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EMBRACING THE DIGITAL REVOLUTION IN THE HISTORY CLASSROOM

Christopher J. Young

Indiana University Northwest

The digital revolution provides an exciting opportunity for us to reconsider how we teach our history courses. By incorporating digital projects into our classroom repertoire, we can prepare students to do those things that we most prize as part of a liberal education and expose them to technologies that may help them develop additional skill sets. By encouraging students to engage in new learning in an environment that welcomes creativity and experimentation, we can guide our students through an empowering educational experience. A completed digital project showcases a student's critical thinking, creativity, and innovation. Projects may be shared with future employers or graduate school selection committees. In addition to contributing to knowledge that may be accessed by the public if the student wishes, a digital project may also feature those skills most desired by employers.¹

Practitioners of the liberal arts, history in particular, are encouraged to look to the digital revolution as a vehicle for preparing students for success in the classroom and beyond. As Edward Ayers noted in a prescient piece on digital history, our discipline “may be better suited to digital technology than any other humanistic discipline.” Historians Daniel Cohen and Roy Rosenzweig evinced the promises of digital history for practitioners of our craft, and major historical associations’ dedication of

¹ American Association of Colleges and Universities, “It Takes More than a Major: Employer Priorities for College Learning and Student Success: Overview and Key Findings.” Retrieved from <https://www.aacu.org/leap/presidentstrust/compact/2013SurveySummary>; T. Mills Kelly, *Teaching History in the Digital Age* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2013), 85.

web space to digital projects and digital resources for teaching and learning underscores the need to immerse our students in the world of digital possibilities.² This article recommends that historians continue to engage students in the scholarship of discovery but consider using digital tools to experiment with the traditional means of documenting that research.

The Rationale for Using Digital Tools in the History Major

Unlike majors residing in the professional schools, our students often have only their grades to show for their work. Hopefully they enjoyed service learning opportunities or an internship. But what if they did not have such an experience? No doubt, the individual's talents will emerge while on the job, but what about before the job offer? How do history students show the skills they acquired while studying at a college or university, especially at regional or satellite campuses of major state universities?

Frederick M. Hurst of the Personalized Learning Program at Northern Arizona University captured the problem: "If you look at someone's transcript and it says they have three three-hour courses in history, an employer doesn't know what that means other than someone knows about these time periods in history." Hurst suggests framing the history degree in a "different way" by emphasizing the "writing skills that a student got out of those

² Edward L. Ayers, "The Pasts and Futures of Digital History," www.vcdh.virginia.edu/PastsFutures.html (Virginia Center for Digital History); Daniel J. Cohen and Roy Rosenzweig, *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). The title of Cohen and Rosenzweig's book suggests that the direction of the literature focusing on digital work and history education comes in the form of guidebooks. Another example is Michael J. Galgano, Chris Arndt, and Raymond M. Hyser, *Doing History: Research and Writing in the Digital Age* (Boston: Wadsworth, 2008, 2013). For the interest that major professional historical associations have in digital history as a teaching and research tool, see American Historical Association at <https://www.historians.org/teaching-and-learning/digital-history-resources> and the Organization of American Historians at <http://jah.oah.org/projects/>.

courses” and the idea that these are skills “someone will need in the workplace.”³ Digital tools allow us to move beyond the traditional means for assessing those skills or even to talk about those writing skills mentioned by Hurst. Digital tools, which are widely available and fairly inexpensive or free, provide a means for students to demonstrate mastery in contexts beyond the traditional essay. They also enable us to consider the learning needs of our students who, as T. Mills Kelly reminds us, live in a digital world “and will work in [one] tomorrow. . . .”⁴

History departments at colleges and universities, especially at regional and satellite campuses, are often hard pressed to find and retain history majors. There are plenty of students interested in the discipline, but competition is tough when up against professional programs. The bad publicity that liberal arts programs and degrees receive in the press and from politicians does not help. While students may be interested in a history degree, they invariably face—from themselves or from their parents—the question of marketability.

Fueling the questions regarding the worth of a history degree, or more generally, a liberal arts degree, is the very question of worth. How much is a degree worth? Was the debt incurred for a degree worth it? These types of questions are typically framed with financial value in mind rather than satisfaction. As Steven J. Tepper and Danielle J. Lindemann contend, intrinsic motivation as opposed to financial motivation leads to not only happier people, but better job performance. The “creativity and flexibility” that are prized in a liberal arts education will, they suggest, “allow the United States to compete in the global marketplace.” They are not suggesting that money is not important, but if creativity is

³ Anya Kamenetz, “Are you Competent? Prove it,” *New York Times*, October 29, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/03/education/edlife/degrees-based-on-what-you-can-do-not-how-you-went.html>

⁴ Kelly, *Teaching History in the Digital Age*, 89.

coupled with “money-making behaviors,” students will be better prepared for “what is likely to be a turbulent future.”⁵

Moreover, as we are reminded in Sandhya Kambhampati’s blog featured in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, “some say using earning as a sole measure of success misses the value of a degree and how it serves society.” And, as James R. Grossman, executive director of the American Historical Association, observes, there is immeasurable value to society when humanities graduates serve as teachers, clergy, and social workers.⁶

Yet, we in the humanities side of the liberal arts still feel an impending sense of doom, and this feeling has fueled the crisis narrative that is found regularly in higher education periodicals and is perhaps discussed amongst ourselves in history departments across the country.⁷ Christopher Panza and Richard Schur of Drury University likened the feeling to the famous children’s story, *Chicken Little*, in which the drop of an acorn leads to a more general fear among the animals that the world is about to end.

⁵ Steven J. Tepper and Danielle J. Lindemann, “For the Money? For the Love? Reconsidering the ‘Worth’ of a College Major,” *Change* 46 (2014): 20-23.

⁶ Sandhya Kambhampati, “Measuring Humanities Degrees Misses Much of Their Value,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Retrieved from <http://chronicle.com/blogs/data/2014/10/20/measuring-humanities-degrees-misses-much-of-their-value/>

⁷ Paul B. Sturtevant, “History is Not a Useless Major: Fighting Myths with Data,” *Perspectives on History* 55 (April 2017), <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/april-2017/history-is-not-a-useless-major-fighting-myths-with-data>; Julia Brookins, “Survey Finds Fewer Students Enrolling in College History Courses,” *Perspectives on History* 54 (September 2016), <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/september-2016/survey-finds-fewer-students-enrolling-in-college-history-courses>; Julia Brookins, “The Decline in History Majors: What is to be Done?” *Perspectives on History* 54 (May 2016), <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/may-2016/the-decline-in-history-majors>; Christopher Brooks, “Connecting the Dots: Why a History Degree is Useful in the Business World,” *Perspectives on History* 53 (February 2015), <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/february-2015/connecting-the-dots>.

They seek refuge in the cave of a fox, where they are ultimately devoured. While Panza and Schur persuasively make the case that much of the concern in the humanities is overstated, they do agree that the humanities have a public relations problem.

They suggest that the narrative needs to change in order to modify the way humanistic disciplines are perceived by the wider public. To be sure, the authors do not discount the very real possibility that every article questioning the worth of a degree in the humanities may be understood as a “potential falling acorn.” Nor do they downplay that “false crisis narratives have real effects.”⁸

I think the crisis narrative can turn us into better teachers by forcing us to reconsider how we prepare our history majors for the world they are likely to encounter. The perceived crisis should be seen as an opportunity to take a risk and pursue innovative approaches in the classroom.

This perceived crisis was on my mind when I first encountered the quote above by Frederick Hurst. I had witnessed many instances of creativity, even brilliant creativity from my students. Until reading Hurst’s words, these moments of creativity were, for me, interior building blocks that built the intellectual character of the student and eventual employee. I hoped that their experience with a class project that encouraged creativity would in some small way contribute to their life’s enrichment while contributing to their skill set. And while all this may be true, it is difficult to get beyond the idea that a prospective employer will only see that they took a three credit hour course on the American Revolution.

To distill the problem to its most basic question is to ask: How do we demonstrate a history student’s value to prospective employers? How do we provide for “tangible evidence of learning” and showcase “critical and creative thinking” while documenting that students are equipped with “digital fluency and information literacy”—critical skills in the twenty-first century workplace as

⁸ Christopher Panza and Richard Schur, “To Save the Humanities, Change the Narrative,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 61 (2014): A64.

well as in contemporary society?⁹ To make digital literacy a course objective, it behooves us, as Jeff McClurken explains, to encourage students to “experiment with a variety of online tools, and then to think critically and strategically about a project, and to identify those tools that would be most useful to that project.”¹⁰

Providing Opportunities for Digital Experimentation

Inspired, I decided to design a project that would enable my students to provide tangible evidence of learning that could “demonstrate a [humanities] student’s value to prospective employers.” The answer was to digitize the classroom experience and to thereby explore a variety of digital possibilities in different learning environments. I am not claiming to be the first to have had this insight or that my approach is the most innovative. In fact, some readers may think I am years behind in uncovering the digital experience. And I may very well be. However, I suspect I am not alone in my desire to find new and interesting approaches to courses that I have taught for some time and that enroll students who will face different challenges than an earlier generation and who will be expected to have a different skill-set.

To those who are neither technologically inclined nor comfortable with technology, there is some risk involved when digitizing the classroom experience. However, that characteristic proves to be an asset because one’s own risk-taking with a new enterprise will encourage students to take their own risks as long as they are given the opportunity to do so creatively and without significant consequences.

With this in mind, I designed a 200-level seminar course (required of history majors) with three goals that are fairly standard for my classes. Students would: learn course content

⁹ Kamenetz, “Are you Competent? Prove it.”

¹⁰ Jeff McClurken, “Digital Literacy and the Undergraduate Curriculum,” in *Hacking the Academy: New Approaches to Scholarship and Teaching from Digital Humanities*, eds. Daniel J. Cohen and Tom Scheinfeldt (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 80-81.

while acquiring a skill that they are likely to use in their working lives; be encouraged to take risks and to be creative; stretch and grow as individuals.

The subject of the course in which I first attempted to use these digital tools was public memory. Digitizing the learning experience in this course played out in a variety of assignments, a number of which could be used to reinforce or build on one another. These assignments included digital timelines, annotating an eighteenth-century play as a group with GoogleDocs, analyzing a topic using the Google Ngram Viewer, and a final digital project that would have a public audience (for example, see Figure 1).¹¹ Essentially, each student was required to produce a final research project and present it using a web-based tool while also incorporating, when appropriate, digital tools that were the basis of other class assignments, such as the Google Ngram Viewer. Within the broad topic of public memory, students could choose any point of focus that interested them. Topics ranged from Korean War memorials in the United States, to the intersection of popular culture, public memory, and the American space program, to the use of video games as a vehicle for public memory. A well-executed final product would be soundly argued, thoughtfully analyzed, and creatively presented or displayed. I invited the students who created the best work to present their final project at our campus's annual College of Arts and Sciences Conference.

¹¹ The play was Robert Munford's *The Candidates*. The Revolutionary Era play was published posthumously in 1798. Robert Munford, *A Collection of Plays and Poems* (Petersburg, VA: Williams Prentis, 1798).

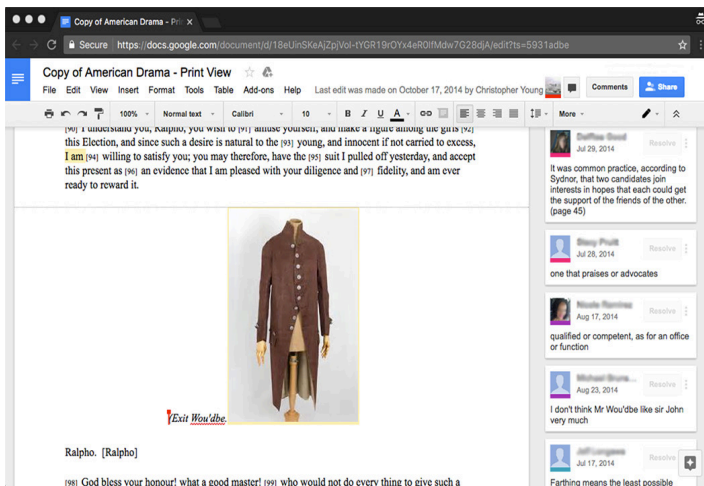


Figure 1: Google Docs allowed students to annotate an eighteenth-century play together.

My hope was that should students decide to keep their digital work, they would have tangible evidence of learning. The finished product could stand on its own or be incorporated into an e-portfolio.

Taking on the digital project meant experimenting with different tools. Some worked out better than others. WordPress, a blog site that has increasingly been used for its website development capabilities, proved to be cumbersome for a number of students. Another digital tool that students used, and later embedded in their final work, was the Google Books Ngram Viewer. This fun and useful tool graphs the use of specific words or phrases in the Google-scanned books and periodicals published between 1500 and 2008. The assignment was to analyze the results, and if pertinent, to incorporate their Ngram analysis into their semester project in order to illustrate a point or support their argument.¹²

¹² John R. McNeill, "Lessons of Munich, Lessons of Vietnam, Lessons of History," *Perspectives on History* 51 (September 2013): 9-11; Christopher J. Young, "From Mr. Lincoln to Abraham Lincoln, from the Personal to the Historical: Google's Ngram Viewer as a Research Tool," *For the People: A Newsletter of the Abraham*

Both the students and I found Tumblr, a blog site with a social media feel, more user-friendly than WordPress. A key to its success, I believe, was that two students recommended using it. Their endorsement, I suspect, helped their peers feel comfortable with the medium even though it remained a new and challenging experience for some. Other instructors who have allowed students “to determine their media choice” have found that it “builds trust and relationships”—and my experience would confirm this observation.¹³

In my upper division Colonial and Revolutionary America course, students used Tumblr to take the three required exams. To get started, we built a site together so students could get comfortable with the platform. Modeling of this sort is an effective approach to introducing students to new methodologies and learning technologies because it provides opportunity for “feedback and support for those students who might not have a vision for the end product.”¹⁴ Using Tumblr for the exam invited students to produce creative and beautiful work that included an analysis of major themes and key points on the course’s three areas of focus: Colonial America, Revolutionary America, and the Memory of the American Revolution. They enjoyed bringing their own creative twists to each exam. And, the images, graphs, and videos that were included made for a much more interesting and satisfying grading experience (see Figure 2). The reason, I believe, is that the students were not so much taking an exam, as they were “making history” as described by T. Mills Kelly in his masterful work, *Teaching History in the Digital Age*.¹⁵

Lincoln Association 17 (2015): 6-8.

¹³ Denise Castro, “Blog Attack: New Teaching Strategies to Engage Today’s College Students,” *Metropolitan Universities: An International Forum* 23 (September 2012): 86.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 94.

¹⁵ Kelly, *Teaching History in the Digital Age*, 78-101.

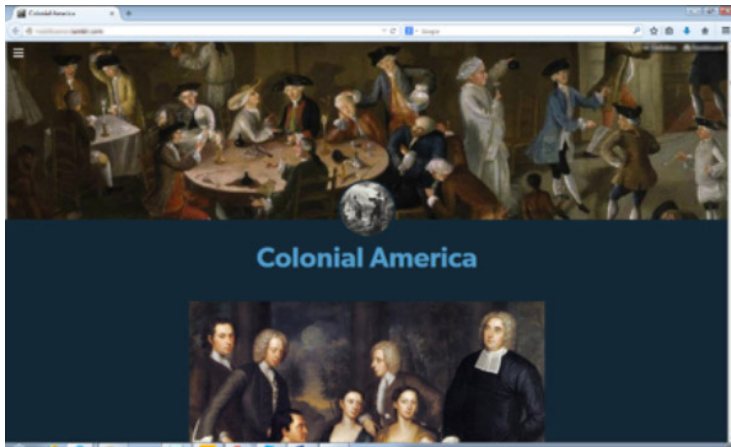


Figure 2: The opening view of a student's exam on Tumblr. The digital tool encourages students to take a colorful approach to the traditional exam.

The use of Tumblr has been a general success. As with introducing the other learning technologies, students experienced anxiety at first with Tumblr before embracing it. As I did earlier with WordPress, I encouraged students to think of the site as an opportunity to showcase their work following the course. It is also an opportunity to remind students to remove the sites or make them non-public if they do not wish others to see their work in the future while also raising their awareness of mixing the personal with the professional on such publically accessible sites.

Tumblr or other website development sites serve the purpose of showcasing students' work well if one's institution does not support software for a coordinated e-portfolio effort. Students reported that Tumblr was easy to use and that it provided a "unique" and "interesting learning experience." One student said that using Tumblr allowed for posting images, which added "some visual context." This, the student noted, brought "depth" to the learning experience. Another student noted that submitting essay exams through Tumblr "facilitated learning because it made us truly understand the material and add our own flavor to it." While I wish I could have followed up with the students to learn precisely

what they meant by these comments, they all suggest that students felt they had a meaningful learning experience.

Additionally, inspired by Carol A. Davis's use of "autonomy" in the classroom, I asked students in one of my 300-level courses to volunteer to build maps. A number of students accepted the opportunity, but only two completed the task. They each tried to map an instance described in David Hackett Fischer's *Paul Revere's Ride*.¹⁶

One student used Google maps while the other used MapBox. One of these students remarked on the learning experience by acknowledging how the assignment had brought an awareness of the changing landscape between today and the eighteenth century. She shared with me that when she was "recreating the map, I was getting confused with the land masses. Little islands from the map in the book were either completely gone or have moved significantly. Also, I thought it was really interesting how, over the years, land was filled in or changed (such as Boston-Logan airport's location). From a geographical standpoint, I definitely learned a lot about how the land changing coincided with economic issues." Digital mapping provides an opportunity to demonstrate to students that a nation's narrative "is influenced by its own deep history and geography."¹⁷

Using Qualtrics software, I asked students to complete a Human Subjects Committee-approved survey at the beginning of the course and at the conclusion of the course. When asked if digital research had ever been part of an assignment in any of their classes, half of the class responded in the affirmative and the other half responded in the negative. When questioned if web-based applications had ever been the basis of a class assignment such as

¹⁶ Carol A. Davis, "Game Theory and Reality TV: Pathways to Democratic Thinking," *Diversity & Democracy* 17 (2014): 28; David Hackett Fischer, *Paul Revere's Ride* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

¹⁷ Robert D. Kaplan, *The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells Us About Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate* (New York: Random House, 2012), xx.

a term paper, the entire class answered no. When queried if they found the digital project assignment worthwhile, the response was unanimously affirmative. Overall, the surveys suggest that digital assignments introduced students to new educational experiences that contributed to a meaningful learning experience, such as “figuring out what exactly constitutes public memory and how it is formed.”

When asked to explain their answers regarding their learning experiences, one of the students in the 200-level seminar wrote, “I think the digital project challenged students to take on a technology and way of doing things that was unfamiliar and unusual, but highly useful. Being able to write and publish for an internet-driven age will be a valuable skill going forward.” For another student, not only did the digital project rejuvenate one’s enthusiasm for research “due to the atypical format in which the final product is showcased,” but, the student commented, as someone “who will be in the job market in the near future, having to do research and present findings in a manner other than a formal paper helps mature writing techniques that quite possibly could be crucial in careers other than academia (and even in academia).” For this student, the project emphasized “a different way of writing, communicating, and learning new skill sets that are often overlooked in research papers.” Another student commented that the digital project is much more “flexible than your standard research paper, with a number of different options to enhance and change the way the paper is received by the reader. I don’t think that it is better than a traditional research paper, but it will likely add valuable new skills and challenge the way most students think of a research project.”

When I surveyed other lower and upper division classes in which I used digital tools and methods, the student-responses were similar. Most had conducted digital research as part of an assignment, but web-based applications such as Tumblr, WordPress, Google Docs, and Google Books Ngram Reader, and

Dipity were almost never the basis of the assignment. And nearly all students felt that the digital project was beneficial to their learning experience.

While the digital path presents some disadvantages, these prospective realities would be better described as *potential* disadvantages than *actual* disadvantages. Instructors who go digital need to avoid throwing “the baby out with the bathwater” by introducing so many digital tools that the learning curve with the new learning technologies dominates the learning experience rather than the course subject itself. Another potential problem, and one I experienced, is that by taking such a radical approach, one may feel unmoored. Those who have been teaching for a while have a sense of how a course is going at certain points during the semester. For instance, when I went digital, I gave up familiar pedagogical landmarks such as traditional writing assignments and exams by which I could judge the progress of the course and my students, the absence of which made me anxious regarding the course’s success and the students’ experience in it. The solution to this problem is to incorporate digital projects gradually or to establish clear markers early and often so one feels anchored.

One last potential disadvantage, which is related to the first, is whether something is lost when digital tools and projects are made a regular part of the learning experience. Does something have to give when we transform the way we conduct our business? It is a balancing act, to be sure, but it is one that may take time to achieve, just as it took time and mistakes for us to establish a pedagogical approach that we found worthwhile, effective, and enjoyable before the digital revolution.

Conversely, there are some clear advantages to using digital tools in the history classroom. While students may experience trepidation when first given the assignment, it is likely that eventually they will find it exciting to approach the familiar term paper or exam in an innovative way. It is this type of creativity and experimentation with digital tools, Paula Krebs reminds

us, that will prepare our students in community colleges and comprehensive regional universities to contribute to the economic well-being of the immediate area being served by the academic institution. Additionally, students get “more bang for the buck” since they will learn not only content, but also a new skill and gain a new-found confidence that may prove to be a useful as they embark on their careers.¹⁸

Embracing the digital revolution has expanded my understanding of student learning. I have learned that students appreciate and enjoy having the opportunity to be creative. They are willing to take risks and try new things in an academic environment if they know they will not be penalized for doing so. And students like that digital tools and projects and the non-traditional approaches they encourage “provide room to learn,” as a student recently told me as we exited a classroom.

By digitizing the learning experience, we are preparing history students in a classical sense by having them engage in the scholarship of discovery, but we are also giving them a real sense that they are contributing to knowledge by publishing via Tumblr or WordPress. This opportunity provides a medium through which students may showcase their digital fluency and information literacy to prospective employers or graduate school selection committees.

¹⁸ Paula Krebs, “Will it Play in Emporia,” *Slate* (April 2014). Retrieved from http://www.slate.com/articles/technology/future_tense/2014/04/don_t_forget_regional_state_schools_when_it_comes_to_higher_ed_and_tech.html. In one of my classes, I had a non-traditional student who was particularly hostile to the introduction of digital tools into the classroom. The assignment was to annotate an eighteenth-century play together using GoogleDocs. After expressing her displeasure on several occasions, her attitude toward the subject suddenly changed over the course of a weekend. She confided to me that while complaining about the assignment to one of her friends, her friend said, “GoogleDocs? We use that all of the time at work.” Knowing that she would be using this digital tool as an employee gave the assignment value.

The students—as prospective employees or graduate students—will be more than the grade on their transcript. Their talents, their skills, and their creative impulses will provide the story behind the grade. We like to think that the transformative potential of a liberal arts degree is more than a class, a grade, or a transcript. It is to be discovered in the people who experience it. The digital revolution provides opportunities for students to showcase their discoveries, and through them, to highlight students' growth and potential far beyond the classroom.

Author's note: The author wishes to thank Myriam Young, Gianluca Di Muzio, and his students who participated in this study. This article is for Mary Ferone-Young and Bob Young.

FLIPPING THE UNIVERSITY CLASSROOM: A THREE YEAR ANALYSIS OF METHODS AND IMPACTS

Daniel S. Murphree and Kevin Mitchell Mercer

University of Central Florida

“So, is it worth it?” This is a common question my colleagues pose when I tell them about my efforts to “flip” General Education Preparation (GEP) United States history survey courses at my institution, the University of Central Florida (UCF). Over the past three years, with the assistance of my co-author and others, I have implemented a “Flipping the Classroom” model in these courses with heavy emphasis on Writing Across the Curriculum (WAC) strategies and the American Historical Association’s (AHA) Tuning Project goals and outcomes. At both UCF and in other venues, I have disseminated my impressions of the process as well as statistical information regarding student course performance and perceptions of how they were learning in these situations.¹ Audience reactions to my conclusions have been mixed; many colleagues, both within and outside of my discipline, have eagerly embraced the model I have implemented and used derivations of it in their own courses. Others, however, remain skeptical, reluctant to abandon tried and true teaching methods and dismissive of

¹ Daniel S. Murphree, “‘Writing wasn’t really stressed, accurate historical analysis was stressed’: Student Perceptions of In-Class Writing in the Inverted, General Education, University History Survey Course,” *The History Teacher* 47 (February 2014): 209-221; Daniel S. Murphree, “Flipping the History Classroom with an Embedded Writing Consultant: Synthesizing Inverted and WAC Paradigms in a University History Survey Course,” *The Social Studies* 106 (2015): 218-225; Daniel S. Murphree, “A Multidisciplinary Look at Flipping the Classroom,” UCF Faculty Center for Teaching and Learning Summer Conference, May 9, 2013.

what they perceive to be another trendy but fleeting pedagogical enterprise based on much flash but little substance.

The goal of this article is to provide a more systematic and longitudinal assessment of the strategies I have used to provide both advocates and skeptics further food for thought. The evidence presented here is the result of quantitative and qualitative data related to four GEP courses taught over the past three years. It involves course performance numbers and individual commentaries derived from IRB-approved investigations involving over 200 students. While far from exhaustive in factors analyzed and student numbers addressed, it serves as one of the broadest studies involving the use of Flipping/WAC/Tuning strategies in introductory history courses at the university level.² The information provided here addresses certain core issues that transcended the different course sections taught as well as section-specific information that pertains to significant differences in how material was taught and assessed. Overall, the data can be used in multiple ways to draw conclusions on the effectiveness and utility of the strategies used for both peer content instructors and administrators dedicated to curriculum innovation.

Based on the evidence accumulated and analyzed over a three-year period, I have determined that the Flipping model, regardless of the variations used in my classes, successfully enhanced fulfillment of course learning objectives by maximizing

² To my knowledge, no other studies address the Flipping/WAC/Tuning format specifically, but works that address one of the three approaches for university history courses include Clayton D. Brown, "Proven Strategies for Blended Learning: Case Studies from Distance Teaching in History," in *Interdisciplinary Approaches to Distance Teaching: Connecting Classrooms in Theory and Practice*, eds. Alan Blackstock and Nathan Straight (New York: Routledge, 2016), 87-103; Dan Melzer, *Exploring College Writing: Writing and Researching Across the Curriculum* (Sheffield: Equinox, 2011); David Trowbridge, "Tuning, Teaching and Taking Care of Students," *Perspectives on History* 51 (April 2013), <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/april-2013-x41241>.

instructor-student interaction in the classroom. The format enabled students to obtain and demonstrate broad content knowledge through online activities while allowing them to use class periods for targeted questioning of their instructor and for debates with fellow students in a face-to-face setting. Students consequently became more active in the learning process and more sophisticated over time in how they approached their understanding of factual content and communication of evidence-based explanations of the past. By the conclusion of each Flipped class analyzed here, students had embraced historical reasoning in both written and verbal form to a greater degree than in any of the previous GEP courses I have taught at the college and university level over a fifteen-year period. In a higher-education environment where student engagement with their instructors is increasingly limited, the Flipping model, and its WAC and Tuning enhancements, helped re-establish a classroom space where educational interaction flourished and student learning improved according to multiple metrics.

Foundations: Flipping, WAC, and the Tuning Project

Flipping

While the term “Flipping the Classroom” has varied meanings, for the purposes of this work it is defined as creating and maintaining a learning environment in which students gain first exposure to new material outside of class via assigned readings and then use class time to question this content through instructor-guided discussion, debates, and writing exercises.³ Until recently, researchers have produced relatively little scholarship in reference to the utility of Flipped classroom approaches at the college or university level. Primary and secondary school teachers have

³ This definition closely corresponds to that of Cynthia J. Brame in “Flipping the Classroom,” Vanderbilt University Center for Teaching, <http://cft.vanderbilt.edu/guides-sub-pages/flipping-the-classroom/>.

implemented and studied Flipped classrooms for at least a decade, but college and university instructors have only begun to test such models in recent years. While Flipping strategies in institutions of higher education may show promise, qualitative and quantitative evidence is still lacking. This is especially the case regarding the teaching of history. Instructors at the post-secondary level have largely left application of the practice to their counterparts in the sciences or related disciplines. As a result, the utility of Flipped classroom methodology in post-secondary history courses is largely unknown at this point.⁴

Writing Across the Curriculum (WAC)

WAC programs are also fixtures at many colleges and universities today. Most emphasize the concept of “writing to learn”: an approach to assignments in courses of all disciplines that encourages multiple student writing activities designed to promote learning of subject-area concepts and instill broader critical thinking skills. Proponents of WAC argue that students should not just write about the subject matter they are learning, but also write to better learn the subject matter. Accordingly, instructors design and coordinate writing assignments in a manner that encourages

⁴ Jeremy Adelman, “History à La MOOC,” *Perspectives on History* 51 (March 2013), <http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/2013/1303/History-a-la-MOOC.cfm>; Dan Berrett, “How ‘Flipping’ the Classroom Can Improve the Traditional Lecture,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (February 19, 2012), <http://chronicle.com/article/How-Flipping-the-Classroom/130857>; Maureen Lage, J. Glenn, J. Platt, and Michael Treglia, “Inverting the Classroom: A Gateway to Creating an Inclusive Learning Environment,” *The Journal of Economic Education* (Winter 2000): 30-43; Steven Neshyba, “It’s a Flipping Revolution,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (April 4, 2013), <http://chronicle.com/article/Its-a-Flipping-Revolution/138259/>; Robert Talbert, “Inverted Classroom,” *Colleagues* (2012): 1-2, <http://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/colleagues/vol9/iss1/7>; Audrey Watters, “Top Ed-Tech Trends of 2012: The Flipped Classroom,” *Inside Higher Ed* (2012), <http://www.insidehighered.com/blogs/hack-higher-education/top-ed-tech-trends-2012-flipped-classroom>.

students to conceptualize writing as learning, thereby providing them with an additional means of facilitating their education. In other words, “when students are given frequent and structured opportunities to practice writing, they become more engaged with their learning, think more critically, and communicate more effectively. They are also better able to transfer knowledge and skills between courses and contexts.”⁵

Tuning

The Tuning Project is an American Historical Association-led effort “to articulate the core of historical study and to identify what a student should understand and be able to do at the completion of a history degree program.” An initial cohort of sixty-five history educators from colleges and universities around the country agreed to collaborate in formulating core objectives, in the process clarifying the skills recipients of a history degree can use “in terms of personal development, civic engagement, and career potential.”⁶ Hundreds of others have participated in the endeavor over the past several years. Early fruits of the initiative’s efforts included dozens of “core competencies” and “learning outcomes” that students pursuing history degrees should be able to demonstrate. Among these are engaging “in historical inquiry, research, and

⁵ See Daniel S. Murphree, “An Unexpected Bridge: The AHA Tuning Project and Writing Across the Curriculum,” *Perspectives on History* 51 (April 2013), <http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/2013/1304/An-Unexpected-Bridge.cfm>. For information on WAC philosophies in general, see John C. Bean, *Engaging Ideas: The Professor’s Guide to Integrating Writing, Critical Thinking, and Active Learning in the Classroom*, 2d ed. (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 2011), 17–21. For information on the UCF WAC program specifically (including quotation), see “Writing Across the Curriculum: University of Central Florida,” <http://wac.cah.ucf.edu> (accessed May 27, 2013).

⁶ Julia Brookins, “Nationwide Tuning Project for Undergraduate History Programs Launched,” *Perspectives on History* 50 (March 2012): 14; Julia Brookins, “The Tuning Project’s Summer Meeting,” *Perspectives on History* 50 (September 2012): 23.

analysis,” generating “significant, open-ended questions about the past,” devising “research strategies to answer them,” and crafting “historical narrative and argument.” Largely dependent on grant funding and voluntary participation of educators at the college and university level, the future of this initiative is unclear, but the efforts of Tuning project participants have resulted in a framework that is increasingly influencing history curriculum development across the country.⁷

Integrating Flipping, WAC, and Tuning

Synthesizing three models allowed me to revise my course to accomplish several goals. Flipping the course opened up additional instructor face-to-face time with students, allowing for discussions of the historical writing process and consideration of writing techniques history can provide in other disciplines and in post-graduation careers. WAC-inspired writing exercises were introduced more frequently via the Flipped format since initial engagement with historical content was taking place outside of the classroom. Tuning objectives could better be reinforced because students could broaden their understanding of the discipline and its value in collective discussions with the instructor and through consistently assessed handwritten essays in class. The integration of each model in a single revised course format aided the seamless inclusion of all in content delivery. Stated another way, Flipping the classroom facilitated WAC and Tuning innovations in my GEP courses; WAC and Tuning alone proved too time-consuming to implement in my traditionally formatted sections.

Course Structures: Innovating the Flipping Model

I flipped two courses, one section of United States History from 1492-1877 (AMH 2010) and three sections of United States

⁷ AHA Tuning Project, “History Discipline Core: A Statement from the AHA’s Tuning Project,” *Perspectives on History* 50 (October 2012): 42-43.

History 1877-2000 (AMH 2020). At the time of the study, all undergraduates who attended UCF had to complete one GEP History requirement in order to complete their degrees (though many completed this requirement through prior community college coursework, high school equivalency courses, or AP exam credit). In addition to the courses above, students could also complete this requirement via comparable courses in “Western Civilization” or World History surveys. Students tend to enroll in AMH 2020 sections more frequently than the others, and all History GEP courses typically consist of undergraduates from diverse backgrounds and disciplinary majors; most students who enroll in these courses do so to meet curriculum requirements primarily, and it is difficult to assess how many also do so due to interest in the subject matter. I used three specific approaches (A, B, and C below) in my Flipped classroom.

Study A: Basic Flipping

Traditionally, GEP history course instructors have relied on the lecture-exam model to convey information and evaluate their students’ understanding of content.⁸ Until recently, I also employed this model in my courses. Lectures typically served as the centerpiece of my course instruction. Though I often interspersed student questions and impromptu discussions into class sessions, I delivered the bulk of course content through formal lectures supplemented by assigned readings from a core text. Evaluation of student comprehension of history content took

⁸ See Alan Booth and Paul Hyland, *The Practice of University History Teaching* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000); R.W. Maloy and I. LaRoche, “Student-Centered Teaching Methods in the History Classroom: Ideas, Issues, and Insights for New Teachers,” *Social Studies Research & Practice* 5 (2010): 46-61; Michael F. Mascolo, “Beyond Student-Centered and Teacher Centered Pedagogy: Teaching and Learning as Guided Participation,” *Pedagogy and the Human Sciences* 1 (2009): 3-27; Daniel Trifan, “Active Learning: A Critical Examination,” *Perspectives on History* 35 (March 1997), <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/march-1997/active-learning-a-critical-examination>.

the form of exams. Administered every five to six weeks, these exams consisted of short answer identifications/key terms and one essay. Writing assignments for these courses varied over the years; some consisted of evaluations of primary documents, others took the form of historiographic debate analysis papers, and a few involved compare and contrast assessments of different portals for obtaining information on the past. Student grades wholly depended on their understanding of content (based on exams) and ability to analyze themes or processes via their outside-of-class writing assignments (usually two over the course of the semester).

The Flipped class structure I introduced to my two Spring 2013 AMH 2020 sections looked quite different. Both sections took place for 50 minutes, three days a week. Deviating from past practices, I delivered no formal, pre-packaged lectures in these courses. Instead, each week I utilized two 50 minute sessions for in-class discussion of content based on chapters in the assigned core text. The first class period typically consisted of what I labeled “Before and After” discussions. In these meetings, I would attempt to equip students with context for understanding the topic of the week by providing information on what chronologically took place in preceding and following years (usually decades) while prompting them to add their own perspectives and question my conclusions. These discussions largely consisted of questions I would ask the class as a whole, followed by their responses, my counter questions, and our collective transitions into discussion of other events, movements, and themes; I never formally lectured or provided previously created outlines or notes during these meetings. The next class period consisted of a “Thematic” discussion of the relevant chapter/section. In these class meetings, I would provide two to three key themes of the period and two examples of evidence to justify my claims. I then encouraged students to critique my arguments, offer additional themes and evidence, and relate our discussion to information discussed in

the “Before and After” meetings. The final class session of the week consisted of students’ application of what they had learned in the previous sessions through in-class writing assignments.

For example, the first class session related to the module titled “The U.S. and World War II” consisted of a discussion about chronology and legacies. I asked students to explain how previously covered topics like World War I, the Great Depression, and New Deal might relate to the United States’ role in World War II. Then I introduced several consequences of the latter conflict on the post-War world. The second class session in the module was devoted to themes of the conflict; I introduced concepts such as the “Good War,” provided an evidence base for the interpretation, and asked students for alternate interpretations with evidence to support them. In both the first and second sessions, students could question the instructor’s premises and offer different perspectives with the caveat that any evidence for them had to come from the assigned readings for the module. During the final class session on this topic, students wrote an essay in which they had to address the information covered in the previous two sessions (periodization, legacies, themes), though they could offer their own evidence-based conclusions that might differ from those offered by the instructor. In this third phase, students could ask the instructor (who roamed the room offering assistance) any questions regarding essay theses, structure, and use of evidence. In all three sessions, students determined much of what was discussed based on their questions about assigned readings and how best to communicate their interpretations in writing.

In terms of student assessment, my Flipped class structure deviated significantly from the traditional assessment I had used in previous courses similar in content. Students took no formal exams. Instead, I assigned a combination of online, in-class, and out-of-class-assignments designed to progressively encourage student content retention while improving their overall research and writing abilities. To gauge student understanding of basic

content covered in the designated chapters, I assigned eleven objective quizzes over the course of the semester. Students had a three-day window to complete each of these online, multiple choice, “ten questions in ten minutes” quizzes. Students also had to demonstrate their interpretive ability related to historical content on eleven occasions through in-class writing assignments, as noted above. In each of these sessions, students would have 50 minutes to address an essay prompt according to the following template: “Based on class discussions and assigned readings, write an essay in which you address the Origins, Themes, and Legacies of X (X being the topic covered in that section and discussed during the previous two class meetings).” Students could bring any resources to class to help them write these essays (textbooks, notes, online resources) but could not simply transcribe an essay written outside of class. During these writing sessions, I encouraged students to ask me any questions regarding content or writing. The goal of these writing assignments was not to test student retention of specific content but to foster their skills in applying historical interpretations in a written format.

I also assigned both low stakes and high stakes out-of-class writings assignments to supplement online quizzes and in-class writing exercises. Both types of out-of-class assignments centered on an online compilation of resources familiar to many historians, “The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.”⁹ This site provided opportunities for my students to learn about the process of historical research and writing via assignments created to progressively improve their capabilities. I devoted three weeks of the semester to these assignments, again dividing student tasks into three components. On the first day, students did not meet in the classroom but were encouraged to schedule individual appointments with me to discuss the assignment. For each week of content devoted to the database, I required students to post to

⁹ “The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database,” <http://www.slavevoyages.org/> (accessed August 6, 2016).

an online discussion forum a 250-word synopsis of the resources they viewed and their personal perspectives on the sources' utility. Depending on the week, these sources consisted of essays, images, statistics, maps, or timelines on the site, and fellow students could post responses to others' assessments and question each other about the databases' features. During the next class session, I collectively discussed the online postings and with student input, navigated the database site so that they would better understand the tools at their disposal and my expectations for the final out-of-class writing assignment for the section. This final assignment required students to write a 3-5 page formal paper along the lines of their discussion forum (again, depending on the week, this could be a summary of a secondary source, a compare and contrast analysis of two primary sources, or a response to an interpretive question using three forms of database evidence on which to base their arguments) in which they properly cited the materials they used. Students would not be required to attend class in order to research and write these papers which they submitted electronically.

Study B: Flipping with an Embedded Writing Consultant (EWC)

During the Spring 2014 semester, I utilized the Flipped course design for my AMH 2010 course in which I also was able to employ an Embedded Writing Consultant (EWC). Since I had never had the assistance of an embedded consultant in my classes before, I decided to be cautious in how I integrated the individual into my course design and daily class activities. Consequently, I changed very little in terms of format or assignments from my previously taught Flipped courses. The major changes involved statements in the syllabus and online course management system pages regarding the presence and role of the EWC in the course. After I introduced the EWC to students on the first day of class, I informed them that this person (an MA student in the Department of Rhetoric and Writing with undergraduate training in History who also worked in the university Writing Center)

would be available to students primarily in reference to the in-class essays. Like me, the EWC would be present in class during writing sessions to answer student questions about their papers and provide suggestions on essay structure, readability, and use of evidence. Outside of class, the EWC would hold regularly scheduled office hours solely for students enrolled in the course to discuss their in-class essays that I had graded (the EWC was responsible for no formal grading in the course). The EWC would also be available to schedule individual meetings with students upon request. I envisioned the EWC as a bonus and supplement to students in the course; the EWC would duplicate my in-class efforts to assist students in their writing while being available outside of class to help students better understand their writing problems and improve their efforts.

Study C: Flipping and Randomized Grading of In-Class Writing Assignments (RGIWA)

During the Spring 2015 semester, I returned to my 2013 Flipped format absent an EWB but introduced a new wrinkle in terms of assessment: randomized grading of in-class writing assignments (RGIWA). This innovation resulted from two interrelated issues: 1) This section of AMH 2020 was much larger in size, with an enrollment cap of 120, than those previously taught using the Flipped format; 2) In discussions with colleagues about the previously Flipped courses, several faculty members questioned grading in-class writing assignments on a weekly basis and returning them to students in a timely manner with helpful feedback, especially instructors who taught large sections and hundreds of students. Thus, in the Spring of 2015, I decided to employ the Flipped model in what was considered a “large” course and introduce a means of reducing extensive grading commitments. Specifically, I revised the in-class writing assignments into “In-Class Essay (Completion)” and “In-Class Essay (Progression)” assignments. Regarding the former, according to my syllabus “Over the course of the semester, you are required to write and

submit 11 in-class essays based on assigned readings and class discussions, ten of which (the lowest score will be dropped) will be averaged for a Final In-Class Essay Completion Grade which will comprise 10% of your Final Course Grade.” Fulfillment of the assignment’s requirements simply called for a student to take part in the writing assignment and submit an essay of some type at the class session’s conclusion. In terms of the “In-Class Essays (Progression),” the syllabus stated:

Over the course of the semester, 3 of the 11 in class essays you are required to write and submit will be graded based on the following criteria: Introduction and Thesis Statement, Quality of Ideas and Argument, Use of Evidence, Organization and Clarity, and Editing and Manuscript Form. Grades for each of these categories will be averaged to determine each paper’s Final Essay Grade; the Final Essay Grades for 2 of the papers (the lowest score will be dropped) will be averaged to determine your Final In-Class Essay Progression Grade which will comprise 20% of your Final Course Grade....The instructor will choose the papers that comprise your In-Class Essay Progression Grade at random; students will not know which essays will be selected until they receive a grade for the assignment.

Though not the focus of this article, the teacher-oriented goal of these assignments was to reduce the number of papers an instructor would be responsible for grading extensively and still provide ample feedback to facilitate students’ improvement as writers.

Grade Distribution and Assessment Results

In terms of final student grades, differences are evident between the non-Flipped and varied Flipped courses, though the role played by the contrasting models in precipitating the

differences is unclear. Over the duration of this study, the steady increase in overall final course grade averages for Flipped courses is notable (See Table 1). Between 2013 and 2015, the average score of students in the Flipped course sections increased progressively from 74.1 to 81.5, a difference of 7.4 points. Again, while interesting in an anecdotal sense, this course average increase cannot be definitively attributed to any single or collection of factors.

Table 1: Final Student Grades Comparison

Course and Semester	Average Student Final Grades	Student Enrollment
AMH 2020 (2 sections) – Spring 2012 (Not Flipped)	74.1% (C)	106
AMH 2020 (2 sections) – Spring 2013 (Flipped)	79.7% (B)	107
AMH 2010 (1 section) – Spring 2014 (Flipped with EWC)	81.1% (B)	49
AMH 2020 (1 section) – Spring 2015 (Flipped with RGIWA)	81.5 % (B)	103

Pre/Post-Test Scores

Another tool for interpreting overall student learning of content in these courses came in the form of Pre- and Post-Tests administered to enrolled students. Inspired by legislative agendas and departmental efforts to evaluate student grades in relation to learning objectives, these twelve-question quizzes are made available to students online during the first and last two weeks of each semester. Course instructors have no role in the design or grading of these tests, and students are not required to take them (though they are strongly encouraged by university officials). Therefore, several students who completed the course did not take either or both of the tests. Unfortunately, no comparable data for the Non-Flipped courses I taught prior to 2013 is available at this time.

These outcomes may cause concerns in terms of student history content knowledge both before and after the courses' conclusion. Regardless, and again recognizing the limitations of this analysis, students' scores improved in all three sections.

Table 2: Pre/Post Test Scores Comparison

Course and Semester	Percentage of Pre-Test Questions Answered Correctly	Percentage of Post-Test Questions Answered Correctly	Student Enrollment
AMH 2020 (2 sections) – Spring 2013 (Flipped)	54	67	107
AMH 2010 (1 section) – Spring 2014 (Flipped with EWC)	53	61	49
AMH 2020 (1 section) – Spring 2015 (Flipped with RGIWA)	52	63	103

Student Perceptions (Constructed Response)

I obtained more specific information on student perceptions of Flipped course structures and intensive in-class writing assignments in these courses from IRB-approved surveys administered to students taking the course sections at the conclusion of each semester (Spring 2013, Spring 2014, Spring 2015). Students answered multiple-choice and free response questions addressing instructional techniques, required assignments, and student engagement. Specific questions addressed effectiveness of the course in terms of student learning of history content and student improvement in writing (in-class and out-of-class).¹⁰

The 2013 survey included thirty-two questions (six of which required a written answer, with the remainder consisting of

¹⁰ The surveys were administered by a colleague with no direct connection to the courses taught. Students who completed the survey earned extra credit points.

multiple-choice responses), the 2014 survey included forty-two questions (nine of which required a written answer, the remainder consisted of multiple-choice responses), and the 2015 survey included forty-two questions (eight of which required a written answer, the remainder consisted of multiple-choice responses).¹¹

Table 3: Structured Response Student Survey: Do you feel that the in-class essay assignments improved your understanding of course content?

Course and Semester	Survey Respondents*	Student Enrollment
AMH 2020 (2 sections) – Spring 2013	85	107
AMH 2010 (1 section) – Spring 2014	42	49
AMH 2020 (1 section) – Spring 2015	87	103

*Some respondents did not answer all questions.

Comparing student responses to certain questions administered in all surveys provides information by which to evaluate teaching strategies across semesters and courses.

The data in Table 3 appear to validate the WAC-centered objectives of the Flipped format used in these sections, specifically, the goal of having students “writing to learn.” By writing an essay in class following two days of class discussion and debate and out-of-class directed readings, students articulated history content in a manner that enabled them to better understand it. Doing so on a weekly basis also allowed them to build their essays on information foundations successively expanded over the course of the semester. When I remarked in one of the class sessions mid-way through the semester that as a result of this exercise the students were in effect writing their own textbooks on the course material, many in the classroom responded with looks and comments of surprise and

¹¹ In the 2014 survey, nine questions specifically focused on the role of the EWC in the course; in the 2015 survey, nine questions focused on the role of RGIWA in the course.

disbelief. Others claimed to have already realized this and planned to pass on the finished products to friends who might later take the course. Their reactions to my remark notwithstanding, the fact that over 90% of the students surveyed in each section saw value in the in-class writing assignments reinforced my commitment to the format changes and time devoted to the exercises.

A separate question addressed student writing improvement specifically (see Table 4). Student responses indicate that students in all sections believed that in class and out of class writing assignments improved both understanding of course content and student writing skills, though support for the latter declined significantly after the first year.

Student acknowledgment that the in-class writing assignments improved their writing overall is notable for its seeming refutation of long-standing beliefs among many faculty members that students would rather do anything than write essays. According to the above responses, students believed the exercises enhanced their writing skills and seemed not to object to the amount of class time devoted to the assignments; their in-class essay writing comprised almost one-third of total course time over the semester, or thirteen of the forty-five contact hours mandated by the university. Also of significance, almost seventy percent of the students overall embraced the WAC-oriented exercises of the course despite having been provided no information on WAC by the instructor.

Table 4: Structured Response Student Survey: “Do you feel that the out of class essay assignments improved your writing skills?”

Year	Yes	No	Student Enrollment
2013 (Flipped)	88%	12%	107
2014 (Flipped with EWC)	74%	26%	49
2015 (Flipped with RGIWA)	74%	26%	103
Three-Year Averages	79%	21%	NA

Other questions sought greater insight into these issues. One question (see Table 5) inquired, “What was the least effective assignment category in terms of your learning of history content?” A clear conclusion from student responses to these questions over the three years surveyed is that almost half, on average, found out-of-class discussion postings least effective in helping students learn history content, whereas the vast majority believed that in-class essays and discussions had the greatest impact on content learning. These responses indicate that students in the courses believed they learned more through in-class discussions than in online discussions with their classmates, a conclusion that should give advocates of on-line learning pause but seems to validate the time opened up for such use in the classroom as a result of incorporating the Flipping format.

Table 5: Structured Student Response Survey: “What was the least effective assignment category in terms of your learning of history content?”

Year	Out-of-class discussion postings	Out-of-class essays	Online quizzes	In-class essays	In-class discussions	Student Enrollment
2013 (Flipped)	51%	34%	15%	0%	0%	107
2014 (Flipped with EWC)	37%	20%	34%	10%	0%	49
2015 (Flipped with RGIWA)	53%	29%	6%	2%	5%	103
Three-Year Averages	47%	28%	18%	4%	2%	NA

To better gauge student impressions on content learning, I asked the question another way (see Table 6): “What was the most effective assignment category in terms of your learning of history content?” These answers indicated that most students found in-class essays and discussions to be most effective, whereas the vast majority believed out-of-class discussion postings and out-of-class essays to be less effective in learning history content. Again, student respondents appeared to value the writing-intensive exercises and discussion-centered class interaction facilitated by the Flipping structure as a means of better understanding the past and the history discipline.

Table 6: Structured Student Response Survey: “What was the most effective assignment category in terms of your learning of history content?”

Year	Out-of-class discussion postings	Out-of-class essays	Online quizzes	In-class essays	In-class discussions	Student Enrollment
2013 (Flipped)	0%	1%	4%	38%	7%	107
2014 (Flipped with EWC)	2%	0%	5%	39%	55%	49
2015 (Flipped with RGIWA)	1%	9%	10%	41%	34%	103
Three-Year Average	1%	3%	6%	39%	49%	NA

I also asked students to consider the most and least effective assignment categories in terms of improving their writing (see Tables 7 and 8).

Table 7: Structured Student Response Survey: “What was the least effective assignment category in terms of improving your writing?”

Year	Out-of-class discussion postings	Out-of-class essays	In-class essays	In-class discussions	Student Enrollment
2013 (Flipped)	52%	12%	5%	31%	107
2014 (Flipped with EWC)	49%	12%	5%	34%	49
2015 (Flipped with RGIWA)	59%	10%	5%	24%	103
Three-Year Averages	53%	11%	5%	30%	NA

Almost three-fourths of students, on average, believed that in-class writing assignments played the most effective role in improving their writing in the courses surveyed. Once more, the Flipped format created time and space for assignments that students clearly valued in terms of their writing and learning development.

Table 8: Structured Student Response Survey: “What was the most effective assignment category in terms of improving your writing?”

Year	Out-of-class discussion postings	Out-of-class essays	In-class essays	In-class discussions	Student Enrollment
2013 (Flipped)	4%	14%	74%	8%	107
2014 (Flipped with EWC)	2%	19%	74%	5%	49
2015 (Flipped with RGIWA)	5%	24%	68%	3%	103
Three-Year Averages	4%	19%	72%	5%	NA

Student Perceptions (Free response)

The survey also allowed students to respond in their own words to both the writing requirements for and structure of the course. Over the three-year period of sections surveyed, students offered a variety of perspectives. In response to the question, “What are your opinions on the ways that writing was covered in this course?” some students had mixed feelings. One student in a 2013 (Flipped) section wrote, “The in-class essays were difficult for me to finish but ultimately increased my skills as a writer.” Responding to the same question, another from the same section remarked, “Although tedious, it challenged me as a writer and encouraged me to use the [University Writing Center].” A student from my 2014 section (Flipped, EWC) offered “Although writing was extensive, it definitely helped in improving my writing skills....” whereas a counterpart from the 2015 section (Flipped, RGIWA) simply stated, “There was a lot of writing & I don’t feel

as though that's the best way to run a course." Another student from the 2015 section also seemed to doubt the effectiveness of the class structure, stating "The writing was okay. I still feel as though it's my weakest subject."

Similar themes surfaced in response to the question, "Do you believe the writing exercises you completed in this course will benefit you in other UCF courses? Why or why not?" One student in the 2013 sections (Flipped) simply wrote, "I don't feel like my writing has improved." Another from the same section responded, "No, I am not a history major." A classmate in the same section offered, "Maybe. I'm a business major, so writing in this format or this content isn't particularly relevant in my opinion." One's chosen major seemed to have an impact on the writing exercises' perceived utility. Some 2014 (Flipped, EWC) students echoed these sentiments. In response to the same question, one stated, "No, because not much of my major is writing based." Another offered "No because writing about history cannot be applied to my other courses." Students in the 2015 section (Flipped, RGIWA) continued the theme. An aerospace engineering major wrote "No I'm already a good writer [sic] this class was just a practicing tool," and an electrical engineering major explained "No, I don't need history anymore and am not in a major that'll require well written papers."

Other students placed greater value on the writing assignments in the course. Responding to the same question as those in the above paragraph, one enthusiastic student from a 2013 section (Flipped) wrote, "Absolutely! I have written so much now that I feel like I will be able to structure essays for other classes better and write efficiently and effectively." Another from the same group stated, "Yes," reasoning "While not all classes require a brief overview of content like history does, some forms of writing such as summaries & analysis papers have overlapping qualities w/history-based writing." Students in the 2014 section (Flipped, EWC), expressed comparable opinions, at times with matching

enthusiasm. “Yes it pushed me to read and study more so it sticks in my mind,” wrote one student. Another from the same section wrote “yes, the course helped me become a better writer and would be useful in other classes.” Some students in the 2015 section (Flipped, RGIWA) echoed these sentiments, with one mechanical engineering student answering the same question, “Yes, any improvement/practice in writing can be used later.” A civil engineering major in the same section contended, “Yes, the writing assignments forced me to elaborate on certain topics,” and a psychology major wrote, “They will because they help you learn how to support an argument and writing skills that carry over to other classes.” Some students connected course assignments to the content of their current and future academic endeavors. One from the 2013 sections (Flipped) stated, “Yes, I have more knowledge of history for the future and now know how to write a better and more effective essay.” A classmate added, “Yes, I do because writing is required in many courses and the more someone rights [sic] in different circumstances the better they become.”

Some questions focused more on what students thought about the course structure and how they learned historical content in general. Overall, student comments indicated they preferred the Flipped format to traditional lecture/exams formats. In response to the question, “What are your opinions on the ways that history content was covered in this course?” a student from the 2013 cohort (Flipped) wrote, “The discussions helped organize my thoughts for Friday’s essays and gave me a reason to care about the context of that time period,” an indication that the course format and content facilitated Tuning project goals. Another student from the same section stated, “I thought it was both unique and helpful, providing many avenues for a student to both learn and succeed.” Responding to the same question, a student from the 2014 section (Flipped, EWC) commented, “I feel that I learned a lot more because of the way the class was taught.” A classmate offered “The style of discussions were spaced out well and I prefer

this style of learning for sure.” Some students disagreed, however. Answering the same question, one from the 2015 course (Flipped, RGIWA) contended, “It was okay, felt like I didn’t learn much.” Another, in regards to content, believed, “It seemed a little bit rushed and not too in detail.” Nevertheless, many from the 2015 section shared comments similar to those from the 2013 and 2014 sections. “I thought it was very innovative the way the class was set up, it allowed for more intellectual [sic] thinking,” stated one misspeller. Another student remarked that the format “Allowed you to understand the content instead of memorizing facts,” and a third added, “I want to emphasize that I really felt I was able to get more out of this course by not having regular exams where facts were just memorized.” Again, both seemed to be realizing the objectives of Tuning advocates. A fourth stated what every historian wants to hear, “I loved it, never have I learned this much in a history course.”

In this last regard, it is also worth considering the impressions of the graduate teaching assistant (GTA) assigned to the Spring 2015 AMH 2020 class. This GTA was charged with grading all of the out-of-class writing assignments and addressing student writing issues in general. He observed that over the course of the semester, many students took a vested interest in these assignments and worked to improve their analysis and paper structure via in-class discussion and office hours strategy sessions. In the GTA’s opinion, compared to other classes in which he had worked as a grading assistant over a two year period, students in the Flipped class seemed to have a better grasp of the requirements for a sophisticated history paper after completing the various writing exercises. By the end of the semester, many students had expressed to him that despite the amount of writing expected in this type of class, they felt the assignments were fair and encouraged them to improve their writing ability. While the motivations for student comments in this context are questionable, the comments themselves appear to substantiate other information noted above.

Conclusions

The Flipping/WAC/Tuning model for History GEP courses is not ideal for all instructors. In addition to some students' negative perceptions of the model and its ramifications, as illustrated above, numerous other factors associated with teaching courses in this fashion may lead many history professionals to prefer teaching classes based on conventional lecture/exams models with which they have had success. Nevertheless, those looking for new approaches to teaching introductory history courses should consider the Flipping/WAC/Tuning model based on some of the findings described above. Though admittedly based on a small sample, final student grades steadily improved during the three-year study, as did student content understanding based on the Pre- and Post-tests administered. Over ninety percent of students surveyed believed that the in-class essays that formed a core part of this model improved their understanding of course content, and over seventy-five percent believed that these essays improved their writing skills. More specifically, about half of student survey respondents believed that out-of-class discussion postings were least effective in helping them learn class content or improve their writing whereas in-class discussions were most effective in helping them learn class content. Finally, while student free response survey remarks offered varied assessments of the Flipping/WAC/Tuning model, the majority in the sample above, as well as the collective responses overall, seem to suggest that students valued the format for different reasons, with course expectations and individual majors guiding viewpoints, at least in part. Said another way, students in the four Flipped sections evaluated over a three-year period not only appeared to learn content and improve their writing skills but believed that the model helped improve their knowledge and abilities. So, is it worth it? Based on the above evidence and conclusions, yes.

Book Reviews

Gareth Stedman Jones. *Karl Marx: Greatness and Illusion*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016. Pp. 750. \$35.00.

Karl Marx has been a lot of things to a lot of people. He has been an inspiration to hundreds of millions of people who have sought socialist revolution. He has also been an abomination to an equally large number of people who have feared revolution.

To multitudes of intellectuals, philosophers, social scientists, historians, and cultural critics, Marx has served as the ultimate modern thinker. “All that is solid melts into air,” one of many memorable passages from the 1848 *Communist Manifesto* that Marx wrote with his longtime collaborator Friedrich Engels, might be the single best metaphor for the modern speed-up of cultural change. And yet to many more, Marx’s theories about capitalism have seemed preposterous at best and dangerous at worst.

More than a man, Marx is a myth. This fact makes writing his biography a Herculean challenge. Grappling with Marx’s complicated personal, political, and intellectual lives is difficult enough without also having to attend to his legend. Gareth Stedman Jones, Professor of History at the University of London, solves this dilemma in his new biography of Marx by placing Marx in his historical context and by militantly keeping him there. In the eyes of Stedman Jones, himself a recovering Marxist, Marx belongs in the past and nowhere else.

Karl Marx: Greatness and Illusion is a formidable piece of scholarship precisely for its close attention to the specific context that made Marx. The Marx of twentieth-century lore is mostly set aside in this massive book, except in a few brief passages where Stedman Jones refutes widely held assumptions about Marx’s ideas. Indeed, Stedman Jones is so intent on demystifying Marx that he refers to him as “Karl” throughout the book.

Many twentieth-century humans believed Marx's theory of capitalism was iron-clad: Capitalism was ineluctably conquering the world. And this was not necessarily a bad thing, since for Marx capitalism was both horrible and progressive. Even though capitalism ruined the lives of countless people caught in its destructive path, vanquishing older forms of human organization like feudalism was necessary because only capitalism was designed to give way to the higher order of Marx's imagination. Capitalism was a necessary evil because communism was baked into its cake. This was the Marxist revolutionary outline. But Stedman Jones argues in his revisionist account that this notion of capitalism and its demise owed more to how Engels presented Marx's ideas after his 1883 death. Stedman Jones posits that Marx, in contrast to Engels, had changed his mind.

By the 1870s Marx seems to have come to the belief that some pre-capitalistic societies, such as Russian communes, were potentially revolutionary and should be defended against capitalist onslaught. In other words, Marx had discarded the teleological notions about progressive development that had made him such a modernist. There was more than one path to a future classless society. But those twentieth- (and twenty-first-) century humans who came to Marx for the first time by reading the *Communist Manifesto*, one of the most widely read texts in human history—ranking alongside *The Bible* and Plato's *Republic*—never knew this Marx.

Stedman Jones makes clear that the construction of the mythical Marx began during Marx's lifetime. For most of his life Marx was not a famous person outside of a small group of radical German émigrés who left repressive Prussia after the failed 1848 revolutions. Even during the 1850s, when he wrote hundreds of articles about European politics for the *New York-Daily Tribune*, which had the largest circulation of any newspaper in the world, Marx was merely one of many writers among a robust transatlantic literary scene. It was not until the late 1860s and early 1870s that

Marx became a household name.

One of the most important events that put Marx on the map was the 1867 publication of his monumental book, *Capital*, which sold well by the standards of the time and made him something of a genius in the eyes of his fellow European radicals. But Marx only became famous beyond those relatively small circles when he became, according to Engels, “the best hated and most calumniated man of his time,” a title that he wore as a badge of pride. In the eyes of bourgeois Europe, Marx supposedly masterminded both the International Workingmen’s Association (IWA), a militant socialist group that was deemed threatening because it organized workers across national boundaries, and the 1871 Paris Commune, which frightened the leaders of the capitalist world on both sides of the Atlantic. As secretary of the IWA, Marx indeed played an important role in shaping its mission, but the First International, as it became known to history, was never as powerful as its enemies believed. And as for the Paris Commune, Marx had nothing to do with it, conspiracies notwithstanding.

Although Marx enjoyed fame—even infamy—Stedman Jones argues that such notoriety has misshaped how he has been remembered. Take the reception of *Capital* as a case study. *Capital* should have made Marx, in the words of Stedman Jones, “one of the principal—if unwitting—founders of a new and important area of historical inquiry, the systematic study of social and economic history” (430). This would have been a valuable legacy in and of itself. But *Capital* is better remembered for Marx’s theory that capitalism generates profit and misery in mutually exclusive and unsustainable ways. *Capital* supposedly proved Marx’s old maxim that capitalism digs its own grave. Stedman Jones, in contrast, contends that Marx failed to prove this theory because it is unprovable. The only grave Stedman Jones wants to dig is Marx’s. Ultimately, Stedman Jones wrote a biography of Marx so that people will treat him as a historical figure, not a prophet.

Perhaps this is the only approach we should take when we

teach Marx. When we assign the *Communist Manifesto*, students should analyze it like any other primary source—students should think about it as a product of its historical context, no more, no less—in the same way that they might analyze, say, the Gettysburg Address.

But is this fair? If a text is inspirational as a living document that speaks to students in the here and now, should not we allow them to be moved by it? Is not this precisely what makes teaching and learning exciting?

I would pose these same questions to Stedman Jones. He has sought to bury Marx with history. Perhaps he will convince some people to think about Marx solely as a historical figure. But those who remain inspired by Marx—those who think we still have something to learn from Marx—will ignore the limits upon our imagination that such militant attention to context imposes. And that is okay.

Illinois State University

Andrew Hartman

Antonio Sennis, ed. *Cathars in Question*. Woodbridge, U.K.: York Medieval Press, 2016. Pp. vii+332. \$99.00.

Like many edited volumes, *Cathars in Question* began as a collection of conference papers, in this case from an April 2013 conference entitled “Catharism: Balkan Heresy or Construct of a Persecuting Society?” at the Warburg Institute. At that conference’s—and this volume’s—heart is a deceptively simple question: Can historians of the Middle Ages assert with confidence that there existed in the twelfth-century southern France a cohesive group—a “church”—of heretical Christians called “Cathars” led by heterodox clergy called “good men?” (1). Despite the availability of much evidence in Toulousan archives, Parisian libraries, and elsewhere, this has been a hotly contested problem among heresy specialists and medievalists in general

at least since the publication of Joseph Strayer's *The Albigensian Crusades* in 1971. The fourteen contributors to this volume, all of whose specific arguments are too complex to discuss in full, fall into two camps. "Traditionalists" deem the evidence for the Cathars' existence sufficient while "skeptics" are not convinced that the heretics existed as an organized group and argue instead that they were the creation of orthodox medieval theologians, inquisitors, and the modern scholars who read those medieval people's writing as primary source material.

On one end of this argument is the staunch skeptic Mark Gregory Pegg, who asserts that "between the Rhône and Garonne Rivers in the twelfth century there was no Catharism and there was no 'heresy of the good men and women'" (38). On the other end lay Peter Biller, Jörg Feuchter, and Bernard Hamilton who see ample, explicit evidence of Catharism as distinct from the other major heretical group of the period, the Waldensians. Hamilton not only demonstrates the existence of people who self-identified as heretics in the Languedoc, but even shows highly suggestive evidence from the Premonstratensian abbot Eberwin of Steinfeld of links between French heretics and the well-attested Byzantine heretical group known as the Bogomils. Some contributors, including Julien Théry-Astruc, take moderate positions stemming from Michel Foucault's "perverse implantation" theory. This postmodernist perspective points to the phenomenon of groups gradually assuming identities—even heretical ones—that hegemony, in this case orthodox inquisitors, project on them even if those identities are generally considered bad (81). This sort of group creation, argues Théry-Astruc, could have happened in the case of the Cathars since orthodox churchmen regularly singled out as potential heretics people who were disgruntled with Church authority in the first place. Most of the contributions in this volume are to some extent sympathetic to the traditionalist point of view, and this is ultimately the more convincing set of arguments. Peter Biller's essay, the final one in the volume, contains an especially

powerful defense for the traditionalists in its demonstration that the skeptics have occasionally neglected important evidence of the Cathars' existence, such as the inquisitorial deposition of the layman Raymond John of Albi. In this debate surrounding the existence of Cathars, as in so many other historical discussions, positive evidence proves more convincing than any argument from an absence of evidence. The traditionalists show a good deal of positive evidence for heresy in twelfth-century southern France.

This collection has utility for secondary school and college instructors both for the comprehensive information on medieval heresy that it provides and as a source for course readings. *Cathars in Question* may be most useful within the context of teaching sourcing methods and the nature of historical argument. It clearly demonstrates the equivocal nature of historical evidence and the impact of historians' preexisting skepticism toward narrative sources. Pegg and Biller spar over translation and spelling issues in a particular Medieval Latin manuscript, showing students the importance of detail-oriented source analysis and the indispensability of extensive training in languages and, in some cases, paleography. While discussions surrounding medieval heresy are often dependent on jargon and presuppose readers' advanced theological knowledge, Antonio Sennis has masterfully edited this volume for undergraduate-level accessibility while preserving the topic's complexity. At around 350 pages spread over fourteen short contributions, *Cathars in Question* would provide suitable reading for a week or two in an advanced undergraduate course in historiography or medieval history.

Penn State University

Frank Lacopo

Cynthia J. Miller, ed. *Teaching History With... Series*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017.

Integrating video into the history classroom has been a common practice for decades. Indeed, there have been a good number of books dedicated to the topic. Cynthia J. Miller, editor of the *Teaching History With... Series*, brings together three able historians to explore specific genres and their potential for inclusion in the history classroom.

In this series of books, readers are provided with an engaging look at both commonly and rarely utilized types of videos for the history classroom. The three concise volumes in this series—*Teaching History with Musicals*, *Teaching History with Newsreels and Public Service Shorts*, and *Teaching History with Science Fiction Films*—are each structured in a logical, user-friendly manner and offer readers ample ideas to consider for their own instructional practice.

Each book is divided into three sections intended to provide the history educator with a brief historical survey for each discipline with an emphasis on concepts derived within them, a collection of approaches for integration of the videos, and a concise collection of sample documents such as syllabi. Although the overwhelming majority of materials are relevant primarily to the latter portion of the twentieth century (where the majority of such video footage exists, making the scope of courses that can benefit from these materials somewhat limited), the authors take this and other challenges on quite well.

Throughout the series, the most powerful opportunities for developing skills of historical inquiry are related to analyzing the films in terms of their relationship to their cultural and historical context. Another limitation is also contextual in that the vast majority of productions available for use are derived from American industry. However, the authors at times take this on and even highlight some potential ways of mitigating this constraint.

Overall, the series is successful in its aim of equipping readers with an expanded understanding of the potential and possibilities for integration of video in the classroom in each domain it tackles. While at times it leaves the reader yearning for extended discussion and perhaps a clearer articulation of the most appropriate scope of such integration, the series is engaging and worth reading.

Kathryn Edney. *Teaching History With Musicals*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017. Pp. 133. \$35.00.

Teaching History With Musicals is particularly strong in its discussion of potential musicals for United States History and Western Civilization. One of its most effective segments provides readers with a detailed collection of discussion starters invoking different methodologies one might employ in the classroom. These examples are well developed and provide a specific illustration for the real potential of including musicals as tools to help develop the skills of historiography. A slight distraction in the volume comes from a fairly consistent tendency to present topics through a more postmodern lens, which, while often providing unique insights, seems less appropriate for the more general domains of history the book focuses on. And although the documents portion of this volume include only a syllabus and an annotated collection of musicals for the teacher to consider, each is well constructed and useful for the reader. Overall, this volume provides history educators with enough tools to see a logical fit for musicals in the history survey course.

Aaron Gulyas. *Teaching History With Newsreels and Public Service Shorts*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017. Pp. 139. \$35.

Teaching History With Newsreels and Public Service Shorts is probably the most challenging volume in that the use of such

newsreels and public service short films is more prevalent than either musicals or science fiction in the history classroom. Aaron Gulyas, however, manages to achieve his two goals of illustrating different kinds of films from the eras explored as well as providing a nice collection of assessment samples that are well designed and helpful for the history educator. One notable idea shared that is both patently obvious but often overlooked for good historical instruction is the value in “juxtaposing very different arguments from the same era” (25). Through smart commentary such as that, Gulyas is able to move the reader to think beyond how he or she has utilized such video clips in the classroom before and enhance their pedagogical integration.

A. Bowdoin Van Riper. *Teaching History With Science Fiction Films*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017. Pp. 139. \$35.00.

In perhaps the most ambitious volume in the series, A. Bowdoin Van Riper examines the possibilities for *Teaching History With Science Fiction Films*. This volume presents what is stated as the first contribution arguing for the possibility and merit of incorporating science fiction films into the history classroom. The volume is thoroughly grounded in the historical works of science fiction, providing a survey of science fiction film and also a primer of the socio-cultural trends influencing the development of a vast array of films for general United States or World History courses with specific consideration as it relates to the Cold War and the history of science and technology. While acknowledging that those “courses that take a broader view” are particularly challenging as teachers and students try to adequately contextualize such films, an admirable attempt is made at laying out possibilities to consider. A final highlight for this particular contribution to the series is the collection of documents, which includes an annotated collection of potential science fiction films, several sample film guides, and a

collection of exemplary essay questions to help the history teacher consider how these might be woven into the curriculum.

A Summary of the Series

The history teacher has long been drawn to consider the perils and prospects for using video footage in the classroom. While there are many books available that provide general insight into the use of these sources, the authors in this series make a valuable contribution to placing video in its proper context. In each volume of the series, history educators are equipped with a knowledge-base to consider the genre of film more specifically and its implications for inclusion in the classroom. The series is limited in its unavoidable emphasis of twentieth century subject matter in a discipline that extends centuries. And it is also challenging in that the “how this works” aspect of integration, while still respecting students’ cognitive load, is not fully articulated. These limitations aside, the series provides a unique and engaging collection that makes for a good addition to any history educator’s library.

Middle Tennessee State University

Kevin S. Krahenbuhl

Erika Gasser. *Vexed with Devils: Manhood and Witchcraft in Old and New England*. New York: New York University Press, 2017. Pp. 272. \$35.00.

Erika Gasser’s *Vexed with Devils* is part of an abundantly rich scholarship on possession and witchcraft in Western Europe and the colonial U.S. during the early modern period. This field, which flourished in the 1980s and produced such classic studies as Brian Levack’s *The Witchhunt in Early Modern Europe* (1987) and Carol Karlsen’s *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman* (1987), has experienced a recent resurgence. Estimates of the numbers of victims in the period between 1450 and 1750 vary widely, from

fifty to one hundred thousand people and even into the millions, but specialists agree that eighty to ninety percent of those accused of practicing witchcraft were women. Although contemporaries were concerned that victims might be faking their symptoms or suffering from illness, they attributed true possessions to the power of the Devil, or to multiple demons, to take control of bodies and minds—a belief that was fully consonant with early modern Catholic, Anglican, and Protestant theologies. By contrast, modern scholarship examines these phenomena for insights into social relationships and religious and political conflict, arguing, for example, that the possessed were sincere performers in religious dramas and were following powerful “cultural scripts.” This is the approach that informs Gasser’s study which explores how “early modern peoples used gendered language in ways that tracked the vicissitudes of power” and concludes that cultural scripts that originated in England during the late 1500s were still being performed a century later in colonial New England (12).

The first half of the book analyzes English publications reporting on the symptoms, treatments, and accusations of female demoniacs: Margaret Cooper (1584, 1614, 1641), seventeen-year old Mary Glover (1603), and the very young Throckmorton daughters, whose accusations led to the execution of the Samuel family (wife, husband and daughter) in Warboys (1589-1593). Gasser then examines the “propaganda war” between the Anglican chaplain Samuel Harsnett and the Puritan minister John Darrell that took place between 1599 and 1603 over the dispossessions performed by Darrell. For colonial New England, Gasser selects two Salem/Essex County cases from 1692-1693, a year in which hundreds of people were accused of witchcraft and twenty were put to death. *Vexed with Devils* examines the trial against thirty-nine-year-old Reverend George Burroughs, which resulted in his execution in August 1692, and the possession of seventeen-year-old Margaret Rule, the subject of a years-long exchange (1693-

1700) between Cotton Mather and Robert Calef, recalling the propaganda wars between Harsnett and Darrell a century earlier.

This study relies on intricate textual analysis and a central theoretical claim: that while published accounts did not necessarily focus on the sex of the possessed per se, nonetheless the endeavor to determine whether a possession was real or fraudulent required the articulation of gendered understandings and thus reveal how religious and medical explanations enmeshed with political conflicts. As an example, Gasser mentions the instance of Edward Jordan's treatment of Mary Glover, explaining that his conclusion that her symptoms originated in hysteria, rather than the preternatural realm, "resonated for more than a century because of the way it factored in battles between Anglicans and Puritans" (27). And according to Gasser, Burroughs' accusers did not need to feminize him to get a conviction, only "unmake" him, which entailed representing his manhood as excessive rather than deficient (115), as "[Cotton] Mather and his peers also clearly realized that ...[the] survival [of the colony] depended upon the triumph of patriarchal hierarchy over upstarts who sought greater authority for themselves in turbulent times" (11).

Gasser's recounting of the cases, particularly the Throckmorton possessions, are beautifully rendered and compelling, but the book's methodology and analytical density are unlikely to appeal to general readers. There are many other, more accessible books that would be better suited to introducing students to this fascinating subject.

University of Florida

Louise M. Newman

Adam Hochschild. *Spain in Our Hearts: Americans in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2016. Pp. 438. \$15.99.

In October 1938, over 300,000 Spaniards lined the streets of Barcelona to honor two hundred Americans and other survivors of the International Brigades who had fought in the Spanish Civil War. The soldiers and nurses were part of the roughly 2,800 Americans who, in the midst of the Great Depression, defied the U.S. government and volunteered to support the Republican struggle against the military uprising of General Francisco Franco and the Nationalists. In *Spain in Our Hearts: Americans in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*, Adam Hochschild chronicles the experiences of American volunteers and journalists in Spain on the eve of the Second World War. Combined with leftists from countries such as Canada, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union, the Americans faced inadequate training and supplies as well as a savage civil war in which the Nationalists relied on significant military support from Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. The result was Franco's victory in 1939, unprecedented casualty rates for American soldiers, and, despite the cheering crowds in Barcelona and cries that the "crusaders for freedom" would never be forgotten, a poignant anti-fascist effort by Americans that remains largely missing from dominant historical accounts centered on World War II (337).

Hochschild's engaging narrative includes familiar characters such as Ernest Hemingway, George Orwell, and Pablo Picasso, whose role in the Spanish Civil War often blurred the line between journalism, art, and combatant. However, the strength of *Spain in Our Hearts* is the author's account of a diverse group of unknown American men and women—communists, socialists, anarchists, workers, students, Jews, and African Americans—whose commitment to economic and social justice during the Depression made Spain's brutal civil war "a moral and political

touchstone” (xv). Hochschild provides little background on either American society during the Great Depression or the larger context of Spanish history, but his narrative excels in exploring the motivations and perspectives of Americans encountering the unique decision of how to fight fascism in Spain while the United States remained committed to an official policy of neutrality. For socialists Charles and Lois Orr, a recently married couple from Kentucky, the potential of the Republican government in Catalonia to create an unprecedented egalitarian and just society was an experience impossible to find amid the limitations of the New Deal in the United States. As Lois later recalled, “We were living the revolution instead of our own personal lives, an incredible expansion of consciousness... a new heaven and a new earth were being formed” (59).

Hochschild’s depiction of American journalists in Spain during the war serves as a revealing proxy for the conflicted views of American leaders and the general public. In no place was this clearer than the rivalry between journalists Herbert Matthews and William Carney within *The New York Times*. Matthews celebrated the ideals of Republican Spain and its American adherents, and his reporting often emphasized the brutality of the Nationalist uprising. On the other side of a nation split in two, Carney was “an open Franco enthusiast” who was actively involved in promoting the Nationalist cause in the United States (154). Along with such vivid characters, Hochschild adds Norwegian-born Torkild Rieber. An admirer of Adolf Hitler and a staunch opponent of the New Deal, Rieber worked for Texaco Oil Company and almost single-handedly guaranteed that Franco’s forces, including large numbers of German planes and tanks, received plenty of vital American oil on credit.

The public and, in terms of Rieber, much more secretive efforts of such individuals provide instructors and students with powerful evidence of the conflicted nature of American thought toward fascism in the 1930s. Polls in the United States

revealed larger support for Republicans, yet entrenched hostility to communism and a fervent commitment among Americans toward neutrality in the thirties led to inaction in Washington and, in terms of the American volunteers in Spain, harassment and hostility once they returned. Their story, however, remains a powerful vehicle for globalizing American history and for helping students evaluate the ideological complexities of the era on both sides of the Atlantic. Furthermore, *Spain in Our Hearts* provides students with an engaging opportunity to explore the relationship between Americans, U.S. foreign policy, and the Spanish Civil War that transcends the more familiar story of the rise of European fascism. Hochschild's accessible and tragic narrative ultimately raises important questions about what sorts of intellectual developments and historical conflicts deserve attention as historians and students craft narratives of the American Century.

Illinois State University

Richard Hughes

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