MEDIEVAL HISTORY: PAST AS PAST AND PROLOGUE

John E. Weakland
Ball State University

When I first began teaching some twenty years ago, scholars did not discuss their methods of instruction. On the university level, even in my "education" classes, I saw no evidence of anything except lecture/discussion. Therefore, when I came to teach in the university, I taught my students the way I had been taught. I did what my professors had done (lecture); they in turn did what their professors had done, and so on all the way back to Thomas Aquinas--an example of apostolic succession. Some of my professors even had "chairs" from which they could make ex cathedra pronouncements. The same traditions are still preserved on the university level in spite of all that has been written about change.[1]

Beginning in the late 1960s history and historians began to undergo a crisis which was (and is) linked to society in general.[2] The details are all too familiar: Vietnam, the economic crunch, decline in enrollment and literacy, the end of history requirements, the alienation from knowledge of the nonverbal generation--and on and on goes the litany.[3] If not caused by the crisis, at least spurred on by it, there developed a substantial movement to improve and to re-evaluate history teaching, even to re-evaluate the discipline itself.[4]

A vast amount of literature on history and the teaching of history has come out in the last fifteen years or so. Some stress teaching methods often linked to behavioral objectives. Others favor the learning based movement. Still others emphasize curriculum changes. Finally there are those who are concerned with the nature of the discipline itself--history vis à vis the social sciences, the social studies, and the humanities.[5] What emerges from all of this material is that there is little consensus which is understandable because the problem of educating the young is what the late E.F. Schumacher called a divergent problem; the answers diverge rather than converge. In fact, all of the great problems of life are divergent problems that cannot be solved in the sense of establishing a "correct formula;" yet we must grapple with them.[6]

Although there is no "correct formula," certain attitudes or assumptions are important for success in the classroom. It has been pointed out frequently that teaching is very personal; it is a reflection of our personality, even our character. We should do what we do best.[7] Two members of my department at Ball State who teach large numbers of students have received outstanding teaching awards. One received it because he lectures (didactic), while the other received it because he does not lecture (evocative). Education must be a fusion of thought (cognitive), feeling (affective), and action (relevant) regardless of the method used.

Recent data concerning liberal arts colleges show that only 10% of the students taught by historians are history majors, and among majors only 10% are preparing for careers as professional historians.[8] J.H. Plumb is correct, therefore, when he says that the prime activity of history teachers should be to teach non-historians.[9] The soundness of this advice is further demonstrated when one considers history in relation to general studies. Courses that are part of general studies should attempt to achieve the goals of that program, i.e., general education; however, over the past twenty years the curriculum for a variety of reasons has become too specialized, too fragmented, and "fragmentation denies perspective." The very utility of history is perspective.[10] Most of our efforts so far have been directed toward the improvement of the so-called civilization courses. One authority suggests that universities offer two different yet equally valid courses. One should be the past as prologue that would treat history as a social science; the other should be the past as past that would stress the uniqueness and humanistic values of the

subject. In his critique of "civilization" courses, Richard E. Sullivan points out that the courses require of the students a variety of skills in which they have no adequate previous training: "the ability to learn a great number of discrete facts, to read and understand expository material and to reason in various categories."[11] And building upon the research of Jean Piaget, William G. Perry has shown just how complex is the evolution in the forms of thought in the mind of a student. He shows why no one thing works for every student: "What is a feshman's meat may be a senior's poison."[12] These problems remain in attempting to teach an advanced undergraduate course in medieval history where freshmen mix with juniors and seniors, and non-majors mix with history majors.[13]

Enrollments in my medieval classes are higher now than they were ten years ago. Perhaps as things get worse, the Dark Ages do not seem so dark; or perhaps--as several of my students have told me--they are preparing for a new Dark Age. Students in my classes are equally divided between prospective teachers and history majors and minors. The remaining third or more of the class is comprised of a diverse assortment: students in religious studies, those picking up an elective or completing a general studies requirement, etc. To meet these many needs, therefore, I treat medieval history as one of the humanities and as one of the social sciences. (The recent AHA Guidelines for social studies teachers emphasizes the links between history and the social sciences.)[14] I would agree with Hunt and Metcalf that history is a social science only insofar as historians work at the development of present-tense generalizations.[15] In my class, I try to help students to see the unique, the fundamental otherness of the medieval period, that combination of strangeness and familiarity that Larry Benson writes about,[16] to generalize about that time, to appreciate its cultural heritage, to search for humanistic values there--all goals of history as one of the humanities. But I also encourage students to search for the universals of human experience, and to frame and to test present-tense generalizations, i.e., the past as prologue.

In a world so deeply divided, we teachers have as our first charge "to identify the things we have in common."[17] Put in another way, we should raise questions that can be asked of any historical period (Giles Constable). One quarter I began the course with a discussion of the views of Viktor Frankl. The class received a sheet that summarized his concepts of creative, experiential, and attitudinal values. Questions were then posed for them to answer. How did men attempt to give meaning to their lives by creative, experiential, and attitudinal values in the medieval period? Are there any universals in the human experience that you have discovered? If so what are they? Are they present today? With which period of the Middle Ages do you have the greatest empathy? Why? With which period do you have the least empathy? Why? What does this tell you about yourself? Can your increased knowledge of the Middle Ages help you in any way to draw closer to other people today? How?

Besides the above assignment, there were many activities in class. All teachers are familiar with books dealing with historical problems. The limitation of these books, at least in teaching undergraduates, is their specialized character. They are locked into the problem and the time period and seldom raise questions beyond the problem itself. But in handling any great historical problem, more profound questions can always be raised. For example, in dealing with the decline of the Roman Empire and the beginning of the Middle Ages, the critical issue of continuity or break could be discussed. A topic such as this or any other that encompasses broader issues can be used to help students frame and test generalizations, essential cognitive skills outlined in Bloom's taxonomy.[18]

I try to begin each unit with either induction (inquiry) or deduction (hypotheses testing). In inquiry, the teacher selects the concepts and leads

the students to "discover" them through induction. The other approach is to begin deductively by giving the concepts as hypotheses to be tested. Sometimes I have the students write papers involving hypotheses testing. This assignment is designed especially for future social studies teachers. First, they are asked to read several articles on historical generalization.[19] They are then given a long list of generalizations from which to choose, or they may pick others. A few examples are given:

HYPOTHESES TESTING

1. The hero is important and often crucial in history.
2. Despotism may retard concentration of wealth, but democracy with its freedom accelerates it.
3. History shows us that inequality is natural and grows as civilization develops.
4. Freedom and equality are enemies.
5. Social evolution has been and is a fact.
6. Moral codes change according to economic conditions.
7. Civilizations decay slowly.
8. No reconciliation is possible between religion and philosophy.
9. No society can successfully maintain moral life without the aid of religion.
10. Every economic system must sooner or later rely upon some form of profit motive.
11. Challenges successfully met raise the level of a civilization.
12. Progress depends on the transmission of the heritage of the civilization, and history is, above all else, the "creation and recording of that heritage."

These examples were culled from the works of the popular historian Will Durant. From the time of the Greeks, historians have been doing this. Remember the famous lines of Thucydides:

> In peace and prosperity both states and individuals are activated by high motives, because they do not fall under the dominion of imperious necessities; but war which takes away the comfortable provision of daily life is a hard master and tends to assimilate men's characters to their conditions.[20]

I know that this type of assignment meets with opposition and criticism--that it leads to facile generalization, that it encourages superficiality. But critics forget that the students are just testing hypotheses and not reaching dogmatic conclusions. If they become teachers, they most likely will ask their students to do the same thing. As future teachers, such an assignment will help them to distinguish between good and poor generalizations. They can see how history and the social sciences are really complementary. The social scientist can learn from the historian to be more tentative in his generalizations and to test hypotheses against evidence from the past. The historian can learn to be less reticent about drawing generalizations. Arnold Toynbee tells us not to be intimidated by the mass of material. Be realistic. You can't master everything. Above all be bold, he says. Generalize! Have the courage to take a panoramic view--de l'audace, et encore de l'audace.[21] Should we ask less of our students?

While future social studies teachers are advised to check the validity of present-tense generalizations, history majors are encouraged to test past-tense generalizations. One quarter a student wrote a remarkable paper in which he tested generalizations about the caste structure of society in the tenth century. His point of departure was the famous description of Adalberon concerning the three orders:

> The ecclesiastical order forms one body, but society is divided into three orders. Two other conditions are recognized by human law. The noble and the non-noble are not ruled by the same law. The nobles are the warriors and the protectors of churches. They defend all the people, great and small, and, as a matter of fact, they protect themselves.
>
> The unfree is the other class. This unfortunate group possesses nothing without suffering. Supplies and clothing are provided for everyone by the unfree because no free man can live without them. Therefore, the city of God which is believed to be one is divided into three: some pray, others fight and the others work. These three groups live together and could not endure separation. The services of one of them allows the work of the other two. Each, by turn, lends its support to all.[22]

I might add that the paper was done without the help of Georges Duby's brilliant book, The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined. Last year the class tested the ideas of Charles Radding presented in the American Historical Review in which the author attempted to apply the theories of Jean Piaget to the "Evolution of Medieval Mentalities."[23]

There is much debate about structure in the social sciences, but there is general agreement that the structure of history is the historical mode of inquiry.[24] I have devised a number of inquiry exercises designed to help develop this mode of thought.[25] They fall into five categories. A few examples for each category must suffice.

INQUIRY EXERCISES

1. Reconstructing the Past through Artifacts and Primary Sources. Show slides of the Sutton Hoo collection and ask for some generalizations. What can you learn about the Germanic tribes from the artifacts? At the same time, hand out selected portions of Beowulf to read. The burial scenes, for example, would work well with the Sutton Hoo slides.

2. Determining Reliability of Evidence.

   a. Exaggeration. Select some documents dealing with the First Crusade, such as found in A.C. Krey, The First Crusade: The Account of Eye-Witnesses and Participants (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1921).

   b. Contradictions. Here the possibilities are infinite. For example, have students read contemporary accounts of the coronation of Charles. These are readily available.

   c. Conflict of Values. An interesting theme would be Christianity as viewed by Christians and Pagans. "The Address to Diognetus" is good for the Christian side, as is Justin Martyr's First Apology. From the Pagan side, the Hermotimus of Lucian makes a good contrast to Justin. I might add here that primary sources can be used effectively with Lawrence Kohlberg's schema on the cognitive theory of moral development. Holocaust materials, for example, can be applied to heretics in the presentation of moral dilemmas.

d. Mind Set. One might take the topic of medieval belief in miracles. Here the selection of documents is vast. The Dialogues of Pope Gregory the Great are easily attainable, or you might use The Little Flowers of St. Francis, a favorite with students.

e. Stereotyping. The racism in Pope Urban II's famous speech at Clermont could be contrasted with an equally intolerant Moslem view such as that of Usamah ibn-Munquidh.

3. Dating Evidence--Periodization. An interesting exercise consists of selecting portions from Peter Abelard's Historia Calamitatum and from Petrarch's Letter to Posterity. Ditto the materials and hand them out in class. This is perhaps the most popular of all the inquiry exercises I have used.

4. Interpretations of Historians. Little need be said concerning this category. There are countless books on the market. The editions originally published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, and D.C. Heath are well known.

5. Interpreting History. Using both primary and secondary accounts, the students write their own interpretations based on the sources.

In regard to the section entitled "Conflict of Values," and the use of Kohlberg's use of moral (value) dilemma case studies, a word of caution is in order. Real cases are superior to fictionalized accounts, but, in either instance, each document should be considered in the historical context in which the dilemma occurred. The sequence of events that preceeded the decision should be sorted out. The students should consider whether the decision reached was a correct one. Finally, they should ask themselves why the particular decision was made at that time.[26] The case of Gregory VII and Henry IV is an obvious yet classic example. The section on "Stereotyping" raises the question of women's studies. The Middle Ages could be considered in relation to the opportunities of women vis à vis the stereotyping of them in both primary and secondary sources. Examples of clerical "mind set" in relation to women likewise are numerous.[27]

All of this emphasis upon inquiry does not mean that other methods have been abandoned. I am inclined to accept the views of David Ausubel that problem-solving is useful for a certain portion of the time, but that too much of it means not enough time on content. In general, I agree with Myron Marty that we don't take history to the students--we bring it out of them--and that telling is not teaching and teaching is not telling. But there are times when an expository method serves a useful purpose, especially the participatory lecture.[28]

Besides the mental operations of the cognitive domain, I am also concerned with the values of the affective domain. These involve student awareness of aesthetic factors, their sensitivity to a different cultural pattern such as that of the Middle Ages, and their empathy--their ability to place themselves "in" another period. The Macrorie type of writing assignment is very fruitful.[29] Let me describe this assignment and give an example. The students are asked "to use their experience to understand the literature, rather than literature to understand life." It is a difficult assignment. Few students can do it, but, when it is done well, the results are rewarding. The following is a poignant example of one young woman's response to "The Wanderer."

THE WANDERERS

Well, these last few months I sit alone in crowded places looking at the droplets of grease in my cup of coffee or the wilted celery in my Bloody Mary. I am becoming a divorcee. Yes, I am experiencing many of the same soul twisting emotions of "The Wanderer." What do the two of us (The Wanderer and I) see?

There was a beautiful time when we pledged our lives to a "man." Our lives had purposes--the dedication of a vassal to his liege. The outside world, its chaos of no right or wrong--no order--was insignificant because we had our own little safety, our own world. I knew that to love and to be loved, to be a good wife, to enjoy life with Pete was an absolute. There was a small answer to, 'What is Truth?' He knew that 'To kiss his master and embrace and lay down both hands and head on his knee--' was the best life to lead.

Then came the shock. My husband said, 'I don't love you any more. You disgust me. I have found someone who gives me everything you never could.' The furniture is sold:

(1) The fifty-year-old rocker my invalid grandmother used, and I used to rock my son.
(2) The glasses with the letter "R" on them.
(3) Our baby's toys.
(4) Everything. GONE!

For The Wanderer the shock was war:

'Tottering bulwarks.....
The wine-halls linger to decay,
Their lord is taken to the pleasant day.....
Alas for the bright cup: Alas for the man of war!
How the time goes o'er,
It vanishes under night's shade, as it had never been!'

By dying, his lord also deserted him. All his pleasant familiar surroundings were also lost. There was nothing left to cling to.

We were both forced to face the empty chaos of the world. 'The lordless man then wakes and finds the fallow sea stripped by cold winds.' Like a fog that suddenly overtakes our consciousness, we realize that the world has no true companionship, no ideals, not even a set of rules by which to build a new life---only cold indifference and people who are clinging to their own social bonds or who are among the starkly lonely "singles."

'Here shortly is wealth given;
Here, to have a friend is short;
Here, man is short; here kinship short,
All the order of the world shall be in vain!'

It is more than a love lost or a dream dying. It is the loss of the WILL to try for anything more than very existence until the end comes. Life is simply VERY LONG.[30]

I also make use of creative projects. Students are given a long list of suggestions from which to choose, or they may pick others. As in the case of the generalizations, a few examples must suffice.

CREATIVE PROJECT SUGGESTIONS

1. Write a journal in which you express the feelings and impressions of a Christian upon hearing about the sack of Rome in 410.

2. Depict the same theme in art as treated by a Greco-Roman and a Christian artist.

3. Compose a hymn in Ambrosian or Gregorian style.

4. Write a poem in the style of Prudentius, Ausonius, Fortunatus, Rabanus Maurus, or some other poet.

5. Write a journal in which you express the feelings and impressions of a Christian upon first entering a Gothic cathedral such as Chartres.

6. Write an imaginary diary of a businessman whose conscience bothers him because of the question of usury.

7. Write an imaginary diary of a pilgrim who journeys from Cologne to Rome.

8. Record a conversation between an inquisitor and a person accused of heresy.

9. Write an account of a vassal defending himself against a charge of felony.

10. Describe the reactions of a monk who has just read the De amore of Andrew the Chaplain.

11. Create your version of a medieval chronicle, either secular or monastic, e.g., Froissart, Salimbene, Giovanni, Villani.

12. Imagine yourself as a pagan living in the fifth century who has read St. Augustine's Confessions. As a result you have converted to Christianity and inspired by Augustine, you write your own confessions.

Creative writing projects help sharpen the writing skills of students while at the same time encouraging personal involvement. The value of this approach can be seen by comparing the following assignments. Here is a standard approach: "Explain the feudal system in medieval Europe by identifying the roles and duties of the serfs, vassals, and lords." Would not an equal amount of knowledge be required with a creative writing project along the following lines? "The class will be divided into three groups representing serfs, vassals, and lords in medieval Europe. Write a one-week diary of a man or woman in your assigned group that describes your life, work, and activities in a typical week, and illustrates the interrelationships you would have had with the other two groups."[31] Time does not allow me to present examples, but the quality of most of the creative projects has been very high, and several of the poems and short stories have been published in journals. In addition to the creative writing, students have been involved in art and music projects, given medieval dinners, programmed complex audio-visual shows, and taken part in a local Medieval/Renaissance Fair as historical characters in dialogues.

So that one doesn't go in all directions at once, it is necessary to be clear about goals, subject matter, and methods. But perhaps all of these goals and tasks are too ambitious; yet as Dexter Perkins noted over a quarter of a century ago: "Our best chance of making impact on others will come through the influence we can exert in the classroom." That "is our greatest chance of usefulness, our largest hope." I am reminded also of the words of Jacob Burckhardt: "The teacher cannot give much. He can only, in the first place, keep alive faith in the value of spiritual things, and secondly awaken the conviction that there is great happiness to be found in occupying oneself with these things."[32] But even in this case, the medievalist occupies a unique and advantageous position. The modern parent is remote from his child, Christopher Lasch contends, because he feels he has little to pass on and, in any case, now gives priority to his own self-fulfillment.[33] To an age then that has lost its faith, The Age of Faith with its ideal of a united Christendom offers a very special message: Men must put their trust in something more than ego-fulfillment, in something more than the nation. "We feel once more the need for spiritual or at least moral unity. We are conscious of the inadequacy of a purely humanist and occidental culture. . . ."[34] The roots of our civilization are buried deep in the fertile soil of the Middle Ages. Modern man in search of his soul might well find it somewhere in the thirteenth, the greatest of centuries.

NOTES

[1]Kevin Reilly, "Conference on the Teaching of World History," AHA Perspectives, XX (December, 1982), 12, 14.

[2]Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "The Crisis of Our Culture and the Teaching of History," The History Teacher, XIII (November, 1979), 91.

[3]Ronald E. Butchart, "Pedagogy of the (Less) Oppressed: Second Thoughts on the Crisis in History Teaching," Teaching History: A Journal of Methods, IV (Spring, 1979), 3-9.

[4]Myron Marty, "Trends and Trendiness in Teaching Undergraduate History," Teaching History: A Journal of Methods, I (Fall, 1976), 41-47; Marty, "What Do You Teach When You Teach History?" AHA Perspectives, XXI (February, 1983), 15-17.

[5]Edwin Fenton, ed., Teaching the New Social Studies in Secondary Schools: An Inductive Approach (Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966); Barry K. Beyer, "Self-Paced Learning in Undergraduate History: From Theory into Practice," The History Teacher, X (August, 1977), 549-573; on other aspects of the learning based movement, see the following issues of Teaching History: A Journal of Methods, II (Spring, 1977), IV (Fall, 1979), V (Spring, 1980), VII (Fall, 1982); see also Martin Ballard, ed., New Movements in the Study and Teaching of History (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970).

[6]E.F. Schumacher, A Guide for the Perplexed (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1978), 120-134.

[7]Henry Bausum and Myron Marty, "Thinking About Teaching," AHA Newsletter, XIV (September, 1976), 7.

[8]Hugh B. Hammett et al., "Can the Teaching of History Survive 1984?" The History Teacher, X (February, 1977), 229-248.

[9]J.H. Plumb, ed., Crisis in the Humanities (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964), 159.

[10]Warren L. Hichman, "The Erosion of History," Social Education, XLIII (January, 1979), 18-22; Stephen Kneeshaw, "On the State of Our Profession. History and the Teaching of History in the 1980s," Teaching History: A Journal of Methods, VII (Spring, 1982), 3-11.

[11]Paul L. Maier et al., The Improvement of College and University Courses in the History of Civilization (Kalamazoo: The Department of History, Western Michigan University, 1965), 10.

[12]William G. Perry, Forms of Intellectual and Ethical Development in the College Years (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970), v, 9-10.

[13]Gerold Leinwand, Teaching World History (Washington, D.C.: N.C.S.S., 1978), 78. The attacks upon history have been often vicious and generally extreme. See David Kellum, The Social Studies: Myths and Realities (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1969), 25-36. Teachers' colleges often tend to disparage content and despise chronology. Medievalists especially have cause for concern. Bulletin No. 54 of the National Council for the Social Studies gives the following advice to teachers in regard to the Middle Ages: "We urge that these centuries be treated quickly, largely for the purpose of providing historical continuity within the course, so that appropriate emphasis may be given to the backgrounds of recent events . . . ."

[14]"Guidelines for the Certification of Teachers of History," AHA Perspectives, XXI (January, 1983), 4.

[15]Maurice P. Hunt and Lawrence E. Metcalf, Teaching High School Social Studies, 2d ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), 144-164.

[16]Larry D. Benson, "Why Study the Middle Ages?" in Teaching the Middle Ages, eds. Robert V. Graybill et al. (Warrensburg, Missouri: Ralph: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Teaching, 1982), 3-16.

[17]William L. Burton, "The Use and Abuse of History," AHA Newsletter, XX (February, 1982), 14-15; for a text that emphasizes unity, see William R. Cook and Ronald B. Herzman, The Medieval World View (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

[18]Benjamin Bloom and D.R. Krathwohl, Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: Handbook I, The Cognitive Domain (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1956); Lee A. Gladwin, "Why Can't Students Think More Like Historians?" Teaching History: A Journal of Methods, VII (Fall, 1982), 78-85.

[19]Gordon G. Partington, "Historical Generalization," The History Teacher, XIII (May, 1980), 385-400; Louis Gottschalk, ed., Generalization in the Writing of History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964); G. Kitson Clark, The Critical Historian (London: Heinemann, 1967); Elizabeth A.R. Brown, "The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians," American Historical Review, LXXIX (October, 1974), 1063-1088.

[20]Thucydides III. 82. 2.

[21]Ballard, ed., New Movements, 50-60.

[22]Norton Downs, ed., The Medieval Pageant: Readings in Medieval History (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1965), 93.

[23]Charles Radding, "The Evolution of Medieval Mentalities: A Cognitive-Structural Approach," American Historical Review, LXXXIII (June, 1978), 577-597.

[24]Fenton, ed., Teaching, 443-451; Byron G. Massialas and Jack Zevin, Looking Into History (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1970), 1-60; John E. Weakland, ed., Indiana Social Studies Quarterly, XXIV (Winter, 1971-1972), 74-85.

[25]For more suggestions on the use of documents, see James G. Lorence, "The Critical Analysis of Documentary Evidence: Basic Skills in the History Classroom," Teaching History: A Journal of Methods, VIII (Fall, 1983), 77-84.

[26]Thomas J. Ladenburg, "Cognitive Development and Moral Reasoning in the Teaching of History," The History Teacher, X (February, 1977), 193-198; Jack R. Fraenkel, How to Teach About Values (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977), 56.

[27]Glenda Riley, "Integrating Women's History into Existing Course Structures," The History Teacher, XII (August, 1979), 493-499.

[28]On the participatory lecture, see Peter J. Frederick, "Is Someone in the Classroom with Clio?" The History Teacher, V (January, 1972), 7-19.

[29]Ken Macrorie, Uptaught (New York: Hayden, 1970).

[30]"The Wanderers" was used with the permission of S.M. James.

[31]C. Frederick Risinger, "Creative Writing and the Social Studies," Indiana Social Studies Quarterly, XXXII (Winter, 1979-1980), 57-62. Simulation games and role playing are useful; see William A. Nesbitt, Simulation Games for the Social Studies (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1968); and Robert S. Feldman, "Historical Role Playing: An Alternative Teaching Strategy," AHA Newsletter, XV (November, 1977), 4-6.

[32]The remarks of Perkins are from his 1956 presidential address before the American Historical Association. Dexter Perkins, "We Shall Gladly Teach," American Historical Review, LXII (January, 1957), 293. The advice of Burckhardt is quoted in Alexander Dru, ed., Burckhardt (New York: Washington Square Press, 1964), xxiii-xxiv.

[33]Christopher Lasch, The Culture of Narcissism (New York: Warner Books, Inc., 1983).

[34]Christopher Dawson, The Making of Europe (New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1958), 243.