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TO ILLUMINATE HISTORY: MAKING HISTORY PICTURE-PERFECT

Robert Blackey California State University, San Bernardino

Teaching can be improved dramatically if we use images creatively and in a way that was not possible until recently. As a student, I was fortunate to be in the classrooms of several extraordinary teachers who inspired with their words, stories, and insights, but I had to use my imagination to supply the visual content inherent in what they said, much as I did when reading. This was not a bad thing; I eventually wondered, however, whether it was something to build upon, not be satisfied with. At the start of my teaching career, several decades ago, I launched a collection of historyrelated cartoons to circulate in class—for both their perspective and the light touch they provided—and, almost immediately thereafter, I began to include occasional pictures from books and other sources. I also made use of art slides and others from my travels to historic places. But passing materials among students sometimes distracted as much as enlightened, and by the time everyone had a chance to examine a given image, the class was usually onto another topic. And using slides served—and sometimes still serves—a purpose, but mostly as separate and distinct presentations. In contrast, transparencies and PowerPoint give teachers greater flexibility. What I want to suggest here, however, might very well be perceived as a more imaginative and educational way to employ these images or what can be called "Illuminated Teaching, Learning, and Understanding."

Textbooks include illustrations, as do some monographs and other histories, but never enough of them and hardly ever more than one on a given subject. Yet modern technology has made it possible for teachers to find and employ visual images in class in creative ways that both illuminate history and enhance our educational goals; by involving students—by asking them to describe what they see, by asking questions of the materials we show, by introducing them to the intellectual possibilities inherent in many images—we have the potential to improve their communication skills and their critical thinking abilities. Scanning paintings, photographs, drawings, maps, and cartoons (political and otherwise) into our computers and downloading them from

¹When using overhead projectors, it is best to have a spare bulb handy; a burned out bulb is, effectively, the only malfunction to anticipate. PowerPoint allows for smoother transitions from one slide to the next, but the hardware is sometimes known to not always work as advertised. There are also overhead projectors that include cameras that enable teachers to project images directly from books. As long as a room is not lighted too brightly, all of these technologies can be used in typical classrooms; I usually dim or turn off some of the lights closest to the viewing screen. Teachers will also have to decide how much time to expend in pursuit of images; finding them takes time and energy, but the effort stimulates my creative juices, and my experience in seeking and incorporating them into my class presentations has broadened my enthusiasm for teaching.

websites gives us access to an almost unlimited variety of images—sometimes in concert with music, poetry, literature, and film clips—that we can then use to bring the past to life in ways not possible earlier. What follows are a number of examples taken from the courses I teach (European, English, and world history) that, I hope, will inspire other teaching historians to follow suit.

Perhaps here I should stress my belief in the power of visual images to enhance the spoken word. Students today are especially visual, and what we enable them to actually see, coupled with our descriptions and questions to draw them further into the subject matter, helps to develop their skills to think historically. Thus I employ the verb "to illuminate" in the title to suggest not merely "to illustrate" but "to shed light" on as well. Further, it is not merely the use of images that I advocate here but the use of sequences of images (potentially in conjunction with other means of learning). This is what is novel; this is what stimulates students through several of their senses; this is what has the potential to engage more of them more effectively.

Art and architecture play a prominent role when my class examines the Pazzi Conspiracy of 1478, a plot to kill Lorenzo de Medici. The plot is an example of the violent nature of the political side of the cultural center that was Florence, and it reveals why princes (or despots) needed the tacit consent of citizens in order to rule. The conspiracy was hatched by a rival business family, the Pazzi, and had the support of Pope Sixtus IV (after whom the Sistene Chapel would be named). Ironically, the attack came while Lorenzo and his brother Giuliani were attending Mass in the recently completed Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore (Duomo). After projecting a contemporary image of a drawing of an assassination, complete with daggers being wielded and bodies fallen, I show Florence as it appeared in a painting from 1480, with the Duomo dominating the skyline. Next come images of the Duomo itself, from afar and up close, as I talk tangentially about the special qualities of Brunelleschi's dome and how the architect's study of the Roman Pantheon (pictures of which I also project, exterior and interior, complete with the hole in the dome's center) helped him to design a structure that Europeans had lost the ability to replicate for a thousand years.²

To find a wealth of pictures and other images, use the image function in a search engine such as Google and access websites such as Artcyclopedia.com and Artchive.com. Most textbooks today, for courses in world, Western, and U.S. history, include excellent color and black-and-white images that can be scanned into a PowerPoint program or made into transparencies, with each new edition including many new pictures. In addition, the following offer quality text to accompany their images: Gloria K. Fiero, The Humanistic Tradition, 2 vols., fourth edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002); Mary A.F. Witt, et al., The Humanities, 2 vols., seventh edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005); Robert C. Lamm, The Humanities in Western Culture, fourth edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004); Roy C. Matthews and F. DeWitt Platt, The Western Humanities, 2 vols., fifth edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004); H.W. Janson and Anthony E. Janson, History of Art: The Western Tradition, sixth edition (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall and New York: Henry N. Abrams, 2001); F. David Martin and Lee A. Jacobus, The Humanities through the Arts, sixth edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004); Martin Kemp, The (continued...)

As I relate the story of the attack, students view portraits of Lorenzo and Giuliani, the latter by Botticelli. Although Giuliani was killed, a wounded Lorenzo escaped and sought protection in the city. The people rallied to his side; rounded up the conspirators, and hanged them. Finally, I show Leonardo da Vinci's sketch of one of the hanging men and a photograph of the Palazzo Vecchio from which he was hanged. And, to draw a modern reference from popular culture, I remind students of *Hannibal*, both the book by Thomas Harris and the motion picture, ³ where the evil title character, living incognito in present-day Florence, is pursued by a detective named Pazzi who soon meets a fate similar to his forebears. ⁴

Students are thus led through an episode visually via images of art and architecture, with scenes from two cities, as they learn about more than just the dark side of Renaissance politics. Students tell me that these visuals help them to remember and understand the conspiracy more effectively, along with its historical significance. Not incidentally, teaching it this way is also more fun for the instructor; I enjoy seeing these images, mentally revisiting places I've been, and sharing my enthusiasm with students. Another example from the same period involves a discussion of the causes of the Italian Renaissance, one of which is Italy's being the site of the old Roman world. This point is emphasized via the projection of photos of the remains of the Roman Forum, the Coliseum, Circus Maximus, a section of the wall that still encircles much of old Rome, and Piazza Navona, whose oblong shape reflects the racing arena (Domitian's Stadium) that once occupied the site.⁵

In teaching world history I find it instructive to give some attention to "dehumanization," the act of rendering opponents something less than human in order

²(...continued)

Oxford History of Western Art (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Hugh Brigstocke, ed., The Oxford Companion to Western Art (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

³Thomas Harris, *Hannibal* (New York: Dell, 2000); *Hannibal*, (VHS/DVD, MGM, 2001).

⁴ For more on the conspiracy, see Lauro Martines, *April Blood: Florence and the Plot Against the Medici* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); the bibliography will direct readers to many other sources. Interested readers should be aware of a new twist to the conspiracy. On March 6, 2004, *The New York Times* (first section, p. 17) reported that, according to Marcello Simonetta, a professor of Italian history and literature (and based on his research in a private archive in Urbino), the mercenary Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, played a pivotal role in the assassination plot. Simonetta's findings, recently published in *Archivo Storico Italiano* and in a new book, *The Secret Renaissance* (2004), point to the duke's desire to eliminate the Medici brothers and suggest that he supported the effort with 550 soldiers and fifty knights. It remains to be determined, it would seem, why those soldiers were not sent.

⁵In addition to picture-filled guidebooks (purchased when visiting Rome and other historic sites) that can be used as sources for images, most of these Roman sites and more are featured in the various humanities books cited in footnote #2.

to justify inhumane actions against them. This can be demonstrated visually in a variety of compelling ways, with drawings, propaganda posters, modern journalism, photographs, film, and music serving as guiding lights. For example, a machine gun, patented in England in 1718 and illustrated by a contemporary drawing, included two different magazines: One contained round shot for use against "civilized" Christian enemies and the other held square shot—which caused more devastating wounds—for "uncivilized" non-Christians.6 More recently, in the United States we have dehumanized Japanese and Vietnamese, among others, when we were at war, which in turn made it easier to try to kill them. The point is driven home, first, through the projection of three posters from World War II of caricatures ridiculing Japanese as rats, apes, menacing creatures, or comic characters with over-size teeth and glasses.7 and then, with the viewing of the unintentionally humorous guide, "How To Tell Your Friends From The Japs," published in *Time* magazine in 1941. Among the "few rules of thumb-not always reliable" for distinguishing between our Chinese friends and Japanese enemies: "Chinese, not as hairy as Japanese, seldom grow an impressive mustache;" "Japanese walk stiffly erect, hard-heeled. Chinese, more relaxed, have an easy gait, sometimes shuffle;" "Most Chinese avoid horn-rimmed spectacles."8

There are many images of Jews, Africans, and African Americans that demonstrate the twisted creativity behind the forces of dehumanization (and of racism and nationalism). An illustration from one of Julius Streicher's children's books works well here, such as the one that shows blond Germanic pupils rejoicing as grossly-caricatured Jewish children and their teacher are expelled from school so that discipline can be restored. Useful companion pieces include a Nazi "race-identification table" used to portray typical German heads and a photograph of the width of a man's nose being measured to determined racial origin. Another useful addition is an excerpt (about halfway into the film) from *Europa Europa* in which a German Jewish teenager, who had been surviving World War II by passing himself off as a Christian, is brought

⁶TimeFrame: The Enterprise of War (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1991), 73. This book is part of a 23-volume TimeFrame series that offers reasonably sound general-audience text accompanied by excellent visual materials. Another equally useful Time-Life collection is the more recent (1998-2000) 18-volume What Life Was Like series.

⁷Peter Paret, et al., *Persuasive Images: Posters of War and Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 198. This is a rich topic that can be pursued further on the Internet where several sites show World War II posters.

⁸Time (December 22, 1941), 33.

⁹Shadow of the Dictators: TimeFrame AD 1925-1950 (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1989), 36–37. A parallel avenue to pursue along these lines of race and discrimination—but this time in Latin and Hispanic parts of the Western hemisphere—concerns race mixing. See Ilona Katzew, Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

to the front of his class to have his head measured in order to demonstrate his Aryan features. ¹⁰ I also find it telling to then show a map (published in newspapers in November 2002) ¹¹ of the African origins of all human species. Finally, the playing of military songs or aggressive national anthems, such as the *Marseillaise* ¹² (including the sanguinary words in translation), to promote nationalism expands the subject ever more vividly.

Monarchs, especially those who reigned for a long time, often had portraits painted (or in modern times photographed) at various stages in their lives and in a variety of settings. Louis XIV on horseback at a military siege might look like Frederick the Great under similar circumstances, but a lesson in comparative rule can be more instructive when accompanied by their painted images, as Frederick actually directed his troops while Louis only appeared at a battle site in time to be painted at the moment of victory. 13 Flattering the subject notwithstanding, artists provide us character studies that reveal a great deal about the looks and nurtured images of, say, Henry VIII and his daughter, Elizabeth I. Students can be shown Henry metamorphosing from a physically impressive Adonis to a bloated, diseased, angry, and disappointed man; the increasing dimensions of his several surviving suits of armor, when projected on a screen, underline the point. 14 We know less about Elizabeth's appearance, especially as she aged, lost her hair and smooth skin to the ravages of smallpox, and had her vanished beauty made over with the fawning words of courtiers, but at least two portraits show her as an older woman, 15 while the backgrounds, as well as the costumes, of the earlier portraits reveal much about the queen and her times. Catherine the Great and Queen Victoria are two other monarchs whose lives, in part, are illuminated in both individual and family portraits over long periods.

¹⁰Europa Europa (1991: VHS/DVD, MGM, 2003).

¹¹ The New York Times (November 12, 2002), Section F. 3.

¹²http://www.marseillaise.org/audio/mireille mathieu - la marseillaise, mp3.

¹³ Examples of such illustrations can be found in A.G. Dickens, ed., *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty, 1400-1800* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977), 255; Nancy Mitford, *The Sun King* (New York: Crescent Books, 1966), 33; Andrew Zega and Bernd H. Dams, *Palaces of the Sun King: Versailles, Trianon, Marly: The Chateaux of Louis XIV* (London: Laurence King, 2002), 10, 12, 14, 53, 73, 130, 160, 286, 192; Nancy Mitford, *Frederick the Great* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1970), 278–279, 284. An Internet search will yield other relevant images.

¹⁴In this case, seeing is believing, but it isn't always: see David King, *The Commissar Vanishes: The Falsification of Photographs and Art in Stalin's Russia* (New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 1997).

¹⁵Neville Williams, A Royal History of England: The Tudors (London: Cassell, 2000), 77.

Artists who painted for royalty and for social and political elites sometimes offered subtle messages that we can use in class to demonstrate the personalities of subjects and thus the success or failure of a project. For example, when the thrice-married-but-now-bachelor Henry VIII sought a fourth wife, he sent Hans Holbein the Younger to the courts of Europe, where eligible princesses resided, in order to relay to him as much about these women as possible to help him make his choice. Henry was sent the portraits of Christina of Denmark and Anne of Cleves, but the artist wanted his patron to know something about each woman's personality, as well as her appearance. (Wanting to know something about a prospective spouse was not unusual. In fact, Henry's father, the widowed Henry VII, sent a secret memorandum to his ambassadors concerning a proposed marriage between himself and the Queen of Naples. The first Tudor monarch asked about "the features of her body ... whether she be painted or not ... the fashion of her nose ... [and whether] her breasts ... be big or small." A wonderful recording of this, and other documents from English history, *The Hollow Crown*, was made in 1962. 16)

The clever Holbein painted the lively, intelligent Christina in subdued clothes that do little to distract attention from the woman herself. In contrast, we see the rather sweet but dull Anne in an elaborate jeweled headdress and colorful dress, both of which are more interesting than her face. ¹⁷ I have students tell me what they see as they compare the two works. Christina looks directly at us with an air of confidence, while Anne's eyes are downcast; Christina's hands gracefully hold a pair of gloves, while Anne's are folded submissively. As it turned out, Christina refused to be enticed to share Henry's bed, whereas the more obedient Anne accepted. But upon seeing her, Henry initiated divorce proceedings that had political consequences as well.

An already-dramatic and significant episode in the history of the early modern world can be given added dimension with the use of art, music, maps, and photographs. During the height of the Ottoman Empire (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), the ruling sultans made effective use of their Janissary corps of foot soldiers. The Janissaries were slaves, recruited mainly from conquered Christian peasant villages in the Balkans. Taken as young men as a form of tax, they were drilled in military tactics, converted to Islam, and educated to become obedient, disciplined agents of the sultan's will; they also comprised what some have called Europe's first standing army. Showing contemporary images of the recruitment of those Christian boys and of Janissaries in

¹⁶Royal Shakespeare Company, *The Hollow Crown: The Fall and Foibles of the Kings and Queens of England* (London Records, A4253). The print version of the performance, including the exchange between Henry VII and his ambassadors, can be found in John Barton, *The Hollow Crown: An Entertainment by and about the Kings and Queens of England* (London: Samuel French Ltd & George G. Harrap & Co Ltd, 1962), 24–26.

¹⁷Helen Langdon, *Holbein* (London: Phaidon Press, 1976), 110–113.

their colorful uniforms and headgear,¹⁸ while also playing "Gneç Osman" ("Young Osman"), a Janissary march,¹⁹ melds vivid illustrations with the vibrant sounds made by ensembles of drums and double reed wind instruments. The Ottomans marched to battle to the accompaniment of music, which at first terrified the Europeans but was subsequently imitated by them.²⁰ Later western composers, such as Mozart and Beethoven, were influenced by this Turkish music, and we today can often hear its echoes in marching bands.

These same Janissaries²¹ in 1453 played a crucial role in the Fall of Constantinople (the Conquest of Istanbul for Muslims). The story of this pivotal event fascinates, starting with Sultan Mehmet II's building a great fortress—in a mere five months—across the Bosporus from an existing castle built by his grandfather, which enabled him to control the strait's narrowest point; it still survives. With entrance to the Golden Horn—an inlet that forms the inner part of the city and where the city's walls were most vulnerable—blocked by a huge chain with links close to eleven feet long, Mehmet developed an audacious idea. He had his men build a wooden ramp laid with metal tracks (starting at the waterfront site where the Dolmabahçe Palace now stands) from the Bosporus overland so that some seventy Turkish ships, hauled out of the water by pulleys and placed on wooden cradles made by the sultan's carpenters and fitted with iron wheels, could be pulled some three miles by oxen up a 200-foot hill and down the other side into the Golden Horn. An analysis of this episode becomes especially meaningful and memorable when accompanied by a map showing the region around Constantinople (including the Black Sea, the Bosporus, the Sea of Mamora, and the Dardanelles), a picture of the Golden Horn and immediate surroundings and another

¹⁸These websites offer relevant imagtes: http://www.humanities.ualbert.ca/ottoman/tur2pict.htm and http://www.siue.edu/costumes/plate67cx.html.

¹⁹Mehter Band of the Asker Müse, Istanbul, Lyrichord Discs, Inc. Excellent suggestions for ways to use music and where to find a wide variety of selections can be found in Alex Zukas, "Different Drummers: Using Music to Teach History," *Perspectives* (September 1996), 27–33. Also see Joseph Machlis and Kristine Forney, *The Enjoyment of Music*, ninth ed., shorter version (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003); in addition to a history-friendly narrative and discussions of specific pieces of music, information is provided about relevant CDs and cassettes; also available is the *Norton Digital Music Collection*, featuring six hours of music that were selected to enhance the core repertory of the ninth edition: http://www.wwnorton.com/college/music/ndmc.

²⁰ According to Machlis and Forney, *The Enjoyment of Music*, 59, 234–235, Janissary bands originated in Anatolia/Turkey in the fourteenth century as an elite corps of mounted musicians. They accompanied soldiers to war, playing their brass and percussion instruments from horseback and their fifes and drums from among the ranks of foot soldiers in order to spur the troops into battle.

²¹For more on the Janissaries by one of their own who served during this time period, see Konstantin Mihailovic, *Memoirs of a Janissary*, trans. B. Stolz. Michigan Slavic Translations no. 3 (Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 1975).

of the ships being hauled, along with a portrait of the sultan, photographs of the fortress, the restored walls around parts of the old city, and those extraordinary chain links.²²

A monarch every bit as splendid and central to his empire's success was Louis XIV of France. A veritable recreation of his court, complete with photographs, paintings, music, and film, can give students a heightened sense of what it must have been like to be in the presence of the Sun King. Ingredients include images of what Versailles looked like in 1668 and 1722 (i.e., the difference between a palace not much larger than the original chateau of Louis XIII and that which Louis XIV had quadrupled in size), a portrait or two of Louis (such as those by Claude Lefebvre and Hyacinthe Rigaud), a photograph of the Hall of Mirrors, pictures of seventeenth-century French nobles in all their finery, the music of Jean-Baptiste Lully (especially the brief Ouverture to his court opera, *Atys*²³), and a little imagination by both instructor and students.²⁴ Not incidentally, Lully, an Italian immigrant, defined the essence of French opera for years to come; his music is filled with nationalistic overtones and flattering tributes to the king while reflecting the grandeur and confidence of the royal court.

After projecting the portraits of Louis and talking about his appearance and demeanor, as well as his desire to dominate those about him, the discussion moves to the ways in which the king made enjoying life at court the goal of the nobility—as opposed to their attempting to emasculate the monarchy, as had been the norm earlier, especially when the crown was weak. In time, the great object of nobles was to keep themselves in the king's eye, with Versailles being center court. With the sounds of *Atys* filling the room, I show, in succession, those images of Versailles, drawings of the dress of the nobility, and the Hall of Mirrors, which I describe (i.e., the dimensions, the crystal chandeliers, the painted ceiling and generous use of gold leaf, the parquet floor,

²²For many of these and other relevant images, see J.J. Norwich, *Byzantium: The Decline and Fall* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966); Nurhan Atasoy, *Splendors of the Ottoman Sultans* (Memphis, TN: Wonders, The Memphis International Cultural Series, 1992); Ilhan Aksit, *The City of Two Continents: Istanbul* (Istanbul: Aksit Kültür Turizm Sanat Ajans Ltd. Sti., 1995). For the most thorough history of the event, see Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1965). According to Runciman (104–105), and based on a then-recent action undertaken by the Venetians, "it was probably an Italian in his [Mehmet's] service who suggested to him that ships could be transported overland." No source is provided for this speculation, but even if the initial idea came from this Italian, it was Mehmet who had to adapt it to the specific circumstances and terrain and who had to oversee its successful execution.

²³ Jean-Baptiste Lully, Atys. Les Arts Florissant, Harmonia Mundi Fran. 3 compact discs, HMC 901257.59.

²⁴Mitford, *The Sun King*; Dickens, *Courts of Europe*, 233–261; John Adamson, ed., *The Princely Courts of Europe* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), 67–93. Also useful for several film clips is *The Rise of Louis XIV* (1966, directed by R. Rossellini; VHS, Hen's Tooth Video, 1990).

the seventeen windows and the seventeen identically-shaped mirrors). I ask students to visualize in their mind's eye the light of the sun piercing those windows, darting every which way as it passes through the crystal chandeliers, bouncing off the mirrors—it had to be dazzling. The Hall is filled with nobles on display, eager to be noticed by the king. He passes among them, nodding to several deemed worthy of his recognition, even exchanging a word or two with a select few, which separates them from their peers and, surely, engulfs their bodies like few other experiences. This was all part of a great game Louis played; it is perhaps why he created Versailles, and this brief presentation (i.e., the audio-visual part takes only about five minutes) seems to capture its essence in a way students can appreciate at another level than if described with words alone.²⁵

In teaching about nineteenth-century industrialization and especially the coming of the railway, I focus first on the inaugural run of the initial line from Liverpool to Manchester in 1830 and then on the impact of trains on towns that were once regular coach stops but were thereafter bypassed; primary sources and literature supplement a number of valuable visual images. Along with projecting an image of "The Rocket," the first commercial locomotive, and a print of the opening day ceremonies.²⁶ I have students read an evewitness description by one of the passengers, who was as exhilarated as her mother was terrified by the speed (approximately 24 mph) with which "we flew by" the many people who lined the parallel road. Among the dignitaries on the train were William Huskisson, a prominent politician, and the prime minister, the Duke of Wellington. When the train stopped to take on a supply of water, Huskisson, among others, exited to look about and greet the Duke in his carriage. Just then another engine, demonstrating its speed on an adjacent track, came "upon them like lightning." Poor Huskisson froze, "looked helplessly to the right and left, and was instantaneously prostrated by the fatal machine, which dashed down like a thunderbolt upon them."27 This account of the first railway fatality can also be accompanied by other images of the carriages provided for the different classes of travel and cartoons (from Punch among others²⁸) depicting the anticipated horrors of this newfangled form of transportation.

²⁵Mitford, *The Sun King*, passim; Dickens, *Courts of Europe*, 233–261; Adamson, *The Princely Courts of Europe*, 90–93.

²⁶ The Pulse of Enterprise: TimeFrame AD 1800-1850 (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life books, 1990), 60–61; John Langdon-Davies, ed., James Watt and Steam Power (Amawalk, NY: Jackdaw Publications, 1965).

²⁷John Carey, ed., Eyewitness to History (New York: Avon Books, 1997), 304–306.

²⁸Ralph Harrington, "The Neuroses of the Railway," *History Today*, 44:7 (July 1994), 15–21; Lionel Lambourne, *Victorian Painting* (London: Phaidon Press, 1999), 265, 267–268.

There is a particularly telling print from 1859 that reveals the price of progress by contrasting a passenger train, an impressive new station, and a growing new town, in the background, with an abandoned, decaying stagecoach and broken-down inn from the previous era in the foreground.²⁹ A perfect accompaniment is to read the first couple of pages from Chapter XV, "Courcy," in Anthony Trollope's *Doctor Thorne* (1858), which describes, in narrative and dialogue, the negative impact a neighboring railway has been having on a once-thriving town at which the stagecoach no longer stops.³⁰ It is as if the picture had been composed specifically for the novel, and having students read it is a way of demonstrating the value literature can have for historians. Needless to say, there are many other images that can be used effectively to help students comprehend the significance of the Industrial Revolution, including an excerpt or two from Charlie Chaplin's classic film, *Modern Times*.³¹

There is virtually no limit to what can be done to illuminate the subjects we teach, and appealing to students through more than just one of their sensory organs has positive results for teaching and learning. By way of some quick takes: In teaching about the Reformation, I talk about the role played by relics. The discussion gets a boost from images of, say, what the Catholic Church accepts as a piece of the True Cross or a nail used during the Crucifixion, or of objects linked to saints, such as the chains used to bind St. Peter or the shoes of St. Teresa of Avila. The Church is supposed to be in possession of what was once believed to be the footprint of Jesus, but it is not displayed (I indicate why). In contrast, a mold of the footprint of the Prophet Mohammed is on display in Topkapi Palace in Istanbul. Teaching about the Chinese civil service examinations hits closer to home with students when accompanied by images of the settings and cubicles in which the exams were taken, along with a recitation of sample questions. A discussion of foot binding, a practice that was once an integral part of the lives of millions of Chinese women, comes to life through drawings showing how feet were bound, photographs of the tiny shoes as well as of deformed naked feet, and an authentic pair of such shoes that students can actually see and touch. And poetry always adds an effectively lyric touch, whether combining it, say, with a study of Italian humanism (e.g., Dante's *The Divine Comedy*) or analyzing the role of women in China and Latin America (e.g., Book of Songs, for the poem

²⁹Harrington, "The Neuroses of the Railway," 15–21.

³⁰Anthony Trollope, *Doctor Thorne* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

³¹ Modern Times (1936; VHS, Twentieth Century Fox, 1992).

beginning "When a son is born" or "Woman" by Fu Hsüan and "To Be Born a Man" by Bolivian poet Adela Zamudio And To Be Born a Man" by Bolivian poet Adela Zamudio And To Be Born a Man Bolivian poet Adela Zamudio And To Be Born a Man Born a plethora of poetry associated with World War I. Siegfried Sassoon's "To a Childless Woman" is given a brilliantly poignant reading by English actor Jeremy Irons, to the accompaniment of documentary footage, at the conclusion of PBS's first-rate series, *The Great War*, which can be used to good effect in class.

And on and on it can go: Thomas More's trial is brought to life by a film clip from *A Man for All Seasons*³⁷ and can be followed up by showing how the site of the trial, Westminster Hall in London, was for centuries the location of as many as four separate courts, some in session simultaneously: with the use of early nineteenth-century illustrations of the hall and the courts by architectural draftsman Augustus Pugin in collaboration with caricaturist Thomas Rowlandson.³⁸ The Great Depression is buttressed with photographs, a song by Woody Guthrie (e.g., "I Ain't Got No Home in This World Any More" [1940]),³⁹ and an excerpt from John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939).⁴⁰ Examples of African art, and thus a part of African culture, can be projected to demonstrate the skills involved, the way that art gave voice to African reactions to the coming of Europeans, the way it exerted an influence on later European art—say, on Picasso and Matisse—and to dispel Western myths of African backwardness. Teaching about Africa and the slave trade will benefit from maps, music (such as *griot* songs and slave shout songs), and a host of images of, among other things, African cities and village life, slave forts, European, Arab, and African traders.

³²http://china.tyfo.com/int/literature/ancient%20poems/i990817literature.htm.

³³http://www.wsu.edu:8080/~wldciv/world_civ_reader/world_civ_reader_1/chinese_poetry.html.

³⁴ http://coloquio.com/coloquioonline/0206jbzamudio.htm.

³⁵For example, see Jon Silken, ed., *The Penguin Book of First World War Poetry* (London: Penguin, 1997) and Carolyn Forché, ed., *Against Forgetting: Twentieth-Century Poetry of Witness* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1993).

³⁶The Great War and the Shaping of the 20th Century (VHS, PBS Home Video, 1998).

³⁷ A Man For All Seasons (1996; DVD, Columbia/Tristar, 2004).

³⁸Fiona St. Aubyn, Ackermann's Illustrated London (Ware, UK: Wordsworth Editions. 1985). 66–75.

³⁹Dust Bowl Ballads (Audeo 2000, Buddha/Bmg, #99727).

⁴⁰John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (New York: Penguin, 2002).

the Middle Passage (including a powerful film clip from *Amistad**1 and a reading from Olaudah Equiano's description of his experience aboard a slave ship⁴²), slave life in the Americas, North and South, and the propaganda that led to the end of the slave trade. And examples from the art of the great twentieth-century Mexican muralists, Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, and David Alfaro Siqueiros, can be shown to demonstrate how they made use of history to educate, to promote their political and social ideas, and to mobilize the population at large.⁴³

Images, in short, help students to understand and remember events and ideas, just as words coax deeper meaning from images. When images and words are used together—with images serving words—they help to promote more effective teaching and learning. The following comments from some of my students might serve, at least anecdotally and representatively, as evidence of my claim: "We learn by building on what we know, but with an unfamiliar subject sometimes there isn't enough background knowledge to facilitate learning. Using images gives students a visual tool useful for retaining new information because they are able to link an image with a person or even a concept." Images help "to contextualize the student with the period. They place you geographically. They set you within the culture ... [They also make] the class more interactive ... It allows us to get a more in-depth view of [the teacher's] perspective on history." "Because I am a visual person, images bring the content to life, and I understand the subject better." The presentation on seventeenth-century Dutch art "was a terrific integration and visual demonstration of societal change in Dutch society ... [Getting] a sense of the culture is sometimes more important than a little more factual data."

In addition, and as a result of my using images, some students are incorporating within their research papers images that they themselves have discovered (e.g., engravings of women, men, and families for a paper on Luther's views on these subjects); others, in critical book reviews, are evaluating the effectiveness of visual illustrations. I also have constructed a few essay exam questions that require students to integrate into their responses what they have seen and discussed in class with required course readings.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Amistad (1997; DVD, Dreamworks SKG, 2003; VHS, Universal Studio, 2000).

⁴²The Life of Alaudah Equiano (New York: Dover, 1999).

⁴³Desmond Rochfort, *Mexican Muralists: Orozco, Rivera, Siqueiros* (New York: Chronicle Books, 1998).

⁴⁴For example: "The unity that was the 'United' Netherlands was based upon political and economic success and upon a distinctive civilization." With this quotation as a point of reference, describe and analyze the nature of 17th-century Dutch life and society. Support your answer with examples from and (continued...)

A great variety of images are housed in textbooks, with each new edition offering additional opportunities to the searcher. Some monographs and other histories laden with illustrations, along with art books, especially those in color, are another helpful source. The potential of the Internet for finding resources, including images, is increasingly being appreciated.

As you, fellow teachers, review class notes and the subjects you will be addressing, imagine the kind of images that might be useful to augment and improve what you do, and then look for them. Reviewing images in books, on the World Wide Web, and elsewhere often will suggest ways in which they might be used, e.g., to expand a story or to complement music, poetry, literature, and film. In other words, when I determine that a lecture or discussion subject would profit from illustrations, I search for them; when I come across images while reading I think about ways I might be able to incorporate them into what I do in class. Not every idea pans out, not every image proves useful. Either way, the process keeps me thinking about my teaching effectiveness. Before long, this process takes on a life of its own: The art of teaching surges to new heights and, like medieval manuscripts, history is illuminated. But let me be clear: This approach is not simply a more advanced version of show-and-tell. It is instead a means to improve student learning and thinking skills by melding and integrating words, concepts, and ideas with visual stimulation. Following my lead will take time, but "illuminating" history, when used selectively, is an approach that can be effective in drawing students more deeply and broadly into the material, in getting more students more involved.

It was said of Petrarch that he lived by and for writing, with no interest that could not be converted into a literary form. In a comparable way, so it is with historians who take pride in their teaching and who see in what they read, observe, hear, and experience possibilities for use or adaptation in their classes.⁴⁵

^{44 (...}continued) direct references to J.L. Price's *The Dutch Republic in the 17th Century* and the art shown in class "

⁴⁵For example, the articles, books, and book reviews I read generate ideas for what might be integrated into class lectures and discussions (and often for the need for a possible visual accompaniment as an added stimulant). And in my travels to both historic and natural sites I instinctively see through the tripartite lens of being a teacher, a historian, and a tourist. Can I use this in class. I ask myself, and if so, to what educational advantage?

WOMEN'S HISTORY THROUGH FAMILY HISTORY: A VARIATION ON A THEME

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The undergraduate family history project has become a standard assignment in survey courses around the country over the last twenty years—sometimes as an optional project and sometimes as a required assignment. This activity, which documents the lives of two or more generations of a family or evaluates a family member in light of a historical event, has become popular in part because it has several advantages over typical undergraduate research papers—it generates a high level of student interest, it is more difficult to plagiarize, it builds a deeper relationship between professors and their students, and it allows students to connect personally with the material presented in class.¹ In teaching a U.S. women's history course for undergraduate majors, I have modified this project to take advantage of these benefits, while at the same time using it to introduce higher-level research skills.²

My assignment asks students to complete an eight-to-ten page research project that focuses on a woman from their family. They examine an important event or significant experience in the life of the woman and then compare their findings to the historical scholarship on the topic. For example, students can examine their grandmothers' activities during World War II and then compare those experiences with the historical literature that describes women during the war. To do this successfully, students must familiarize themselves with and engage secondary sources on their topics, work with primary sources, and develop critical thinking and writing skills.

To make the project manageable and encourage students to work on it throughout the semester, I break the assignment into eight different stages, with three separate deadlines.³ In stage one the students locate primary sources about the female family member that they wish to study. I encourage them to use diaries, letters, scrapbooks, photographs, family bibles, and any period newspaper clippings that might be available. Students who do not have access to a collection of family documents conduct oral interviews to gather the evidence necessary to complete the assignment.

¹David H. Culbert, "Undergraduates as Historians: Family History Projects Add Meaning to an Introductory Survey," *The History Teacher*, 7, No. 1 (November 1973), 7–17.

²I have used this project with non-history majors and it works, with a few modifications. First, I set a minimum number of secondary sources I expected them to use. And second, in addition to using peer review, I encouraged students to come to my office and discuss their rough drafts, so I can provide additional feedback. This extra step allows me to redirect some students, who approached the topic more from a biographical standpoint, back to exploring a specific historical topic.

³See appendix 1 for a research project time table.

During stage two students pick a topic upon which to situate the research. This is an important stage, because I want to ensure that students do not write a life history or biography about their female family member. Instead they must emphasize a specific topic or event in the life of the woman. While students who rely on documentary evidence are constrained to write about a subject that the material covers, those conducting oral interviews have a little more freedom in choosing a topic. I encourage students using oral interviews to discuss briefly with the interviewee what the female family member considers to be some of the most important events in her life. I also provide students with a list of ideas to help them define the scope of the project. Good topic ideas include the woman's experiences during the Great Depression, the woman's thoughts about school desegregation, whether the woman supported or opposed the women's liberation movement, what marriage and family life was like during a specific decade, the woman's experience doing wage labor, the woman's reasons for religious conversion or missionary work, and the woman's experiences participating in sports.

For stage three of the project students use the library to locate secondary sources by historians with which to compare the experiences of their subjects. During this stage, I give the students guidance on locating sources. Since I teach at a small liberal arts college, which has few women's history sources published before the mid-1980s, I warn students not to rely on just our library's collection. Instead, I encourage their use of easily accessible book and article databases, such as "WorldCat," "America: History & Life," "ArticleFirst," and "JSTOR." I want these history majors to search as widely as possible for sources, so I do not insist that they identify a minimum number of books or articles, requiring instead that they examine all relevant historical literature.

In some instances students' research ideas have been so innovative that they had a difficult time finding secondary sources on their topic. These cases are not necessarily hopeless. Usually if they broaden the scope of the sources they examine, they still can focus on the initial topic. For example, one student recently wanted to examine the issue of widowhood during the 1950s. Unable to locate many sources that dealt specifically with widows during this period, he used sources that focused more generally on family life and women's roles during the 1950s, and compared how his widowed grandmother's experiences differed from the majority of post-war women. Another student wanted to compare her mother's migration from Nigeria to the United States in the early 1970s to that of other women. While few studies focused on this precise topic, there were several monographs that examined immigration from Africa or the impact of immigration on women following the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act that she found useful.

During the fourth stage, students are urged to begin thinking about their thesis. For some students, this is their first research project and the idea that they will design an argument or an interpretation about a historical subject often confounds them. Therefore, I do not require them to develop a thesis statement at this point. But rather to come up with a historical question that their papers will attempt to answer. Students examine secondary sources to generate ideas for their historical question. Some recent

historical questions include: What was life like for girls during the Great Depression? What workplace struggles did women face during World War II? How did women handle family responsibilities while their husbands served in the military during the 1950s and 1960s? What challenges did black women in college face during the civil rights era? What obstacles did women politicians face in the 1980s? How did women cope with single motherhood during the 1990s? How were women treated in the workplace at the beginning of the twenty-first century?

In the fifth stage of the project, students describe their research question and prepare an annotated bibliography that includes all of their primary and secondary sources. I require an annotated bibliography—rather than a standard bibliography—to force students to actually check the sources out of the library or to order them through interlibrary loan. An annotated bibliography also helps students become more familiar with the historical approaches that others have used to study the topic because they must write a sentence or two about the argument and scope of each source. In a fifteen-week course, this assignment comes due by the third or fourth week. This deadline encourages students to work on the project early and ensures that any books or articles they need can be requested through interlibrary loan to arrive in time to be examined.

During the sixth stage of the project students begin to do the actual research by taking notes on their secondary and primary sources. In addition, those who need to conduct oral interviews must develop a list of questions to ask the female family member, schedule a date and time for the interview, locate a recording device, and then conduct the interview. I provide students with a list of oral interview guidelines and a waiver form to facilitate their efforts. I also offer to look over their list of questions before the interview. It is important to stress during the development of questions that the interviewer will want to ask the interviewee about being female, as well as about the specific topic being addressed. Questions that attempt to determine whether a subject has faced discrimination, special problems, or advantages because of her gender are a significant component of doing women's history. In addition, I remind students that some of the best sources of information for questions and themes to cover in the interviews probably can be found in the issues covered by the secondary sources. Sources of the condition of the secondary sources.

After students have completed their research, in the seventh stage they develop a thesis statement, compose an outline, and write a rough draft of the paper. While I provide some general guidelines on the paper's format, at this point I am more

⁴See appendix 2 for a sample waiver form.

⁵The oral history guidelines I provide my students are modified from Willa K. Baum, *Oral History for the Local Historical Society* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1995), to address some specific issues for interviews with women about their experiences. See appendix 3 for a copy of the oral history guidelines.

interested in whether the papers successfully integrate the experiences of the female family members with the secondary sources. The students submit their rough drafts in the ninth or tenth week of the semester, and these are peer reviewed in class. The peer review process is helpful in two main ways. First, peers provide students with another set of eyes when it comes to topic development, analysis, evidence, transitions, grammar, and spelling. Second and more importantly for this project, by reviewing and evaluating a paper written in the same style as their own paper, students acquire a better understanding of what the assignment is trying to accomplish and how better to approach the subject. In order to ensure that the rough draft and peer review are taken seriously, together they comprise half of the grade for the entire project.

The final stage of the project consists of writing the final draft of the paper after taking into consideration the peer reviewer's comments and any comments that I have made. I include several specific style suggestions with the first draft, such as margin size, font, page length, title page format, use of quotations, and acceptable styles for the notes and bibliography. This part of the assignment is usually due in the thirteenth or fourteenth week of the semester, which leaves me adequate time to grade and return the assignments by finals week.

Many of these women's history papers have been thoughtful pieces of scholarship, which do remarkable jobs integrating primary sources into the secondary literature. Others have been enjoyable studies of subjects not typically covered in lectures, but obviously important to the lives women have lived. To most students, I recommend that they keep a copy of their papers as a part of their family history, perhaps filing it away with old photographs and other personal documents that have long-lasting meanings to them and their families.

This assignment helps to fulfill many of the goals I have for my upper-division history classes. For instance, it is an effective way to teach traditional research skills. By completing the paper successfully, students will have learned how to locate various kinds of secondary sources and engage their arguments, how to develop a thesis statement that answers a significant historical question, how to support an argument with both primary and secondary sources, how to structure an academic research paper, how to follow the standards of English grammar to craft an eloquent paper, and how to identify and attribute sources in notes and bibliographies. Moreover, the paper benefits from some of the learning outcomes that family history promotes, including inspiring

⁶Good sources to assist students in the process of writing research papers include Mary Lynn Rampolla, A Pocket Guide to Writing in History, fourth edition (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2004); William Kelleher Storey, Writing History: A Guide for Students, second edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Richard Marius and Melvin E. Page, A Short Guide to Writing About History, fourth edition (New York: Addison-Wesley Educational Publishers, 2002).

creativity, requiring students to broaden their view of what constitutes a historical source, and evaluating the reliability of personal papers and individual memories.⁷

The project, however, goes beyond the skills a student gains when completing a traditional undergraduate research paper. First, it requires that primary materials be an essential component of the research. While some history reports might require students to look at period newspapers, letters, the personal papers of presidents, or census material, this evidence rarely becomes essential to the paper's thesis. Usually it only serves to highlight the argument the student has developed by looking at the monographs, essays, and articles of published historians. The women's history through family history assignment, on the other hand, places primary research at the center of the paper and asks students to use secondary sources as supporting or contradictory evidence.

This project also advances undergraduate research skills by providing many students with the opportunity to conduct oral interviews. Students are not required to use oral interviews in their papers, but most find it a satisfying way to gather the evidence for the assignment. Out of the eighty or so students who have completed this assignment, only two or three of them chose to use family letters or diaries rather than oral interviews. Conducting oral interviews provides students with additional skills in developing questions that produce evidence, communicating effectively orally in a one-on-one situation, and synthesizing the material gathered for use in a historical paper.⁸

Another benefit of this project is that it requires students to critically compare their primary sources to arguments and theories put forth by published historians. Students are expected to explain any instances where the lives of their subjects do not fit or follow the women presented in the secondary sources. This forces students to evaluate the evidence, approach, and methodology used by other historians, rather than uncritically accept whatever thesis has been presented. Many students end up exploring whether the lives of their mothers, aunts, or grandmothers differed from published accounts because of the region they were from, their family structure, or their religious backgrounds.⁹

⁷Jane Stephens, "The Appeal of Personal Roots: Research Made More Palatable," *The History Teacher*, 27, No. 3 (May 1994), 311–315, provides more detail on the outcomes one can expect from a family history research project.

⁸Margaret R. Yocom, "Family Folklore and Oral History Interviews: Strategies for Introducing a Project to One's Own Relatives," *Western Folklore*, 41, No. 4 (1982), 251–274, discusses some specific approaches to use when conducting oral interviews with family members.

⁹This project also addresses some of the concerns expressed by Stephanie Coontz, "The Challenge of Family History," *OAH Magazine of History*, 15, No. 4 (Summer 2001), 28–30, about the difficulty of seeing families in a historical context.

Finally, this project is especially valuable in a women's history course for reinforcing the idea that history does not have to be about great events, important and powerful people, or tremendous economic changes. While some students do choose to examine their female family members' actions during a significant historical event, such as the Great Depression, the civil rights movement, or the Vietnam War, others explore more social and cultural topics, including single motherhood, women in the workforce, and women in higher education. As Gerda Lerner has suggested in her famous essay on placing women in history, the "shift from a male-oriented to a female-oriented consciousness" is one of the most significant challenges of exploring the lives of women.¹⁰

Despite these advantages, there are a couple of concerns that professors should note when considering this assignment. First, they must allow some flexibility for students who do not have access to a female family member or whose family refuses to participate in the assignment. During the first year I used this assignment, for example, I had an international student who found it impossible to conduct a satisfactory interview or attain primary sources from her family overseas. Instead, I made arrangements for her to use the unpublished personal papers of a local woman as her primary source. Similarly, in another semester, a student interviewed her father and uncles about her grandmother because no female family members wished to participate in the project. Such alternatives allow students, who for whatever reasons do not conduct primary research on a family relative, to still benefit from the assignment.

Another issue that merits special attention is the fact that most of my students come from middle-class white families and, when doing research, tend to assume that the only women who existed came from the same racial and class backgrounds as themselves. When I examine their bibliographies, therefore, I often encourage them to look at sources that discuss other races and classes of women, so that they can compare their family member's experiences to these women as well. This process reminds students of another important theoretical factor in women's history, that women can be divided by race, class, and sexual orientation, as much as they are united by gender.

Student reactions to the assignment have been fairly positive. In a recent evaluation, over 93% of the students commented that they found this family history paper assignment more interesting than other research papers. One student commented that the project "is not only a good way to explore a topic by interviewing a woman who lived through the event, it is also a way to learn something interesting about a

¹⁰Gerda Lerner, "Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges," Feminist Studies, 3, No. 1-2 (Fall 1975), 5-14.

¹¹Kirk Jeffrey, "Write a History of Your Own Family: Further Observations and Suggestions for Instructors," *The History Teacher*, 7, No. 3 (May 1974), 365-373, offers some further justifications for the necessity of flexibility by instructors when assigning family history projects.

family member that otherwise might have remained hidden." In addition, a little over 62% of the class noted that the project required them to develop more research skills than other papers. Many of the evaluations also commented on some of the challenges students face completing this assignment, including trying to assimilate primary and secondary research and writing the paper in a way that makes the research significant to more than just one particular family. In the end, I continue to assign this project not just because students enjoy it or because I see it as an effective way to teach higher-level research while reinforcing some of the underpinnings of women's history, but also because students value the connections it establishes between them and one of their female family members. As one student wrote on an evaluation of the project, "I have learned some really interesting things about my grandmother that I didn't know before which has greatly increased my respect for her." 12

APPENDIX 1

Research Project Time Table

First Stage	Locate Primary Sources	Weeks 1 & 2
Second Stage	Choose Specific Topic	Week 2
Third Stage	Locate Secondary Sources	Weeks 2 & 3
Fourth Stage	Develop Historical Question	Week 3
Fifth Stage	Annotated Bibliography	Week 4
Sixth Stage	Interview & Note Taking	Weeks 5-8
Seventh Stage	Rough Draft	Week 9
Eighth Stage	Final Draft	Week 13

Anonymous, Women's History Project Evaluations, 17 October 2003. The project evaluation involved 17 students who were enrolled in History 375: U.S. Women's History at Berry College during the fall of 2003.

APPENDIX 2

Waiver Form

ORAL HISTORY WAIVER FORM I agree to allow this taped interview to be used for the purpose of a class research project in History 375 at Berry College		
Printed Name:	only the interviewer and the subject in a location with no onside distractions.	
Signature:	o often elekt interesting resolu. Per instance jege getwooden mus edem wewenthi edi oo interesting get interesting.	
Date:	recovers the visit part down down between the property and the content of the con	
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APPENDIX 3

Oral History Guidelines

- 1. This interview must be tape-recorded and should last at least 30 minutes.
- 2. Before the interview, develop a list of questions (around 20-25) you wish to cover. Your first five or six questions should focus on the interviewee as a woman.

Some possible questions include whether girls and boys were treated differently in school, in the community, or in your subject's family. You can ask the interviewee if she was considered a tomboy while growing up. Ask her about any benefits or limitations she experienced because of her sex. Was she urged to conform to certain dating, marriage, or career expectations? Did she ever face discrimination or receive preferential treatment because she was a woman? If so, what did she think about it?

The remainder of your questions should concentrate on the specific topic you have chosen, whether that is women's educational opportunities, domestic responsibilities, participation in social movements, workplace choices, or survival during wars, economic downturns, and political instability. It is a good idea to look over your secondary sources to see what kinds of questions professional historians have asked about your topic.

I'll be happy to look over your questions if you bring them by my office.

- Schedule an appointment with your subject. The ideal interview setting involves only the interviewer and the subject in a location with comfortable seating and no outside distractions.
- Before leaving for the interview make sure that your tape recorder is functioning properly, that you have spare batteries, and that you have your list of questions and a notepad for jotting down ideas.
- Have your subject sign a waiver form stating that you can use her interview for the purpose of this research project. This waiver form must be turned in with your final project.
- At the start of the interview tape-record an introduction in which you state the date, where the interview is taking place, the time, who is conducting the interview, and who is being interviewed.
- 7. The interviewer should limit his or her remarks as much as possible. Ask brief questions then allow the subject to tell her story. It is fine to prompt the interviewee to expand further on a topic, but do not turn the interview into a dialogue.
- 8. To avoid getting "yes" or "no" answers, start your questions with "what," "why," "how," and "where." For example, instead of asking "Was it hard to get a date during World War II?" ask "What was dating like during the war?"
- 9. Only ask one question at a time. Save follow up questions for after your subject has finished answering the initial query.
- 10. Make your questions brief. Elaborate explanations of why you are exploring certain topics or detailed information about the time period are unnecessary.

- Save potentially embarrassing questions involving single motherhood, divorce, and career setbacks, until your subject is comfortable with the interview process.
 Begin instead with some background questions about the subject's childhood and family.
- 12. Do not immediately ask another question after your subject finishes speaking. A moment of silence might give her a chance to think of something else to add to her response.
- 13. If you think of a question while your subject is speaking make a note of it rather than interrupt her story.
- 14. Negative questions often elicit interesting results. For instance, instead of placing an event in a favorable light ask what was bad or wrong with a situation. "What constraints did sororities place on their members?" will generate a different range of responses than only asking what sorority life was like. A subject might be inclined to make only favorable comments about an experience unless prompted to remember other aspects.
- 15. Continuous taping of the interview will be less distracting than switching the tape recorder on and off. Unless the interview is interrupted by a phone call or other intrusive event, leave the recorder running even if some of the material is unrelated to your topic.
- When the interview is over thank your subject for her time, and send a thank-you note soon after.
- 17. Take notes from your taped interview to include in your research project. Make sure to accurately quote your source.

SIMULATIONS, SOURCES, AND THE HISTORY SURVEY COURSE: MAKING THE INTERNET MATTER

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How will the digital age change the nature of teaching and learning history?¹ This is one of the most important questions facing historians today. In 1998 the American Historical Association (AHA) received a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to begin addressing this question. The project has focused on the teaching of survey courses in two-year and four-year institutions.² The results thus far, posted at the AHA's website and described by the leader of one of topic clusters (they exist for the History of Americas and World History), are an impressive collection of syllabi and digitized sources that address a number of topics. The projects are notable for two additional reasons as well.³ First, rather than use source material already on the Internet, many units rely on sources digitized by the faculty. Increasing digital literacy and understanding the process for digitizing sources is important, but this approach might not be the best use of time or resources to address issues of teaching and learning. Primary and secondary source material for just about any topic or period now can be retrieved from the Internet.⁴ Furthermore, primary sources exist in a variety of media: speeches, video clips, songs, photographs, paintings, and text documents. Secondly, by focusing on the use of technology, the AHA's project demonstrates that no necessary link exists between digitizing sources and developing innovative pedagogy that encourages active learning and historical thinking. The purpose of this article is to recommend classroom strategies and activities for the survey course that use digital resources and promote active learning.

¹The author wishes to thank the editor and anonymous reviewers of *Teaching History* for their suggestions.

²Noralee Frankel and Linn Shapiro, "A Collaboration of Two-and Four-Year Colleges: Reconceptualizing the Introductory Survey Course," *The History Teacher*, 33, No. 1 (November 1999), 91–95.

³The American Historical Association, "Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age: Reconceptualizing the Introductory Survey Course," http://www.theaha.org/tl/index.cfm; Linda Pomerantz, "Bridging the Digital Divide: Reflections on 'Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age," *The History Teacher*, 34, No. 4 (August 2001), 509–522.

⁴Two recent analyses of history resources on the Internet are provided by John K. Lee, "Digital History in the History/Social Studies Classroom," *The History Teacher*, 35, No. 4 (August 2002), 501–517; and Jim Belben and Dave Hassell, "Print and Electronic Resources," *The History Teacher*, 36, No. 2 (2003 Supplement), 47–49.

By its nature the survey course demands innovative pedagogy. As Ryan Sprau notes, "For many undergraduates, history courses are inherently uninteresting and the required papers are boring." The typical survey course contains students from diverse majors and classes. The course must provide a foundation of knowledge that is sufficient for further historical study in advanced classes or no further study of history at all. By using primary historical sources, the survey course also helps develop writing and research skills and critical thinking skills such as assessing and analyzing evidence. In addition, the survey course develops discipline-specific skills such as an understanding of chronology. As Noralee Frankel and Linn Shapiro point out, digitized materials have the potential to enhance skill development because they increase the availability and variety of sources. Nevertheless, greater source availability must be coupled with activities that engage students and promote different learning styles. To this end the increased availability of sources might matter more than the digital medium itself.

The use of engaging and active learning exercises in history education certainly precedes the digital age. Many, perhaps most, historians owe their choice of profession to an experience with an innovative history instructor. Recently, some of the most interesting ideas for teaching history have focused on the use of simulations. Mark C. Carnes's use of role-playing in the course "Reacting to the Past" at Barnard College has

⁵Ryan Sprau, "I Saw It in the Movies: Suggestions for Incorporating Film and Experiential Learning in the College History Survey Course," *College Student Journal*, 35, No. 1 (March 2001), 101.

⁶Dwight Gibb (instructor) with students Reed Adam, Darren Delaye, Tessa Goodhew, Laura Matsen, Tim Ramsey, and Luke Rona, "Teaching Thinking," *The History Teacher*, 33, No. 2 (February 2002), 175–200, http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/35.2/gibb.html; Thomas Ladenburg and Geoffrey Tegnell, "The Boston Massacre: A Paradigm for Developing Thinking and Writing Skills," *Social Education*, 50, No. 1 (January 1986), 71–74; John E. Stovel, "Document Analysis as a Tool to Strengthen Student Writing," *The History Teacher*, 33, No. 4 (August 2000), 501–509.

⁷Russell Olwell, "Building Higher-Order Historical Thinking Skills in a College Survey Class," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods*, 22, No. 1 (Spring 2002), 22–32.

⁸Frankel and Shapiro, 93.

⁹Thomas Arnold, "Make Your History Class Hop with Excitement (At Least Once a Semester): Designing and Using Classroom Simulations," *The History Teacher*, 31, No. 2 (February 1998), 193–203; Jeffrey L. Bernstein, Sarah Scheerhorn, and Sara Ritter, "Using Simulations and Collaborative Teaching to Enhance Introductory Courses," *College Teaching*, 50, No. 1 (Winter 2002), 9–12; David L. Ghere, "Recent World Crises Simulations," *Teaching History* (the journal of the Historical Association in the U.K) 103 (June 2001). 22–25; Rodney M. White, "How Thematic Teaching Can Transform History Instruction," *The Clearing House*, 69, No. 3 (January-February 1995), 160–162.

resulted in a course that is both popular and pedagogically effective. ¹⁰ Simulations such as those employed in "Reacting to the Past," however effective and popular, are not easy to create. The greatest obstacle to implementing simulations is often the lack of available primary source material, particularly at institutions with a small library. In this case, the instructor might have to create specialized reading packets, further increasing an already lengthy design process. However, "ready made" sources reading packets can limit the potential for student research. Digitized sources provide a solution to this problem. The abundance of primary source material on the Internet has made the use of simulations easier, and made simulations themselves more effective teaching tools by allowing students to conduct their own research.

Drawing upon existing models for simulations and relying on Internet sources, I designed three simulations for use in my Western Civilization survey courses. In the first semester of the survey, students participated in a fictitious Roman Civil War Truth and Reconciliation Commission and a Religious Encounters Conversion Contest. In the second semester of the survey, students conducted a mock trial of Napoleon I. My goals for all three simulations were to 1) engage students in active learning, 2) require students to use an in-depth examination of pivotal moments, issues, and individuals to reflect on general and comparative issues, and 3) promote research and writing skills through work with primary sources. I also provided objectives that related to each simulation specifically.

Each simulation required three class sessions. Assessment and assignments for each simulation were also similar. At the end of each simulation students submitted a ten to twelve-page portfolio that contained three elements: a paper explaining the key issues and providing the historical background; an annotated bibliography of primary sources; and an assessment of the simulation itself. In addition, students submitted a separate, informal simulation log that summarized their work with other students outside of the class and their reactions to events during class. The portfolios were a significant portion of the final course grade. Each simulation during the first semester constituted twenty percent of the final course grade. The mock trial in the second semester constituted a quarter of the final course grade. These simulations were conducted in classes with enrollments ranging between twenty and thirty students. However, adapting them to larger classes might be possible, particularly if recitation sections are available.

Because these simulations required students to conduct research using digitized primary sources, I devoted class time to discussing the uses and abuses of the Internet.

¹⁰Piper Fogg, "A History Professor Engages Students by Giving Them a Role in the Action," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (November 16, 2001), 12.

For all three simulations the "Internet History Sourcebooks" are invaluable. For the Napoleon Mock Trial the best website for primary sources is "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution." These sites allow students to see how historians organize primary sources on the Internet. This helps establish a standard by which students can vet other websites. The annotated bibliography for each portfolio asked students to cite and discuss primary source websites in addition to individual sources. It is important to note that the best websites provide the original publication information for each of their digitized primary sources (usually a book no longer under copyright). Students were required to provide detailed citations using the *Chicago Manual of Style*. For many students the Internet is the first stop for any assignment. The task is to help them use it with discrimination.

The fictitious Roman Civil War Truth and Reconciliation Commission began with a discussion of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The course simulation adopted the TRC purpose for "the granting of amnesty to persons who make full disclosure of all the relevant facts relating to acts associated with a political objective" and for "affording victims an opportunity to relate the violations they suffered."13 The simulation was understood to take place soon after the end of the Civil War, but I nevertheless did allow the appearance of individuals who had died during the Civil War. Students chose roles from a list that I provided, or they used their knowledge of the period to suggest a role not listed. Some roles were specific individuals: Julius Caesar, Cicero, and Pompey, for example. Other roles placed students as an individual member of a group or class: optimates and populares, a centurion loyal to Caesar or Pompey, a mother of a slain soldier, and a slave in Rome, for example. Students submitted a primary source inventory relating to their role prior to the start of the simulation. During class sessions students testified as witnesses to the Roman Civil War TRC. They based their testimony on their primary sources, and historical accuracy was reflected in the grade for the portfolio. The simulation concluded with a discussion about civil war, justice, and reconciliation.

Student assessment of the simulation was quite positive. All students agreed that the three primary goals had been met. Many stated that the subject and the requirement to use primary sources to construct their testimony originally had intimidated them. However, intimidation turned to surprise and then relief in most cases after the class attended an Internet research workshop in a computer lab. Some innovative students used Project Gutenberg to download full texts from Cicero, Caesar, and other Roman

¹¹ http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.html#Introduction.

¹² http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/.

¹³Truth and Reconciliation home page, "Text of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, 1995," http://www.doj.gov.za/trc/legal/act9534.htm.

authors.¹⁴ They used the Microsoft "CTRL-F" command to search for key words that might reveal passages relating to criminal behavior. Some students who played individuals drawn from groups expressed frustration at having to infer, in some cases, their testimony from primary sources. A few students objected to the requirement of presenting their testimony in front of the class. Others expressed a preference for a debate format. The diversity of the objections and suggestions indicated that the original design of the simulation was strong.

The Religious Encounters Conversion Contest was based on Gregory Monahan's suggestion that students adopt the perspective of a pagan chieftain, Muslim, or Christian, and conduct a conversion debate. 15 I extended the length of Monahan's activity over three class sessions. Students representing Muslims and Christians carried out their proselytizing efforts using primary sources. At the end of the simulation, the pagan announced which sect he or she had chosen and detailed the compelling reasons for the choice. The students playing chieftains did research to develop their criteria for conversion and a set of questions to ask each sect. In general, the chieftains' questions related to the cultural adaptability of each religion, as well as specific benefits, primarily material, that would accrue as a result of conversion. For the simulation the pagan chieftain was told that his or her community was the weakest of the three, and Christian and Muslim students were allowed to make threats and promises and offer gifts.

During the proselytizing efforts the students formed groups of three. The two sections of the course averaged twenty students. In classes where division by three was not possible, I created extra pagans. Christian proselytizers made their arguments first and the pagan then asked questions. This was followed by a short rebuttal by the Muslim proselytizer. The process was then repeated with the Muslim proselytizer. I required proselytizers from each religion to provide an overview of their core beliefs. Beyond that, however, I granted as much freedom as possible for the students to pursue imaginative conversion efforts. Some Muslims produced primary sources that "proved" the scientific and cultural superiority of their society. Students of both faiths emphasized potential rewards and punishments in the afterlife. In the next class period individual chieftains announced their decision and the reasons for it. Some chieftains found neither religion compelling and decided to remain unconverted, even though they understood that this would most likely result in a bleak future for their people. Christian proselytizers won the most converts in one class, but Islam was triumphant in another.

¹⁴http://www.gutenberg.net.

¹⁵W. Gregory Monahan, "Everybody Talks: Discussion Strategies in the Classroom," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods*, 25, No. 1 (Spring 2000), 6–14.

This simulation was dynamic, and the conversion efforts followed unforeseen paths. One group asked me to clarify which religion had the nearest trade routes to the chieftain. Another group wanted to know who could offer the most military resources. I resolved such questions by flipping a coin out of view, but I tried to keep my response general. Defining the location of the pagan chieftains, while possible, would too narrowly restrict the available primary sources. I generally asked chieftains to view threats and incentives from each religion as plausible. Because the conversion efforts occurred simultaneously in small groups, I recruited a faculty volunteer to help me observe them. During the simulation I also acted as a high authority for each religion. If a chieftain's question stumped a proselytizer, he or she could ask for guidance from the high authority.

Although students agreed that this simulation achieved its objectives, it also provoked a number of complaints. I randomly assigned roles for this simulation, and some students were unhappy with their draw. Because of the competitive nature of the simulation and its subject matter, it is important to preface this simulation with a discussion of classroom etiquette. For example, I cautioned students about the use of ad hominem attacks and instructed proselytizers to address the pagan rather than each other. I also encouraged students to accept the assignment as an opportunity to examine and reflect upon their beliefs. Some Muslim proselytizers complained that the Christians possessed an advantage because the students playing that role were, in most cases, already familiar with the religion. Other Muslim proselytizers stated that they had advantages because the *Qur'an* specifically discusses Christianity, and because the *Qur'an* is also more specific than the New Testament concerning the nature of heaven.

Proselytizers from both religions complained about the inability of some pagan students to suspend their real-world beliefs and make their decision solely (and soulfully) on the merits of the presentations. This was a difficult issue. It is important to require the pagan students to provide specific details from both presentations for their conversion decision. It might also help at the outset to threaten pagan students with a grade penalty if they provide reasons for conversion that were not reflected in the presentations, or if they neglect compelling arguments that were present. Pagans should also receive grade bonuses for conversion decisions that are explained exceptionally well.

Some proselytizers believed that they did more work than the pagan students. Although this was true in some cases, it was a result more of individual student effort, or lack thereof, than the structure of the simulation. In some groups I observed that well-prepared chieftains put the proselytizers through their paces. In other groups the chieftain was not as well prepared. A few students complained that proselytizers had made exaggerated claims and even lied. My observations clearly indicated that this was the case. I was willing to overlook the existence of exaggerations and even some lies during the conversion effort itself for three reasons. First, each student's historical context section of the portfolio was graded on accuracy. Second, students could discuss

this issue in their assessment of the simulation. Finally, the historical record itself indicates that many proselytizers made exaggerated claims, particularly about the immediate benefits for the convert. For some students engaging with Islam and Christianity on a level playing field resulted in monotheistic relativism. A frustrated student asked, "How is the chieftain supposed to tell the truth about these religions?"

During the second semester of the survey course, I conducted a mock trial of Napoleon I. Charles MacKay's article, "The Trial of Napoleon: A Case Study for Using Mock Trials," provided the basis for the structure of the trial. Unlike MacKay's trial, my trial lasted only three class sessions, one each for the prosecution and defense to present their cases and one session for closing arguments. Napoleon I was charged with 1) acting as the gravedigger of the Revolution, 2) ruling tyrannically, and 3) fomenting war. Four students played the role of journalists. They posted newspaper articles to the course website following each side's presentation. They also served as the jurors at the end of the trial, providing a written justification for their verdict.

Rather than have students assume the roles of witnesses, I decided that each side would use its research to develop a witness list. Students from each side presented their witness list to the opposing side and to me, and they also provided copies of primary sources for each witness and a description of their expectations. I played the witnesses chosen by each side, and in some cases I clarified details with the students before they confirmed their list. Witnesses could be specific individuals or a member of a group or class (such as a dedicated member of Napoleon's Old Guard or a Haitian follower of Toussaint L'Ouverture). My intent in playing the witnesses was to encourage research and to increase the opportunity for each side to pursue creative legal strategies. I also allowed the prosecution and defense to introduce primary sources as evidence at the beginning of the trial. For example, Jacque-Louis David's *Napoleon in His Study* was defense exhibit A.

As with the previous two simulations, students agreed that the mock trial accomplished the learning objectives. Students were surprised by the amount and quality of primary sources available on the Internet. A few enterprising students actually used the translation features of Google and Altavista to work with French language primary sources. I limited the number of these that they could use, and I also reviewed the translations. I had thought that students might prefer to play the witnesses, but this was not the case. Although students stated that they had not always "gotten everything they wanted" from the witnesses, they did conclude that my portrayal had met their expectations on the whole.

The biggest complaints about the mock trial concerned the legal proceedings themselves. Some students complained that the trial rules were unclear, and that

¹⁶Charles MacKay, "The Trial of Napoleon: A Case Study of Using Mock Trials," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods*, 25, No. 2 (Fall 2000), 59–68.

opposing sides introduced new evidence in the closing arguments, addressed the jury while questioning witnesses, and asked leading questions. These were fair criticisms. I was concerned less with creating trial proceedings that mimicked a modern court in the United States than I was with creating an activity that demanded research and the application of primary sources. Nevertheless, in the future I will adopt more formal courtroom rules, and more explicitly indicate where they do not apply.¹⁷ Finally, I am undecided about whether the instructor should play witnesses. Charles MacKay's structure for an upper-division course, where students on each side play the witnesses and are responsible for conducting the research necessary to represent them, seems preferable in some ways, but clear expectations and guidelines for accuracy would be required in a survey course. The instructor-witnesses have the potential to produce more surprises. An ideal solution, perhaps, would be to ask veteran students of the mock trial to return as witnesses. Another solution would be for the instructor to play key witnesses such as Napoleon and for students to play witnesses determined by their team.

These simulations increased student interest in the topics we studied. The quality of written work and class participation reflected this. Several students stated that they were motivated by the competitive nature of the Conversion Contest and the Napoleon Mock Trial, even though "winning" did not affect their grades. "I like winning more than I like studying history," declared one student. Of course, not all students respond well to competition, and instructors should carefully weigh its introduction into a course. The ability of students to make comparative analyses also was encouraging. For both the Roman Civil War TRC and the Napoleon Mock Trial several students wrote about the relationship between civil liberties and security. Similarly, students unfamiliar with Islam before the Conversion Contest described how the activity affected their preconceived notions.

The work of the American Historical Association is an important contribution to our understanding of how the digital age can change the way history is taught. However, the development of active learning exercises, not the digital medium itself, should be emphasized. As David Trask notes about his unit for the AHA project, "Some of what I put online could somewhat easily appear in a Kinko's coursepack." Simulations have long been a staple of business, economics, and political science courses. The availability of varied source material on the Internet provides an

¹⁷The National High School Mock Trial Championship, http://www.nationalmocktrial.org, and the American Mock Trial Association, http://www.collegemocktrial.org, provide rules that can be adapted for use in a history class.

¹⁸David Trask, "Reflective Essay on Effectiveness of Biafra Project" (AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age), http://www.theaha.org/tl/LessonPlans/nc/Trask/reflectiveessay.htm.

opportunity for history instructors to move beyond staid instructional methods.¹⁹ Faculty teaching the history survey can now offer students not just prepackaged sources, but the opportunity to conduct research using primary sources. There might be some truth to Noralee Frankel's and Linn Shapiro's claim that "Few faculty who teach survey courses, especially those at two-year colleges, have sufficient opportunities to unearth primary materials or to experiment with how they might be used in the classroom."²⁰ Yet, it might also be the case that faculty, especially those at four-year colleges or universities, have few incentives to develop or practice innovative pedagogy. The unearthing and digitizing of primary materials is proceeding apace through the work of archivists, public historians, librarians, curators, and other professionals. The challenge for instructors of history surveys is to utilize such material to promote historical thinking, research, and active learning. To the extent that historians succeed they will increase the strength of the discipline itself.

These simulations were possible because of the availability of primary sources on the Internet. Furthermore, digitized holdings are so extensive that students found primary source sites that were unfamiliar to me. Conducting Internet research with primary sources also increased the information and computer literacy of students. Students quickly learned to distinguish between sites that provided general information but no primary sources and those sites that contained useful sources. In this way, the simulations challenged students to use the Internet as more than just an encyclopedia.

In short, while the use of simulations might result in less chronological coverage during the semester, they clearly have the potential to increase the depth of students' historical knowledge while building skills necessary for academic success.²¹ My experience using simulations was rewarding. I will certainly make some changes to future versions, but I have no reservations about their pedagogical strengths.

Alex Zukask, "Active Learning, World History, and the Internet: Creating Knowledge in the Classroom," *International Journal of Social Education*, 15, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 2000), 62–79.

²⁰Frankel and Shapiro, 93.

²¹In this respect my experience supports Helena Waddy's emphasis on thematic teaching. Helena Waddy, "Layering the Introductory History of Europe Course," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods*, 22, No. 2 (Fall 1997), 73–79.

TEACHING WITH ON-LINE PRIMARY SOURCES: DOCUMENTS FROM NARA

SHEPHERDING THE SPACE PROGRAM: JFK AND LIFTOFF

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On May 5, 1961, President John F. Kennedy, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, McGeorge Bundy, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, Arthur Schlesinger, Admiral Arleigh Burke, and Jackie Kennedy watched the television broadcast of Alan B. Shepard's flight into space from the office of the President's secretary. Shepard was launched on a suborbital flight that carried him to an altitude of 116.5 miles, for 15 minutes, at 5,134 miles per hour, pulling 11 g, to a landing point 303 miles downrange in the Atlantic Ocean.

Getting to this point in the space race between the United States and the Soviet Union was a rocky journey, not only for the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations but also for the American people. The pioneering event, which devastated and frightened Americans, occurred on October 4, 1957, when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik I, the first artificial satellite in space. Two weeks later, with Sputnik II, the Soviets successfully put a six-ton payload into space. The significance of these events was lost on no one: the Soviets had technological superiority in space over the United States. The cultural and military implications for the Cold War and the space race were both alarming and humiliating. In the next months, a string of American military rocket failures added to the embarrassment and led Congress, with President Dwight Eisenhower's recommendation, to create the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in October 1958.

Eisenhower was not enthusiastic about a manned space program, nor was his successor, John F. Kennedy. Like Eisenhower, Kennedy and his chief space advisor, Jerome Weisner, considered it too risky and a waste of money. He suggested that promoting public relations against the Soviets was its only real benefit. Weisner, in particular, concluded that instruments actually performed tasks more efficiently and reliably in space than humans. However, Kennedy's opposition to manned space flights evaporated on April 12, 1961, when the Soviet Union launched cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin 188 miles into space for 108 hours and 89 orbits. In the aftermath of this Soviet success, a pressured and defensive Kennedy listened as his advisors spelled out the situation: the Soviets probably would put the first crews into space, build the first space station, and put the first humans on the Moon. Kennedy's advisors recommended an accelerated program that would cost \$20 billion and perhaps put an American on the Moon in ten years.

The first significant step for the United States came just a few weeks after Gagarin's flight when Shepard was launched into sub-orbit in the *Mercury 7* capsule. Millions of Americans stopped to watch or listen to the news coverage of the first American-manned space flight. While it did not match what the Soviets had done, Americans did not care; the United States was in the race!

The featured document is a White House photograph of President Kennedy and others, watching Shepard's flight. Like all of America, they were riveted by what was happening and what was to come. In a special message to Congress on May 25, 1961, just twenty days after Shepard's flight, Kennedy asked Congress for funds necessary to put a man on the moon before the decade was out (www.jkflibrary.org/j052561.htm).

Teaching Suggestions

1. Focus Activity with Photo Analysis: America in the Space Race

Provide students with a copy of the photograph. A digital scan is available online in the Archival Research Catalog (ARC) on the National Archives website at http://www.archives.gov/research_room/arc/. (The most direct way to access the photo is by typing the identifying ARC #194236 into the keyword box.) The photo may be reproduced in any quantity. Also give students a copy of the photo analysis worksheet at www.archives.gov/digital classroom/lessons/analysis worksheets/worksheets.html.

Ask students in pairs to analyze the photo by completing the worksheet. Then guide a discussion based on the prompt questions from the worksheet. Present students information about Kennedy's original position on manned space flight and ask them to discuss how it affects their analysis of the photo.

Note: As an extended activity, help students identify the other individuals in the photo and ask the students to conduct research on the involvement of those individuals in the American space program. Then lead a discussion that considers why those others were present with President Kennedy for this event.

2. Cross-Curricular Activity: The Science of Rocketry

Team up with a science colleague and prepare a joint lesson on the American space program by creating a time line of the major events from 1945 to 2005. Ask the students in the science class to research the scientific aspects of each event and the students in the history class to research the social and political aspects. Combining the classes, ask each class to explain the results of their research on each event. Ensure that students consider and understand how science and society affect each other by assigning one event each to pairs of students (one from each class), and asking them to write a short paragraph on the connection between science and society for that event.

3. Project Documentary: Oral History Interviews

Ask students working in small groups to identify the most important events in the space race from 1945 to 1970 and then develop a list of interview questions applicable to those events. Prompt them to investigate the impact of these events by interviewing three to five individuals who recall experiencing the event. Ask each group to record the responses on videotape and produce a fifteen-minute video documentary on this topic that includes other images that support the narrative and interviewee responses. Allow class time for each group to present their documentary and share their analysis of the responses with the class. Note: The Smithsonian Oral History Project may be useful at www.si.edu/archives/ihd/ihda.htm.

4. Cross-Curricular Activity: History through Visual Images

This photo is merely one example of how pivotal events in American history have been captured visually. Working with an art colleague, identify a number of paintings and sculptures from American history that have captured similar events. Ask each student to select one from the list and research the artistic creation and the historic event. Collaborating with the art instructor, help students artistically analyze the work. Then ask students to analyze the featured document using NARA's photo analysis worksheet in activity #1 above. Conclude this activity by asking the students, through discussion, to compare and contrast their responses from the artistic analysis and the photo analysis.

5. Small Group Project: Technology and News Delivery

The photo reveals President Kennedy and others watching the event on television. Divide the class into small groups and assign each group a decade from the 1950s to the 2000s. Ask each group to research their decade to discover the various ways Americans learned about news events. As each group presents its findings, ensure that students observe what changed and what stayed the same. Ask them to consider the issues related to "delivering the news" and how technology has affected those issues.

6. Brainstorming Activity: Public vs. Private Solutions

Explain to students that, since the founding of our Republic, there have been lively debates about whether the nation's social, economic, and political challenges should be met by the civilian government, the military, or private institutions. Ask students to study the photograph carefully, and help them identify all of the individuals and the sectors of the government they represent. Encourage students to discuss why they think this particular group had gathered with the President. Then ask one small group of students to conduct research on the development of the U.S. space program from its origin to present, focusing on civilian government, military, and private involvement. Assign other small groups to research other historic issues with the same

focus on civilian government, military, and private involvement. Some examples might be monetary practices, monopolies, child labor, voting rights, pollution, auto and workplace safety, and crime. Provide an opportunity for all groups to report their findings orally. Then ask students, in a class discussion, to brainstorm both private and public solutions to current problems in the United States.

7. Self-reflective Essay Writing Activity: "What's Out There?"

Ask students to carefully examine the expressions on the faces of the individuals in the photo, and discuss with them the possible issues, concerns, or other thoughts on the minds of the officials. Share with students the suggestion that throughout history humans have had a need to know what or who is out there: over the next hill or mountain range, across the sea, beyond the dessert, or on another planet. In an essay of 2 to 5 pages, ask students to consider why this is so and to support their explanation with examples.

Note: Before the essay is assigned, you might wish to stimulate student ideas by encouraging them to view films such as Cocoon, 2001: A Space Odyssey, or Contact.

NOTE: The photo is in the holdings of the National Archives at the John F. Kennedy Library; Collection JFK-WHP; White House Photographs, December 19, 1960-March 11, 1964.

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REVIEWS

Ian Glynn and Jenifer Glynn. *The Life and Death of Smallpox*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Pp. x, 278. Cloth, \$25.00; ISBN 0-521-84542-4.

Edward Jenner, the discoverer of vaccination for smallpox, suggested in 1801 that the human race could now look forward to "the annihilation of the smallpox, the most dreadful scourge of the human species." In 1979 Jenner's vision became a reality when a global commission confirmed that the worldwide eradication campaign, begun in the 1960s, had succeeded. This was surely one of the most notable human achievements in all of history. Yet, the world cannot rest easy. Stores of the deadly virus still reside in American and Russian laboratory freezers, and no one can be totally sure that there are no other secret repositories or that bioterrorists have not gotten their hands on the ultimate biological weapon.

In *The Life and Death of Smallpox*, Ian and Jenifer Glynn, write both a "biography" of smallpox itself and an account of the centuries-long struggle to control the disease. The authors, a Cambridge University scientist (Ian) and historian (Jenifer), write for a lay audience, but without dumbing down their subject. They discuss the global impact of smallpox on the human race over several millennia and provide enough of a grounding in epidemiology, virology, and immunology to help readers understand the science involved in the ultimate conquest of this loathsome and deadly disease. They begin with a discussion of the possible origins of the disease, and then quickly move to the Age of Discovery when smallpox emerged as humankind's most deadly epidemic killer. By the end of the eighteenth century the death toll from smallpox in Europe alone, excluding Russia, was about 400,000 people a year. It left its telltale scars on untold millions of others.

Though the tale of the depredations of smallpox epidemics is well told, the heart of *The Life and Death of Smallpox* is its account of human efforts to control and prevent the disease. The Glynns present a fascinating account of the introduction to Europe of the Eastern practice of inoculation (or variolation) in which individuals were "inoculated" with a mild case of smallpox to make them immune from a future more serious infection. The real turning point in the battle against smallpox, however, was Edward Jenner's discovery of vaccination at the end of the eighteenth century. Jenner, an English country doctor, discovered that infecting people with the related disease of cowpox (Latin for cow is "vacca," hence "vaccination") would impart immunity without the danger of spreading smallpox, one of the unintended consequences of the earlier practice of inoculation. Since humans are the only host species for the smallpox virus, vaccination made it possible to contemplate the eventual eradication of the disease. Accordingly, a good half of the book is devoted to the two-century campaign to rid the world of one of its greatest killers. The authors also provide a fascinating account of the dogged persistence of the anti-vaccinationist minority that refused to

accept the massive body of evidence that vaccination worked. Finally, in a bow to our post-9/11 preoccupations, the book finishes with an assessment of the threat posed by bioterrorism and the efforts to prepare for the horrifying possibility that smallpox could again be unleashed against a population that has lost its immunity.

Since the publication of William McNeill's *Plagues and Peoples* in the mid 1970s, the history of epidemic disease has become a thriving cottage industry within the discipline. A course on the subject, or a section within a course, can provide students with a fascinating lens with which to view the past and to see the relevance of the past to the present. While *The Life and Death of Smallpox* would be useful for the teacher of such a course, either as a primer on the relevant science or a repository of interesting anecdotes, it would not be the best choice for assigned reading in an introductory course. The book focuses so single-mindedly on one disease that the broader ecological perspective that one finds in McNeill's book, or the classic studies of Alfred Crosby, is lost. The book might, however, be a useful addition to a seminar.

Webster University

Michael Salevouris

Jerzy Lukowski. *The European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century*. European Culture and Society Series. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Pp. x, 243. Paper, \$24.95; ISBN 0-333-65210-X.

As the title suggests, this book offers readers an exhaustive history of the customs, beliefs, rituals, and mores of the European nobility in the eighteenth century. The book has much to recommend it. For one, it is organized thematically, with each chapter addressing a particular aspect of noble life, from marriage, to economics, to education, to inheritance. By eschewing a chronological format, Professor Lukowski is able to present the history of the European nobility in a much more comprehensive and diverse fashion, giving the reader a fascinating glimpse into the everyday life of Europe. For another, the author considers nobility as a European wide phenomenon and in doing so he is able to demonstrate the notion that the institution of "nobility" was not a static one and varied greatly across the European continent, particularly between East and West.

Two broad themes emerge in the book. First, there exists a stereotype of the European nobility from that era as a privileged elite enjoying hedonistic, carefree existence on their manorial estates, free from any sort of worldly concern. As Professor Lukowski vividly illustrates in his book, this was by no means the case. While nobles did enjoy the benefits of great wealth and status, they were nonetheless burdened with numerous worries. For example, it is commonly taught in schools that tax exemptions given to nobles were a major cause of the French Revolution. While it is true that nobles did enjoy such exemptions, in times of war (rather frequent occurrences in the

eighteenth century) they were expected to serve in the military and personally raise and finance military units that were cripplingly expensive. Similarly, more mundane matters such as collecting rents, providing dowries, discharging seigneurial obligations, and insuring the continuation of the family name all insured that nobles' lives were more difficult than is normally supposed. A second theme concerns the nature of nobility itself. As Professor Lukowski shows, the definition of who was noble and who was not constantly changed over the course of the century and the nobility was by no means a closed institution. Rather, it was within the nobility itself where different degrees of class and status mattered. As such, one comes to realize that European society during that era was stratified in a much more diverse and varied way than a simple dichotomy of nobles and peasants.

Professor Lukowski's book is a scholarly effort of high order. It is well researched and brings to general readers a significant amount of information that would be otherwise difficult to come by. The author also has a sense of levity that makes the book easy to read and follow. As for the audience of the book, it seems targeted to specialized readers and would not be suitable for students of history on the undergraduate level. Teachers of European history would be well served to use the book's perspective, however, and bring to students a more comprehensive and varied understanding of European history and society.

Teachers College, Columbia University

Michael Marion

Vera Tolz. *Inventing the Nation: Russia*. London: Arnold Press. Pp. viii, 307. Paper, \$24.95; ISBN 0-340-67705-8.

During the Cold War, Americans often used, and confused, the term Soviet with Russian. Indeed, they were often synonymous in the American mind. Vera Tolz, however, asks the relevant question: Who are the Russians? The Soviet state was a multi-national one, as was the tsarist empire and what remains of modern Russia. Two competing views of the state and the nation emerged in the mid-nineteenth century that have dominated ever since, both of which evolve around Russian similarities with and differences from the European perception of a modern nation and state.

Tolz begins the work with a brief, but very useful examination of the theoretical framework, citing the works of Hans Rogger, Roman Szporluk, Geoffrey Hosking, Ronald Suny, and others. Her work subsequently follows a linear path through Russian history, arguing that Peter the Great established the foundation by which Russians viewed themselves and the nation in comparison to surrounding peoples. This theme is repeated throughout the book and the author does an excellent job maintaining a relatively simple, but intellectually sound, analysis of the material. Tolz is able to incorporate effectively critical topics in Russian history, such as the Decembrist revolt,

the Slavophil and Westernizer movements, the populists, and the manner that each group influenced and defined Russian-ness without losing a fluid and clear writing style. Her attention to the larger theme in the work is notable, yet never turgid or mundane. The Soviet period is capably examined, particularly regarding the competing forms of identity that shaped Russian images and concepts of themselves. The author's conclusion is thoughtful and somewhat thought-provoking: Russian state building has consistently and systemically obstructed Russian nation building.

This work is a fine contribution to the growing literature that examines national identity formation in Europe. It has a useful, but limited, bibliography that might not be new to the specialist but certainly provides a thorough guide for students. As a history of Russia, the book's focus on national identity and its evolution in Russia has limited appeal and utility. It does, however, supplement and inform the wider view of Russian history that is often absent from standard works. It is suitable for advanced undergraduate and graduate courses, but anyone lacking a foundation in Russian history will find it difficult. Nevertheless, the author's central thesis that, as the Russian empire expanded, the state intervened evermore deeply into the lives of its citizens in ways that hindered the development of an equally recognizable identity is a valuable contribution. Throughout the centuries Russians have attempted to provide the definition, with limited success and, the author argues, that process will continue in a post-Soviet Russia that will have consequences for Russia's future.

The University of North Carolina-Charlotte

Steven Sabol

Robert Johnson. *British Imperialism*. Histories and Controversies Series. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Pp. XV, 284. Paper, \$22.50; ISBN 0-333-94726-6.

This handy book, as the series title indicates, "aims to explain some of the histories and controversies about British Imperialism. It offers an introduction, critical analysis, and overview of the debates that surround the British Empire from its origins to the return of Hong Kong to Chinese rule in 1997." The author is also aware of the debate between those who claim to be "Imperial Historians" and those who see themselves as post-colonial theorists and subaltern scholars. Frequent references are made to the recently published, monumental *Oxford History of the British Empire* but not to the Companion Series.

Chapters 1–4 deal with definitions of imperialism, the nature of British imperialist rule from its Angevin Origins to the early nineteenth century, imperialist thinking, and the idea of "New Imperialism." Here the Robinson and Gallagher and Cain and Hopkins theses received considerable explication. The second section, Chapters 5–9 examines a number of themes in the high noon of British imperialism (c.

1870–1914), such as the commercial and financial foundations of imperialism, the effects of migration, the limits of imperialism, the collaboration of "sub-imperialists," and resistance. Also contained within this section is a discussion of four areas that have attracted interest in recent years: namely the role of cultural imperialism, the strengths and weaknesses of post-colonial theory as a tool of analysis, the gendering of imperialism, and racism.

As regards gender studies, Johnson seems ambivalent. On the one hand, he notes that the "shifting relationships" between race, class, and gender that Anne McClintock discovered might throw some light on policies and institutions, but it is such an "opaque view, which leaves out so many of the real forces behind the British Empire, as to leave its significance in doubt. Indeed, this is a criticism that could be leveled at all gender studies of the Empire." But later he writes, "British women did have a role in the Empire and it is one worthy of further study. So far, there has been an imbalance in portraying women in terms of 'culture' rather than examining the practical roles they played too. Studies will need to move, as Margaret Strobel's have done, beyond the endless search for victimization and the relationships and language of power to examine the impact they had in supporting the Empire." But this is really old news.

The final section, Chapters 10–14, looks at the continuities of imperialism after 1914, the British responses to nationalism and decolonization, the Empire in the world wars, popular culture, questions of development, and the impact of imperialism on Britain itself. The First World War, a watershed in so many areas, can also be seen in a similar way for the British Empire. Max Beloff argued that the Dominions had asserted their own, independent policy lines during the conflict. W. David McIntyure argued along similar lines, stating that the war had been an important factor in the growth of national feeling. Ronald Hyam believed that the war had destroyed the old imperial policies and that a new, more efficient and humane approach was taken, despite the excesses of repression in the immediate aftermath of the war. But what was perhaps a watershed in aspirations after the First World War became a reality after the Second World War. Victory yes, but at a great cost, loss of prestige, and the acceleration of the process of decolonization. The book also contains a chronology and an excellent bibliography.

There is a lot to like in this slim volume. The text focuses on controversies, debates, and imperial myths, rather than narrative history. This makes it an ideal choice for historiographical or bibliographical exercises for undergraduate history students. Johnson tries to let the various sides of an argument speak for themselves, only occasionally, and quite naturally, revealing some prejudice. At heart, this reviewer believes he is suspicious of post-colonial studies, but willing to give them some credit. He quotes Dane Kennedy of George Washington University, who by the way is a he, and not a she, as identified in the text, as believing that post-colonial theory has had a positive effect on imperial history as "it raises provocative and fundamental questions about the epistemological structures of power and the cultural foundations of

resistance." Moreover, it can help the historian understand the impact of imperialism, how imperial rule was maintained, how race and tribe became more important in the identification of groups, the interconnections of the periphery and the metropolis, and the way that language and ideas shaped British colonial policies. But Kennedy acknowledges that "there is a great deal wrong with post-colonial theory." The author really has two goals in writing this study, which should quickly find its way onto undergraduate reading lists in courses on colonialism, British and British Empire history, and as stated earlier it is perfect for courses on historiography or research methods. Firstly, he wants to show how the British Empire depended for its survival on flexibility and its ability to adapt, concede, and develop. Secondly, he wants to extract from the term British imperialism something that is not just pejorative, but rather reveal the Empire as a complex enterprise and process, where definitions have shifted over the years, and one single definition remains unattainable even today. In this judicious, useful, concise, and critical guide to British imperialism, these two goals have been realized.

Cameron University

Richard A. Voeltz

Christine F. Collette and Keith Laybourn, eds. *Modern Britain Since 1979: A Reader.* London: I.B. Tauris & Co., Ltd., 2003. Pp. ix, 324. Paper, \$27.50; ISBN 1-86064-597-6.

Modern Britain since 1979 has many qualities that are desirable in a text, but it also has some limitations and problems. Students will find the text clear and the language accessible. The editors have done an excellent job of tying the information in the various chapters together, so students will come away from reading with an integrated picture of the political history of Britain in the last 25 years. There are chapters concerning feminism and race, but these topics are developed as issues that influenced political change, not as social or cultural phenomena. The excellent account of Margaret Thatcher's rise and impact on conservatism includes economic issues, of necessity, but again the focus is political. The question is how did the economics of individualism provide a foundation for Conservative political success, and not how the individual Briton was affected. The collapse of Labour and its eventual rebirth culminating in the spectacular success of Tony Blair is handled in the same fashion. The party's abandonment of its traditional leftist/socialist ideals and its new approach (the Third Way) to the welfare state is presented as political policy. The human issues involved are either ignored or considered in terms of political success or failure. A full chapter devoted to the decline and ultimate demise of the Communist Party of Great Britain, while necessary to a full picture of politics, seems overkill. The CPGB had

little impact or influence during the period under study. The chapter's presence makes clear the degree of emphasis on political history in the volume.

Each chapter contains a narrative account of its subject and a selection of documents that illustrate the subject. The narratives develop the account of British political history very well, but the basis for selecting the documents is sometimes not clear. Each chapter's documents are a mix of primary sources and secondary comment. Some of the primary sources are obvious selections from material and people mentioned in the narrative. Others, however, are not directly connected to the narrative and need introduction to be completely effective. No introduction is provided. The lack might reflect the assumption of British authors that their students will recognize the sources of the documents. That might be true, but American students, who often do not know prominent figures in their own government, are unlikely to have any idea who the people or what the documents are. At their best, the secondary documents provide alternative interpretations of the ideas expressed in the narratives, but too often they simply repeat the ideas of the editors. Referring readers to a paragraph from some history saying essentially the same thing they just read rather than just offering a citation is a waste of time. The failure to identify sources is also a problem with the secondary documents.

Modern Britain Since 1979 will be a useful text or supplementary reading book for those who want classes to have a picture of British political history. Students are likely to need some help with the documents, but that should be easily manageable for any instructor teaching a course for which a text this narrowly focused is appropriate. It does not seem likely, however, that there will be large numbers of such courses.

Fort Valley State College

Fred von Hartesveldt

Larry Schweikart and Michael Allen. *A Patriot's History of the United States: From Columbus' Great Discovery to the War on Terror*. New York: Sentinel, 2004. Pp. xiv, 928. Cloth, \$29.95; ISBN 1-9523-001-7.

Many college history professors find choosing a survey text an annual exercise in frustration—too much of this or too little of that to suit personal taste. When a new book comes onto the market, there is automatic interest in it. This text will be no exception, but for a very different reason.

Touting itself as the first conservative survey, the authors claim a thirty-year liberal bias in college survey texts, which favored episodes of racism, sexism, and bigotry while neglecting the greatness of America, particularly from white men. *A Patriot's History* focuses on politics, economics, and religion wherever possible, with no real attempt to explore social and cultural issues. Major world events are, likewise, given brief treatment other than how they impacted the United States.

The text begins with the first voyage of Christopher Columbus, with virtually no attention paid of Western hemispheric civilizations prior to 1492. The entirety of colonial America (up to 1763) is covered in less than sixty pages. The constitutional convention and ratification struggle, on the other hand, take up over a dozen pages, true to the book's title.

It will come as no surprise to readers that the authors' perception of who is deemed patriotic is limited to conservatives and most modern-day Republicans, while patriotism is best manifested through the acquisition of wealth and a profession of Christianity. Men such as Ronald Reagan and Andrew Carnegie are idolized, while Franklin Delano Roosevelt and anyone named Kennedy or Clinton are vilified.

To illustrate the point, FDR is cast as something of a villain, particularly in regard to his New Deal policies and his lack of moral character, whose "luck" at having skilled military leaders and ambitious industrialists was all that saved America during World War II. All Kennedys are disparaged, but the authors blame John Kennedy more than any other president for the "quagmire in Vietnam." And JFK and Lyndon Johnson exceeded Richard Nixon "in their ability to deceive and lie to the American people." John Dean gets almost all the blame for Watergate. There is nothing good worth mentioning about Bill Clinton, whose budget surpluses were due to the economic policies of Reagan and the Republican-controlled Congress. Yet Hillary Clinton seems almost more of a target, with no opportunity missed to ridicule her, perhaps meant as an opening volley to the 2008 elections.

On the other hand, men such as John D. Rockefeller and J.P. Morgan are Captains (more like Generals) of Industry, not robber barons. Joseph McCarthy is "sloppily linked to hysteria," while Supreme Court justices Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas are labeled as "brilliant" and "outstanding" respectfully. Matt Drudge is hailed for his investigative skills, with no mention of Bob Woodward or Carl Bernstein.

Obviously, Democrats, liberals, and any number of other groups will find little use for this text. Women's groups will take particular aim at their alleged lack of contributions to America's greatness. Schweikart and Allen would prefer to remove the title of "noble savage" from any connection to Native Americans, finding nothing noble about them. I would even dare to say that Southerners will take exception to their beloved Robert E. Lee being called a "purported genius."

All that being said, the authors have provided a narrative that is easy to read and one that will be hailed by at least half of the country. And the price is right, only \$29.95 for a clothbound edition, which makes me wonder if the market for the text is really college freshmen. *A Patriot's History*, fair and balanced? You decide.

Timothy J. Shannon. *Atlantic Lives: A Comparative Approach to Early America*. New York: Pearson Longman, 2004. Pp. xiii; 251. Paper, \$46.00; ISBN 0-321-07710-5.

Some of the best ideas for the teaching of history come from those people who have devoted their lives to teaching the subject matter. Professor Timothy Shannon at Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania has recognized the need for a comprehensive textbook devoted to the Atlantic World and its place in the study of colonial America. *Atlantic Lives* is the result of that effort. His work presents a history of the Atlantic World from 1450 through 1830 with book chapters roughly following a chronological order. The book's design provides for a thematic approach to the study of colonial American settlement.

The author has chosen to use a wide array of primary sources to describe this phase of colonial history. Included here are the narratives of people who traveled between the Americas, Africa, and Europe. According to Professor Shannon, the use of primary sources "provides comparative first-person perspectives on the issues at hand."

In his efforts to define the meaning of Atlantic History, Professor Shannon calls attention to the fact that the study of this region "demands a much larger geographic arena." For example, Shannon points to the need "to re-evaluate data from both the Old World and the New World, becoming involved in the study of commodities rather than nations and boundaries and to examine biological and economic consequences of contact between the Old and New Worlds."

The organization of Professor Shannon's work is particularly valuable to scholars involved in the teaching of colonial history. "Each chapter presents reading selections from two or three primary sources related to its topic." For example, Shannon devotes an entire chapter to the topic "Constructing Gender in the Atlantic World." Shannon tells his readers that "while nature may determine a person's sex, gender—the ideas, roles, and behavior associated with being male or female—is constructed by the social world a person inhabits." The readings selected for this chapter came from women who lived or traveled in the Atlantic World between 1600 and 1800. The author poses critical questions to generate student thinking: What roles did racial differences play in notions of gender and sexuality? How did religion and labor shape the way men and women interacted in these cross-cultural encounters? Of particular note is the commentary from Moravian women provided in the *lebenslauf*, personal memoirs that often were entered into the records of Moravian congregations at the time of their death.

Each chapter concludes with a series of four or five discussion sections as well as a list of suggested readings that guide students and teachers to additional resources. The work is illustrated which complements the primary source selections.

There is a wide variety of uses for Professor Shannon's new work. It can serve to complement other secondary source textbooks in the teaching of colonial history. Additionally, it might also serve those students at the community college level as a superb reference work on colonial America. Timothy Shannon has provided a highly substantive and readable work on the study of the Atlantic World.

Pasco-Hernando Community College

Michael E. Long

Julie Des Jardins. *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America: Gender, Race, and the Politics of Memory, 1880–1945.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003. Pp. x, 380. Paper, \$19.95; ISBN 0-8078-5475-1.

Julie Des Jardins' text is a rich resource for a range of courses, including historiography, women's history, African-American history, and social and cultural history courses. Des Jardins, an Assistant Professor of History at City University of New York, Baruch College, has written an excellent account of how history has been told in the United States, paying special attention to the "politics of memory"—how the social location of those telling history has shaped their results. Between the late nineteenth century and World War II, the growing professionalization of the study of history within academic institutions resulted in the privileging of political, economic, and military history written by men and based upon a "scientific" inquiry into official legal and governmental documents. On the other hand, women, who were largely excluded from the academy and hence free from its constraints, engaged in a broader historical pursuit that encompassed the lives of women, African Americans, Native Americans, immigrants, laborers, Catholics, and Jews, and relied upon a wide range of sources, including newspapers, private diaries and letters, household accounts, oral testimony, and material artifacts. In this way, according to Des Jardins, female historians anticipated the new history of the 1960s and 1970s and the postmodern attention to multiplicity of perspectives. Des Jardins is careful to avoid essentialism in describing this gendered division of history telling, but instead emphasizes how social location shaped the way scholars researched, interpreted, and wrote history.

The text is rich with discussions of women historians who worked from the "professional, social, and geographic margins" in their roles as teachers, local historians, historical preservationists, archivists, librarians, government workers, social activists, and members of patriotic organizations. Des Jardins has a particularly compelling discussion of the development of African American women's historical consciousness and their influence on the New Negro History Movement of the twentieth century. She also has chapters on the development of regional history and the history of organized feminism. Des Jardins casts a wide net, but focuses most of her attention on a limited number of women she views as particularly influential, including Mary

Beard, Nora Neal Hurston, Angie Debo, Mari Sandoz, Lucy Salmon, Mary McLeod Bethune, Dorothy Porter, and Nellie Neilson. She shows how many women "rewrote the past to serve new reform agendas" in the Progressive Era, including reforms in labor conditions, race relations, exploitation of Native Americans, and immigration policy. Des Jardins concludes that women have had a significant impact on the historical enterprise—both the methods of doing history and how we remember our national history.

Des Jardins' book is comprehensive and well-researched, based on extensive primary and secondary sources, including archives from around the country. The book offers useful material for lectures, and contains an expansive bibliography that is topically organized, which makes it a good resource for research. The writing style is engaging and generally accessible. This book could be assigned at the graduate or undergraduate level for courses in historiography, women's history, African-American history, or regional history. The material in Des Jardins' book will help students gain an appreciation for how gender and race have shaped historical practice and how women have contributed to the historical enterprise in lasting ways.

Berry College Carrie Baker

Jacqueline M. Moore. *Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and the Struggle for Racial Uplift.* Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 2003. Pp. xix, 194. Cloth, \$65.00; ISBN 0-8420-2994-X.

Jacqueline Moore has succeeded admirably in achieving the stated objectives of her new history of the struggle for racial uplift in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. She has produced a book that can be readily understood and enjoyed by "readers with little or no background on the subject." She has provided high school and college students and instructors at both levels with a detailed explanation of the Washington-Du Bois conflict, a topic "that most textbooks only briefly outline." Finally, and most importantly, Professor Moore has placed the Washington-Du Bois conflict in the broader context of "the black community's search for effective ways to combat rising segregation and discrimination."

Moore proposes a well articulated historical framework within which to contextualize the debate between Washington and Du Bois. While the debate involved "people at all levels of the black community" and "shaped the way that black leaders discussed how to improve the race," she argues that "not everyone took sides." For even those "most involved in the debate recognized that there were more than two methods of racial uplift, and a number of groups and organizations actively pursued other tactics." Some African Americans "used segregation as a reason to build up black-controlled institutions" such as YMCAs and the National Association of Colored

Women, whereas others created black-owned businesses. They "created new opportunities" while making themselves "less dependent on whites or the Tuskegee machine." By the time Washington died in 1915, she concludes, such efforts "had already made parts of the debate obsolete."

While Moore tries to be evenhanded, stressing important areas of agreement between Washington and Du Bois rather than their sharp differences of opinion over education and the advisability of demanding equal political rights, the preponderance of her evidence tells a different story. Describing Washington's reaction to Du Bois's 1903 essay "Of Booker T. Washington and Others" and to the "so-called Boston riot" that July engineered by William Monroe Trotter, Moore characterizes the Wizard of Tuskegee as vengeful and primarily concerned with preserving his personal power. Although she does not make Washington's obsession with silencing his critics an explicit theme, almost every major incident she describes between 1903 and 1912 tells that same story. Given the pivotal role played by Du Bois's 1903 essay in galvanizing opposition to Washington's policies, Moore owes her reader an explanation for not including at least extended excerpts from it in the "Documents in the Case" section of her book. This reviewer would also be inclined to fault her for omitting any mention in this connection of Du Bois's poignant accusation that "Mr. Washington's program practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races."

In this reviewer's estimation, Professor Moore's study of efforts at racial uplift would be most useful as required reading in an advanced high school or college-level survey of African American history. Its clear prose and richly textured portraits of Washington, Du Bois, and other important figures of the day make it a pleasure to read and easy to understand. On the other hand, its length and the cost of the cloth edition limit the possibilities for assigning it as a supplement to the textbook in a survey of United States history.

Pembroke Hill School

Carl Schulkin

Jonathan Rees and Jonathan Z.S. Pollack, eds. *The Voice of the People: Primary Sources on the History of American Labor, Industrial Relations, and Working Class Culture*. Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 2004. Pp. XIV, 246. Paper, \$17.95; ISBN 0-88295-225-0.

The goal of *The Voice of the People* is to present primary sources and critical thinking questions on workers, industrial relations, and working class life in British North America and the United States from 1620 to the present. Covering this large span and employing a thematic approach, labor historians Jonathan Rees and Jonathan Pollack have selected a number of interesting and useful sources. However, these

choices also leave serious gaps, at times create a lack of focus, and weaken its potential appeal for U.S. history instructors.

Rees and Pollack divide the book into four parts: to 1877, 1877–1914, 1914–1945, and 1945–present. Within each part, the authors organize the documents into three themes: "Work and Labor/Management Relations," "The Union Movement," and "Working Class Culture." Each part begins with a short essay to establish context and a header accompanies each document. Three questions come at the end of each document, which could be used as a basis for discussion and for writing assignments.

There are some useful and interesting documents in this reader. For example, in the pre-1877 section, students would be able to find documents discussing indentured servitude, slavery, textile work at Lowell, and union organizing among cordwainers. Other examples in the post–1877 period include documents on child labor, prostitution, steelworkers, female factory work during WW II, migrant labor, and wage work in the fast food industry. Rees and Pollack also cover McCarthyism and note how the civil rights and women's movements intersected with labor relations.

But unfortunately the weaknesses outweigh the strengths. Brevity allows for only

a few examples. The pre–1877 section includes nothing on, about, or from Native Americans; nor do the authors include documents on the Spanish or French experience. There is one document addressing Western labor, an essay by Mark Twain on Chinese workers. In the 1877 to 1914 period, a major weakness is that women show up more as subjects, not as active agents of union leadership or working class culture. The authors do provide one document on prostitution. Beyond women, the section ignores Populism and African American organizers or workers. In the 1914–1945 section, "Working Class Culture" contains only documents from the Great Depression. There is only one document addressing women working during WW II and nothing in the book examining the 1946 strike wave, the largest in U.S. history. In the post–1945 part, the focus becomes lost in "Work and Labor/Management Relations," which moves from migrant farmers, to a selection from William Whyte's *The Organization Man*, to documents on wage work at McDonald's and technological unemployment. Similarly,

The format and weaknesses make course adoption problematic. The book might work for a course on labor history. However, those teaching the U.S. history survey course (especially the pre–1877 version) may not want to use a book for which students will get limited use.

the "Working Class Culture" section includes sources on secretaries in the early 1960s, the "hard hat" march in 1970, Ben Hamper's life in the automobile plant, and

University of Akron

temporary workers in the 1990s.

Gregory Wilson

David Horowitz. *The Anxieties of Affluence: Critiques of American Consumer Culture*, 1939–1979. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004. Pp. ix, 339. Cloth, \$29.95; ISBN 1-55849-432-4.

Following the terrorist attacks of 9/11, President George W. Bush encouraged Americans to demonstrate their patriotism by consuming and supporting the national economy. As a leader not known for self-reflection, Bush was apparently unaware of the anxieties regarding affluence expressed by American intellectuals. The post World War II prosperity experienced by many Americans evoked dreams of a democratic capitalism as well as nightmare visions of a shallow mass culture based on materialism. These ambiguities were lost upon President Bush.

In *The Anxieties of Affluence*, David Horowitz, professor of American Studies at Smith College, investigates responses to affluence from the end of the Great Depression through the energy crisis of the 1970s. Horowitz employs five tools of analysis: the relationships between affluence and morality; the substitution of psychological explanations for Marxist social analysis; the role of public intellectuals and their books in establishing the context for a national discourse on consumption; the impact of social movements on altering patterns of consumption; and the rise and fall of the Cold War consensus, whose decline led to "less confident understandings of the impact of international markets on national life."

Horowitz begins his narrative with an examination of Lewis Mumford's vision that World War II would convince Americans to abandon materialistic concerns. Instead, the postwar era was characterized by the ideas of émigrés Ernest Dichtor and George Katona who celebrated the contribution of affluent consumers to the quality of American life. One of the more interesting chapters in the books deals with historian David Potter, author of *People of Plenty*, whose privileged traditional Southern background provided him with an apprehensive view of the disorderly world created by growing affluence.

John Kenneth Galbraith, Vance Packard, and Betty Friedan are perceived as critics of American society who assumed that middle-class prosperity was the major national goal. On the other hand, intellectuals such as Paul Goodman, Oscar Lewis, Michael Harrington, and Rachel Carson questioned whether suburban affluence was an important issue, undermining the assumptions linking democracy, capitalism, and consumption. During the 1960s, critics of affluence such as Ralph Nader, Martin Luther King Jr., and Paul Ehrlich emphasized the adverse effects of prosperity. Their work further discredited the Cold War consensus and launched consumer social movements such as environmentalism.

Horowitz concludes his discussion with the doomed efforts of intellectuals Daniel Bell, Christopher Lasch, and Robert Bellah to collaborate with President Jimmy Carter in formulating a post-affluent energy policy. Many consumers opposed this initiative, and in the 1980s President Ronald Reagan championed a policy of no limitations upon

American consumption. Nevertheless, critical voices such as Barbara Ehrenreich, David Brooks, and Juliet Schor were not silenced during the 1980s and 1990s. In fact, Horowitz holds out great hope for what he terms the post-moralist critics who do not take an elitist perspective on economic growth. Yet, Horowitz is unsure how the national anxiety regarding affluence will play out in the post-9/11 world, but it seems safe to assume that President Bush will not have the final word.

Horowitz's study of affluence and its discontents raises some crucial questions that should make for stimulating debate in the history classroom. The prose is sometimes demanding for students, and the book will be used best at the graduate level or with advanced undergraduates. History instructors at all levels would do well to consult the Horowitz volume and incorporate the discourse of modern affluence into their classes, for these are essential questions with which students must grapple in the twenty-first century.

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Gary W. Reichard. *Politics as Usual: The Age of Truman and Eisenhower*. Second ed. The American History Series. Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2004. Pp. xvii, 213. Paper, \$14.95; ISBN 0-88295-226-9.

With the end of the Cold War and the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, much has changed since Gary Reichard's *Politics as Usual* appeared in 1988. Accordingly, the new second edition incorporates recent scholarship informed by the opening of Soviet archives, and it gives greater attention to events in the Middle East. Despite the changes, Reichard's theme remains consistent: The period between 1945 and 1960 was "the last sustained period when 'politics as usual' prevailed in the United States." What other writers have seen as the age of the "vital center" or of the "liberal consensus," Reichard, a historian and administrator at California State University, Long Beach, sees as a period of "a seemingly purposeful equilibrium."

Politics as Usual consists of four chapters, a brief conclusion, and a bibliographic essay. Each of the four substantive chapters covers a single term in the presidencies of Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower. In converting the American economy from wartime to peacetime, Truman faced almost insurmountable problems that he handled with no particular skill. Truman hit bottom with the Democratic debacle in the congressional elections of 1946, but defeat allowed Truman to stage a comeback. The new Republican Congress became a useful foil for the feisty president. Partisan differences on domestic issues were obvious, and despite contemporary rhetoric to the contrary, Reichard believes there was no consensus about American diplomacy. Truman, he argues, won support for such initiatives as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization by "manipulating" the anti-Communist anxieties of

conservative Republicans who would not normally have supported an internationalist foreign policy. Indeed, Reichard is especially effective in recapturing the partisan bitterness of Truman's second term, a rancor galvanized by the Communist takeover in China and intensified by the war in Korea.

Reichard acknowledges Truman's mistakes, among them his inability to contain a post-war Red Scare and his unsuccessful attempt to seize the steel industry during the Korean War. But Reichard treats Truman charitably, and Truman had his successes. Besides the Marshall Plan and NATO, he skillfully forced Joseph Stalin to lift the Berlin Blockade and he put civil rights on the national agenda.

Reichard, whose previous writings include *The Reaffirmation of Republicanism:* Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Eighty-third Congress (1975), accords similar treatment to Eisenhower, generally following revisionist interpretations that depict Ike as an unassuming but effective chief executive. Here the narrative does not quite support its conclusions. Reichard suggests Eisenhower's indifference toward civil rights emboldened Arkansas governor Orval Faubus to attempt to block the desegregation of Little Rock's Central High School. American involvement in coups in Iran and Guatemala encouraged anti-American sentiment in the Middle East and in Latin America. Eisenhower resisted the temptation to intervene in Vietnam during the siege of Dien Bien Phu, but he committed the United States to the survival of a shaky South Vietnamese regime. Reichard does not belabor the point, but Ike failed spectacularly as a party leader. While conservative Republicans lost ground consistently throughout the 1950s, he was not able to remake the GOP into the party of the "Modern Republicanism" he claimed to favor. The allure of Eisenhower revisionism must remain a mystery to at least a few historians.

Otherwise, with its measured tone and accessible prose, *Politics as Usual* is an excellent introduction to the period and its historiography. It is perhaps best suited to graduate students and advanced undergraduates, but instructors might mine the bibliography for more specialized studies and the text for lecture notes and fodder for class discussions. What, for example, does it say about the gulf between the public and the experts when, as Reichard notes, Truman never recovered politically from his firing of the insubordinate Douglas MacArthur, a decision that historians have almost uniformly applauded? More fundamentally, students might well consider whether the post-war era really was dominated by politics as usual or whether the advent of the Cold War created an entirely new political climate.

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T.G. Fraser and Donette Murray. *America and the World since 1945*. Studies in Contemporary History Series. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. Pp. xxvi, 323. Paper, \$12.95; ISBN 0-333-75432-8.

Historians Fraser and Murray provide a concise overview of United States foreign policy and its consequences using presidential administrations as the organizational rubric for their textbook. Beginning with Harry S Truman and the onset of the Cold War and ending with the challenges the second Bush administrative faced beginning on September 11, 2001, the authors take the reader through the second half of the twentieth century in a methodical, well-organized manner. Except for Truman and Richard M. Nixon who receive two chapters ("Truman and the Coming of the Cold War," "Truman and the Crystallisation of the Cold War," "Nixon: The Peacemaker?" and "Nixon, Ford and the American Crisis") and Gerald R. Ford who shares one with Nixon, each post-war chief executive is allotted a single chapter. Those that address the administrations of George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush are the most valuable. In these chapters Fraser and Murray wrestle with analysis of the recent past, a task that historians usually find challenging. Their conclusion, though, that, like Truman, George W. Bush "identified Asia as America's primary national security threat" seems misguided and outdated even for 2002 when the volume appeared.

There are a number of elements of the work that one finds troubling. Foremost among these is the employment of parenthetical citations. Rather than supply footnotes or endnotes (the standard for the historical profession), references are provided with only the author's name and date of publication. Perhaps this was a decision over which the authors had no control. Nevertheless, this choice does not add to the volume's readability and is something that historians accustomed to the standard will find frustrating. Similarly, Fraser and Murray's attempts to enliven their prose with metaphors might leave students puzzled. For example, in referring to Ronald Reagan's criticism of the Soviet Union's military build-up during the 1970s, the authors comment that the "pudding was notably over-egged." These, in addition to awkward turns of phrases, tend to obscure the historian's message. A perspective with which scholars of U.S. foreign policy will no doubt take issue is the insistence that America recoiled into "sterile" isolationism after World War I. Such an oversimplified characterization ignores events such as the Washington Naval Conference, the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the Dawes and Young Plans, as well as Roosevelt's initiatives to aid Britain during the 1930s. Walter McDougall's Promised Land, Crusader State, an acclaimed reinterpretation of U.S. foreign policy, provides a substantial argument concerning the myth of American isolationism that Fraser and Murray might have at least commented upon. A minor irritant is the authors' reference to September 11 as "11September" (note the quotation marks in the original). While historians find the British system of dating useful in a scholarly context, it is difficult to overlook the

suggestion that Americans (or anyone else in the world) refer to that day as "11 September."

British perspectives on American history can provide valuable insights (Paul Johnson's *A History of the American People* is a shining example), but Fraser and Murray's volume does not offer any new information or compelling analysis that might warrant its use in courses that focus on contemporary history or U.S. foreign relations.

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