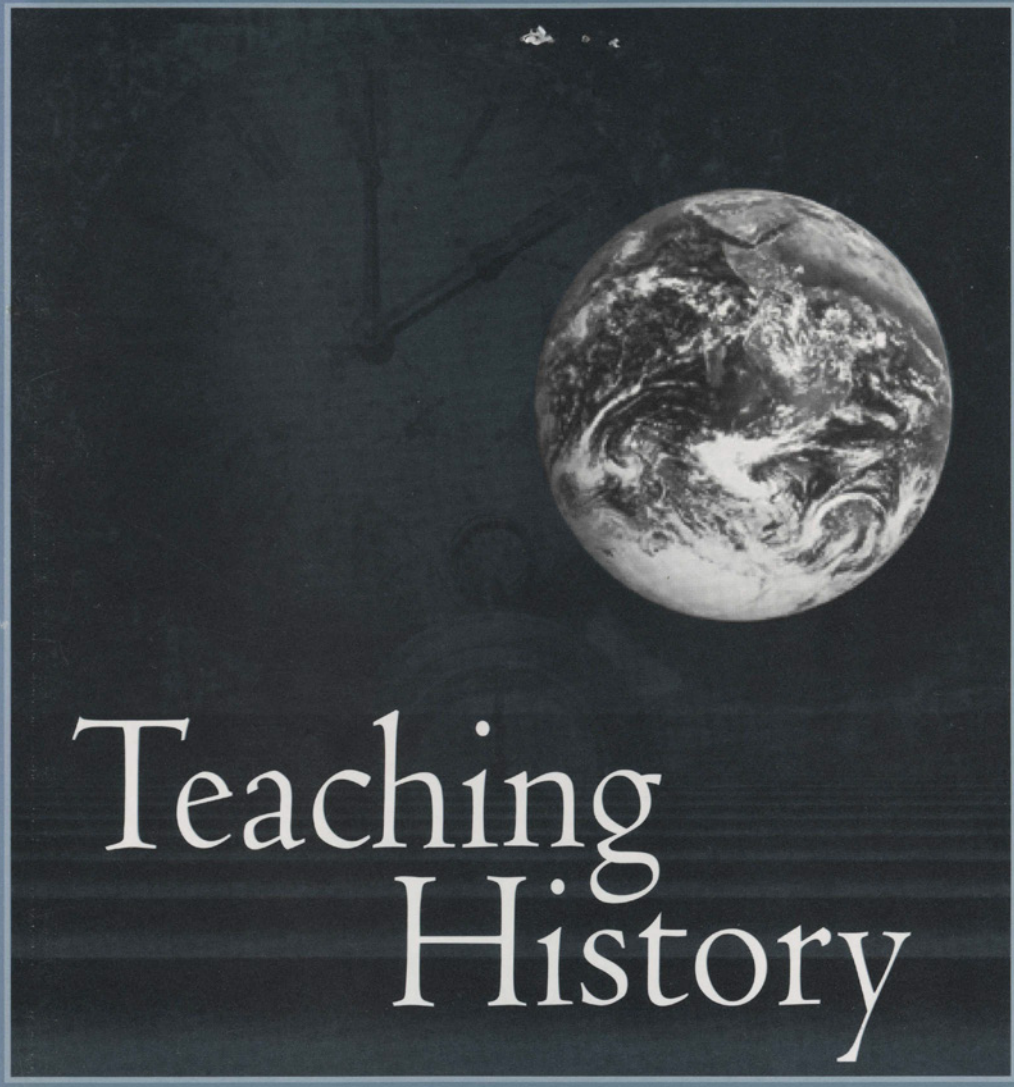

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A Journal of Methods

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CONTENTS

REVIEWS

WOUNDED KNEE, 1890: HISTORICAL EVIDENCE ON TRIAL IN THE CLASSROOM

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On December 29, 1890, the Seventh Cavalry of the United States Army killed approximately 300 Sioux Indians near Wounded Knee Creek in South Dakota. The Army had come to disarm and detain the Sioux in order to suppress the unrest associated with an emerging religious movement known as the Ghost Dance. While the soldiers were disarming the Sioux and separating the men from the women and children, a shot was fired. In the chaos that followed, soldiers gunned down and stabbed Sioux men, women, and children. Some who did not die instantly crawled away only to freeze to death in the coming blizzard. The day's bloodshed not only represented a tragic defeat for the Sioux, but also the definitive conquest of the American West by the U.S. Army. While Indian resistance would reemerge (and native population would increase dramatically) in the next century, the incident at Wounded Knee marked a turning point in American history.

Studying the incident at Wounded Knee in a high school or college history class offers an excellent opportunity for students to understand not only important historical content but also essential historical skills. The documentary evidence related to Wounded Knee provides diverse and conflicting perspectives and compels students to analyze and interpret evidence just as professional historians do. Instead of receiving a straightforward textbook description of the incident at Wounded Knee, students confront the historical record to construct their own interpretation of historical cause and effect. To make the use of primary sources an explicit and self-conscious part of the curriculum, I have designed and implemented a mock trial in which students participate as attorneys, witnesses, and members of the jury in a collective effort to interpret history. Students make use of primary source materials in order to conduct a "trial" of the U.S. Army for the murder of 300 Sioux Indians. Each time this mock trial has been performed in my classes, students' interpretation of evidence and the jury's verdict have varied, and students have learned that our national history is more than a compendium of facts—that it is also a story we tell about ourselves that remains subject to revision and reinterpretation. It is in constructing such stories that we discover ourselves in both the past and present.

Background

The incident at Wounded Knee—whether described as "battle" or "massacre"—was the tragic consequence of cultural, economic, and military conflict between the U.S. Army and the Sioux Indians dating back to the 1860s. The story of this conflict is not only historically rich in its own right, but also provides a dramatic lens through which to study U.S.–Indian relations in the nineteenth century.

In the late 1860s, the Sioux leader Red Cloud successfully led the resistance to white encroachment in the territory of the Powder River. The Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868 formalized the peace settlement between Red Cloud and the U.S. Army and assured the Sioux rights to extensive territory on the "Great Sioux Reservation." Red Cloud's victory was brief, and the terms of the treaty would be consistently and violently contested over the next several decades.

The language of the Treaty of 1868 was clear: "No white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the territory, or without the consent of the Indians to pass through the same." Yet General George Armstrong Custer and his Seventh Cavalry defied the treaty in 1875 by passing through the Black Hills in search of gold. The allure of gold led the U.S. government to reconsider its commitment to the Treaty of 1868, and Indian agents were dispatched to the Black Hills to convince the Sioux to sell their land. The continuing conflicts over Sioux territory led to the famous Battle of Little Bighorn, where Crazy Horse and myriad bands of Sioux annihilated Custer and his soldiers in 1876. Angered by defeat, the U.S. Army viewed Little Bighorn as evidence that the Sioux themselves had violated the Treaty of 1868, despite the fact that the U.S. Cavalry had attacked first. Over the next decade, the U.S. government stepped up its efforts to secure Sioux lands and confine Indians to separate reservations. Crazy Horse was killed in September 1877, and Red Cloud and several other Sioux leaders surrendered to reservation life out of fear of starvation.

The American conquest of Sioux territory continued into the 1880s along similar lines of both acquiescence and active resistance. When the U.S. government sought to convince the Sioux to sell nine million acres of Sioux land for white settlement, Sitting Bull, the Hunkpapa Sioux leader, led the opposition. The U.S. government, however, was determined to shroud its land-grab with an aura of legitimacy. U.S. Indian agents sought to obtain the signatures of three-fourths of adult Sioux males in order to abrogate the Treaty of 1868. They succeeded in doing so in 1889, but only by excluding Sitting Bull and his followers from the final council discussions. In the year before the fateful incident at Wounded Knee Creek, the Sioux were faced with the disappearance of their land and their way of life.

In 1889, the cultural movement known as the Ghost Dance began to take shape across the American West, from Nevada and Utah to the Dakotas and the Great Plains. A Paiute Indian named Wovoka described apocalyptic visions and taught that Indians could prepare for paradise by adopting certain religious ceremonies. Successful performance of the Ghost Dance would ensure the return of the buffalo herds, the reunification of all Indians, past and present, and the disappearance of whites from Indian life. By the fall of 1890, the message of the Ghost Dance had reached Sitting Bull and the Sioux. The messianic ritual offered cultural support for their continued resistance to the U.S. Army and white expansion.

As the Ghost Dance spread, white settlers and politicians interpreted the ceremony as hostile and requested military protection. In November 1890, agents of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs banned the Ghost Dance and ordered the disparate

bands of Sioux to assemble at local Indian agencies. Indians who mistrusted the government's motives retreated into the Badlands; among them was Sitting Bull. As part of their strategy to suppress the Ghost Dance and its promise of liberation, Major General Nelson A. Miles and Indian Agent James McLaughlin ordered Sitting Bull's arrest. On December 15, Indian police attempted to arrest him, and in the fight that followed the Sioux leader was slain. His remaining followers traveled to join Big Foot's Minneconjous band of Sioux, who were headed to the Pine Ridge Reservation. Big Foot and his 370 followers were stopped short of Pine Ridge, on the banks of Wounded Knee Creek, on December 28, 1890. The next morning witnessed their massacre.

Teaching Activities and Outcomes

As a way of concluding a unit on the nineteenth-century American West, I have used the following strategies and materials to create a mock trial on the incident at Wounded Knee. The activities allow students to examine the culture of the Ghost Dance, the status of U.S.–Indian relations leading up to the incident, and the events themselves on December 29, 1890. The structure of the activity requires that students make use of primary source materials in order to interpret historical phenomena. The multiple roles required in the trial make room for various student skill levels and public speaking abilities. While offering a variety of ways for students to participate in and learn from the activity, the mock trial format also ensures that all students grapple with and respond to historical evidence.

I have implemented this mock trial in regular U.S. history courses with high school sophomores, juniors, and seniors. Successful implementation of the trial normally requires between three and four class periods of an hour each (not including out-of-class student preparation time).With changes in preparation time, outside readings, and written requirements, the activity could be easily modified for different age groups and skill levels, including AP U.S. history and college-level courses.

• Assign students specific roles. Depending on class size, two to three students may serve as prosecuting attorneys, and two to three as defense attorneys. Up to nine students are needed as specific witnesses. Student witnesses represent actual historical figures or, in one case, a composite of several people. Mrs. Z.A. Parker observed the Ghost Dance on the Pine Ridge Reservation in June of 1890; American Horse and Turning Hawk were Indian witnesses to the incident on December 29; Major General Nelson A. Miles and General Thomas H. Ruger served in the U.S. Army at this time; Philip Wells was a mixed-blood Sioux who served as an interpreter for the Army; Alice War Bonnet was a thirteen-year-old witness; James Mooney worked for the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology and published reports and testimony related to the incident (his role in the trial is basically that of an expert witness); and an "Indian Agent" may serve as a composite character representing agents Perain A. Palmer, James McLaughlin, and Daniel Royer of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The remaining students in the class serve as members of the jury. The teacher may elect to act as judge or appoint a student to do so.

• Distribute primary documents to attorneys and witnesses (witnesses may be given access to all primary sources or only the particular document(s) pertaining to their own "character"). Provide members of the jury with general background reading and documentation so that they understand the context of the incident and the basic events without being predisposed to sympathize with either side.

• Instruct attorneys to review all evidence, prepare opening and closing statements, and write at least five questions for each witness. These questions should begin very specifically and then become more open-ended to ensure that members of the jury understand exactly who each witness is and also what story each has to tell. Attorneys should be instructed to assume that the jury has no prior knowledge about the case.

• Instruct each witness that he or she must memorize the evidence contained within the relevant primary source material. The student should perform on the witness stand as if he or she were actually the historical figure being represented. When witnesses are not testifying, they should take notes on what other witnesses say so that they, too, can come to their own conclusions about the incident at Wounded Knee.

• Advise members of the jury that during the trial they will need to take notes on the evidence described by each witness. Tell them that in between each witness, they will have the opportunity to ask the judge clarifying questions about what they have heard. After closing arguments have been presented, the jury will deliberate in front of their peers. In order to force close scrutiny of the evidence, the jury must decide unanimously whether or not the death of all 300 Sioux was justified, considering the cultural and military context of the incident. Tell members of the jury that in order to convict the U.S. Army of unjustifiable homicide (murder), the evidence must demonstrate beyond a reasonable doubt that the Army had no justifiable cause to behave the way it did. If all jurors are not convinced beyond a reasonable doubt, they must render a verdict of innocent. This strict standard not only matches up with the legal doctrine of "innocent until proven guilty," but it also forces the jurors' deliberations to go beyond the understandable sympathy they feel for the Sioux. Allow the jury to debate for an adequate period of time so that as many interpretations as possible are elicited. Finally, have the jury vote by roll call.

Five different classes of mine have conducted this mock trial, and in three out of the five cases the jury has returned a verdict of innocent. On each of these occasions, one or two members of the jury have argued that, given the context of the Sioux's relations with the army, the cavalry was understandably prone to take more extreme measures. This interpretation has angered the majority of the students in the room, especially the prosecuting attorneys. Yet the argument has served to provoke vital discussions and interpretations about Wounded Knee, and the resulting picture of the events of 1890 has turned out to be much more complicated than the students—or their teacher—would have imagined. As one group of student defense attorneys wrote in their opening arguments, "While the U.S. government may have, in fact, treated the Indians unfairly, that is not the issue here today. We are here today simply based on

the fact that the U.S. military was responding to hostile behavior coming from the Indians, which was based on the Ghost Dances and earlier bitterness from the Battle of Little Bighorn." As objectionable as this statement might seem to some, it reflects the students' ability to appreciate historical perspective and context based on their interpretations of primary source materials. History teachers can ask for little more.

• When the jury has reached a decision, lead a class discussion based on questions similar to the following: Why did members of the jury rule the way they did? What was the most important evidence for them? What was the least important? Why do the student attorneys think they "won" or "lost" the case? In what ways might they have been more persuasive? What frustrated them about the jury's interpretation of the evidence? What did witnesses think the importance of their testimony was? Did their testimony vindicate the actions of the U.S. Army or not? Was it contradicted or complemented by the testimony of other witnesses?

• When the trial is over, remind students that they will be turning in their trial materials. Attorneys turn in their opening and closing statements (one page each) and their prepared questions. Witnesses turn in their notes from the trial as well as a one-page explanation of what conclusion they think *their* evidence points to in the trial. Jurors turn in their notes from the trial and a one-page explanation of what evidence led them to their verdict and why. Through these assignments, all students, regardless of their role in the trial, confront and interpret primary documents in order to construct a historical narrative.

The quality of student work produced as part of the mock trial has consistently been of high quality. All students have been able to construct interesting historical arguments based on evidence they have read, heard, and acted out. Perhaps it is this mix of learning styles that has also contributed to the students' enjoyment of the experience. The mock trial has generated enthusiasm among students that standard class discussions do not, and the fact that the outcome of the trial depends on student argumentation has created a higher level of student commitment to the curriculum.

Selected Resources

The primary sources available for this lesson come from a variety of print and online sources. The PBS documentary series *The West* has a companion website called "New Perspectives on the West" at <http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest>. Most of the witnesses' testimony can be found there. The testimony of interpreter Philip Wells is available online at "Eyewitness: History Through the Eyes of Those Who Lived It," at <http://www.ibiscom.com>. The Jackdaw publication entitled *Wounded Knee Massacre and Ghost Dance Religion* contains the testimony of Alice War Bonnet and the Indian agents, as well as excellent reproductions of original documents. The Jackdaw also contains photographs, drawings, maps of Sioux territory, and additional primary sources that could provide the basis for more student witnesses in the mock trial. Jackdaws are available at P.O. Box 503, Amawalk, NY 10501, or 800-789-0022. The original source for much of the same primary evidence, as well as additional

documentation, is James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, 14th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1892–1893*, Part 2 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1896); this collection also was published by the University of Nebraska Press in 1991. Original photographs can be found through the Library of Congress's *American Memory: Historical Collections for the National Digital Library*, online at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amhome.html>. Keyword searches for "Wounded Knee" and "Ghost Dance" will lead to appropriate photographs. Sufficient primary sources exist such that the mock trial could be expanded to accommodate varying class sizes, skill levels, time requirements, and teacher and student interest level.

Useful secondary readings come from a variety of sources, some more widely available than others. Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1970) is essential. James S. Wilson, *The Earth Shall Weep: A History of Native America* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1996), provides an interesting overview as well. Helpful and detailed background information can also be found in several reference volumes. Sharon Malinowski, Anna Sheets, Linda Schmittroth, eds., *UXL Encyclopedia of Native American Tribes* (Detroit: Gale Group, 1999), 867–888, provides a concise and very accessible summary of the Lakota Sioux from the 1700s to 1890, followed by a contemporary profile. Frederick E. Hoxie, ed., *Encyclopedia of North American Indians: Native American History, Culture, and Life from Paleo-Indians to the Present* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996), 694–697, contains a brief entry describing the incident, told largely from the point of view of the Sioux. Howard R. Lamar, ed., *The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1977), 1289–1290 and 730–731, offers a biographical sketch of Nelson Miles and a review of the Battle of Wounded Knee. Lamar's volume, along with several other sources, cites a lower death toll from the 1890 incident, putting the number at 146 confirmed Indian fatalities. While sources disagree on the final number, the difference seems to depend on whether one is counting deaths that occurred during the actual battle, or also deaths (many of them due to exposure) that took place up to several days after the incident. Finally, Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, Martha A. Sandweiss, eds., *The Oxford History of the American West* (New York: Oxford, 1994), 182, offers another concise review of the Battle of Wounded Knee.

Several videos might serve as companion pieces to teaching about Native American history and the subject of the trial. PBS's *The West* is a nine-volume series that can be checked out from some public libraries; the series can be purchased at <www.shop.pbs.org>. The *Frontline* episode "The Spirit of Crazy Horse" provides an excellent and provocative overview of Sioux history, including a wonderful comparison of the incidents at Wounded Knee in 1890 and 1973. For further information, see <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/programs/categories/info/908.html>.

In addition to the websites previously mentioned, various online sources are relevant and useful. "Wounded Knee" is an MSNBC website that provides both a

historical overview and links to primary source excerpts. The site contains a multimedia slideshow, audio clips, maps, and photographs. With sections on "Ghost Dance," "Massacre of 1890," "Siege of 1973," and "Related Links," the site is an excellent place for student research, preparation, and further investigation into Native American history. See <http://msnbc.com/onair/msnbc/TimeandAgain/archive/wknee/1890.asp>. "Cankpe Opi" contains links to and excerpts from primary sources, as well as discussion of more contemporary debates about Wounded Knee. See <http://www.dickshovel.com/Wkmassacre.html>. The organization Native Americans@Buffalo Trails maintains a website with a descriptive chronology of events leading up to the 1890 incident at <http://www.native-americans.org/newsletters/chronology-of-wounded-knee.htm>. Numerous other online resources exist; the websites described here, however, provide sufficient primary source documents and photographs with which to prepare and conduct the mock trial on the Battle of Wounded Knee.

Procedures and Roles for the Wounded Knee Mock Trial

Procedure	Student Role
Opening Statement for the Prosecution	Two or three students play the prosecuting attorneys, dividing up the duties among themselves.
Opening Statement for the Defense	Two to three students play the defense attorneys, dividing up the duties among themselves.
Witnesses Mrs. Z.A. Parker Alice War Bonnett Indian Agent James Mooney Turning Hawk American Horse General Nelson Miles General Thomas Ruger Philip Wells	One student plays each witness. (Witnesses may be called in the order in which they are listed. Since the testimony of each witness could support either the prosecution or the defense, no witness "represents" one side or the other. The prosecution questions each witness first, followed by the defense.)
Closing Statement for the Prosecution	
Closing Statement for the Defense	
Jury Deliberations	The jury may consist of as many students as necessary.

Document One
Wovoka's Message: The Messiah Letter

This version of Wovoka's message of the Ghost Dance was obtained by James Mooney on a trip to the West in 1891. Wovoka, a Paiute Indian from Nevada, refers to himself here by the name of Jack Wilson. Quoted in James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, 14th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1892–1893*, Part 2 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1896), also published by the University of Nebraska Press (1991).

When you get home you must make a dance to continue five days. Dance four successive nights, and the last night keep up the dance until the morning of the fifth day, when all must bathe in the river and then disperse to their homes. You must all do the same way.

I, Jack Wilson, love you all, and my heart is full of gladness for the gifts you have brought me. When you get home I shall give you a good cloud [rain?] which will make you feel good. I give you a good spirit and give you all good paint. I want you to come again in three months, some from each tribe there [the Indian Territory].

There will be a good deal of snow this year and some rain. In the fall there will be such a rain as I have never given you before.

Grandfather [a universal title of reverence among Indians and here meaning the messiah] says, when your friends die you must not cry. You must not hurt anybody or do harm to anyone. You must not fight. Do right always. It will give you satisfaction in life. This young man has a good father and mother. [Possibly this refers to Casper Edson, the young Arapaho who wrote down this message of Wovoka for the delegation.]

Do not tell the white people about this. Jesus is now upon the earth. He appears like a cloud. The dead are still again. I do not know when they will be here; maybe this fall or in the spring. When the time comes there will be no more sickness and everyone will be young again.

Do not refuse to work for the whites and do not make any trouble with them until you leave them. When the earth shakes [at the coming of the new world] do not be afraid. It will not hurt you.

I want you to dance every six weeks. Make a feast at the dance and have food that everybody may eat. Then bathe in the water. That is all. You will receive good words again from me some time. Do not tell lies.

Document Two
The Ghost Dance

Mrs. Z.A. Parker witnessed a Ghost Dance performed at White Clay Creek at Pine Ridge Reservation on June 20, 1890. Quoted in James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, 14th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1892–1893*, Part 2 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1896), also published by the University of Nebraska Press (1991).

I think they wore the ghost shirt or ghost dress for the first time that day. I noticed that these were all new and were worn by about seventy men and forty women. The wife of a man called Return-from-scout had seen in a vision that her friends all wore a similar robe, and on reviving from her trance she called the women together and they made a great number of the sacred garments. They were of white cotton cloth. The women's dress was cut like their ordinary dress, a loose robe with wide, flowing sleeves, painted blue in the neck, in the shape of a three-cornered handkerchief, with moon, stars, birds, etc., interspersed with real feathers, painted on the waists, letting them fall to within 3 inches of the ground, the fringe at the bottom. In the hair, near the crown, a feather was tied. I noticed an absence of any manner of head ornaments, and, as I knew their vanity and fondness for them, wondered why it was. Upon making inquiries I found they discarded everything they could which was made by white men.

The ghost shirt for the men was made of the same material—shirts and leggings painted in red. Some of the leggings were painted in stripes running up and down, others running around. The shirt was painted blue around the neck, and the whole garment was fantastically sprinkled with figures of birds, bows and arrows, sun, moon, and stars, and everything they saw in nature. Down the outside of the sleeve were rows of feathers tied by the quill ends and left to fly in the breeze, and also a row around the neck and up and down the outside of the leggings. I noticed that a number had stuffed birds, squirrel heads, etc., tied in their long hair. The faces of all were painted red with a black half-moon on the forehead or on one cheek.

As the crowd gathered about the tree the high priest, or master of ceremonies, began his address, giving them directions as to the chant and other matters. After he had spoken for about fifteen minutes they arose and formed a circle. As nearly as I could count, there were between three and four hundred persons. One stood directly behind another, each with his hands on his neighbor's shoulders. After walking about a few times, chanting, "Father, I come," they stopped marching, but remained in the circle, and set up the most fearful, heart-piercing wails I ever heard—crying, moaning, groaning, and shrieking out their grief, and naming over their departed friends and relatives, at the same time taking up handfuls of dust at their feet, washing their hands in it, and throwing it over their heads.

Finally, they raised their eyes to heaven, their hands clasped high above their heads, and stood straight and perfectly still, invoking the power of the Great Spirit to allow them to see and talk with their people who had died. This ceremony lasted about fifteen minutes, when they all sat down where they were and listened to another address, which I did not understand, but which I afterwards learned were words of encouragement and assurance of the coming messiah.

Document Three

Lakota Accounts of the Massacre at Wounded Knee

Excerpted from the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1891, volume 1, pages 179–181 (verbatim stenographic report of council held by delegations of Sioux with Commissioner of Indian Affairs, at Washington, February 11, 1891), as quoted in James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, 14th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1892–1893*, Part 2 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1896), also published by the University of Nebraska Press (1991).

Turning Hawk: When we heard that these people were coming toward our agency we also heard this. These people were coming toward Pine Ridge Agency, and when they were almost on the agency they were met by the soldiers and surrounded and finally taken to the Wounded Knee Creek, and there at a given time their guns were demanded. When they had delivered them up, the men were separated from their families, from the tipis, and taken to a certain spot. When the guns were thus taken and the men thus separated, there was a crazy man, a young man of very bad influence and in fact a nobody, among that bunch of Indians fired his gun, and of course the firing of a gun must have been the breaking of a military rule of some sort, because immediately the soldiers returned fire and indiscriminate killing followed.

American Horse: This man shot an officer in the army; the first shot killed this officer. I was a voluntary scout at that encounter and I saw exactly what was done, and that was what I noticed; that the first shot killed an officer. As soon as this shot was fired the Indians immediately began drawing their knives, and they were exhorted from all sides to desist, but this was not obeyed. Consequently the firing began immediately on the part of the soldiers.

Turning Hawk: All the men who were in a bunch were killed right there, and those who escaped that first fire got into the ravine, and as they went along up the ravine for a long distance they were pursued on both sides by the soldiers and shot down, as the dead bodies showed afterwards. The women were standing off at a different place from where the men were stationed, and when the firing began, those of the men who escaped the first onslaught went in one direction up the ravine, and then the women, who were bunched together at another place, went entirely in a different direction through an open field, and the women fared the same fate as the men who went up the deep ravine.

American Horse: The men were separated, as has already been said, from the women, and they were surrounded by the soldiers. Then came next the village of the Indians and that was entirely surrounded by the soldiers also. When the firing began, of course the people who were standing immediately around the young man who fired the first shot were killed right together, and then they turned their guns, Hotchkill [sic] guns, etc., upon the women who were in the lodges standing there under a flag of truce, and of course as soon as they were fired upon they fled, the men fleeing in one direction and the women running in two different directions. So that there were three general directions in which they took flight.

There was a woman with an infant in her arms who was killed as she almost touched the flag of truce, and the women and children of course were strewn all along the circular village until they were dispatched. Right near the flag of truce a mother was shot down with her infant; the child not knowing that its mother was dead was still nursing, and that especially was a very sad sight. The women as they were fleeing with their babes were killed together, shot right through, and the women who were very heavy with child were also killed. All the Indians fled in these three directions, and after most all of them had been killed a cry was made that all those who were not killed or wounded should come forth and they would be safe. Little boys who were not wounded came out of their places of refuge, and as soon as they came in sight a number of soldiers surrounded them and butchered them there.

Document Four
Statements of General Nelson A. Miles

From *Report of the Secretary of War, 1891*, Vol. I, pp. 133, 134, and 149, as quoted in James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, 14th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1892–1893*, Part 2 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1896), also published by the University of Nebraska Press (1991).

The unfortunate failure of the crops in the plains country during the years of 1889 and 1890 added to the distress and suffering of the Indians, and it was possible for them to raise but very little from the ground for self-support; in fact, white settlers have been most unfortunate, and their losses have been serious and universal throughout a large section of that country. They have struggled on from year to year; occasionally they would raise good crops, which they were compelled to sell at low prices, while in the season of drought their labor was almost entirely lost. So serious have been their misfortunes that thousands have left that country within the last few years, passing over the mountains to the Pacific slope or returning to the east of the Missouri or the Mississippi.

The Indians, however, could not migrate from one part of the United States to another; neither could they obtain employment as readily as white people, either upon or beyond the Indian reservations. They must remain in comparative idleness and accept the results of the drought—an insufficient supply of food. This created a feeling of discontent even among the loyal and well disposed and added to the feeling of hostility of the element opposed to every process of civilization.

Telegram
RAPID CITY, SOUTH DAKOTA, December 19, 1890.
General JOHN M. SCHOFIELD,
Commanding the Army, Washington, District of Columbia:

Replying to your long telegram, one point is of vital importance—the difficult Indian problem can not be solved permanently at this end of the line. It requires the fulfillment by Congress of the treaty obligations which the Indians were entreated and coerced into signing. They signed away a valuable portion of their reservation, and it is now occupied by white people, for which they have received nothing. They understood that ample provision would be made for their support; instead, their supplies have been reduced, and much of the time they have been living on half and two-thirds rations. Their crops, as well as the crops of the white people, for two years have been almost a total failure. The disaffection is widespread, especially among the Sioux, while the Cheyennes have been on the verge of starvation and were forced to commit depredations to sustain life. These facts are beyond question, and the evidence is positive and sustained by thousands of witnesses. Serious difficulty has been gathering for years. Congress has been in session several weeks and could in a single hour confirm the treaties and appropriate the necessary funds for their fulfillment, which their commissioners and the highest officials of the government have guaranteed to these people, and unless the officers of the army can give some positive assurance that the government intends to act in good faith with these people, the loyal element will be diminished and the hostile element increased. If the government will give some positive assurance that it will fulfill its part of the understanding with these 20,000 Sioux Indians, they can safely trust the military authorities to subjugate, control, and govern these turbulent people, and I hope that you will ask the Secretary of War and the Chief Executive to bring this matter directly to Congress.

FINDING THE SOURCES: A HISTORIAN AND A LIBRARIAN UNITE

Gayle V. Fischer
and
Mia Morgan
Salem State College

Introduction

Team-teaching, a topic that generates a great deal of discussion among academics interested in pedagogy, usually involves professors from different disciplines teaching a single class from the perspective of two academic fields. For example, a historian and a geographer might teach a course on the Silk Road, or a historian and a literary critic might combine their knowledge to design a class on racism. The combinations are endless. Although pedagogical literature has focused on the teamwork required for successful team-teaching experiences, little discussion has been generated on alternative collaborative efforts between historians and their colleagues.

This article presents a collaboration between a historian, Gayle V. Fischer, and a librarian, Mia Morgan. As we take you through the history of our ongoing collaboration, we will introduce an historical exercise that you might find useful in the classroom. But we hope that you learn from our experience and see the potential for collaborative efforts that do not require committing an entire semester or course to an "experiment." Additionally, working with a colleague can enrich the study of history for your students and yourself.

Gayle Fischer:

In an attempt to break away from the textbook and exams, about six years ago I began assigning a research project to my American history surveys that was developed from an acting exercise. In brief, the students read a play about an historical moment in American history, are assigned a character from that play, research the character's background (i.e., do historical research on the period), and write a diary from their character's perspective using their research results. Students complete parts of this assignment in groups. They divide the historical research among group members; individuals are responsible for specific topics and share their findings, including bibliographic citations, with the rest of the group. The group also creates a presentation based on their research.[1]

In this project combining history and theater, the success or lack of success of individual groups depends largely on the research completed by the individual members. To aid the research process, I have always arranged a library tour. Either the class as a whole (when small enough) would meet with a librarian at the library or a

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[1]See Gayle V. Fischer and Susan Spector, "Theater across the Curriculum: In the History Classroom," *Teaching History*, 24:2 (Fall 2001), 59–70.

librarian would come to my class and describe the primary and secondary resources available for historical research. I figured I had done my job by introducing them to the basics of library research.

When I began teaching at Salem State College, I used the diary-research exercise in my United States survey classes and was fortunate to have Mia Morgan, Information Literacy Librarian, assigned to conduct the tours.[2] After the first year of one library session per semester, Morgan approached me and let me know that she was frustrated with this method.

Mia Morgan:

The first two semesters, I met with Fischer's students in the library for one 50- or 75-minute library tour. I speak very quickly when I need, and that was a plus during these early tours as I raced through the wealth of research sources available at the Salem State College Library.

In one session, I explained how to use the library catalog to locate books, how to use licensed periodical databases to locate articles, how to use an Internet search engine to locate primary material on the World Wide Web (WWW), how to evaluate material found on the WWW, and how to use the *Library of American Civilizations* collection and the library archives to locate photos, diaries, speeches, letters, legal documents, and proceedings from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Students came away from the library tour equipped with copious handouts to aid their research but they felt overwhelmed. I came away from the tour knowing that I had not adequately prepared the students to use all of the sources available for locating primary material.

Going into the tour, I knew I would be covering an enormous amount of material and that one hour was not enough time to make expert researchers out of 25 students. However, I believed that once students became aware of all the amazing resources available to them, they would seek me out to find out how to actually use the resources. To my dismay, no one did so, and none of the students used the library archives or the *Library of American Civilizations* collection. Instead, they stuck with what they knew, and they tended to use sources such as the WWW or encyclopedias exclusively, regardless of whether the source was appropriate for their research or not.

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[2]Salem State College is a four-year public college that began as a state normal school. Today, the education department continues to draw a large number of students. Most of the students in my United States survey classes are not history majors but education majors seeking to fulfill a state requirement that they have a Constitution-based class. Thus my survey must stress constitutional issues. In addition, the majority of students at the college are commuters, drawn from the communities on Massachusetts's North Shore and nearby Boston.

Fischer:

One of the objectives of the library tour was to introduce students to a librarian they could feel comfortable seeking out. Obviously, this had not worked. Mia Morgan was enthusiastic about the assignment and had a variety of resources that she wanted to share with the students but not enough time in the single class period allotted for the tour. She asked me if I would consider more than one library tour, possibly three or four.

Like many who teach the American survey, I often believe that there is too much to cover and not enough time in a given semester to get to everything important, and here was Morgan asking me to give up some of my precious class time and spend it in the library. Morgan remained persistent and persuasive and forced me to ask myself, "What do I want my students to get out of this assignment? What do I want my students to get out of this class?" I am always tinkering with the project—it changes from semester to semester—but was I willing to go this far?

At the end of the assignment I always ask students to write what they like about the project, what they dislike, and to make suggestions for changes. I turned to these essays as I considered Morgan's request. Repeatedly, students noted that the assignment required them to use the library. I had juniors and seniors writing that they were so afraid of the library, of appearing stupid, that they had avoided it throughout their college careers, and they thanked me for helping them get over the fear. I realized that getting my classes into the library and really using it was probably the single best tool they could take away from my class.

Convinced that more library tours would meet that objective, Morgan and I collaborated on a series of "mini-research" assignments that would aid the students in their project research and utilize the variety of resources in the Salem State College Library. We then put together a multi-session library component that engaged students in new technologies and got them accustomed to all types of resources available at the college for locating primary and secondary sources. Morgan's responsibility was to teach students about the different types of sources they needed to locate in order to complete each of the mini-research assignments. A library tour preceded each mini-research assignment. Morgan explained how to locate and utilize the sources and the students wrote brief essays, primarily descriptive, of their findings.

The mini-research assignments were intended to keep students from procrastinating about doing their research, to introduce students to a variety of sources, and to develop their research and library skills. To reinforce the importance of the library tours, we informed students that missing a library tour meant the lowering of their final grade. Students shared their findings with their group members. To facilitate student collaboration, Morgan created a discussion board that allowed students to post their findings. As I read the posted essays, I considered how useful I would find the information if I was a member of the group and had to rely on the information to write my diary entry. Students also wrote a paragraph in which they reflected on that particular research assignment.

Mini-Research Assignment #1

Fischer:

No matter how much I discourage their use, students are fond of encyclopedias. So I decided to confront encyclopedias head on and make them a component of the first research assignment. For this exercise, students look up the items they will be researching in an encyclopedia.

Morgan:

Teaching an entire session on how to use an encyclopedia was new for me.[3] In the earlier library tours with Fischer, I did not even mention encyclopedias because they were not appropriate sources for the type of research the students were conducting. However, students came across online and print encyclopedias while doing their research and used them.[4] So it made sense to devote a session to identifying strengths and weaknesses of the various types of encyclopedias. The purpose of the mini-assignments was to lead students through the different types of resources, and this specific activity let students draw their own conclusions about the effectiveness of an encyclopedia as a research tool.

I began by selecting one of the student's topics and looking it up in several encyclopedias. For example, I took the word "plantation," and compared the information on plantations in a scholarly encyclopedia to the information on plantations in a general encyclopedia. We looked at the author's credentials, at the information provided, and we looked for a bibliography or further reading list. I then asked other students to volunteer their topics to look up in the various encyclopedias. Early in the semester, students were still developing their topics and were surprised by what they found (and did not find) in an encyclopedia.

As a group we looked for information on marriage customs in the seventeenth century, on eighteenth-century music, on Pocahontas, and on slavery. Students saw right away that some topics do not have their own encyclopedia heading, and I suggested ways they might find information about the topic in an encyclopedia under a different heading.

Though encyclopedias are generally not appropriate sources for scholarly or academic research, they do have their place in the research process. Using an encyclopedia, students will be able to identify the language and terminology associated

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[3]Handout for session one: http://www.e-mia.org/infolit/FischerS1SP00.html.

[4]Free online encyclopedias: Encyclopedia Britannica, http://www.eb.com; Infoplease, http://www.infoplease.com; Electric Library, http://www.encyclopedia.com; Microsoft Encyclopedia Encarta, http://encarta.msn.com/encartahome.asp.

with their topics, to identify some important issues surrounding the topics, and to identify people who have written about the topic.

Whether students search for information in an online book catalog, a licensed database, or the World Wide Web, the very act of searching presumes a basic knowledge of the topic due to our reliance on keywords to get at information. A keyword is a word or phrase that describes the topic. A student's use of an encyclopedia should end with the development of the keyword list.

Fischer:

After attending Morgan's tours for several semesters, I changed the requirements for mini-research assignment #1. Morgan now combines an encyclopedia demonstration with a demonstration on how to search for secondary sources. Students develop lists of search terms based on their examination of encyclopedias—they submit their lists to Morgan as well as to me. This list is then used to complete the other research assignments, including a search for historical articles in a number of indexes and databases. I also require all students to order at least one item from interlibrary loan because students are often shy about utilizing this system.

Mini-Research Assignment #2

Fischer:

One of the goals of the diary project is to acquaint students with primary sources; mini-research assignments #2 and #3 are structured specifically around finding primary sources. During our second library tour, Morgan introduces a variety of search engines and a number of websites that contain primary sources. I explain to the class that primary sources are texts created at the time being researched. The most common primary sources are written documents, but primary sources can also include photographs, paintings, sculpture, architecture, oral interviews, statistical tables, and even geography. For this exercise students look up primary sources relevant to their research topics on the World Wide Web and write an essay about one or more of those sources. They must include the bibliographic information in the correct Turabian form. In addition to grading students on the usefulness of the information they provide with this assignment, I also grade their ability to recognize a primary source. In other words, they cannot receive an A for the assignment if they report only secondary sources.

Morgan:

I had to decide whether to spend this second session showing students websites produced by reputable organizations that contained primary sources relevant to the assignment or whether to spend time showing students how to find their own sites. I chose first to show students sites I had found to be important sources for historical research, such as the "American Memory" website produced by the Library of

Congress.[5] When preparing for this workshop, I had done preliminary Internet searches to see what information was available on each of the students' topics. I got so excited about what I found that I was eager to show the sites to the students. When, however, students came to me after the session for help searching the World Wide Web for additional sites, I realized that students preferred to do their own research and find their own sites. The students got as excited as I did when they found a useful website on their own.

I encouraged students to look for information on the Internet in ways they had not tried before. I told them that there are three ways to locate websites: Use an Internet search engine (such as Google), follow links in a subject list or directory (such as Yahoo!), or go directly to a site using a known or recommended address.[6] I then demonstrated each of these methods and showed students how different the results can be depending on the search method that they chose and the keywords that they entered into the search engine or directory. In doing this, students see that the one method they have relied on might not be the best. Knowing that there are other options empowers students and alleviates some of the frustrations of searching, particularly for those having difficulty locating material on their topics.

The group researching slavery found slave narratives and diaries on the Internet. "American Memory" scans in the actual text of these diaries, so students could read the original document. The group researching the temperance movement found a tremendous amount of material on sites such as "Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1830–1930."[7] Students at the State University of New York at Binghamton developed this website as part of a research project. The site contains scanned documents and images that deal with topics such as suffrage, women's rights, African American women, and more.

I never teach students about the Internet without also talking about critical evaluation of World Wide Web materials. Students in Fischer's course have to think about two aspects of evaluation. First, they need to evaluate sources for reliability. To help students evaluate websites for reliability, I created a thirteen-step evaluation instrument designed to get students to think critically about the site: author, authority, affiliation, ownership, date, ease of use, verification, hackers, audience, and relevancy.[8] The purpose of the tool is *not* to provide students with a definitive "yes," this is a

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[5]For American Memory, http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amhome.html.

[6]For Google, http://www.google.com, and for Yahoo!, http://www.yahoo.com.

[7]For women and social movements in the United States: http://womhist.binghamton.edu.

[8]For the critical evaluation tool, see http://www.e-mia.org/infolit/tool.html.

reliable website or "no," this is not a reliable website. The purpose is to foster critical thinking.

Secondly, students in Fischer's courses need to consider the appropriateness of the source for the assignment. She requires that they locate primary sources on the WWW. To accomplish this, students need to be able to distinguish primary sources from other sources. One way students in Fischer's courses learn to distinguish primary material from other kinds of material is through comparison and contrast. Fischer has set up her assignments in such a way that students have an opportunity to familiarize themselves with both types of resources, so they learn to see the differences.

Mini-Research Assignment #3

Fischer:

During our third library tour, Morgan introduces the class to an ultrafiche collection, *Library of American Civilization*, and the Salem State College Archives.[9] Students must either visit the SSC Archives (located in the library) or use the *American Civilization* ultrafiche series (located in the library's periodicals room). Using the archives or the microfilm, they must find a primary source (or sources) relevant to their research topic and write an essay.

Morgan:

The third session is my favorite session.[10] During this session, I show students how to find primary resources that are actually in the Salem State College Library. I introduce them to the *New York Times Index* that dates back to the 1850s and Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature* that dates back to 1802, where students were surprised to find articles written in the 1800s about their topics.

I also demonstrated how to use *Library of American Civilizations*, a spectacular collection of primary sources on fiche that pertain to all aspects of American history from the beginning to World War I. The collection includes pamphlets, periodicals, public and private documents, diaries, letters, travel notes, published books, magazines, biographies and autobiographies of well-known and obscure people, fiction, non-fiction, poetry, collected works and papers, foreign material relating to America, and rare books.

We end the session at the Salem State College archives, where students can find primary materials such as original photographs, slave narratives, diaries, educational journals, rare books, faculty publications, early school textbooks, and so on.

This session provides me with an opportunity to give students a taste of true historic research. It is in sorting through old journals and photographs and winding

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[9]*Library of American Civilizations* (Chicago: Library Resources, 1971).

[10]Handout for session three: http://www.e-mia.org/infolit/FischerS3SP00.html.

through microfilm that students begin to really see the difference between the information found in these sources and that found in an encyclopedia or on the Internet.

Final Project

Fischer:

The mini-research assignments are intended, in part, to ensure that each group has a minimal amount of useful information—one tertiary source, one secondary source, and two primary sources—from which to write their diary entries. The assignments are not intended to encompass all of the research students do for the project, although some will not move beyond this basic requirement. Having done as much research as they can and having exchanged that information with one another, individual students write one or two days worth of diary entries for their character.

The diary entries should be written on an ordinary day in the life of the character. The character should have a daily routine, eat, sleep, wash, dress, walk, talk, etc. Although the diary entry is "fictitious," the aim is to be as historically accurate as possible in assertions and descriptions of appropriate events, documents, or other elements of the character's life. Students must use footnotes in their essays—yes, this is awkward but it also makes them more aware of the specific information they are using, plus it is good practice. They also include a bibliography that cites all of the sources they used, which is why I am constantly reminding them to make sure that they include all bibliographic information on any essays they give their group members—if members of the group cannot cite a source, the information is essentially useless.

Doing group work in classes is always problematic. However, students seem to appreciate this group assignment because, with the exception of the group presentation, they individually determine their own final grades. At the same time, I have watched group members put pressure on other members whom they judged were not bringing enough information to the group. I have also seen students sharing research suggestions with one another, passing books around a group, recommending websites, and generally helping one another through the research process.

Future of the Mini-Research Assignments

Fischer:

One technological issue that needs to be addressed for future courses is the use of an online discussion board. The first semester that we implemented the mini-research assignments we had students post their findings on a class discussion board, which Morgan created. Overall, the results were discouraging because of poor content. Reflecting on why this might have occurred, Morgan and I wondered if lack of feedback might be the explanation. When the first student posted a poor essay and nothing negative happened online, it might have set the standard for the classes. The next semester students turned in papers in class and the quality was markedly superior.

Morgan:

I was pleased to read students' online work after each assignment because it allowed me to identify at various stages in the process those topics that seemed especially troublesome. Thus, I was better able to plan each of the upcoming sessions. I was able to do this at my convenience, and it did not interfere in any way with what was going on back in the classroom. I also liked the discussion board because I think it is important to get students using technologies that will be a part of their lives even after they graduate. However, some problems arose throughout the semester. First, having to complete the assignments online was intimidating to students who did not have a strong technological background. Second, there were some technical difficulties with the discussion board. I created the board using Microsoft Front Page, and it was not compatible with all browsers, so some students were not able to access it from their home computers.

Fischer:

Our short-term solution to the discussion board problem will be to implement it for the first mini-research assignment, which asks students to create a list of keywords. Students will also be able to use the board to ask questions of Morgan and me.

Conclusion

This collaboration on a specific assignment has many of the advantages of team-teaching without the administrative headaches that often accompany team-teaching efforts. Morgan teaches three classes and is actively involved with the students at all phases of the project, including the presentations. Beyond the American history survey class and this assignment, students feel comfortable turning to Morgan to help them with their other library research needs.

Usually teachers create assignments for classes in isolation. A professor might recall what worked (or did not work) in the previous semester, read pedagogical literature, and search the web for ideas, but when it comes to making decisions the professor usually acts alone. Collaborating with a colleague on even one assignment changes the dynamics of the process. The two discuss ideas, offer suggestions, reflect on student skills and knowledge, share their expertise, and together create meaningful exercises for students. At the same time, especially in situations that require group work, the colleagues, by the very act of collaboration, are presenting a successful group work example that their students can model.

Students are not the only ones who benefit from collaboration; Morgan and Fischer have reaped some rewards professionally as well. We have become colleagues in the truest sense of that word, we have described our teamwork together at a major historical conference and plan to do more, we have co-written this article, and together we continue to tinker with the original project.

Critical Evaluation Tool

Website Name: **Website URL:**

1. **Author**: Is it clear who wrote the information on the website?
O Yes, it is clear O No, it is unclear O Not sure
2. **Authority**: Is there any evidence that the author is an authority on the subject? Check all that apply.
O Biography Included O Credentials Listed O Known Authority O No Evidence
3. **Affiliation**: Is this website the work of an individual or an organization?
O Individual O Organization
4. **Ownership**: What methods are available for contacting the author of the website? Check all that apply.
O E-mail O Telephone O Fax O Mailing Address O None
5. **Date**: Is the information on this website current?
O There is an update date and it is recent (<6 months)
O There is an update date and it is not recent (>6 months)
O There is not an update date
6. **Ease of Use**: How effective is the design of the website? Check all that apply.
O The links work properly O The images load quickly OThe site is easy to navigate
OThe site is artistically designed O The website is free from grammatical & spelling errors
7. **Verification**: Does the website indicate where to verify the factual content?
O Yes, there is a list of references O No, there is not a list of references O Not Sure
8. **Hackers**: Does the information on this website agree with what you have read about the topic in other sources?
O Yes O No O Not Sure
9. **Audience**: The content of this website is:
O Recommended for a particular age group or academic level
O Geared towards an interest group
O Geared towards a professional group
O Of interest to multiple audiences
O It is not clear who the target audience is
10. **Relevancy**: The material on the website is appropriate for the research.
O The material meets requirements specified by the instructor for college-level research and is relevant to the topic.
O The material does NOT meet requirements specified by the instructor for college-level research.
11. **Rationale**: What is the primary function of this website?
O Make Money O Class Assignment O Academic Use O 'Get the Word Out'
O For the Fun of It
12. Based on the above evaluation criteria, do you have any reservations about using this website?
O Yes O No
12. Will you use this website as an information source? OYes O No ONot Sure

EXPLAINING HISTORY IN A NUTSHELL

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Introduction

This essay offers an approach that introduces undergraduate students to the nature of historical inquiry. Samuel Wineburg and Janice Fournier have shown that merely taking a number of history courses will not automatically mean that students will think historically.[1] Many high school and college history courses and the textbooks they use are information-driven,[2] and unless they are specifically designed to immerse students in the mindset and methodology of the discipline, thinking historically will remain out of reach.

This approach can also be used in classes with future secondary history teachers, many of whom have little or no background in history and yet will have the responsibility of teaching the subject. A disturbing 53.9 percent of seventh- to twelfth-grade students who take courses in United States history and world history have teachers who have not majored or even minored in history.[3]

The idea of attempting to explain history "in a nutshell" came to me as a result of the limited class time available to discuss issues of historical process. Some might take issue with this attempt. Wineburg and Gaea Leinhardt have demonstrated that the historical frame of mind involves such a complex process that a deep understanding of the historical endeavor is nearly impossible given just a couple of hours.[4] Because thinking historically is an "epistemic activity,"[5] one can know a lot of historical facts and

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[1]Samuel S. Wineburg and Janice Fournier, "Contextualized Thinking in History," in Mario Carretero and James F. Voss, eds., *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994), 285–308.

[2]Richard J. Paxton, "A Deafening Silence: History Textbooks and the Students Who Read Them," *Review of Educational Research* 69:1 (1999), 315–39.

[3]Diane Ravitch, "The Educational Backgrounds of History Teachers," in Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 143–55.

[4]Sam Wineburg, "Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts," *Phi Delta Kappan* 80:7 (1999), 488–99; Gaea Leinhardt, "Lessons on Teaching and Learning in History from Paul's Pen," in Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, 223–45.

[5]Robert B. Bain, "Into the Breach: Using Research and Theory to Shape History Instruction," in Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, 332.

yet not think historically.[6] Despite these hurdles, I proceeded with the principle that "understanding is never all or nothing."[7]

As a historian who is responsible for history education, I have used this approach in two-hour sessions with pre-service and in-service teachers, sometimes as a guest speaker and at other times in my own classes. I first elicit students' notions of history, and then move to a presentation and discussion of historical concepts such as context, world views, change over time, and continuities between past and present. Next students confer in small groups, charged with the task of selecting a topic and generating questions for historical inquiry. Finally we discuss the nature of historical research.

What is History?

I begin by asking students to take a moment to jot down responses to two questions: "What is history?" and "What do you like and dislike about history?" I then ask them to share their responses, which I record on overhead sheets. Recording their responses for all to see not only allows for visual representation of their thoughts, but also gives me time to think about what they say and to respond as thoughtfully as I can to each comment. Responses to "What is history?" reveal different levels of understanding that reflect the degree of the students' involvement with and interest in history. Many respond with the idea of history as the past itself: "the past," "events of the past," "chronology," "sequence of events," and "events and people and places that shaped our world." Others bring in the role of humans in studying the past: "an account of past events," "records of the past," "a study of past civilizations and events that impact our world presently," "stories," and "remembrances." Some include popular notions of history as "progress," as "repeating itself," and as moving in "cycles." A few who have read a number of historical works respond that history is "interpretation" from a person's "perspective." My comments to their responses are aimed at encouraging their participation. While I note that the discussion will return to ideas such as history repeating itself, and history as progress, I do not dwell on these statements. Later in the session we discuss these popular notions as too simplistic, given the complexity of historical events.[8] But for this introductory portion of the session, I choose not to delve

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[6]Sam Wineburg, "Historical Problem Solving: A Study of the Cognitive Processes Used in the Evaluation of Documentary and Pictorial Evidence," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 83:1 (1991), 73–87.

[7]Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby, "Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Ages 7–14," in Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, 200.

[8]David H. Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 139, 150–51; and Peter Novick, *The Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 13.

into a critique of what they say because I do not want to silence them. My intent is to get the class to participate as openly as possible in the discussion.

Their responses to "What do you like and dislike about history?" further illuminate their notions of history. Their likes include comments such as "learning about the lives of others living in another time," "broadens my view of the world," "learning about who we are," "stories that transport me to another place and time." The most frequent dislike is their having to memorize "names, dates, and other facts." Related to this dislike are comments that history is "boring" and has "no relevance to my life."

As illustrated by the responses that I receive—that history is the past itself—the popular view of history is that it tells us *what* happened and *when* it happened. For example: In 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court issued its first ruling on *Brown v. Board of Education*. Another example: In 1933 the legislature of the Territory of Hawai'i passed a law that required all high school students to pay a tuition of ten dollars. Related to issues of *what* and *when* are other questions such as *where* it happened and *who* was involved. Such facts are important to help us establish a chronology of events, and when used selectively, can serve as anchors-in-time, around which other events might be seen in relationship to them. (One might delve into a discussion of the "truth" of so-called facts, but I leave this task for another class session.[9])

But while facts are necessary, they are insufficient to an understanding of history. Kathryn Spoehr and Luther Spoehr put it well: "History is about facts in much the same way that reading is about the alphabet: Facts (and letters) are essential building blocks; without them you cannot do history (or read.)"[10] Unfortunately, history-as-facts is often the only idea many people have of history.

Going beyond the Facts

Context

While acknowledging the role of particular facts and the value of chronology, I quickly move the discussion beyond what-when-where-who questions to the notion of context. The historian examines events and people in light of their context—of time, place, and society. What is happening at that time, in that place, and with that community? What is the larger society like at that time? As students consider questions of context, they should note Wineburg's warning to disabuse themselves of the idea of "placing" a person "into context" as if that person is a piece of a jigsaw puzzle that is to

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[9]See, for example, Keith Jenkins, *Rethinking History* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Keith Jenkins, ed., *The Postmodern History Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997); and Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1994).

[10]Kathryn T. Spoehr and Luther W. Spoehr, "Learning to Think Historically," *Educational Psychologist* 29:2 (1994), 71.

be "slotted into preexisting frames." Instead, we should think about context as weaving together and "connecting things in a pattern."[11]

Because the students I work with attend the University of Hawai'i, the illustrations I use are on Hawai'i. In discussing the idea of context, for example, I note that in order to examine school life at a particular high school at a particular time, in this instance McKinley High School on the island of Oahu in the 1930s, we should learn about what was happening on Oahu as well as in the rest of the territory during the decades before World War II. We should also learn about what was happening in other high schools on Oahu and in the rest of the territory. In this way we can make connections, discern patterns, and more fully appreciate what was happening at McKinley High School.

With the idea that a first step in historical inquiry is "the development of appropriate, penetrating questions,"[12] I ask students to explore the notion of context by posing questions that might be asked in order to come to a better understanding of the statement that I had given them previously: In 1933, the territorial legislature passed a law that required each public high school student to pay a tuition of ten dollars. In this and other exercises I use, I ask students first to respond individually in writing, then to discuss their responses in pairs and sometimes in groups of three or four, and finally to share their groups' responses with the rest of the class.

In general, the questions they pose demonstrate an understanding of context: In 1933, what was the high school student population like? What was the financial condition of the families of these students? Were there fees charged in addition to tuition? Did students have to purchase their own books? Did rural students have to go to school in town and thus have room and board expenses? What socio-economic groups constitute the population of the territory? What reasons did the legislature give for imposing tuition? What were the statements of educational, business, and political leaders concerning the importance of a high school education? What did these leaders say about the tuition fee? What was the economy of Hawai'i like during this time? Many students know that this was the period of the Great Depression, and many also know that in the 1930s most of the adult population of Hawai'i worked on sugar plantations. But the point is not to answer these questions at this time, only to *raise* the *types* of questions that need to be answered in order to have a better sense of content.

World Views

Besides context, historians seek to understand the world views of a people at a particular time in the past, that is, to understand people on their own terms—their perspectives and their ways of thinking. A related line of questioning is to inquire into

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[11]Wineburg, "Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts," 497.

[12]Paul L. Ward, *Studying History: An Introduction to Methods and Structure*, revised and expanded (Washington DC: American Historical Association, 1985), 23.

the ways in which people's thinking evolved over time. In examining world views, historians eschew the pitfalls of presentism—interpreting the past through present-day lens and judging past actions with present standards.[13]

While students seem to understand the concept of world views in this preliminary discussion, some misinterpret it in a later exercise. Instead of offering illustrations of people's mindsets, a few give examples of how the world viewed a particular group of people. This error at first led me to consider avoiding the term world view altogether, but, upon further reflection, I decided to continue to use it, since it is used among academics as well as in popular discourse. Rather than avoiding the term, I remind myself to be more cognizant of possible misinterpretation and to spend more time discussing this concept carefully and thoroughly.

In an exercise at applying this concept, I ask the class to consider Hawai'i's high school students of the 1930s, and pose questions that would help to illuminate their world views. I give students a few minutes to jot down ideas and then share them with another person sitting nearby. The questions students pose include the following: What fads were popular? What were the students' socio-economic levels? What social and economic pressures and concerns were they facing? What ethnic groups are we looking at? What generations are we looking at—for example, immigrants, children of immigrants, Native Hawaiians? What types of technologies did students have access to? What values did they have? Who were their heroes? What were their parents' and their own attitudes toward schooling?

Change Over Time

Another element of historical study is the examination of change over time: political, economic, social, and cultural. The idea of change involves the recognition of gradual change as well as radical shifts. As part of the notion of change, historians investigate the interactions between humans and their social, cultural, and physical environments, and the processes involved in these interactions, including conflict, cooperation, and adaptation.

I ask students to think of instances of gradual as well as radical changes in the history of Hawai'i. As students note, gradual and almost imperceptible changes occurred in the cultural and social lives of Native Hawaiians during the 500-year-long period of isolation, after waves of Polynesians had arrived from the Marquesas and Society Islands in the South Pacific. Students also note a later period of relatively gradual change, when Hawai'i's economic base moved from agriculture in the mid-nineteenth century to the military in the mid-twentieth century, to tourism in the late twentieth century. In contrast, dramatic change came to the islands beginning in the eighteenth century with the arrival of Western explorers, adventurers, and missionaries, ending the *kapu* system, introducing Christianity and a system of writing, and bringing an influx of foreign

[13]Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies*, 135–40.

diseases. Westerners also initiated radical changes in the population. From 1850 to 1925, the population increased substantially as plantation agents recruited laborers worldwide, especially from Asia, to work in the islands' sugarcane fields and mills. As a result of these recruiting efforts, the composition of Hawai'i's population shifted dramatically. While Native Hawaiians constituted 97.1 percent of the population in 1853, their population decreased by 13.8 percent by 1930. In contrast, while Asians constituted 0.5 percent of the population in 1853, their proportion (immigrants and their Asian American children) grew to 64.2 percent by 1930.[14] Still another trigger of dramatic changes came in 1959 with the advent of statehood.

Continuities

While historians examine change, they also look for continuities between past and present, to see how the past can inform our understanding of the present. I ask students to identify examples of continuities in Hawai'i's history. One example they give is the islands' single public school system, first established in 1840 by the kingdom of Hawai'i, later becoming the territorial public school system in 1900 after Hawai'i was annexed to the United States, and continuing as one public school system in 1959 when Hawai'i became a state. Another continuity is the control since 1954 of island politics by the Democratic Party.

Small Group Activity

Having spent the first thirty minutes discussing major aspects of historical thinking, the class then divides into small groups. I find that for this activity, groups of five to seven work best. Normally I prefer to have students discuss in pairs or in groups of three or four, so that all have opportunities to participate actively. But in this particular instance, I find that larger groups generate better ideas because more people allow for a more productive exchange of ideas and serve as a check on errors in thinking.

I give the groups about twenty minutes to accomplish four tasks, to be done in the order I list them. (1) First of all, they are to select a *place* and an *event* that occurred there. I tell them that in order to do this activity, they have to know a little (but not a lot) about the event. (2) Next they are to answer this question: What questions would the historian need to answer in order to place the event within a larger *context*? I emphasize to students that I am not interested in their knowing the answers to the questions. Instead, I want them to pose the questions. (3) Then they are to ask themselves, What questions would the historian need to answer in order to understand the *world views* of the people involved in this event? Once again, I want them to generate questions for investigation, not the answers. (4) Their final task is to ask themselves: What questions would get at issues of change and continuity?

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[14]Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii's People*, 3rd ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967), 20.

Each group chooses a facilitator whose role is to make sure that all members contribute actively to the discussion and a recorder whose job is to report on the group's discussion. Groups have selected a wide variety of topics. What follow are three samples that took students beyond the confines of Hawai'i's local history.

Sample 1: The Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima

Context—Questions Generated: What was happening in Japan at the time the decision was made to drop the bomb? What was happening with the United States and its allies? What events led up to the bombing? Who was living in Hiroshima at the time? How does the bombing of Hiroshima fit within the overall bombing of the rest of Japan? Within the context of the bombing of Europe?

World Views—Questions Generated: Who were in favor of dropping the bomb and why? Who were opposed and why? What were the reactions of the Japanese? of the Americans? of the rest of the world? What was the thinking of the U.S. military? of President Harry Truman and his advisors? What was the purpose of the bombing? How did the Japanese people view the war before and after the bombing? the Japanese military?

Changes and Continuities—Questions Generated: How did life in Japan change or remain the same after the bombing? How were the lives of the bomb victims affected, physically, economically, and socially? What social stigma came to the families of the bomb victims? How did the dropping of the bomb affect the nature of warfare?

Sample 2: The Assassination in 1963 of John F. Kennedy in Dallas, Texas

Context—Questions Generated: Why was Kennedy in Dallas? Who was he with in Dallas? Where was he and what was happening around him when he was assassinated? Who witnessed the assassination? What was the domestic political situation like in 1963? Where did Kennedy fit in the political spectrum? What was the state of world affairs during this time?

World Views—Questions Generated: Why did the assassin pull the trigger? Why did Jack Ruby shoot Lee Harvey Oswald? How did Americans view President Kennedy? How did people of other countries view him? How did Americans and people of other countries react to the assassination?

Changes and Continuities—Questions Generated: What was the transition like when Lyndon B. Johnson became president? In what ways did Johnson change Kennedy's policies and programs? In what ways did he continue them? How were issues of civil rights and Vietnam affected by the change in presidency?

Sample 3: The Return in 1997 of Hong Kong to China

Context—Questions Generated: Why and how did Great Britain have control of Hong Kong in the first place? Why was Hong Kong returned to China? What type of government was Hong Kong expected to have under the People's Republic of China (PRC)?

World Views—Questions Generated: What did the government of the PRC think about this return? the government of Great Britain? the Chinese living in the PRC? the Chinese and non-Chinese living in Hong King? What was life like for the residents of Hong Kong just before its return to China?

Changes and Continuities—Questions Generated: Was the change in governmental systems radical or gradual? How was international trade in Hong Kong affected? In what ways did the daily lives of Hong Kong residents change? remain the same?

How Historians Answer Their Questions

With the preceding exercise, I take students beyond popular notions of history as being primarily interested in factual information. I want them to consider the types of questions that historians ask themselves in the process of their research. By digging beneath the surface, students gain a sense of how the historical perspective can help them reach an understanding of how events occurred and why things happened the way they did. (One aspect of historical inquiry that I plan to include the next time I do this exercise with students is the question of causation, which will encourage them to generate even more questions of how and why.)

Having posed the questions, how then do historians answer them? In *Historians' Fallacies*, David Hackett Fischer describes the evidence available to the researcher: "Take a Jackson Pollock painting and cut it into a jigsaw puzzle with a hundred thousand parts. Throw away all the corner pieces, two-thirds of the edge pieces, and one-half of the rest."[15] The remaining pieces can be likened to what is available to the historian. The historian Michael Katz also discusses the issue of evidence in his study of a nineteenth-century Canadian city: "On an average day in 1851 about 14,000 people awoke in Hamilton, Canada West. Most of them were quite unremarkable and thoroughly ordinary. In fact, there is no reason why the historian reading books, pamphlets, newspaper, or even diaries and letters should ever encounter more than 700 of them. The rest, at least 95 out of every 100, remain invisible. Insofar as most written history is concerned, they might just as well never have lived."[16]

Thus historians attempt to make sense of the past by using the limited sources available to them. The historian Gerda Lerner noted, "History making, then, is a creative enterprise, by means of which we fashion out fragments of human memory and selected evidence of the past a mental construct of a coherent past world that makes sense to the

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[15]Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies*, 135n.

[16]Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 16.

present."[17] In the same vein, the historian William McNeill wrote that in order to make sense of the clutter of information available, historians pay "selective attention" to the data before them, leaving some things out, "relegating them to the status of background noise" and discerning "an intelligible pattern" from the facts before them. McNeill went on to write that "absolute, eternal truth in history is unattainable" because historians themselves shape the information that they amass, and historians are influenced by their own experiences and the intellectual "climate of opinion" of their time.[18]

Since the 1960s, the positivist idea of knowing the past as-it-really-was has collapsed. Yet even a decade ago, the profession was still grappling with the question of objectivity, as evidenced by the controversy surrounding *That Noble Dream*, a historical study of the historical profession, in which Peter Novick demonstrated the ways in which historians compromised their ideal of objectivity.[19]

Since the advent of postmodernism, the assumption of objectivity has fallen apart. The nineteenth-century notion of so-called scientific history has been replaced with an emphasis on interpretation as being at the heart of history.[20] Yet well before the onslaught of postmodernism, as early as 1910 and later again in his now classic essay, "Everyman His Own Historian," the noted historian Carl Becker wrote of the relativity of historical "myths."[21]

More recently, the historian Nancy Schrom Dye encapsulated the historical process eloquently:

> History ... is an interpretation, not a reconstruction, of past reality; it is the result of a process designed to impose order on the vast and chaotic accumulation of ... material handed down from the past. To construct a coherent narrative of some aspect of the past, historians formulate questions and methodologies, sift through documents and statistical data, and finally, expand some of their materials and delete others. What historians ignore and what they stress depend upon their notions of historical significance. In turn, historians' judgments concerning significance depend upon their personal, political, and social values, their social status, their personal

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[17]Gerda Lerner, "The Necessity of History and the Professional Historian," *National Forum*, 62:3 (1982), 37.

[18]William H. McNeill, *Mythistory and Other Essays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 5–6, 162–63.

[19]Novick, *That Noble Dream*.

[20]Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History*.

[21]Carl L. Becker, "Everyman His Own Historian," *American Historical Review*, 37:1 (1932), 231; Carl L. Becker, "Detachment and the Writing of History," *Atlantic Monthly*, 106 (October 1910), 524–36.

> experience, and the cultural milieu in which they work. Not surprisingly, historians' notions of significance have changed a good deal over the past hundred years: what has been important to one generation of scholars has seldom been compelling to the next. Writing history, then, is a continuous process, not so much because historians uncover new sources or develop new methodologies as because our view of the past and our evaluations of what is important about it are constantly changing.[22]

With each generation interpreting the past anew and drawing insights that are relevant to its own time, one can understand why there are thousands of books on Abraham Lincoln, arguably the world's most written-about person.

But the danger of taking the postmodernist stance to its extreme is to deny any judgment that accepts one historical account over another, to hold forth an unreflective cynicism toward all accounts, resulting in the view that any opinion is just as good as any other. To counteract the threat of falling into the trap of this "relativist nihilism,"[23] I stress to students that there is a profound difference between superficial opinion and valid interpretation. The historian engages in extensive research—reading widely on the varying interpretations made by others, evaluating sources, seeking solid evidence, making connections, and producing sound argumentation.[24]

A number of studies have made systematic and detailed inquiries into the nature of historical research. Wineburg investigated the ways in which historians examine and evaluate primary and secondary sources, seeing both as "rhetorical artifacts"[25] created by humans for various purposes. Historians compare multiple pieces of evidence, analyze relationships among them, and use them to build their arguments. And they situate the evidence in the context of time and place. Stuart Greene examined how historians develop their arguments, "making connections among different issues" and

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[22]Nancy Schrom Dye, "Clio's American Daughters: Male History, Female Reality," in Julia A. Sherman and Evelyn T. Beck, eds., *The Prism of Sex: Essays in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), 9.

[23]David Lowenthal, "Dilemmas and Delights of Learning History," in Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg, Eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, 71.

[24]Ward, *Studying History*.

[25]Sam Wineburg, "The Cognitive Representation of Historical Texts," in Gaea Leinhardt, Isabel L. Beck, and Catherine Stainton, eds., *Teaching and Learning in History* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994), 115.

"playing issues off one another."[26] In these ways, historians seek to understand the past to the fullest extent possible.

After discussing the preceding ideas, and as the session comes to a close, I ask students to discuss whether or not their ideas about history changed as a result of this session. I ask them to respond in writing without identifying themselves. While a few say that they see little or no change in their understanding of history, most report new or renewed interest in the subject. One student wrote, "I always thought that history was boring when I was in high school; then it was the dreaded class in college. I always had a hard time focusing and staying interested. It must have been the way it was presented. At today's session, the way we picked a topic in history and analyzed it made it interesting and fun. We had to look into detail about the event." Another wrote, "History was never my strong point, mainly because I didn't enjoy the date and fact cramming that most classes required .... I really enjoyed your presentation and really identified with the concept of world views and how the people involved felt and what they were thinking. You showed us new ways to look at historical events that I can identify with and find interest in." One student felt motivated to learn more about his family's history: "After tonight's session, my appreciation for history increased. This is because I started to reflect back to my childhood and that of my parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents. Before my parents pass away, I should get a complete oral history of their struggles as son and daughter to immigrants. What sacrifices, values, cultural adjustments and triumphs did they experience?"

A number of students noted that they came to see history as "complex," "comprehensive," and "multi-faceted," "not just a list of facts in chronological order." Some said that they would be more cautious when talking about "facts." To my surprise, many liked the idea of history as interpretation, allaying my concern that the issue of relativism might lead them to reject history altogether. One referred to history's relativism as "a dynamic process."

One student discussed the importance of knowing "about the background of the historians because their perspectives will be in the histories they write." Another generalized this awareness to other works by noting, "I am now more prone to think about who wrote what I am reading." Another put it this way, "I need to be more aware of the author of the source I am using."

Most enjoy the group activity. One student explained, "[It] helped me to see how to ask questions." Another reported, "While trying to come up with questions on our

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[26]Stuart Greene, "The Problems of Learning to Think Like a Historian: Writing History in the Culture of the Classroom," *Educational Psychologist*, 29:2 (1994), 92–93. See also Gaea Leinhardt, Catherine Stainton, and Salim M. Virji, "A Sense of History," *Educational Psychologist*, 29:2 (1994), 79–88; and G. Williamson McDiarmid, "Understanding History for Teaching: A Study of the Historical Understanding of Prospective Teachers," in Mario Carretero and James F. Voss, ed., *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994), 159–85.

chosen event, I was able to see history from various perspectives." One noted, "The group activity was like looking into a magnifying glass."

What can be accomplished in a short session of two hours is understandably just the tip of the iceberg. Such exercises in "doing history"—as examining sources, gathering, analyzing, and finding relationships among pieces of evidence, developing cause and effect hypotheses, interrogating the complexity of causation, developing sound arguments, contending with contradictory evidence and opposing arguments—all of which provide greater insights into the discipline, would have to be left to other sessions. Practicing historians develop these skills over time and with experience, and one should not expect transformative results in just one session or one workshop, or even one course. And yet, while the ability to think historically takes time and practice, touching the tip of the iceberg of history is important as the first step in understanding the historian's craft.

REAL WORK, NOT BUSY WORK: THE PLACE PAPER

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We know the complaints well: This reading is boring, the assignment doesn't make sense, and those random facts must be memorized. Students receive homework and must force themselves to complete it. They agonize for hours in front of the computer writing a paper, yet they eagerly spend even longer creating and updating their web pages. Why?

Other complaints are even more familiar because we teachers often make them: so much grading to do, so many superficial essays to read, so many maps to scrutinize. We see grading as the worst part of our job and, if possible, we dump the task on teaching assistants. For hours we wade through blue books piled high on our desks, yet we relish spending even more time with our seminar students. Why?

Of course I have exaggerated here—not all students hate their assignments and not all teachers dread grading—but I trust you recognize the examples. To answer the question of why we sometimes flee from work and other times embrace it, we should look more closely at what we mean by "work." The work we dislike tends to be "busy work," work that seems pointless and must be assigned in order for it to be completed.[1] Students see no larger significance to the facts that must be memorized, and so they forget these dates and names soon after the test. We tackle the piles of final exams not because we look forward to what we will learn, but because we must submit grades before the registrar releases us for the summer. On the other side, the work that students and teachers enjoy can be called "real work," something done not necessarily for a class, but to enrich our own lives. People make the responsible decision and choose to do "real work"—it does not have to be assigned. Students immerse themselves in web design because it challenges their creativity, expresses their identity, and links them to the wider world through cyberspace. Teachers love seminars because they care deeply about that particular topic, love to share that interest with others, and crave the information their students are able to unearth.[2]

If our assignments can take the form of "real work" by speaking more directly to our interests and lives, then both we and our students will engage the material more deeply, expend more effort, and learn more. This journal has published many examples of such assignments, but I would like to offer another one that gets students to see their surroundings in new ways.

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[1]The work might *seem* pointless, but of course it might well have an important point. In this essay I do not argue that all of what students see as "busy work" is necessarily pointless. I would like to focus instead on two assignments that I hope students will *not* see as "busy work."

[2]I first came across many of these ideas during discussions with Dr. Eric S. Rabkin, Department of English, University of Michigan, and in his unpublished paper, "A Principle for Pedagogic Reform: Real Work is Better than Homework."

The Place Paper

Students and teachers alike tend to rush through life, eyes fixed on the immediate goal (getting to the bank, to the next class, to graduation) and somewhat oblivious to the surroundings. We live in the world, but do not really "see" it. As Sherlock Holmes gently chided Dr. Watson, "You see, but you do not observe."[3] We have a record of human history set out before us but often we cannot "read" it clearly. My "Place Paper" assignment asks students to look closely and think imaginatively about a specific place, speculate about what humans did there (and why), and then carry out research to confirm or correct the speculation. I have used this assignment in my introductory survey "North American Environmental History," but it could be applied to any history course because issues of place, location, and geography have relevance in all time periods and with any topic.

I ask students to choose a specific place on or around campus and typically they select something with a ten-mile radius.[4] I deliberately use the open-ended word "place" because I want students to choose a location they find interesting. The size of the place does not matter too much; something as small as a yard or a house allows students to look very closely, while something as big as a mountain gives students many topics to explore. After students read articles that will help them "see" and think about landscapes generally,[5] they visit their place with only a pen and paper and observe for at least thirty minutes, taking notes all the while. Students then spend another thirty minutes fleshing out their notes and brainstorming, on paper, about the connections between the things they have seen, the broader relationships between humans and the environment, and the historical context in which all of this takes place.

For example, a sizeable river flows through my town. If you were to stand on one of the bridges that spans the river, you would take in a number of sights: the river bottom; railroad tracks that run along the north bank; a town park along the south bank; and a big levee across the street from the park that protects the rear of a strip mall. You

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[3]Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, "A Scandal in Bohemia," in *The Complete Sherlock Holmes*, vol. 1 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1930), 162.

[4]For a more detailed description of the assignment, please see the appendix.

[5]Some works I have found useful include John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), especially the chapter "Country Towns for a New Part of the Country," 73–81; John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *A Sense of Place, A Sense of Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), especially the chapter "Roads Belong in the Landscape," 189–205; Peirce F. Lewis, "Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene," in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. D.W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 11–32; and May Theilgaard Watts, *Reading the Landscape of America*, revised ed. (New York: Collier Books, 1975), especially the chapters "Canyon Story, or Following a Stream in Southern Indiana," 38–52; and "Camp Sites, Fires, and Cud-Chewers, or How the Upland Forest Changes from Illinois to Wisconsin," 174–194.

would also note the absence of some things you might expect to see: There are no docks, piers, or boat launches, no tourist shops or restaurants with outdoor seating to take in a view of the river. With observations such as these, students then write a five-page paper speculating about the environmental and human history of the location. In particular, they must answer the larger "So what?" questions—why would anyone care about this spot? How does it fit into the larger patterns of American history?

Given the example above, students might note that being able to see the river's bottom means a shallowness that would have limited commercial shipping and explain the absence of any docks. They might also see that the river's gentle flow suggests a flat bed, ideal for a railroad that would then spur the town's growth. The park speaks to ideas dating back to the nineteenth century that humans have much to gain—physically, emotionally, and spiritually—by spending time outdoors, especially near striking natural features such as rivers.[6] The big levee serves as a clue that at sometime in the past the river flooded and threatened or damaged the strip mall. The levee also speaks to the realm of ideas: that humans should be able to build anywhere they wish, even in a flood plain; that nature can be controlled by human actions; and that malls are worth the time and money spent to build the levee.[7] Finally, the bridge itself speaks to our desire to move freely and to the dominance of the automobile, with the two paved lanes dwarfing the narrow sidewalk that pedestrians and bicyclists must share.[8]

Once I comment on and return the students' papers, they conduct research to see if they were correct in their educated guesses about the location's environmental history. Their revised and expanded papers constitute "real work" in a number of ways. First, students develop a better understanding of a place they care about or at least a place in which they live during the school year. The assignment opens their eyes so that they see familiar things in new ways. My deepest wish is that students never look at a place, in this case the river, the same way again. Second, students come to realize that "seeing" is a useful skill to have in life. Should they (or their employer) invest in this property over here, or that one over there? Why should they buy a house in this neighborhood rather than that one? Third, students become better historians by forming hypotheses

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[6]See, for example, Henry David Thoreau's many writings from the 1840s to the 1860s, Aldo Leopold's *A Sand County Almanac* (1949, available in many editions), and Roderick Nash's useful overview, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 4th ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

[7]For eloquent and forceful arguments along these lines, consider some of Donald Worster's writings, such as *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); and *Under Western Skies: Nature and History in the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[8]For example, see Jane Holtz Kay, *Asphalt Nation: How the Automobile Took Over America, and How We Can Take It Back* (New York: Crown, 1997).

grounded in direct observations and then testing them through research. This process should help them make better hypotheses in the future. Furthermore, a teacher might consider this assignment to be "real work" too. My eyes are opened along with the students'—I learned about new places in the area and different human–environment relationships, and I had the background information in hand for a host of potential field trips.

Several students were initially confused by the assignment, but it helped to walk them through examples like the one mentioned above (literally "walk," for we spent one class period on the bridge, in the park, and climbing the levee). Their evaluations at the end of the class showed enthusiasm for this assignment. For example, one said, "The place papers were meaningful" and another wrote, "The assignments, while unusual, have caused me to think a lot in ways I don't usually think, taking quantifiable science courses." In the future, I might shift this assignment in different directions. For example, a group of students writing a single "Place Paper" should produce a more sophisticated analysis than a student working alone. Or a paper could compare two similar locations to provide different insights. Or the "Place Paper" could be linked with a reading that will be discussed in subsequent weeks. For example, I might ask students to focus on the built environment and then read a monograph on urbanization and suburbanization. When they return home at the end of the term, perhaps they will see their old, familiar neighborhood in new and more imaginative ways. If so personal a location as their home can take on new meanings because of this assignment, then both the students and I have accomplished "real work."

(**Editor's Note**: A second part of David Hsiung's essay on "Real Work, Not Busy Work" will follow in the spring 2004 issue of *Teaching History*. The second segment will describe another "real work" activity that Hsiung calls "The Primary Source Paper.")

APPENDIX

The Place Paper

Please follow these steps for completing the assignment:

1. *Select a specific place in central Pennsylvania.* I have used this open-ended wording to give you the most flexibility in choosing a location. The size of the place does not matter too much; it can be as small as a yard and as big as a mountain range (certain advantages and disadvantages exist with either end of the scale). Choose a place you are already familiar with and can visit several times during the semester.
2. *Consult the readings on reserve at the library;* they will help you "see" and think about the landscape. Depending on the place you have chosen to study, some of the readings might be more useful to you than others. The readings include:

John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), the chapter "Country Towns for a New Part of the Country."

John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *A Sense of Place, A Sense of Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), the chapter "Roads Belong in the Landscape."

Pierce F. Lewis, "Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene," in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, edited by D.W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Pres, 1979).

May Theilgaard Watts, *Reading the Landscape of America*, revised ed. (New York: Collier Books, 1975), the chapters "Canyon Story, or Following a Stream in Southern Indiana" and "Camp Sites, Fires, and Cud-Chewers, or How the Upland Forest Changes from Illinois to Wisconsin."

3.Go to the place you have selected with only a pen and paper. Keeping in mind the key themes, developments, ideas, and questions we have addressed in class and in the readings, observe your place for at least thirty minutes, taking brief notes all the while. Then spend at least thirty minutes filling out your notes and brainstorming, on paper, about connections between the things you have seen, about the relationship between humans and the environment, and about the historical context in which all of this takes place.

4. *Please write a 5–6 page paper discussing the environmental history of your location.* Because you only have these few pages, think carefully about the elements you wish to explore—far better that you explain a few things clearly and thoroughly instead of many things superficially. Explain to the reader how this place probably came to have the shape and characteristics it has today. Use your imagination and "read" your piece of the landscape as a historical document of past environmental change. In addition: Be sure to answer the question: "Why are this place and its environmental history important in the larger scheme of things?" Why would anyone besides you be interested in this place? In other words, you need to answer two basic question, "So what?" and "Who cares?"

5. *Take a classmate to your location and then have that person comment on your paper.* Revise as you see fit.

6. *Turn in your paper at the start of class on Friday, February 8.* For every three spelling and/or basic grammatical errors, your grade will drop by as much as one full letter. This will form half of the grade for the assignment (or 10% of your course grade).

7. *Once you get your paper back, conduct research to verify or revise your initial thinking.* You made an educated guess about your location's environmental history; now you need to determine if you were right. Consult at least three sources, one of which must be scholarly (defined as something that provides you the source of its information), and turn in a revised 6–7 page paper. Cite your sources using the Chicago style. The same penalty for poor writing applies. This paper is due Friday, March 22, and is worth the other half of the grade for the assignment (another 10% of your course grade).

REVIEWS

Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin. *Joan of Arc: Her Story*. Translated and revised by Jeremy duQuesnay Adams. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1999. Pp. xxii, 304. Paper, $14.95; ISBN 0-312-22730-2.

Jeremy Adams here presents a revision and translation of one of Régine Pernoud's magisterial works about Joan of Arc—this one researched and written with Marie-Véronique Clin, and titled, in its original French, simply *Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, 1986). If Adams had produced only the translation, he would have done the English-reading public a great service, for the narrative, the argument, and "the battery of data" presented by Pernoud and Clin are invaluable. He has, however, done much more than translate: He has updated bibliography and "filmography," revised the text substantively at points, and provided a new introduction (called "Prelude"), which concisely and lucidly outlines the crucial context of the Hundred Years' War and the Great Schism.

In Part I, "The Drama," Joan's story is told with considerable attention to detail and discussion of sources. Although Adams notes the impossibility of conveying Pernoud's "distinctive and famous style" in English, his translation belies his modesty. The reader enjoys the story and reading it is a pleasure; indeed, it becomes a page-turner despite one's knowledge of the ending. Part II and Part III are a sort of encyclopedia to accompany the biography. Part II comprises three alphabetical lists of those who played important roles in Joan's life (from Charles VII, King of France, to her judges at Rouen). Part III presents the evidence and historiography of such questions as Joan's name, language, and armor, as well as facts about her posthumous image, from art to canonization proceedings to stage and film. Three appendices present her letters, a chronology and itinerary of her public life, and a series of maps and plans (e.g., of the siege of Orléans). There is also a topical bibliography (on some of the subjects covered in Part III) and a general bibliography.

All in all, everything is here that research students (including those with no ability to read French) would need to begin work on Joan's life and myth. To assign the work to an entire class would require considerable background work; indeed, it would have to be part of some sort of extended unit that combined reading of the narrative parts of the text with lectures, film, and discussion. Every teacher would design such a unit differently, of course, but of this I am certain: Properly prepared students, with Adams's "Prelude" and Pernoud's narrative to draw them into the drama, could painlessly learn not only a collection of historical details, but the uses of many different kinds of sources (from chronicles to account-books and muster-rolls) and ways of comparing and criticizing those sources. Moreover, Part III provides ample material for a discussion of the use and abuse of historical figures in modern movements—from Voltaire's Enlightenment contempt for Joan to images of Joan in twentieth-century world wars.

All in all, anyone who teaches the Hundred Years' War would do well to read this book for his or her own edification and might find it a source of inspiration for creative assignments related to historical sources and methods. I highly recommend it.

Princeton University Tia M. Kolbaba

John McGurk. *The Tudor Monarchies 1485–1603*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Pp. iv, 124. Paper, $11.85; ISBN 0-521-59665-3.

John McGurk takes the monarchy, "the most important institution in political and constitutional change" in western Europe in the 1400s and 1500s, as his starting point for a succinct survey of British history during the Tudor age. Change is the key term here, as McGurk seeks to address the controversy on how much the Tudors transformed English medieval government. His fine book's traditional structure is largely chronological, with two introductory chapters on the monarchy (with a detailed tree for the York, Lancastrian, and Tudor families) and historical background followed by six more devoted to the monarchs. The chapters average thirteen pages, though Elizabeth I's two sections (divided at 1588) get more than forty percent of the pages on the individual rulers. McGurk writes with the economy necessary to craft a concise and concrete summary of a vast topic.

This is a book to be studied carefully and used actively. Each chapter contains a misnamed section, "Document case study." It is misnamed because each section contains an average of five to six brief excerpts from primary (mostly) and secondary documents. The documents are followed by an average of six to seven questions of varying usefulness. The interpretative questions are much better than the factual ones, such as one of the best coming in the first chapter. McGurk asks: "What dimension of kingship does 1.3 ["The crown as the supreme symbol of kingship," using Richard II's monologue in Shakespeare's *Richard II* (3.2.155–70)] add to those shown in 1.1 [Sir John Fortescue on "The monarch and the law"] and 1.2 ["The consecration of the sovereign by anointing with oil"]?

The six-page conclusion thoughtfully addresses crucial scholarly debates on Tudor issues during the past three decades about the Wars of the Roses, "Overmighty Subjects," Parliament, Tudor despotism, the centralization of royal authority, and the last fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign. This conclusion serves as a concise annotated bibliography on revisionist opinions. A five-page bibliography, five-page chronology, and a serviceable three-page index complete the book.

Eight images enrich the text, including the cover illustration. Each Tudor monarch gets at least one portrait (the most for Elizabeth I, of course). McGurk turns the images themselves into case study documents. Two images are intriguing allegories of political power: the cover with the dramatic scene of the dying Henry VIII giving over his power to his son, surrounded by the destruction of popery; and Philip Moro's portrait of Queen Mary's husband, Philip II of Spain, riding a cow (i.e., ruling the Netherlands).

McGurk's brief *Tudor Monarchies* is an addition to the Cambridge Perspectives in History series on European history themes and periods. It joins other small volumes on the fifteenth (*Lancastrians to Tudors: England 1450–1509*) and seventeenth (*Regicide and Republic: England 1603–1660*) centuries. *Tudor Monarchies* omits information on the author, who is an authority on late sixteenth-century Anglo-Irish relations. His publications include *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: The 1590s*

Crisis (1997). Ireland figures prominently in his accounts of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I.

The *Tudor Monarchies* is highly recommended as an introductory text for undergraduate or graduate courses that feature major primary or secondary materials. McGurk's excellent study will provide the necessary background for your students.

Catawba College Charles McAllister

Allan Todd. *Revolutions, 1789–1917.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Pp. iv, 140. Paper, $11.95; ISBN 0-521-58600-3.

This interesting little book summarizes and analyzes four great upheavals: the great French Revolution, the Revolutions of 1848, the French Commune of 1871, and the two Russian revolutions of 1917. Written in a lively style, the volume contains a wealth of factual information, including revealing anecdotes and memorable quotations. Clearly Todd has invested a great deal of research and thought in the preparation of the volume. Like other works in the series, *Cambridge Perspectives in History*, it includes a short selection of source materials, a few well-chosen illustrations, a chronological outline of major events, and a select bibliography of about two pages.

Many history teachers, unfortunately, will be unhappy with the organization of the book. Rather than writing narrative chapters devoted to the individual revolutions, Todd has devoted each of the ten chapters to a major theme, including historical background, revolutionary violence, the influence of ideology, leadership, mass participation, the role of women, counter-revolutionary reaction, and enduring legacies. Although this organization will perhaps please teachers who emphasize the comparative approach to history, it will be a major obstacle for those who prefer to concentrate on each of the revolutions as a unique and individual occurrence.

For students without any prior knowledge of the material, this thematic organization seriously detracts from its potential usefulness as a text. Students who have no idea about what happened in 1789, 1848, 1871, and 1917 will likely find this arrangement bewildering and confusing. In order to assimilate such a comparative approach, in my opinion, readers need to possess a basic knowledge about the people and events of the revolutions. It would be possible, of course, for the teacher to approach the individual revolutions chronologically by assigning the readings according to page numbers rather than according to chapters, but this would entail a certain amount of discontinuity.

Todd is very inconsistent in his use of the term "revolution." Initially drawing a sharp distinction between a reform movement and a revolution, he defines the latter as an instance "when people attempt to completely transform the social, economic, political and ideological features of their society." Many of the events described in the book, indeed most of the occurrences of 1848, do not appear to correspond to this definition.

Sometimes Todd writes as though two revolutions occurred in Russia in 1917, and elsewhere he suggests that the March Revolution was a modest political reform that was only important for its role in preparing for the Bolshevik Revolution in November.

Although Todd's interpretations are usually balanced and reasonable, several of his generalizations about Marxism, Leninism, and the Bolshevik Revolution are uncritically favorable and highly questionable. He finds, for example, that the early Bolsheviks instituted a system of "direct democracy," and thus he denounces the Constituent Assembly of 1918, although elected, as a focus for "the growing counter revolution." Likewise, he asserts that "orthodox Marxism" is a logical extension of "the 1789 ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity," and he fails to acknowledge the logical connection between Stalinism and Lenin's theory of an elite party as the vanguard of the working classes.

Mount Senario College Thomas Tandy Lewis

Annika Mombauer. *The Origins of the First World War: Controversies and Consensus*. London & New York: Longman, 2002. Pp. ix, 256. Paper, $16.00; ISBN 0-582-41872-0.

Debate on the origins of the First World War, "the great seminal catastrophe" of the twentieth century according to George Kennan, has continued for almost a century. Oceans of ink have already been devoted to the topic, yet excellent new contributions continue to pour from the presses. Small wonder that it is difficult, if not impossible, for an instructor or graduate student to keep up with the nuances of this long-continuing debate. Annika Mombauer's *The Origins of the First World War: Controversies and Consensus*, is, therefore, a welcome, and affordable, addition to the still-burgeoning literature on the topic.

Mombauer, a Lecturer in European History at Britain's Open University and author of a recently-published monograph on the origins of the war (*Helmuth von Moltke and the Origins of the First World War*, 2001), attempts here to provide a panoramic overview of the historiography of war origins. Her aim is "to explain why the search for an explanation of the outbreak of the war has been 'almost obsessive,' [and to provide] a guide through the maze of interpretations on the origins of the war."

Proceeding chronologically, from the war years themselves to the present, Mombauer argues that in every era there was an "intimate connection between the political concerns of a society and its interpretation of history." For instance, during and immediately after the war it was in the interest of all belligerents, especially the Germans, to displace the blame from their own leaders. But, by the 1920s, says Mombauer, a consensus emerged that diluted the harsh anti-German verdict of the Versailles Treaty in favor of interpretations that emphasized shared responsibility or argued that the war was no one's fault in particular. This outlook reflected, of course,

Germany's passionate rejection of the war guilt clause of the treaty, but also the allied (predominately British and American) desire to rehabilitate Germany politically. All this changed dramatically in 1961, Mombauer argues, when German historian Fritz Fischer published his historiographical blockbuster, *Griff nach der Weltmacht* (English edition: *Germany's Aims in the First World War*). Fischer reinvigorated the "war guilt" debate by arguing that Germany in 1914, indeed, had been an expansionistic power whose policies contributed greatly to the descent into madness. What made Fischer's thesis especially explosive in Germany was the post-World-War-II political climate in which Germans were eager to argue, and believe, that the militaristic expansionism of the Third Reich had been an aberration in German history. If Fischer was correct, that assumption would be thrown into question. According to Mombauer, the publication of Fischer's book marks the major dividing line in the war origins debate. After Fischer, she argues, a new consensus emerged in which "no one would seriously maintain ... that Germany had been an innocent party" (the dominant view of the interwar years) or that "Germany had acted in complete isolation" (the verdict of Versailles).

The book is thoroughly researched and documented (31 pages of notes out of 224) and includes a superb map (redrawn from Martin Gilbert's *First World War Atlas*) of German territorial losses after 1919. Professor Mombauer rightly focuses on the issue of German war guilt, but perhaps spends too much time recounting the shifting vicissitudes of the debate within Germany itself. And, in places, the book is repetitive. Still and all, I can think of no better single volume to help instructors and graduate students get a quick and insightful overview of one of the last century's most passionate historiographical controversies.

Webster University Michael Salevouris

Robert Service. *The Russian Revolution, 1900–1927*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999. Third Edition. Pp. x, 111. Paper $11.95; ISBN 0-312-22361-7.
James D. White. *Lenin: The Practice and Theory of Revolution*. New York: Palgrave, 2001. Pp. x, 262. Cloth, $69.95; ISBN 0-333-72156-X. Paper, $19.95; ISBN 0-333-72157-8.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 is one of the most compelling and controversial topics in modern Russian history. The backgrounds and ideologies of the participants vary from defenders of the monarchy to radical revolutionaries and many in between. How these events and people have been interpreted over the past 85 years has filled hundreds of books and journal articles with many varied opinions. The controversy over how to interpret the Russian Revolution has made it difficult to introduce to students who are unfamiliar with the depth of the subject. The two books under review here try, in different ways, to present this controversial part of history for undergraduate students. Robert Service provides a broad overview of the Russian Revolution in a brief work that

covers about thirty years. James D. White paints an interesting portrait of Vladimir Lenin's theory of revolution and how he put that theory into action.

Service's work is divided into three broad chapters. The first chapter covers Russia from 1900–1914 and includes basic discussions of the Romanov dynasty, the Russian economy, the political problems facing Russia, and others. He blends information about the Russian world with more sophisticated analysis of the problems facing the monarchy. He notes the importance of the Russian economy for the nation's development and the monarchy's attempts to catch up with European industrial developments. The key problems facing Russia were underlying radical agitation and the crisis of the Revolution of 1905. Service shows how this revolution illuminated Russia's problems with military preparedness, food supply, social unrest, and radical agitation.

The second chapter addresses the complicated story of how World War I affected the course of Russian history. The war itself was a colossal disaster that left the Russian monarchy in a vulnerable position while radical groups continued to demand change. Service gives a good description of the two revolutions here. He notes how the first in February 1917, the one that deposed the monarchy, was carried out by Duma members. The resulting government was a fragile one that had few choices as they tried to hold Russia together and keep the country in the war. The chapter concludes with the rise of the Bolsheviks, the collapse of the Provisional government, and the rise of a new government.

The third chapter looks at the extent of the Russian Revolution over the next decade. This broad approach looks at the revolution, not so much as a singular event, but as a process that goes through many changes and phases over the succeeding decade until Joseph Stalin gains complete control over the Soviet Union, when most historians acknowledge that at this time the revolution took a different direction. This chapter lays out clearly the revolutionary turmoil that plagued the new Soviet Union for several years after the initial seizure of power.

White's biography of Lenin examines this complex and controversial figure from an intellectual perspective rather than from a traditional biographical approach. White organizes his work into seven chapters. In the beginning of the work, he explains in great detail Lenin's background and family life. In this section, the author describes Lenin's parents and siblings and their outlook on Russia. He draws specific attention to the two dramatic events in the 1880s that seemed to shape the rest of Lenin's life. His father died when Lenin was sixteen, and then his brother Alexander was executed in 1887 for his involvement in an assassination attempt on Alexander III. White makes a convincing argument for these events, especially the latter, being the factors that shaped Lenin into a revolutionary.

Once in the revolutionary circles in which his brother once traveled, Lenin explores Marxist ideology and spends much of his time in debates with other radicals about the course of action. Many still advocated direct action and violence to further their goals, while Lenin and others in the Social Democratic Labor Party wanted to form a viable party with an alternative for Russian society in order to see the complete

revolution occur. This was one of the many points of division Lenin had with other revolutionaries of his own time.

White's biography focuses on Lenin's thought as he passes through prison, exile, revolution, and achievement of power. White gives a basic sketch of the events of this tumultuous time while focusing continuously on how Lenin's thought and writing changed and influenced those around him. It is a refreshing approach to Lenin. While Lenin was a man of action when 1917 arrived, he spent most of his time in the first two decades of the twentieth century formulating his ideas and debating with friends and enemies.

Both works make outstanding contributions to Russian history. For teaching purposes, the Service book is certainly designed for just that purpose. It is brief and written clearly. It has a nice chronology and bibliography in the back, while the text itself is supplemented with numerous political cartoons from the era. This book would certainly be appropriate for a survey of Russian history or for a modern European history course that has a significant component on this topic. White's book is a more sophisticated work. It is not necessarily designed for a general survey course, but it would work well for a class on the Russian revolution or the Soviet Union in general. It includes a fine bibliography of the latest works in English on Lenin. It also includes especially good glossaries on the key players during this time and the more theoretical vocabulary. These books would work well together in a course that analyzes the Russian Revolution. The Service book could lay the foundation while the White book would be a good work for class analysis and discussion.

College of DuPage William B. Whisenhunt

Charles W. Calhoun, ed. *The Human Tradition in America from the Colonial Era through Reconstruction*. Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2002. Pp. xxii, 323. Cloth, $60.00; ISBN 0-8420-5030-2. Paper, $19.95; ISBN 0-8420-5031-0.

Scholarly Resources has recently published a number of undergraduate reading supplements targeted to topical and period college courses in U.S. History. This volume, intended for the first half of the two semester U.S. survey, brings together eighteen essays from those earlier volumes. Each chapter is preceded by one or two introductory paragraphs, usually stressing questions for students to consider and discuss. There are no illustrations. Each essay is biographical in subject matter, presenting an individual who encountered, responded to, and often influenced the outcome of a significant political, social, or cultural conflict. Each is the product of a different author, and the differences of tone and focus would permit class discussion of the range of modern historiography. Yet thanks to the volume and series editor, there are clear common elements.

In an excellent introductory essay, which is also a good classroom aid for less prepared students, Calhoun stresses the two themes he used to bring coherence and to facilitate student discourse. The first is the quest to define and exemplify the diversity of Americans' origins, the second is the continuing American tension between liberty and community. Issues of race, ethnicity, social status, and gender are thus prominent. In making his selections, Calhoun expresses a preference for studies that discuss brokerage (or mediation) between diverse groups, tensions between personal aspiration and societal conventions, and methodologies that permit us to hear the inarticulate. As teaching devices, the chapters that are best at drawing the reader into interpretive discussion include those on Anne Hutchinson by Marilyn Westerkamp, Rebecca Dickinson by Marla Miller, and Laura Wirt Randall by Anya Jabour. The weakest essay is probably the study of Olaudah Equiano by Robert Allison, if only because the subject spent so little of his life as a runaway slave in the American colonies. The cleverest essay is the study of George Washington Harris and his foolish literary creation Sut Lovingood, by John Mayfield.

Most of the chapters incorporate explicit discussions of sources and methods. Instructors who enjoy asking students to talk about how history is created will find opportunities to judge the contributions of diaries, autobiographies, speeches, letters, and third-party observations. The chapters on Squanto by Neal Salisbury, LaSalle Corbell Pickett by Lesley Gordon, and Sacagawea by Laura McCall are particularly insightful in this regard. Instructors considering adopting this collection might want to ask if it serves the pedagogical purposes of the core curriculum within which their survey course is housed. The focus here is strongly upon history as humanities, not as social sciences. The biographies are rich in personal life experiences, value judgments, and ideals. A number of the subjects were dissenters, and even eccentrics, within the reform movements of which they were a part. Use this collection with pleasure, if these are paths you would enjoy leading students along in a quest to understand American diversity, liberty, and community.

Butler University George W. Geib

Gunther Barth, ed. *The Lewis and Clark Expedition: Selections from the Journals Arranged by Topic*. Boston & New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1998. Pp. xxi, 230. Cloth, $35.00; ISBN 0-312-12801-0.

The journey of Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery from St. Louis to the Pacific Ocean is one of American history's great survival stories. The journals that Lewis, Clark, and other members of the company kept detail that trek. Gunther Barth's *The Lewis and Clark Expedition*, a volume in the Bedford Series in History and Culture, is a sampler of these journals. Barth uses the journals to describe the challenges facing the Corps of Discovery, and to illustrate Jeffersonian-era society and culture. As the title

indicates, the book is not a narrative account of the expedition, but rather a thematic exploration of the journal entries.

Barth divides the book into an introduction, five chapters, and an epilogue, each addressing a specific subject. He begins each section with a summary of the topic and then supplies several journal entries to illustrate his point. The volume begins with the events and issues surrounding the Louisiana Purchase and Jefferson's desire to explore the area for economic and scientific purposes. The following chapters address the personalities and characteristics of Lewis and Clark, the creation of the Corps of Discovery, and the development of its cohesion. Other topics include the company's struggles with weather and geography, their relationships with Native Americans, and their descriptions of plants and animals.

Most of the journal entries relate directly to the expedition itself. Some entries hint at a deeper social context by discussing, sometimes obliquely, discipline and punishment, slavery, medicine, and sex. Students might be surprised at the proposition that Sacagawea's greatest contribution to the enterprise was that of passport rather than guide. According to the journals, tribes did not attack the Corps because the presence of a woman and child meant their group was not a war party.

The book provides several sources for studying contemporary relationships with Native Americans. Barth uses journal entries to illustrate white Americans' paternalistic and disdainful attitudes toward Native Americans. The entries in his section on encounters with Native Americans are also excellent sources for rudimentary anthropological studies of the tribes and bands the Corps met. They give descriptions of Native American customs that members of the corps might not have understood, but that instructors and students can use to deduce tribal life and mores.

This book is an excellent source for lecture topics and a good starting point for further research. Some students who are used to linear history might have difficulty with its topical rather than chronological organization. In these cases, the maps and chronology Barth provides at the beginning of the book are helpful. The journal entries contain erratic and creative spelling and students who do not have phonetic training might find them difficult to read and comprehend. These drawbacks offer the instructor the opportunity to address research and writing requirements. Review questions in the back of the volume concentrate on the expedition and its historical setting. However, this book is a good general supplement to an American history survey text because of its descriptions of early nineteenth-century American culture. Instructors and students will find several uses for Barth's comments and the excerpts from the Lewis and Clark journals that he highlights.

Minnesota State University, Mankato Katherine Hughes

Graham Russell Hodges, ed. *Black Itinerants of the Gospel: The Narratives of John Jea and George White.* New York: Palgrave, 2002. Pp. viii, 200. Paper, $19.95; ISBN 0-312-29445-X.

The history of African-American evangelical religion is rich in pathos and heroism, and the lives of the two itinerants in this edited account, John Jea (b. 1773) and George White (1764-1836), are representative of the early African-American evangelical religious experience in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The lives of both men are set in the context of the post-revolutionary era and the waning days of slavery in New York and New Jersey. The narrative accounts are both insightful and emotionally moving to read.

John Jea, born in Old Callabar, Nigeria, in 1773, became the property of a Dutch family adamantly opposed to slave conversion. After many traumatic experiences, he converted to the evangelical faith and later became an itinerant preacher. His autobiography is a deeply moving account of his terrible treatment as a slave, his quest for faith, the tragic suicide of his first wife, and his zeal for his Lord. Jea's narrative is a smattering of chronological account, sermon, and exhortation. He traveled to Great Britain, settled there in his later years, and sustained himself as a mariner. The last documentation of Jea is the baptism of his child in England in 1817, and after that date, there is no written record of his life. It is unknown, as Hodges notes, "whether Jea found the water grave he feared or made his way to some distant port where he could preach the gospel."

George White, born in Accomack, Virginia, and freed as a youth upon the death of his master, migrated north in 1796. After arrival in New York City, he converted to the evangelical faith through the preaching of a Methodist minister "on a memorable watch-night in the Bowery Church." White struggled to acquire official preaching licensure from the local Methodist body, but came up against repeated opposition. After several unsuccessful attempts to gain official recognition from the regular Methodist body, he affiliated with the new African Methodist Episcopal denomination, from which he received ordination as a deacon in 1822. He preached his last itinerant tour in 1828 at the age of 64, but suffered expulsion from the local Methodist circuit for "unknown reasons in 1829." He died in New York City at age 72 in 1836. White's chief contribution to our understanding of African-American religious life in the North is his "careful reconstruction of clerical politics between African-Americans and white Methodists."

The narrative is gripping as one reads of persecution, conversion, and commitment to the cause of Christ. Hodges, a professor of history at Columbia University, succeeds in his goal of placing the narratives of John Rea and George White "in the context of sweeping religious, political, and racial changes of their time," with his helpful introductory essay on the times and locales in which the two men preached. The work concludes with appendices containing lyrics of Jea's original hymns and demographic data on early Methodists in the New York City-New Jersey area.

Though instructors of African-American history and the American church at all levels of higher education will find the work useful, it is an excellent resource also for use in secondary-level classrooms for units on African-American history and literature or for assigned reading during Black History Month.

Columbus State Community College James S. Baugess

Glenn M. Linden, ed. *Voices from the Gathering Storm: The Coming of the American Civil War*. Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2001. Pp. xxxii, 236. Cloth, $60.00; ISBN 0-8420-2998-2. Paper, $19.95; ISBN 0-8420-2999-0.

Voices from the Gathering Storm brings to life in variegated vignettes the swirling ideological and material contradictions suffusing the United States in the roughly fifteen years preceding the Civil War. Primary sources—letters, diaries, editorials, and more—document the thoughts and sentiments of a mostly familiar cast of characters, including Lincoln, Sumner, Douglas, Truth, Davis, and many others.

The book is organized into three general sections, with equal selections for both the North and South: 1) The "Growing Rivalry" between the sections, from 1846 to 1854, largely covers the Mexican War, the Wilmot Proviso, the 1848 election, the Compromise of 1850, the Fugitive Slave controversy, and the Election of 1852; 2) The growing sectionalism of the decade in the crucial years of "Southern Successes and Northern Anxieties," between 1854 and 1857 gives attention to the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the emergence of the Republican Party, as well as the election of 1856; 3) "The Union Comes Apart" deals with the period from 1857 through 1861, and focuses on the Dred Scott decision, John Brown's raid, and secession.

The selections themselves, for the most part, are brief and accessible to undergraduate students. Also brief, but generally inclusive, are historical sketches of the figures covered. Quite useful from both the teacher's and student's perspective is the division of primary source material into separate "Northerner" and "Southerner" sections. This makes the work especially useful for instructors who wish their students to analyze, evaluate, and interpret the essential reasoning put forth by both North and South in the pre-war years. But the regional sections are not always thematically monolithic. Students will also doubtless notice the inclusion of selections from a varied lot from each section, such as small townsmen and casual observers, as well as prominent politicians and national spokesmen for each side.

Some of the documents seem especially striking. Several of Lincoln's free soil speeches, as well as his aborted 1849 attempt to introduce a bill providing for compensated emancipation, are included. Horace Mann's maiden speech on the House floor linked the poverty of education for whites to the existence of African-American slavery. Of course there are several sections from southerners supporting slavery. One of the most provocative is William Gilmore Simms's 1854 article in *Putnam's*

Magazine. Simms asserted that even if slavery was morally wrong (certainly not one of the typical pro-slavery positions that linked slavery with a strong moral and religious certitude), the issue of regionalism superseded it. States' rights trumped issues of morality. "If slavery be the sin and evil they conceive it to be, it is all ours," Simms wrote.

Serious students will not gain many new revelations. But Linden's general organization of materials and the precise attention given to details in the documents, embellish and deepen the reader's understanding of the "Gathering Storm." The historical vignettes preceding each document also help to provide what Stephen B. Oates has called the "warmth of a life lived" during those critical years.

Floyd College Ralph Peters

Clarence E. Walker. *We Can't Go Home Again: An Argument about Afrocentrism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. Pp. 172. Cloth, $25.00; ISBN 0-19-509571-5.

The factual flaws in much of the writing about Afrocentrism have been exposed in the past. Clarence Walker does so again in *We Can't Go Home Again*, and does so effectively. In this regard he focuses particularly on the Afrocentric assertion that Egyptians were black and the wellspring of Western civilization. He makes very clear that the modern concept of race as identity simply does not apply to the variegated population of Egypt and would not have been understood there. The importance of his book, however, does not lie in renewing and expanding the critique of the factual and analytical content of Afrocentric literature.

Walker refers to Afrocentrism as "therapeutic mythology" asserted as a way to promote the self-esteem of African Americans (a term he does not like) "by creating a past that never was." He understands it as black nationalism; in fact he argues that the origins of Afrocentrism lay in black nationalism of the Romantic era, but rejects it as history. Were Afrocentrism a means of creating African American community and thus empowering a minority, it would be comparable to such mythologies used by other minorities. Such mythologies, however, have been grounded in historical thought, while Afrocentrism is factually errant and theoretically flawed.

By urging black Americans to seek empowerment in a misconstructed Egyptian history, Afrocentrists not only mislead, opening their students to ridicule, but they also assert that culture is "transhistoric"—that is, it can be transferred through time and space intact. Culture, Walker asserts, is always changing and will be different as a result of any transfer, willing or unwilling, on the part of those living it. African Americans have created a culture of their own—a culture of which to be proud, but not an Egyptian or African culture. To Walker's way of thinking, Afrocentrism turns African Americans into helpless victims whose ancestors created a glorious culture and then for thousands

of years accomplished little. They became the dupes and victims of Europeans, enslaved and exploited, and now their descendants must look to a mythical African past for purpose and meaning. Such a denigration of the African-American struggle, which Walker regards as a triumph, clearly angers him.

Given the popularity of Afrocentrism and its spread through the academic community and popular culture, anyone teaching history or otherwise interested in the nature of historical methodology should read Walker. The manipulation of history to create a particular attitude or support a political point of view is, as Walker acknowledges, sometimes a way of creating unity and gaining power. To deny a people the heritage they and their forefathers built is not acceptable. Walker shows that historians should help African-American students to appreciate their own real history and not pursue distortions of the past in the name of identity, especially since their actual past offers them an identity worthy of enormous pride.

Walker's prose conveys his ideas and passions effectively, despite a painful tendency to fall into the jargon of social science. His arguments are clear, thoughtful, and easy to read. His concern for the discipline and its practitioners comes through forcefully. Even those who disagree with his conclusions will be engaged and will find much to think about if they are sincerely interested in historical scholarship and how it influences those who study it.

The value of this book for courses in historiography and methodology is obvious. It offers useful examples of how historians analyze material, and historical knowledge can shape our understanding of contemporary culture. Its applications go beyond metahistory, however. Students of modern American society and education will find much to explore in its pages, and anyone investigating African-American history should examine Walker's conclusions. Walker will help such students understand not only one way African Americans have come to view themselves but also an element in their contemporary efforts at gaining a sense of identity within American culture. Thus, although the title might not suggest it, this book can be a valuable part of a variety of courses.

Fort Valley State University Fred R. van Hartesveldt

Don Nardo, ed. *The Great Depression*. San Diego: Greenhaven Press, Inc., 2000. Pp. 223. Cloth, $24.96; ISBN 0-7377-0231-1. Paper, $15.96; ISBN 0-7377-0230-3.

The Great Depression, part of the Turning Points of World History series published by Greenhaven Press, suffers from several glaring weaknesses despite its inclusion of essays by notable New Deal historians and some usable primary source documents. The major weakness is that, in spite of being part of a series on World History, it focuses solely on the United States. One current goal of historical literacy is to help students understand the broader global context of events and, based on this

criterion, the book fails. A discussion of the Good Neighbor policy is the only place where this world context is at all discussed, and then only in a limited fashion.

Another glaring weakness in this text is the editor's assertion that the stock market crash caused the Great Depression instead of explaining the more complex picture of how the stock market crash was more correctly a symptom of the problems in the U.S. and world economy. And, although the book contains a good discussion of the far-reaching effects of the stock market crash, it makes no mention of buying stock on margin. Students cannot understand the crash without understanding the true nature of the stock speculation that was taking place in the 1920s.

Furthermore, the editor mistakenly leads the reader to believe that Franklin D. Roosevelt had a grand plan for solving the Great Depression. He does not lay the proper groundwork for helping students understand that Congress and the nation were only willing to accept such radical government intrusions into the traditionally more private sectors of the economy precisely because the economy had significantly weakened in the months between Roosevelt's election and his March inauguration. Missing is a clear discussion of the pragmatic nature of Roosevelt's approach and a better understanding of the role his advisors played. While the editor concedes that all New Deal programs did not work, he could have easily strengthened his work by better explaining the trial-and-error learning curve of the Roosevelt administration.

Another critical element missing from *The Great Depression* is a discussion of the role played by both the Republican critics on the right and the "thunder on the left" generated by men like Louisiana Governor Huey P. Long. These critics from both sides of the political spectrum, along with the eventual reluctance of the Supreme Court to continue to support such broad executions of power by Roosevelt, significantly affected the direction of the later years of the New Deal.

There is also no clear analysis of the economy and its additional nosedive in 1937. Students need to understand how this economic downturn connects to their evaluation of whether or not the New Deal was solving the problems of the Great Depression. And, again, another critical element is missing—a discussion of the role of World War II in ending the Great Depression.

Although there are notable essays by such well-known New Deal scholars as William Leuchtenburg and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., these excellent selections cannot make up for the other weaknesses that litter the work. The essays themselves, although divided into reasonably-titled chapters, seem disjointed and sometimes lack a connection to one another. More explanation by the editor could have solved this problem.

Pittsburg (KS) State University Kelly A. Woestman

T.H. Watkins. *The Hungry Years: A Narrative History of the Great Depression In America.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1999. Pp. xvi, 587. Paper, $16.00; ISBN 0-8050-6506-7.

The literature on the Great Depression is among the richest in American historiography, and rightly so. The 1930s was a decade that reshaped America and the lives of individual Americans in dramatic ways. Much of this literature focuses on the ideological origins of New Deal policy and the policymakers themselves, while other books examine the ways these policies affected citizens in a variety of contexts. In this book, T.H. Watkins offers a narrative overview of both these themes, giving readers a real sense of how ordinary Americans experienced the Great Depression.

In the first of the book's three sections, Watkins offers a thoughtful summary of the origins of the Great Depression up to the election of 1932. He captures the drama of human suffering during the depression's early years, as the nation spiraled from being a people of plenty to a country in crisis. Watkins takes readers on troubling, often heart-wrenching tours of "Hoovervilles," penny auctions, picket lines, and sharecropper shacks, while at the same time skillfully placing the relief efforts of state and federal officials in proper context.

The second section deals with Franklin D. Roosevelt's early New Deal programs. Focusing on urban and industrial programs, Watkins argues that these initial programs set the tone for the entire New Deal in that they were rife with ideological conflicts, represented a broad spectrum of approaches, and established the government as the most powerful regulator of the national economy. Watkins emphasizes Roosevelt's utilitarian approach to social and economic problems, arguing that the president was quite willing to try almost anything to stem the nation's suffering regardless of ideological origins or long-term implications.

The last section examines efforts at rural relief. Agricultural programs, though well intentioned, often benefitted landowners at the expense of those who actually worked the land, creating a new class of rural poor made up of displaced sharecroppers and migrant workers. This misunderstanding of rural problems also affected the Tennessee Valley Authority, one of the New Deal's signature programs that blended immediate relief with social and economic regional planning. Like urban and industrial programs, Watkins finds that rural relief efforts as they evolved throughout the 1930s were moderately successful in stemming the tide of human suffering, but failed to bring about complete economic recovery or institutional reform.

Watkins has produced a thoughtful synthesis of the Great Depression, focusing on how it affected the lives of ordinary people. Scholars seeking a fresh interpretation or original research will be disappointed. Teachers or general readers searching for a compassionate, provocative narrative treatment of life during this period will find this book most worthwhile.

Western Carolina University Richard D. Starnes

Alice Yang Murray, ed. *What Did the Internment of Japanese Americans Mean?* Boston and New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000. Pp. xii, 163. Cloth, $35.00; ISBN 0-312-22816-3. Paper, $14.20; ISBN 0-312-20829-4.

In the wake of the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested more than 2000 Japanese "enemy aliens" on the U.S. West coast and in Hawai'i, most of them male immigrants. These arrests were followed in February 1942 by President Franklin Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066, which authorized the removal of ethnic Japanese from the West coast. As a result, the government incarcerated 120,000 people, two-thirds of whom were American citizens. *What Did the Internment of Japanese Americans Mean?* examines this unfortunate episode in American history.

The book opens with an introduction that provides readers with an overview of the sweep of events that led to the mass incarceration, a discussion of the camps themselves, and a survey of the evolving scholarship on the subject. Five well-chosen, unabridged secondary source readings, written by eminent scholars—Roger Daniels, Peter Irons, Michi Weglyn, Gary Okihiro, and Valerie Matsumoto—form the core of the book. Each of the readings is headed by one of five questions: Why were Japanese Americans interned during World War II? What caused the Supreme Court to affirm the constitutionality of internment? Why did U.S. officials intern people of Japanese ancestry from Central and South America? How did some Japanese Americans resist internment? What was the impact of internment on Japanese American families and communities?

I found the scholar profiles particularly appealing. By introducing each selection with a "headnote" that discusses the authors in relation to their research, Murray—who had interviewed the scholars on their background and research experiences—underscores the humanness of the historical research process, the importance of persistence, and the role of serendipity.

Although the book uses the term internment to describe what happened, many scholars today prefer the words incarceration and imprisonment. Those who were "interned" were non-citizen "enemy aliens" who had been selected individually for Internment Camps, which were distinguished from the euphemistically called Relocation Centers. The latter imprisoned ethnic Japanese, citizen and non-citizen alike, who had been removed en masse from their homes on the West coast.

The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon have made this volume especially timely. For example, based on Daniels's essay on the decision to incarcerate Japanese Americans and on Irons's essay on the Supreme Court's decision to affirm the forced removal and incarceration of Japanese Americans, students can compare the situation during World War II with the situation after the attacks.

Questions for consideration and discussion are suggested for each reading, and final questions at the end of the book serve to bring all of the selections together. As part of a new "Historians at Work" series, Murray's user-friendly and highly readable volume serves as an ideal college text. It should generate lively class discussions.

University of Hawai'i Eileen H. Tamura