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Articles

Book Reviews

MAPPING THE TRANSFORMATION OF INFORMATION INTO KNOWLEDGE IN EARLY MODERN FLORENCE: USING THE *DECIMA PROJECT* TO ASSESS HIGHER ORDER THINKING SKILLS THROUGH STUDENT REFLECTION

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> "L'Orsolina Bolognese was a *meretrice* or prostitute living in Florence, Italy in 1561 [… She] rented a house from Camilla Pistolese, widow to Stefano Fenovese, for 13.5 *scudi*. […] The parish in which L'Orsolina lived in was St. Paulo and she lived on Via Palazzuolo, where 15 other prostitutes resided."[1]

Mapping is having a moment, both in scholarship as a further development of the spatial turn, and in society where we find map-a-thons, apps that allow us to map and share our experiential and cultural world, and an increasing reliance on global positioning systems (GPS) to move people and goods efficiently. Thus, it should be no surprise that maps also provide an opportunity for students to develop and interpret their historical knowledge in new and vibrant ways. Maps have long offered ways of understanding contemporary cultural models and relationships between peoples and characteristic geography. While the seventeenth-century continental maps in Willem Blaeu's atlases reveal how Europeans visualized other people across the globe, they offer few connections with the communities

1 S1, Final Project from HIST 497: Social History of Renaissance Europe, Ball State University, Fall 2018. To protect student anonymity, student names have been replaced with indicators (S1, S2, S3, etc.).

that they purport to illustrate. The distance between cartographer and community limits the usefulness of these maps as portals into the daily experiences of the communities portrayed.

The recent use of geographic information systems (GIS) to visualize datasets across historical maps has allowed a greater investigation of both communities and the lived experience. Large-scale materials, like census data, that were previously available only in blind databases or distant archives, have become available to the classroom through multi-year funded projects.[2] The University of Toronto's *DECIMA Project* (Digitally Encoded Census and Information Mapping Archive) presents an open-access platform through which anyone can explore census material collected in early modern Florence.[3] Layered upon a city map, produced by Stefano Buonsignori in 1584, are three censuses corresponding to a 1551 demographic study, a 1561 property tax survey (Decima Granducale), and a 1632 post-plague population assessment.[4] Conceived of as a spur to historians exploring both the household and the city level, projects like this one are a boon to students of social, spatial, and economic history.

Projects that make large historical datasets accessible are particularly useful to history instructors who seek real-world platforms that support an open-ended investigation of past societies. In combination with evidence-based instruction and discussion, mapped census data offers excellent opportunities for disciplinary work focusing on "connection, integration,

2 For similar work on London, England, see *The Map of Early Modern London* (The University of Victoria), https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca and *Locating London's Past* (University of Hertfordshire, the Institute for Historical Research, University of London, and University of Sheffield), https://www.locatinglondon.org.

3 *DECIMA* (2016), https://decima-map.net/.

4 Nicholas Terpstra, introduction to *Mapping Space, Sense, and Movement in Florence: Historical GIS and the Early Modern City*, eds. Nicholas Terpstra and Colin Rose (London: Routledge, 2016), 3-7.

motivation, and significance."[5] This article explores how senior undergraduate students worked with the *DECIMA Project* on research-based learning assignments that they developed independently. Student reflection is central to evaluating the higher order thinking skills that this project embodies. In their own words students reflect on their intellectual processes and acknowledge growth in the discipline, allowing a more informative analysis and valuation of this type of project. Specific criteria assessed the resulting student work in order to evaluate several cognitive abilities that students employed during their method design, data analysis, and the contextualization of conclusions (Appendix 2).[6] This article argues that the *DECIMA Project* facilitates the evaluation of student capability within a much larger arena and thus employs a complex combination of cognitive processes and skills suitable for an upper-level undergraduate history course.

Census City: Florence and the *Catasto* of 1427 and the *Decima* of 1561

The city of Florence has a long history of public surveys. From the early 1400s during a series of wars with the duchy of Milan, the Florentine republican government experimented with several direct and indirect taxation strategies. In 1427, the new *Law of the Catasto* asserted that Florentine households would be assessed based on all forms of wealth through a series of urban and rural surveys that depended on the submission of household declarations.[7] Although the city repealed the *Law* in 1434, this

5 Sam Wineburg, "Beyond 'Breadth and Depth': Subject Matter Knowledge and Assessment," *Theory into Practice* 36, no. 4 (1997): 257.

6 This assignment also drew on several taxonomic categories including "create," "analyze," and "evaluate" from the revised version of Bloom's Taxonomy. L.W. Anderson and D.R. Krathwohl, eds., *A Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing: A Revision of Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* (New York: Longman, 2001).

7 David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and their Families:*

brief period resulted in one of the most extensive investigations of population and resources in the early modern period. Sixty thousand households in the Florentine city and countryside appeared in the resulting declarations and registers, most of which survive in the Archivio di Stato in Florence, Italy.[8] While this Florentine census is the best known and has been mined extensively by historians David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, its online records are vast (*c.*10,000 declarations) but not easy to use or integrated spatially.[9]

In contrast to the *Catasto*'s SQL (Structured Query Language) searches, the surveys conducted by Duke Cosimo I Medici of Florence appear more accessible and visually appealing. Under the direction of Nicholas Terpstra and Colin Rose, three later surveys of Florentine households have been geo-referenced to a map of the city prepared for Cosimo's son, Duke Francesco I, and made available online. The 1561-62 tax census, called the *Decima Granducale* after the ten per cent tax (*decima*) that it levied, is the centerpiece of the website. Census officials traveled from house to house and street to street across all four urban quarters, methodically interviewing residents and documenting household size and property valuation, as well as the location of workshops and places of business (*botteghe*). The large size of Buonsignori's bird's-eye view map (123 x 128 cm) allowed a high-resolution scan that facilitates a clear street-side view of individual houses, workshops, and churches.[10] Thus, visitors can follow the census-

A study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 4-12.

8 Ibid., 22-27.

9 David Herlihy, Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, R. Burr Litchfield, and Anthony Molho, *Online Catasto of 1427*, http://cds.library.brown.edu/projects/catasto/main.php.

10 Nicholas Terpstra and Colin Rose, "DECIMA: Digitally Encoded Census Information and Mapping Archive, and the Project for a Geo-Spatial and Sensory Digital Map of Florence," *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 13, no. 4 (Fall 2013): 156-157.

takers house by house or investigate the clustered dwellings that make up some of the more crowded neighborhoods. Taken together via the *DECIMA Project*'s user-friendly platform, the ducal census and Buonsignori's map allow more varied investigations of the city than the *Catasto* of 1427.

The Classroom Context

As educational psychologist Sam Wineburg has argued, the challenge in teaching is bridging "the chasm between knowing x, and using x to think about y."[11] Most students cannot immediately imbibe information and return it to the instructor in a new and more complex relational format, yet that is the central goal of many upper-year university courses.[12] So how do students transition from classroom discussions that piece the past together through a variety of curated documents and images to using open-ended census data to build a larger independent understanding of past cultures and experiences? Periodic reflection is key to ensuring that students become observers of their own intellectual development, as well as the progress of their project. Not only is the act of thinking about a person, place, or activity essential to both the retention of information and a deeper understanding of its meaning, but reflection allows a space for commentary, comparison, and constructive self-criticism.[13] To ensure that assignments and their learning goals are achievable, they must grow out of appropriate background knowledge, not overload working memory, and require skills equal to the average student's

11 Wineburg, "Beyond 'Breadth and Depth,'" 256.

12 The departmental Student Learning Outcome linked to this assignment required students to practice the acquisition and critical evaluation of information facilitating the discernment of patterns, nuance, and context amidst complexity.

13 Terry Haydn, "Secondary History: Current Themes," in *Debates in History Teaching*, 2nd edition, ed. Ian Davies (London: Routledge, 2017), 24; Daniel T. Willingham, *Why Don't Students Like School?* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2009), 54.

expectation.[14] To this end, the DECIMA assignment, which focused on a single community in early modern Italy, was the culmination of a broad investigation of life across Europe in the period from 1300 to 1700 CE in a seminar that followed the lifecycle, beginning at birth and ending at death. Students read primary sources and participated in classroom discussions that deconstructed early modern depictions in order to explore the early modern mentality and community structure.

The final third of the semester-long course was devoted explicitly to working with census documents and the *DECIMA Project*. A slow pace with regular classroom work time ensured that there was an opportunity for students to learn together steadily, maintain continuity with earlier discussions, allow reflection, and insert checkpoints for student understanding throughout the process (See Appendix 1). In Week 1 students came face to face with census returns, confronted the limitation of information, and considered how applying census data to a physical map could extend social knowledge in new directions. Most students are too young to have any experience submitting census questionnaires themselves and sometimes struggle to envision the early modern household at a variety of income levels. This was evident from student comments that focused on differences between modern and early modern households. One student expressed surprise at the rarity of nuclear families and the wide variety of extended families, including the Jacopo household that numbered forty-seven members.[15] Another student noted with interest that "the Catasto defined the *famiglia* [family] as people related to each other by blood or marriage, and bounded together by obligations of mutual support, rather than by the physical people cohabiting in one home."[16] These reflections show students' awareness of the differences between the past and the

14 Willingham, *Why Don't Students Like School?*, 15.
15 S2, *Tuscans and their Families* Synopsis and Reflection Paper.
16 S3, *Tuscans and their Families* Synopsis and Reflection Paper.

present, and a willingness to consider multiple practices. This open mindset is essential for students entering a new society and pursuing open-ended investigations.

In Week 2, readings built on census data recapitulated many of the ideas discussed using primary sources in earlier weeks. Chapters drawn from David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber's study of the Florentine *Catasto* of 1427 returned to issues of age of maturity, gendered differences in work and residence, gendered mortality rates, poverty and charity, and connections between work and wealth. The purpose of these readings was three-fold: to provide more information about the census projects, to show how a limited dataset could answer big questions, and to offer an investigative model to emulate. This third purpose was evident to a student who identified the parallels between the historians' process and our own in-class interactions:

> Analyzing the written and unwritten history is part of what Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber hoped to uncover by researching deeper with the *Catasto*. We have done similar things in class when analyzing documents related to our discussions. For example, when we analyzed a Danish law that stated all unmarried people had to register with the local government, we looked at the document beyond its legal history and into the social and cultural implications of the law.[17]

Another student revealed the readings' second purpose when noting:

> The *Catasto*, though at first glance perhaps a seemingly boring tax census, provides rich data which Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber were able to extrapolate out in order to create a working social history of the Tuscan area circa 1427. Many of their conclusions connect to discussions we've had in class,

17 S4, *Tuscans and their Families* Synopsis and Reflection Paper.

> especially with regard to gender.[18]

These comments, drawn from student reflections, suggest a deeper understanding of the relationship between class readings and discussions and how those discussions mirror the work of published historians.

The integration of both data and conclusions drawn from the 1427 *Catasto* into earlier class discussions also prepared students for thinking about how to formulate questions that are answerable by census data. One student clearly identified the procedural path forward, writing:

> [t]he Catasto presents raw data that historians like Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber can use in tandem with other resources and documents to complete a historical picture of a specific time and place. It allows them to uncover discrepancies and create new questions to issues that were perhaps never considered before.[19]

After exploring the 1427 *Catasto,* the class moved on to the more complex *DECIMA Project* of 1561. While this project has put the census materials online as an open-access geocoded portal, there is no similar all-encompassing study as there is for the 1427 *Catasto*. Instead, current scholarly research has provided a frame for understanding and using the *Project* and encouraged historians to proceed according to their own research agenda. To provide some structure and inspiration, students read a selection of essays edited by Terpstra and Rose, which allowed them to see how other historians have formulated and defended theories with *Decima* census data.[20] In reflecting on the centrality of geography

18 S3, *Tuscans and their Families* Synopsis and Reflection Paper.
19 S4, *Tuscans and their Families* Synopsis and Reflection Paper.
20 Nicholas Terpstra and Colin Rose, eds., *Mapping Space, Sense, and Movement in Florence: Historical GIS and the Early Modern City* (London:

in Sharon Strocchia and Julia Rombough's work exploring convents through the *DECIMA Project*, one student wrote:

> The large amount of properties that were [*sic*] that belonged to the various nun's [*sic*] families is what surprised me the most. […] I find this widespread trend of families using their female relatives in religious life as social gain both unusual and interesting. It's unfamiliar to me to see that the humble service of cloistered life was used to raise families' status. But it is even more interesting to see the evidence from the maps, and the conclusions made by Strocchia and Rombough that this method was very successful.[21]

While this seems like an innocuous observation, highlighting surprise and diverse social practice, it became the foundation of an investigation exploring neighborhood wealth, strategy, and institutional impact.

Without Weeks 1 and 2 functioning as a *quasi* review phase that allowed further scaffolding of ideas, students without any experience using census data might find the assignment overwhelming. In order to concretize the scaffolding process, students prepared synopsis and reflection papers based on these readings, which also helped them put their interests and ideas into words, as seen in the previous student's comments on convents and social strategy. These papers offer students a space to connect new information with their own surprise or interest, thus indicating how they are interacting intellectually or emotionally with the readings. Reflecting on one of the *DECIMA* chapters, a student cited a disconnect between what she expected based on her own experience and what the scholarship revealed:

> I was similarly interested in that the institutions owned

Routledge, 2016).

21 S5, *Mapping Space* Synopsis and Reflection Paper.

> property and made (actually pretty good) profit from it. Perhaps it's my secular upbringing, but I didn't even think about how churches could own property and act as landlords to their congregations. It really brings Christianity further into the home and life in a way that I think I have trouble understanding from a modern perspective.[22]

While the previous student expressed interest in early modern social practice, another student focused on the practice of social history. This student expressed surprise at the central role of numeric or quantitative data alongside more qualitative evidence:

> This chapter was insightful to me. […] I never realized the amount of social history that was could be [*sic*] taken from the data. These historians took so much information from this data and turned it into some interesting subjects. I am excited to work with it myself.[23]

This enthusiasm suggests that reading studies by published historians showed students possible paths of interest and provided models for emulation.

Concurrent in-class discussion emphasized articulating observations in order to help students move from reading to analysis.[24] Isolating information was the first step in the investigative process that continued towards applying that information to answer questions, which, ultimately, could lead to larger social conclusions. The classroom process across these

22 S6, *Mapping Space* Synopsis and Reflection Paper.

23 S2, *Mapping Space* Synopsis and Reflection Paper.

24 Most synopsis and reflection papers balanced these two parts relatively well. In a couple of cases, papers that showed minimal reflection on the readings came from students who would struggle with present-mindedness in their final paper. This underlines the importance of early opportunities for student reflection and establishing an environment in which students are comfortable proposing and questioning their own understandings.

weeks acted as a communal and vocalized practice session for the individual process that students would complete as they developed project proposals in Week 3. Because of this practice character, it was imperative that students participated vocally in these discussions. Working in small groups, students read individual census returns in order to consider what information was present in the returns, how they could categorize that information, and what sort of questions it might answer. These collaborations assisted quiet and anxious students, who were less likely to contribute in front of the entire class, while allowing the instructor to show how together the groups had built a greater understanding out of their collected observations. Student anxiety generally coalesced around a perceived (but incorrect) need for mathematical skill, as one student admitted: "When I first found out what the DECIMA was and that we were working on it, I was worried. I did not want to work with numbers, and I believed this kind of data would focus on economic, financial, and map data."[25] Indeed, the instructor's role as facilitator and scaffolder is crucial in appropriately framing and pacing the project, as well as ordering and juxtaposing students' observations.[26]

For students, charting a first research path often depends on engaging in a combination of mimicry and individual exploration. While the 1427 *Catasto* has been conveniently and authoritatively explored by Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, the 1561 *Decima* is attractively accessible to undergraduates via an open-access platform. After an hour of in-class exploration, aided by English-Italian glossaries, students with no Italian-language skills move freely across the *DECIMA Project* website. One student affirmed this relatively small learning curve: "It took me a while to get used

25 S2, *Mapping Space* Reflection Paper.

26 John Oakley and Anne McDougall, "Census Data as Educational Resources," *Education and Information Technologies* 2 (1997): 99; Barry K. Beyer, "What Research Tells Us about Teaching Thinking Skills," *The Social Studies* 99, no. 5 (September-October 2008): 227-228.

to the DECIMA Project's GIS, but when I did I was able to see the beginnings of a pattern."[27] At the same time another student downplayed her grasp on the system only to detail just how much she had already achieved:

> My research so far has been a majority of experimenting with the DECIMA map to get a grasp of how I can pull information from it. I have been able to locate the 'quarters' of the city, the streets where prostitution was allowed, and the poorer residences around the city. […] I have a list of the convents that were in Florence during the time of the Decima census. With more time and examination of the map software, I believe I will be able familiar enough with the map to locate them.[28]

Communal discussions about site usage and discoveries helped students gain confidence and develop their own project plans. Not only did students get to know the city's layout and its professional and housing patterns, but this was the beginning of students "using x to think about y." How might the distribution of bakers or butchers across the city reveal the place of their wares in early modern urban life? The integration of census data into earlier class discussions about wealth, poverty, work, and outsiders made the next phase—project development—easier, as students already understood the basic early modern mentality and now considered how space influenced or revealed experience.

As already noted, this assignment required students to develop a greater scholarly self-awareness, in order to provide an accurate and comprehensive account of their engagement with the census. The observational aspect played an important role in both the proposal and in the essay that students prepared in Weeks 4 to 6. How the students collected data had an effect on the data available

27 S4, Proposal.
28 S5, Proposal.

and consequently on their findings. Thus, students had to be able to articulate their process and analyze it for meaning and potential exclusions. In the submitted project proposals, only half the students discussed their investigative process in a specific fashion that indicated they had either already begun the *DECIMA Project* investigation or had developed a step-by-step plan that was ready to be implemented. However, in the final projects three-quarters of the students included some discussion of *DECIMA Project* process, thus suggesting an increasing awareness of how an investigation could be influenced by the method of data collection. Happily, the inclusion of a process discussion is evidence of students working at the highest level of the cognitive spectrum by designing, critiquing, and deconstructing their procedures. A large literature has developed around the concept and practice of student self-reflection, exploring both its value and complexity. In the discipline of history, metacognitive reflection has been shown to aid students in the entrenchment of new thinking skills, as the acts of recollecting their process, justifying its steps, and evaluating its proficiency, enables students to become more aware of their cognitive procedures and their relative strengths in the new skill.[29] As is common, most students set their investigations alongside the research that they had read, revealing its influence, but also at times reverse-engineering data collection processes, and engaging with other scholars' procedures to elaborate the conversations that they had watched develop.[30]

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29 Beyer, "What Research Tells Us," 226; Elizabeth Belanger, "How Now? Historical Thinking, Reflective Teaching, and the Next Generation of History Teachers," *Journal of American History* 97, no. 4 (March 2011): 1079-1088; Naomi Silver, "Reflective Pedagogies and the Metacognitive Turn in College Teaching," in *Using Reflection and Metacognition to Improve Student Learning*, eds. Matthew Kaplan, Naomi Silver, Danielle LaVaque-Manty, Deborah Meizlish (Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing, 2013), 1-17; Robert Grossman, "Structures for Facilitating Student Reflection," *College Teaching* 57, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 15-22.

30 One of the initial purposes of the *DECIMA Project* was to facilitate an

To students' surprise, this classroom work brought them into contact with "the real Florentines," like the prostitute Orsolina who opened this article. As Oakley and McDougall have argued, using primary data provides the large-scale "reality and authenticity" that many students crave.[31] While census work and mapping initially appeared separated from the crowded streets by the process of bureaucratic documentation, pouring over a householder's statement of age, profession, dependents, rent, and property valuation was a far more intimate process. Setting individuals side by side on streets, or above and below each other in sub-divided buildings, conveyed a greater understanding of space as a lived experience. Students questioned relationships between household members, employment roles, sleeping arrangements, and noise levels in an effort to visualize the information before them. Perhaps most importantly, this exercise allowed the class to see how their knowledge of the early modern period had prepared them to question and draw conclusions from documents that revealed the basic foundation of early modern society. Tying this project to their work with previous primary source readings, one student noted:

> [t]he valuation of able-bodied men of a certain age over all other Tuscan residents is practically universal among all the

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investigation into whether Florentine laws governing prostitutes' restriction of residency (within a certain distance of churches and convents) were observed. To this end, one of the map layers that researchers can access shows the streets on which prostitutes were allowed to reside and ply their trade. Both prostitutes and clergy played an important role as examples of alternative lifestyles in this course, and more than half the class proposed projects in conversation with the readings by Terpstra (prostitutes) and Strocchia and Rombough (nuns); "Women behind Walls: tracking nuns and socio-spatial networks in sixteenth-century Florence" and "Locating the sex trade in the early modern city: space, sense, and regulation in sixteenth-century Florence," in *Mapping Space, Sense, and Movement in Florence*, 87-106 and 107-124.

31 Oakley and McDougall, "Census data as educational resources," 91.

> societies we've discussed in class so far. The devaluation of women, and especially before marriageable and childbirth age, has also been a common theme across this semester.[32]

This student's ability to chart the continuation of complementary themes across varied times, places, and evidence, points to his/her ability to think relationally (*i.e.*, the valuation of men and the devaluation of women).

The *DECIMA Project* and Student Development of Cognitive Processes that Promote Reflection

As Peter Seixas has repeatedly advocated, "clearly articulated learning goals are essential for developing assessments that capture and promote these valued learning outcomes and communicate to students the kinds of learning they should be focusing on."[33] In order to illuminate both the investigative path and the instructor's assessment path, students received assignment instructions, a weekly schedule, and the final project's objectives. The last file was provided to students in Week 4 so that over the following weeks they could develop a discussion of their investigative process and findings that reflected the assignment's stated learning goals.[34] It was imperative that all three of these files aligned in their expectations so that students could see how the instructions articulated an activity that progressed across a specific timeline, developing ideas and skills that, ultimately, would be measured via the assessment competencies.[35]

Beyond demanding a more conscious introduction to its

32 S3, *Tuscans and their Families* Synopsis and Reflection Paper.
33 Kadriye Ercikan and Peter Seixas, "Assessment of Higher Order Thinking: The Case of Historical Thinking," in *Assessment of Higher Order Thinking Skills*, eds. Gregory Schraw and Daniel H. Robinson (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2011), 246.
34 See Appendices 1 and 2 for the Weekly Schedule and the Assessment Criteria.
35 Ercikan and Seixas, "Assessment of Higher Order Thinking," 252.

materials and methods, as a course capstone, this assignment differed from earlier course work in that the expected analysis was far less contained. Most students were relatively new to the premodern world, and so typical assignments presented a single primary source and asked a single question.[36] Written work focused on understanding the norms of early modern European society and whether students could identify those norms in different media (texts *versus* images).[37] This allowed the instructor to evaluate student progress from point A to point B, usually in order to assess simple analytical and argument building skills, as well as basic subject-matter knowledge. A more challenging version of that assignment required students to contextualize their analysis of a single primary source with secondary source research.[38] While this added a measure of complexity in analysis and argument, it remained bounded both in path and process. Students worked within a previously conceived discussion to build subject-matter knowledge and reveal skill-level. The assignment's purpose remained the same: to get from point A to point B by travelling along a preset path. In cognitive

36 In this course the first assignment assesses students' ability to identify one of several themes (*e.g.*, behavioral models, public *versus* private spheres, education and household responsibilities) and compare its presence across the two fourteenth-century didactic poems: *How the good wife taught her daughter* and *How the wise man taught his son*.

37 These early assignments focused on the first, second, and third stages of learning: initial understanding, task fluency, and process fluency; Ruth Powley, "Meaningful, Manageable Assessment," *Love Learning Ideas: Ideas, Strategies, Resources for the Busy Teacher* (March 11, 2015), http://www.lovelearningideas.com/blog-archive/2015/3/11/meaningful-manageable-assessment.

38 In this course the second assignment assesses students' ability to "read" social messages in images; for example: appropriate marriage partners in Lucas Cranach's *Old and Young* (*c*.1520), female outsider stereotypes in Hans Baldung Grien's *The Witches* (1510), and concerns related to "dying well" in the anonymous woodcut *The Art of Dying* (1465). Students then contextualize these messages with their own secondary source research to craft a larger argument about society.

terms, using the revised version of Bloom's Taxonomy, these two assignments required students to Understand ("Construct meaning from instructional messages") and Analyze ("Carry out or use a procedure in a given situation"), using some higher-level thinking, but always remaining within the Factual stratum of the Knowledge Dimension.

In contrast, working with the *DECIMA Project* was a more open-ended experience. While the limits of the census appear to constrain student investigation, in fact, the city is open to student interests. Unlike previous assignments that offered preset questions, students were tasked with developing their own investigation. The readings from Terpstra and Rose's volume acted as models and prepared students to think *with* census records, rather than just learn about the city of Florence. Each chapter offered students another opportunity to see how historians posed a question, fashioned an investigative method, drew conclusions from the resulting data set, and integrated the conclusion into a larger societal understanding. Successful projects required students to participate in deep learning practices, interweaving the activity with earlier classroom discussions, and moving through a series of internal rhetorical questions: "What do I know about this subject? How does this information relate to what I already know? What is the broader implication or significance of what I've learned?"[39] Not only did these prompts guide students as they considered their own topical interests and the information available through the *DECIMA Project*, but they articulate the basic purpose of the synopsis and reflection papers.[40] Reflecting this encouragement, in their written work students frequently

39 Tracy Wilson Smith and Susan A. Colby, "Teaching for Deep Learning," *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas* 80, no. 5 (May-June 2007): 207.

40 The basic goal of synopsis and reflection papers was to have students reflect on what they know, what they are doing, and use the understanding born of reflection to help them chart a path towards investigating the unknown (*i.e.*, answering new questions).

included phrases that made connections between class discussions and secondary source readings, indicating the project's success at creating socially relevant knowledge that students consciously drew upon. Considering the Terpstra and Rose readings, one student wrote: "This reminded me about the discussion we had in class about the 'Godly City.'"[41] Other students made similar references in both reflection papers and their final projects.

While students' questions had to fit the sixteenth-century urban environment and be answerable by the census dataset and visualization, there were no other restrictions on how they proceeded. Thus, the investigative process—reflecting a student's own cognitive ability and tendency—was a central aspect of this assignment. The proposals due in Week 3 tracked student progress across the project's stages (listed below) and reflect higher order thinking patterns:

- Learn to use the *DECIMA Project*.[42]
- Develop an appropriate question.[43]
- Design and observe the data collection method.
- Analyze the data, which involves seeing the patterns present in the responses and the spatial arrangement.
- Contextualize both the question and the resulting patterns amid the conclusions drawn by other historians.
- Formulate conclusions about the patterns' meaning, either

41 S4, *Mapping Space* Synopsis and Reflection Paper.

42 Although in many cases this stage was the source of greatest anxiety, as one student wrote in their final project: "[a]fter all of the information from the DECIMA GIS was gathered, it was easy to analyze and draw conclusions from research. The process of finding the information that has been laid out was simpler than one would think" (S7, Final Project).

43 At first students tended to ask several questions, reflecting uncertainty about the project design process. Through comments on the proposals and one-on-one consultations with the instructor, students eventually narrowed down their interests and developed a sharper sense of what was possible to know via the census data.

supporting or undermining what was found in other places or periods, or through other means of investigation.
- Construct an essay that reflected on the process and contextualized the research findings.

Subject-matter knowledge was checked and reinforced by requiring students to submit an annotated bibliography of related secondary sources as part of their proposal. All but one student identified and discussed knowledgeably the requisite six secondary sources (beyond the assigned readings) in their proposal. This also provided an opportunity for the instructor to guide students towards less accessible, but equally useful, secondary sources.

Project proposals also facilitated the identification of challenging cognitive processes and procedural linkages that appeared invisible to students. The most demanding transition within this process involved students articulating how they expected to see known social trends in the *DECIMA Project*'s data. Proposals highlighted this challenge, more often by what students did not discuss. The paragraph of questions signaling subject interest generally preceded a paragraph stating previous knowledge gleaned from class related to that subject. For example, after questioning, "What did it mean to be a prostitute?" one student wrote that "prostitutes were outsiders," and thus evidence of that outsider status should appear in the *DECIMA Project*. This simplistic assertion ignored the character and constraints of the dataset. As prostitute-led households were encoded like any other professional household, this student became disoriented. Classroom discussions about historical lenses helped students understand that "outsider status" could be economic: Most prostitutes lived in cheap rental accommodation. Or "outsider status" could be spatial: Licensed prostitutes were forced to live in designated areas away from convents and churches. Or "outsider status" could appear as a gendered community: female household

heads rather than a nuclear family identified as a husband, wife, and children. While students recognized these behavioral indicators, they were slow to translate their broader cultural knowledge of early modern urban life into the more limited language of the *DECIMA Project*'s census returns. After reflection and experimentation, this student's final project was guided by sharper questions showing a deeper understanding of the data's uses and boundaries, and precise evidence-based conclusions: "Prostitutes can be seen on the outskirts of the different quarters in the city to restrict their interaction with other members in society. These prostitutes are in fairly close proximity to the taverns of the city in another attempt to control the areas that sin is spreading in their city."[44] These sentences reveal that this student successfully integrated results from the *DECIMA Project*'s data with a larger social understanding built through earlier classroom discussions.

In this capstone assignment, students engaged with categories at the foundational level of the cognitive spectrum in order to enhance their ability to pursue tasks consistent with actions at the highest level of the cognitive spectrum that met the project's goals. The processes organized under the revised version of Bloom's taxonomic categories—Creating (hypothesizing, designing, and constructing), Evaluating (checking and critiquing), and Analyzing (differentiating, organizing, and deconstructing)—were integral to these early project design and development stages. Moreover, students used second-level categories—Applying (executing and implementing) and Understanding (interpreting, classifying, and explaining)—when they collected census data, identified patterns, and revealed connections with other primary sources and secondary studies. Together these stages combined much of the cognitive spectrum and required students to spend a great deal of time thinking, not only about the households

44 S8, Final Project.

recorded in the census data, but what they could *do with them*.[45]

Research on working memory has shown that daily review improves students' ability to recall concepts and skills learned previously, which become necessary for subsequent learning. Without frequent review of previous learning, students find it harder to master new material.[46] Thus, this assignment was designed as a series of overlapping phases that allowed review of earlier discussions (Weeks 1-2), collective investigation of census documents and the *DECIMA Project* (Weeks 1-4), independent consolidation of learning through proposal drafting (Week 3), and a final extended flexible work period (Weeks 4-6). In this last phase, students could work through the data collection, analysis, or essay construction, either on their own or in the classroom and ask questions of the instructor or other students. In each class during the assignment period, students practiced using the *DECIMA Project* platform and grappled with the census format: reviewing the foundational capacities that underpinned their investigations. Moreover, doing this together as a class allowed students to benefit from each other's technical advice and discoveries and immediately build on suggestions.[47]

While at the start some students were anxious about using the *DECIMA Project* website, these practical challenges lessened with

45 Several students used the *DECIMA Project*'s data on property values to draw conclusions about the socio-economic character of a variety of neighborhoods in city, and reinforced those conclusions by exploring the professions associated with those local households. This active process reinforces Willingham's reminder that "memory is the residue of thought," and so time spent considering the applicability of ideas to data is likely to entrench understanding in students' minds; Willingham, *Why Don't Students Like School?*, 47.

46 Barak Rosenshine, "Principles of Instruction: Research-Based Strategies That All Teachers Should Know," 36, no. 1 *American Educator* (Spring 2012): 13 https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ971753.pdf; Willingham, *Why Don't Students Like School?*, 42-47.

47 Most students chose to work in the classroom, even when attendance was optional.

frequent use of and familiarity with the website and sharing their successes with fellow students. Later students expressed anxiety about what they could not know. Proposals, which were returned with substantial feedback, solved this issue by guiding students towards more specific paths and achievable goals. For example, one very broad proposal asked: "What was the relationship between a painter in 1500's Florence to the rest of society?" While this student had a clear sense of how to use the *DECIMA Project* to assemble information about specific households led by artists, they could not translate that data into a comprehensive understanding of the profession in this time and place. Following in-class discussions connecting the census inquiries to broader social experience, in their final project the same student wrote far more precisely:

> The conclusions that can be drawn from this information are obvious. […] there were more than likely more men in the occupation overall. Most tended to stay in the same quarter of S. Spirito, which means they could have been a small intimate community of painters. A few worked in their homes, while others worked in the workshops. Most lived on the same street and very close to each other, while a few lived further out. Most also belonged to the same parish, meaning they were part of the same religious community.[48]

Generally, identifying the project's parameters (albeit provisional and topical) helped to allay anxiety by reducing the scope of possible research and initiating contact with the instructor who reassured them that they could answer certain questions successfully. Moreover, the process itself offered a space in which to confront fears, ask questions, and explore possibilities. One student confided that

48 S7, Proposal and Final Project.

> [o]verall, the process of finding sources [data] took several hours, and I had to change my criteria several times. I think this process actually helped me, because it made me think outside the box and made me realize the different aspects and people that worked.[49]

Finally, working on individual projects in the classroom offered students the opportunity to collaboratively problem-solve, consult the instructor, and reconfigure ideas as they developed, taking advantage of a more individually responsive learning environment.

Application in Other Historical Contexts

American History classes can develop similar projects using materials made available by the United States National Archives and the United States Census Bureau. Since 1790 the United States has conducted decennial censuses, which are made fully available to the public following a seventy-two year time lag. Currently, the National Archives allows free online access to the 1940 Census and offers access to earlier census documents through Ancestry.com and FamilySearch.com.[50] Through the 1940 Census students can access pages from enumerator logs across the country that present household information similar to the *DECIMA Project*: name, age, sex, race, marital status, household head/members, educational attainment, owner/renter status, and salary. In addition, the Census Bureau offers a Census Data Mapper tool that allows customized maps of Population and Race, Age and Sex, and Family and Housing, using the 2010 survey data. These maps visualize data down to the county level providing students with resources to develop questions about national character or

49 S2, Proposal.

50 "1940 Census," *National Archives*, https://1940census.archives.gov/index.asp. Fees may apply to using Ancestry.com and FamilySearch.com, and many public libraries carry subscriptions to these sites for their patrons.

regional comparisons and apply important historical lenses.[51] Early American and world history classes might consider the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, which presents details of 36,000 slave ship voyages from the late sixteenth century to the mid-nineteenth centuries.[52] Although this is not a census, it offers a similar large-scale dataset with a variety of variables to influence inquiries. Not only does the database provide names of 91,491 captives, but it allows the detailed exploration of the volume and geography of the slave trade, commercial and personal links between ports, and the outcomes of voyages interrupted at sea. Like the *DECIMA Project*, the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* facilitates student interest and agency at all stages of the investigative process and encourages higher order thinking.

World history classes could also look to the United Nations' Statistics Division, which offers open-access datasets online from 1995 to the present. These data tables originated in the Demographic Yearbook census questionnaires that explore basic population characteristics, educational attainment, ethnocultural identity, migration history, and household and economic information.[53] Although neither the United Nations nor the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* sites have their own mapping tools, this is a good opportunity for students to experiment with basic, easy to use mapping resources like GoogleMaps and StoryMaps by Esri. Both these databases offer students the opportunity to

51 Students can also display data tables compiled by the Census Bureau and export these to Excel in order to pursue variant questions. "Census Data Mapper," *United States Census Bureau*, accessed March 9, 2019, https://www.census.gov/geo/maps-data/maps/datamapper.html.

52 *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* (Slave Voyages v2.0.3), Emory University, https://www.slavevoyages.org. This site includes introductory essays on a variety of topics, static maps, and lesson plans. See also the companion volume, David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).

53 "Demographic and Social Statistics," *United Nations Statistics Division*, accessed March 9, 2019, https://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic-social/products/dyb/dybcensusdata.cshtml.

consider a large amount of data, think alongside the data streams, and reflect on their chosen investigative path. As this article has argued, moving from posing a question to testing a data process and on to developing a visualization strategy challenges students to think in a more complex and relational fashion about important issues, change over time, evidence-based conclusions, and how to most cogently present investigative results.[54]

Conclusion

In conversation with the instructor, students readily admitted that this was the most challenging of the course assignments, claiming that they were not good data analysts. One student wrote that "[t]his was definitely the hardest paper I've ever written in my life, because data work is not one of my strongest points."[55] More likely they sensed the difference between the two types of course assignments in terms of complexity and novelty. As Barak Rosenshine advocates, early assignments must show the mastery of foundational knowledge before moving on to experiential, hands-on activities.[56] Using the *DECIMA Project* required a mastery of the underlying principles of early modern society, in effect, deep learning: "To see the deep structure, you must understand how all parts of the problem relate to one another."[57] While students did not comment on the fact that they had far more latitude in terms of their investigation's focus and

54 On the integration of GIS-based projects in social studies and university classrooms, see Jung Eun Hong and Ashley Melville, "Training Social Studies Teachers to Develop Inquiry-Based GIS Lessons," *Journal of Geography* 117, no. 6 (2018): 229-244; Kurt Schlichting, "Historical GIS: New Ways of Doing History," *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 41, no. 4 (2008): 191-196.

55 S6, emailed message to the instructor.

56 Rosenshine, "Principles of Instruction," 12.

57 Powley identifies this "deep learning" as characteristic of fourth stage learning; Powley, "Meaningful, Manageable Assessment"; Willingham, *Why Don't Students Like School?*, 100.

path, quite a few students took inspiration from the Terpstra and Rose collection and developed projects that focused on prostitutes, nuns, or female workers. As expected, these readings provided models for understanding the *DECIMA Project*, while helping students articulate what they wanted to know, and how they could work within the census data's limits.

In their introduction to *The Practice of University History Teaching*, Alan Booth and Paul Hyland's motivating question is: How can we "help students become high-level learners in a way which will prepare them to be critical, creative, independent, and reflexive"?[58] As this study argues, census data allows students to integrate demographic trends with subject matter knowledge, and ultimately show how this knowledge of the past is part of a larger discussion of historical significance.[59] Students who construct open-ended historical investigations using the *DECIMA Project* draw on central disciplinary concepts: articulating a question, constructing an argument, evaluating sources, and discerning challenges to the narrative.[60] This assignment allows instructors to determine if "students retain important information, understand topics deeply, and actively use the knowledge they gain," in effect evaluating the depth of the larger learning process.[61] As this article has shown through students' own reflective writing, the class developed an awareness of how their own ideas had evolved and how their work stood in relation to the published studies that

58 The *DECIMA* assignment that this study describes embodies most of the "Characteristics of high-level learning in history" articulated by Booth and Hyland. Alan Booth and Paul Hyland, "Introduction: developing scholarship in history teaching," in *The Practice of University History Teaching*, eds. Alan Booth and Paul Hyland (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 5, 6-8.

59 Wineburg, "Beyond 'Breadth and Depth,'" 257.

60 Paul Hyland, "Learning from feedback on assessment," in *The Practice of University History Teaching*, 234; Wineburg, "Beyond 'Breadth and Depth,'" 260.

61 Michael F. Graves and Patricia G. Avery, "Scaffolding Students' Reading of History," *The Social Studies* 88, no. 3 (1997): 135.

they read. In sum, mapped census data presented via an open-access portal like the *DECIMA Project* provide students with an opportunity to build historical understanding by engaging in assessments that compel them to reflect on their historical thinking.

Appendix 1: *DECIMA Project* Assignment Schedule

WEEK 1: Census Documents: Evidence, Opportunities, and Limitations

- Introduction to the Florentine *Catasto* of 1427.
- Students submit a synopsis and reflection on the assigned chapters by email before class.

1. Herlihy & Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families*, Chapters 1, 4, 5, 10.

WEEK 2: Using Census Documents to Investigate the Past

- Introduction to the *Decima* of 1561-62 and the *DECIMA Project.*
- Students submit a synopsis and reflection on the assigned chapters by email before class.

1. Terpstra, "Introduction" and Rose "Thinking and using DECIMA: neighborhoods and occupations in Renaissance Florence" in *Mapping Space, Sense and Movement in Florence*.
2. A chapter of your choice from *Mapping Space*: Faibisoff (surveying and collecting), Jamison (institutions as landlords), Strocchia/Rombough (nuns), or Terpstra (prostitutes).

- Please bring laptops/tablets/smart phones to class this week!

WEEK 3: Develop a Project Proposal

- Open class period in which students will develop a proposal (1 full page single-spaced) and an annotated bibliography (1-2 full pages single-spaced) that includes 6 secondary sources (beyond *Tuscans and Their Families* and *Mapping…*). The bibliography should include monographs/scholarly books or journal articles/chapters published after 1975. For each source provide the full Chicago Manual of Style bibliographic citation and a four-sentence explanation of the work's thesis, source base, and specific ways in which it will support your investigation.
- Proposal and annotated bibliography are due by email on Monday of Week 4.
- Please bring laptops/tablets/smart phones to class this week!

WEEK 4: Design a Process, Collect and Analyze Data

- Students receive feedback on their proposals and have the opportunity to discuss them with the instructor. Students also

receive and discuss the assessment criteria with the instructor.
- Open classes in which students work with the *DECIMA Project* to build a data argument. Be prepared to discuss what you are doing and what you have found in the data.
- Please bring laptops/tablets/smart phones to class this week!

WEEK 5: Contextualize Findings and Construct Essay
- Students should begin to write their papers independently. The instructor is available in the classroom for consultation and will read a full essay draft if it is finished and sent via email – optional.

WEEK 6: Complete and Submit Essay
- Students should write their papers independently. The instructor is available in the classroom for consultation.
- Essay is due at the end of the week.

Appendix 2: *DECIMA Project* Assignment Criteria

Competency
Research and Contextualization
Assignment chiefly analyses a specific group/issue using data drawn from the DECIMA Project
Investigation is a new contribution to the scholarly discussion
Assignment contextualizes the group/issue using published secondary source research
Adequate citations for quotations/ideas and DECIMA material
Essay demonstrates intelligent reflection on subject and sources
Process and Discussion
Analytic rather than narrative discussion: argues a thesis/ draws a conclusion rather than simply tells a story
Essay has an introductory paragraph which: • introduces the DECIMA project • identifies the subject group/issue of the paper
Essay has a logical development of discussion which: • explains how the data was obtained • explores meaning of and conclusions drawn from the data
Clear sense of historical causality in data discussion: • includes dates, names, details, especially for DECIMA entries or institutions
Clear sense of historical consistency + context in analysis: • considers date, place, gender, class, trade as appropriate
Student reflects meaningfully on project design and process.
Formal conclusion reviews investigation and central argument.
Footnotes used for quotations and borrowed information. All primary sources appear in the footnotes and bibliography.
All footnotes + bibliography use the appropriate Chicago Manual of Style format.

A GUIDED INQUIRY INTO A DUBIOUS, PERVASIVE, ALL-AMERICAN ORGANIZATION: THE KU KLUX KLAN

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In many ways, America has embraced diversity in the 21st century, which is evidenced by Barack Obama's election as the first African American President. Yet, gains for marginalized groups, coupled with an era of economic uncertainties, have created fertile fields for what may be a reemergence of America's dubious, most pervasive hate organization, the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan has historically emerged in three distinct waves as a reactionary response to political, cultural, and economic gains by marginalized groups. The August 2017 *Unite the Right* rally events in Charlottesville, Virginia prove, among other things, the Ku Klux Klan's modern presence in America and suggest a fourth manifestation of the Klan.

We offer a guided inquiry into America's dubious, most pervasive hate organization based on the central question: How has hate appeared and changed in America? To answer this question, students explore and extrapolate meaning from evocative primary sources that curiously juxtapose with a succinct secondary source. Students are positioned to articulate newly constructed understandings within diverse, text-based writing activities. The reading, thinking, and writing tasks all align with current educational initiatives and best practices in history education pedagogy. In this article, we first provide a rationale for this approach. Next, we offer an overview of white hegemony in the United States as it relates to the history of the Klan. Then,

we provide specific sources and writing prompts teachers at the high school and university level can use to engage students in historical inquiry. Finally, because robust historical inquiry best prompts citizens' engagement, we suggest other timely topics for discussion with students.

History Education Pedagogy

History is a construction assembled from diverse sources. Historical artifacts are all potentially insightful, yet all are incomplete in different ways. Instructors can position students to recognize and consider positive and problematic elements, the meaningful details and the blind spots, within diverse sources.

Diverse Sources

Photographs present a seemingly clear window into the past; they convey a false sense of transparency and impartiality.[1] Students, unless directed otherwise, may not scrutinize a photograph's minutiae for meaning. The photographer's influence on a published photograph is profound. Background, foreground, camera angle, subjects' facial features, title, and description are just a few aspects that shape how a photograph is viewed. Artistic renderings, never extemporaneous, are similarly complicated as the creator's figurative fingerprints appear throughout. Visual

1 Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, "Why Don't More History Teachers Engage Students in Interpretation?" *Social Education* 67, no. 6 (2003): 358-361; John Bickford, Molly Bickford, and Cynthia Rich, "Historical Literacy and Visual Informational Texts: Scrutinizing Photographs Beyond Their Borders," *The Councilor: A Journal of the Social Studies* 76, no. 2 (2015): 1-17; Cory Callahan, "Analyzing Historical Photographs to Promote Civic Competence," *Social Studies Research and Practice* 8, no. 1 (2013): 77-88; Stuart J. Foster, John D. Hoge, and Richard H. Rosch, "Thinking Aloud about History: Children's and Adolescents' Responses to Historical Photographs," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 27, no. 2 (1999): 179-214; National Association for Media Literacy Education, "Media Literacy Education and the Common Core State Standards," NAMLE, https://namle.net/publications/mle-common-core-standards/; Bill Tally and Lauren B. Goldenberg, "Fostering Historical Thinking with Digitized Primary Sources," *Journal of Research on Technology in Education* 38, no. 1 (2005): 1-21.

primary sources are engaging and accessible for learners.

Text-based primary sources, such as transcribed speeches, are perhaps less accessible but possibly richer than visual artifacts. They are arguably less accessible because textual decoding is potentially more complicated than visual decoding. Students, if not trained, read to comprehend and do not inherently read the silences.[2] They should consider what was said, but also what was left unsaid, what might have prompted the text, and the possible response to the text. The author's influence is more apparent than the audience, the context, and the mode of delivery, but all should be considered.[3] Textual primary sources abound with meaning, yet are complicated.

Primary sources, both visual and textual, offer insights into the past. Secondary sources were created long after the era by experts using the best available evidence. Yet not all evidence is available, perhaps not all was considered, and historians' narratives are also shaped by context and perspective. Secondary sources, especially textbooks which present a false sense of objectivity and breadth, are unnecessarily trusted by students.[4] If given diverse sources with divergent perspectives, students can scrutinize, extract meaning, and organize their understandings using discipline-specific cognitive tasks.

2 Jeffery Nokes, "Recognizing and Addressing the Barriers to Adolescents' 'Reading Like Historians,'" *The History Teacher* 44, no. 3 (2011): 379-404; Jeffery Nokes, *Building Students' Historical Literacies: Learning to Read and Reason with Historical Texts and Evidence* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013); Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001).

3 Nokes, "Recognizing and Addressing the Barriers"; Nokes, *Building Students' Historical Literacies*; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*.

4 James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 2007); Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*.

Historical Reading, Thinking, and Writing

Students can engage in history literacy, historical thinking, and historical argumentation.[5] History literacy, implied above, is the scrutiny of text and subtext to uncover a historical artifact's source, audience, context, limitations, and if claims can be corroborated. History literacy informs historical thinking, which manifests as students explore for cause and consequence, investigate tensions between change and resistance to change, consider various perspectives, and determine historical significance. History literacy and historical thinking shape historical argumentation, which is the evidence-based communication of newly constructed understandings. Historical argumentation often appears as written or spoken persuasive or evidentiary communications.

History literacy, historical thinking, and historical argumentation are separate stages that incrementally guide students towards higher tiers of criticality.[6] Reduced to their

5 Chauncey Monte-Sano, Susan De La Paz, and Mark Felton, *Reading, Thinking, and Writing About History: Teaching Argument Writing to Diverse Learners in the Common Core Classroom, Grades 6-12* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2014); Bruce A. Lesh, "*Why Won't You Just Tell Us the Answer?": Teaching Historical Thinking in Grades 7-12* (Portsmouth, NH: Stenhouse, 2010); Nokes, *Building Students' Historical Literacies*; Peter Seixas and Tom Morton, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts* (Toronto, Ontario: Nelson College Indigenous, 2012); Bruce A. VanSledright, *Assessing Historical Thinking and Understanding: Innovative Designs for New Standards* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2014); Sam Wineburg, Daisy Martin, and Chauncey Monte-Sano, *Reading Like a Historian: Teaching Literacy in Middle and High School Classrooms* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2011).

6 Lorin W. Anderson and David R. Krathwohl, eds., *A Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing: A Revision of Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* (New York, NY: Longman, 2001); Victor A. Benassi, Catherine Overson, and Christopher Hakala, eds., *Applying Science of Learning in Education: Infusing Psychological Science into the Curriculum* (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 2014); Lesh, "*Why Won't You Just Tell Us the Answer?"*; Nokes, "Recognizing and Addressing the Barriers"; Monte-Sano, De La Paz, and Felton, *Reading, Thinking, and Writing About History*; Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six*; VanSledright, *Assessing Historical Thinking*; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking*

simplest form, history literacy, historical thinking, and historical argumentation are, respectively, reading, thinking, and communicating. When considered as cognitive tasks, they are analysis, evaluation, and creation, respectively. These elements of historical inquiry manifest within state and national education initiatives.[7]

Teachers and professors can spark and scaffold students' history literacy, historical thinking, and historical argumentation. Reading prompts, if properly organized, can guide students to analyze unconsidered aspects, make intertextual connections they might not have seen, and assemble understandings they might not have made. A carefully constructed graphic organizer can act like a figurative ladder; complex tasks are condensed into small, manageable steps, each of which advances students' thinking upwards. We integrated history literacy and historical thinking tasks to spark and scaffold students' close reading and critical thinking, which form the basis for historical argumentation.

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and Other Unnatural Acts; Wineburg, Martin, and Monte-Sano, *Reading Like a Historian*.

7 National Council for History Education, *History's Habits of Mind*, https://www.nche.net/habitsofmind; National Council for the Social Studies, *College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards: Guidance for Enhancing the Rigor of K-12 Civics, Economics, Geography, and History* (Silver Spring, MD: National Council for the Social Studies, 2013); National Governors Association Center for Best Practices & Council of Chief State School Officers, *Common Core State Standards for English Language Arts and Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects* (Washington, D.C.: National Governors Association Center for Best Practice & Council of Chief State School Officers, 2010).

Table 1: Primary Source Analysis Guide

Source #	**Author and Audience**. List everything known about this *author* and the *audience*. Why was this source created? How would the intended audience respond?	**Context and Significance.** *When* and *where* was this source created? Was this created for public or private viewing? Why is this source important?	**Corroboration and Limitations**. How is this source connected to, similar to, or different from other sources? What cannot be known from this source?

Analysis of a single primary source develops into synthesis of understandings generated from previously-analyzed, related primary sources. Close reading prompts enable students to map convergences and divergences among various sources that originate at distinctly different times by folks with disparate aims. Students can trace the continuity and change within the Klan's intents, targets, and tactics within each particular emergence.

The questions in Table 1 are wide in scope to apply to a myriad of sources and facilitate discipline-specific cognition through practice. Instructors can also pose specific questions such as: How do you know if the artist was sympathetic to or critical of the Klan? How and why did the Klan's words position White, Christian, Americans as victims? How is the photographer or speaker trying to persuade you? Considering historical artifacts are incomplete, what is the most important information that you do *not* know? In other words, what is beyond the borders of or concealed within the photograph? Or, what did the speaker leave unspoken? Whether wide or narrow in scope, such questions steer students towards shrouded details and screened interconnections. As

evaluation of diverse and divergent sources can easily overwhelm, instructors should be mindful of students' responses. Frustration can be eased with timely shifts between individual close reading, paired collaboration, and large group discussion. The above graphic organizer breaks history literacy and historical thinking into small steps as students read the historical sources. Prior to selecting the most appropriate sources, instructors must carefully consider the historiography.

White Hegemony in America and the Ku Klux Klan

Chattel slavery, vital to the social, cultural, economic, and political fabric of colonial America, institutionalized racism throughout colonial and antebellum America. In postbellum America, White segregationists maintained their economic, cultural, and political power on local, state, and national levels to suppress African Americans' civil liberties.[8] As Henry Louis Gates convincingly argued, the American South developed and implemented Jim Crow segregation laws, which spread throughout the country, to maintain African Americans' second-class status and ensure White supremacy.[9] De jure laws, illustrated by the seminal Supreme Court case, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, and de facto practices enforced social segregation.[10]

African Americans and other marginalized groups were intentionally disenfranchised through poll taxes and literacy

8 Allen C. Guelzo, *Fateful Lightning: A New History of the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012); Morton Keller, *America's Three Regimes: A New Political History* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2007); Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro, from Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (New York, NY: Collier Books, 1965).
9 Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *Stony the Road: Reconstruction, White Supremacy, and the Rise of Jim Crow* (New York, NY: Penguin Press, 2019).
10 Robert L. Allen, *The Port Chicago Mutiny* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2006), 28-37; Harvey Fireside, *Separate and Unequal: Homer Plessy and the Supreme Court Decision that Legalized Racism* (New York, NY: Carroll & Graf, 2005); Charles A. Lofgren, *The Plessy Case: A Legal-Historical Interpretation* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1987).

tests. Poll taxes, in which a citizen must pay to vote, compelled the poor to choose between living expenses and civic contributions. Literacy tests, with capricious content, arbitrarily targeted African Americans, who had little access to schooling. Poll taxes and literacy tests, supplemented with violence and threats of violence, contributed to political segregation.[11] Justice has not been blind, as the Emmitt Till case, Scottsboro Boys case, and Birmingham's convict-leasing system are a small sampling from a full harvest.[12] Nothing represents White hegemony as viscerally, though, as the Ku Klux Klan.

The KKK is a traditionally secretive, White supremacist organization with an undetermined membership.[13] The Klan's

11 Michael Ezra, *The Economic Civil Rights Movement: African Americans and the Struggle for Economic Power* (New York, NY: Routledge Press, 2013); Elaine F. Parsons, *Ku-Klux: The Birth of the Klan during Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

12 Douglas A. Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 2008); Matthew J. Mancini, *One Dies, Get Another: Convict Leasing in the American South, 1866-1928* (Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 1996).

13 Charles C. Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1965); Kelly J. Baker, *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK's Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2011); David Cunningham, *Klansville, U.S.A.: The Rise and Fall of the Civil Rights-Era Ku Klux Klan* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013); Linda Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and the American Political Tradition* (New York, NY: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017); Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1967); Shawn Lay, *The Invisible Empire in the West: Toward a New Historical Appraisal of the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Rory McVeigh, *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right-Wing Movements and National Politics* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Michael Newton, *The FBI and the KKK: A Critical History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2005); Michael Newton, *The Ku Klux Klan: History, Organization, Language, Influence, and Activities of America's Most Notorious Secret Society* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2006); C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913: A History of the South* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 1-23; C. Vann Woodward, *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction*

figurative fire of White supremacy burns from many logs, which include racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, and Islamophobia. The KKK has had three surges, each of which centered on intimidation and violence.

The Ku-Klux, as it was first called, originated in the former Confederacy and border states soon after the U.S. Civil War.[14] During Reconstruction, the Ku-Klux opposed Northern occupation and Republican influence. As federal, Northern, and Republican intervention retracted, the Ku-Klux worked to restrict African Americans' newly earned civil liberties, social mobility, and economic advances. During this period, Ku-Klux members wore distinct robes and identity-concealing masks as they burned buildings and lynched ex-slaves and their advocates.

The second surge appeared after D. W. Griffith romanticized the Klan's origins in *The Birth of a Nation*.[15] It lasted for more than a decade after what was then called the Great War. During this Second Wave, the Ku Klux Klan expanded into Midwestern and Western rural and urban areas. Protestantism and regional economic uncertainties rooted in a post-War recession shaped this surge. KKK adherents wore white robes, but often went unmasked to create a public narrative of political decency and social legitimacy. Cross burnings, seeking public office, and mass parades, particularly in large cities, illustrate the conspicuous nature of the Klan's Second Wave.

The Ku Klux Klan's third surge manifested during the modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 60s. The Klan's Third

(Boston, MA: Little, Brown & Company, 1966).

14 Parsons, *Ku-Klux: The Birth of the Klan*; C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1955); Woodward, *Origins of the New South*; Woodward, *Reunion and Reaction*.

15 Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest*; Baker, *Gospel According to the Klan*; Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK*; Robert M. Fogelson and Richard E. Rubenstein, eds., *Hearings on the Ku Klux Klan, 1921* (New York, NY: Arno Press, 1969); Stetson Kennedy, *The Klan Unmasked* (Boca Raton, FL: Florida Atlantic University Press, 1954).

Wave was a reactionary response to the social, economic, and political changes advocated for by African American citizens, legislated by Congress, and enacted by state and federal courts.[16] The KKK's Third Wave was less public than the second, emerged throughout the country's rural and urban areas, and utilized arson and murder to terrorize. The Federal Bureau of Investigation monitored, regulated, and, at times, augmented the Klan's sway during this Third Wave.[17] Cross burnings, demonstrations, and acts of violence, not parades, best exemplify this Third Wave.

The Ku Klux Klan has materialized, withdrawn, and reemerged to oppose integration, immigration, non-Protestant faiths, and minority groups' use of civil liberties during times when minority groups make social, political, and economic gains. The KKK has historically been America's most prominent hate group, yet other organizations have materialized. The intents, targets, tactics, and memberships of these groups are, at times, comparable to the Klan. The Citizens' Council, American Nazi Party, and Identity Evropa are but three examples. The Citizens' Council—sometimes termed White Citizens' Council, Citizens' Councils of America, or Council of Conservative Citizens—has used economic coercion (e.g., arbitrary firing, coordinated boycotts), voter suppression and intimidation, and, at times, violence to achieve similar means to the Klan.[18] The American Nazi Party, more shrouded than Citizens' Councils, responds to events with terror and threats.[19] Identity Evropa, which emerged from the splintered American Nazi Party, has recently

16 Cunningham, *Klansville, U.S.A.*; Newton, *The Ku Klux Klan.*
17 Newton, *The FBI and the KKK.*
18 Neil R. McMillen, *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff, *The Race Beat: The Press, the Civil Rights Struggle, and the Awakening of a Nation* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006).
19 Christopher Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (New York, NY: Taylor and Francis, 2007); William H. Schmaltz, *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey, 1999).

emerged on college and university campuses and at urban rallies resisting immigration, globalism, and any diminishment—real or perceived—of White hegemony. Racial violence and intimidation persist at the time of this writing as hate crimes have increased in frequency.[20] While the Klan remains visible and threatening in the 21st century,[21] these and other groups oppose immigration, integration, and non-Protestant faiths, as the Klan had in the past, but also globalism and LGBTQ rights. The self-titled *Unite the Right* rally illustrates this amalgamation of White nationalism that may be judged by future generations as the KKK's fourth insurgency.[22] This guided inquiry into the Klan's history, which is intended for use by high school teachers and college professors, relies on evocative history-based sources.

KKK-Based Historical Sources

Teachers and professors may want to ground the historical inquiry with a secondary source. Susan Campbell Bartoletti's *They Called Themselves the K.K.K.: The Birth of an American Terrorist Group* is accessible and rich with detail.[23] Instructors,

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20 Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Hate Crime Data (Uniform Crime Reporting Program)," Federal Bureau of Investigation, https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime; Southern Poverty Law Center, "Hate Crimes Explained," Southern Poverty Law Center, https://www.splcenter.org/20180415/hate-crimes-explained.

21 Hawes Spencer and Matt Stevens, "23 Arrested and Tear Gas Deployed After a K.K.K. Rally in Virginia," *New York Times*, July 8, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/08/us/kkk-rally-charlottesville-robert-e-lee-statue.html?_r=0.

22 Hawes Spencer and Sheryl Gay Stolberg, "White Nationalists March on University of Virginia," *New York Times*, August 11, 2017, A12, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/11/us/white-nationalists-rally-charlottesville-virginia.html?searchResultPosition=3; Meg Wagner, "'Blood and Soil': Protestors Chant Nazi Slogan in Charlottesville," *CNN,* August 12, 2017, https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/12/us/charlottesville-unite-the-right-rally/index.html.

23 Susan Campbell Bartoletti, *They Called Themselves the K.K.K: The Birth of an American Terrorist Group* (New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin, 2010).

though, may want a more succinct secondary source. A careful reading of Bartoletti's trade book or a summary drawn from the latest research, such as that in Figure 1, provides necessary background on the Klan. Students, then, are better prepared to explore primary sources illustrating the KKK's three waves.

The Ku Klux Klan is a traditionally secretive, White supremacist organization with an undetermined membership; it has contributed mightily to America's White supremacy over the last century and a half. The Klan's White supremacy targets anyone who is not white, American, of the Protestant branch of Christianity, and heterosexual. They are racist, xenophobic, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, and Islamophobic. The KKK has had historically three surges, each of which center on intimidation and violence.

The Klan originated in the former Confederacy and border states soon after the U.S. Civil War. During this First Wave, they often went by just Ku Klux (only sometimes was "Ku Klux *Klan*" used…). During Reconstruction, the Klan opposed Northern occupation and Republican influence and supported the Democratic Party. As federal, Northern, and Republican intervention withdrew from the South, the Klan worked to restrict African Americans' newly-earned civil liberties (like voting), social mobility (like living in nice neighborhoods), and economic advances (like getting better jobs). During this period, Klan members wore distinct robes and masks—but not always the white gowns and cloaks—as they burned buildings and lynched ex-slaves and their people who helped African Americans.

The second surge appeared after D. W. Griffith's movie *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915.[24] In it, Griffith made the Klan's origins seem almost heavenly, inspired by God, and something that helped make America a good place. This Second Wave lasted for a decade after World War I (what was then called *The Great War*). During this wave, the KKK expanded into Midwestern and Western rural and urban areas while supporting the Democratic Party. Unlike during the First Wave, this Second Wave expanded from racism against African Americans into

24 David Wark Griffith, *The Birth of a Nation,* Directed by David Wark Griffith (1915, United States: Epoch Producing Company, 1915), Film.

anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism. Protestantism shaped this surge. KKK members wore white robes during parades, sometimes with and other times without masks. Sometimes, they wore masks to scare and intimidate. Other times, they went unmasked to appear like decent regular folks. Cross burnings and mass parades, particularly in large cities, were a big part this wave.

The Klan's third surge emerged during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. It was a response to the changes made by African American citizens (think: Rosa Parks and Dr. King), legislated by Congress (think: 1964 Civil Rights Act and 1965 Voting Rights Act), and decided by state and federal courts (think: *Brown v. Board of Education*). The Klan's Third Wave was less public than the Second Wave, emerged throughout the country's rural and urban areas, used arson and murder to terrorize, and shifted to the Republican Party due to the changing nature of the Democratic Party. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) monitored the KKK but, sadly, let them get away with things. Cross burnings, demonstrations, and acts of violence, not parades, exemplify this Third Wave.

The Klan has materialized, withdrawn, and reemerged to oppose integration, immigration, non-Protestant faiths, and minority groups' use of civil liberties. Historically, the Klan has done this during times when minority groups made social, political, and economic gains. The KKK has historically been America's most prominent hate group, yet other organizations have materialized. The intents, targets, tactics, and memberships of these groups are, at times, comparable to the Klan. The Citizens' Council (during boycotts of the 1950s) and American Nazi Party (during the 1960s) are two examples.

Figure 1: A Summary of the KKK condensed from the latest historical research.

First Wave

Frank Bellew's (1872) *Visit of the Ku-Klux*[25] illustrates various elements of the First Wave of the Ku-Klux (Klan was added later). The wood engraving (Figure 2) depicts the Ku-Klux's violence

25 Bellew, Frank, Artist. *Visit of the Ku-Klux / drawn by Frank Bellew*, 1872. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2001695506/.

directed at African Americans during the Reconstruction era, though the nighttime raider was not dressed in the attire normally associated with the Ku-Klux. This terror was in response to African Americans' gains from the U.S. Civil War and the political foot established by Republicanism in Democratic strongholds of the South.

Students quickly determine that the artist positioned the Ku-Klux member inconspicuously appearing at an African American family's home to shoot the family from behind with the rifle. The family members are simply going about their usual evening routines with no warning of the threat. A 21st century viewer may question how no member of the freedman family could detect the Ku-Klux when the door is wide open; the instructor could ask students, "Must artists' representations be literal depictions? What does art provide that other extemporaneous documents do not?" This etching suggests the Ku-Klux rely on surprise, which heightens fear among the formerly enslaved people who do not know when or where the vigilantes might next appear. A modern audience may wonder why the Ku-Klux would attack late in the evening when children are present; as the Ku-Klux sought coercion through violence and intimidation, children's presence only boosted the success of the nighttime attack. The instructor should highlight the Ku-Klux member's appearance, who is not wearing the traditional white hood and robe with which Klan members are usually associated. Instead, he wore a sack presumably to hide his appearance at night, which reinforces the anonymity, terror, and surprise of his appearance.

Figure 2: *Visit of the Ku-Klux, 1872*.[26]

Details extracted from the wood engraving can yield deeper meaning through inquiry. First, the artist, Frank Bellew, was of European descent and moved to and worked in New York. The source, thus, suggests Northern perceptions about Southern racial violence during Reconstruction. Second, the wood engraving lacks any reference to location. The viewer, thus, is left with the impression that this scene could happen anywhere in the South, which reflects the terror that African Americans faced on a daily basis from the Ku-Klux. Finally, the engraving is labeled Ku-Klux, not Ku Klux Klan, and is dated 1872. From the date and the shortened name, students easily establish this is the hate group's first iteration.

The 1872 drawing within *Harper's Weekly* (Figure 3)

26 Ibid.

depicts three members of the Ku-Klux captured and arrested in Mississippi.[27] The Ku-Klux's attire may immediately draw students' attention as it contrasts with their schema. Not wearing the white hood and white robes often associated with this group, their clothing is darker, presumably to not be noticeable at night, and their identities are concealed by a "white blanket or sheet" positioned as a mask. Details such as the name, attire, and date enable a viewer to identify these individuals as being part of this organization's first manifestation, which connects to Frank Bellew's wood engraving.

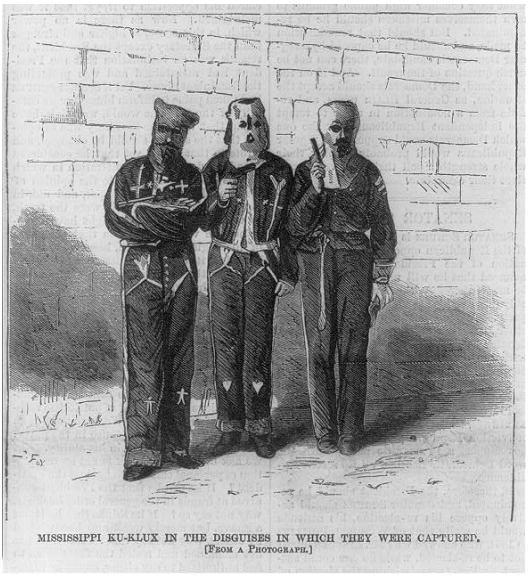

Figure 3: *Mississippi Ku-Klux in the Disguises in which They were Captured, 1872.*[28]

27 "The Ku-Klux," *Harper's Magazine*, January 27, 1872, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015014703303&view=1up&seq=78.
28 *Mississippi Ku-Klux in the Disguises in which They were Captured*, 1872, photograph, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., https://www.loc.gov/item/2006687376/.

THE KU-KLUX

We give you this page as illustration, engraved from a photograph from life, showing three members of a band of Mississippi Ku-Klux, who are now under indictment in that State for the attempted murder of a family… The illustration is doubly interesting as showing the disguises actually worn by these miscreants. They are not, however, always so elaborate in their brigand toilet. A white blanket or sheet thrown over the head with holes for the eyes is usually sufficient. … Recent intelligence from Kentucky shows that the government can not be too prompt and energetic in its measures of protection. On the night of the 2d inst. A band of twenty Ku-Klux made a raid upon some negroes near Frankfort, in that State, whipping one of them and ordering the others to leave the neighborhood on pain of death. One farmer was warned to employ none but white laborers. It is the declared purpose of these outlaws to drive the negroes from the county. But the day is past when such threats can be carried out. These outlaws will speedily be taught that the government will protect peaceable citizens in the full enjoyment of their rights, life, and property, if it takes the whole military power of the nation to do it.

Figure 4: *Mississippi Ku-Klux in the Disguises in which They were Captured, 1872.*[29]

The accompanying *Harper's Weekly* story (Figure 4) reports Klan-led turmoil. That these three Ku-Klux members were arrested distinguishes *Harper's Weekly* drawing and the accompanying story from Bellew's wood engraving. Readers can extract meaningful details from the brief excerpts about the Klan's intentional chaos ("A band of twenty Ku-Klux made a raid

29 Ibid.

upon some negroes near Frankfort, in that State, whipping one of them and ordering the others to leave the neighborhood on pain of death"), the author's clear condemnation ("The illustration is doubly interesting as showing the disguises actually worn by these miscreants"), and the author's call for federal intervention ("These outlaws will speedily be taught that the government will protect peaceable citizens in the full enjoyment of their rights, life, and property, if it takes the whole military power of the nation to do it"). In these ways, students can make text-based conclusions about the significance, source, and context of the historical document. The understandings students will extract from the above drawing and accompanying story intersect curiously.

Abram Colby, an African American who went from enslaved worker to Georgia legislator, experienced the Klan's carnage. In 1872, Colby testified before a Congressional Committee about the violence that African Americans faced in the South. In the excerpts in Figure 5, Colby articulated his perceptions of the Klan's tactics and intent.

Colby: On the 29th of October 1869, [the Klansmen] broke my door open, took me out of bed, took me to the woods and whipped me three hours or more and left me for dead. They said to me, "Do you think you will ever vote another damned Radical ticket?" I said, "If there was an election tomorrow, I would vote the Radical ticket." They set in and whipped me a thousand licks more, with sticks and straps that had buckles on the ends of them

Question: What is the character of those men who were engaged in whipping you?

Colby: Some are first-class men in our town. One is a lawyer, one a doctor, and some are farmers. They had their pistols and they took me in my night-clothes and carried me from home. They hit me five thousand blows. I told President Grant the same that I tell you now. They told me to take off my shirt. I said, "I never do that for any man." My drawers fell down about my feet and they took hold of them and tripped me up. Then they pulled my shirt up over my head. They said I

had voted for Grant and had carried the Negroes against them. About two days before they whipped me they offered me $5,000 to go with them and said they would pay me $2,500 in cash if I would let another man go to the legislature in my place. I told them that I would not do it if they would give me all the county was worth.

The worst thing was my mother, wife and daughter were in the room when they came. My little daughter begged them not to carry me away. They drew up a gun and actually frightened her to death. She never got over it until she died. That was the part that grieves me the most.

Question: How long before you recovered from the effects of this treatment?

Colby: I have never got over it yet. They broke something inside of me. I cannot do any work now, though I always made my living before in the barber-shop, hauling wood, etc.

Question: You spoke about being elected to the next legislature?

Colby: Yes, sir, but they run me off during the election. They swore they would kill me if I stayed. The Saturday night before the election I went to church. When I got home they just peppered the house with shot and bullets.

Figure 5: Account of Abram Colby, 1872.[30]

Readers quickly learn about the Klansmen's midnight home invasion to intimidate and attack Colby. He argued the Klansmen's methods were designed to silence African Americans' political engagement. The Ku-Klux sought to suppress Colby's vote to ensure its party's and candidates' success. An instructor might prompt students to consider the limitations of Colby's powerful, first-hand account with questions like: "What are the limitations of this primary source? What can Colby not know?" A teacher might also position students to corroborate Colby's claims

30 Dorothy Sterling, ed., *The Trouble They Seen: The Story of Reconstruction in the Words of African Americans* (Boston, MA: De Capo Press, 1994), 374-375.

through intertextual connections: "How does Colby's testimony connect to ideas expressed by other sources?" or spark further inquiry: "If the vigilantes wanted to disenfranchise the recently-enfranchised African Americans, which political party did the Ku-Klux support?" While not clearly stated, an exploration would alert students that Ku-Klux members supported the Democratic Party in this particular election and opposed President Ulysses S. Grant, a Republican and Northerner.

Colby's testimony illustrates African Americans' lived experiences when exercising their political rights as citizens. It explicitly connects in various ways with both Bellew's (1872) wood engraving and the *Harper's Weekly* (1872) story and accompanying image. Further inquiry reveals the KKK's political support of the Democratic Party.

Second Wave

The Klan expanded into the American Midwest and West starting around 1915 and lasting for more than a decade. This Second Wave is illustrated by iconic KKK attire and epitomized by the Klan's interest in social legitimacy and political recognition. In public, the KKK conspicuously sought acceptance; in private, they terrorized and burned crosses to symbolize the light of Jesus Christ through mayhem. They often wore the emblematic coned hoods and white gowns during parades, public demonstrations, and private ceremonies while donning the suits representative of business leaders when meeting elected officials. The white robes signified purity and the White race; the business suits connoted lawfulness and legitimacy. As in the First Wave, the Klan invoked racial purity and White, Protestant virtue into displays of normalcy and power. These elements appear in the selected sources representing the KKK's Second Wave.

Colonel William Joseph Simmons was a mobilizing force during the Klan's Second Wave. In 1922, Simmons testified about the Ku Klux Klan to the United States legislature. The House Committee investigated the Klan for accusations of violence.

Testimonial excerpts and an accompanying photograph provide clues into the Klan's intent and performance.

Figure 6: *Col. William Joseph Simmons, Full-Length Portrait, Seated at Table During House Committee Investigation of the Ku Klux Klan*, 1921.[31]

Colonel Simmons, in word and wardrobe, sought to present the Klan and its members as a legitimate, yet unfairly hounded social organization made up of sensible, law-abiding citizens. Students can be tasked with scrutinizing Simmons' posture, garb, and location in the photograph (Figure 6). Simmons appears calm and comfortable in posture; he seems dignified, almost genteel, and innocuous in apparel; and, seated at the head of the long table, he conveys the impression of being a trailblazing leader.

31 *Col. William Joseph Simmons, Full-Length Portrait, Seated at Table During House Committee Investigation of the Ku Klux Klan; Men Standing and Seated in Background*, 1921, photograph, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, https://www.loc.gov/item/91792441/.

Simmons' carefully crafted language (Figure 7) adds nuance to the image. Close reading tasks can prompt students to consider the logic and evidence grounding the assertions: "If the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan had been a lawless organization…it would have not shown the remarkable growth it has"; allusions: "I cannot better express myself than by saying to you who are persecutors of the Klan and myself, 'Father forgive you, for you know not what you do'"; and implications: "You are ignorant of the principles [of the Klan] as were those who were ignorant of the character and work of the Christ." Students, if given the task, can distinguish hyperbole from fact and separate evidence-based logic from casuistry in the excerpts. When juxtaposing the testimony and the photograph, students recognize that Simmons characterized the Klan as law-abiding, respectful, unfairly persecuted, White, Christian citizens. Without reticence, he projected normalcy in language and clothing.

"If the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan had been a lawless organization, as has been charged, it would have not shown the remarkable growth it has, for in the Klan is as fine a body of representative citizens as there is in the United States. In each community where there is a Klan will be found members from the leading citizens, men who stand at the forefront in their cities. These men would not stand for lawlessness."

"You are ignorant of the principles [of the Klan] as were those who were ignorant of the character and work of the Christ. I cannot better express myself than by saying to you who are persecutors of the Klan and myself, 'Father forgive you, for you know not what you do,' and 'Father forgive them for they know not what they do.'"

Figure 7: Colonel William Joseph Simmons, testimony during Congressional Hearings, 1921.[32]

32 Fogelson and Rubenstein, eds., *Hearings*, 69; 138.

When students extrapolate meaning from photographs and the accompanying details, they are discovering, not simply digesting, key details. The sources in Figures 6 and 7 enable students to explore the Klan's carefully constructed, seemingly benign, daytime, public image. In Figures 8 and 9, the KKK's private, nighttime power is apparent.

Figure 8: *Ku Klux Klan initiation*, 1923.[33]

33 *Ku Klux Klan initiation - no. 2*. Mississippi, ca. 1923. Aug.13. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2006679234/.

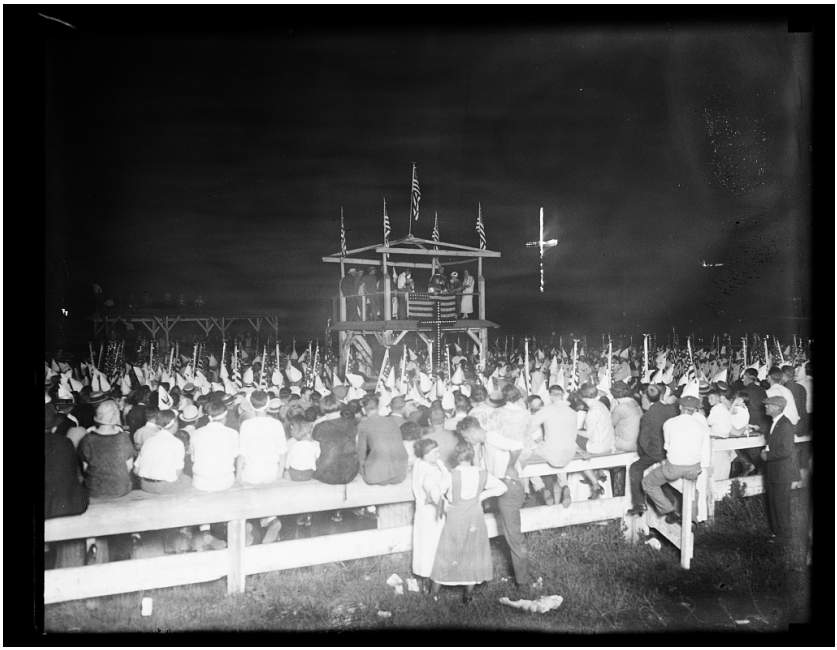

Figure 9: *Cross burning, Ku Klux Klan*, 1925.[34]

Curious aspects appear when reading Figures 8 and 9 in concert. The instructor could ask students, "What details, both similarities and differences, stand out?" Initial similarities would include nighttime rallies in large fields and likely white audiences standing in rapt attention. Closer inspection might reveal a burning cross and American flag in the background of both. Superficial differences might include what appears to be a lined football field on top and a fenced-in field at the bottom; the former is more likely a public place than the latter. Closer consideration of differences likely yields that the former seems to be a Klan-only nighttime rally while the latter appears to be open to the public. Other photographs might add depth to students'

34 Harris & Ewing, photographer, *Cross burning, Ku Klux Klan*, United States, 1925, photograph, https://www.loc.gov/item/2016894342/.

examination of the Klan's Second Wave, such as their presence far from the American South in Maine.[35]

The Ku Klux Klan's Second Wave exceeded five million dues-paying members and continued its ties to the Democratic Party. While exact numbers cannot be definitely ascertained, an estimated thirty-thousand followers marched in Washington, D.C. in August 1925, and a similar spectacle returned in September 1926. Two photographs from the second Washington parade (Figures 10 and 11) highlight the Klan's public positioning.

Figure 10: *Ku Klux Klan Parade, Washington, D.C.,* 1926.[36]

35 *Ku Klux Klan gathering at Portland, Maine on* ca. 1923. December 31. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2016649428/.

36 *Ku Klux Klan Parade, 9/13/26,* 1926, photograph, Library of Congress,

Figure 11: *Ku Klux Klan Parade, Washington, D.C. on Pennsylvania Ave.*, 1926.[37]

Students can unearth important understandings from viewing both photographs. Students, if asked, can easily ascertain the intent and significance of the location of the mass demonstration. Seeking legitimacy from the American people, the KKK exhibited strength in numbers while stopping traffic and normal business at America's capital. A cursory review of the photographs, in which

Washington, D.C., https://www.loc.gov/item/2016842483/.
37 *Ku Klux Klan Parade, Washington, D.C. on Pennsylvania Ave.*, 1926, photograph, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., https://www.loc.gov/item/2001706338/.

the Capitol Dome is in the background, indicates the intended messages of patriotism and power. Symbolism of the Klan's patriotism emerges from the parade's location and path, which were both carefully selected. The marchers walked from the Capitol Dome, in which the Legislative branch works, towards the White House, in which the Executive branch resides. The Ku Klux Klan's path down Pennsylvania Avenue implies its sought-after connection with the U.S. government. The KKK's power was revealed in the parade's immensity, which was vast. Scrutinizing both photographs reveals more. The marchers paraded down the streets of segregated Washington D.C., some hooded and some showing their face. The former communicates power through secrecy and the latter conveys intimidation through brazen exposure. When asked to consider African Americans' probable perspectives on the parade, students would first suggest shock at the spectacle and later would likely determine that few Americans of color witnessed the demonstration out of fear.

Third Wave

The Third Wave of the KKK contested civil rights advocacy in the 1950s and 1960s.[38] The Klan challenged integration and African Americans' voting. The Ku Klux Klan's goals to maintain social and political segregation appeared in their words and deeds. The Klan's intents, targets, and methods are illustrated in the 1964 leaflet (Figure 12) distributed by the KKK in Mississippi.

Here are Twenty Reasons WHY you should, if qualified, join, aid and support the White Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN of Mississippi:

1. Because it is a Christian, fraternal and benevolent organization.
2. Because it is a democratic organization, governed by its members.
3. Because it is a democratic and just organization.
4. Because it is a working organization which not only talks but

38 Cunningham, *Klansville, U.S.A.*; Newton, *The Ku Klux Klan*.

ACTS.

5. Because it is a very secret organization and no one will know that you are a member.
6. Because it is a legal organization and no one can be prosecuted for being a member.
7. Because it is a politically independent organization, and is not pledged to any political party.
8. Because it is a Pro-American organization that opposes any thing, person or organization that is Un-American.
9. Because it is an organization that is sworn to uphold the lawful Constitution of the USA.
10. Because it is composed of native-born, white, gentile and protestant American citizens who are sound of mind and of good moral character.
11. Because the goals of the KKK are the total segregation of the races and the total destruction of communism in all its forms.
12. Because the KKK has twice saved this nation from destruction as history clearly records.
13. Because there comes a time in the life of every man when he has to choose between the right to wrong side of life.
14. Because there are today many alien forces entering the United States of America bent upon its destruction.
15. Because it informs its members, and an informed citizen is a good citizen.
16. Because a Christian-like brotherhood among men must be revived in America.
17. Because one of the goals of the KKK is States' Rights and complete State Sovereignty.
18. Because neither the Conservatives nor the Liberals will save our nation, for patriots always save a nation.
19. Because it is clear now that if communism is to be defeated in America, it will be done in the South and primarily in Mississippi.
20. Because the KKK needs you today to help fight America's battles.

The White Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN of Mississippi is a SECRET organization. The administration of our National Government is now under the actual control of atheists who are communists. As

dedicated agents of Satan, they are absolutely determined to destroy Christian Civilization and all Christians. We have nothing to hide, but we must remain SECRET, for the protection of our lives and families. All of our members must meet a strict set of requirements:

- We are looking for ONLY: Sober, Intelligent, Courageous, Christian, American, White men.
- We do not accept Jews, because they reject Christ.
- We do not accept Catholics, because they follow the Roman dictator, the Pope.
- We do not accept Turks, Mongols, Orientals, Negroes, nor any other person whose native background of culture is different than White Christians.

The conflict has now become a Life and Death matter in America. The people of the non-American cultures CAN and COULD live under the White System, but they prefer to see it destroyed. The true American Whites, on the other hand, CAN NOT live under a Dictatorship of the Coloreds! This issue is clearly one of SELF-DEFENSE or DEATH for White Americans. The White Americans have no choice but to defend our Constitutional Republic by every means at our command, because it is, LITERALLY, our LIFE. We will die without it.

If you are a Christian, White American Man who can understand the simple Truth of this Philosophy, you belong in the White Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN of Mississippi. We need your help right away. Get your Bible out and PRAY! You will hear from us.

Figure 12: From Mathisen, *Critical Issues in American Religious History* (2001).[39]

The text in this leaflet does not mince words about who is and who is not welcome in the Klan. This can be seen in reasons

39 Robert R. Mathisen, *Critical Issues in American Religious History: A Reader* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2001), 606-607.

10 and 11, the Klan seeks White, Protestant males to protect segregation laws and thwart communism. The instructor can also prompt students to consider elements that repeat within various items. Students will likely identify camaraderie, secrecy, fear, and urgency in the document, as each aspect is repeatedly and explicitly emphasized. Other messages are implicit. The teacher might ask students to consider encoded messages in the source. Statements like, "…it [KKK] is a working organization which not only talks but ACTS" are ripe with meaning.

This leaflet reveals the political winds of change in 1964. The KKK likely felt defensive in 1964 because civil rights activists made significant gains. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 the following year dismantled Jim Crow segregation laws and de facto segregation laws throughout the United States. National sentiment, while difficult to quantify, abhorred the extremities and violence of racism embodied by the Klan. These realities caused the KKK to work in secrecy to prevent prosecution, which was possible on the federal level due to the Klan's dubious relationship with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.[40]

The Klan's Third Wave actions were usually, though certainly not always, done at night. The photograph in Figure 13 depicts several members of the Klan holding signs to support Barry Goldwater for president during the 1964 presidential campaign in San Francisco. The Klansmen's faces are concealed under the white hoods to protect their identities.

40 Newton, *The FBI and the KKK: A Critical History*.

Figure 13: *Ku Klux Klan Members Supporting Barry Goldwater's Campaign for the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention, San Francisco, California, as an African American Man Pushes Signs Back*, 1964.[41]

Teachers can spark students' analysis by eliciting their attention with a question like, "Which aspects of this photograph intrigue you or run counter to your understandings about the KKK?" Students may recognize the Klan members are demonstrating in front of the Republican National Convention. This reflects the protesting spirit of the 1960s as people and groups often occupied public spaces to convey messages to citizens and elected officials.[42] The African American man resisting the KKK's presence is quite

41 Warren K. Leffler, photographer, *Ku Klux Klan Members Supporting Barry Goldwater's Campaign for the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention, San Francisco, California, as an African American Man Pushes Signs Back / WKL,* 1964, photograph, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., https://www.loc.gov/item/2003673964/.

42 Alexander Bloom and Wini Breines, eds., *Takin' It to the Streets*, 4th ed. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015).

noticeable. He actively confronted Klan members rallying in support of Goldwater. In previous documents, the Ku Klux Klan always appeared unopposed. The photograph likely also evokes questions that cannot be determined, such as the size of the counterdemonstration.

This photograph sparks students to explore the changing identity of the Ku Klux Klan. In its first two iterations, the KKK was clearly connected to the Democratic Party. As the Democratic Party moved more to the political left and Democratic presidents pushed for comprehensive civil rights legislation, the Klan—and the South as a whole—separated from its traditional political allegiances.[43] Republican Barry Goldwater's emphasis on states' rights, a political victory when federal dominance is unattainable, garnered support throughout the Deep South. Goldwater lost the 1964 presidential election, but won much of the Deep South which became a Republican stronghold.[44]

Students evaluate and connect diverse primary and secondary sources. Their historical understandings become more complex as they incorporate nuances extracted from different documents. Students are now positioned to articulate newly-generated ideas through historical argumentation.

Historical Argumentation

Teachers and professors can spark and scaffold students' historical argumentation, as they did with history literacy and historical thinking. Students' writings in Table 1's analysis guide—evidence of their emerging understandings—form the basis for historical argumentation. These remnants of history literacy and historical thinking can be shaped into a more robust edifice through peer and teacher review during historical argumentation.

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43 Cunningham, *Klansville, U.S.A.*; Newton, *The Ku Klux Klan*; Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2002); Rick Perlstein, *Nixonland: The Rise of a President and the Fracturing of America.* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2009).
44 Perlstein, *Before the Storm*; Perlstein, *Nixonland.*

Students' writing should include the Klan's historical significance along with the roots, adaptations, and dominant figures of each particular iteration while originating from the examined material. Three possible prompts are provided as students address the question: How has hate appeared and changed in America?

Table 2: Text-Based Writing Prompts

1. Students write an *evidentiary essay* about the three waves of the KKK. They need to articulate the Klan's actions and goals while demonstrating how Klansmen violated African Americans' civil liberties. Evidence from diverse sources should be woven into their narratives to support their arguments. The audience is professional and informed. 2. Students create an *annotated timeline* detailing the three waves of the KKK. More than a sequence of events, annotated items must be thoroughly contextualized with appropriate citations substantiating claims. Annotated items include the intents, methods, targets, and how each changed with each iteration. Entries must be grounded in evidence extracted from primary and secondary sources. The audience is professional but uninformed. 3. Students develop *original political cartoons,* which combines students' criticality and creativity.[45] Students first write a paragraph historicizing the Klan, its three waves, and its changing objectives, approaches, and intended victims. They build a concept map using ideas and evidence gleaned from primary and secondary sources. They then generate a list of concrete, visual images that substitute for abstract ideas on the concept map. With basic internet searches and common software, students produce original political cartoons. Finally, students should articulate, in writing, what messages they encoded and how they encoded the messages. Students' original

45 John Bickford, "*Un*complicated Technologies and Erstwhile Aids: How PowerPoint, the Internet, and Political Cartoons Can Elicit Engagement and Challenge Thinking in New Ways," *The History Teacher* 44, no. 1 (2010): 47-60; John Bickford, "Integrating Creative, Critical, and Historical Thinking through Close Reading, Document-Based Writing, and Original Political Cartooning," *The Councilor: A Journal of the Social Studies* 77, no. 1 (2016): 1-9.

political cartooning and substantiated explanation critically and creatively communicate to all possible audiences.

These three writing activities allow students to draw on primary and secondary sources representing the KKK's three manifestations. Each option requires substantiation of claims and provides room for criticality, though one offers more creative options. Regardless of the selection, students articulate how the Klan's racist rhetoric and actions led to the violation of marginalized groups' civil liberties and was a looming threat in their daily lives.[46]

Discussion

We focused on teaching the three iterations of the Klan in the 19th and 20th centuries. There are additional tangential topics worthy of consideration. We offer high school teachers and professors four logical pathways for extension to help students consider the question: How has hate appeared and changed in America?

First, instructors might want to prompt deeper scrutiny of the Klan. A plethora of KKK-based primary sources are available on websites for the *Library of Congress*,[47] *National Archives*,[48] *Harper's Magazine*,[49] and *White Terror in USA*.[50] Simple searches reveal both text and visual primary sources connected to the three waves of the Klan. High school teachers and college professors can utilize the archives to find sources and stories connected to the KKK's three iterations. These sites have great potential for students to research and analyze different types of primary

46 Jason Endacott, "Reconsidering Affective Engagement in Historical Empathy," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 38, no. 1 (2012): 6-47.
47 https://www.loc.gov.
48 https://www.archives.gov.
49 https://harpers.org.
50 http://whitesupremacyhistory.timeline.com.

sources connected to the Klan.

Second, teachers might consider a divergent inquiry into an aspect of American history in which the Ku Klux Klan was impactful, though indirectly so. Dr. Ossian Sweet's 1925 murder trial[51] and Hugo Black's Supreme Court nomination[52] are two consequential moments in history in which the KKK's shadow loomed large. Sweet, an African American physician, purchased a home with his family in a Detroit neighborhood in which they were unwelcome. Hostile crowds of white men, many of whom were tied to the Klan, stoned and shot at Sweet's house. Nearly a dozen African American family members and close friends, huddling in terror, fought to protect themselves and their property. In doing so, they killed a white vigilante and were charged with murder. The *Sweet Trials*, as they were known, attracted national attention in part because of the involvement of prominent national organizations, such the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Ku Klux Klan, and outspoken figures, such as the aforementioned William Joseph Simmons and famed attorney, Clarence Darrow. President Franklin Roosevelt nominated Hugo Black, who was officially a KKK member for two years starting in 1923 and resigned in legible longhand on Klan stationery. The Ku Klux Klan, particularly the Birmingham Klan, continued to provide tangible support for Black who remained deliberately and misleadingly silent on the matter. While these historical anecdotes are meaningful tangents for students' inquiry, both center on the Klan's male membership.

Third, the KKK gained a level of legitimacy in Southern society by the role women played with the group. With Victorian and

51 Kevin Boyle, *Arc of Justice: A Saga of Race, Civil Rights, and Murder in the Jazz Age* (New York, NY: Henry Holt, 2004); Phyllis Vine, *One Man's Castle: Clarence Darrow in Defense of the American Dream* (New York, NY: Amistad, 2004).
52 Noah Feldman, *Scorpions: The Battles and Triumphs of FDR's Great Supreme Court Justices* (New York, NY: Twelve, 2010); Michael R. Williams, Stephen K. Shaw, and William Pederson, eds., *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Transformation of the Supreme Court* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2004).

antebellum norms of conduct, women were seen as the protectors of virtue in Southern society. This role of White Southern women added validity and decency through organizations like the Daughters of the Confederacy. The Daughters of the Confederacy gained notoriety for strongly advocating for the erection of Confederate monuments despite the flailing economies in the South.[53] The missions of the Ku Klux Klan and Daughters of the Confederacy coincided to preserve White hegemony in the South through honoring antebellum history and keeping the political, economic, and social status quo in Southern society.

Students may examine a Confederate monument that was erected through the fundraising efforts of the Daughters of Confederacy. One example is the monument from Waxahachie, Texas honoring the service of Confederate veterans (Figure 14). This memorial was created in 1912 by The Daughters of the Confederacy to honor Confederate veterans.

Figure 14: The text on the statue reads: "1861-1865, In honor of the dead and living of Ellis County who wore the gray, Banners may be furled but heroism lives forever."[54]

53 David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2003).
54 Carol M. Highsmith, *The United Daughters of the Confederacy's Monument of a*

This Confederate monument can be explored by examining the inscription below this monument. The teacher can draw students to the inscription—"but heroism lives forever"—to spark discussion about the public memory of the Confederacy and Antebellum America. The teacher may use this inscription to discuss how the Daughters of the Confederacy sought to shape public perceptions. The approach to exploring Confederate monuments financially supported by the Daughters of the Confederacy can be replicated with other Confederate monuments throughout the South, which often misrepresent history for dubious reasons.[55] The teacher may draw upon excerpts from Cynthia Mills and Pamela Simpson's *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory* and Caroline Janney's *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause*.[56] Meaningful discussions will emerge about how individuals and groups should and should not be honored, not simply remembered or studied.

Finally, the last decade has seen many meaningful steps toward the inclusion and acceptance of diversity in U.S. society. However, an undercurrent of resistance has been present in U.S. society. The one event that best embodies this resistance to diversity is the *Unite the Right* rally at Charlottesville in August of 2017.[57] At this event, different right-wing groups met to protest

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Rebel Soldier was Dedicated in Front of the Ellis County Courthouse in Waxahachie, Texas, and Still Stands There. Ellis County Texas, United States, Waxahachie, 5-10-2014, 2014, photograph, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., https://www.loc.gov/item/2014632593/.

55 James W. Loewen, *Lies Across America: What our Historic Sites Got Wrong* (New York, NY: Touchstone, 1999).

56 Cynthia Mills and Pamela H. Simpson, eds., *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 2003); Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

57 Meg Wagner, "Blood and Soil," *CNN*, https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/12/us/

the removal of the Robert E. Lee monument in Charlottesville's Emancipation Park. These right-wing groups were met with protestors and the resulting clashes led to three deaths, one counter-protester and two police officers.

The teacher may have students explore multiple comments from Donald Trump, President of the United States, and David Duke, former Grand Wizard of the KKK. The comments, which originate from an interview and extend into Twitter, are about the *Unite the Right Rally*. The remarks, which occurred both before and after the Charlottesville violence, are provided below (Figure 15).

David Duke, speaking on the morning of August 12, 2017 on CNN about the *Unite the Right* Rally in Charlottesville, Va. prior to the afternoon's violent clashes between White Supremacy advocates and anti-racist protestors: "This represents a turning point for the people of this country. We are determined to take our country back, we're going to fulfill the promises of Donald Trump, and that's what we believed in, that's why we voted for Donald Trump, because he said he's going to take our country back and that's what we gotta do."

Donald Trump, in a tweet at noon on August 12, 2017: "We ALL must be united & condemn all that hate stands for. There is no place for this kind of violence in America. Lets [sic] come together as one!"

Duke, in separate retweets around 1pm on August 12, 2017: "So, after decades of White Americans being targeted for discriminated & anti-White hatred, we come together as a people, and you attack us? … I would recommend you take a good look in the mirror & remember it was White Americans who put you in the presidency, not radical leftists."

Figure 15: Statements by President Donald Trump and David Duke, August 2017.[58]

charlottesville-unite-the-right-rally/index.html.

58 Julia Manchester, "David Duke, Charlottesville Protests about 'Fulfilling

The above sources enable students to see how the KKK associates itself now with the Republican Party as opposed to the Democratic Party, which it was connected to through the three manifestations of the Klan. Students can research why the KKK aligns itself to the Republican Party and Donald Trump's message and how they feel insulted by Trump's tweet. This inquiry allows students to see how the political message of Goldwater that started the Klan's political migration in the 1960s has resulted in members of the KKK identifying with the message of the Republican Party and its current standard-bearer, President Donald Trump. The 2017 Charlottesville tragedy coupled with race targeted violence over the last couple years such as the Charleston church shooting, where a White supremacist murdered nine African Americans, may lead future historians to claim that during the Obama and Trump presidencies that a fourth manifestation of the KKK appeared. Teachers can return students to the central question—How has hate appeared and changed in America?—to consider their role as citizens and place history's emergent reverberations in their proper historical context. Americans must continue to use evidence and engage in historical and contemporary inquiries as citizens to consider how hate appears and changes in America.

Promises of Donald Trump,'" *The Hill* (blog), August 12, 2017, https://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/news/346326-david-duke-charlottesville-protests-about-fulfilling-promises.

Book Reviews

Raj Patel and Jason W. Moore. *A History of the World in Seven Cheap Things: A Guide to Capitalism, Nature, and the Future of the Planet*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018. Pp. 328. $34.95 (cloth), $24.95 (paperback and e-book).

Raj Patel and Jason W. Moore's *A History of the World in Seven Cheap Things* argues that, beginning in the early modern period, nature; money; work; care; food; energy; and lives became things and became cheapened—devalued culturally, politically, and economically to serve an insatiable hunger for growth and profit. Emerging out of the demographic and social catastrophe of the Black Death, capitalism's constant demand for growth and profit has created new frontiers to ensure that these things remain cheap. This is not a history of the world in objects but rather "things," which only achieve a conceptual and practical coherence through "armies and clerics and accountants and print" (3) and which can be messy and indefinite; the authors admit that "lives" are not a thing like the others but "it would have made for an infelicitous title to admit this earlier" (182). Despite the occasional fuzziness, "cheap things" is analytically useful, particularly in the classroom, because it provides a way to organize big, often abstract, processes.

Although the title promises "a history of the world," the book is more properly understood as a history of the capitalist world system, a concept identified with Immanuel Wallerstein that the authors have developed extensively in their other work. Patel and Moore ground their analysis of their cheap things and the processes that create them through the use of several recurring examples—Spanish colonization of Madeira, Christopher Columbus, and the chicken nugget, most prominently—that ensure continuities across chapters dedicated to each thing. This decision makes the prose readable but means that many of the book's examples focus on Europe and European colonialism. There are exceptions, such as the authors' cleverly written discussion of the "upsets to a

particular hegemonic order of liberal internationalism" (199) that takes India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi as an example—a refreshing departure from journalistic and scholarly accounts of this trend fixating on the United States and western Europe. Patel and Moore's focus on Europe's early modern expansion and imperialism is essential to the book's argument. Peoples, states, and nations around the world have shaped their environment, often in ways that appear destructive, but, as the authors note in a discussion of deforestation, "China's world-ecology wasn't committed to global conquest. Europe's was" (164). The ecology underpinning capitalism, they argue, has created global crises even as it has reduced "most humans into the category of Nature rather than Society" (94), leaving them cheapened and ripe for exploitation.

Patel and Moore ask that readers "evaluate [the book's] merits with this in mind: we must think and act as if our lives depend on it" (xi), and this sense of urgency pervades the work. Any book covering more than 500 years of history, let alone one promising to move beyond a national or regional focus, requires simplifications and omissions. Specialist readers will find opportunities to critique Patel and Moore on details, interpretation, or emphasis. Patel and Moore are explicit about their political commitments and conclude with a set of suggestions for a "restoration ecology" (207) to create a new set of social, political, and environmental relations. Teachers using this book should prepare to discuss not only the past but also the present and the future. Patel and Moore have produced a powerful, coherent, and deeply historicized account of our environmental crises. Moreover, it is one that treats questions of gender, race, class, and power as integral to understanding crises that otherwise might be separated out as just environmental. That they have done so while connecting pressing present questions with late-medieval and early modern history makes this book particularly valuable for teachers wishing to address environmental issues

without doing a history of the present. This is an urgent, engaged text written accessibly and concisely that can open up paths for history students and teachers to engage with some of the most critical issues facing people and the planet.

Illinois State University Keith Pluymers

Jennifer Ratner-Rosenhagen. *The Ideas That Made America: A Brief History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019. Pp. 220. $18.95.

Every survey of American history discusses the importance of abolitionist John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry in 1859. Few narratives, however, also argue that the importance of John Brown's martyrdom is forever tied to another event that occurred a month later, the publication in London of Charles Darwin's *On the Origins of Species*. Both opponents and defenders of slavery in the United States interpreted the meaning of Brown's raid through the powerful lens of Darwin's ideas. As historian Jennifer Ratner-Rosenhagen explains in *The Ideas That Made America: A Brief History*, abolitionists argued that Darwin confirmed the common origins of both whites and blacks while defenders of slavery and, later, Jim Crow found the notion of the "survival of the fittest" a potent rationale for rigid racial hierarchies.

Such intellectual connections "across national [and] temporal borders" and "across borders within American culture" lie at the heart of Ratner-Rosenhagen's accessible survey of American intellectual history (4). Ranging from European exploration of the New World to more recent debates over postmodernism and globalization, Ratner-Rosenhagen manages to accomplish two goals within a concise work: a survey of major intellectual developments in American history and a valuable introduction to the work of intellectual historians. She enriches the genealogy of American thought with numerous comments about the goals

of understanding "competing moral viewpoints" and the "factors that shape historical actors' intellectual options" (77). The author combines her effort to "eavesdrop on the past" through revealing portraits of such individuals as Puritan ministers, Thomas Jefferson, Margaret Fuller, John Dewey, Betty Friedan, and the student authors of the Port Huron Statement with a reminder that historians strive to assess the "balance of power between need, desire, fear, follow, sagacity, and foresight" in shaping the perspectives of historical figures (2, 77). The result is both laudatory portraits of key figures and instances where the complex world of American ideas reveals more hypocrisy and inconsistences than merit. For example, Ratner-Rosenhagen describes how both the Enlightenment and a commitment to slavery shaped the development of American colleges and how Benjamin Franklin's remarkable life coupled seminal sermons on self-reliance with an impressive dependence of family and support staff.

While most survey textbooks largely focus on political and social history and invariably divide American history into discreet chronological periods, *The Ideas That Made America* is most effective when the author illuminates, even if only in a few paragraphs, the "traffic of intellectual exchange" over time (67). Readers encounter revealing links between such figures as Benjamin Rush and classical Athens and Rome, Thomas Paine and the Old Testament, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Langston Hughes, and between cultural critic Randolph Bourne, author of the 1916 essay, "Trans-National America," and contemporary debates over globalization. The author's references to "portals of the past," "mindscapes," "textual marketplace," and accessing the "mental and moral worlds of people" also provide students with the vocabulary for engaging the vibrant and nuanced field of intellectual history in ways rarely present in traditional survey courses (117, 3, 32, 46).

Of course, at 180 pages plus notes, *The Ideas That Made*

America is unable to provide the sort of developed analysis associated with the author's *American Nietzsche: A History of an Icon and His Ideas* (2011) or other works such Louis Menard's *The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America* (2001). In addition to addressing such topics as Victorian American culture or the Harlem Renaissance in only a few pages, Ratner-Rosenhagen's analysis rarely moves beyond published texts from scholars, public figures, and other elites. The author also provides little hint about the robust historiographical debates that have enriched the field of intellectual history in recent decades. Furthermore, the few mentions of American literature, film, architecture, and other forms of art suggest that their importance rests solely on their reflection of existing ideas rather than as developments that, on their own, drove the intellectual trajectory of American society. While the book is far too brief to be comprehensive, the significant scholarly attention to the importance of popular culture in American history or the complex role of collective memory and such cultural products as Confederate monuments makes the omission surprising. Nevertheless, Ratner-Rosenhagen's enjoyable chronicle of American ideas and the author's thoughtful commentary on the challenges and opportunities of intellectual history should prove invaluable to students of history as they broaden their notion of American history and begin to participate in a much larger and ongoing "conversation of American thought" (180).

Illinois State University Richard L. Hughes

Chris Wickham. *Medieval Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017. Pp. 352. $20.00

Medievalists know Chris Wickham as one of the foremost scholars of the field. He held the Chichele Professorship of Medieval History at the University of Oxford until his retirement

in 2016 and is currently a Fellow of All Souls College. Although he began his career as a historian of Italy during the central Middle Ages, he has long since branched out chronologically and geographically. Wickham's numerous books and articles show his unique talent to focus on specific peoples and places while also stepping back to situate on-the-ground changes within wider socio-economic transformations, most notably in the heavy tome, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2007) and *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400-1000* (Penguin, reprint ed., 2010). In short, Wickham is the ideal historian to write a concise history of medieval Europe.

In terms of both prose and content, the book remains accessible yet simultaneously complex. Wickham does not shy away from controversies, e.g., "Why did the Roman Empire fall?" and makes his positions on such historiographical issues abundantly clear: "The short answer is that it didn't" (22). The chapters correspond to big moments of change, and Wickham consistently characterizes change as gradual. Although crises may suddenly strike, he argues that immediate catastrophes appeared as part of long-term structural changes in society. The scope of each core chapter reiterates that perspective: "Rome and its Western Successors, 500-750"; "Crisis and Transformation in the East, 500-850/1000"; "The Carolingian Experiment, 750-1000"; "The Expansion of Christian Europe, 500-1000"; "Reshaping Western Europe, 1000-1150"; "The Long Economic Boom, 950-1300"; "The Ambiguities of Political Reconstruction, 1150-1300"; "1204: The Failure of Alternatives"; "Defining Society: Gender and Community in Late Medieval Europe"; "Money, War and Death, 1350-1500"; and "Rethinking Politics, 1350-1500." As the chapter titles show, Wickham's book moves more thematically than chronologically. He chooses to describe Christianization (Chapter 4) in its own right and underscores the diversity in its manifestations across Europe. Likewise, he devotes a separate chapter to society and gender (Chapter 10). The decentralization

of power during the tenth century is inextricably linked to the Carolingian collapse of the ninth (Chapter 3). Again, his approach stresses how slowly change took place.

In *Medieval Europe* Wickham manages to distill over one thousand years of human history into around two hundred pages, but the book should not be confused with a textbook of Medieval Europe; it is not sufficiently comprehensive, nor does it try to be. It provides an overview of critical events that changed the face of Europe from ca. 500-1500. Wickham has created a narrative that would best serve teachers of medieval history in course development. It would also be a good text for graduate students in the context of a seminar on any topic during the Middle Ages. *Medieval Europe* discusses Eastern-Western relations in the Mediterranean and beyond, but Europe occupies the center of Wickham's book. Wickham deliberately avoids the "great men" (or even "great women") model of scholarship. We read more about land tenure, taxation, economic production, or "the politics of land," in his words (11). Wickham prefers to identify patterns rather than to detail the biographies of kings and popes. The major players are there but with respect to their role in wider changes. In spite of the emphasis on structural change, the downside of which tends to reduce people to numbers, through Wickham's descriptive examples individual personalities emerge.

Illinois State University Kathryn Jasper

Carol Berkin. *A Sovereign People: The Crises of the 1790s and the Birth of American Nationalism*. New York: Basic Books, 2017. Pp. 307. $30.

While one may be tempted to wonder whether either the public or academia need another recounting of the American political landscape of the 1790s, senior historian Carol Berkin puts that issue to rest in the first several pages of her crisply

written monograph, *A Sovereign People*. Best known for her classic examination of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 (*A Brilliant Solution*), Berkin's latest book provides an argument-driven overview of the tumultuous 1790s, making the case for a Federalist Party that, irrespective of its reputation—then and now—for overreach, did the young United States great service by handling several political and diplomatic crises in ways that "established a nation on firm ground"(3). The penchant for modern Americans to view the Constitution and the government it established as self-evidently generating the strong sense of nationalism that accompanied the meteoric rise of the United States in the nineteenth century is challenged by Berkin's assertion that "the core of nationalism—loyalty to a country and its government and a shared identity as its citizens—was the result of the hard work of governance"(6). And in the 1790s that meant the Federalist Party.

Berkin develops her argument through a recounting of four crises faced by Americans in the 1790s: the Whiskey Rebellion; the Genet Affair; the XYZ Affair; and the Alien and Sedition Acts. In the first crisis, populist protests against an excise tax of whiskey, centered in western Pennsylvania, were ended by a show of federal force led by President George Washington in the only instance in American history where a president took the field. The fact that the protests ended before Washington's troops reached their vicinity is evidence for Berkin of the respect Americans had for the President himself as the leader of the new nation. That respect spread from Washington to the office of the presidency in the decade's second crisis, triggered by the aggressive efforts of the French minister Edmond Genet. When Genet's belief in the popular support for France in its war with England emboldened him to ignore normal diplomatic protocols and practices, the Washington administration's firm response, culminating in a request for Genet's recall, resulted, according to Berkin, in a growing respect for the office of the presidency—not

just its beloved occupant.

Later in the decade, during the administration of John Adams, the United States found itself in a showdown with revolutionary France, triggered by a demand from the French foreign minister Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand for a bribe to be paid by American diplomats before they could even be officially received. The resulting furor and military build-up by the Adams administration and Federalist Congress helped galvanize American public opinion around the idea that they had suffered a national insult that required a national response. For Berkin, this was another step away from Americans' identities and loyalties being rooted in their respective states towards one based on allegiance to their new nation.

When the Federalists subsequently passed the Alien and Sedition Acts, the former placing onerous restrictions on immigrant citizenship and the latter on freedom of speech and of the press, the country pushed back, and the Federalists lost favor. While acknowledging this backlash, Berkin still sees a triumph for the Federalists and American nationalism in the parameters of the debate. Rather than arguing against the idea of the Constitution or the federal government it created, the opposition Republicans framed their objections to the new legislation around an alternative interpretation of the Constitution. In other words, what in 1787 had been a debate within and among the states about the ratification of the Constitution and the very idea of a strong national government had become, a decade later, a debate about how to best interpret the Constitution in the furtherance of collective—national—interests.

A Sovereign People succeeds as a monograph in spite of its central argument being not entirely persuasive. In fact, Berkin's confidence as a scholar allows her to implicitly acknowledge that reasonable people might make a historiographical case that challenges or even refutes hers. Like the Revolution itself, the politics and diplomacy of the 1790s remains a contested

historiographical field, and because of this Berkin's book should find a place in college classrooms as an example of impeccable scholarship and writing in service to the still vibrant ongoing debate about our nation's contested founding.

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