the heterogeneous populations that became part of Russia and Austria after the partition.

Chapter 17: Europe during the Enlightenment ~ Correction of error regarding introduction of compulsory education in Prussia. Section on Catherine the Great and the Partition of Poland: divide it into two sections. Correct error on the characterization of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as a Russian province. Point out that Russia's agreement to the partition plan was a departure from long-standing intention to absorb Poland-Lithuania entirely. Change "diet" to "parliament" or "sejm." Mention participation in the resistance to the 2nd partition by Tadeusz Kosciuszko.

Chapter 18: The French Revolution ~ Attend to the connection between French Revolution and reforms of the Polish Sejm prior to partition. Napoleon's creation of the Duchy of Warsaw and the abolition of serfdom, the imposition of new civil code modeled after the French. Mention Napoleon's support for Polish Legions in 1797, his use of Polish troops in suppression of Haitian revolution, in Peninsular War in Spain, and most importantly in the invasion of Russia in 1812.

Chapter 20: The Age of Ideologies, 1815-1848 ~ Clarify the issue of Poland in the Congress of Vienna ("formally autonomous" rather than "nominally independent"), and the stakes in negotiations about Polish independence, and the expansion of Russian control over the region at expense of Prussia and Austria. Remind the reader of the proportions of partitions (82 percent of Poland under Russian control, 7 percent Prussian, 11 percent Austrian) to help explain anti-Russian nature of independence movement. Point out that Holy Alliance was not only "sublime mysticism" as the British would have it, but also a carefully presented strategic intervention that

allowed Russia, with the largest army in Europe, to present its imperial ambitions as a defense of “peace.” In section on 1830 revolutions, add uprising in Poland as part of movement for national independence. Corrections to map on language groups to show that languages cross state boundaries (ex. Polish) and add Yiddish to map.

Supplementary section to precede Marx, emphasizing the importance of Hegel and the Prussian university system, which was imitated widely in continental Europe. Section on Romanticism needs examples from central and eastern Europe (Schiller, Heine, Pushkin, Lermontov, Friedrich) to balance British examples, and reference to Romantic movement in music (Chopin, Schumann, Schubert, etc as well as *volkisch* musical inspirations).

Clarify distinction between different types of conservatives: De Maistre, Bonald, and Metternich might be seen as reactionary conservatives, whereas Burke is a form of conservatism rooted in English constitutionalism. Other distinctions might be made between forms of liberalism, so as to familiarize students with the differences between the forms of liberalism ascendant in Britain with continental varieties.

Chapter 21: Revolutions and Nation Building, 1848-1871 ~ Introduce more developed discussion of Poland into the section on nationalism, as example of revolutionary movement that fought for national independence. Clarify distinction between aristocratic elites, who were more cosmopolitan in their culture, and the rootedness of nationalism among the gentry (10% of the population) were more strongly nationalist. Emphasize in connection with Mickiewicz that Poles never included in pan-Slavism, which they always viewed as a cover for Russian influence. Russians in turn saw Poles as traitors to Slavic nationalisms who were too beholden to Catholic Church. Also add discussion of the January Uprising in 1863-64 (and failure of Napoleon III to support it), and connection of Polish issue to the Kulturkampf: elimination of Polish from schools and courts, imprisonment of archbishop of Poznan and Gniezno, Prussian Settlement Commission’s plans for encouraging settlement in central and eastern Europe. This complexity would also provide better context for discussions of Italian and German nation-building.

Chapter 22: Imperialism and Colonialism, 1870-1914 ~ Include examples of colonized peoples within Europe (Chechens, Georgians). Emphasize that not all European nations were colonial (only nine of the current EU members were imperial powers).

Chapter 23: Modern Industry and Mass Politics, 1870-1914 ~ Section on post-Romantic culture up to WWI needs more on the novel to balance the sections on developments which seemed more important in retrospect (Freud, psychoanalysis, behaviorism, impressionism): Dickens, Stendahl, Thackeray, Balzac, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky in particular. Eastern and central European road to female emancipation had different chronology. Role of women in political struggles. Women in Poland obtain vote before France and UK.

Link Zionism not only with the rise of anti-Semitism but also with the rise of nationalisms in Central Europe, including Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Polish nationalisms. In this

sense, some strands of Zionism have anti-imperial (often aimed at Russian empire) that they share with other nationalisms in the region.

Chapter 24: The First World War ~ Balance the emphasis on Western Europe with more developed treatment of the situation in East-Central Europe, in particular the German offensive in 1915 against Russia, the experience of Serbia, and the Italian-Austrian front which deserves greater treatment given the space accorded to Gallipoli. More information on how Russia entered the war, emphasizing reluctance and lack of preparation, but desire and willingness to maintain alliance with France.

On Bolshevik Revolution—clarify that October 1917 was really a coup d’etat—the “revolution” came afterwards. Develop the section on the origins of the revolution to take into account a) intelligentsia b) cultural developments (mention Herzen) c) development of social democracy in relation to other radical groups, anarchists, etc. Remind readers of religious dimension to the revolution. Include discussion of CheKa and use of revolutionary terror in lands under Bolshevik control.

In discussion of post-WWI settlement, emphasize that new nation-states were created (not nations, which creates definitional problems). Mention that from Polish point of view, Germany did not “surrender” territories to Poland, they “restored” them. Expand discussion of Wilson’s 14 points and the emphasis on national self-determination to emphasize not only his idealism, but also his attempt to come with an alternative to system of imperial rule over central and eastern Europe. This will add necessary context to the question of instability caused by the presence of national minorities in the new states.

Chapter 25: The Turmoil between the Wars ~ Need greater context for the war of 1920, and in particular the invasion of Poland by Bolshevik armies intent on spreading the revolution to Germany. Inclusion of Battle of Warsaw would help to determine the stakes of this conflict, which helped prevent linkage between Bolsheviks and German revolutionaries. Add mention of Locarno treaties, which sets the stage for the disputes that led to WW2.

Clarify the description of Lenin’s policy of nationalizing industry and the comparison with European wartime economies. Need clarification as well on the description of “Stalin revolution” in the text, which as it stands appears to be a description of the entire interwar Soviet period. In treatment of Great Terror under Stalin, more precision with numbers of people killed, numbers of people killed in ethnic operations, numbers sent to the Gulag, etc.

Racial “science”: Characterization of the eugenic movement appears to imply that there was a contradiction between population planning and “progressive” politics, change to make clear that eugenics enjoyed consensus support from wide spectrum of scientists, political movements, and policy makers. Clarify that Nazi anti-Semitism was not the only aspect of their racial science, but a part of a broader racial hierarchy that included all people in occupied lands. Interwar culture section is biased toward western Europe—need to introduce central and eastern European innovators: Eisenstein, Bartok, Prokofiev, Marie Curie.

Chapter 26: The Second World War ~ Rewrite sections on the causes of World War 2 to avoid over-emphasizing German point of view regarding central and eastern European lands. Point out that the term “Polish Corridor” was a term of German Nationalist propaganda in the interwar period and use Polish Pomerania instead. Clarify that Gdansk and Pomerania were never really Hitler’s only goals in 1938-1939, and his plans for a full-scale invasion. Include Poland on list of Allied powers. Need account of Katyn massacre in describing Soviet military policy in Poland, paired with account of Nazi mass murder of Polish intelligentsia.

To provide balance for discussion of resistance in Denmark and Yugoslavia, expand the treatment of resistance to Nazis in Poland and the Soviet Union, with expanded treatment of the distinctive nature of Nazi terror policy in these lands, and mention of ethnic cleansing immediately after the invasion of Poland in 1939. Mention Sikorski government in exile in London and Polish participation in Norway, Battle of Britain, North Africa. Clarify those populations or groups that were willing to cooperate with Germans in WW2 and when they became disillusioned with this cooperation, especially in Ukraine, Finland, Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary. Clarify the complex story of 1943-1945, especially the results of the Bagration offensive in early 1944, which drove Germans from Soviet territory, and subsequent turn to the south to eliminate Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary from the German camp. Add account of Warsaw Uprising August 1944.

Chapter 27: The Cold War World ~ Clarify differences between “imperial blocs” in characterization of Cold War division of Europe.

Need to include essential information on changes in the Soviet-occupied zone, to accompany the political narrative about government control and the communist parties: including expropriation of private property, elimination of free associations, politicization of culture, mobilization of population for reconstruction and industrialization, use of violence against opponents, both real and imagined. On the other side, need to emphasize the rapidity with which the Western allies abandoned Nazification.

Need more as well on economic history in Eastern Europe in postwar decades, emphasizing the fact that some (Poland, Belarus, Ukraine) were more devastated by the war, creating opportunity for more massive reconstruction, industrialization, and mobilization of peasantry. Mention some communist successes in this context: heavy industries, Sputnik in 1959. This will add context to later discussion of the failure of communist economies after late 1950s to make a transition to more flexible economies based on consumer goods. Here, could describe the variety of experience in Eastern Europe (the development of some forms of small-scale private enterprise in Hungary and Yugoslavia, but also the severe depression in Poland and Yugoslavia in the late 1970s and 1980s.

On Khrushchev, mention that criticism of Stalin did not criticize the Soviet system itself. Need to offer some portrait of the social background of people who serve in the communist parties and bureaucracies of central and eastern Europe.

On culture of postwar period: add Tadeusz Borowski to literature of holocaust, Andrej Wajda films *Kanal*, *Ashes and Diamonds*.

Chapter 28: Red Flags and Velvet Revolutions: The End of the Cold War, 1960-1990 ~

Correct error on Jaruzelski's title as head of party and prime minister, and clarify the constitutional changes that occurred under martial law. Clarify the history by which Solidarity and its allies succeeded in gaining a majority in the Diet by 1989. Correct error on Havel's career after the division of Czechoslovakia.

Include Milosz, Solzhenitsyn, John Paul, alongside Kundera in discussion of culture in central and eastern Europe before 1989. John Paul especially in mentioning his visit to Poland.

Chapter: 29 A World Without Walls: Globalization and the West ~

Temper the perhaps too negative portrayal of ethnic conflict in Central Europe in the post-1989 years. The peaceful divorce Czechs and Slovaks compares favorably with violence in Ireland or Spain. Yugoslavia might be more of an exception, rather than confirmation of a broader trend in the region. The point is to show that nationalism also worked to create national independence in Lithuania, Poland, and elsewhere. In treatment of Yugoslavia, a more candid assessment of the failures of the UN, the USA, and western European powers, which contributed to prolonging the conflict and making the massacre at Srebrenica possible.

In section on economic reforms in former socialist countries in 1990s, add experience of Poland under policies of deputy prime minister Leszek Balcerowicz on removal of state grants, introduction of market pricing, convertibility of zloty, and market interest rates. Compare success here to failures in Russia of "shock treatment."