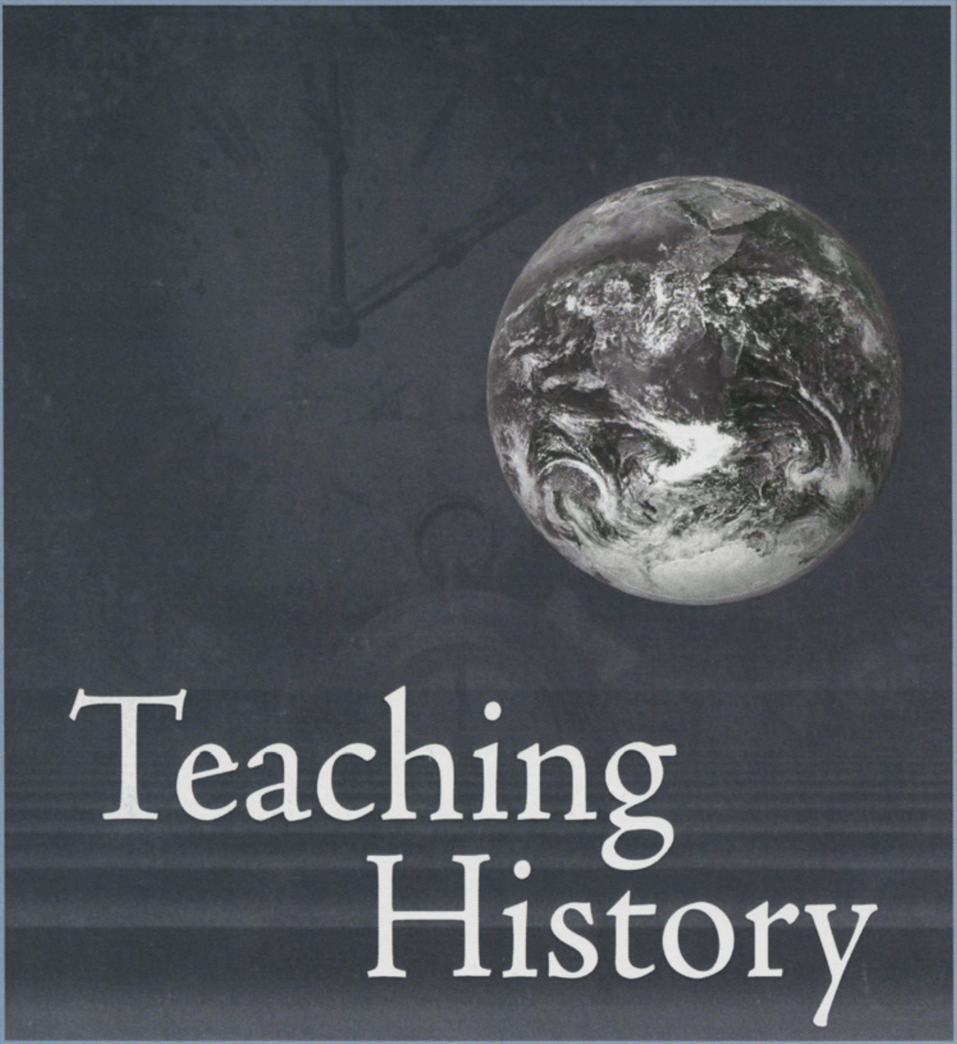

Teaching History

A Journal of Methods

Volume 42 - No. 2 - Fall 2017

TEACHING HISTORY
A JOURNAL OF METHODS

<http://www.emporia.edu/~teaching-history>

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Teaching History: A Journal of Methods is published twice yearly in the spring and fall. *Teaching History* receives its chief financial support from the Department of Social Sciences and the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences of Emporia State University. It also receives support from Ball State University. Annual subscriptions in U.S. currency are $12.00 for individuals, libraries, and institutions or $30 for three-year subscriptions. All business communications, including subscriptions, should be sent to Chris Lovett, 1 Kellogg Circle, Campus Box 4032, Emporia State University, Emporia, KS 66801-5415, fax 620/341-5143, e-mail clovett@emporia.edu.

All correspondence in regard to contribution of manuscripts and editorial policies should be directed to Sarah Drake Brown, Department of History, Ball State University, Muncie, IN 47306, e-mail sedrakebrown@bsu.edu. All books for review and correspondence regarding book reviews should be sent to Richard Hughes, Department of History, Illinois State University, CB #4420, Normal, IL 61790-4420, email rhughes@ilstu.edu.

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Teaching History, Emporia State University, 1 Kellogg Circle, Emporia, KS 66801-5415

ISSN 0730-1383

TEACHING HISTORY
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Volume XLII, Number 2, Fall 2017

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TEACHING AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE THROUGH COOKBOOKS AND ETIQUETTE MANUALS

Sakina M. Hughes
University of Southern Indiana

Malinda Russell was in a tough spot. Inspired by the back to Africa movement of the American Colonization Society, she saved her meager earnings, sold her belongings, and started on her journey to the meeting location of people going to Liberia. She made the trip by herself. Traveling solo made the trip a dangerous one, and a fateful one, as Russell was robbed of her money and belongings on the road to the Liberia meeting place. With no money and no way to carry out her dream of going to Liberia, Russell turned back to what she knew: cooking. She built a respectable business, cooking for well-to-do white clients. Eventually, tragedy struck again for Russell, and once more she relied on what she knew to get by. She decided to write a cookbook to raise money for herself and her children. This work, published in 1866, was the first known cookbook published by a black American woman in the United States.[1]

Black-authored cookbooks and etiquette manuals can be effective in the undergraduate classroom as primary documents to teach students about the biographies of individuals as well as larger trends in black history, culture, and race relations. In this article, I first argue for the importance of a variety of culinary works—cookbooks and etiquette manuals—from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to demonstrate culinary books' contribution to a wide range of historical study. Then, I suggest sources that teachers and students can use in classrooms to investigate the lives of authors and their connections to American culture. Next, I offer a teaching method I used in one of my classes with particular reference to Malinda Russell's 1866 *A Domestic Cook Book*. Russell's life story opens a window for students to inquire about her unique challenges and the broader view of African American experiences in the middle of the nineteenth century. Finally, I reflect on how teachers of history may use cookbooks and etiquette manuals as primary sources to teach lessons on African American history and culture.[2]

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[1] See Jan Longone, "Early Black-Authored American Cookbooks," *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* 1 (Winter 2001): 96-99.

[2] Special thanks to the University of Michigan Clements Library and the Janice B. Longone collection of African American authored cookbooks and etiquette books. During my postdoctoral year at the University of Michigan, I helped to catalogue and curate an exhibit on the books that I will discuss in this essay. This article is an outgrowth of my work on the collection of black-authored works in the Janice Bluestein Longone Culinary Archive (JBLCA). Special thanks also to librarian Katie Loehrlein at the University of Southern Indiana David L. Rice Library for research assistance.

Cookbooks and Etiquette Manuals in Historical Study

Diverse authors wrote cookbooks and etiquette manuals: a head butler in the New England home of a senator; a free woman of color who moved from the antebellum South to Paw Paw, Michigan; a cook who grew up in the Arkansas governor's mansion; a famous Civil Rights and Black Power leader; musicians, hoteliers, a renowned scientist, and many, many more authors from all walks of life. There were as many different reasons for writing as there are authors. Some authors stated that they desired to share their years of wisdom; others hoped to benefit the health of African Americans across the country; some wrote to make ends meet; others wrote in order to raise consciousness about culture, to educate about holiday traditions, and even to move toward racial justice and solidarity.

Culinary books hold a special place in the history of race and class. The first book of any kind by a black American printed by a commercial publisher in the United States was *The House Servant's Directory* by Robert Roberts, published in Boston in 1827 by Monroe and Francis.[3] Three black-authored works followed in the nineteenth century: Tunis Campbell's *Hotel Keepers, Head Waiters and Housekeepers' Guide* in 1848; Malinda Russell's *A Domestic Cook Book: Containing a Careful Selection of Useful Receipts for the Kitchen* in 1866; and Abby Fisher's *What Mrs. Fisher Knows about Old Southern Cooking* in 1881.

For decades few scholars paid close attention to the culinary history of America. Instead, historians relied on sources such as letters, diaries, journals, and government records. Today, we recognize food studies as an important tool of analysis in cultural and economic history. Food reflects both national and regional culture just as art, literature, music, politics, and religion do.[4] Besides being publishing firsts for African Americans, cookbooks and etiquette books have wide social and political implications. The field of food studies has grown to encompass time, space, race, and class—all with the aim of explaining and interpreting food, society, and culture.[5] Current studies take food beyond the realm of agricultural and economic history and give it the fuller meaning by leaning toward cultural explanations, concentrating on the symbolic importance of food items, the cultural patterns that they underscore, or their influence on human behavior.[6] Cookbooks appear in literate civilizations where the display of class hierarchies is essential to their maintenance, and where cooking is seen as a communicable variety of expert knowledge.[7] Indeed, many early black authors used writing culinary works as a way of establishing their "professional" credentials and of contesting white racism in the process.[8] These works can be ideal cultural symbols that allow the historian to uncover hidden levels of meaning in social relationships and arrive at deeper understandings of the human experience.[9]

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[3] Robert Roberts, *The House Servant's Directory* (Boston: Munroe and Francis, 1827). Phyllis Wheatley's book of poetry, written in 1773, was published in England. So Roberts has the honor of being the first African American to publish in the United States.

[4] Marc Cohen Ferris, *The Edible South: The Power of Food and the Making of an American Region* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 2.

[5] John C. Super, "Food and History," *Journal of Social History* 36 (Fall 2002): 165.

Cookbooks provide wide-ranging implications for gender studies as well. Although the material practice of cooking is not necessarily gendered, the sociopolitical context in which cooking takes place often is.[10] Even in the post-women's movement era, cooking and the food-related labor of women are often devalued or neglected due to the association of food and labor with masculinity, male celebrity, and bravado. Women's voices demand and deserve recognition because they are central to the culinary culture of our nation.[11] Food opens a window through which we can look. For example, Doris Witt argues that cooking has special implications for the black woman not shared by either black males or whites. Because the black woman's options have traditionally been limited to domestic service, recipe-sharing assumes more the context of a battlefield, where the social barriers of class, race, and generation were not eradicated but constructed, maintained, and fortified.[12] According to Patricia Hill Collins, black women in the last few decades have been paradoxically "portrayed as stupid; having an animal-like sexuality, a natural willingness to serve, and an innate ability to cook; demonstrating an endless strength in the face of racism and sexism, and a willingness to put anyone and everyone always before themselves. All these stereotypes as well as being generally bitchy and disagreeable."[13] Cookbooks can counter such images of a flawed dominant cultural view of African American women by dictating their own parameters for a cultural counter-memory.[14]

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[6] Ibid., 174.

[7] Arjun Appadurai, "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India," *Comparative Studies in History: An International Quarterly* 30 (January 1988): 4.

[8] Doris Witt, *Black Hunger: Soul Food and America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 11-12.

[9] Super, "Food and History," 165.

[10] Rosalyn Collings Eves, "A Recipe for Remembrance: Memory and Identity in African-American Women's Cookbooks," *Rhetoric Review* 24 (2005): 283.

[11] Witt, *Black Hunger*, 2.

[12] Ibid., 284.

Foodways studies confirm that more than being peripheral to women's lives, the culture of food is a source of information about how they contributed to cultural life.[15] From the early slave women who passed on their knowledge to the more literate women of the twentieth century who passed down their written texts, recipes constitute rich sources on African American women, and these sources often run contrary to externally imposed gender and racial definitions.

Doris Witt's *Black Hunger* considered the relationship of music, minstrelsy, and food in black culture. She suggested that African Americans, in their guise as entertainers, "season the possum of black expressive culture" to the taste of their Anglo American audience, maintaining, in the process, their integrity as performers. But in the closed circle of their own communities, everybody knows that the punch line to the recipe and the proper response to the performer's constrictive dilemma is, "Damn the possum! That sho' is some good gravy!" Witt argues that the "gravy" is the inimitable technique of the Afro-American artist, derived from lived blues experience, as capable of "playing possum" as of presenting one.[16] Witt concludes that if this "gravy" were understood only as technique, then the "lived blues of experience" of hunger would, quite the contrary, surely derive from its lack. It seemed just possible, in other words, that a materialist perspective ought to consider the "gravy" literally as gravy, food derived from the unremunerated labor of an African American culinary artist, usually a woman. In turn, her lived blues experience would perhaps derive from the fact that she was at work in the kitchen making gravy to cover the absence of meat while the men were out singing blues, playing possum—and awaiting dinner.[17]

Finally, region plays a role in cookbooks and etiquette manuals. For example, Marcie Cohen Ferris argues that throughout history, the politics of power and place has established complex regional cuisines of both privilege and deprivation that continue to impact daily food patterns of Americans. In the South, for example, whites, African Americans, and Native Americans struggled for control of their bodies and minds, nourishment, livelihood, land, and citizenship. In food lies the harsh dynamics of racism, sexism, class struggle, and ecological exploitation that have long defined the South. There too, however, resides family, a strong connection to place, conviviality, creativity, and flavor. A tension underlies southern history, and that same tension resides in southern foodways, a cuisine largely shaped by the diverse racial history of the region.[18] In the past, borders were more rigid on foodways. The map of the South traditionally referred to the eleven states of the former Confederacy, but today these rigid borders are more fluid. The South is found wherever southern culture is found, existing as a state of mind both within and beyond its geographical boundaries.[19]

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[13] Patricia Hill Collins, *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 8-9.

[14] Eves, "A Recipe for Remembrance," 281.

[15] Jacqueline Bobo, *Black Feminist Cultural Criticism* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001), xvii.

[16] Witt, *Black Hunger*, 194-195.

[17] Ibid.

History, Culture, and Race Studies through Culinary Works: Examples of Cookbooks and Etiquette Manuals

Cookbooks and etiquette manuals can be creative tools in teaching several aspects of black history.[20] These documents can illustrate some of the diversity in the everyday lives of black people throughout American history. Malinda Russell's *A Domestic Cookbook: Containing a Careful Selection of Useful Receipts for the*

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[18] Ferris, *The Edible South*, 1.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Please see Liza Ashley, *Thirty Years at the Mansion: Recipes and Recollections* (Little Rock: August House, 1985); Leah Chase and Johnny Rivers, *Down Home Healthy: Family Recipes of Black American Chefs* (National Institutes of Health, National Cancer Institute, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1994); *Good Things to Eat as Suggested by Rufus: A Collection of Practical Recipes for Preparing Meats, Game, Fowl, Fish, Puddings, Pastries, ETC* (Chicago: Rufus Estes, 1911); A. Fillmore, *The Lone Star Cook Book and Meat Special (From the Slaughter Pen to the Dining Room Table)* (Nashville: National Baptist Publishing Board, 1929); Abby Fisher, *What Mrs. Fisher Knows about Old Southern Cooking: Soups, Pickles, Preserves, Etc.* (San Francisco: Women's Co-operative Printing Office, 1881); Franklyn H. Hall, *How to Make and Serve 100 Choice Broths and Soups* (Philadelphia: Franklyn H. Hall, 1903); Bobby Hendricks, *Barbeque with Mr. Bobby Que* (Memphis: Wimmer Brothers Books, 1976); Mary Jackson and Leila Wishart, *The Integrated Cookbook or The Soul of Good Cooking* (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company Inc., 1971); Bob Jeffries, *Soul Food Cook Book* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1969); Robert Roberts, *The House Servant's Directory* (New York: Charles S. Francis, 1827); Malinda Russell, *A Domestic Cook Book: Containing a Careful Selection of Useful Receipts for the Kitchen* (Paw Paw, Michigan: Malinda Russell, 1866). For related secondary sources, see: Elizabeth Clark-Lewis, *Living In, Living Out: African American Domestics in Washington, D.C., 1910-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Press, 1994); Elizabeth L. O'Leary, *From Morning to Night: Domestic Service in Maymont House and the Gilded Age South* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003); Rebecca Sharpless, *Cooking in Other Women's Kitchens: Domestic Workers in the South, 1865-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Tera Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

Kitchen is a prime example.[21] Russell has an amazing story with which many students connected—from her life's struggles and hardships, to her bravery in facing those struggles, to the publishing, subsequent losing, and rediscovery of her book. Everything we know about her comes from the introduction she wrote in her cookbook. In addition to the rich autobiographical section in this work, the remainder of the book is comprised of recipes. The recipes include main dishes and side dishes, desserts, beverages, and breads. While most of the recipes are foods, Russell also includes household tips and medicinal recipes. Some of the medicinal items include recipes for hair oils and cures for toothaches and rheumatism. She, no doubt, used these very recipes when she was a traveling nurse.

Malinda Russell's book replaced another author, Abby Fisher, with the title of the earliest black-authored cookbook. Fisher's *What Mrs. Fisher Knows about Old Southern Cooking: Soups, Pickles, Preserves, Etc.* was published in 1881 and is still an important piece of African American and California publishing history. Mrs. Fisher was a former slave who could neither read nor write. She enlisted the help of several named benefactors to transcribe and publish the book. Fisher was born in South Carolina and moved to San Francisco where she established a successful business in pickle and preserves manufacturing. She gained culinary fame by winning medals and diplomas at several California fairs, including two medals in San Francisco in 1880 for "best pickles and sauces and best assortment of jellies and preserves." Fisher said that friends and colleagues encouraged her to publish a book of her original recipes. This was a common statement—that she had been encouraged by others—that we find in many black authored books of the time. It was a justification for having stepped beyond racial and class expectations to publish a book.[22]

This special class of primary sources also describes the work lives of African American chefs, domestics, and etiquette experts. Teachers might use these texts to examine how relationships between domestic employees and employers changed over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Another prominent theme educators might consider is how domestic workers viewed their labor and their particular expertise. Researchers may also explore how black domestic workers made decisions to migrate for professional, educational, or other reasons. Since racial betterment is a central theme in many of the books, researchers and students may ascertain evolving ideas about racial uplift. *The House Servant's Directory* by Robert Roberts is a particularly relevant example. Roberts was a black American domestic servant who lived from about 1780 to 1860. He worked at the country estate of Christopher Gore, the governor of Massachusetts and a United States Senator. The first known book written by an African American and published by a commercial press in America, this manual offers one of the most detailed discussions on the proper management of a nineteenth-century upper-class New England household. Additionally, and even more fascinating, it is the first self-help book published to encourage young black men to become professionals. Roberts offers specific, practical advice on how to ensure a determined young man's career advancement.

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[21] The Janice Bluestein Longone Culinary Archive of African American Cookbooks has the distinction and honor of possessing the only known copy of this central work in African American publishing history. It is now available digitally online through the University of Michigan.

[22] Abby Fisher, *What Mrs. Fisher Knows about Old Southern Cooking: Soups, Pickles, Preserves, Etc.* (San Francisco: Women's Co-operative Printing Office, 1881).

The House Servant's Directory provides a variety of information on the work and life of domestic servants, as well as a description of the ideal domestic servant. Roberts focuses on how to run a large household, how to maintain desirable relationships with employers and other servants, and how to build a respectable professional reputation. The book includes recipes for food, cleaning, and remedies for common ailments. In a section for cooks, Roberts describes the importance of keeping good relations with other servants and proper etiquette to exercise when working with other employees. Additionally, this guide gives some advice to employers on how to treat servants. All this said, this book provides a glimpse into the lives of northern-based domestic servants on wealthy estates. While a dominant theme throughout the work is the importance of knowing one's own place within the household, it illustrates the resources at their disposal, their social status, and their prospects for career advancement.

Taking readers into the twentieth century and the era of African American racial uplift ideology, Edward S. Green's 1920 publication, *The National Capital Code of Etiquette Dedicated to the Colored Race*, is another powerhouse for black history and culture. Green worked for the United States government for eighteen years. He graduated from college and was a recognized man of letters and literacy among upper-class African Americans and diplomatic circles in Washington, D.C. and abroad. His work is an etiquette book aimed at teaching black people of all walks of life the customs of the African American social elite. Subjects include how to dress for various occasions, correct table manners, how to conduct oneself in public, styles for calling cards, and how to introduce friends and business acquaintances. Green also devotes much of the book to the art of conversation: how to commemorate wedding anniversaries, how to properly conduct social calls and activities, and proper mourning practices. Green includes several charts and photographs throughout the book to illustrate proper attire, place settings, and room decorations. Photographs of the author and his wife are also included. In fine, granular detail, this book illustrates the values and high culture of middle- and upper-class African Americans during a time when race

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leaders advocated the philosophy of racial uplift. This book takes students to a place of understanding the very detailed codes of conduct and social expectations.[23]

Cookbooks may also be a tool to understand African American political movements. Authors show links between food and political activism in black history. A dominant theme among these works is the relationship between late twentieth-century activism and the rise of the Soul Food Movement. Cookbook authors wrote directly about their involvement in the 1960s and 1970s student movements, labor unionism, Civil Rights activism, and the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. Published in Berkeley in 1988, *Barbeque'n with Bobby* by Bobby Seale, is an excellent example of a black activist authoring a cookbook. This cookbook serves as a springboard to investigate the life and social activism of Bobby Seale and the community work of the Black Panthers. During the 1960s, Seale was a part of the New Left student protest movement. Inspired by the advent of the Civil Rights Movement, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X, Seale co-founded the Black Panther Party for Self Defense in October 1966. During the eight years that Seale was chairman of the Black Panther Party, he initiated community-based service programs such as breakfasts for school children, but he reached international notoriety during the Chicago Eight Conspiracy trial of 1969-1970. His cookbook, like so many others, opens with an autobiography that is rich in detail. The remainder of the book includes recipes and suggests ways to build a barbeque fire and the best types of supplies to use.[24]

Many cookbooks deal with issues of gender directly or indirectly. For any woman, the act of cooking has overlapping social meanings and notions of her traditional roles. Gender and race further complicate the experiences of African American female cooks. Especially in etiquette manuals, researchers may explore the differing roles and expectations of male and female domestic workers. In *The House Servant's Directory*, Robert Roberts' advice to the heads of families is a window to the world of female domestic workers. As he advises the heads of families on how to treat them, readers discover some of the challenges of female cooks in the nineteenth century. Roberts wrote that the man of the house should take the greatest care to preserve his cook's health:

> Ye, who think that to protect and encourage virtue, is the best preventive from vice, give your female servants liberal wages …. To say nothing of the deleterious vapours and pestilential exhalations of the charcoal, which soon undermine the health of the heartiest, the glare of a scorching fire, and the smoke so baneful to the eyes and the complexion, are continual

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[23] Edward S. Green, *The National Capital Code of Etiquette Dedicated to the Colored Race* (Washington, D.C.: A.N. Jenkins, 1920).

[24] Bobby Seale, *Barbeque'n with Bobby* (Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 1988).

> and inevitable dangers; and a cook must live in the midst of them, as a soldier on the field of battle, surrounded by bullets, and bombs, and Congreve's rockets, with this only difference, that for the first, every day is a fighting day, that her warfare is almost always without glory, and most praiseworthy achievements pass not only without reward, but frequently without even thanks; for the most consummate cook is, alas! seldom noticed by the master, or heard of by the guests …. Cleanliness, and a proper ventilation to carry off smoke and steam, should be particularly attended to in the construction of a kitchen; the grand scene of action, the fire-place, should be placed where it may receive plenty of light. Hitherto the contrary has prevailed, and the poor cook is continually basted with her own perspiration.[25]

Roberts compared the kitchen to a battleground and the cook's plight to that of a soldier and unsung hero. Her workplace undermined her health, as she was subjected daily to scorching fire and noxious smoke. Fair wages, cleanliness, and ventilation in the kitchen were also points of concern for Roberts. One reads this as a common problem among cooks during this period. Students of these sources may also study the differences in opportunities within households and business establishments that were available to men and women employees. The relationships between male and female employees may also be researched.

In addition, cookbooks reveal changes in African American attitudes toward food and migration. In particular, they reveal changing ideas about how food reflects culture and the relationship between diet and health. Students may study attitudes about food in black communities that have shifted between economic and subsistence needs, cultural awareness, and health concerns. The emphasis on Soul Food cooking also made way for healthful eating as African American chefs raised awareness of the relationship between diet and conditions such as diabetes and heart disease. The works also point to the cultural influence of Soul Food and southern cooking in northern cities.

African American cookbooks also deal indirectly with migration, often south to north, but also north to south, and interregional movement. These books reveal why certain authors left their homes, often to find work, and how their travel led to different types of employment. The works give insight into what the authors saw as benefits to living in certain regions compared to others. In some cases, failed attempts to travel or to emigrate are described—for example, Malinda Russell's failed attempt to travel to Liberia. The ability to escape the violence of the South through migration, thus taking her Tennessean recipes to Virginia and ultimately to Michigan, was of great importance to Russell. After being attacked by a guerilla party, she wrote, "Hearing that Michigan was the Garden of the West, I resolved to make that my home." In Michigan, Russell did what she knew best—she began to cook again.

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[25] Roberts, *The House Servant's Directory*, 157-158.

Finally, many cookbooks speak directly to cultural movements and intra-racial politics. In particular, these books might be used to examine shifting ideas about how food, etiquette, and social functions relate to ideas about racial uplift, culture, and social betterment in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Researchers may study how ideas of racial uplift, Black Nationalism, Civil Rights, and Black Power are reflected in the ways people write about food and etiquette. Cookbooks can reveal power relations between domestic workers and their employers. Researchers may note how each author dealt with these relationships and how each author defined the ideal servant. A prominent theme is how a servant may best fit into a household. Knowing one's place, how to show proper deference to those of higher social status and how to exercise responsibility with those of lower status is of great importance. In his *House Servant's Directory*, Robert Roberts wrote, "… there are many young men … who oftentimes are deficient of some of the several branches that are requisite for a perfect servant to understand; I therefore have a sincere wish to serve all those who are in that capacity of earning an honest living, and perhaps are not perfect in the several branches of their business … without being ordered by the lady in the family."[26] Students conducting research may compare and contrast African American authored cookbooks and African American authored books "as told to" white co-authors. Both types of books cover the nineteenth century and twentieth century. Students might also find attitude shifts among African American authors through common locution. African American authors in the earlier part of the nineteenth century often wrote apologies for the so-called presumption of publishing a book on their own expertise, given their social status. By the turn of the twentieth century, African American authors took a more self-laudatory tone in their writings and emphasized their expertise in the culinary arts. Other selections touch on changing racial attitudes. Black and white activists of the Abolitionist movement as well as more modern partnerships in the twentieth and twenty-first century point to interracial collaboration as activism and as social movements.

In an introduction to *Mahalia Jackson Cooks Soul*, the famous singer describes the Soul movement and suggests that this book contributes to *Soul Culture* by providing traditional recipes from African American cultures and history. Jackson's powerful contralto voice enabled her to achieve international fame through her gospel music career. She recorded dozens of records and was known as "The Queen of Gospel." Jackson was also involved in the Civil Rights Movement. Jackson wrote that the unifying attribute of Soul Food—no matter the region of origin—is that it reflects the courage, action, and fervor of black people throughout history.[27]

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[26] Ibid., 2.

A Kwanzaa Celebration: Festive Recipes and Homemade Gifts from an African-American Kitchen by Angela Shelf Medearis is another example of learning culture through cookbooks. This work is both a book of recipes and a primer on the Kwanzaa holiday. Medearis described the historical roots and cultural importance of Kwanzaa. She introduced each of the seven principles of Kwanzaa, or Nguso Saba, and described dishes that are related to or represent each principle. Each chapter begins with a quote about a principle of Kwanzaa and ways that individuals and communities may celebrate that principle. Recipes are generally listed one per page, with ingredients and preparation instructions. Recipes are derived from African American and African traditions. Recipes are also prefaced with a short paragraph on how this particular food relates to Kwanzaa and African American history and culture. The book concludes with a Kwanzaa/Swahili pronunciation guide and glossary.[28]

The Teaching Method

The aim of this assignment is to aid students in recognizing the voice of a nineteenth-century African American female cookbook author. Students were to ascertain Malinda Russell's life story, the challenges she faced that were common to African Americans during her lifetime, her unique personal challenges, and the larger picture of what life entailed for an African American during and immediately following the Civil War.

I designed this assignment for students in a History 101 survey course at the end of a semester during which they had studied various primary documents and answered guiding questions. The students had studied various levels of servitude including slavery, indentured servitude, apprenticeships, and free-labor domestic service. The overarching question for the course considered how definitions of American freedom change over time, often to include more and more groups into the idea of liberty to all. This was the first assignment in which the students were required to generate their own hypothesis regarding the source, to become researchers, and to ascertain as much information as they could find to create a story about the cookbook author.

While I designed this assignment for a survey course, it could also be adapted for upper-division courses on women's history, African American history, and research methods. At the survey level, it was intended to introduce the value of primary sources; students should be expected to have a basic understanding of African American history before engaging in the assignment. For upper-division courses, more background in women's history and African American history could highly augment the assignment by giving students a richer context in which to place authors, enabling the students to delve deeper into researching the implications of gender, race, and class that this cookbook and others offer.

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[27] Mahalia Jackson, *Mahalia Jackson Cooks Soul* (Nashville: Aurora Publishers Incorporated, 1970).

[28] Angela Shelf Medearis, *A Kwanzaa Celebration: Festive Recipes and Homemade Gifts from an African-American Kitchen* (New York: Dutton, 1995).

The Malinda Russell book that was used in this assignment was published in 1866. Before starting the assignment, students reviewed information regarding the period from lectures and their textbook about the triumphs, challenges, and perils of freed black people during the post-Civil War Reconstruction Era. They reflected on the promise of freedom in the Emancipation Proclamation and the 13th Amendment versus what the text said about the lived experiences of African Americans. Russell's book is a treasure of information about an individual's struggle to survive and the struggle that also reflects many of the trials and tribulations of her contemporaries. The importance of freedom, or acknowledging freedom, is reflected in the opening lines of the autobiography section. Russell wrote, "I was born in Washington County, and raised in Green County, in the eastern part of Tennessee. My mother, Malinda Russell, was a member of one of the first families set free by Mr. Noddie, of Virginia."[29] In the first two lines of her autobiography, Russell provides readers with specific details and context.

Students were instructed to form groups of four. They were given copies of *A Domestic Cook Book* by Malinda Russell and asked four questions:

1. In your small groups, find out everything you can about the author. List the information in bullet-point format below. [Students should focus on sourcing the document: Who is the author? What is the title? Who was the intended audience? What were possible motivations for writing the book?]
2. What is the time period and geographic location? List what you can learn about the time and place this book was written. [Students' focus is on contextualizing sources.]
3. Is this a reliable historical source? Why or why not? [Students' focus is on corroborating sources.]
4. What trends in black history can you see through Russell's life?

Students were given thirty minutes to complete this activity. After the thirty minutes were up, students came back into the large group to discuss their findings. Students uncovered several pieces of information about Russell's life, the time period, and geographic location. Most prominent in student responses was biographical information. Students reported that Malinda Russell was born and raised in Washington and Green counties in eastern Tennessee, and that her mother was born free after her grandmother was set free by a Mr. Noddie of Virginia. Students ascertained that at nineteen, Russell decided to go to Liberia but met tragedy along the way. En route to the Liberia meeting, one of her fellow travelers stole her money, and she was forced to stay in Virginia. In Virginia, Russell worked as a cook and a traveling nurse for women. Students were impressed by Russell's determination to make ends meet. In addition to cooking and working as a nurse, she also kept a washhouse, which she advertised in a local newspaper. While in Virginia, Russell married Anderson Vaughan. After her husband's death, Russell returned to Tennessee and kept a boarding house for three years, followed by a pastry shop for six years. By 1864, Russell had once again saved a considerable amount of money, but it was stolen. The group that stole her money this time threatened to kill her, and she decided to move to Michigan. At the time of writing *A Domestic Cook Book*, Russell was a widow and was supporting a son with a physical disability. Students recognized that Russell hoped the cookbook would benefit the public. However, she also hoped that her earnings from the book would help her to raise money and reclaim part of her property.

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[29] Russell, *A Domestic Cook Book: Containing a Careful Selection of Useful Recipes for the Kitchen.*

While most groups identified the book's contents as a firsthand account of a person's life and work and concluded that it was a valid primary source, two of the six groups of students did not recognize Russell's book as a primary source. Their responses were that this was not reliable because only one woman was involved in writing the book and that a cookbook should be rejected as a primary source. This error was corrected during discussion when the class reviewed the requirements and characteristics of primary sources. Overall, students identified trends in black American history that supported previous coursework and answered central questions of the assignment. Students' understanding of the time period were greatly enhanced by such a personal account of an individual who encountered many of the struggles others of her background also faced.

The aim of this assignment was to aid students in recognizing the voice of a nineteenth-century African American woman during and just after the Civil War by using a cookbook. Etiquette books may be utilized in similar ways. If this assignment had used an etiquette book, the same four questions could be asked. In addition to the four questions, students might be given extra questions such as:

1. How specifically does this etiquette advice reflect notions of African American racial uplift of the era?
2. In what ways does this etiquette advice reflect a class bias?
3. How does this book reflect gender norms of the era?

Conclusion

Cookbooks and etiquette manuals are unique windows into the histories of black Americans. Many cookbooks contain detailed autobiographies of the authors who provide their lives' stories as well as their reasons for writing their cookbook. These short autobiographies may show trends in black culture, highlight aspects of black history, and put the authors' lives in the context of their historical time period. Etiquette manuals, too, provide rich information. In addition to providing author autobiographies, etiquette manuals provide readers with detailed information of the norms and expectations of social interaction in the given historical period. The books show, for instance, changing ideas about how food, etiquette, and social functions related to ideas about racial progress and social betterment in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Cookbooks and etiquette manuals reveal some important themes in black history. They reveal a rich diversity in experience. Authors wrote and published in all parts of the country—from New England to the Deep South to the West and Middle West. This regional diversity illustrates African American culinary influence in every corner of the country.[30] We see some of the strongest and longest lasting themes of African American history in these books. They show the importance of economic and regional mobility to black people. They reinforce the importance of education in black communities. They illustrate the desire to pass on valued traditions and wisdom. And perhaps more literally than any other historical source, these books show students how throughout their experiences in the United States, black Americans have taken lemons and made lemonade.[31]

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[30] Many of these themes come out in the finding aid. I organized the finding aid into research topics of potential interest. They include: African American Political Movements; African American Labor History; Gender; African American Health and Nutrition; African American Immigrant; Race Relations; and African American Cultural and Social Relations. However, I believe that as more researchers explore this collection, many more topics and uses will be found.

[31] For lemonade recipes see Liza Ashley, *Thirty Years at the Mansion: Recipes and Recollections* (Little Rock: August House, 1985).

STEPPING OUT OF THE CLASSROOM INTO VIRTUALITY: USING MMORPGs TO TEACH HISTORY

Solomon K. Smith
Georgia Southern University

A major problem for teaching history is the difficulty of getting students interested in the materials and making sense of the coherent narrative of historical events presented in class. Through lectures, discussions, assignments, films, and reading materials, instructors try to demonstrate a thematic order to their subjects, but many find that students struggle to make sense of the material or to restructure it into a clear historical narrative at the end of the semester. Even when they do make sense of the narrative, students often fail to see the value of the subjects they studied. In many ways, the problem for historians is effectively enabling students to understand the relationship between the day-to-day existence of people and the sweeping historical events occurring in the past as well as those during the students' own lifetimes. This problem leads to an important question for the teaching profession: Can nontraditional methods like using video games in the classroom aid in teaching history and possibly even create an active learning environment?

A growing body of experience and literature suggests that video games can be used as effective teaching tools for history, depending on how they are employed.[1] Beyond offering students a new way to learn about the past, video games give them an opportunity to come into direct contact with history by allowing them to actively participate in a re-creation of historical events. For the past six years, I have allowed my students in upper division history courses (usually twenty to twenty-five students) the opportunity to play video games as part of the selection of class assignments offered to them. The others are more traditional assignments used in history courses: film reviews, argumentative essays based on reading materials, and a short research paper of seven to ten pages. Interestingly, when given a choice, most students decided to take the nontraditional gaming option rather than conduct the short research paper. Because immersion in primary sources is integral to understanding history, all students in the class are required to submit primary source document analysis papers. They also take two exams covering course materials. Thus, students are given an array of assignments in order to engage with the materials in the course.

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[1] Scott Carlson, "Can Grand Theft Auto Inspire Professors?" *Chronicle of Higher Education,* August 15, 2003; James Gee, *What Video Games Have to Teach Us About Learning and Literacy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); James Gee, "Learning by Design: Good Video Games as Learning Machines," *E-Learning* 2 (2005): 5-16; Jeremiah McCall, "Using Simulation Games in the History Classroom," http://teachinghistory.org/nhec-blog/25117. This piece is the first in a six-part blog series. See also the Roundtable: Games and History: A New Way to Learn or Educational Fluff?, http://teachinghistory.org/ issues-and-research/roundtable/25080; Marc Prensky, *Digital Game-Based Learning* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004); Kurt Squire and Sasha Barab, "Replaying History: Engaging Urban Underserved Students in Learning World History Through Computer Simulation Games" (paper presented at the International Conference of the Learning Sciences, Santa Monica, CA, 2004); Nicolas Trépanier, "The Assassin's Perspective: Teaching History with Video Games," *Perspectives in History* 52 (May 2014), http://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/may-2014/the-assassin%E2%80%99s-perspective#; Robert Whitaker, "Backward Compatible: Gamers as a Public History Audience," *Perspectives on History* 54 (January 2016), https://www.histsorians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/january-2016/backward-compatible-gamers-as-a-public-history-audience#.

Although I believed that the video game assignments were a valuable way to engage with the class materials, I always made them optional so that students who were not comfortable with or not interested in video games could choose an alternate activity. But since the video gaming exercises were becoming increasingly popular and worked so well as historical instruction, I decided to do something different for a new class titled "Privacy in the Americas," created for the spring 2012 semester.[2] Every student was required to play a video game as part of a major course assignment (the entire assignment, which included several components, was worth forty percent of their grade). Hence, gaming was no longer optional. Although there are several stand-alone games that could have been useful for this exercise, I opted not to use them because it would require students to purchase the software. Instead, I had the students play a free massive multiplayer online role-playing game (MMORPG) for this course.[3] Cost was a big reason for the selection of a MMORPG, but it was also due to the historical focus of the games being used and the possibility of the students being able to interact with each other during game play.

MMORPGs are useful teaching devices because they are a blend of genres, mixing role-playing action and strategy elements in the form of web browser-based games that can be accessed by either computer platform (iOS or PC; some are even available on gaming consoles like PlayStation and Xbox). MMORPGs are appealing because they allow students to interact and learn from each other in the game as well as with the general gaming community that plays the game for entertainment. Just as important, students as a whole are already experienced with MMORPGs, so it is not necessary to teach them how to play. As in all role playing games (RPG), the student players create a character and take control over that character's actions. In many cases, the environment within the game is extraordinary in its historical accuracy, even if situations created by gameplay are not historical. For example, one game began with a tutorial that taught gameplay to players by requiring them to escape from a sinking historically accurate Spanish galleon from the eighteenth century while it was under attack by zombies. It is also important to note that the world of MMORPGs continues to exist and change while the player is offline and away from the game, forcing students to consider what will happen to their characters (and their character's property) when they are not playing.

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[2] In fact, this class has been so popular that I have taught it three times since its creation.

[3] Historical settings have been covered by an endless stream of video games. For my class, "Piracy in the Americas," there are several standouts. *Cutthroats: Terror on the High Seas* and *Sid Meier's Pirates!* are easily the best of the genre and the most useful in teaching about piracy and the Caribbean during the Golden Age of Sail.

Although there are a number of MMORPGs covering a wide variety of historical subjects and periods, I decided to use two specific games for my upper division class "Piracy in the Americas" because both had maritime themes, they were both reasonably accurate in their historicity, and they fell within the time period addressed during the class, roughly 1550 to 1820. Another important caveat was that both games were free to play, so students would not have to buy expensive software. The first game was Flying Lab Software's *Pirates of the Burning Seas*, which I used in class for two different semesters. When the company offering *Pirates of the Burning Seas* suffered a data breach and shut the game down for several months, I switched to a new game called *Unchartered Waters Online* by KOEI.[4] Both of these games worked well for my assignments, but they stressed the development of different skills and knowledge by the students which are worth exploring.

Pirates of the Burning Seas is set in the Caribbean in an anachronistic 1720, mixing ahistorical characters and events with a relatively accurate geography as well as adding economic, political, and diplomatic situations that match what was happening within the region during the period. Although the game offers the opportunity to follow a story line, gameplay is open. Student success depends on their ability to combine tactical ship battles and swashbuckling combat in port battles with participation in a player-driven economy. Players choose nationality affiliation from four nations: Great Britain, Spain, France, or Pirates. Each nation has specific ships, economic opportunities, and colonies/trade ports within the Caribbean. Players are also required to select a career path. For nationals (British, Spanish, French), the careers are: Naval Officer, Privateer, or Freetrader; Pirates are limited to being either a Cutthroat or a Buccaneer. Career paths determine what abilities and features players will accrue as a captain, and along with nationality, drive specific choices in gameplay. During times of war, players can find themselves economically constrained or even attacked while in port or on the high seas due to their national affiliation. Pirates can freely operate as they please, but will find little support from nations whose subjects they attack.

There are two major components of gameplay in *Pirates of the Burning Seas*: combat and participation in the player-driven economy. Both activities have an educational value. Players engage in combat in three arenas—swashbuckling, port contention, and ships. Swashbuckling expands the character's skills and helps them gain rank, both useful for gameplay. Port contention is the capture of player-owned ports throughout the Caribbean, many of which feature historically accurate defenses. If the players succeed, they take control of the port and all commodities in it. They also must begin running the port's economic activities and rebuild defenses. Obviously, control of a port opens the player to attack, so it is important to be prepared as quickly as possible, which requires players to work together to gather materials. The final type of combat is ship-to-ship and can involve any of the fifty-five historically accurate ships of the period. Combat in *Pirates of the Burning Seas* can advance character development but also teaches the students knowledge about the historically correct military characteristics of weapons, ships, fortifications, and ports.

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[4] Flying Lab Software's *Pirates of the Burning Seas* was originally offered by Sony Online Entertainment, but was dropped in December 2012 after the data breach. As a result, former members of Flying Lab Software formed Portalus Games to run the game and host it, which they have done since 2013.

One of the most interesting aspects of the combat portion of the game is that it led students to begin doing their own research on ships as well as the naval strategies and tactics during the period. The assigned reading for the course is mostly primary materials like several of William Dampier's various works, Alexandre Exquemelin's *History of the Buccaneers of America*, Charles Johnson's *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates*, and a collection of court documents; I only use one secondary source, David Cordingly's *Under the Black Flag*. While these materials offer some details about combat, the students were not satisfied. Many started seeking out naval texts from the period to expand their knowledge and combat abilities. Other students realized from my description of Castillo de los Tres Reyes Magos del Morro in Havana during a lecture that the game had an exact duplicate of the fortress, which led them to assume all the fortifications in the game were close to or identical to the real sites. Hence, they sought out engineer plans as well as historical accounts of how the various fortifications were defeated in real life and employed those tactics in the game.

The second type of activity students engage in while playing *Pirates of the Burning Seas* is the player-driven production based economy. Players can locate raw materials to sell to manufactories or establish their own production line to build finished goods. One of the best examples for a production line involves timber. Wood of various types can be harvested from several historically accurate locations across the Caribbean in order to be manufactured into finished goods by player owned lumber mills or shipyards. The finished goods can either be sold to other players or used by the producer. Within this process, students will have to understand the steps required for production and acquire the necessary goods needed along the pathway. For example, a ship is composed of a hull that is made of planks cut from trees. Along with wood, a ship needs nails, masts, cannons, several hundred yards of rope, sails, and so on—each item has its own production line and offers players an opportunity to establish their own manufacturing centers or purchase materials from other players.

The various production lines in the game are intricate in their detail, but students with historical knowledge as well as a grasp of Caribbean geography have a distinct advantage since many resources can be found in their historical locations. As a result, students quickly learned to research the geography and economy of the historical period in order to advance themselves in the game. One student realized from reading a primary source by William Dampier that pirates and others hard on their luck would cut exotic woods in a location called Darien during the Age of Caribbean Piracy. Searching on the game map, the student located Darien in modern Panama and went to make his fortune, finding valuable exotic woods and a crew interested in joining his pirate ship. When other students read about his exploits on a class-shared blog, they, too, sought out historical locations for commodities valuable in the game, leading some to mine salt-peter and harvest natural salt pans while another discovered a silver mine previously unknown to players in the game.

While *Pirates of the Burning Seas* is based in one geographic region of the world and is largely driven by the player-based economy, *Unchartered Waters Online* focuses on exploration and offers students the opportunity to travel the world. Set in the Age of Exploration, the player takes up the role of a ship captain in a largely open-ended world. Like *Pirates of the Burning Seas*, players choose from six nationalities (England, Dutch Republic, Ancien Régime in France, Spanish Empire, Kingdom of Portugal, and Republic of Venice) and select a basic class: adventurer, merchant, or soldier. Unlike *Pirates of the Burning Seas*, the plot is loose and does not have a linear storyline. Instead, the game requires a player to follow a specific narrative path based on their nationality and career path as a tutorial to learn how to play the game. By the end of the tutorial storyline, players will have increased their exploration skills, explored large sections of the world, managed a seagoing fleet, and participated in expeditions geared toward a chosen trade: privateering, treasure hunting, exploration, and even piracy.

Exploration during the age of sail is the biggest educational benefit of *Unchartered Waters*, but student participation in trade between the major ports of the world also helps them learn geographic locations as well as the specialized economic products of various regions. As they move from port to port, players are encouraged to buy commercial products and move them around the local economies. The goods available in each port are historically and regionally accurate, so a little research by students can open up opportunities to make money in the game as well as learn about regional economic activities. Participation also expands a player's wealth, opens up new ships for purchase, and expands access to better equipment like sails, ropes, hulls, and weapons.

While students did not have the same "aha" moments in *Unchartered Waters*, several of them did find historical similarities they were able to exploit in the game. For one, several students realized that the water currents and winds seemed to follow a particular pattern. After consulting navigational charts for the Atlantic Ocean, they realized it was a near exact copy of the wind patterns and currents from real life. Hence, they were able to travel within the game safer and quicker. Another group of students realized that the commodities available for trade in the various ports matched what could be found during the historical time in question, and thus they were able to capitalize on moving valuable items from places where they were plentiful and cheap to areas where they were rare and valuable. Although students first tried to find good places to trade by trial and error, one shared on a blog that she found trade information in an assigned primary source and the rest of the students began to scour them for clues. In both games, students were using historical knowledge to achieve game success, a skill I believe will help them also in real life.

Regardless of which game the students played, the major assignment associated remained the same. While playing the game, the students were required to keep a captain's log of their adventures. For these logs, students were encouraged to keep highly detailed records, including audio or video recordings, and screen captures from the game. Since the primary sources used to teach the class included diaries, memoirs, personal accounts, judicial proceedings, and government documents from the period between 1550 and 1730, I encouraged the students to mimic those items while creating their own documentation. As a result, students got a sense of how primary documents are created while detailing their own adventures. Furthermore, I required students to put their captain's log in blog format so that they would gain experience with the online publication process. Our university has found that employers increasingly seek employees with these skills, so this assignment can give them a little experience if they do not already have it. Students share their blogs with the class, so, as already detailed by several examples, they can learn from each other's experiences as well as find details for locating each other in the game. Although the students learned a lot from the blogging process, ultimately the purpose of the logbook is to have students create their own primary source materials, which they will use for the final part of this assignment: a written history of their character's activities over the course of the semester, with their logbook being the primary source along with others created by peers in the class for their character "histories." Along with their created "primary sources," students are encouraged to compare their exploits in the game to those of real pirates and mariners they read about within the assigned primary source materials for the class.

The MMORPG assignment combines both active and interactive learning processes. As a result, it allows for greater degrees of comprehension of course materials as well as mental retention of lectures and primary sources. Because the students actively engage in the creation of historical events within the game and through interaction with their peers and other players, they develop an understanding of how historical sources are created and the difficulty of writing a cogent history based on those materials. Thus, the historical process becomes transparent for the students, since they go through every step of the historical process just as historians do. In a way, the students go beyond the historical process since they are learning how primary documents are created as they decide what they will or will not record in their gameplay logbooks.

This assignment also has another intrinsic value that makes it an appealing teaching device. Since the students engage in each level of the historical process—participation in the event by playing the game, creation of historical documents by maintaining the logbook, and the writing of history of their character in the game—they learn the intricacies of researching and writing in a way they would not normally do if they just wrote the regular research paper commonly assigned in history courses. In my teaching experience, students tend to rely almost exclusively on internet resources when writing papers, regardless of any strict parameters set for the assignment. As a result, I am finding a greater number of incidences of fraud and plagiarism when I assigned traditional research papers in the past; increasingly, students struggle to discern between proper research and misappropriation of another authors' work. So far, the video game assignment has remedied the plagiarism problem. Since the student history of the character depends on the logbook entries about events specifically in the gameplay, rather than finding information about a historical event in the public sphere, the opportunity for the student to purchase work does not exist.

While the MMORPG assignment has been a useful teaching tool, a few major concerns need to be acknowledged: historical accuracy, possible malicious or insincere motivations of individuals within the larger gaming community, and gaming community demographics that can impact player interactions. Video games are designed to entertain, not to teach history. While most designers research a game's historical period, they are not scholars who have historical accuracy as a primary concern. That noted, this is not necessarily a limitation. Sometimes the inaccuracies offer a pretext for historical discussion within class and can lead to many important questions: What factors led the game designers to include the inaccuracies in the first place? Did cultural influences, such as concerns of offending players, shape the way in which they present history? How did the various inaccuracies relate to ethical and commercial considerations? In my experience, students are fascinated by the notion that there could be a reason for the game designers to include a historical inaccuracy. For example, despite the religious issues that existed between the various European countries during the period, which often drove their historical interactions, neither MMORPG I used in class had a religious component as part of gameplay. When I pointed out the nonappearance of religion to the students, a long discussion ensued about the role of religion in history and the creation of historical events as well as the arguments that exist between historians in regard to these issues. As a result, the classroom discussion of historical inaccuracies in the game led to a debate over the relationship between general historical inaccuracies and ongoing historical arguments.

The discussion of historical accuracy also led the students to grow keenly aware of the need to evaluate the reliability of historically themed modes of entertainment. As a result, the topic of historical inaccuracies brought the students closer to the work of actual scholarly research. It also led the students to recognize that historical inaccuracies can be broken down into the same subcategories defined by Nicolas Trépanier in his discussion of the somewhat historically based video game *Assassins Creed*. These categories include, but are not limited to: aesthetics (the visual appearance of ships and port layouts), passive narrative elements (scenes that provide background and pretext to player actions), and psychology (asking, for example, if the punishment/reward system built into the game mechanics corresponds to the cultural context of the Age of Sail). By recognizing these subcategories, the students came to understand the unique characteristics of video games and MMORPGs as a medium to convey historical information beyond just a three-dimensional environment to enjoy a fun experience.[5]

The second concern to be considered when using MMORPGs as a tool to teach history involves the online gaming community. Different types of people play internet games, and a single group known as trolls—those inclined towards malicious intent—can be problematic for instructors using MMORPGs.[6] Trolls are found all over the internet and are difficult to avoid. Although students are generally familiar with these provocateurs, teachers should remind them that such individuals exist in the gaming world. It may even be necessary to help students report negative behavior if they witness or are the object of trolling activity.

Another issue with the gaming community involves demographics and player interactions. Most people playing MMORPGs are male, between the age of 19 and 32; only 15% of gamers in MMORPGs are female.[7] Hence, female students will receive more attention than their male counterparts in the game if they create female characters. Female characters often are more likely to receive gifts and help from other players. While this attention may be useful for gameplay, it can pose a distraction and become problematic when gift giving players expect something in return. As a result, students should be warned to be careful with their interactions and treat them just as they do in real life. In spite of these issues, the majority of the gaming community is filled with good people seeking enjoyment and entertainment.

While other assignments and activities in a history course will teach the students facts and figures of various events, movement, and historic connections, whether just in the past or stretching into the present, utilization of MMORPGs and other video games can be an excellent way to engage students beyond textbooks and lectures. In many ways, my course's MMORPG assignment even helped the students to understand what historian Andrew McMichael identifies as "how western culture packages, 'uses,' and 'consumes' its history."[8] The notion of using video games in the classroom is relatively new, but the theories calling for the use of games borrows heavily from many other methodologies and combines several pedagogical techniques. Ultimately, the use of MMORPGs helps teachers merge classroom instruction with an active hands-on approach normally not a part of the teaching of history. Students do not passively learn about the history, they live it in a virtual setting. Thus, it gets the students actively involved in the learning process and makes the process of history more relevant to them. Finally, the use of MMORPGs and other computer games can teach students to think critically about the way our society uses history and even begin to understand how the commodification of history through various multimedia vehicles can alter our understanding of past events.

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[5] Nicolas Trépanier, "The Assassin's Perspective: Teaching History with Video Games."

[6] David Jagneaux has written a detailed article on the types of players that can be found in MMORPGs. See David Jagneaux, "The List: The 5 Worst Types of MMO Players," (August 2014), http://www.morpg.com/showFeature.cfm/feature/8849page/1.

[7] For more detailed demographics on the gaming community of MMORPGs see, Nick Yee, "Unmasking the Avatar: The Demographics of MMO Player Motivations, In-Game Preferences, and Attrition," *Gamasutra* (September 2004), http://www.gamasutra.com/view/feature/130552/unmasking_the_avatar_the_.php?print=1.

While I originally developed the MMORPG assignment for use in my upper-level class "Pirates in the Americas," its initial pedagogical success in engendering student interest has led me to adopt this teaching technique for a future course on the Atlantic World. The best approach in choosing a MMORPG or video game for classroom use is to select it in the same manner as one picks a book to assign for the class—find several games, play them for a period of time, and then decide which one best suits the subject matter for the class. Most MMORPGs are free to play and thus easy to implement in classes.

There are an endless number of MMORPGs at the moment, but only a small group focus on historical subjects. Game maker Creative Assembly has a series of team-based MMORPGs from their *Total War* title series that let players control armies of warriors led by iconic commanders from history. A key aspect to these battles is the focus on historical accuracy in unit structure, weapons, armor, and military specialization of units. Wargaming.net offers a flight combat MMO simulation called *World of Warplanes* that takes place in the period from World War I to just after World War II, allowing players to fly historically accurate replicas of planes in their contemporary period and to test their piloting skills against real opponents. Another combat flight simulator called *War Thunder* is available from developer Gaijin Entertainment. The game currently focuses on combat aircraft from World War II and provides the player with a realistic flight combat experience. There are also several MMORPGs featuring tank combat during World War II, warship combat in the Pacific theater, and the amphibious landing in Normandy. *Stronghold Kingdoms* is a medieval-themed game developed by Firefly Studios that allows players to build a village into a mighty city by researching new technologies, expanding trade connections, and defending their lands from raiders by building castles. And finally, *Diplomacy Online* is a multiplayer web-based implementation of the turn-based strategy game by Avalon Hill. In this game, players try to conquer Europe by using strategy and diplomacy to make deals and alliances with other players as well as sabotage opponents' plans when necessary to achieve individual goals.

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[8] Andrew McMichael, "PC Games and the Teaching of History," *The History Teacher* 40 (February 2007): 203.

Although a majority of MMORPGs feature combat scenarios and war themes, there are games that explore other topics. *The Great Merchant Online* developed by JoyOn emphasizes commercial trading and becoming a great merchant. In the game, players travel across Eurasia and earn fortunes by finding advantageous deals, establishing new trade routes, making new contacts, investing in villages, and collecting taxes within their trading realms. *Salem*, developed by Sea Tribe and set in a fantastical New England, allows players to take on the role of colonists seeking to make lives for themselves in the New World. It features a crafting, farming, and building system based on seventeenth-century alchemy, but also allows players to encounter people and creatures based on actual colonist folklore, which includes but is not limited to Squonks, Hidebehinds, and witches. In the course of the game, players will scavenge for food, harvest natural resources, craft tools and homes, participate in a barter based economy, find themselves in competition with rival settlements, and even deal with vigilantes and mob justice.

With so many MMORPG options, there is ample opportunity to use them as classroom resources. It is important to remember that this pedagogical method is as much about making history enjoyable for the student as it is about getting them to dynamically engage in the process of learning. If one designs an assignment properly, students will actively create a historically based experience with their peers through gameplay and successfully engage in research about the historical period. Once gameplay is complete, students should be required to employ historical research and analyze their participation in papers about their experiences. Thus, by combining active and interactive learning experiences, the MMORPG assignment enhances comprehension of how historical events are created and interpreted while expanding on knowledge delivered through traditional means. As a result, the use of MMORPGs in the classroom gives students a richer understanding of history, the historical process, and the historian's craft.

"THEY'RE NOT JUST FOR FRIDAYS ANYMORE": MEDIA LITERACY, HISTORICAL INQUIRY, AND HOLLYWOOD FILMS

Charles Elfer
Clayton State University

Scott L. Roberts
Central Michigan University

Brian Fahey
Forsyth County Schools

For generations, and perhaps since the inception of the motion picture industry, teachers of history have recognized the utility of incorporating Hollywood, or commercial, film productions into their classrooms as a visual stimulus.[1] Alan Marcus and Jeremy Stoddard, prolific scholars in the area of teaching with film, reported that more than two-thirds of the teacher population surveyed in a recent study claimed to use film in the classroom as frequently as once per week.[2] Another notable contributor, William Russell, has echoed these findings and in a similar study found film in the history classroom to be ubiquitous, with 100% of participants reporting the use of film on a monthly basis.[3] While anecdotal, teachers with whom we work regularly cite the use of film as a mainstay in their practice, a feature of the history classroom that certainly reflects our own memories as history students as well. Moreover, although these findings are far from exhaustive, they do underscore some important classroom realities. Advancements in the technological landscape of schooling have significantly impacted the degree of access to media and film for teachers and students. As illustrated through such commonly known platforms as YouTube or TeacherTube, the availability of full-length feature films and also an inestimable number of shorter clips and segments has proliferated. All of this is to say that teachers of history today have at their disposal an indispensable resource and are perhaps more likely than ever to incorporate the visual medium of film into their respective practices. Coupled with a media-oriented student population, the rationale for commercial film in the classroom has become especially relevant, as has the need for thoughtful considerations of usage.

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[1] William B. Russell, *Using Film in Social Studies* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2007).

[2] Alan S. Marcus and Jeremy D. Stoddard, "Tinsel Town as a Teacher: Hollywood Film in the High School Classroom," *The History Teacher* 40 (2007): 309.

[3] William B. Russell, "The Reel History of the World: Teaching World History with Major Motion Pictures," *Social Education* 76 (2012): 22.

Challenges of Using Hollywood Films in the History Classroom

Elsewhere we have noted that there are many challenges associated with using Hollywood films in the classroom; e.g., subject-matter controversy, film ratings, proprietary issues, availability, time, etc.[4] The most important and well-documented critiques suggest that Hollywood productions often represent wholly unreliable sources of information, portrayals which may contain numerous inaccuracies or biases. Given the historical inaccuracies that tend to characterize commercial productions, simply viewing a given film often limits students' opportunities to develop an informed understanding of the topic under study. Teachers and students must understand the value and significance of engaging in a thoughtful and rigorous investigation of embedded topics. The absence of a structured activity, interpretive guide, or rationale for use potentially creates an environment where students are arguably *just watching movies*, which is rightfully frowned upon by administrators and parents alike.[5] In this article, we outline two structured approaches to using film in the classroom, each of which seek to develop inquiry and media literacy skills in students of history by moving beyond the passive viewership that sometimes accompanies the Friday afternoon classroom cinema.

Hollywood Films, Visual and Media Literacy, and Inquiry

Despite the challenges of using commercial film productions in the classroom, the rewards are potentially great. In particular, the value of Hollywood feature films to promote literacy has been noted by researchers and teacher educators. In keeping with the professional literature linking visual and media literacy (VML) to the K-12 history/social studies classroom, scholars have paid special attention to the unique capacity of film to help students visualize events and concepts, develop personal connections to characters and events, sharpen analytical and interpretive skills, understand controversial issues, and, of course, more thoroughly investigate subject area content.[6] Visual literacy can be defined as "a set of abilities that enables an individual to effectively find, interpret, evaluate, use, and create images and visual media."[7] Similarly, media literacy consists of "a series of communication competencies, including the ability to *access*, *analyze*, *evaluate*, and *communicate* information in a variety of forms, including print and non-print messages [emphasis added]."[8] More specifically, as noted by Stein and Prewett, media literacy translates to the history/social studies classroom where it serves to "hone students' abilities to evaluate media as evidentiary sources, to identify bias in mediations for constructions of history and society, to understand how media frame issues, to separate fact from opinion, and to build analytical and reasoning skills."[9] In many ways, the existing scholarship on VML informs the purposeful use of film in the related domains of history and social studies education.

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[4] Scott L. Roberts and Charles J. Elfer, "Hollywood or History? Inquiring About U.S. Slavery Through Film," in *Cinematic Social Studies*, eds., William Russell and Stuart Waters (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2017).

[5] See Jeremy D. Stoddard and Allan S. Marcus, "More Than Just Showing What Happened: Exploring the Potential of Teaching with Film," *The High School Journal* 93 (2010): 83-90; Peter S. Taylor, "Watch and Learn, Kids: Why are Hollywood Films Taking Over High School Math, History, and Even Geography Class?," *Maclean's* 123 (2010): 57.

The benefits of combining VML and Hollywood films in the pursuit of empowering students to "adequately read media messages" and "navigate new literacy practices" are numerous.[10] Due to the large number of historically-focused commercial films, educators and researchers in social studies and history education have shown particular interest and have offered various approaches to incorporate feature films into the K-12 classroom.[11] Although many of these contributions do not directly reference the tenants or formal definitions of VML, they do closely parallel the central themes of analysis, evaluation, and communication.[12] Perhaps most importantly, each offers to the practitioners new approaches and rationales for incorporating media literacy skills into their existing instructional repertoires.[13]

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[6] See Marcus and Stoddard, "Tinsel Town as a Teacher: Hollywood Film in the High School Classroom," 309; Alan S. Marcus, Scott A. Metzger, Richard J. Paxton, and Jeremy D. Stoddard, *Teaching History with Film: Strategies for Secondary Social Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Karl A. Matz and Lori L. Pingatore, "Reel to Real: Teaching the Twentieth Century with Classic Hollywood Films," *Social Education* 69 (2005): 189-192; Russell, *Using Film in Social Studies*; Sam Wineberg, Susan Mosborg, and Dan Porat, "What Can Forest Gump Tell Us About Students' Historical Understanding?," *Social Education* 65 (January/February 2001): 55-58.

[7] See the Association of College and Research Libraries, "ACRL Visual Literacy Competency Standards for Higher Education," http://www.ala.org/acrl/standards/visualliteracy.

[8] See the National Association for Media Literacy Education, "Media Literacy Defined," https://namle.net/ publications/media-literacy-definitions/.

[9] Laura Stein and Anita Prewett, "Media Literacy Education in Social Studies: Teacher Perception and Curricular Challenges," *Teacher Education Quarterly* 36 (2009): 132.

[10] Jesse S. Gainer, "Critical Media Literacy in Middle School: Exploring the Politics of Representation," *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy* 53 (2010): 364.

[11] Excellent examples include Marcus and Stoddard, "Tinsel Town as a Teacher: Hollywood Film in the High School Classroom"; Marcus, Metzger, Paxton, and Stoddard, *Teaching History with Film*; Matz and Pingatore, "Reel to Real," 189-192; Russell, *Using Film in Social Studies*; Wineberg, Mosborg, and Porat, "What Can Forest Gump Tell Us About Students' Historical Understanding?," 55-58.

Though relatively few in number, there is a small selection of scholarly articles explicitly linking the platform of visual and media literacy to the social studies and to history education, where Youngbauer along with Stein and Prewett represent two recent contributions.[14] Stein and Prewett offer results from a survey of teachers' perceptions of media literacy and underscore the challenges of incorporating media literacy into the history/social studies classroom while offering solutions to assist field-based K-12 teachers. They found that 61% of teachers claimed to have had "some prior experience of teaching about media" and that over 70% recognized the importance of media literacy. At the same time, however, many respondents lacked confidence in their own abilities to analyze media and fewer than half felt comfortable teaching media literacy in their classrooms. Stein and Prewett attribute the results largely to teacher training and pay special attention to the lack of practitioner knowledge regarding state-level media literacy standards and the potential connections to the social studies. Interestingly, while the authors point out that teachers were motivated to understand media literacy education as a way to "prepare students for citizenship," they revealed that the depth of those connections was often rather shallow. Teachers did not, for example, mention media literacy components such as "protecting students from harmful media," promoting "health and development," or "enhance[ing] students' appreciation of the media arts." Based on their findings, Stein and Prewett suggest offering teachers better access to primary media, to materials that show teachers the integration of media literacy across the curriculum, and to more and better teacher training.[15]

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[12] See the National Association for Media Literacy, "Media Literacy Defined."

[13] See Vincent W. Youngbauer, "Application of Media Literacy and Cultural Studies in K-12 Social Studies Curricula," *The Social Studies* 104 (2013): 183-189. While arguably uniquely suited to such approaches, history and social studies teachers are certainly not the sole proprietors of film in the classroom and there are examples of the integration of VML and film in other disciplines. Gainer, for instance, describes how a teacher used the film "Dangerous Minds" in a critical literacy afterschool program to identify Hollywood stereotypes. Scheibe describes how the cartoon "Antz" was used to teach 100 students about insects in an elementary science classroom. After spending two weeks learning about the topic in their science classes, students in Scheibe's study compared what they learned to the depiction of ants and other insects in the film. After viewing the film, students had a chance to evaluate portrayals and to discuss any misrepresentations that they may have detected. An analysis of why film-makers might represent ants in the ways that they did was also a subject of discussion. Scheibe found that based on this media literacy activity, students not only remembered the required content about ants six months later, but that the exercise also helped to build "critical thinking, communication, and technology skills," which helped students gain an "appreciation for multiple perspectives." Regardless of the field of study, then, the purposeful use of film in the classroom holds great value, particularly where students and teachers identify analysis, communication, and evaluation as desired ends. See Cynthia C. Scheibe, "A Deeper Sense of Literacy: Curriculum-Driven Approaches to Media Literacy in the K-12 Classroom," *American Behavioral Scientist* 40 (2004): 61.

[14] Stein and Prewett, "Media Literacy Education in Social Studies," 131-148; Youngbauer, "Application of Media Literacy and Cultural Studies in K-12 Social Studies Curricula," 184-187.

Concerned that researchers were focusing too heavily on movies as media literacy tools, Youngbauer's recent contribution to the field provides a "four-pronged approach to media literacy in the social studies," which he believes allows teachers to aid students in the analysis of all media, including commercial Hollywood films. Youngbauer argues that in social studies classes students should be taught to view media through *historical, empirical, interpretive,* and *critical* perspectives. The historical element requires students to have an understanding about both the evolution of media in the United States and how to determine the historical accuracy of films which treat historical topics on scales large and small. The empirical approach helps students to recognize "when bias is present, why it exists, and how it impacts our understanding of media …." Elements of the interpretive approach include helping students analyze and assess the ways in which media texts are created. This could include historical media such as textbooks, historic sites, and historic markers. In turn, students should be given the opportunity to develop their own media text in an effort to understand how it is that historical events can be interpreted so differently by different individuals. Finally, critical media literacy "encourages students to consider why a message was sent and where it came from."[16] Given the parallel goals of VML and contemporary research in history and social studies education, we anticipate that the complimentary nature of the two fields will become all the more pronounced in the coming years as scholars and practitioners recognize the potential that a merging of parallel conversations and research might hold for contemporary classrooms.

Rationale for Visual-Based Learning

Based on the relevant literature and the general limitations of viewing commercial films in the classroom, as well as a limited number of publications offering teachers and teacher educators specific lesson and unit ideas for using film in the history and social studies classroom, we sought to develop structured lesson ideas based upon this need.[17] Given our background in history and social studies education, we collaboratively sought to find ways to combine the use of film with other sources and materials in an effort to help students develop a more sophisticated and evidence-based understanding of historical events. Simultaneously, we worked to foster analytic skills in young learners, a theme which has recently become a more standardized and mainstream focus through academic standards and frameworks for history and social studies education, such as those found in the Common Core Curriculum (e.g., CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.6-8.7: Integrate visual information with other information in print and digital texts) and the C3 Framework produced by the National Council for the Social Studies, or NCSS (e.g., D3.3.3-5: Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources in response to compelling questions).[18] Lastly, it is worthy of note that these efforts mesh well with the national appeal from NCSS to promote media literacy within the social studies.[19]

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[15] Stein and Prewett, "Media Literacy Education in Social Studies," 138-143.

[16] Youngbauer, "Application of Media Literacy and Cultural Studies in K-12 Social Studies Curricula," 184-187.

[17] Marcus and Stoddard, "Tinsel Town as a Teacher: Hollywood Film in the High School Classroom"; Russell, *Using Film in Social Studies*; Stein and Prewett, "Media Literacy Education in Social Studies."

In turn, the work of Stein and Prewett, Scheibe, and Youngbauer provided us with a sort of framework for incorporating the themes of visual and media literacy into a series of historical analysis exercises, specifically the classroom use of commercial film. It should be noted that while the experiences that background this present contribution are tied most directly to a history and social studies perspective, the concepts and procedures discussed can be used in most disciplines for analyzing visual/media sources. As noted above, the core themes of analysis, evaluation, and communication are not wedded to a particular discipline, but are instead literacy objectives for all students and, in fact, critical measures of educational attainment across a variety of fields.

Procedures

The proceeding sections outline two structured approaches for incorporating Hollywood film into the history classroom. In the lines below, we provide a description of two strategies, accompanied by step-by-step lesson plans which are scaffolded across grades 5, 8, and 11 to reach a wide range of potential audiences and purposes. These lessons were collaboratively developed by a small team of classroom teachers and teacher educators with classroom experiences spanning the middle, secondary, and post-secondary levels. Charles Elfer has taught general and advanced placement courses in world and United States history and geography at the secondary and post-secondary levels and currently serves as an assistant professor of history education. Scott Roberts taught eighth-grade social studies for several years before serving as a district-level curriculum specialist and Teaching American History Grant Director. He is presently an assistant professor of elementary social studies education. Brian Fahey currently serves as an Advanced Placement United States history teacher at a large public high school. A recent field visit to the Gettysburg battlefield and subsequent conversations regarding practice gave rise to the lesson ideas described in this article.

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[18] See the National Council for the Social Studies, "The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards: Guidance for Enhancing the Rigor of K-12 Civics, Economics, Geography, and History," http://www.socialstudies.org/system/files/c3/C3-Framework-for-Social-Studies.pdf; National Governors Association for Best Practices, Council for Chief State School Officers, "Common Core Standards for English Language Arts & Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects," http://www.socialstudies.org/system/files/publications/se/6501/650109.html; Scott L. Roberts, "Effectively Using Social Studies Textbooks in Historical Inquiry," *Social Studies Research and Practice* 9 (Spring 2014): 119-128.

[19] National Council for the Social Studies, "Media Literacy: A Position Statement," *Social Education* 37 (2009): 187-189.

The lesson ideas outlined here can be locally adapted and modified by elementary, middle, and high school teachers as needed. As detailed above, with the intent of bridging themes in VML and the aims of the history/social studies classroom, the plans also draw on Youngbauer's approach for applying media literacy, and an effort is made to highlight those elements within the plans and lesson procedures. The film *Gettysburg* (1993) was chosen as the visual medium for the analysis in light of the perennial significance of the American Civil War in United States history and, to a lesser extent, the timeliness of the recent sesquicentennial commemorations of the conflict. Readers will note that there are many alternative films about the war that could be used in this type of analysis, not to mention other historical personas and events.[20] While these lessons were written for history and social studies teachers, English and language arts teachers might also find these ideas useful as the film is based upon a work of historical fiction, specifically *The Killer Angels*.[21] And lastly, although the topic and a number of sources sampled are the same in each of the lessons provided, the lessons themselves may be used in tandem or independently at the user's discretion. Our purpose in sharing these experiences is simply to offer a structured platform for practitioners that might guide historical inquiry through the medium of film in ways that more general discussions often do not. That said, while endeavoring to provide ample detail and explanation, the discussion is necessarily abbreviated and selective given the constraints of space and time.[22]

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[20] See William B. Russell, *Civil War Films for Teachers and Historians* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2007).

[21] Michael Shaara, *The Killer Angels* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1974).

[22] For additional illustrations of the "Hollywood or History?" strategy and instruction platform, see Scott L. Roberts, "Effectively Using Social Studies Textbooks in Historical Inquiry;" Charles J. Elfer and Scott L. Roberts, "Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Tools: Fostering Student Inquiries Through 'The Cultural Approach,'" *The Leader* 29 (Fall 2015): 25-30.

Hollywood or History? Little Round Top

The first lesson that we created is rooted in a strategy developed by Scott Roberts when he was a classroom teacher and is referred to as "*Hollywood or History*?" Based upon student evaluations of evidence from multiple sources in a document collection, this strategy asks students to determine whether or not a movie clip about a particular social studies topic is 100% History (all fact), 100% Hollywood (all fiction) or somewhere in between.[23] The method offers students a chance to critically analyze a film, or part of a film, by using primary sources (e.g., letters, photographs, newspapers, etc.), and secondary sources (e.g., textbooks, novels, biographies, etc.) in developing their own positions regarding accuracy. In this lesson, a clip from the film *Gettysburg*, concerning the actions of Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain during the skirmish at "Little Round Top," is compared with an account from a collection of primary sources and a collection of secondary sources.[24]

The *Hollywood vs. History?* lesson concerning the Battle of Gettysburg is broken up into eight steps.[25] The general procedure for this historical thinking activity reads as follows:

- **Step 1:** Start with a whole class, roundtable, or group discussion—work to spark some ideas about how social elements like movies, video games, or books that focus on historical topics can shape our understanding of people, places, and events. This discussion touches on the historical and empirical dimensions of Youngbauer's approach to historical thinking and media literacy. As Youngbauer states, it is important that students are able to gain an understanding of the historical background of a topic. However, in this step, this should not only be a discussion about ways to judge the historical accuracy through the media, but also about the empirical approach and how contemporary events and ideas change our interpretations of history. In this initial, open-ended stage of the lesson, students and teachers are invited informally to consider the ways in which historical (in)accuracy is present in film productions and the historical contexts in which films are produced. Age-level and development will impact the degree of teacher involvement required. We recommend a consideration of *Birth of a Nation* (1915), *Gone with the Wind* (1939), and Ken Burns' *The Civil War* (1990/2015) as potentially useful points of contrast and comparison. For other audiences, more popular samples that connect to existing student interests and knowledge would be sufficient to underscore the concept, even if not directly connected to the historical topic under consideration here.

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Referenced movie clips are available through YouTube.

[25] For the complete lesson plan visit: https://culturalapproach.columbusstate.edu/hollywood-or-history/.

- **Step 2:** Step 2 is intended to ensure that students have adequate background specific to the themes and topics within the film. Deliver a 15-20 minute mini-lecture on the Battle of Gettysburg, reminding students about its importance in the Civil War and how it was seen as a turning point in the overall conflict (this should have been taught in a prior lesson and will vary in scale and detail by grade level, etc.). Explain to students that they are going to investigate an event that some believe to be the "Turning point of the turning point;" that is, Gettysburg was the turning point in the war (if not the nation's history) and this particular military action (Little Round Top) was arguably central to a Union victory at Gettysburg. Ensuring that students have a solid background knowledge of the event is part of the historical approach to media literacy. The lesson hinges on the development of content knowledge, which will ultimately support students in effectively making sense of the film and the degree of historical accuracy. We should also note that with some reworking, Steps 1 and 2 could be effectively combined, particularly where teachers endeavor to introduce other historically themed media such as those highlighted in Step 1.
- **Step 3:** Explain to students that Hollywood has tried to capture the battle visually in a movie called *Gettysburg* (1993) which is based on a work of historical fiction titled *The Killer Angels* (1987). Introduce the *Hollywood or History?* graphic organizer provided and explain to students that they can use this document to record information during the movie clip and while analyzing the sources encountered in the document collection. This step addresses the conceptual framework offered by Youngbauer referenced above. More explicitly, Step 3 and the instructional supports provided allow students to analyze each of the sources independently and to keep track of those evaluations as they are produced. Students are invited to critically evaluate the sources encountered and to explore the related questions of origin and purpose.
- **Step 4:** Display clip of the movie *Gettysburg*.
- **Step 5:** Have students analyze their primary source (choose one from document set provided based upon your students' ability level) and secondary source (choose one from document set based on your students' ability level). Using these sources mirrors the interpretive framework as students must make meaning of the multiple sources and how they relate to the film.
- **Step 6:** Students individually conclude whether or not the Battle for Little Round Top scene is *Hollywood or History* by writing an essay citing evidence from each source that they have encountered. This step requires that students use critical media literacy skills to consider the purpose(s) of the film and whether or not the producers meant for the film to be digested as history, entertainment, or a mixture of both.

- **Step 7:** Use a "Line of Contention" to allow students to share their thoughts as a whole class. Draw a line on the board to demonstrate the continuum of perspectives. At one end of the line, write "100% History" to indicate to students that those who stand there are making the claim that the movie clip is 100% accurate and factual. At the other end of the line, write "100% Hollywood." If students stand next to this part of the line, they are making the claim that there is nothing factual about the scene they have watched. Allow students to stand at any point of the line they wish (i.e., 25% History, 75% Hollywood, etc.). After providing students with an opportunity to take their position, call on volunteers to share their perspectives and rationales. Step 7 requires student interpretation and sets the stage for the creation of media text in Step 8.
- **Step 8:** Have students write a script offering a more accurate account of the Battle of Little Round Top based upon the movie *Gettysburg* and the supporting documents. You might elect to incorporate a program such as iMovie, create a new film clip, and possibly upload this updated scene to YouTube or to a class website. This step again draws on students' interpretive skills as an avenue to media literacy as they are given an opportunity to create their own media text. According to Youngbauer, this type of activity can help students to better understand "other media texts" as they move between "reflection and production."[26]

A Structured Academic Controversy: Chamberlain—A Political or Social Hero?

The second lesson that we developed is based upon an inquiry strategy widely known as the "Structured Academic Controversy," or SAC. This strategy is frequently utilized by professional educators in the social studies and in history education and allows students to analyze multiple sources, including visual media. As before, the method described below works to incorporate each dimension of Youngbauer's four-pronged approach as a way of bridging historical thinking and visual media literacy. Students participating in the exercise are asked to use primary and secondary sources as evidence in highly structured debate stemming from an initial, sparking question. Much like the *Hollywood or History?* activity, the lesson invites students to analyze a movie clip from the film *Gettysburg* as well as other primary and secondary source materials. Whereas we designed the Little Round Top exercise around a particular historical moment, the SAC requires that students develop positions about the memory and character of a particular historical figure, Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, through time. In brief, Chamberlain became and has remained a very vibrant Union figure and has reached near celebrity status in both fictional and historical works. Because

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[26] Youngbauer, "Application of Media Literacy and Cultural Studies in K-12 Social Studies Curricula," 187.

Chamberlain went on to accomplish much after the war, locating the origins of his legacy and heroism represents a suitable and interesting context for inquiry for students of history. After students complete their collaborative primary and secondary source evaluations, they will take part in a structured debate prompted by the following question that coincides well with Youngbauer's empirical and critical approaches:

> Was Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain a political or social hero? Is Chamberlain viewed as a hero because his deeds led to a great military and political victory for the Union during the American Civil War? Or, did he become a hero due to the fact that his character and life story were so valued in 19th century American society?

As the lesson plan details, this "debate" exercise is non-traditional, highly collaborative, and was designed in part to promote consensus through thoughtful deliberation. Through an analysis of primary and secondary source documents and the evaluation of the Little Round Top scenes in the film *Gettysburg*, students will have the opportunity to evaluate how and why the Chamberlain legacy has taken the shape that it has. In other words, students are asked to decide how the historical view of Chamberlain may have been impacted by the values of his time, and then to consider why this message about Chamberlain's heroism was "sent and where it came from."[27] Note that despite the appearance of dichotomy in the initial prompt for the inquiry, the goal here is not to reinforce either/or thinking, but rather to encourage reasoning processes and a commitment to textual evidence. This structured academic controversy is broken up into seven steps:[28]

- **Step 0:** distribute GUIDESHEETS (all lesson materials available electronically at web address below) outlining for students the format and steps of the SAC—*Chamberlain: Political or Social Hero?* Start with a brief, roundtable discussion based on questions that help to support students' understanding when it comes to the empirical and critical lenses of media literacy. Examples of these types of questions could include:
    - ○ What does it mean to be a hero in 2017 and who are some modern examples?
    - ○ Are ideas about heroism universal and how do media impact those ideas?

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[27] Ibid.

[28] A fully articulated lesson plan, including document sets and handouts for grades 5, 8, and 11, can be found at the following web address: https://culturalapproach.columbusstate.edu/a-political-or-social-hero/.

  - ○ Is there any evidence to suggest that our conceptions of heroism change over time and/or from one social group to the next?
- **Step 1:** Divide the class into groups with social and political camps as indicated in the lesson protocol. You may elect to create multiple debate pairs, rather than simply dividing the classroom in half. A good idea would be to have 3-4 members per camp, perhaps a total of 8 per group (3 debate pairs in a class of 24 students). In doing so, each team member will be responsible for a single text, thus ensuring that the position development portion of the exercise can be completed within the allotted time, and, importantly, that all students participate.
- **Step 2:** Allow students ample time to get situated with their groups and to understand the task at hand. Once members have relocated and settled in, display the clip of the movie *Gettysburg*. This clip will allow all students, regardless of the side of the argument that they have chosen/been assigned to, to gain a sense of the Battle of Little Round Top. Subsequently, students can refine their initial perceptions and reactions as new evidence is encountered. Including a film in this type of discussion further incorporates Youngbauer's historical, empirical, and critical approaches to using media literacy.
- **Step 3:** Following GUIDESHEET #1, each group will have 30 minutes to read their assigned texts, view the necessary film clips, and craft 2-4 evidence-based position statements supporting their side of the argument. Remind students to refer to the texts (including film clips). In so doing, students must also evaluate the relative merits of each of the texts encountered (i.e., source, contextualize, etc.). Use GUIDESHEET #2 to record positions.
- **Step 4:** Following GUIDESHEET #1, each group will have approximately 10-15 minutes to deliver their initial position statements, roughly 5-7 minutes per side. NOTE: After each side presents the position statements, the opposing group must restate the arguments to the authors' satisfaction. Both sides should follow this process. GUIDESHEET #2 can be used for record keeping.
- **Step 5:** Following GUIDESHEET #1, groups must now work for approximately 30 minutes to build consensus. Both sides should temporarily abandon their allegiances to their original positions and work to find common ground with their peers. Collectively, students need to reconsider the evidence, determine which pieces are most credible and why, and ultimately reconsider the inquiry prompt. Several guiding questions are included in GUIDESHEET #1 to assist students as they evaluate the documents, and the group must work to draft and record a statement of consensus, always drawing on the evidence available.
- **Step 6:** With the time remaining, bring the class back together for sharing of final consensus statements.
- **Step 7:** A final, summative assessment is required. Have students use a digital storytelling website such as VoiceThread to display their arguments concerning Chamberlain's heroism. Students should use a variety of sources including movie clips, images, and other primary and secondary source materials to support their

claims. Following Youngbauer's interpretive approach for media literacy, students should be given the opportunity to create their own media in order to be able to better understand and to reflectively critique products made by others.

Outcomes

As noted above, we have used both the *Hollywood or History?* and the *Chamberlain SAC* in our own classrooms and with great success. Scott Roberts' students, as one example, noted their appreciation for *Hollywood or History?* lessons and some even created their own based upon Hollywood feature films that they saw with their parents. On one occasion, an eighth-grade student came into class with a fully completed *Hollywood or History?* graphic organizer based upon the inaccuracies found in the movie *300* (2006). As further indication of the appeal that these approaches might offer, we turned to our experiences as teacher educators. Midterm and post-course reviews of these sorts of lesson ideas are always highly rated by our students and often used in end-of-course lesson and unit plan assessments, not to mention in the field during supervisory visits. Many classroom teachers that have taken part in workshops and professional conference presentations have also praised the approach and installed these practices in their own classrooms. As one teacher-participant noted:

> Thank you so much for presenting yesterday, I had such a great time in your session and learned so much … My wife is a fifth grade teacher and is currently finishing the Civil War. I could not stop going on and on about your presentation and the utilization of primary and secondary sources … She has also fallen in love with the material and the information you provided.

Or, as another teacher wrote: "Hi, thanks so much for the presentation last Thursday. I thoroughly enjoyed it and gained insight into further lesson development using primary and secondary sources with films." While these illustrations are anecdotal, we believe that our experiences with media and source work do indicate something larger and are markers of the effectiveness and utility of the methods that we have described above. Given the success of the strategies highlighted here, we believe that the appetite for purposeful and engaging applications of film in the classroom, in particular the history classroom, is especially robust.

Reflections and Insights

We drafted this article with one primary goal in mind; that is, we wanted to attend to some of the gaps identified within the relevant literature to provide practitioners with structured strategies and field-tested lesson plans that integrate the themes of media literacy by effectively using the medium of Hollywood film in the classroom. While we hope that the suggestions for practice and experiences shared are useful to readers and find their way into classrooms, there is, of course, far more work to be done. The conversations addressing the pedagogical potential for the purposeful use of film in the history classroom are ones that will hopefully grow much louder and include more voices. Nonetheless, both lessons introduced above encourage students to "read visual and audiovisual messages, as well as text based ones," to appreciate "the techniques used to persuade and convey emotion," and to "communicate effectively through different media forms."[29] At the very least, we estimate that the types of experiences outlined here represent a starting point that is closely related to the larger goals of history education and tangible enough to be of practical utility.

Significantly, and rooted again in the concept of visual media literacy, we reason that if readers endeavor to adapt the ideas presented above to their own purposes, and to develop and implement these and similar lesson ideas in their own classrooms, a greater number of students would ultimately have the opportunity to develop the skills needed to more adeptly "judge the credibility and accuracy of information" of virtually any source of information more critically, whether it be a popular motion picture themed around a historical topic or perhaps the onslaught of competing narratives one inevitably encounters in a presidential election year.[30] Thus, inquiries developed around historically-themed films support the development of a range of literacy skills that enhance, but extend beyond the history classroom alone.[31] As have others, we recognize that students must develop these types of skills at an early age and throughout the process of formal schooling. In sum, the essential habits of evaluation, analysis, and communication are equally requisite for historical understanding and effective participation in a democratic society.

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[29] Scheibe, "A Deeper Sense of Literacy: Curriculum-Driven Approaches to Media Literacy in the K-12 Classroom," 61.

[30] Ibid.

[31] See Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004).

INTRODUCTION TO A SPECIAL SECTION OF *TEACHING HISTORY*

Teaching History: A Journal of Methods was first published in 1976. The purpose of the journal has been to provide history teachers at all levels with the best and most relevant ideas for their classrooms. In recognition of the journal's recent 40th anniversary and Larry Cuban's timely book *Teaching History Then and Now: A Story of Stability and Change in Schools* (2016), we created a special section for the Fall 2017 and Spring 2018 issues of the journal.

In this Fall 2017 issue of *Teaching History*, Richard Hughes first offers a review of Cuban's book. Next, Hughes provides an analysis of the early years of the journal, focusing on the journal's founding in the context of teaching movements in the 1970s. Finally, we asked history educators across the K-16 continuum to draw upon their personal experiences and assess the evolution of history teaching. Specifically, we asked: To what extent has the teaching of history changed or remained the same in your career?

In this issue, we have synthesized the contributions of individuals who focused on teaching history largely in the context of secondary schools. Our Spring 2018 issue will feature commentary that pertains to teaching history with an emphasis on the college and university context.

—SDB

SPECIAL SECTION BOOK REVIEW

Richard L. Hughes

Larry Cuban. *Teaching History Then and Now: A Story of Stability and Change in Schools*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press, 2016. Pp. 264. Cloth, $64.00.

In October 1957, Larry Cuban was in his second year teaching history at Glenville High, a predominantly African American school in Cleveland, Ohio. That same month, the Soviet Union launched *Sputnik*. The success of the first artificial earth satellite fueled a great deal of anxiety about the state of American education, leading to the 1958 National Defense Education Act and increased calls for reform in history education in the subsequent decade. In December 1957, as *Sputnik* continued orbiting the earth, William Langer, the president of the American Historical Association (AHA), dedicated his annual address to "The Next Assignment," or what he referred to as the innovative "directions which historical study might profitably take in the years to come."[1] Langer's address heralded the potential of psychology to inform the work of historians while providing few hints as to the revolutionary changes facing the discipline and education beginning in the sixties.

This sense of impending change in the discipline of history, both in terms of scholarship and teaching, lies at the center of Cuban's recent book, *Teaching History Then and Now: A Story of Stability and Change in Schools*. Cuban taught history in urban high schools in Cleveland and Washington, D.C. from 1956 to 1967 and, after an illustrious career as a scholar of education at Stanford University, recently returned to his two former schools to assess the evolution of teaching history since the fifties. Starting with detailed accounts of classroom instruction in the years after 1956, Cuban draws upon interviews and classroom observations at both of his former schools to compare history education in the late 1950s and early 1960s to teaching history in 2013. Cuban emphasizes the persistent paradox at the heart of much of history education: the dual role of preserving a particular sense of the past while also preparing the next generation to change the future. Cuban utilizes this paradox to portray history education, and indeed American public education in general, as encompassing both change and continuity as schools resist changes to the teaching and learning of history while "embracing innovations" ranging from the New History of the late 1960s, which focused on student inquiry, to the *Common Core* standards of recent years (164). The results, according to Cuban, are history classrooms in Cleveland, Washington, D.C., and throughout the nation today that mostly resemble the "teacher-centered tradition" or "heritage approach" of the 1950s with a focus on textbooks, lectures, discussions, and exams centered on learning and recalling a set of important historical facts (179, 1). At the same time, however, Cuban concludes that the "incomplete mosaic of history instruction" also suggests that a significant minority of American history teachers have embraced what he refers to as the "historical approach" or the *New New History* focused on the frequent analysis of primary sources to teach students how historians read, think, and write about the past (175,1).

While much of *Teaching History Then and Now* focuses on the limits of the sort of larger educational policy issues that have interested Cuban for decades, his description of schools as "dynamically conservative organizations" provides a launching point for reassessing the state of history education in both secondary and higher education (181). Cuban's career as a teacher and scholar spanned many of the seismic social, political, economic, and technological developments of the postwar period. Emphasizing the uneasy coexistence of change and continuity in history education, Cuban's book is ultimately more intrigued with the powerful forces of continuity. He argues that efforts to reform history education on the secondary level have largely underestimated structural issues such as the organization of American schools or broad socioeconomic factors as well as, perhaps most importantly, the pivotal role of classroom instructors in embracing or limiting instructional and curriculum changes in history education. While his analysis of secondary history teaching is admittedly limited, Cuban's book is highly relevant to all history teachers. Issues such as teacher education, Advanced Placement courses, federal Teaching American History grants, and the preparation of future undergraduates as well as citizens in a society in which history education is increasingly politicized underscore the inevitable links between the teaching of history in secondary schools and in higher education.

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[1] https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/presidential-addresses/william-l-langer

Teaching History Then: The Origins of the Journal and The History Teaching Movement of the 1970s

Richard L. Hughes

One way to explore changes and continuities in history education in the last forty years, especially in higher education, is to examine the evolution of *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods*. *Teaching History* grew out of conversations at the Missouri Valley History conference in 1974 and 1975. With support from Emporia Kansas State College as well as the interest of college and university faculty, secondary teachers, and public historians, Stephen Kneeshaw (editor) and Ron Butchart (book review editor) published the inaugural issue in the Spring of 1976. The journal aimed to address the following topics: "Teaching technology and techniques; trends in textbooks; trends in historical scholarship; philosophical essays on the teaching of history; curricula; and reports on innovative experiments."[1] The goal was that the journal would "provide history teachers with another outlet for the presentation and discussion of innovative techniques and teaching methods."[2]

It is tempting to think of the mid-seventies as a promising time for the discipline of history in American society. The U.S. Bicentennial brought countless efforts to reflect on our nation's past, and Alex Haley's *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* (1976), which spent almost a year on *The New York Times* Bestseller List in 1976-77, fueled a renewed interest in both African American history and genealogy.[3] However, the dominant theme of most discussions of history at the time was one of crisis. Gordon Wright, president of the American Historical Association (AHA), spoke of "Clio in Hard Times" in 1975.[4] That same year, the Organization of American Historians' (OAH) Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of History in the Schools published a report that stressed the challenges of decreasing enrollment in higher education and curriculum changes, in both colleges and high schools, that reflected a move away from history.[5] In his April 1976 OAH Presidential Address, entitled "American Historians: A Bicentennial Appraisal," Frank Freidel referred to the "crisis" in history twice—just in his introduction—and then referred to, among other problems, the "malaise in the teaching of history in the schools."[6]

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[1] Stephen John Kneeshaw, "History of Teaching History," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 1 (1976): 1.

[2] Ibid.

Articles in popular publications such as *Newsweek* and *TV Guide* lamented the erosion of historical literacy.[7] In May 1976, just weeks after the arrival of the inaugural issue of *Teaching History*, *The New York Times* released the troubling results of a nationwide survey that assessed college freshmen's knowledge of American history. While the results of the survey were somewhat mixed and relatively close to a similar test in 1943, the tone of the commentary on the exam was clear. *The Times* emphasized "startling gaps" in the knowledge of college students and "decreasing emphasis on American history" in the nation's schools.[8] William Leuchtenburg, a historian from Columbia University and one of the architects of the exam, reminded readers that "The main conclusion one must draw is unmistakable; that this group of students knows remarkably little American history."[9]

Not surprisingly, the dominant theme of much of the first four issues of *Teaching History* was, as Kneeshaw described it in the journal's first essay, "something is rotten in the historical profession." In "Crisis in the Classroom: Clio Down but Not Out,"

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[3] Alex Haley, *Roots: Saga of an American Family* (New York: Doubleday, 1976).

[4] Gordon Wright, "Clio in Hard Times," *AHA Newsletter* 13 (January 1975): 2.

[5] Richard J. Kirkendall, "The Status of History in the Schools," *Journal of American History* 62 (September 1975): 557-570.

[6] Frank Freidel, "American Historians: A Bicentennial Approach," *Journal of American History* 63 (June 1976): 5.

[7] "History as Bunk," *Newsweek*, November 10, 1975, 84-86; John P. Roche, "Does the TV Generation Lack a Sense of History?" *TV Guide*, November 15, 1975, A-3.

[8] Edward B. Fiske, "*Times* Test of College Freshman Shows Knowledge of American History Limited," *The New York Times*, May 2, 1976, 1.

[9] Ibid.

Kneeshaw summarized the challenges facing the profession and some of the initial efforts by organizations such as the AHA and OAH to improve classroom teaching in the seventies.[10] Subsequent issues continued the emphasis on "the apparent crises of history in the classroom" that could no longer "be ignored."[11] James C. Maroney and William J. McNeill described the "plight of the discipline" in a climate of expanding higher education that increasingly questioned the relationship between historical scholarship and teaching.[12] Essays on promising new approaches to teaching often began or ended with references to the spate of "obituary notices" for the discipline and the need for solutions as "a tool for Clio's survival."[13]

However, most of the essays in the early issues of *Teaching History* also embraced a point stressed in Freidel's Presidential Address in 1976, that "it is one of our most salutary American traditions in time of crisis to seek new opportunities."[14] Contributors argued that the current crisis demanded creative and ambitious innovation in the classroom. Essays in the journal's first four issues addressed such topics as enriching the teaching of history through television and film, developing oral history projects for colleges and secondary schools, and the benefits of quantitative history in the classroom. Essays also included discussions of using folk music, counter-factual history, and opportunities for assignments in which students crafted historical narratives from the perspective of the future. Historians offered detailed accounts of existing efforts to use learning contracts or what was referred to at the time as "personalized systems of instruction" (PSIs). Other articles addressed the role of gender in the discipline—"Is Clio Still Sexist?"— and strategies for teaching women's history.[15] A few contributors were especially sensitive to criticisms of history teaching and offered detailed curriculum experiments designed to move away from traditional lectures toward survey courses centered on student-centered laboratory exercises.

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[10] Stephen John Kneeshaw, "Crisis in the Classroom: Clio Down but Not Out," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 1 (Spring 1976): 2-5.

[11] Myron Marty, "Trends and Trendiness in Teaching Undergraduate History," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 1 (Fall 1976): 42.

[12] James C. Maroney and William J. McNeill, "Teaching College History: A Critique and Historiographical Analysis," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 2 (Spring 1977): 1.

[13] Jean D. Moss, "Aim, Matter, and Method," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 2 (Spring 1977): 8, 20.

[14] Freidel, 5.

[15] Glenda Riley, "Is Clio Still Sexist? Women's History in Recent American History Texts," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 1 (Spring 1976): 15-24.

The book reviews in the early issues of the journal were also revealing about the mission and identity of the journal. Butchart explained in the first issue that "reviews will be concerned with the pedagogical more than the scholarly merits of the materials" in the hope that such reviews would "aid" teachers of history and "fill a need not met by other professional journals."[16] As a result, the first book reviews in *Teaching History* included a textbook for an undergraduate methods course, anthologies of valuable primary sources, and a reader for classes in Western Civilization. Some of the issues commented on teaching films and other curriculum materials. Elsewhere the journal reviewed the sort of monographs reviewed in more traditional academic journals. However, in these cases the reviews typically included at least some attention to the value of the book in terms of the teaching and learning of history. In contrast to later volumes which included mostly reviews of traditional monographs, the early issues of the journal included numerous reviews of college textbooks. For example, in a piece entitled, "Textbooks and the Crisis of Classroom Teaching," the Fall 1977 issue included an often scathing review essay of four popular college textbooks in U.S. history. Once again, the context of professional crisis informed the review essay as the author, James L. McElroy, stressed the inherent limitations of textbooks as a solution. The author criticized the "false hopes" of publishers and warned that "grand ambitions and illusory promises in our textbooks will continue to raise expectations falsely, while both history enrollments and students' performance on sample exams remain distressingly low."[17]

While the early issues of *Teaching History* reflected what one author identified as a palpable "history teaching movement" committed to experimentation and reform, many of these thoughtful efforts relied primarily on anecdotal evidence of meaningful classroom experiences.[18] Readers encountered personal reflections of innovative classroom strategies, bold attempts to promote curricular reform to meet the challenges of a new era, and sometimes insightful accounts of failures. Some essays included detailed class materials such as course outlines, actual learning contracts, and assessments. Such efforts provided readers with new experiences and insights from fellow instructors, some of whom taught at small liberal arts colleges, community colleges, and junior colleges that were largely overlooked by more traditional journals such as the *American Historical Review* and the *Journal of American History*. As Kneeshaw explained in the inaugural issues, "we must rely on ourselves" to improve the teaching of history, and the content of the journal in 1976 and 1977 suggests an impressive faith in historians from different types of institutions as teachers capable of creating meaningful change.[19]

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[16] Ronald E. Butchart, "About the Reviews in *Teaching History*," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 1 (Spring 1976): 34.

[17] James L. McElroy, "Textbooks and the Crisis of Classroom Teaching," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 2 (Fall 1977): 67-73.

[18] Marty, 43.

However, some of the contributors also addressed the perils of reckless experimentation or "trendiness" in the classroom. In "Teaching College History: A Critique and Historiographical Analysis," Maroney and McNeill called for history teachers to "submit their findings to vigorous analysis" and then "derive interpretations from which corrective action should emanate."[20] Similarly, a number of essays approached the teaching of history with systematic efforts to compile and analyze data of student learning. Early examples in the journal included articles such as "Clio and Keller: PSI and the History Classroom," "An Abortive Experiment in World History," and "An Argument for Freedom of Choice."[21] This small body of work, early in the journal's history, foreshadowed the growing concern about assessment in secondary and higher education and the emergence of the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL) in history.

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[19] Kneeshaw, "Crisis in the Classroom: Clio Down but Not Out," 3.

[20] Maroney and McNeill, 5.

[21] David McComb, "Clio and Keller: PSI and the History Classroom," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 1 (Spring 1977): 17-21; William L. Burton, "An Abortive Experiment in World History," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 2 (Fall 1977): 50-53; David E. Kyvig, "An Argument for Freedom of Choice," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 1 (Spring 1976): 28-33.

REFLECTIONS FROM THE FIELD
TEACHING HISTORY NOW: SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Sarah Drake Brown

Contributors: *Todd Beach, Eastview High School, Apple Valley, MN*
Kristy Bruger, University of Oklahoma
Lendol Calder, Augustana College
Karen Carroll Cave, National Humanities Center
Frederick D. Drake, Illinois State University
Stephen Kneeshaw, College of the Ozarks
Bruce Lesh, Maryland State Department of Education
Jodie Mader, Thomas More College
Donn Neal, National Archives and Records Administration
Pamela Riney-Kehrberg, Iowa State University
Raymond Screws, Arkansas National Guard Museum
Wilson J. Warren, Western Michigan University

The personal reflections offered by history educators working in schools since *Teaching History* debuted in 1976 acknowledge tension between change and continuity in teaching. The majority of the submissions were largely positive with respect to the evolution of history teaching, especially in terms of secondary education. At a practical level, contributors recalled the purple ink of ditto machines and their experiences transitioning to the digital age, noting the challenges and thrills of using primary sources with students in both contexts. History educators remarked on the early promise of internet resources that unfortunately resembled the unregulated "Wild West," and they celebrated the ways in which sources from locations such as the Library of Congress and the National Archives revolutionized classroom teaching.

Several submissions emphasized the "paradigm shift" in history education in recent decades which demanded that instructors "bend and grow with the job." For many, this change reflected a "synergy between research and resources" as the internet emerged at the same time as burgeoning scholarship pertaining to "historical thinking, historical literacy, and historical investigation." Such developments encouraged many history teachers to reimagine their role in the classroom to include an emphasis on the skills and methods associated with historical cognition. While none of our contributors referenced important changes to historical content or interpretations, many of the submissions from individuals who focus on secondary history teaching alluded to the emerging commitment to developing history's "habits of mind." Much of this commitment stemmed from professional development associated with Teaching American History grants, the Gilder Lerhman Institute of American History, and the National Council for History Education. Others pointed to innovative curricula from the Stanford History Education Group, the Choices program, and the DBQ Project.

Such developments created, at least on the secondary level, "a strong sense of community around [non-traditional] practices" that challenged the history teaching dominant in the early years of Larry Cuban's career. As one teacher explained, "History education has transformed from what we know to why we know, from what we remember to why we remember, from what we understand to why we understand."

Importantly, while most contributors described a field shaped by positive change, a few submissions balanced optimism with comments about how the "conversation" about teaching history needs to evolve past "anecdotal evidence" toward the sort of systematic collection and analysis of history teaching and learning associated with the growing field of the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL). For these history teachers, the continuity of history education centered on the need for further research to better understand teaching and learning about the past. Finally, several contributors noted the influential role standards have played with respect to history education. The three essays that follow capture the optimism that endures regarding secondary school history teaching and the challenges that remain.

Wilson J. Warren

I have taught history in the middle and high school grades as well as the undergraduate and graduate levels over more than thirty years. In the fall of 1983, I took the required social studies methods class as part of the teacher credentialing requirements at the University of Iowa. Each student in the class was required to produce a unit lesson plan. I did mine on "How to Conduct and Present Local History Research." It was a very detailed three-week plan aimed at helping high school students produce local history research projects that reflected significant national themes. In the spring of 1984, I did my student teaching at Iowa City West High School. I primarily taught ninth-grade U.S. History and was able to try out some of the unit with the students.

Starting in 1994, I began teaching social studies methods courses, first at Valley City State University in North Dakota, then Indiana State University, and now Western Michigan University. Over time, I abandoned lessons on historical research. I did so not because I lost interest in the value of high school students doing historical research, but largely because emphasis in secondary-level history classes increasingly shifted to addressing the specific historical content associated with standards-based instruction. In the past twenty years, state history standards have become virtually identical with curriculum. The flexibility that teachers had before the standards movement to engage students in historical research, if they chose to do so, has been lost in the push to focus on content. Even in AP and IB history classes, students rarely have the opportunity to pursue in-depth historical research projects. They might analyze some primary sources, but seldom are they allowed the freedom and time to produce lengthy research papers.

Larry Cuban's assessment of history teaching over the past half-century emphasizes continuity in instructional practices: lecture, whole group discussion, textbooks, worksheets, and so on. He notes that perhaps one of every five secondary-level history teachers today emphasize historical reading and writing skills. I have no doubt that his assessment is on target. However, given the shift to increasingly specific standards, including those that have incorporated the Common Core, teachers who would like their students to spend three weeks on doing local history research projects would not be able to do so without sacrificing attention to significant content objectives.

Todd Beach

In the summer of 1896, John Dewey visited several supply stores across the city of Chicago searching for classroom desks and chairs for the soon to be opened University of Chicago Laboratory School. While explaining to one dealer how he envisioned teachers and students would use the furniture, the man replied, "I am afraid we do not have what we want. You want something at which the children may work; these are all for listening."

In many ways this statement speaks to Larry Cuban's ideas and subsequent research and work in the classroom pertaining to the teaching of history in American schools. While there remain examples of students in social studies classrooms passively completing exercises of rote memorization, there are also instances where teachers and students are actively engaged in historical inquiry and reasoning as they develop the knowledge and skills needed to be thoughtful citizens in our society.

The Standards of Literacy in History/Social Studies that were legislated as part of the Common Core are one reason for optimism. The standards detail the cognitive skills expected of students similar to those outlined in *Teaching History Then and Now*. Teachers are expected to help students learn the skills of sourcing, contextualization, and comparison, and to report these findings in written form using credible evidence.

Another reason for optimism is the recent redesigned history curriculum by the College Board for the Advanced Placement program that is similarly focused on students demonstrating skills of historical inquiry and reasoning. While Cuban acknowledges these changes in his book, he incorrectly focuses on the Educational Testing Service (ETS) and the controversy surrounding illustrative examples (or more specifically a lack of the "right" examples) for the AP U.S. History curriculum.

It is actually the College Board that owns the AP program. The redesigned history curriculums (U.S., European, World) underwent a lengthy review process involving college/university history professors, high school teachers, as well as representatives from College Board and ETS, which engineers the assessments. The outcome of this process, as well as the efforts by others such as the Stanford History Education Group, also mentioned in the text, closely resemble the ideas Cuban and colleagues attempted in the 1950s and 60s.

The most recent developments are why I am optimistic about the teaching of history in our schools.

Frederick D. Drake

I was a history educator for over forty years, beginning in 1969 in a Midwestern rural high school where I taught students for twenty years and concluding my career at a Midwestern university where I prepared history teachers for their classrooms. When I began teaching, I felt I could experiment and did so by telling stories, formulating lectures, asking questions to discuss historical issues, and integrating primary sources with historians' interpretations. I faced challenges: I was told "students can't handle primary sources" and that "students only want facts;" administrators often questioned my emphasis on primary and secondary sources and wanted me to focus only on preparing students for a job; and useful sources were very difficult to find then. The internet was unavailable, and the few textbook companies that offered sources were not always the "ore" of history I found interesting. Nevertheless, I was able to flesh out sources by roaming the stacks of a university library. I enjoyed editing the primary sources for classroom discussions and, similarly, editing historians' interpretations to get at the heart of their respective arguments concerning historical issues. Teaching in a rural high school for twenty years offered me leeway to experiment with sources in history and to develop the craft of telling stories and narratives that provide a meaningful framework to organize human experiences.

When I began preparing history majors to become history teachers in 1989, I wanted future teachers to embrace the use of sources. Today, primary sources are in abundance in books and available through well-shepherd and respected internet sites. In recent years, research on historical thinking has exploded to help teachers and students. That has made teaching history more exciting and demanding, and it makes me optimistic for the future of the discipline. Standards have caused administrators to consider history important, though their real appreciation for the discipline might still be related more to vocationalism and the testing/accountability culture rather than a learning/assessment culture. And that is troublesome. We might be using primary sources for different purposes now—not as the ore of history but to justify history's acceptance as an important subject to pass standardized tests. By relying on standards as a pathway to achieve importance in the curriculum, we might have placed ourselves in the position of the sorcerer's apprentice, unable to control the forces it unleashed.

David L. Chappell. *Waking from the Dream: The Struggle for Civil Rights in the Shadow of Martin Luther King, Jr.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016. Pp. 249. Cloth, $23.95.

In *Waking from the Dream: The Struggle for Civil Rights in the Shadow of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, David L. Chappell gives college instructors an engaging means to discuss the civil rights movement in the two decades after King's death. Chappell argues that freedom did not come from the 1964 Civil Rights Act or the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Instead, it came when civil rights activists regrouped after King's murder to continue the fight. To Chappell, freedom is achieved by remaining alert to threats and protecting freedoms already won from atrophy. Activists after King, notably his widow, Coretta Scott King, worked to win the Fair Housing Act, full employment legislation, and a King national holiday. Challenges came from infighting, character assassinations on King, and King's marital infidelity and plagiarism. The chapters can stand alone, although they are woven together by King's memory.

The National Black Political Convention (NBPC) of 1972, the largest political gathering in African American history, attempted to institutionalize the civil rights movement. Ralph Abernathy, King's designated successor, sought to take control of the movement but lacked the energy and charisma to do so. Chappell's treatment of Abernathy throughout the book is unusually sharp but not unwarranted. The effort to build a unified national black political body collapsed because of disagreements about whether the movement needed a leader, who should lead, and what agenda should be pursued. A subsequent meeting in 1974 also collapsed. Coretta Scott King, present but not especially involved with the NBPC, is the main activist in Chappell's book. Always agitating, she preferred to develop leadership rather than project a single individual, perhaps because she thought drama weakened the civil rights movement's focus on economics.

Six years after her husband's death, Coretta Scott King joined with white labor activist Murray Finley to attack a high unemployment rate that threatened both blacks and whites. With a more radical goal than anything that came out of the Great Society, the Full Employment Action Council sought in 1974 to allow the unemployed to sue if the government failed to give them a job. King wanted a job and an income to become as constitutional as free speech. Backed by New Deal stalwart and Senator Hubert Humphrey, the legislation did little because of compromises that hollowed it.

The battle for a King holiday would likely engage any class and might pair well with a discussion of current politics. Beginning in 1979, proponents wanted a day named after King to keep the gains and challenges of the civil rights movement in the public view. Opponents of the legislation resorted to character assassination and guilt by association to argue that King did not deserve the honor of a day. Coretta Scott King and others encouraged them to rant, thereby making the holiday's opponents look very ugly and the proponents quite reasonable. Vividly written with wonderful analysis, this chapter sits alongside the one on King's character as gems.

Jesse Jackson sought civil rights advancements and personal publicity in equal measures. Accused by rivals of hogging the limelight, he kept the cause of civil rights and the treatment of the poor in the public eye. By getting corporations to provide jobs to blacks, he might also have inadvertently contributed to the destruction of the inner cities. Chappell effectively explores this erratic leader. With photographs, he also explodes the myth that he lied about cradling King's head in Memphis. The chapter might work well in a discussion of sources and fake news.

The final chapter leaves the reader hoping for more of Chappell's writing. It is a brilliant discussion of King's failures to be faithful to his wife and his plagiarizing of a massive part of his doctoral dissertation. Chappell dismisses the arguments that these were minor character flaws of human behavior. It is a chapter that is worth anthologizing in a King collection.

Waking from the Dream is highly recommended for upper-division undergraduates and graduate students. The flaws are minor. Introducing Jackson as the first African American to make a serious run for the presidency dismisses Shirley Chisholm's 1972 bid. Chappell misses an opportunity to take a deeper look at Coretta Scott King. The material on the NBPC and a coalition for full employment might also only connect with students who have rich understanding of politics. Fortunately, the chapters on the Civil Rights Act of 1968, the King holiday, Jesse Jackson, and King's character have broader appeal, with the latter three being outstanding choices for classroom discussion.

Miami University of Ohio Regional Campuses Caryn E. Neumann

Holger Hoock. *Scars of Independence: America's Violent Birth*. New York: Crown, 2017. Pp. 576. Cloth, $30.00.

In an impressive new book, Holger Hoock has put the Revolutionary War back into the American Revolution. Americans, Hoock argues, have, for several reasons, long minimized the violence associated with their war for independence. Much of the violence was committed by, or against, Loyalists, a group largely forgotten in the nineteenth century and for much of the twentieth. Compared to later conflicts, casualty figures from the Revolutionary War seemed small in absolute terms, but Holger points out that as a percentage of the population, nearly five times more Americans died in the Revolution than died in World War II, and the death rate among American prisoners of war was the highest of all American wars. The Anglo-American rapprochement that began to take shape after the Civil War created a new motive to sanitize the Revolution, and when the United States entered World War I on the side of the British in 1917, any allusions to British violence against American Patriots become "politically toxic" (405). World War II and the Cold War only reinforced the trend.

Hoock begins his narrative with the abuse of American Loyalists before and in the early stages of the Revolution. In January 1774, for example, a Boston mob tarred and feathered a minor customs official, John Malcolm; it was a far more gruesome ordeal than modern readers might realize. By comparison, George Washington, as commander of the Continental Army, fares well in Hoock's hands. Washington tried to observe the rules of war and to prevent his soldiers from plundering civilian property. The notorious Hessians, German mercenaries employed by the British, were, according to Hoock, no worse than British regulars. Their "atrocities appear to have been the exception rather than the rule" (118-19). On the frontier, meanwhile, pro-British Native Americans scalped and tortured white settlers, while Continental and state officials engaged in what later generations would call ethnic cleansing.

British generals suffer by comparison to Washington. Especially egregious was the treatment of American prisoners of war, many of whom were confined to overcrowded prison ships off the coast of British-held New York City. The limits of supply lines that stretched across the Atlantic Ocean created logistical challenges for the British, but their treatment of prisoners was nevertheless barbaric. Death rates on New York prison ships, Hoock calculates, rarely fell below 50 percent and might have reached as high as 70 percent during hot summers. By comparison, American military personnel captured during the Korean War, who experienced some of the worst conditions ever endured by American POWs, suffered a 38 percent death rate. Hoock concludes that "it is safe to assume that roughly half of all the Patriots under arms who died in the Revolutionary War died in British prisons and on prison ships" (227).

British cruelty proved counterproductive and allowed the Patriots to seize the moral high ground. It undermined enthusiasm for the war effort in Britain and compromised British efforts to win support in America. It did, however, prompt a post-war soul-searching in Britain that helped provide impetus for the anti-slavery movement and for the reform of British rule in India.

Some critics might accuse Hoock of overstatement. He admits "we will never be able to quantify the violence that American Loyalists endured" (54). Reports of widespread sexual assaults by British soldiers often proved difficult to verify. Hoock includes a contemporary British print of a woman being tarred and feathered by an American mob, although he acknowledges no evidence existed of any such incident. Yet the sheer brutality of the war is shocking; torture and mutilation were not uncommon. German-born and British-educated, Hoock, who now teaches at the University of Pittsburgh, brings about as much objectivity to his topic as one historian could be expected to muster.

Scars of Independence is one of the most important books on the American Revolution to appear in recent years. Advanced students and history buffs should find it engaging, while specialists should find it enlightening. Hoock has provided a much needed and prodigiously researched supplement to contemporary historiography that has tended to focus on social and intellectual history at the expense of the often gory history of war.

Barton College Jeff Broadwater

Charles Fountain. ***The Betrayal: The 1919 World Series and the Birth of Modern Baseball.*** **Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. 247. Cloth, $21.69.**

Given the mountain of mythology, paired with the incomplete historical evidence and self-interested disinformation surrounding the Black Sox Scandal, Charles Fountain's attempt to divine the truth of the fixing of the 1919 World Series in *The Betrayal: The 1919 World Series and the Birth of Modern Baseball* is a daunting task. His insistence on historical context, his unwillingness to cling to comfortable myth, along with his exhaustive research have succeed in producing a well-written, accessible book that provides more clarity than has existed previously for understanding this seminal event in the history of baseball and American society.

Having shed much light on the event, Fountain cautions the reader that many of the occurrences in the scandal cannot be completely determined because they are clouded by fading memory, incomplete records, and in the self-interested lies of players, gamblers, owners, their lawyers, and other figures of baseball's establishment at the time. And that is most likely what the leaders of baseball wanted. What Fountain makes abundantly clear is that those in charge of the game in the two decades prior to the scandal simply looked the other way when confronted with fixes of baseball games. For example, he quotes Jack Taylor, Chicago Cubs' 21-game winner in 1903, with openly admitting to the press that he threw games in the profitable postseason intercity series with the White Sox: "Why should I have won? I got $100 from Hart [owner of the Cubs] for winning, and I got $500 for losing" (10). An investigation by the baseball commission cleared Taylor of fixing games. For Fountain, this lack of corrective action in 1903, and more, led directly to the Black Sox Scandal of 1919.

Complicating attempts to attain complete accuracy of this story is the mythology surrounding the scandal that has evolved over the many decades. Of particular note in generating dubious myths are the book and movie of the same title, *Eight Men Out*. Both Eliot Asinof's 1963 book and John Sayles' 1989 film, while compelling tales, take liberties with the facts. Both the book and the film maintain that star White Sox pitcher Ed Cicotte's motivation for throwing games in the 1919 World Series was allegedly because Sox owner Charles Comiskey deliberately held Cicotte out of games in 1917 to prevent him attaining his 30th victory and avoid paying him a promised $10,000 bonus for his 30th win. This never happened. In fact, a quick consultation with *baseball-reference.com* reveals that Cicotte pitched eights games in September of 1917 improving from 22 wins to 28 wins by his last complete game win on September 29 with the pennant clinched a week earlier. Further, there is no evidence of this offer and Cicotte himself never mentioned this deal. Given the penurious reputation of Charles Comiskey, it is surprising that one should feel a need to construct such a situation. Comiskey's 1919 White Sox were considerably underpaid, that is verifiable, but to add the bonus to the story is fabrication.

Fountain's treatment of the shift from the Baseball Commission to the all-powerful Baseball Commissioner (Czar?) is revealing of the ineptitude and corruption of spirit of the owners of the game. The recap of the machinations by owners (and sometimes enemies) Comiskey and Ban Johnson (founder of the American League) give the reader an understanding that a few players fixing a few games was not the core problem of baseball. When news of the scandal became public, baseball owners, finally cornered with facts, appeared shocked despite ample evidence of a long tradition of gambling in professional baseball. This opened the door for grandstanding judge Kennesaw Mountain Landis, later perceived as a lifetime dictator of the national game. Landis, with the visage of an Old Testament Jeremiah, took every chance to spew his sanctimony regarding the Black Sox, banning the players from baseball for life despite their earlier acquittal by a sympathetic jury in Chicago. The self-righteousness of Landis and his canny realization that he had the owners divided, desperate, and over the barrel cemented his rule over the game. His legacy, at least to many, would include "cleaning up" the game, but also would feature maintenance of the color line, while denying there was one, until his death in 1944. Such complexities surrounding the Black Sox Scandal enable *The Betrayal* to serve a valuable window through which students in upper-division courses in social history, sports history, and journalism can explore the frequently messy relationship between baseball and American culture.

Seminole State College Dan Gilmartin

TEACHING HISTORY:
A JOURNAL OF METHODS

Founded in 1975
First Issue Published in 1976

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