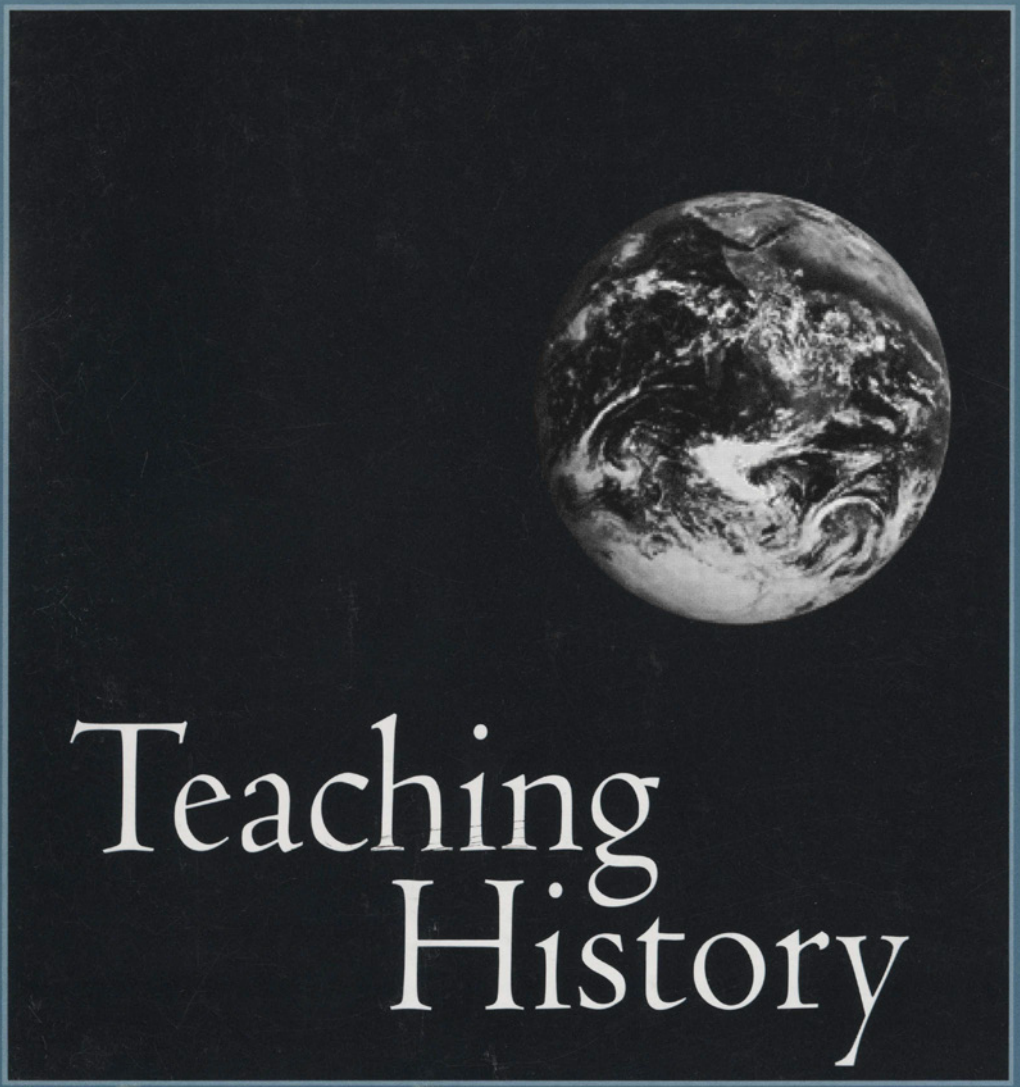

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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONALIZING THE TEACHING OF EARLY U.S. HISTORY

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As I have been teaching the history of the United States for the past few years, I have increasingly come to the conclusion that my, and other, survey courses need to be revamped to internationalize the teaching of United States history and thereby situate the nation more fully into the larger transnational and global context. At the moment, most teachers of United States History since 1865 rarely consider events beyond the country's borders and when they do it is only to examine briefly America's role in the two World Wars and the Vietnam War or maybe to discuss immigration to the United States. Those teaching the early American history survey spend even less time on events outside the United States, suggesting the nation had little economic, military, or cultural influence on the rest of the world in this period. Instead, they concentrate on the history of the various English colonies and the internal political policies and practices of the new nation while rarely mentioning other countries. This approach encourages students to view the United States as isolated from the rest of the world while ignoring America's similarities with other nations and both how the United States impacted other countries and how the rest of the world helped shape the United States. For early American history this trend is particularly troubling, because it is in this period that settlers established a new nation on the continent, that arguments about the exceptionalism of the United States initially emerged, and that the government's policies first started to affect other countries. Therefore, I propose that we need to rethink early American history within a comparative, multicultural, and foreign policy framework. I will illustrate these approaches by discussing the theoretical underpinnings of the United States History to 1865 survey class that I teach at Joliet Junior College in Illinois.[1]

I am not alone in the view that the study and teaching of American history needs to be internationalized. As far back as 1895 in the first issue of the *American Historical Review*, Columbia University Professor William Sloane warned historians against focusing on narrow national history and urged them to study U.S. history in an international context.[2] In the last few years other historians have come to the same conclusion—that we need to internationalize the teaching of the nation's history.[3]

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[1]I would like to thank Leo Schelbert for his discerning comments on a previous draft of this paper and for inspiring me to think about United States history from a tri-racial perspective. I would also like to thank those at the 45th annual Western Social Science Association Conference held in Las Vegas in April 2003 and the anonymous reviewers for *Teaching History* for their insightful thoughts.

[2]William M. Sloane, "History and Democracy," *American Historical Review*, 1 (1895), 1–19.

[3]Peter N. Stearns, "Teaching the United States in World History," *Perspectives* (April 1989), 12–16; Peter N. Stearns, "U.S. History Must Be Taught as Part of a Much Broader Historical Panorama," *The*

(continued...)

Indeed, the Organization of American Historians, the main professional organization for those teaching American history, recently gathered together a group of historians to envisage and debate the contours of an international perspective on the history of the United States.[4] Since the tragic events of September 11, 2001, even more scholars have called for teachers to pay greater attention to events abroad.[5] The editor of a special edition of the *Journal of American History* focusing on September 11 noted: "... if we learned anything from the events of September 11, we should have learned, once again, that we cannot understand American history by dwelling solely on the United States. The attacks of September 11 force us to turn outward and to see the United States not in isolation, but in and of the world."[6]

There are three reasons why I think this international approach to United States history is urgently needed now. First, I believe that the emphasis on U.S. history as a distinct entity in a national framework assumes that the country is exceptional and unique and encourages students to view America as somehow separate and isolated from the rest of the world. To internationalize the teaching of U.S. history will reveal more clearly the American experience by elucidating the character of the United States and its role in the world. Second, we need to internationalize U.S. history because the increasingly multicultural character of American society and the ethnic diversity of the student population require that students have some understanding of how other cultures that too often have been ignored have contributed to the making of American society.

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[3](...continued)
Chronicle of Higher Education (January 3, 1990), A44; Carl J. Guarneri, "Out of Its Shell: Internationalizing the Teaching of United States History," *AHA Perspectives* (February 1997), 1, 5–8; Carl J. Guarneri, "Internationalizing the United States Survey Course: American History for a Global Age," *The History Teacher*, 36 (November 2002), 37–64; Thomas J. Osborne, "Implementing the *La Pietra Report*: Internationalizing Three Topics in the United States History Survey Course," *The History Teacher*, 36 (February 2003), 163–175; Walter LeFeber, "The World and the United States," *American Historical Review*, 100 (October 1995), 1015–1033; "Toward the Internationalization of American History: A Round Table," *Journal of American History*, 79 (September 1992), 432–542; and Louis A. Perez Jr., "We Are the World: Internationalizing the National, Nationalizing the International," *Journal of American History*, 89 (September 2002), 558–566.

[4]*La Pietra Report: Project on Internationalizing the Study of American History* (Organization of American Historians, 2000). Thomas Bender, editor, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) is a collection of essays from the historians involved in the La Pietra Project. The *Journal of American History* devoted a special issue to "The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on the United States History" in December 1999.

[5]Wilfred M. McClay, "American History, A Drama of Sweep and Majesty," *American Educator* (Fall 2002), 12–19; Eric Foner, "Changing History," *The Nation* (September 23, 2002); and *San Jose Mercury News* (January 2, 2002), 1.

[6]Joanne Meyerowitz, "History and September 11: An Introduction," *Journal of American History*, 89 (September 2002), 413.

Third, the United States has economic and military commitments and cultural practices that have impacted the rest of the world, and students, who increasingly operate in a global society, need to understand the role the country has played outside its borders and be better prepared for the global experience.[7]

If the "why" to internationalize U.S. history is fairly evident, historians still remain reluctant to take this transnational approach. Some teachers suggest that with the proliferation of world history courses, there is no need to internationalize the history of the nation. Others often complain that there is already too much to cover in the survey course when they teach U.S. history within a national framework, and understandably they are reluctant to spend precious time learning and teaching the history of other countries. Others caution that American historians unfamiliar with other national histories will produce speculative conclusions and paint with too broad a brush.[8] Certainly, American history textbooks offer little help to teachers in overcoming the difficulties of designing a new course. All the American history textbooks available to college teachers focus on history within the country's borders and make little connection between United States history and the rest of the world. Similarly, recent collections of essays on the internationalizing of the nation's past are highly theoretical and offer little practical help to history teachers in their endeavors.[9]

These opponents to the internationalization project, however, overstate their case. We cannot depend on proliferating world history courses to give our students an international perspective on U.S. history because most world history courses neglect American history, at least until the twentieth century, in favor of non-Western topics. The problem of learning the history of other nations and finding adequate texts to teach with an international focus are challenges to be overcome, not an impediment to attempting to internationalize United States history.

How then do we internationalize U.S. history? I propose three solutions. First we need to adopt a comparative analysis that show similarities and differences between the American experience and events in other countries. Great Britain, for example, is an

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[7]A 2002 survey by National Geographic that examined the geographic and current affairs literacy of students from nine industrial countries found that the United States scored eighth, just above Mexico. When asked to locate the United States on a map, students from five other countries scored higher than students from the U.S.! See National Geographic's 2002 Global Geographic Literacy Test, http://www.nationalgeographic.com/geosurvey.

[8]Some of these objections were brought up in the "History Matters" forum on "United States History in Global Perspective" moderated by Thomas Bender in November 2001. See History Matters, http://ashp.listserv.cuny.edu.

[9]C. Vann Woodward, editor, *The Comparative Approach to American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, originally published in 1968); David J. Russo, *American History from a Global Perspective: An Interpretation* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000); and Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*.

ideal country of comparison. The language that Americans speak, their cultural traditions, and their political institutions are all transplanted from Britain, and even today there are strong political and cultural connections between the two countries.[10] By examining events in the two countries, we can understand better the peculiarities and the similarities of the American experience.[11] Second, we need to take a multicultural perspective that integrates American history into world history to highlight the influence of other nations and international events on the United States. In particular, there is a need to show the influence of other countries and continents on the United States, notably Africa, which has had a profound effect on American culture, and of course Britain which has influenced American political values. Third—and not only in the twentieth century when the United States has grown as a world power—we need to examine American foreign policy, the country's relationship with the rest of the world, and the impact of the nation's government and culture on other countries.[12]

U.S. History to 1865

To illustrate how historians can internationalize the teaching of American history, I will discuss the sixteen-week U.S. History to 1865 survey course that I teach at Joliet Junior College in Illinois. This course builds on relatively recent attempts to include the social history of women, workers, and ethnic and racial groups into the narrative, which have already revised the teaching of the nation's history. At the same time I include in the course a discussion of larger economic structures and political events so that I integrate cultural, economic, political, and social history into the course. I also use a variety of teaching methods and materials including lectures, discussions, videos, Power Point presentations, secondary readings, and primary sources.

My U.S. History to 1865 survey course suggests that the United States as a nation was created by the interaction of three racial groups: the indigenous peoples of North America, Western Europeans, concentrating particularly on those originating in Britain, and inhabitants of Africa, particularly Western Africa. These three groups had different relations to one another and because of variance in relative power did not play an equal role in determining the character of the new nation. The indigenous peoples of North America progressively had their land and culture taken from them by Euro-Americans,

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[10]The 2000 U.S. Census showed that 24 million people in the United States or nine percent of the population still claimed English ancestry.

[11]For recent attempts at comparative history see George Fredrickson, "From Exceptionalism to Variability: Recent Developments in Cross-National Comparative History," *Journal of American History*, 82 (September 1995), 587–604.

[12]Other attempts to internationalize the teaching of United States history are Robert Cassanello and Daniel S. Murphree, "Implementing the La Pietra Report: Globalizing United States History Instruction in Birmingham, Alabama," *OAH Newsletter* (November 2001), 5; and Guarneri, "Internationalizing the United States Survey Course."

and, although they resisted the aggressors, they eventually had to adapt. Still, many preserved a core of their original way of life. Western Europeans, the most powerful of the three groups, conquered North America, enslaved Africans, and established a neo-European Anglo-American society. Finally, those from Western Africa were enslaved and deported to America and, through the adaptation of African ways, they created a vibrant African-American culture. This model is slightly different from what I call the "Three Worlds Meet" paradigm that many U.S. history textbooks adopt, superficially at least. Although mentioning all three races, the authors of the books only briefly discuss Native American and African culture. More importantly, the "Three Worlds Meet" model downplays conflict and the relative power in the relationship among the three groups in which the British and other Europeans had greater capacity to pursue their agenda than the indigenous people of North America and Africa.[13]

I divide my course into three parts: Three Worlds in Conflict covers the period of colonial development; Creating a Nation runs from the English Restoration to the early years of the Republic; and Coming Apart concentrates on events leading up to the Civil War. With my model there is first a need to teach the history of indigenous Americans, Europeans, and Africans separately and at some length to elucidate the culture of the three groups before colonization. Therefore, I spend the first two weeks of the course describing the diversity of Native American cultures. I show how indigenous peoples adapted to the different environments of the Americas and produced diverse living quarters, work practices, and material cultures depending on the resources and climate that they encountered. But I also argue that Native Americans had a coherent world view based on religious beliefs, views of nature and the environment, political organizations, and social and gender relations.

In the third week of the course I describe the social, economic, and religious changes Western Europe was undergoing in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries and how this led to exploration and then settlement in the Americas. Here it is possible to contrast the political democracy and freedoms practiced in Britain with those that indigenous peoples of North America and Africa followed. I particularly emphasize European desires for trade routes and goods from abroad and the social, economic, and religious dislocation that affected Western Europe in the seventeenth century. Once I start to discuss the European explorations and settlement of America, I show that the occupation of Indian territory in North America was part of a colonization process that was happening in the whole of the Americas by a number of

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[13]For example, Mary Beth Norton et al., *A People and a Nation*, sixth edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001) call their first chapter the rather neutral "Three Old Worlds Create a New" but spend only the first ten pages on Indians and only three on Africans, while James A. Henrietta et al., *America's History*, fourth edition (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin, 2000) call their first chapter "Worlds Collide," and devote only eight pages to Native Americans and barely a couple of pages to Africans. Both of these are better than Alan Brinkley, *The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People*, third edition (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000), which entitles the first chapter the even more innocuous "The Meeting of the Cultures" and devotes only seven pages to Indians and two pages to Africans.

Western European powers. Here I emphasize that the English were not the only, or even the first, to colonize North America and spend time discussing the French, Dutch, Russian, Spanish, and Swedish experiences.

Having discussed the world context of European settlement in the Americas, I then make clear that the United States was an extension of English society and the developing British Empire in a transatlantic world. The nation and culture of the United States can only be understood as one built upon the extension of British institutions, laws, and religious beliefs. The similarities with the experience of colonization in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are salient here. Therefore, I still keep a strong focus on events in Britain such as the English Civil War and the Glorious Revolution and discuss how these events impacted the ebb and flow of migration to America and political developments in the colonies.

I introduce the third racial group that contributed to the formation of the American nation by focusing on the political, economic, and social structure of West Africa. In particular, I show how the Atlantic slave trade developed and describe the differences between African and American slavery. Slavery in the American colonies and later in the United States must be taught as part of the Atlantic slave trade and as an institution that had profound consequences for race relations in colonial and post-colonial America. The uniqueness of American slavery—especially its racial component—can only be understood if we compare slavery in the United States with slavery in Africa and world history.

The second part of my course focuses on creating a new nation from the English Restoration of 1660, when the Crown sought greater economic and political control over its colonies, to the early years of post-colonial independence. I still keep a strong focus on events in Great Britain such as the Restoration of the monarchy after the English Civil War and the Glorious Revolution to show how these impacted relations between Great Britain and the British colonies in America. I focus on the French and Indian War, known as the Seven Years War in Europe, as a War for Empire between Britain and France. The American Revolution itself is seen in the context of the Enlightenment and the Age of Revolution. I suggest here comparisons with the French Revolution that will help us understand the radical nature of the American Revolution and with Latin American independence movements to discover how the republic forged in North America prospered and how those in Latin America faltered.

Rather than forget about our tri-racial perspective, during this period of nation building I emphasize the role Indians and Africans played in the conflict. I argue that hostility between English settlers and Native Americans partly contributed to the outbreak of the French and Indian War and that Britain's unwillingness to let the settlers move west and take Indian lands contributed to colonial demands for independence. I also show how Indians and African Americans fought on both sides during the war, each group trying to claim its own freedom. Finally, I encourage my students to analyze the U.S. Constitution to understand how the existence of Native Americans and Africans

within the borders of the nation shaped some constitutional debates and the nature of the young Republic.

The final part of the course, Coming Apart, deals with the period from the so-called Market Revolution to the Civil War. The Market Revolution affected the North far more than the South and further divided the two sections of the country that were already beginning to separate over the issue of slavery. In terms of multicultural history, we need to understand the story of immigration and the way it began to change America during this period. Migration to the United States was part of an international movement of labor brought on by dislocations in European homelands and demand for labor in America. By focusing on Irish immigration in particular, I examine the push-and-pull factors that led nearly two million Irish to cross the Atlantic between 1820 and 1860, the reception they received in America, and the nature of the conflict between Catholics and Protestants during the early Republic. I then show how westward expansion led to further debate over the unsolved question of whether the United States should be free or slave.

My U.S. History to 1865 course spends little time discussing American foreign policy because, quite simply, the United States had little cultural, economic, military, or diplomatic impact on the rest of the world. However, we discuss the post-revolutionary policy toward Native Americans, the British, and the French, and the events that led to the War of 1812. This helps us understand the problems the United States faced in maintaining an independent foreign policy and the expansionist policies of the new nation. The significance of the Mexican-American War, especially in Western expansion and in understanding later relations between the United States and its nearest and most influential southern neighbor, is also highlighted here.

Antebellum slavery and the Civil War are covered in the last three weeks of the course. I discuss the development of an African-American culture and slave resistance by contrasting the U.S. experience with that of the Caribbean. Finally, I show the role African Americans and Native Americans played in the Civil War and the impact of the war on all of the groups involved in the war. The Civil War united the white-controlled nation, abolished slavery for African Americans, and opened up the West for the final conquest of Native Americans.

Because of time restraints and the attempt to internationalize the teaching of United States history, I condense the coverage of some important topics that other historians often include in survey classes. At the outset I believe that racial divisions were far more important for the colonies, the new nation, and for subsequent history than the regional differences that most survey courses emphasize. Many of these regional differences had melted away by the time of the American Revolution, and the sectional differences that led to the Civil War were largely a response to later political and economic developments. Therefore, I condense, but do not omit entirely, discussions of the social history of colonial America and especially the traditional overemphasis on the Puritans. As historian Edmund Morgan pointed out many years ago, the foundation of the nation evolved more from the Chesapeake region than from the New England

colonies. I also condense coverage of military history and the political leadership and reforms of the new nation. The Great Awakening and utopian reform movements of the early republic are two other topics that can be compressed while overlong coverage of military campaigns in the American Revolution and the Civil War can safely be excluded.[14]

Course Materials and Assignments

There is, at present, no textbook that takes an international perspective on U.S. history. As a reference tool, I adopt the first volume of Gary B. Nash et al., *The American People: Creating a Nation and a Society*, which does introduce a multicultural approach to early American history. John Mack Faragher et al., *Out of Many: A History of the American People*, also makes a valiant attempt to do this.[15] On a more regular basis I use Gerald Michael Greenfield and John D. Buenker, *Those United States: International Perspectives on American History*, which is the only book of primary documents that looks at the United States in transnational perspective by collecting observations on American history from all over the world. The first volume of this collection is excellent, but the second volume disappointingly starts at the Gilded Age and therefore fails to include important topics such as Reconstruction and Westward expansion.[16]

Some other readings are available that help us to internationalize the American survey. One place to start is C. Vann Woodward's edited collection entitled *The Comparative Approach to American History*, a collection of essays by leading scholars that puts classic topics in American history such as slavery, immigration, and the World Wars in a comparative context. The book originally appeared in the 1960s and is therefore somewhat out of date.[17] More recently Carl J. Guarneri's collection of essays entitled *America Compared: American History in International Perspective* utilizes newer material to cover many of the same topics.[18]

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[14]Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975).

[15]Gary B. Nash et al., *The American People: Creating a Nation and a Society*, fifth edition (New York: Longman, 2001), and John Mack Faragher et al., *Out of Many: A History of the American People*, fourth edition (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003).

[16]Gerald Michael Greenfield and John D. Buenker, *Those United States: International Perspectives on American History*, Volumes I and 2 (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace, 2000).

[17]C. Vann Woodward, editor, *The Comparative Approach to American History*.

[18]Carl J. Guarneri, *America Compared: American History in International Perspective*, Volumes 1 and 2 (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997).

For books that concentrate on integrating other cultures into American history, I recommend *Albion's Seeds: Four British Folkways in America* by David Hackett Fischer that concentrates on the influence of British regional cultures on America and *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* by Kerby Miller that examines Irish immigration to America.[19] Barbara W. Tuchman's *The First Salute: A View of the American Revolution* places the American Revolution in the context of conflict between Britain, France, and Holland.[20] *Stand the Storm: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* by Edward Reynolds examines the slave trade in Africa and in the West.[21] John Thornton's *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World* covers similar ground.[22] Edward Countryman, *Americans: A Collision of Histories*, discusses Indians, Europeans, and Africans from the late colonial period to Reconstruction.[23] Recent books on the Atlantic World that emphasize connections between the Americas and Europe include David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785*, and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*.[24]

Increasingly, historians are adopting a comparative approach to the study of history. Among the finest studies that take a comparative approach to United States history is William Cronon's *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and Ecology of New England* that compares Native American and English cultures.[25] Among the best books on slavery is *Slavery in the Americas* by Herbert S. Klein that compares slavery

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[19]David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seeds: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) and Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

[20]Barbara W. Tuchman, *The First Salute: A View of the American Revolution* (New York: Ballantine, 1989).

[21]Edward Reynolds, *Stand the Storm: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1985).

[22]John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[23]Edward Countryman, *Americans: A Collision of Histories* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996).

[24]David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000).

[25]William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).

in the United States and Cuba.[26] Peter Kolchin's *Unfree Labor* compares American slavery and Russian serfdom.[27] Eric Foner's book on post-emancipation societies, *Nothing But Freedom*, is particularly useful for understanding the United States after emancipation.[28]

My assignments and in-class course materials reflect and reinforce an international perspective. All my classes are writing intensive so students have to compose weekly essays as homework, do regular writing assignments in class, and take three essay exams. Students write short weekly essays from the collection of readings edited by Greenfield and Buenker, the first volume of *Those United States: International Perspectives on American History*. The purpose of this assignment is to allow students to spend quality time understanding the viewpoints of observers of the United States from all over the world. After students complete the essays, we discuss issues relating to the documents in small groups. I also try to get students to examine comparative statistics and visual material in the classroom and then discuss or write short reaction papers on their findings. For example, I show the class figures on comparative population growths in Europe to illustrate the ebbs and flows of English migration to Europe and paintings and cartoons to convey the native reactions to Irish immigration and Manifest Destiny.[29]

Even though it is difficult to obtain videos that offer an international focus on United States history, the videos I show in class reflect my tri-racial and international perspective. I show clips from *The Native Americans* series to elucidate the culture of the indigenous people before the Europeans arrived and from *500 Nations* to outline the conflict between the Indians and the English settlers. The first and second episodes of the television series *Roots* are excellent for opening up discussions on the nature of African slavery. *The World at War*, episode 4 from the excellent *The American Revolution* series, is one of the few videos on the Revolution to illustrate the international context of the Revolution. *Cauldron of War*, episode 5 of *500 Nations*, shows the role Native Americans played in the Revolution. Clips from *Not for Ourselves Alone: The Story of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony* stimulate discussions on the role of women in the nineteenth century. *The Irish in America: Long*

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[26]Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1967).

[27]Peter Kolchin, *Unfree Labor Compares American Slavery and Russian Serfdom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).

[28]Eric Foner, *Nothing But Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983).

[29]For good introductions to cooperative learning in the history classroom, see Tom Morton, *Cooperative Learning and Social Studies: Towards Excellence and Equity* (San Clemente, CA: Kagan Cooperative Learning, 1998) and Robyn Hallowell Griswold and Audrey Green Rogers, *Cooperative Learning Basics: Strategies and Lessons for U.S. History Teachers* (Amawalk, NY: Golden Owl, 1995).

Journey Home and *Prairie Tides: The Building of the Illinois and Michigan Canal* demonstrates the Irish immigrant experience, and finally the wonderful film *Glory* helps students to understand the role of African Americans in the American Civil War.[30]

In addition to writing assignments and videos, I play music in the classroom to illustrate the multicultural character of North America and to evoke feelings and emotions about the experiences of slaves, immigrants, and Native Americans. It is extremely difficult to know precisely the music played in early American history, but I try to find old songs that evidence suggests Africans, Indians, and immigrant Europeans performed or at least songs that sound like music that people in North America probably played. I play music from the wide-ranging *American Roots Music* compilation to illustrate the ceremonial nature of Native American music. Old English folks songs such as "Scarborough Fair," sung by Simon and Garfunkel, and the English drinking song, "To Anacreon in Heaven," which later became the music to the "Star Spangled Banner," demonstrate the influence of the British on the United States. I also play drum and chant music from West Africa and "Go Down Moses" by Paul Robeson to illustrate African influences in American music. Minstrel and folk songs from Mick Moloney's excellent *Far From the Shamrock Shore: The Irish-American Experience in Song* also illuminates the Irish experience in America.[31]

Students, in general, have responded well to the internationalization of my survey course. Many of my students are taking their first U.S. history class at the college level and have limited knowledge of how other teachers teach the subject and little to compare my class with. In end-of-semester anonymous evaluations, students often offer vague comments such as "he offers a unique viewpoint of American History to 1865." Others suggest that I "put an interesting twist on things" and "it's interesting to hear his point of view," while one student noted that "his take on American History is funny." Students have suggested to me that they are happy to see more focus on Indian and African American cultures in my class than they did in high school history courses. "I don't think history is all a fun subject but I am so much more interested in it now," commented one student. The only real complaints on the international perspective concern what one or two students consider the overly critical comments on America

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[30]*The Native Americans* (Turner Entertainment, 1994); *500 Nations* (Warner Home Video, 1995); *Roots* (Warner Home Video, 1994); *The American Revolution* (A&E Home Video, 1997); *Not for Ourselves Alone: The Story of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony* (PBS Home Video, 1999); *The Irish in America: Long Journey Home* (Walt Disney, 1998); *Prairie Tides: The Building of the Illinois and Michigan Canal* (Prairie Tides Productions, LLC, Chicago, 2002); and *Glory* (Columbia Tristar, 1994).

[31]Various Artists, *American Roots Music* (Palm, 2001); "Scarborough Fair" from *Simon and Garfunkel's Greatest Hits* (Sony, 1990); "To Anacreon in Heaven" from Douglas Jimerson, *George Washington Portrait in Song* (Amerimusic, 1999); Various Artists, *Africa: Drum, Chant and Instrumental Music* (Nonesuch, 2002, originally released in 1976); "Go Down Moses" by Paul Robeson, *The Essential Paul Robeson* (ASV Living Era, 2001); and Mick Moloney, *Far From the Shamrock Shore: The Irish-American Experience in Song* (Shanachie, 2002).

displayed by the international authors of the documents in the edited collection of Greenfield and Buenker. Overall, however, most student complaints are less on the content of the course and more on what they see as the excessive writing requirements of the course and their difficulty in understanding the arcane language of the documents.[32]

My international perspective continues in the second part of the United States history survey, but in this course I put greater emphasis on America's role in the world. The focus of this course is to examine how the United States grew from an insignificant power in 1865 to become the dominant economic, cultural, diplomatic, and military global influence by the end of the twentieth century. This course is also divided into three parts: Becoming a World Power examines the period from Reconstruction to the outbreak of World War I in 1914, concentrating on industrialization and imperialism; the second part, the Rise to Globalism, covers the period from World War I to the Cold War and the increasing economic, cultural, and military influence of the United States; and the third part, Cultural and Social Change, examines the social and cultural ferment in the United States since the 1950s.

Although I pay more attention to foreign policy in the second half of the survey, I do not neglect the comparative or multicultural perspective. The civil rights movement is taught in the context of the effect of decolonization in Africa on inspiring African-American demands for equality and the impact of the American civil rights movement on social movements in the rest of the world. I propose that the social movements of the 1960s in the United States, particularly feminism and the counterculture, were part of an Anglo-American phenomenon and even Western phenomenon. The Vietnam War is taught in the framework of Vietnamese history and the Cold War, and the movement against the Vietnam War in America is put in the context of a world antiwar student movement. Finally, I focus on the concept of globalization and Latino immigration into the United States that profoundly influenced the economy and culture of the nation.

For too long historians have emphasized the unique and exceptional character of the American experience and have often ignored the way the United States was part of wider global patterns and processes. The comparative, multicultural, and foreign policy approach outlined here helps us to internationalize the teaching of early United States history and puts the American experience into greater context. In particular, by taking a tri-racial perspective on the nation's history we can see how the development of the United States is both different and similar to that of other countries, how other countries have influenced American culture, and how the United States has shaped other nations. Without the international perspective portrayed here, American history remains insular, incomplete, and unclear.

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[32]Student evaluations for spring 2003 in the possession of the author.

TEACHING HISTORY AS THE REENACTMENT OF PAST EXPERIENCE

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> If the aim of historical instruction is to enable the child to appreciate the values of social life, to see in imagination the forces which favor and allow men's effective co-operation with one another, to understand the sorts of character that help on and that hold back, the essential thing in its presentation is to make it moving, dynamic. History must be presented, not as an accumulation of results or effects, a mere statement of what happened, but as a forceful, acting thing. The motives—that is, the motors—must stand out. To study history is not to amass information, but to use information in constructing a vivid picture of how, and why men did thus and so; achieved their successes and came to their failures.[1]
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> –John Dewey

Introduction

Once again, historical education in our nation's public schools has come under fire. According to a recent survey released by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), history appears to be a mystery to most high-school seniors. Fifty-seven percent did not answer enough questions correctly to reach the "basic" knowledge category stipulated in the survey.[2] For history teachers, the stakes could not be higher. While struggling to motivate disinterested students, they must satisfy the demands of a wary public that equates success with rising test scores. Most parents have succumbed to the siren song of the accountability movement, which claims that only through the rigorous administration of standardized testing will we be able to keep score and make certain their children are not being left behind. Students, however, as they move into the upper grades, tend to lose interest in test-driven instruction and consequently reject the "skill and drill" approach to learning. Instead they seek greater relevance with the subject matter and become disengaged as they perceive no tangible rewards from learning. To answer this challenge, today's history teachers must find a way to breathe new life into an old discipline. Students need to remain engaged so they will desire to continue their education long after the last test has been taken. And teachers must accomplish this important task while cognizant of the tremendous burden

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[1]John Dewey, *The School and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 151.

[2]Cheryl Wetzstein, "Seniors' History Scores Abysmal; Fourth and Eighth Graders Outperformed 12th Graders in a National History Survey, with 57 Percent of Seniors Failing to Show Basic Knowledge of the Subject," *Insight on the News*, 18 (June 10, 2002), 32.

placed on them as a consequence of our national obsession with high-stakes testing. As Allen Bloom so aptly put it in *The Closing of the American Mind*, "Education in our times must try to find whatever there is in students that might yearn for completion, and to reconstruct the learning that would enable them to seek that completion."[3]

While the issue of student engagement largely has been ignored, an increasing body of scholarly research suggests that this is a growing problem that has only been exacerbated by the standardization of teaching and learning. Furthermore, it is a problem that threatens to undermine any efforts to reform our system of public education. Peter Sacks, an investigative journalist who has been nominated for the Pulitzer Prize, has written a powerful critique of standardized testing and an unsettling indictment of a society that continues to embrace these tests uncritically. He notes:

> Most educators have rarely publicly acknowledged the engagement problem and the strong tendency of test-heavy environments to reinforce a certain disinterest among growing numbers of students in almost all things academic. Indeed, when you get to the subtextual strata where the real problems of American schools become exposed, one finds educators relatively unconcerned about the abilities of pupils of all races, classes, and ethnicities to excel in school. What they fear most is that too many kids hate school for all the reasons anybody would hate institutions that tend to be boring, un-engaging, regimented, and run by adults saturated with the fear engendered by accountability politics. The adults' test-driven classrooms exacerbate boredom, fear, and lethargy, promoting all manner of mechanical behaviors on the part of teachers, students, and schools, and bleed schoolchildren of their natural love of learning.[4]

It is therefore an opportune moment for us to consider how to make historical instruction intellectually rewarding for our students while fulfilling the basic mission of the school. Or, as Horace Mann prophetically stated in 1840, "[The teacher] should never forget that intellectual truths are naturally adapted to give intellectual pleasure; and that, by leading the minds of his pupils onward to such a position in relation to these truths that they themselves can discover them, he secures them the natural reward of new pleasure for every new discovery."[5]

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[3]Allen Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Student* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 63.

[4]Peter Sacks, *Standardized Minds: The High Price of America's Testing Culture and What We Can Do to Change It* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus Publishing, 1999), 256–257.

[5]Horace Mann, *On the Art of Teaching* (New York: Applewood Books, Inc., 1989), 17.

Teaching History as The Reenactment of Past Experience

In *The Idea of History*, R.G. Collingwood proposes that history is understood best as a reenactment of past experience. While written as a way for historians to master their craft, Collingwood's idea offers those who teach history a compelling vision for reinventing this important discipline. This idea offers today's teachers the alluring prospect of an approach that is both relevant and challenging. Most importantly, however, it is an idea that, as this essay will explain, forms the basis for a curriculum that energizes and motivates an increasingly apathetic student population to work toward realizing their potential. This is because, underlying this conception, is a simple yet important notion that students are more likely to remember and understand the past if it is presented as a powerful shared experience in which they are active interpreters rather than merely as a laundry list of names, dates, and places to record, memorize, and then quietly forget when it is time to put down one's number-two pencil. Consequently, teaching history as the reenactment of past experience offers today's beleaguered teachers a way out of their current dilemma.

Moving from Theory to Practice

To transform the idea of reenacting past experience into concrete instructional activities, history teachers must move from a teacher-directed, textbook-based approach to a student-centered, multidimensional approach that shifts the primary responsibility for learning from the teacher to the learner. This requires a leap of faith because it entails building a curriculum around an engaging set of activities designed to promote higher-order thinking. Richard Paul, director of the Foundation for Critical Thinking, defines this approach as "learning through exploring the foundations, justification, implications, and value of a fact, principle, skill, or concept."[6] This paradigm shift requires teachers to view their students, not as passive receptacles to be filled with a series of discrete and disconnected facts, but as practicing historians who are young apprentices learning the craft of history as would any novice.

Moving from theory to practice, I made that leap of faith by transforming my own classroom into a "time machine" to test the idea that history could be taught best through the reenactment of past experience. I began this process by instructing students on how to utilize the skills and dispositions typically associated with learning for deep understanding. Linda Darling-Hammond, co-director of the National Center for Restructuring Education, defines the type of instruction that promotes learning for deep understanding:

> It requires the use of higher-order thought cognitive functions, taking students beyond recall, recognition, and reproduction of information to

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[6]Richard Paul, *Critical Thinking: What Every Person Needs to Know to Survive in a Rapidly Changing World* (Santa Rosa, CA: Foundation for Critical Thinking, 1992), 649.

> evaluation, analysis, synthesis, and production of arguments, ideas, and performances. It asks students to apply these skills and ideas in meaningful contexts, engaging them in activities they have real reason to want to undertake.[7]

The skills embodied within an instructional approach that cultivates learning for deep understanding are defined by J. Nichol as those dispositions necessary to develop a "thinking skills" perspective when approaching the study of any historical topic:

> The development of historical thinking is a set of skills and processes [that] should run in an unbroken line from the earliest stages of formal education through to adult life. Skills and processes provide history's syntax: they give the discipline its shape, form and structure. Syntactically, history fosters the ability to question, to investigate, to process evidence, to hypothesize, to debate, to create an understanding, to explain and to justify. These procedural skills arise from children "doing history," working in the same way as historians with teacher guidance and support.[8]

Students in my four world history classes were assigned roles as participants in various historical simulations ranging from an archaeological expedition responsible for correctly reconstructing a hieroglyphic message to a mock trial of President Harry S. Truman that explored the correctness of his decision to use atomic bombs against the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The lessons and activities I used included those recommended by T.N. Turner whose research examines the efficacy of using historical reenactment as a standard tool of historical instruction at the secondary and post-secondary levels. Turner proposes the use of "explorations and discoveries, moments of invention, decision-making events, historic meetings and confrontations, debates and trials, signing of treaties and surrenders, cultural reflecting ceremonies, rituals and rites, and construction tasks."[9] Applying this idea of history teaching as the reenactment of past experience, I hypothesized that, by immersing my students in a series of reenactments of major historical events—or historical turning points—that

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[7]Linda Darling-Hammond, *The Right to Learn: A Blueprint for Creating Schools that Work* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1997), 109.

[8]J. Nichol, "Who Wants to Fight? Who Wants to Flee? Teaching History from a 'Thinking Skills' Perspective," *Teaching History* (May 1999), 6–13. Note: This is a British-based journal, not *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods*.

[9]T.N. Turner, "Historical Re-enactment—Can it Work as a Standard Tool of the Social Studies," *The Social Studies* (September/October 1985), 220–223.

essentially define human history itself, they would subsequently seek greater involvement with the subject matter and be transformed into willing participants in a search for historical truth while making extensive use of their higher-order thought processes.

The lessons I designed had to meet three important criteria. First, these lessons had to introduce students to the techniques of historical analysis by providing each student with opportunities to distinguish point of view and assess the evidence on which the different historical perspectives presented in my classroom were based. Central to this idea of teaching history as the reenactment of past experience is the notion that historical thought is multi-dimensional and therefore students must be able to embrace and defend divergent points of view. Richard Paul underscores the importance of lessons that promote divergent thinking. He uses the American Revolution to illustrate this idea: "Thus, when considering a question, the class brings all relevant subjects to bear and considers the perspectives of groups whose views are not canvassed in their texts—for example, what did King George think of the Declaration of Independence, the Revolutionary War, the Continental Congress, Jefferson and Washington, etc."[10]

Second, students needed to engage in individual and group research activities affording them opportunities to wrestle with questions of historical significance. These questions are defined as those that a historian, attempting to understand the significance of a given issue, individual, event, or idea would address. Through these investigative processes, students place themselves in the frame of mind of the person(s) making history. For example, students would research and present historical narratives on famous battles from the vantage point of the strategist responsible for initiating the battle. One student would become Napoleon Bonaparte defending his substandard performance at Waterloo while another would portray Robert E. Lee explaining his unshakeable belief that George Pickett could breach the Union strongpoint at Gettysburg. In this way, I theorized that students would gain a unique understanding of what happened and why. I theorized that such an understanding, while traditionally confined to the realm of historians, would transform a dull curriculum into a vibrant one, while simultaneously developing within students the ability to analyze, synthesize, and evaluate the material under study.

Third, the lessons should provide students with numerous opportunities to rethink the past for themselves as participants through a series of historical decision-making simulations. Harold Guetzkow defines a simulation as referring to "the construction and manipulation of an operating model, that model being a physical or symbolic representation of all or some aspects of a social or psychological process. In education,

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[10]Paul, *Critical Thinking*, 645.

simulation entails abstracting certain elements of social or physical reality in such a way that the student can interact with and become a part of that simulated reality."[11]

Using research cited earlier, I developed an instructional approach to teaching history as the reenactment of past experience based on a four-part model. To begin, students were introduced to the techniques of historical analysis and assigned exercises requiring them to distinguish point of view and assess the strength of the views presented based on the evidence introduced.

Secondly, students engaged in individual and group research activities that included examining specific individuals, events, issues, and/or ideas. The objective was to assess the historical significance of these topics and relate it to the present. For example, as stated earlier, students asked to research a battle would do so from the vantage point of one of its participants and in doing so give their peers a unique understanding into how that battle changed the outcome of the war and of history itself.

Then students were assigned roles in a series of historical decision-making simulations. These roles required participants to rethink the past for themselves in order to defend the point of view embraced by the persons being portrayed. As T.J. Butler reports, "Simulation allows presentation on three levels: facts about the issue being presented in scenario, the processes and skills in which the participant must be engaged, and the development of alternative strategies of decision making."[12]

Finally, students prepared debriefing exercises in which they synthesized their newfound understanding of the issues, individuals, ideas, and events under examination. These exercises gave students opportunities to record the insights they acquired based on whether in fact their insights had withstood the dialectical process embodied within the simulation itself.[13]

The curriculum comprising my experimental study spanned a period of two semesters or eight months. High-school sophomores enrolled in a world history course were pre-tested in August and post-tested in May. In between, I introduced a series of student-centered lessons consistent with the four-part model. Informal assessments, consisting of classroom discussions and teacher observations of students' oral and written responses to critical thinking questions, were used to evaluate how students performed within this learning environment. Formal assessments of student abilities

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[11]Harold Geutzkow, *Simulation in the Social Science* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1961), 2.

[12]T.J. Butler, "Games and Simulations: Creative Educational Alternatives," *Tech Trends*, 33 (1988), 20-23.

[13]Charles Petranek, whose research on writing and simulations supports the work of earlier studies in this area, concludes that the written debriefing exercise is an opportunity for learners to distinguish between multiple perspectives and assess the validity of these perspectives in a reflective format. Charles F. Petranek, "Written Debriefing: The Next Vital Step in Learning Simulations," *Simulation and Gaming*, 31 (March 2000), 108–118.

were conducted during the fourth month and eighth month and at the conclusion of the study. Informal assessments were conducted weekly.[14]

At the outset of the study, 93 student participants in my four heterogeneous world history classes[15] were administered the Ennis-Weir Essay Test of Critical Thinking. The tests were scored and a stratified, random sample[16] of thirty students was selected. While the curriculum was administered to all 93 students, the performance of the thirty students comprising the stratified, random-sample group was closely monitored to determine if the major outcomes of the study were being met (see the next section).

During the first two weeks, students were trained to think like archaeologists. They did an archaeological exercise as a group to examine an artifact and draw conclusions about the people who produced it. During this exercise, I observed students trying to formulate hypotheses based on what they thought they knew, but having difficulties separating that which could be inferred, based on evidence suggested by the artifact itself, from beliefs and opinions uncorroborated by any evidence whatsoever. Students were struggling with separating fact from opinion. I had to explain the difference between conclusions based on facts from those based solely on unsubstantiated conjecture.

Students moved from this discussion to participating in an archaeological expedition in which each class was divided into six smaller groups. These groups had to use their knowledge of Egyptian civilization to decipher a hieroglyphic message.

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[14]For extended documentation of the complete eight-month implementation, see Anthony E. Pattiz, *An Assessment of the Impact of Dialogical Instruction on Critical Thinking Skills in Secondary Social Studies Education at a Medium-Sized Public High School* (North Miami Beach, FL: Nova Southeastern University, 2002).

[15]For purposes of this study, the concept of heterogeneity is defined as students who approximate the overall school population in terms of racial, gender, and ability-level characteristics. While there was variation from one class to another, the overall student population in the four classes closely approximated the school's population with regard to the aforementioned characteristics.

[16]The thirty participants in the sample group were selected from three subgroups based on the variables of gender, race, and ability level. For the gender variable, two groups (male and female) were designated. For the race variable, four groups were initially identified: (1) Caucasian, (2) African-Americans, (3) Hispanic, and (4) Asian-Americans. Since two of these groups represented less than five percent of the total student population, I made the decision that no meaningful data could be derived from these two groups. I therefore omitted Asian-Americans and Hispanics from the sample group. For the ability-level variable, three groups were designated: (1) high ability, (2) medium ability, and (3) low ability. I used pretest data from the Ennis-Weir Essay Test of Critical Thinking to make assignments regarding each group. To ensure that each subgroup's population was reflective of the larger student population among the four participating classes, I assigned each student an identification number and a code. This was used to determine student selection. Students were included from each subgroup in comparable percentages to their representation within the larger student population. For instance, if African-American students represented a third of the overall population, they also represented approximately a third of the population in the sample group.

The groups competed against each other to be the first to decipher this message. I observed students making generalizations during this activity supported by specific facts. While still struggling with differentiating fact from opinion, the competitive atmosphere of the simulation compelled my students to move toward more logical thought processes or risk being outmaneuvered by their fellow archaeologists.

By the end of this activity, students were administered a written debriefing exercise requiring them to make generalizations regarding Egyptian civilization based on their knowledge and understanding of its contributions to human history. I closely examined the responses of the thirty students from the stratified, random-sample group. Their responses reflected the dynamic tension between fact and opinion. One student reported that he was hesitant to draw any conclusions that were not documented by the historical record because he realized such conclusions could be challenged as unwarranted. While most students realized that they should draw inferences based solely on the information presented to them, they had demonstrable difficulties in doing so. I theorized that such difficulties stemmed, in part, from the fact that students tended to be dependent on others to formulate conclusions rather than do the hard thinking involved in formulating conclusions of their own. Paul corroborates this finding when he concludes:

> Students leave school with much inert knowledge and even more activated ignorance. Therefore, students do not understand how to write, think, or speak in ways that organize and express what they believe, or read or listen in ways that allow them to understand and assess the thought of another. Students do not know how they respond to the mass media and to what extent it reinforces their subconscious egocentric or sociocentric vies. They do not grasp how to read a newspaper or a book critically or how to listen to a lecture critically.[17]

During the third week, students researched other civilizations of the ancient Middle East, applying the same thought process to these civilizations that they had used earlier in examining the Egyptians. Learners had to examine how these civilizations influenced their region and subsequent historical events. The objective was for students to draw connections between historical ideas, issues, events, and individuals across time, thereby demonstrating their ability to analyze, synthesize, and evaluate the information they researched. During the oral presentations, however, students tended to reproduce the information they gathered as it was stated. They still experienced difficulties moving beyond the knowledge and comprehension levels. I theorized that these difficulties were due, in part, to the fact that the students were not being questioned aggressively by their peers. I further theorized that, in a dialogical

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[17]Paul corroborates this finding. Paul, *Critical Thinking*, 283.

environment, students would have to defend their ideas and therefore might move beyond the lowest levels of Bloom's Taxonomy.[18] This element was missing during the presentations, but my theory would be tested in the final week of the first month.

In the final week of the first month, students prepared for and participated in a Greek Symposium. In this activity, they recreated eight interviews involving Greek figures, including Socrates, Herodotus, Pericles, and Archimedes. The purpose of this exercise was to have one student interview each figure who was portrayed by a different student. Other students questioned and challenged statements made during the interview. All 93 students completed this activity by writing an analysis. This analysis consisted of a position paper in which they addressed three questions of historical significance: (1) What, in your opinion, were this individual's strengths and weaknesses? (2) How did this individual change world history? And (3) what lessons can we learn today from the individual in question? Students were free to select any one of the eight individuals interviewed for their written analysis.

I observed that the give and take of the interview session compelled students to analyze and evaluate the major contributions of each historical figure. Initially, students were content to answer prepared questions asked by the interviewer, but the audience, comprised of their own peers, enthusiastically questioned and challenged many of the underlying assumptions on which these answers were based. Students, who portrayed these historical figures, then were compelled to reevaluate their character's contributions to history. They began to analyze each figure's primary importance and actually respond from the perspective of the person being portrayed. At this point, students began to move beyond mere reproduction of information to deeper levels of understanding that included analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. In the debriefing exercise itself, I observed a deeper level of understanding and a greater awareness of different historical possibilities.

Of the thirty students in the stratified, random-sample group, seventeen demonstrated thinking at or above the level of analysis. This meant that these students were able to make meaningful generalizations based on the evidence and the arguments they made subsequently went beyond the mere replication of information that had been disseminated previously. My hypothesis, that the dialogical nature of the activity would

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[18]Benjamin Bloom is associated widely with "Bloom's taxonomy" of educational objectives: (1) knowledge, (2) comprehension, (3) application, (4) analysis, (5) synthesis, and (6) evaluation. The first three skills identified by Bloom and are classified as lower-order thinking skills because they require students to take information in its existing form and apply it as it is stated or written. Analysis, synthesis, and evaluation are classified as higher-order thinking skills because they require students to dissect information into its component parts, summarize the utility of the information based on its relevance to a specific issue and/or problem, or evaluate the validity of the information based on its logical foundations. These skills require students to demonstrate a critical understanding of the material that is stated or written beyond its mere replication. See Benjamin S. Bloom, "Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook I: Cognitive Domain," in Fred Schultz, editor, *Sources: Notable Selections in Education* (Akron, OH: University of Akron, 1995), 261–269.

move students beyond lower-order thought processes (i.e., knowledge, comprehension) was initially confirmed. The question remaining was whether, in fact, my students could replicate work at or above the level of analysis on subsequent activities.

Students spent the next seven months engaged in a range of activities that involved learning history through the reenactment of past experience. These activities included a variety of different types of role-playing exercise (e.g., debates, trials, documentaries, oral presentations). In the final month of the study, for example, each student researched one of the military leaders of World War II. Their task was to examine how history is written on the battlefield by analyzing each individual's contributions and the impact of these contributions to the war itself. Learners were required to portray each person as a strategist who would explain the art of war to the class as if he were addressing a group of cadets from his nation's premier military academy. A written analysis of each figure's contributions was also submitted in which students had to summarize the historical legacy of the person each portrayed.

I observed a high level of creativity from some of the student participants. Several came dressed in uniforms and used charts, diagrams, and other visual aids to illustrate the concepts associated with their military leader. These results, however, were uneven. In two classes, students demonstrated a higher level of preparation and understanding than their peers in the other two classes. Within the sample group, nineteen of the thirty students provided oral responses at or above the level of analysis. In the written debriefing exercise, twenty of the thirty students in this group provided responses at or above the level of analysis. I noted that some individuals were clearly more comfortable with the creative nature of this exercise than others.

I had planned two lessons for weeks two and three of this final month focusing on President Truman's decision to use atomic bombs against targets in Japan and on General Douglas MacArthur's leadership during the Korean War. In both lessons, each student would have the opportunity to "think that problem out for himself, [to] see what possible solutions of it might be offered, and [to] see why this particular [decision-maker] chose that solution instead of another."[19] I decided, instead, to focus solely on Truman's decision to usher in the nuclear age. Students were given more time to prepare for the fictitious historical trial of Harry S. Truman for alleged "crimes against humanity." I made this decision based on my realization of the time necessary to prepare adequately for lessons that place a premium on higher-order thinking without placing too heavy a burden on the students involved in these lessons. What I learned is that this type of learning environment, while stimulating for students and conducive to promoting higher-order thought processes, tends to demand much of its participants and make it important that students have the opportunity to process what they learn without feeling overwhelmed.

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[19]Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, 283.

During weeks two and three, classes prepared for and participated in the trial of Harry S. Truman. Students served as attorneys, witnesses, or the defendant. Witnesses included Winston S. Churchill, Josef Stalin, George Marshall, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and other influential decision-makers. The students prepared oral and written arguments otherwise consistent with their activities and thoughts in the summer of 1945. A written debriefing exercise was assigned to each learner based on the role each had played. For instance, the student who portrayed Winston Churchill submitted a written defense of his recommendation to President Truman to use the atomic bombs in the form of a speech to his political opponents in parliament.[20]

Preparation for this trial included the administration of the second teacher-generated test of critical thinking. This test consisted of a reading from Peter Stearns's *World in History Documents*. The objective of this exercise was to determine if students could analyze, synthesize, and evaluate the material they researched using the criteria provided by Stearns: "First, to challenge the reader to interpret primary sources and build historical arguments from them; second, to emphasize comparisons, by which key features—both contrasts and commonalities—can be established and assessed; third, to deal with change over time."[21]

I informed my students that this would be the final lesson of the year. Many expressed their gratitude for a curriculum that provided them with a challenging, student-centered environment conducive to their understanding of issues in greater depth. From one grateful participant, I received the following note:

> You have been the teacher who single-handedly inspired me to think freely without feeling intellectually suppressed. I have been challenged and pressed to think and argue like never before. By having the honor to be a student in your class, I have not been judged for choosing to remain silent, for I cannot always find the right words to express my thoughts. I have not been criticized and my creativity stifled or trampled on, but have instead been encouraged and treated fairly. You have brought history to life for me; the philosophies, the struggles of the class opposition, not the words on the pages of the history book, but the minds of the great leaders and the ones less known as well. You have allowed me to become an historian, to place myself inside the head of the people who made history, have encouraged me to analyze a step further (what if?), and have allowed history to unfold before my eyes as both a spectator and an active

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[20]While Churchill was removed from office during the Potsdam Conference, this student's debriefing exercise was structured to reflect the reality that he was still the leader of the loyal opposition in Parliament and therefore accountable to the British Government for the actions he took while serving as England's wartime Prime Minister.

[21]Peter Stearns, *World History in Documents* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 1.

> participant. By being both, you have given me a wider perspective thus allowing me to immerse myself even more into history and, most importantly, you have prepared me for the challenges that life will pose.

From the parent of another student, I received the following letter:

> I do not generally write to the teachers of my children, but in this case I feel that I must at least comment on your history course. My son has enjoyed your course immensely. He has entertained us at the dinner table on many occasions with stories of his time with you. At the beginning of the school year, he was apprehensive about your teaching technique and unsure of how to succeed in this type of academic setting. Your class has given him confidence in his thinking and reasoning skills, and has also taught him a great deal about getting along with others and communicating his ideas. I have never seen him so involved and excited about history before and I would like to thank you for the time and energy that you put into this course.
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> As a small child, my son had a love for knowledge and challenge and he was on fire to learn anything and everything. That passion has waned over the years of rote learning. This year, I witnessed a reawakening of that fire that I loved so much. Congratulations on finding a teaching technique that truly challenges. Your class has provided our family with the pleasure and excitement of our son's lively discussion, and has provided a great avenue of conversation for a teenage boy who normally speaks in monosyllables. Thank you again and keep up the good work. Teachers like you are rare.

In the trial itself, 23 of the thirty students in the stratified, random-sample group gave oral responses that were at or above the level of analysis. On the written debriefing exercise, 22 of the thirty students in this group responded at or above the level of analysis. My students had succeeded in preserving the gains they recorded at the end of the first month.

Student Learning Outcomes

The projected outcomes for the study were several in number: (1) a stratified, random sample of thirty tenth-grade world history students would experience a fifty percent gain on the Ennis-Weir Essay Test of Critical Thinking, (2) eighteen of thirty tenth-grade world history students from the stratified, random-sample would increase their average score by fifty percent on a teacher-generated test of critical thinking administered in the fourth and eighth months, (3) twenty of thirty tenth-grade world history students selected from this group would respond in writing to critical thinking questions at the analysis level or higher, and (4) twenty of thirty tenth-grade world

history students selected from this group would respond orally to critical thinking questions at the analysis level or higher. The first two outcomes were evaluated statistically while the last two were based on teacher observations. All four projected outcomes of the study were met or exceeded.[22]

At the conclusion of the eight-month study, I debriefed my students. When asked why they initially experienced difficulties in responding to critical thinking questions at or above the analysis level, a majority of the respondents cited the fact that some academic courses did not demand, other than its mere replication, that anything actually be done with the information they acquired. This response supports Alfie Kohn's conclusion. Kohn, a prominent writer, lecturer, and leader in the movement to bring about an end to America's obsession with standardized tests, concludes that: "Because there is a premium placed on remembering facts, children may come to think that this is what really matters—and they may even come to develop a 'quiz show' view of intelligence that confuses being smart with knowing a lot of stuff."[23]

Participants in my four classes enthusiastically embraced the more demanding curriculum with a majority stating that the innovative approach held their interest and therefore increased their desire to do the work required of them despite the level of difficulty they often experienced. When engaged by a curriculum that moves beyond the minimalist requirements imposed by standardized tests, students appear both eager and willing to work to achieve their potential. These results suggest that politicians and bureaucrats should be less concerned with leaving no child behind and more concerned with leaving no potential unfulfilled.

Toward a New Conception of Historical Thinking

To introduce a curriculum that transforms students into practicing historians by providing them with the necessary practice to move beyond the knowledge and comprehension levels on Bloom's Taxonomy, it is necessary to change the way one thinks about teaching history. First and foremost, teachers must ask themselves what major themes and ideas need to be conveyed so their students will grasp the importance of the curriculum. In other words, the first step is to determine what is required for students to truly understand what history is and why history matters. It is therefore important to keep in mind the admonition of Grant Wiggins:

> The inescapable dilemma at the heart of curriculum and instruction must, once and for all be made clear: either teaching everything of importance

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[22]For a complete description of the research methodology used in this study including a detailed statistical analysis see Pattiz, *An Assessment of the Impact of Dialogical Instruction on Critical Thinking Skills*.

[23]Alfie Kohn, *The Case Against Standardized Testing: Raising the Scores, Ruining the Schools* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2000), 18.

> reduces it to trivial, forgettable verbalisms or lists; or schooling is a necessarily inadequate apprenticeship, where "preparation" means something quite humble: learning to know and do a few important things well and leaving out much of importance. The negotiation of the dilemma hinges on enabling students to learn about their ignorance, to gain control over the resources available for making modest dents in it, and to take pleasure in learning that the quest is lifelong.[24]

Teachers must be willing to make choices in their teaching of history. Just as historians make choices regarding what is to be included versus what is to be excluded, teachers must learn to do likewise. The tradeoff is ultimately one that hinges on the issue of teaching it all versus teaching it well. By teaching students the skills and dispositions associated with critical thought, teachers must trust in their students' ability to take what they have learned and apply this knowledge in a variety of contexts including standardized tests. As Monty Neill, who has conducted extensive research into the adverse effects of tying education exclusively to standardized testing, concludes, rather than chasing the illusion that test-driven change will significantly improve learning, policy makers need to shift attention to practices and models that emphasize serious thinking and teaching.[25] This recommendation applies to teachers as well.

The second step is to determine what issues, events, and individuals should be used as role-playing devices that would enable students to research, discuss, and experience the important ideas under consideration. Teachers of history need to ask themselves, "What are the historical turning points that have shaped the human experience?" And "How can these turning points form the basis for a unique set of experiences that will enable my students to gain insights into why the past is both interesting and relevant?" As Parker J. Palmer, a highly respected writer and traveling teacher who works independently on issues in education, spirituality, community, and social change, notes:

> In every period of history, there is an event that when deeply understood, reveals not only how historians do their work but also illumines the general dynamics of that epoch. In the work of every philosopher, there

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[24]Grant Wiggins, "The Futility of Trying to Teach Everything of Importance," *Educational Leadership*, 47 (1993), 44–48. Over the past fifteen years, Wiggins has participated in some of the most influential reform initiatives in the country, including Vermont's portfolio system and the Coalition of Essential Schools. He has established a statewide Consortium devoted to assessment reform, and designed a performance-based and teacher-run portfolio assessment prototype for the states of North Carolina and New Jersey.

[25]Monty Neill, "The Dangers of Testing," *Educational Leadership*, 60 (2003), 43–46.

> is a pivotal idea that when deeply understood, reveals the foundation of his or her system or nonsystem of thought. By teaching this way, we do not abandon the ethic that drives us to cover the field—we honor it more deeply. Teaching from the microcosm, we exercise responsibility toward both the subject and our students by refusing merely to send data "bites" down the intellectual food chain but by helping our students understand where the information comes from and what it means. We honor both the discipline and our students by teaching them how to think like historians or biologists or literary critics rather than merely how to lip-sync the conclusions others have reached.[26]

The third step is to identify what materials already exist that will help to achieve the goals and objectives associated with teaching history as the reenactment of past experience. Companies have already produced many materials making it possible for teachers to reenact the past. All that remains is to determine which materials can be of use to any given teacher. It is important, however, to adapt rather than to adopt. Historians teach a subject, not a text. The subject matter, therefore, should drive the choice of which materials to use and why rather than vice versa.

The fourth step is to reconcile that which is to be taught with those to whom one plans to teach it. Whether the goal is preparing students for standardized assessments or life beyond the classroom, the ultimate goal is to equip tomorrow's leaders with the skills and dispositions typically associated with critical thought. In the information age, workers must "think" for a living, and a curriculum enabling them to do so will uniquely prepare the next generation for whatever challenges life poses. As Kohn concludes, it is not only the ability to raise and answer questions that matters, but also the disposition to do so. To be well educated is to have the desire as well as the means to make sure that learning never ends.[27]

The fifth step is to assign students roles in historical reenactments based on an understanding that each student has different strengths and weaknesses. For example, students possessing natural leadership skills should be assigned leadership roles while other students, who are analytical and introspective in nature, should be assigned roles enabling them to maximize their success as well. This process of assigning roles, based on each of the participants' respective strengths and weaknesses, creates an environment in which each will likely succeed as opposed to a random assignment of roles and responsibilities that ultimately might result in frustration, disappointment, and failure.

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[26]Parker J. Palmer, *The Courage to Teach: Exploring the Inner Landscape of a Teacher's Life* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1998), 123.

[27]Alfie Kohn, *What Does It Mean to be Well Educated?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), 9–10.

The sixth step is to change the way teachers think about historical instruction. If students are to become practicing historians and learn history through a process of reenacting past experiences, then teachers must allow history to unfold in the classroom. While this new conception of historical thinking does not negate the central role of teachers, it recognizes that they are no longer the source of all knowledge. At the heart of this approach lays the understanding that successful learning takes place only when students are empowered to make decisions and reap the rewards or suffer the consequences of their decisions. Or, as historian Tom Holt explains, to "do" history is not to memorize, but to question and to imagine. Historical thinking requires curiosity and a search for the paths of access, not just getting things by heart.[28]

The seventh and final step involves the distribution of a debriefing exercise. Historians are writers. Students must adopt this practice too. The debriefing exercise is essential for apprentice historians to make sense of what they have experienced just as professional historians would. It is the point at which generalizations and symbolic meanings are generated out of students' concrete experiences. The teacher's role in eliciting "learner-discovered" principles, in assisting students in their attempts to organize their ideas and experiences into higher-order generalizations, and in providing the discussion and assignments that will relate the experiences of the past to students' real world experiences, must form the core of this debriefing exercise.[29]

As Sam Wineburg, a distinguished professor of education who has done extensive research and published an authoritative text on the concept of historical thinking, suggests, although most of us think of history—and learn it—as a conglomeration of facts, dates, and key figures, for professional historians it is a way of knowing, a method for developing an understanding about the relationships of peoples and events in the past.[30] If we are to imbue in our students a similar understanding, it is incumbent on those of us who teach history to move toward a new

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[28]Tom Holt, *Thinking Historically: Narrative, Imagination, and Understanding* (New York: College Board, 1995), xii.

[29]The teacher has some latitude in how he considers a debriefing exercise. What is important is that students, in some way, shape, or form, address the twin questions of "What does this all mean?" and "Why is this relevant today?" There are different approaches a teacher can take. One approach would be to link past to present by having student participants analyze the historical ramifications of the decisions made in terms of how those decisions might have impacted the modern world. Another approach would be to have students shift advocacy by adopting positions contrary to the positions they embraced during the historical reenactment. Both approaches require students to organize their ideas and experiences into higher-order generalizations and, in doing so, their knowledge and understanding is given new meaning and is more likely to be retained long after the lesson has concluded.

[30]Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

conception of historical thinking and instruction. As this essay suggests, one way to accomplish this task is through teaching history as the reenactment of past experience.

History should be studied because it is an absolutely necessary enlargement of human experience, a way of getting out of the boundaries of one's own life and culture and of seeing more of what human experience has been.[31] Such a conception is rooted in the notion of the "idealist" historian who seeks to understand the past by getting imaginatively inside the minds of individuals in the past. By studying the mental world of the past, today's students of history should seek to inhabit the minds of their subjects, knowing that this requires imagination inspired by evidence. The historian could then reenact past actions in the way those who actually performed them were thought to act.[32]

It is time for those of us who teach history to think differently about how we teach history. We have arrived at the proverbial fork in the road. One option is to forge a partnership with our students as fellow historians, and, in doing so, assist them along the way in acquiring the skills and dispositions associated with higher-order thought while instilling in their young hearts and minds a love of learning that will last them a lifetime. Another option is to continue doing business as usual, rendering our discipline largely irrelevant in the lives of those whom we purport to teach. In the words of Thomas Paine: We have it in our power to begin the world over again.[33] The choice is ours.

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[31]Bernard Bailyn, *On the Teaching & Writing of History* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 1994), 12.

[32]Robert C. Williams, *The Historian's Toolbox: A Student's Guide to the Theory and Craft of History* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), 16.

[33]Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*, quoted in Eric Foner and John A. Garraty, *The Reader's Companion to American History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991), 208.

A PROPOSAL FOR REVISING THE HISTORY SENIOR SEMINAR COURSE

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This essay proposes that history departments rethink and restructure the typical history senior seminar course to reflect better the range of activities and careers that history majors pursue after graduation. That is, this paper proposes the design of a capstone course consisting of a series of activities that reflects better the preparation a baccalaureate degree in history provides and, in addition, allows for formative as well as summative evaluation. This design also would allow students to select their own theme around which to organize their assignments.

The typical "senior seminar" that about half of history departments at American colleges and universities require of undergraduate majors centers on the semester-long research project and a lengthy paper perhaps running 25 or more pages. It tends to replicate activities that college and university history faculty members do professionally—that is, well-researched, focused studies of article or book length designed for scholarly publication. Such an assignment implicitly assumes that most history majors will move to graduate school and seek doctoral degrees in history. Surely, as we all know, this is not the case.

In addition to this larger issue—that the typical course fails to reflect the range of professions into which history bachelor degree holders enter after graduation—there are other concerns. Young people tend to read less than previous generations and they come into class and their senior seminar course likely having done less reading, being familiar with fewer archetypes, and having less experience in writing. If given too much freedom, they might muddle through the research and collection of notes; they might work through writing the paper; and, in the end, they will receive an appropriate grade. But this summative review system does not help them develop skills they need. It lacks continual and regular feedback.

Quite frankly, history departments, compared to other academic departments in the humanities and social sciences, do not often make clear the meaning of their discipline, the meaning of historical study, or the meaning of a history major. Many departments in the humanities and social sciences make clear statements about the meaning of their respective academic disciplines. This statement often takes the form of a first-year course titled "Introduction to" or "Principles of" the academic discipline, and frequently there also is a senior-level capstone course or some other requirement that clarifies what faculty members believe the earning of a baccalaureate degree means in that discipline.

Think about history departments. We have many entry-level courses that might include such offerings as an American history chronological sequence, an American civilization thematic course, western civilization surveys, European history surveys, world civilization surveys, East Asian civilization surveys, Asian civilization surveys, and likely many more. With this wealth of introductory courses, different history departments require different arrangements of their courses for the baccalaureate degree—some want only western civilization, some want American history survey plus another survey, and

so on. A simple perusal of on-line catalogs and bulletins from colleges and universities in any given area of the country makes this point. We miss the opportunity to state explicitly what "history" is. Students in survey classes fairly quickly become concerned with learning the requirements of a given introductory course or course sequence, which entails learning facts of the subject under discussion and themes that can tie those facts together into something meaningful. We miss the opportunity to make explicit comments on the larger issue of "What is history?"

The senior capstone course is also problematic. I have searched through history requirements at colleges and universities across the country. About half of the history departments have no capstone requirement. Departments without a capstone requirement have chosen not to make a statement about the program of study for their history majors; that is, students usually have to take a series of upper-division lecture-based courses and a smaller number of senior-level proseminar type courses. The arbitrary selection of courses that students make reflects what the department offers in any given semester or year—perhaps who is or who is not on sabbatical leave—and determines the meaning of the history degree. Departments that require a senior capstone usually require students to produce a major semester-long research project. This requirement reflects what faculty members do—we study, we research, and we publish the results of that research. But most undergraduate history majors will not become college and university history faculty. Most will enter into other careers, such as middle-school and high-school history teaching, law, library science, museum work, and fields not seemingly well-related to their history major. For many undergraduates, the major research project requires skills and commitment they may not possess or involves them in a process about which they are not entirely comfortable. Thus they do not gain the benefits history faculty hope the assignment will provide them.

I would like to suggest a different type of capstone course that has proven both interesting and rewarding to me and to students at both my previous and current institution. The range of assignments, in total, equals or perhaps exceeds the requirements of the typical semester-long research paper. The range, however, is more varied and more reflective of what students might do upon graduation, and offers a formative as well as summative development and evaluation process. I require students to submit a different assignment every three weeks—for a total of five such assignments—selected from a list of eight to ten different kinds of small projects that I give them. We then discuss what they will do to satisfy the assignment. The goal is to reflect better the range of work that students might do using their history baccalaureate degree.

Students must propose and I need to approve topics on a consistent theme—e.g., modern Japanese history, the American Civil War, women during wartime, and so forth—based on courses I have taught and areas in which I have done research and publication. Allowing students to select their own theme for the semester makes the various assignments more interesting to them, and it makes the range of assignments less threatening since they may select the broad area in which they are more knowledgeable, more comfortable, and more interested. I do limit them to areas in which I have some

knowledge; it would be silly for me to evaluate papers on medieval European history or modern African history since I neither teach nor research those areas. I could not offer students useful subject matter-related advice.

Please note that in completing five projects over the course of a semester, students will research, think about, gather information on, and write as much as they would in the typical senior-level seminar course. The goal is not to make the assignment easier; rather, it is to make it more relevant, more interesting, and, by dividing it into a series of building blocks rather than one large assignment, more useful. As you know, it is easier to write a paragraph than a monograph—breaking the monograph into chapters and each chapter into sections and each section into a series of paragraphs helps to demystify the process. And, given the requirement to submit work every three weeks, there is formative evaluation throughout the course if only because students receive summative evaluations every three weeks as they complete a project. Errors in conception, weaknesses in doing research, challenges in writing clearly and effectively will emerge in the first assignment, and we can discuss this to help strengthen awareness of good writing techniques for later assignments.

Currently, the topics I offer to students include the following:

1. writing a comparative book review;
2. preparing a research design for a major term research paper;
3. developing a grant proposal to a state or federal agency;
4. working for a museum as a docent;
5. responding to a part of the National Standards for History;
6. outlining a week's worth of lectures on a topic in history;
7. reporting on an historical event "live" as a journalist;
8. doing a simple oral history project;
9. drafting several related entries for an historical encyclopedia.

Each of the students in any given class must indicate the area—thematic or geographic—in which he or she wishes to submit work, and that area must reflect one of my teaching or research interests. I do not require the group each semester to agree on one theme or geographic area, and so in a given semester I might have a student working on topics in American military history and another on post-1600 Japanese history and so on, all of which is fine. I do like for them to consider working in groups or presenting their work on various assignments to classmates before giving them to me, since all of us benefit from good editors—colleagues, family members, and professional editors—without whom we likely would never publish. I do ask that they make at least one presentation to the entire class, usually later in the semester, because the more one practices presentation skills, the more proficient one becomes.

For the comparative book review, I suggest that students review and compare history books they already have read on a common topic or theme. Books from a prior history class are ideal. I give them a brief requirements sheet that discusses how to put this review together. I ask them to submit reviews electronically so that I can more easily edit and return them; they may resubmit the assignment for an improved grade. Typically this review results in a three to five-page paper. The comparative book review is useful

for any student thinking of a teaching career—in secondary schools, community colleges, or universities; it is a good assignment for future teachers to give to their own students, and thus it is useful for future teachers to practice it first. In permitting students to review books they have already read, they can complete the first assignment in the opening three weeks of the semester. We have an opportunity to discuss their skills at organizing a brief paper and writing that paper. Typically, I receive papers that reflect books they used for a previous history course or perhaps read for a previous history research paper, and that is perfectly acceptable. Students often hesitate to reach judgments on what they have read, so this assignment helps them move past that barrier. I encourage them to think about the books they have read: Are they well written? Did the arguments make sense? Were there photographs, charts, or maps to help them follow the argument?

This assignment also helps to foster a discussion about the basics of good writing. I urge students to use the grammar and spelling checkers that most word processing programs provide. In Microsoft "Word," for example, students can choose "Tools," "Options," "Spelling and Grammar," and finally "Readability Statistics." Once finished with the spelling and grammar check, "Word" provides a summary—number of words, sentences and paragraphs, and the resulting percentage of passive sentence constructions, Flesch Reading Ease (a scale from 99.9 to 0.01 where a lower score implies a more complex sentence structure, and a score in the 30s would indicate good, complex, thoughtful prose), and Flesch-Kinkaid Grade Level (the highest grade level is 12.0 and good writing should result in a level between 11.0 and 12.0). I focus initially on the elements of good writing to help students think carefully and consciously about their writing style and to focus on the weaknesses that all of us have to one extent or another. Too many students write awkwardly, use too many passive verb constructions, and lack good command of language. The spelling and grammar checks help them think about their writing.

For research design, students select a topic, perform a search in the university library, and write up a design that includes the working hypothesis, the primary and secondary resources they found and believe are appropriate, and a description of how they would proceed to do the actual research and write the resulting paper if, indeed, they were doing such an assignment. In other words, they engage in the initial process of performing the term paper research project, but stop before they begin the real detailed work. Years ago I put together a twelve-page single-spaced handout of tips on how to complete a ten-to-fifteen page term research paper assignment; I use some of that advice in the research design, which is the heart of the longer research paper assignments.

Students have submitted research designs on a great many interesting topics. These include "the British use of changing weapons technology in the nineteenth century," which very recently became the student's master's thesis, "women and the U.S. home front," "Truman's decision to use the atomic bomb," "the May 4th Movement and the Birth of Modern Chinese Nationalism," "the Opium Wars," and "Japan's turn to militarism in the 1930s."

To be honest, students have not often selected this option because, I think, they were not as comfortable with research papers as they would like to have been, and a research design incorporates the initial phases of a research paper. Still, I think this is a good option because it helps students learn better the elements of a research paper, and the more practice they have, the more proficient they can become, especially in conceptualizing the process and the steps they need to take.

For the grant proposal, students receive a copy of the requirements for a typical summer stipend proposal for the National Endowment for the Humanities and suggestions on how to find websites for United States Department of Education curriculum development proposals. I also tell them that presidential libraries typically host grant competitions to provide travel support and urge them to review those programs and requirements as well. Many undergraduate history majors might wind up in jobs that will require them to fill out and submit grant applications or, if in business, respond to "Requests for Proposals" [RFPs]. This is a useful exercise to draft a proposal, understand the typical categories [e.g., narrative, objectives, outcomes, etc.], and demystify somewhat the process of applying for grants. The grant proposal is one of the choices that students do not complete particularly well, and frankly it is not an assignment they often choose. After all, where would the average undergraduate students gain practice at writing grant proposals? But it remains a good learning exercise. After all, many of us have served on grant panels and received proposals that seemed hurried or not well thought out or did not fit requirements of the grant category. I can only remember about a half a dozen or so submissions in this category, but I persist in offering it.

The "museums or historical sites" assignment is meant to be a flexible one. History graduates might work as paid staff or volunteers in museums, historical sites, and other similar places. I believe it is important to introduce the idea of community service and to encourage those students willing to volunteer to work at a museum to fulfill this category. The results for this option have been interesting and satisfying. In Denver, some years ago, several students volunteered for a rather large exhibit that the Denver Museum of Natural History hosted on Aztec society at the time when the Spanish conquistadors arrived. Students had to memorize a great deal of material to serve as docents and they submitted that material and the resulting talks they had outlined for the assignment. They had great fun and helped contribute to the community. More recently, one student, who was a member of the U.S. Army National Guard, obtained permission from the base museum director to rewrite some of the display cards at the museum on the base where he was stationed. Another student, who was studying to become a high school world history teacher, came into the main office with a bed sheet over her normal clothes wrapped to look somewhat like a kimono, and she performed a credible version of the Japanese tea ceremony to the great amusement of several secretaries and me. She then submitted her research and notes. And, because I teach military history, I have found there are always students willing to come to class dressed in their Civil War re-enactment uniforms and discuss the uniforms, the weaponry, food, and so forth, and that too is great fun.

Students intending to become secondary social science or history teachers have found that National Standards for History a challenge. I admit that I too find the National Standards rather imposing. I downloaded the standards from the web, and I broke them down into constituent parts—e.g., Chinese history or Japanese history. I have tried to figure the time that typical ninth-grade world history courses in Iowa high schools allow, for example, for units on Japanese history, and then I try to see if I could teach to the national standards in the available time. I cannot imagine how any teacher could possibly meet many of the standards without racing through one's written notes at breakneck speed and with little thought for student understanding and/or comprehension. Especially for those students who are seeking secondary social science certification, it is useful for them to consider how they would teach to those standards and react to them—the standards in a specific area—as if they were assigned as part of a high school's reaction and study for a possible school board inquiry.

Students often have undertaken this assignment, and they have submitted papers on how they might meet the standards in the number of contact hours they could devote to that country or era in history. I would not argue that they succeed in their presentation, but the assignment helps acquaint them with the idea of history as continuous and the need to think both about how to break up a course into parts and how to relate those parts to one another and the overall theme of the course.

Outlining a week's worth of lectures on a topic in history is a good and useful exercise. I frequently tell very good students enrolled in my upper-division courses that, in areas in which they are interested and about which they are knowledgeable, they could likely give a better single lecture than I can (and I take great pride in my class presentations). But the real mark of a good classroom instructor is relating one day to the lectures that preceded that day and to the lectures that will follow since history is linked by chronology, themes, and so forth. Again, I let them pick the general topic, and together we discuss how to set boundaries for a week's worth of lectures and how to determine the elements of a good classroom presentation. Then they have to research their respective topics, outline the material they want to present, identify the learning points, and decide how it would tie into what most logically would precede and follow their unit. I like them to have lectures and discussion notes, an outline for students, and a map or maps where appropriate and useful.

Students have outlined sections on the American War for Independence, the Vietnam War, the turbulent sixties, China during the cultural revolution, the "floating world" of seventeenth-century Japan, the American Civil War, women in medieval Japan, and a great many other topics. One student wrote me some years after the class that he used some of these outlines when he began teaching high school history in a Denver-area suburb.

Students may choose to "file" a report on a historical event "live" as a daily news journalist might do. I do not require them to write in the style of the time in which they are reporting. I suggest that they submit a news story or a news editorial of typical length—perhaps 750 words—on a specific topic that fits within the theme or geographic area or time frame they have selected for the course. Students have submitted good

newspaper reports on various battles, on U.S. election campaigns, on declarations of war, and on Prohibition and booze running. Students also have submitted good editorials on similar topics, for example, exhorting women to take non-traditional jobs during World War II, supporting the Union in the "up south" during the days leading up to the Civil War, and promoting a liberal position during the "Let 100 Flowers Bloom" campaign in China during the late 1950s.

Years ago, Howard K. Smith, a noted reporter from the early days of television, gave a well-attended talk at my previous institution. During the question-and-answer session following his formal remarks, in responding to a question from a journalism major, he said that journalism students would benefit most from taking as many history courses as they could because understanding history, he suggested, is the key to being a good journalist. Many journalism majors take history courses, and this assignment helps bridge some of the distance between people who must report and comment at the moment, which is always difficult, and those who can put some distance between themselves and an event and have time for historical reflection. The tenets of good writing, whether in history or in journalism (or just about any field), are similar, and so I thought this to be a useful assignment.

The oral history project has followed a similar track for most students. Many students who select this option interview family members, while others—often students from small towns (fairly common at any current institution)—interview neighbors, friends, or other residents about some event in their lifetimes. We talk briefly about taking accurate notes, checking accuracy with the interviewee, doing a little background research to prepare for the interview (which is one reason that interviewing family members makes for an easier assignment), and outlining questions prior to the interviews.

The results have been fun to read and to hear. One student some years ago submitted a wonderful paper based on interviews with his grandmothers, both of them from Kansas, who criticized Franklin Roosevelt as President for not keeping better control of his wife, Eleanor! Another student submitted a paper based on interviews with his paternal grandparents who were celery farmers in the Denver suburb of Arvada and who complained for years after they gave up their farm about "imported" California celery not being as good nor as dark green as what they produced. Another student interviewed all of his living, older adult male relatives because every one of them volunteered for service in the military and he, an NROTC member, wondered why they all felt so obligated to serve. He learned that his male ancestors from Norway and Sweden also had volunteered to serve their respective countries. The usual outcome of these papers is a nice time for families to speak with one another across generations, and that can be a good project for high school teachers to use in class.

Drafting several related entries for historical encyclopedias represents a real source of professional development and publication for faculty members employed at teaching-oriented institutions and for advanced graduate students. The resulting encyclopedias are useful resources for high school and college students. They help outline topics and suggest where to turn for additional information. They are good examples of scholarship in support of teaching, as the late Ernest Boyer wrote, and the profession should credit

such work. Students often find that writing 500 or 1,000 words on a specific, rather narrow issue with a few listed and relevant sources can be an interesting and challenging experience. Writing a tight short narrative is a tremendous skill, and that ability to summarize a complex issue in a clear and succinct manner (an important critical-thinking skill) can help in virtually any career that involves some kind of writing.

To set up this activity, I have shared some of my submissions written for historical encyclopedias. I try to point out different steps in the process: thinking of the topic, doing the research, and then writing and later proofing the encyclopedia entry. I also use submissions from other historians to show how one does brief submissions, medium-length entries, and longer, more involved pieces.

I ask students to submit three to five entries on a related topic. That is, they submit three to five entries of 500 words each or two entries of 1,000 words. In previous years, I have received entries on American Civil War battles, Vietnam War campaigns, popular culture fads, Sino-Japanese relations, and many other topics. One student, who subsequently enrolled in graduate school in history, updated some of his entries and had them published in a recent encyclopedia on military history.

In conclusion, I believe that this approach to the history capstone course has advantages over more typical practices in history departments. For those departments that have no senior capstone experience, this seminar course proposal makes a statement about the usefulness of a history baccalaureate degree and shows the versatility of the thinking, conceptual writing, and research skills that an undergraduate history major would acquire through the course of a history-based education.

For those departments that currently require a major term research project, this alternative proposal better recognizes the world into which most history majors will enter once they earn their undergraduate degree. Of course, the proposed course reflects a view that the history major does not necessarily lead to graduate school in history and that might represent a difficult adjustment for some history departments.

For students, this approach involves a series of steps, with the opportunity for both formative and summative evaluations. In this proposed capstone students go beyond traditional experiences—that is completing their entire assignment, from selecting a topic, performing research, organizing notes, writing the resulting paper, and submitting the finished work, and then receiving their only evaluation at semester's end. Instead they do a variety of activities that provide formative feedback at several steps throughout the semester plus their summative evaluation (the grade) at the end. A baccalaureate degree in history prepares a student to succeed in many environments, and we should be justifiably proud of the good work we all do and the fine education we provide. I believe that this proposal for a new kind of history senior seminar helps make all of this clearer to students.

TEACHING WITH ON-LINE PRIMARY SOURCES:
DOCUMENTS FROM NARA

FIRST BLOOD IN BALTIMORE: THE INDICTMENT OF SAMUEL MACTIER

Daniel F. Rulli
National Archives and Records Administration

President Abraham Lincoln's victory in November 1860 ended one of the most divisive elections in U.S. history, and in the months before inauguration day, seven states left the Union. The resulting conflict at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, on April 12, 1861, is generally considered the beginning of the Civil War. But the violence in Maryland between Union troops and rioters seven days later, known as the "Baltimore Riot," actually produced the first hostile casualties of the Civil War.

The teetering secession status of Maryland, pro-secessionist feeling in Baltimore, and rumors of an assassination plot against Lincoln resulted in considerable concern about security in the nation's capital. Lincoln ordered troops to be sent to protect Washington. Col. Edward F. Jones's 6th Massachusetts Militia was the first to respond. Traveling by train from Boston, through New York and Philadelphia, they arrived in Baltimore on April 19, 1864 (on their way to Washington). Colonel Jones warned his troops that they would find resistance in Baltimore and made sure that they were armed and ready. According to Jones, they walked a short distance through Baltimore in order to change trains when they were pelted with "a shower of missiles" from a mob of secessionists. Soon shots were fired from both sides. By the time the 6th Massachusetts boarded their train to Washington, several soldiers and civilians were dead and many others were injured.

Later, many of the secessionists were arrested for their involvement in the riot. The featured document is the grand jury indictment for treason of Samuel Mactier, one of the rioters. He was indicted for treason, and the language of the document supports the contention that the Baltimore Riot was the first battle of the Civil War that resulted in hostile casualties.

Teaching Suggestions

1. Focus Activity with Document Analysis: The Beginning of the Civil War

Provide students with a copy of the indictment of Samuel Mactier. (A digital scan of it is available online in the Archival Research Catalog (ARC) on the National Archives website at http://arcweb.archives.gov/arc/basic_search.jsp. The most direct way to locate the document in the database is by conducting a keyword search using its ARC identifier number (278862). It may be reproduced in any quantity. Ask pairs of students to read and suggest that they write a transcription of the document. Guide a class discussion using the following questions:

- What kind of record is it?
- When was it written?
- Where was it written?
- Who wrote it and to whom?
- What was its purpose?
- What special issues and questions does it raise?

Then provide students with information on the Baltimore Riot. Ask students to discuss how this information affects their analysis of the document.

2. Writing Activity: Editorials from Different Locales

Inform students that the arrest of many Baltimore citizens like Mactier and the declaration of martial law in Baltimore resulted in dramatic and conflicting reaction in America. Ask students to write an editorial about the indictment for a newspaper. Remind students that the time frame for their editorial is the spring of 1861, and encourage them to write the editorial as if they lived in different cities in the United States. Some example cities are Boston, San Francisco, Atlanta, Chicago, Charleston, Louisville, Baltimore, and Washington, DC. Remind students that they should do some basic research on their assigned city to accurately represent the sentiment there. Allow class time for students to read their editorials aloud to the class.

3. Cross-Curricular Activity: War and the Influences of Geography

Explain to students that many wars start over issues related to geography and place. Assign individual students or small groups a different American war for research on the geographic significance of the place where each began. Direct them to determine not only the significance of the location where the war started but also its relationship to the war itself. Some examples are Breeds Hill for the Revolutionary War; the sea battle between the *Chesapeake* and the *Leopard* for the War of 1812; disputed territory between the Rio Grande and Nueces River for the Mexican War; Baltimore for the Civil War; the sinking of the *USS Maine* in Havana Harbor for the Spanish American War; Sarajevo for World War I; the invasion of Manchuria or Poland or the attack on Pearl Harbor for World War II; the 38th Parallel for the Korean War; the Gulf of Tonkin for the Vietnam War; and the invasion of Kuwait for the Gulf War. Allow students class time to share their findings. Their analysis should include the role of geography and place in the cause of the war, the cultural and physical elements that led to the site's significance, and the importance of the site today.

4. Role Play: Grand Jury Indictment of Mactier

Supply students with a copy of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution and secondary research tools to help define and describe the origin, procedures, and characteristics of grand jury indictments. Ask them also to complete additional research on the Baltimore Riot. Then arrange for a simulation of Mactier's grand jury hearing by assigning 16-23 students (as applicable for a typical grand jury) as jurors

and the remaining students as judge and the prosecution and defense teams. After adequate prep time, allow class time for the defense and the prosecution to argue the case orally before the grand jury. Give the grand jury time to deliberate, and then announce and explain their decision to confirm or reject Mactier's indictment.

NOTE: The Mactier indictment is in the holdings of the National Archives Mid Atlantic Region, Philadelphia, PA, Record Group 21: Records of District Courts of the United States, 1685-1991.

Daniel F. Rulli is an Education Specialist in the Museum Programs Office in the National Archives and Records Administration. In addition to conducting video conferences with students, teachers, and administrators, Rulli has presented dozens of workshops to teachers around the country and has written various articles on "teaching with documents" for professional journals. He has a B.A. and M.A. in Political Science and retired in June of 2002 from 28 years of public high school teaching. During the course of his career he taught interdisciplinary classes in world history and American studies, in addition to classes in economics, sociology, world geography, Russian history, government, and politics.

Robert C. Williams. *The Historian's Toolbox: A Student's Guide to the Theory and Craft of History*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2003. Pp. xv, 170. Paper, $18.95; ISBN 0-7656-1093-0.

Actually, this task of scholarly reviewing isn't so burdensome or complicated after all, especially if you follow the formula given in "the seven deadly sins of historical writing." The first and certainly the most menacing, that of claiming, or, as we remorsefully tell our students, of proving your thesis, snares Robert Williams's gracefully written *Historian's Toolbox*. The subtitle, *A Student's Guide to the Theory and Craft of History*, seems to indicate that this will be a practical guide to the methods and skills of history. In the preface, Williams declares that "The purpose of this book is to help history students, and even other historians, understand the *tools* of the intellectual process and craft that is history." To that end, "The tools ... provide a number of techniques common to reading, research, and writing, as well as some current controversies in the historical profession." Indeed, Williams does all this, but his "toolbox" provides only basic instruments that would allow elementary historical constructions more appropriate to an apprentice and not a craftsman.

The tasks given only after the first seven chapters almost seem an afterthought, as if the author enjoyed telling you so much about his subject but much less about its practice. Many seem generic. For example, straightforward exercises such as "take notes on this chapter" and "write a draft of your paper" smack more of busywork than of disciplinary engagement. While excellent at explaining necessary and sufficient causation in historical writing, Williams leaves out other historical determinants such as final, conditional, and true causes. The same could be said for the scant attention paid to footnotes, a tool essential for the burden of proof in history. Additionally, the "For Further Reading," section at the end of chapters seems very limited and cursory. Other works, such as Conal Furay and Michael J. Salevouris's *The Methods and Skills of History: A Practical Guide*, give students a more critical, in-depth "toolbox" that allows greater engagement with such thorny and interesting historical problems as analysis of evidence, multiple sources and types of footnotes, interpretations of history, research exercises in libraries and on the web, and differences between types of primary and secondary sources.

Yet Williams's *Toolbox* perhaps has a greater and more appropriate usage for students in general survey courses rather than those in more historiographical, specialized, upper-division classes. Well-written with delightful and enticing anecdotes, adept at explaining themes and concerns of history, and with an enthusiasm only made greater by the author's forty years of engagement with the discipline, *The Historian's Toolbox* easily could supplant many of the dreary supplements that now abound.

The University of North Carolina at Asheville Milton Ready

Michael W. Homel. *Unlocking City Hall: Exploring the History of Local Government and Politics*. Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Co., 2001. Pp. 182. Paper, $18.50; ISBN 0-89464-987-6.

About the time I received this book for review, I received a note from a graduating history major who had written her senior thesis on the short life (1978–2000) of a local grassroots organization, the Danbury Preservation Trust. The purpose of the student's letter was to thank me for suggesting the topic because her research on the efforts to save "the old, dusty buildings" that provided the physical backdrop to her life had made the study of history exciting and meaningful. This young historian without realizing it strongly endorsed the rationale for the Exploring Community History series of which this slim volume is the third and most recent publication.

More than twenty years ago David Kyvig and Myron Marty, the editors of Exploring Community History, provided the basic field guide (as well as a felicitous descriptive label) for the enterprise of researching localized history in their book *Nearby History: Exploring the Past Around You* (American Association for State and Local History, 1982). Since then the two men have been persistent in recruiting scholars with expertise on specific aspects of the field and resourceful in finding ways to get their valuable knowledge into print. All teachers who have the opportunity to guide student research projects should be grateful that Kyvig and Marty persuaded Michael Homel, an historian at Eastern Michigan University and a former Mayor of Ypsilanti, Michigan, to prepare this clear, sensible primer to probe the past of local government and politics.

The book attempts many things in a few pages. Information on the organization and duties of local government orients the reader. The author provides a concise description of the type of sources, both primary and secondary, that might be encountered in doing research at this level. Scattered throughout the 161 pages of text are capsule summaries of published work by professional historians that illustrate various approaches to presenting the political experience of towns and cities. Local elections, often dramatic and blessed with a full public record, merit a full chapter in this manual.

However, the strength of the book is that it brims with suggestions of possible subjects for research that are offered not in perfunctory lists but amplified with thoughtful questions that a student might ask about each of them. It is possible in a short review to mention only a few examples of this technique. One bit of advice that would engage my student mentioned above is to look critically at local government buildings (city hall, the library, the police station) or public monuments (plazas, statues, parks). Finding out when they were built, why they were built, whether the construction was accompanied by conflict about design or location, and whether the use or appearance of the structure changed over time would shed light on the values of the community. Other beginning researchers might be interested in documenting the history of local government services such as police and fire protection; road building, maintenance, and cleaning; or parks and playgrounds. Homel urges students to think about the history of

a universal and seemingly mundane municipal responsibility such as supplying water as a window into the local power structure. He suggests asking the following questions: Who made the basic decisions about the water system: Politicians? Private companies? Technicians? Was the supply and cost equitable in all parts of the community? Did any disagreements about water quality, such as the fluoride controversy of the 1950s and 60s, take place? This enlightened version of "tell and show" forms the backbone of this modest book and enables it to fulfill its function of inspiring and guiding fledgling researchers.

Western Connecticut State University Herbert Janick

Patrick Manning. *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global Past.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Pp. xiii, 425. Cloth, $75.00; ISBN 1-4039-61174. Paper, $26.95; ISBN 1-4039-6119-0.

Most new history teachers are prepared to teach an upper-level class in their field of research, but are most likely to be asked to do the opposite—to teach a survey of Western Civ or even more startling World Civilization. As a new colleague said in tones of whispered panic, "That's *everywhere*, all the time." Compounding the problem is the institutional disconnect in which surveys of World History are popular, but only a handful of graduate programs in the world turn out professors specifically trained to approach history with a broad, comparative view. Patrick Manning, who has been in the vanguard of this developing field for twenty-five years, now offers a handbook that, although not likely to reduce my colleague's panic, gives a roadmap of where World History came from, the myriad directions it is going, and how to educate yourself for the classroom application of a global view.

From the early writings of Han court historian Sima Qian and the Abbasid chronicler Al-Tabari to the synthesis works of H.G. Wells and Oswald Spengler, Manning tracks the move towards viewing history beyond national borders, area studies, and single groups. Manning gives the reader the classics, including Lewis Mumford's *History of Technology*, Fernand Braudel and Henri Pirenne, Alfred Crosby's work on the Columbian Exchange and the 1918 Flu, and Karl Jasper's *Axial Age*, before demonstrating how this new view has affected public memory through changes to the celebration of the 400th anniversary of Columbus's voyages and the journeys of Lewis and Clark. Tantalizing new research techniques, such as DNA analysis, satellite photos, and the cracking of previously unknown languages are discussed as new avenues for World History. Manning offers examples of the variety of World History being practiced—the comparative economies of Han China and the Roman Empire, gender studies of women as agents of the British Empire, diaspora work on Chinese laborers, biographies of travelers and explorers, and ecological studies of domestication and land use.

Interestingly, this is also a study of the development of a new field, from its inception through academic respectability, as measured in journals, conferences, an AP World History exam, and graduate programs. Manning has seen it all, and recounts the continuing challenges to World History, including getting students and faculty to commit to a program requiring multiple languages, interdisciplinary cooperation, shared information and research techniques, and creative funding acquisition. For those who did not come from World History training, this book offers a structure in which to teach yourself, and provides definitions of contentious terms like diffusion, fusion, paradigm, and syncretism. Perhaps the very best feature of this book is the extensive footnotes, most citing works from the last decade, and including articles and dissertations demonstrating the dynamic directions being taken in World History currently. The references even include syllabus websites and places to view key debates in the field on the H-World discussion list backlogs.

Anyone teaching a World History survey, advising students likely to be interested in World History programs, or planning reading lists for upper-level courses should have this book on his or her shelf as a starting point for ways in which we can connect our training to the larger world and plug into a new and exciting field in our discipline.

Minnesota State University Margaret Sankey

Sally Marks. *The Illusion of Peace: International Relations in Europe, 1918–1933.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Second edition. Pp. 214. Paper, $24.95; ISBN 0-333-98589-3.

Sally Marks's new edition of *The Illusion of Peace: International Relations in Europe, 1918–1933* is a fine book in a strong series, The Making of the Twentieth Century. This series bravely promises "sufficient narrative and explanation for the newcomer to the subject while offering, for more advanced study, detailed source-references and bibliographies, together with interpretation and reassessment in the light of recent scholarship." Marks, well known in the field, comes as close to reaching that goal as anyone is likely to do in so few pages.

The book has six chronological chapters, an index, a chronological table, and four clear maps, but no other illustrations. Twenty pages of excellent endnotes not only list primary sources from many countries but also cite both classic and recent secondary sources, mostly in English. Marks also examines a few historiographical debates in the notes, which contain some fascinating asides about diplomats.

To Marks, who does not hesitate to make her points boldly, the history of international relations is less the unfolding destiny of nation-states than the human product of flawed diplomats. At the heart of her analysis are both public opinion in the western democracies and troublesome Germans. Despite the central role she ascribes to public opinion, however, she examines it little beyond asserting its unitary nature, its

limitations on policymakers' actions, and its belief that collective security meant someone else would always shoulder the burden of defense. The Germans, she contends, believed their expansion would provoke no reaction, refused to acknowledge defeat and its consequences, and followed a consistently nationalist program that had the advantage over the contending and shifting aims of the other great powers.

Marks's central contention is that the postwar treaties provided only the illusion of peace because "the only effective means of enforcement was force and, after four years of war, nobody would risk the possibility of more war." As she sees it, "... the irreducible problem ... was that Germany demanded equality while France insisted upon security, but if Germany gained equality, France had no security since Germany was larger and fundamentally stronger." In that situation, she asserts, often Britain "would present an elaborately worded scheme to paper over the divide."

Marks's view of Gustav Stresemann, so often depicted as a "good German," is rather negative. To her he is a "great German nationalist dedicated to restoration of the Reich's power" who did more than any "man in the Weimar republic ... to destroy the Versailles Treaty," and whose accomplishment of the evacuation of the Rhineland "burst the bonds of pent-up German nationalism and paved the way for Hitler." But it is the public preference for illusion that arises in her conclusion: "It is not only ironic but also tragic that, aside from Hitler's aggressive aims and his single-minded pursuit of them, the major factor forcing Europe toward the Second World War was the intense yearning of the Western democracies for peace, however illusory."

Marks explains even confusing events clearly, and this book will be useful in many different courses. Occasionally, however, her vocabulary might puzzle some undergraduates. She uses a few German words, many French and Latin phrases, some British spellings, and a few uncommon terms. Indeed, graduate students seeking a brief review might be the ideal audience for this excellent book.

College of the Ozarks Michael W. Howell

Keith Eubank. *The Origins of World War II*. Third ed., The European History Series. Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 2004. Pp. XI; 196. Paper, $14.95; ISBN 0-88295-228-5.

The Origins of World War II is the third edition of a work that first appeared in 1969. The book is organized in a chronological fashion, beginning with the aftermath of 1918 and ending with a detailed chapter on 1939 and the outbreak of war. There is an informative chapter that introduces readers to the post-1918 European reality, with an explanation of what the major powers sought during and after Versailles. In his discussion of the interwar period, Eubank places emphasis on the importance of events such as the 1936 Rhineland reoccupation, British-German naval negotiations, and the 1938–39 crises over Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Danzig. He explains the policy of

appeasement, and points out how and why British and French officials arrived at this strategy for dealing with Hitler's escalating demands.

This book's strength is its focus on standard political and diplomatic history; Eubank states at the outset that his purpose is to "examine the policies, the outlook, and the experience of the statesmen and politicians who wrestled with Adolf Hitler's demands, as well as the military, political and economic conditions of their nations." Thus, for example, readers learn much of the thoughts and actions of British politicians Anthony Eden, Edward Halifax, and Neville Chamberlain, and their counterparts in Paris, Berlin, and Moscow. Eubank relies heavily on published volumes of foreign policy documents from Britain, France, and Germany to illuminate the high-level negotiations that culminated in Germany's September 1939 attack on Poland and the Allied declaration of war. On the other hand, we learn little of how civilians anywhere reacted to events, and the varied impacts of the 1930s economic depression on European politics only rarely are integrated into the narrative. Readers would be advised to use Eubank in conjunction with other books in order to gain a balanced assessment of the two decades prior to 1939.

How useful is this book for teaching about twentieth-century European history? Readable and relatively brief, *Origins of World War II* is most suitable for high school juniors and seniors and lower-level college undergraduates. Advanced college students would need to supplement this text with additional readings to better understand factors beyond foreign diplomacy and a British and French focus. There is an extensive bibliographical essay, but much of the scholarship is outdated and important recent titles are missing. But this book has another possible use: Because of its topical and chronological format, both high school and college faculty might find Eubank useful for background reading or preparing lecture material. "Mussolini and Ethiopia" and "The Popular Front and the Spanish Civil War" are examples of sections that work well in this regard.

In sum, this revised edition of Eubank's book could be a supplementary text in European history survey courses at high school and college levels. But it has its limitations, and faculty should carefully consider what other sources would be needed to provide a balanced interpretation of the crucial years between 1918–1939.

Concordia University, St. Paul Thomas Saylor

Laura Marvel, ed. *The Salem Witch Trials*. San Diego: Greenhaven Press, 2003. Pp. 144. Cloth, $28.70; ISBN 0-7377-0823-9.

The Salem Witch Trials, edited by Laura Marvel, is part of Greenhaven's Opposing Viewpoints series. The goal of this series is to elucidate various interpretive positions on controversial historical subjects, and serve both as a vehicle for and an example of scholarly debate. This latest addition to the series on the Salem witch trials

succeeds in fulfilling this mission; it would be highly useful as a source for class discussion or as a springboard for a paper, both on the trials themselves and on the nature of historical interpretation.

This slim volume of short essays begins with an effective introduction that sets the historical context of the trials, followed by three chapters that each present different arguments in response to a guiding historical question. Chapter one asks why the witch hunt occurred in Salem in 1692, chapter two tackles the question of what motivated the accusers, and chapter three explores why the accused innocents often confessed. Each chapter contains four or five secondary source essays, often from different academic disciplines (e.g. history, sociology, psychology, religious studies, political science), and at least one primary source document that speaks to the chapter's theme. The coverage of various scholarly interpretations of these trials is quite thorough. The variety illustrates the complexity of doing history using multiple narratives and vantage points, not to mention from various disciplinary perspectives. Some essays clearly contradict each other; many highlight different yet complementary factors affecting the trials. Students should enjoy trying to grapple with and reconcile the various positions.

Each essay is preceded by a short introduction that summarizes the essay's thesis argument. On the one hand, this ensures that students will know the various thesis arguments for the purpose of discussion; however, it also robs students of the exercise of learning to discern these themselves. These short pieces also focus on making an argument rather than supporting their assertions with extensive evidence; students interested in more information will need to seek out the full texts from which most of the essays are drawn. The essays generally are clearly and crisply written. Undergraduates should have little difficulty with this book. Topic headings within essays and boxes with highlighted key sentences help students zero in on main ideas. The book also contains tools for students to use for discussion and research, such as a detailed list of accusers and accused (names, ages, and dates), a chronology, a bibliography, and an index.

This book is small enough for a class to read within a week, and discussion of it would easily fill a class session with lively discourse. It would be suitable both for a lower-division survey course focusing on the first half of U.S. history or for an upper-division course on colonial or American religious history. Advanced high school classes could utilize this book as well. Teachers seeking a short synopsis of the historical scholarship on this subject for the purpose of lectures will find this book to be a valuable resource that can be quickly gleaned.

Boise State University Jill K. Gill

Tom Chaffin. *Pathfinder: John Charles Fremont and the Course of American Empire.* New York: Hill and Wang, 2002. Pp. xxx, 559. Paper, $18.00; ISBN 0-8090-7556-3.

In American history, some individuals become celebrated for the wrong reasons. There are a number of people who are defined by an event that might not be representative of the totality of their historical contribution. This dynamic probably applies to John C. Fremont. Fremont is known primarily for two events. First, he was the Republican Party candidate for president in 1856. Second, as a Union major general in Missouri during the Civil War, he issued an ill-advised emancipation order that clashed with the policies of the Lincoln administration. Lincoln relieved Fremont of his command and his reputation has suffered since.

In *Pathfinder: John Charles Fremont and the Course of American Empire*, Tom Chaffin examines Fremont's entire career. And in this excellent biography, the reader will see that Fremont's primary historical legacy was as an explorer, surveyor, and writer in the American West. From 1837 to 1854 Fremont was renowned in the United States as a Western traveler and leader of scientific missions. He led five different expeditions west and helped prepare the area for settlement. His accounts of these travels enthralled the nation and helped set the stage for expansion.

Fremont was educated in South Carolina where he became friends with influential South Carolina politician Joel Poinsett. When Poinsett became secretary of war in 1838, he assigned the young Fremont to assist Joseph Nicollet, the French scientist and explorer, as they set off to survey the area between the upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers. His career as the "pathfinder" was set.

Along with Poinsett and Nicollet, Fremont also gained influential connections when he married the daughter of Missouri senator Thomas Hart Benton. Senator Benton helped Fremont secure several expeditions to the Oregon territory. In addition, Fremont's wife, Jesse Benton Fremont, helped him with his writing, and was also a powerful advocate for her husband's career.

During the early 1840s, Fremont (with his wife's help) wrote several books about his western expeditions. After a four-month expedition in 1842 through the South Pass on the Continental Divide, Fremont published a spirited government report that caught the imagination of the curious public. And in 1843, Fremont and his party traveled an estimated 6475 miles in the Oregon region. His account of that journey also captivated the public and stirred many to move west.

This is an exceptional biography. Chaffin is adept at examining Fremont's eccentric personality. Fremont was a loner who disliked authority and rules. His elusive personality caused him many problems. In California during the Mexican War, Fremont became unnecessarily entangled in a quarrel between two superiors and was court-martialed. And during his 1848 expedition to the Rockies, his group became lost and several men died. Some blamed Fremont for the problems. Chaffin explains that

Fremont was best as the daring and resourceful leader of these expeditions—when he ventured into politics and business matters, he suffered.

Chaffin also gives the reader a superb look at the antebellum westward movement and its consequences. One of the questions that appears regarding Fremont is whether he helped accentuate Indian Removal—whether he should be blamed for some of the worse aspects of empire or imperialism. As Chaffin writes, "While traditionalists venerate Fremont as a hero carrying liberty's light into the west, revisionists dismiss him as an advance scout for imperialistic and anti-Indian genocide policies."

This book fills a gap that is often missing in antebellum history. We do have monographs on the westward movement. But we have too few works that connect these westward scientific missions with Manifest Destiny. Chaffin's book helps to fill in that gap.

Concordia University, St. Paul David E. Woodard

Robert H. Zieger. ***America's Great War: World War I and the American Experience.*** **Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000. Pp. xxii, 272. Cloth, 427.95; ISBN 0-8476-644-8. Paper, $21.95; ISBN 0-8746-9645-6.**

It is difficult to capture the complex nature of a large-scale conflict, such as World War I, in the classroom. Sophisticated instruction requires an examination of the conflict's battles, leaders, and weapons, but issues of nationalism, commerce, manufacturing, and labor are important as well. Students in the best classes investigate some of the more troubling elements of the conflict, including its true purpose, race relations, and political manipulation. In addition, war involves opponents and allies who have stories of their own to discuss that students need to consider. The Great War of 1914–1918 is an excellent example of this complexity, and few individual books have captured its total experience in a format usable in the classroom. However, it is possible to successfully describe this conflict from a specific national, regional, or topical perspective, which is the approach of Robert H. Zieger in *America's Great War*.

Focusing on the American perspective, Zieger builds his manuscript around four major themes: this nation's connection to Europe, the relationship between the war and the Progressive era, the rise of the national security state, and the presidency of Woodrow Wilson. In chapters organized chronologically, Zieger takes the reader from the European war, through America's entry, to the disastrous peace negotiations of 1918–1920. Inserted in this narrative are chapters on mobilization and the issues surrounding class, race, and gender. He concludes his manuscript with a discussion of the postwar United States and poses some questions he believes are central to placing this conflict within the broader scope of American history.

America's Great War is a work of synthesis, and Zieger consults a wide-array of secondary works on this conflict to support his manuscript. As a Distinguished

Professor of History at the University of Florida and prolific scholar concentrating on labor history, Zieger does not rely on standard military history views of the war, but constructs his own arrangement of the events. His narrative is not, therefore, one that will please xenophobic patriots as he describes America's unpreparedness, reliance on French military equipment, the breakdown of its supply system, and mistreatment of African-Americans who were ready to fight for their country. Into his story he further weaves the social, economic, and psychological costs of the war such as the fight for the League of Nations, the struggles of labor, and the retaliation of the government against those who opposed the conflict.

Those who wish a more detailed study of purely military aspects of World War I will be disappointed and should continue to consult sources such as Edward M. Coffman's *The War to End All Wars*. However as the standard text for use in undergraduate history courses, Zieger's book is the right choice. It can be used too as a reference for lecture preparation or as a common text for use by students who are preparing more detailed examinations of other aspects of the conflict. It is a great read and should become a standard text for future classroom examinations of the United States in the Great War.

California State University, Northridge Stephen A. Bourque

Erica Harth, ed. *Last Witness: Reflections on the Wartime Internment of Japanese Americans*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003. Pp. 303. Paper, $16.95; ISBN 1-4039-6230-8.

Immediately after September 11, 2001, many compared that event with Pearl Harbor and its aftermath, when all persons of Japanese ancestry living on the West Coast of the United States were imprisoned. Did national security require such action and, is it necessary, in the current situation, to take similar measures against persons with connections to a perceived enemy? A recent publication argues that the imprisonment of Japanese Americans in 1942 was justified and that similar measures should be taken today in defense of the country. (See Michelle Malkin, in *Defense of Internment: The Case for "Racial Profiling" in World War II and the War on Terror*, 2004.)

That such a notion could be considered seriously constitutes a failure of historical memory that this present volume seeks to address. In the view of the editor, the experience of Japanese Americans in that time "may well be the most documented and least known miscarriage of justice in our history," and yet there are those who neglect the historical record and are vulnerable to the sway of myths about that experience and time.

Erica Harth asks the reader to remember that the internment of Japanese Americans affected and continues to affect all Americans and that "the story of the internment will not be over until we take full responsibility not only for the injustice but

for the precedent it set." Those are the basic premises of this book of essays. Those "witnessing" in this volume include not only some who were imprisoned during the war, but others as well. For instance, children of parents who had that experience, while they were not in the camps themselves, were nonetheless affected. As Jeni Yamada writes in her essay, "Legacy of Silence (II)," "I didn't live the camp experience. But I didn't escape it either," and her essay continues to explain that observation. Erica Harth, the editor of this volume, did "experience" the camp as the young white daughter of a first-grade teacher at one of the camps and she adds her "witness" to this collection as well. Other contributors, eighteen in all, add important perspectives as they address a variety of questions about that experience: "What stories do we want to make known now? How do we begin to think about the implications of the internment for the era of the 'war on terrorism'? What strains of American life run through and beyond the wartime history? How can unlearning and coming to speak on the internment help us to further the causes of social justice and human rights in the twenty-first century?" Even those who had no personal or family connections to the internment can discover that there are important emotional and political connections and anyone reading this volume is forced "to come face to face with one of the most significant betrayals of American ideals."

It is important that students read these essays in order to keep historical memory alive and engage in "dialogue, reflection, [and] active engagement with the issues" involved. Teachers will serve their students well if they take up the challenge to do this. All of the essays are appropriate for middle and high school students and present such a wide variety of perspectives on the topic that teachers would have flexibility in how they might use them in their classes.

Boise State University Robert C. Sims

Melvin Small. *Antiwarriors: The Vietnam War and the Battle for America's Hearts and Minds*. Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2002. Pp. xiv, 183. Paper, $19.95; ISBN 0-8420-2896-X. Cloth, $65.00; ISBN 0-8420-2896-X.

The intrusion of the Vietnam war into the 2004 presidential campaign demonstrates, if such evidence were further needed, the staying power of the most divisive military conflict in the nation's history since the Civil War. In *Antiwarriors*, Melvin Small of Wayne State University provides an overview of the antiwar movement of the Johnson and Nixon years.

Several themes emerge. Although dozens of organizations sprang up to protest the war in various ways (and the author categorizes them nicely), they were much too amorphous and ill-structured to have much "organization" to them. Dues were nonexistent, there were no membership rolls, and leaders often quarreled bitterly among themselves over tactics and strategy. Moreover, groups advocating peaceful civil disobedience were unable to exclude more radical and fringe elements ready to be

arrested or to provide a comic or bizarre flavor to demonstrations. Group leaders often fretted that such misbehavior undercut their support with the wider public that sympathized with the antiwar efforts but not with clownish or violent demonstrators. Effective coverage by the media was absolutely essential to keeping the movement alive, but all too often the news outlets, particularly television, focused only on the unruly or zany minority of demonstrators, ignoring the peaceful and decorous majority and creating the impression among viewers that all demonstrators were unruly hippies or lawbreakers.

Small draws a distinction between the two presidents: Lyndon Johnson "was too much of a civil libertarian to launch the all-out war against dissenters that President Nixon began." The latter cleverly argued that demonstrations stiffened the resistance of the North Vietnamese to meaningful peace negotiations, while at the same time he employed agents provocateurs to infiltrate and incite antiwar organizations to the extremist tactics he could then denounce. The author also stresses an often overlooked fact, that senior policymakers in the two administrations who were charged with pursuing the war themselves had children bitterly opposed to the conflict, and he suggests that such family dinner table arguments turned some of the parents into serious doubters.

As one participant in the movement concluded, it became "the focus of our lives ... the center of everything," and movement leaders were convinced that they had forced the government to cease escalating the conflict and to make peace. Opponents argued that the antiwarriors only prolonged the war "because many Americans skeptical about the war were disturbed about associating themselves with what appeared to be repulsive hippies and unpatriotic radicals." The truth, Small maintains, lies somewhere between. While the movement did not end the war directly, it most certainly contributed to two major presidential decisions, the first in March 1968, when President Johnson made his stunning post-Tet announcement not to seek re-election and to begin peace negotiations. And in the fall of 1969 President Nixon decided not to retaliate militarily when the North Vietnamese failed to respond to an earlier American ultimatum to soften their negotiating positions or else. Small argues that both men, contrary to their public pronouncements, were obsessed by the power of the movement and its allies in Congress and the media.

For those interested, there are only two mentions of John Kerry here; one discusses briefly his eloquent testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1971. But the author notes that membership in Vietnam Veterans Against the War had reached 20,000 by 1972, and it is "likely that hundreds of thousands of other veterans ... privately shared the views of the VVAW." Present-day students should know this, to say nothing of Kerry critics, who have tried to portray him as something of a lone aberration in the Vietnam years.

Small's prose, if not sparkling, is workmanlike enough, and he turns up memorable phrases from the movement. *Antiwarriors* would serve as an extremely useful supplement to U.S. survey courses as well as courses on the Vietnam war. Sociologists who study the structure of mass movements should find the work of interest as well.

Floyd College William F. Mugleston

Mary E. Williams, ed. *The Terrorist Attack on America.* San Diego: Greenhaven Press, 2003. Pp. 192. Cloth, $33.70; ISBN 0-7377-1324-0. Paper, $22.45; ISBN 0-7377-1325-9.

The destruction of the World Trade Towers by terrorists on September 11, 2001, elevated the problem of Islamic terrorism to a central place in United States foreign affairs. It is therefore essential that any course in recent American history or current events cover this topic and the major issues that have grown out of it. This anthology of magazine articles and editorials written in the months immediately following 9/11 is an early effort at doing this in a classroom book. Part of Greenhaven's "Current Controversies" series, it is organized around four questions that in early 2002 seemed to be the leading issues of this subject. Chapter one asks, what caused the terrorist attack on America? Seven pieces offer a background on Islamic beliefs and extremism but also include such explanations as Marxist thought and public lassitude. Chapter two explores whether Muslim anger toward the United States is justified. The three yes and three no answers are most valuable for their review of American politics that were unpopular in the Middle East. Chapter three focuses on the curtailment of civil liberties, particularly the Patriot Act, and whether its controversial provisions were needed to fight terrorism. The final chapter deals with how America should respond to terrorism. It covers reactions through the early spring of 2002 and hints at future issues in entries that compare the war on terrorism with Vietnam and discuss bio-terrorism.

Any text covering current events runs the risk of obsolescence. There is only one article devoted to the possibility that the United States might extend its response to 9/11 from Osama bin Laden to Saddem Hussein. Weapons of mass destruction are a minor topic compared with Islamic culture and attitudes. None of the articles question whether the Bush administration should have been more prepared for 9/11, and obviously there is nothing on the Iraq invasion and its aftermath. Texts organized around controversy also run the risk of selecting articles that represent polar positions rather than more balanced analyses. The editor selected several entries from very conservative or liberal magazines that do not necessarily reflect the main points of discussion after 9/11. The emphasis on opposing viewpoints also minimized the events of 9/11 themselves. In early 2002, the shock of that day was still so strong that the editor might have presumed that no details of the destruction (including any mention of the other two hijacked planes) were needed. By 2004, readers might appreciate more reminders of why this was such a stunning tragedy and terrorism became such a major issue.

An anthology of primary documents also has strengths, especially for classroom use. Many of the leading figures are frequently quoted, so both the flavor and the validity (or lack thereof) of thinking after this event are presented. Some leftist entries remind readers that not everyone saw terrorists or Islamic extremism as the central issue and thus offer a counterweight to the political popularity of focusing on Middle Eastern leaders or an axis of evil. With the addition of materials carrying events and issues

forward from early 2002, this book can continue to provide a solid foundation for discussion of the still very significant issue of terrorism against America.

California State University, Fullerton Lawrence B. de Graaf

Edward J. Rielly, ed. *Baseball and American Culture: Across the Diamond.* New York: The Haworth Press, 2003. Pp. xxiii, 289. Cloth, $59.95; ISBN 0-7890-1484-X. Paper, $29.95; ISBN 0-7890-1485-8.

Even the most casual fan of baseball will find essays in this volume to excite, bring back memories, and cause contemplation about the "national pastime." With topics ranging from American fans to baseball's inclusiveness (on the diamond if not in the ranks of management), to the economics of baseball, to management-labor disputes, or to baseball and the arts, the volume includes some twenty-three essays, each of which has accompanying notes. Some of the essays evoke a nostalgia for the game: Derek Catsom's piece, "On Fenway, Faith and Fandom: A Red Sox Fan Reflects," is noteworthy in that respect. Some are attempts at serious scholarship: David C. Ogden's "Baseball and Blacks: A Loss of Affinity, a Loss of Community" is most thoughtful. Some of the essays would have been better left unpublished: Loren Coleman, "Boys of Summer, Suicides of Winter: An Introduction to Baseball Suicides," puts a scientific gloss on the tragedies that have resulted from personal defeat. Some others are so narrowly focused that their contribution to the whole seems limited: Gary Land's "God and the Diamond: The 'Born-Again' Baseball Autobiography" is an example.

Through all of these essays, readers are reminded that baseball is American and democratic in that one doesn't have to be abnormally tall or large or fast to play the game; it is egalitarian in reaching out to all, although the requirements for a playing field, baseball, bats, and gloves have kept the game more middle class and suburban than lower class in its appeal. We are reminded, too, that baseball played an integral role in the desegregation of American life, a role that ironically led to a diminution of interest among African-Americans. Baseball has provided inspiration for poets and humorists (often self-deprecation by players themselves) and has a language of its own. We are reminded that the labor disputes of baseball have an intractability about them because of the complex interplay of business practice, talented athletes with short expectations for years of play, and fan fascination if not fanaticism about fielding the very best team possible each and every year. For all of these reasons, this is a useful collection of essays. For readers of this journal, the book would have only limited use as a text in history classes and would be more appropriately listed as bibliography for a class on popular culture or sports history.

Tennessee Wesleyan College Thomas F. Armstrong