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HISTORIOGRAPHY AS PEDAGOGY: THOUGHTS ABOUT THE MESSY PAST AND WHY WE SHOULDN'T CLEAN IT UP

David M. Wrobel
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Historiography is vital to our teaching about the past and to our understanding of the present, though you would not always know as much from the practices of K-16 history educators.¹ When I began my first full-time position as a college history teacher, in Wooster, Ohio, in the fall of 1990, a well-meaning colleague gave me some advice: "Avoid historiography like the plague," he said, adding that students just did not care about the changing views and perspectives of historians over time. Rather than avoiding historiography "like the plague," though, I have ended up making it the foundation of my teaching over the years. I teach a graduate course dedicated solely to the historiography of the American West. But beyond that specialized class offering, historiographical contexts serve as a backdrop for all of my courses, graduate and undergraduate, including the second half of the introductory U.S. survey.² If you want students to understand the dynamism and the relevance of the past, then you have to let them know that the past is and always has been the subject of debate, not just for politicians and historians, but for all people who want to understand their world.

I try to illuminate contemporary issues by emphasizing how scholars have viewed historical trends and events differently at different moments in time. This is historiography—the history of historical writing and thinking. Or, to offer a more vital explanation: Historiography is the study of the dynamic past, a past that is always messy, ever changing, never resolved, and always relevant to the present. The past is contested terrain and the historiographer is the explorer of that interpretive battlefield. Unless we can get students to understand the messy and exciting truth about history,

¹This paper was originally delivered as a keynote address at the Jefferson County, Colorado, Teaching American History Institute, June 12, 2007. I offer my sincerest thanks to Cynthia Stout and Brian Loney at the Jefferson County School District and to Patricia Limerick at the Center of the American West at the University of Colorado, Boulder, for inviting me to participate in this excellent partnership between the schools and the academy. This essay retains much of the informal tone of the original presentation. Earlier versions of the portion of the essay on the Civil War as a moral lodestone appeared as "War in Modern America," in Steven M. Gillon and Cathy D. Matson, *The American Experiment: A History of the United States, Volume II: Since 1865* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2006), 1308-09; and "About Donald Rumsfeld's Comparison of Iraq and the Civil War," History News Network, May 24, 2004: <http://hnn.us/articles/5199.html>.

²This interest in incorporating historiography into the introductory U.S. survey prompted me to write four short "Competing Interpretations" essays for Gillon and Matson, *The American Experiment*: "The West and America," 694-95, "The Age of Reform," 846-47, "The Civil Rights Movement and Martin Luther King, Jr.," 1182-83, and "War in Modern America," 1308-09.

they are in danger of subscribing to stereotypes that pervade public understanding of the discipline.

Historiography should be central to our teaching, but for it to become so we need to overcome some serious barriers to the development of a historiographical consciousness. America loves history. This is a sweeping statement, I know, but there seems to be a good deal of evidence to support it. Americans flock to historical sites such as Colonial Williamsburg, where they can view the past "just as it was." Chautauqua performances and other historical reenactments also provide us an opportunity to view the past in exact replica. The History Channel garners reassuringly high viewer ratings, and these ratings are, I think, evidence of public interest in history. In the twenty-one years that I lived in England, no one ever asked me what earlier period I wished I could live in. But in America the question is asked surprisingly often, as evidence again, I would suggest, that the American public is interested in the past.

However, Colonial Williamsburg, Chautauqua, the History Channel, the desire to "visit" an earlier age in real time, or virtually or vicariously, these can all be examples of the dead past, of history, as well ... "history," unless there is careful attention paid to the past's contested nature and its pertinence to the present. The past gets exciting, it becomes contested, and it comes to life when we think historiographically. Some tour guides at Colonial Williamsburg still get uncomfortable when visitors ask about slavery in the region. The happy colonial past gets messy, and that is when it becomes really interesting. That is when we learn from it.

But for that historiographical breakthrough to occur, we need to exorcise some commonly committed cardinal sins against the dynamic past. (My Catholic childhood is surely surfacing here.) It is not just a problem in the classroom that we have to address. These transgressions against the dynamic past are committed all the time, even in everyday conversation, and their very ubiquity constitutes a challenge to our efforts to make history meaningful to our audiences. In short, an ahistorical or even anti-historical consciousness pervades American popular culture, perhaps no more so than in previous eras, but it is certainly with us in full force today.

We commonly use the phrase "that's history" in reference to the general unimportance of an event that has passed. Old boyfriends or girlfriends become "history," mere footnotes in romantic journals; professional sports teams that fail to make the playoffs are "history" as soon as the playoffs begin; when former Secretaries of Defense, such as the quite recently departed Donald Rumsfeld, leave office, they become "history" in the fleetest of moments. What is more, in addition to the misuse of "history," there is a deep tendency in the American vernacular to flatten all history into one long distant past through use of the seemingly ever more popular phrase "back in the day." When one hears colleagues using this phrase in the history hallways, one fears that the struggle to revive and maintain a dynamic past is lost. The phrase, of course, means absolutely nothing and everything—yesterday, last week, a year ago, five years, a decade, a generation, a lifetime—that is all just "back in the day."

Moreover, the health and vitality of that dynamic past we try to make our students so aware of is further endangered by the great tendency among talk show hosts, political commentators, and others, including our own students on occasion, to pronounce with great certainty that there are "two sides to every story." If there were just two sides to every story, our work as historians would, of course, have been wrapped up a long time ago. There are, as we all know, many sides or perspectives that make up the dynamic past, yet, even with this knowledge, the proclivity for pronouncing that "hindsight is 20/20 vision" is still rather too evident in popular culture and, regrettably, even in our classrooms. Once, in a graduate historiography course, one of my students confidently informed the group that "Hindsight is 20/20 vision." I was reminded in that painful moment that our lives on this earth might well be just a test. If hindsight were 20/20 vision, I patiently explained to the student, there would be no historiography—historians would just see the light after a while and would all agree. Historians, though, often disagree with each other and with other groups. Just ask professional historians who argued in 1994 and 1995 with World War II veterans over the Smithsonian Institution's proposed exhibit on Hiroshima and Nagasaki if they think "hindsight is 20/20 vision."

The last of the five cardinal sins against the dynamic past is the enormously popular notion that "history repeats itself." Who among us, on that exciting first day of class when we try to introduce students to the dynamism of our discipline, has not had to respond to a supremely self-confident assertion from a student that history repeats itself? But unless one can provide clear examples of how exactly the same things ever happened again as a result of exactly the same sets of circumstances, one has to conclude that history does not really repeat itself and if it did then we would just need to figure out the cycle and then those of us who correctly determined what had happened the first time around could just place bets on what would happen the next time. There can be no serious historiographical consciousness if history repeats itself.

So, back in the day, when there were two sides to every story, when hindsight was 20/20 vision, and when history repeated itself, the discipline of history was awfully dull. This was the era in which we connected the dots, marching through time from monarch to monarch, president to president, decade to decade, suggesting an inevitable and incontestable unfolding of events. This is not history—it is torture. When students say they find history boring, what they are saying is that they find the way we make the past neat and tidy to be boring.

The past is exciting because it is an ongoing story with ever-changing plotlines and endings. The past is the storehouse of information that we all use—individuals and groups, liberals and conservatives, the religiously minded and the agnostic and atheistic, young and old, men and women of all cultural groups—to make our favored arguments about how we got to this point and where we ought to go from here. Moreover, the past is intellectually challenging. It is the consciousness of a messy past that makes us wiser, and perhaps gives us the urge to clean up after ourselves. But while there are plenty of things in America worth cleaning up, the very last thing we

want to do as historians is sweep away the messiness of the past itself. The clean-cut past of the average history textbook, of the all too common semester or year-long march through time, leaves our students cold because it leaves them with no roles in the process other than those of “rememberer” and “regurgitator.”

Of course, there are things that our students need to know, things that we need to teach them, knowledge that might serve as a kind of cultural glue to bind us together as a society, knowledge that state-level history and social science standards require educators to test. But if we give students just one finished product, one march through time, a single chronicle of the development of a nation or civilization, then we can expect no more than that they will become expert regurgitators of the same model. They will not become historians, just tellers of a story that they have already been told. They will be like builders who can construct only a single house. They will not be creators, designers, or thinkers, and because of that they will have a particularly difficult time becoming historians.

So, when a student says, with an air of great confidence and wisdom, “there are two sides to every story,” or “history repeats itself,” or “hindsight is 20/20 vision,” inform them that they are wrong, wrong, wrong! I know this is hard to do in the kinds of nurturing classroom environments that we like to create, environments in which students are never wrong, but always somewhere on the right track, moving at their own special pace towards the right answer. But no, in this case tell them that their train is heading in the wrong direction. Indeed, it is not only going the wrong way, but it has been derailed. In fact, tell them that the railroad bridge that spans the gap between their present intellectual state and their potential future state of intellectual edification has just collapsed under the enormous weight of their wrongness.

But even better, I would suggest, than telling a student that he or she is wrong—and, to be honest, I am Mr. Empathy in the classroom, a weak chastiser of students—give students examples of the dynamism of the messy past and the benefit of developing a historiographical consciousness. Here is one example. On May 13, 2004, Elisabeth Bumiller, in an article in the *New York Times* titled “Stolid Rumsfeld Soldiers On, But Weighs Ability to Serve,” focused on the hard-working former Defense Secretary burying himself in the tasks of his office while besieged by calls for his resignation and finding solace in the “lessons of history.” The article includes a description of Rumsfeld’s closing comment at a three-hour long appearance before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense:

I’ve been reading a book about the Civil War and Ulysses S. Grant [the book, by the way, is Jean Edward Smith’s biography, *Grant*]—and I’m not going to compare the two, don’t get me wrong, don’t anybody rush off and say he doesn’t get the difference between Iraq and the Civil War. The fact of the matter is, the casualties were high, the same kinds of concerns that we’re expressing here were expressed then. [The people then] were

despairing, they were hopeful, they were concerned, they were combative ... the carnage was horrendous, and it was worth it.³

Powerful words to be sure, and now four years later Donald Rumsfeld is gone and the number of Americans who believe it is "worth it" has declined considerably. The administration briefly discussed the possibility of creating a new cabinet position, that of War Tsar, forgetting perhaps that this role has traditionally fallen to the Commander in Chief and that the word Tsar does suggest something of a departure from the democratic traditions our President wishes to impart to the Iraqi people. But while Rumsfeld's words were certainly memorable, the sentiment he expressed will not appear new to those familiar with the late Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s famous *Partisan Review* article from October 1949, "The Causes of the Civil War: A Note on Historical Sentimentalism." In the article Schlesinger argued that the Civil War was a war that had to be fought to purge the nation of the evil of slavery, just as World War II had to be fought to eradicate the evil of Fascism, and just as the United States in 1949 had to wage the Cold War to combat the evil of Communism.⁴

But let us jump back a little further into historical and historiographical time and then return to Schlesinger's article. America entered World War I in 1917 inspired by Woodrow Wilson's professed goal of making the world "safe for democracy." Even the famous pragmatist and educational theorist John Dewey, who previously had been thoroughly opposed to American entry, was convinced by Wilson's idealism. Dewey, following Wilson's lead, essentially instructed America to jump into the river and direct its flow toward Progressive ends, claiming that the war had created "instrumentalities for enforcing the public interest in all the agencies of production and exchange."⁵ But Dewey's former student Randolph Bourne offered a prophetic warning in response to Progressive intellectuals' enthusiasm for war: "If the war is too strong for you to prevent, how is it going to be weak enough for you to control and mould to your liberal purposes?" Bourne insisted that democratic ends could never be achieved through

³Elisabeth Bumiller, "Stolid Rumsfeld Soldiers On, But Weighs Ability to Serve," *New York Times*, May 13, 2004.

⁴Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "The Causes of the Civil War: A Note on Historical Sentimentalism," *Partisan Review*, 16 (October 1949): 969-81.

⁵John Dewey, "The Social Possibilities of War," 551-60, in Joseph Ratner, ed., *Characters and Events: Popular Essays in Social and Political Philosophy by John Dewey*, 2 vols. (New York: Henry Holt, 1929), II, quoted in David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society*, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 50.

undemocratic means, and he turned out to be partly right.⁶ The United States helped the Allies win the war, but Wilson's efforts to direct the flow of the peace negotiations at Versailles were idealistic, courageous, and wrong-headed all at the same time, and, ultimately, proved unsuccessful. The harsh peace—which forced upon Germany \$33B in reparations payments and an admission of full responsibility for the conflict (the “war guilt clause”)—was a lamentable legacy of the war, to add to the millions and millions of dead and wounded soldiers. The world had not been made safe for democracy.

The gap between expectations and outcomes nurtured disillusionment in America. During the 1920s, journalists, politicians, cultural critics, and some historians began to blame bankers and munitions makers for leading the country into a war it should have avoided. In *The Rise of American Civilization* (1927), Charles and Mary Beard placed the bulk of the blame for the war on the rise of industrial capitalism.⁷ Then, in the 1930s, the rise of fascism in Europe, along with Japanese aggression in Asia, seemed to prompt an increasingly isolationist attitude in the United States—a desire to avoid circumstances that might lead the nation into another war. In the anxious and isolationist climate of the Depression years, American historians downplayed slavery as the cause of the Civil War. They often paralleled the Great War with America's own bitter fratricidal conflict, viewing both as events the nation should have avoided. These Civil War “revisionists,” as they came to be known, more commonly placed the blame for the war on hotheaded abolitionists in the North and proslavery spokesmen in the South who irresponsibly led their respective sections into war. Even as the ominous winds of the Second World War were brewing, Avery Craven made this argument in his book *The Repressible Conflict* (1939). And James G. Randall, in *Lincoln the President* (1945), joined Craven in downplaying slavery as the key factor behind the Civil War.⁸

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., however, joined historian, literary critic, and novelist Bernard DeVoto on the other side of a bitter war of words. DeVoto's stinging criticisms of the Civil War revisionists appeared in his *Harper's Easy Chair* editorials in February and March 1946. The first volume of Allen Nevin's eight-volume magnum opus, *The Ordeal of the Union*, was published in 1947 (the last in 1971) and emphasized that the “problem of slavery” was at the center of cultural differences that

⁶Carl Resek, ed., *War and the Intellectuals: Essays by Randolph S. Bourne, 1915-1919* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), cited in Kennedy, *Over Here*, 52.

⁷Charles and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York: Macmillan, 1927).

⁸Avery Craven, *The Repressible Conflict* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1939); James G. Randall, *Lincoln the President: Springfield to Gettysburg*, 4 vols. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1945-1955). These volumes and the whole mid-twentieth century debate over the causes of the Civil War receive excellent, albeit opinionated discussion in Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *A Life in the Twentieth Century: Innocent Beginnings, 1917-1950* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2000), 444-54.

precipitated the conflict between the North and South.⁹ Schlesinger's 1949 article was a direct indictment of the "revisionists" for removing slavery from the equation and included the memorable lines: "To say there 'should' have been no abolitionists in America before the Civil War is about as sensible as to say that there 'should' have been no anti-Nazis in the nineteen-thirties or that there 'should' be no anti-Communists today."¹⁰

Schlesinger's words are rather more eloquent than those of the former Defense Secretary, though Rumsfeld's remarks were extemporaneous, while Schlesinger's words were carefully crafted. But the sentiment is remarkably similar. Schlesinger's recounting of the historiographical skirmish of the late 1940s further fleshes out the parallel with Rumsfeld. Schlesinger wrote in his autobiography, *A Life in the Twentieth Century: Innocent Beginnings, 1917-1950* (2000): "The Civil War seemed to present almost as stark a clash of irreconcilable ideologies as the war against Nazism."¹¹

Historians of American ideas will recognize in this historiographical debate the shift in American thought from moral relativism to moral absolutism in the period from the end of World War I to the late 1940s. Moral relativists held that truth was relative, not absolute, and that there was no such thing as definitive, incontrovertible right or wrong, good or evil—the disillusionment of the post-World War I era had shaken intellectuals' faith in absolutes. But by the early 1930s the American theologian Reinhold Niebuhr had "rediscovered sin" in his book, *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1932), and developed his ideas in his later works, *The Nature and Destiny of Man* (2 volumes, 1941 and 1943) and *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness* (1944). Niebuhr wrote that humans were inherently sinful, that evil existed in the world, and if history was a march towards progress, then it was a very messy one with lots of stumbling backwards along the way.¹²

Those who doubted the existence of sin in human society only had to look to the horrors of Nazi genocide and the rise of totalitarianism. The Civil War increasingly came to be viewed not as an avoidable tragedy but as a vital crusade against evil.

⁹Allan Nevins, *The Ordeal of the Civil War*, vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947). Nevins' eight-volume history is available in a four-volume reprint version (New York: Collier books, 1992). For further discussion of DeVoto's and Nevins' contributions to the battle against Civil War revisionism, see Schlesinger, Jr., *A Life in the Twentieth Century*, 444-54.

¹⁰Schlesinger, Jr., "The Causes of the Civil War," *ibid.*, 447-48.

¹¹Schlesinger, Jr., *A Life in the Twentieth Century*, 448.

¹²Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941-1945), and *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness: A Vindication of Democracy and a Critique of its Traditional Defense* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944).

Fascism and later Communism (in the late 1940s) were paralleled with slavery; all three came to be viewed as cancerous growths that had to be rooted out for the good of humanity. Think of how often the term "slavery" was used in the nation's Cold War rhetoric in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The term was utilized to describe conditions in the Soviet Union and to describe what life might become in the United States if Americans did not remain vigilant. President Dwight Eisenhower's Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, contended that Harry Truman's Cold War strategy of "containment" had been not only insufficient, but also malign, because it accepted the existence of Communism and sought only to prevent its spread. Dulles argued that America needed to adopt a strategy of "liberation and rollback," to rollback the Communist tide and liberate people living under the Communist yoke. Those oppressed by Communism would be freed by American policy, Dulles argued, and it was quite easy to infer that he was invoking the policy of liberation and rollback as a great moral crusade in the tradition of American abolitionism a century earlier.¹³

Of course, as the civil rights movement entered a new phase of direct political action in the mid 1950s after *Brown v. Board of Education*, the gap between the nation's Cold War rhetoric of securing freedoms for other peoples around the globe and the reality of its own violations of the constitutionally guaranteed freedoms of black Americans at home became more apparent, as Mary Dzubziak's excellent study *Cold War Civil Rights* demonstrates.¹⁴

A moral high ground was established through paralleling World War II with the struggle against slavery and later paralleling the Cold War with that struggle. It was this very same hallowed moral ground that Rumsfeld invoked in reference to the war in Iraq, though references to that moral high ground seem to have largely slipped out of the administration's later rhetoric. The American Civil War is no longer a moral marker in the administration's defense of the Iraq war, in large part because much of Iraq seems to have itself devolved into a state of actual civil war. The parallels of Vietnam, however, have increased, though it is worth noting that with respect to the scale of losses on the part of the U.S. military and the population of the occupied nation that what is happening in Iraq more than five years after the war began is more akin to what played out during the occupation of the Philippines just over a century ago.

But the key point to consider, whether one supports the current war or not, is that, as historians, we draw on current events to reassess the past. The past generally

¹³For an excellent and brief analysis of John Foster Dulles's moralistic and absolutist foreign policy rhetoric, see David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Villard Books, 1993), 389-96; for fuller coverage, see Townsend Hoopes' biography, *The Devil and John Foster Dulles* (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1973), and Richard H. Immerman, *John Foster Dulles: Pity, Pragmatism, and Power in U.S. Foreign Policy* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1999).

¹⁴Mary Dzubziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

does not become more clear and incontestable as we uncover more concrete evidence. On the contrary, our landscapes of the past are reconfigured by the powerful events of the present. The current occupation of Iraq will inform our understanding of the Spanish-American War and the Philippine occupation ("Remember the Maine, to Hell with Spain," 9/11, the War on Terror, Weapons of Mass Destruction, the invasion of Iraq—a touch of historical *déjà vu*?), the Vietnam War, and other conflicts, too, perhaps even the Civil War. What is clear is that the Civil War has become, for historians (and for policymakers) a moral lodestone, one that is used to buttress arguments concerning the validity, necessity, and morality of the nation's involvement in other wars throughout the twentieth and now the twenty-first century. This single historiographical strand alone can help students make some sense of the chronology of modern American history and also find parallels and departures, continuity and change, in the nation's various wartime experiences. American historians and policymakers have conveniently downplayed slavery in general, and, more specifically, slavery as a cause of the Civil War, when it has been in their interests to do so. But there have been other times when the Civil War has been viewed as a righteous crusade against sin that justified other crusades, such as World War II and the Cold War.

We can benefit in our teaching by acknowledging that historiography is history. Historians' divergent interpretations of the past, offered at various times in the past, can be used as primary sources to better inform us about the cultural climates of the past and how the climate of the present has developed out of them. We rediscover the past every time we read a work of historical scholarship written in an earlier era. We should ask "What does this source tell us, not just about the events it covers, but about the time in which it was created?" The context of World War II, the rise and demise of Fascism, and the onset of the Cold War help explain why Schlesinger, Jr. wrote his essay on "The Causes of the Civil War" far more than the discovery of any new evidence does. It was not the discovery of new historical facts, but the reconsideration of which pieces to include in a thoroughly reconstructed picture of the past, that characterized this historiographical shift. By teaching students about these connections, they learn about the causes of the Civil War and about the cultural climates of the post-WW I and post-WW II eras, and about the use of the past by politicians and historians in the present.

It is a messy and dynamic story that we need to tell, but a compelling one, and a better story than the kinds we tell when we clean up history, when we make it neat and tidy, when we standardize and sterilize the past, when we artificially connect all the dots, thereby injecting an air of inevitability into the story and forget that history is in constant dialog with the present, when we make the past, well ... "history." Marching through time is dull, and students are never shy about reminding history instructors of that fact. But when we step off the clear and sterile path of straight historical narrative into the murky, contested, and deeply relevant landscapes of historiography, we enter a past that has meaning for all students of history. This historiographical past is one that better mirrors the messiness of the present and serves as a truly meaningful, albeit complicated, guide to human endeavor in the present and future.

HOW I LEARNED TO STOP WORRYING AND LOVE THE SURVEY

Jonathan Mercantini
Kean University

When I finished graduate studies with a fresh Ph.D. in hand, I set out to conquer the world of academia.¹ I counted myself among the fortunate ones. I had a full-time job, one that would enable me to give up my adjunct workload of five or more classes per semester plus all of the summer session courses available. Although my field of interest was Colonial and Revolutionary America, specifically South Carolina, I had taught more World and Western Civilization (a subtle but important distinction to many historians) than the American survey. Moreover, I had been fortunate enough to land a few upper-level courses—often in areas such as Sports and Race, fields of interest to me but, again, not my research specialty. With my new position I would have the opportunity to work more frequently with students on research projects, hold office hours in an office rather than a coffee lounge, and have more substantive interactions with colleagues. It also would enable me to have the time and access to the library and funding resources to work on revising my manuscript and begin some new research projects.

Yet, what I was looking forward to most of all was getting away from the survey and instead leading discussion seminars filled with motivated undergraduate and graduate students questioning provocative readings. I would be able to select the books I wanted to use, instead of those mandated by the department, typically a single text, with no supplements and no copying budget to distribute even brief documents. I could get desk copies and even examination copies to fill out my bookshelves. (Word of caution, especially to those on one-year or other temporary appointments: Many of those exam copies become simply more boxes to lug from job to job.)

Now I realize that in many ways the survey offers the most rewarding teaching of all. Yes, you get many students who had a bad experience in high school with history. Many others are in majors completely unrelated to history who see the class as wholly irrelevant to their college experience and their world. However, all of that is more than compensated for by turning on students who previously hated history. They do not have to become a history major or minor, but just to get them to appreciate history and its utility, to see its usefulness, and to hate it no longer is, in many ways,

¹The author would like to thank his wife Martha for her help in completing this article and for making him a mindful teacher.

a much greater thrill than two hours discussing recent historiography of the American Revolution with graduate students.²

The survey is the first and often only chance to impress upon students across the college community both the beauty and importance of history. Now more than ever, as the United States confronts new challenges, American history seems to be especially relevant: Consider the violence of American foreign policy; the nation's quest for a global and national self-identity; the rise of the presidency; the balance of public and private rights; tensions with new immigrant groups in a nation of immigrants. All of these stories, generally a part of the American history survey, can and must be cast in a new light. If one of the chief complaints that our students have is that history is irrelevant to their lives and their learning, we can make them grasp its importance. History is everywhere around us and understanding not just the facts but the varied interpretations of people, events, and ideas is crucial to participating in American society.³

Pedagogically, we can do more to make history relevant to our students, their futures, and the world around them. We should emphasize writing, both the technical skills and the reflective practices, more than most academic departments do. We need to broaden our definition of texts, incorporating films, both features and documentaries, as well as music, advertising, and other forms of popular culture into how history continues to be used and contested in America today. Finally, we need to make the survey a course that is energizing and enjoyable for the professor and the students instead of a chore to teach or to take.

The history survey offers a prime opportunity to demonstrate the use and value of the basic skills of history. Many academics get frustrated with the public's understanding of history, which frequently seems more like trivia. Often at social gatherings, I would prefer to tell a new acquaintance that I am anything other than a history professor. Inevitably, you find yourself cornered by a self-proclaimed history "buff" bombarding you with minutiae and questioning how you can have a Ph.D. and not know who Lee's third in command was at Antietam. But in a world in which facts such as that are easily obtainable through a quick Google search, good history is the building block of knowledge and of information literacy. Facts are less important than the ability to read critically, the facility to look at differing opinions and points of view and understand those differences, the power to express yourself both in speaking and writing. All of these skills are useful, no matter what a person's future plans might be.

²There is a large and growing literature on ways to solve the problems of history surveys. For one recent approach see Lendol Calder, "Uncoverage: Toward the Signature Pedagogy for the History Survey," *Journal of American History*, 92 (March 2006), 1358-1370.

³For an outstanding critique of high school textbooks, some of which are used in the college survey, and the way history is taught in general, see James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me* (New York: Touchstone, 1995).

In a global economy what is essential are skills—the ability to find and make sense of all the knowledge constantly bombarding us. This is what we do everyday as historians.

History faculty can make an invaluable contribution to the university community and to society in general by helping students improve their writing. I am not advocating that we all become writing teachers, but I am confident that we can help students strengthen this vital life skill. And even those students who cannot see the relevance of history to their future should be able to see the importance of the ability to write to their future. Evaluating a variety of sources and reaching some kind of conclusion is not an exercise unique to historians.⁴ Yet, in an era in which departments throughout the Arts and Sciences compete for scarce resources, the potential to add additional majors or double majors and the ability to contribute to interdepartmental programs can make the difference in getting an additional faculty line.

I have found that writing is promoted best through short response papers. To further encourage students to work toward improving their grade over the course of the semester, I drop their lowest paper grade. Obviously some students simply take this opportunity to not hand in one of their assigned essays, but for many others it motivates them to work to improve their writing skills. It is also necessary to devise other ways to get students to think about their writing. On the day that the first essay is due, I devote the class session to peer review exercises.⁵ I have students read other student papers as peer readers and evaluate the papers according to a rubric I have developed, with points awarded for content, style, proper citation, organizations, and more. (See Appendix A for grading rubric.) This evaluation is double-blind, so that neither the reader nor the author knows who the other is. Each paper is evaluated by a minimum of two students.

This exercise works on a number of levels. It gives students feedback from their peers and not just me as the instructor. It helps them to see some common mistakes, maybe some they struggle with themselves. One unexpected benefit is that it clarifies for my students what I look for in an essay. My initial expectation was that students would award higher grades than me. I was surprised to find most of them to be tough graders, actually stricter than me in many cases. I was also pleasantly surprised by the consistency I found in having multiple students grade the same papers. More than three-fourths were within a plus or minus of their peers. The assignment has proven

⁴Stephen Adkison, Laura Woodworth-Ney, and Ronald Hatzenbuehler, "Writing History: Writing Assessment Design and Evaluation in Two American History Survey Courses," paper presented at the Annual National Writing Across the Curriculum Conference, Bloomington, IN, 2001.

⁵For one look at peer review exercises, see Stephen Kneeshaw, "Using Reader Response to Improve Student Writing in History," *OAH Magazine of History*, 13 (1999), 62-65—available online at <http://www.oah.org/pubs/magazine/progressive/kneeshaw.html>.

to be so successful that students who missed class have asked me to give their paper to other students so they can participate and benefit.⁶

These writing exercises have an additional advantage of forcing students to reflect on their writing. This adds another dimension of learning to what they have read and what we have discussed and emphasized in class. Students also begin to understand that writing is a skill, not a gift. I often point out to my classes that, if Thomas Jefferson needed help editing the Declaration of Independence, then we can all benefit from someone else reading and critiquing our written work.

But the survey cannot just be about writing. Nor can it be exclusively lecture.⁷ With evidence overwhelmingly proving that lecture is often the least effective form of conveying knowledge, other teaching styles must be brought into the classroom. Although I have found that students respond much better to PowerPoint than to my old-school lectures in which I used the chalkboard (and, no, I do not provide my PowerPoints as handouts to the students), the monotony of lecture must be broken up.⁸ This can be accomplished in a number of ways. One approach is to divide the class into small groups. Whether in breaking down the day's reading assignment or working on a project in and out of the classroom, today's students seem to respond better to working in teams.⁹

A favorite group exercise is a mock Constitutional Convention, with students working in small groups to represent a state at the Philadelphia convention. The entire class must work together, to reach compromises and overcome disagreements, to write a Constitution. In the five years I have done this assignment, the finished project rarely looks like what the Founders devised in 1787. In order to prevent students who do not contribute from benefitting from the handiwork of their team, each member gives a grade to each student in the group and evaluates their own contribution to the rest of the group, using a rubric that each student receives in advance. (See Appendix B for

⁶Peer grading was upheld by the United State Supreme court in *Owasso Independent School District vs. Falvo*, in February 2002. See Philip M. Sadler and Eddie Good, "The Impact of Self and Peer Grading on Student Learning," *Educational Assessment*, 11 (March 2006), 1-31. Other research indicates that peer grading is generally seen as successful by students and is generally an accurate measure of student achievement. See Patricia McLaughlin and Nicholas Simpson, "Peer Assessment in First Year University: How the Students Feel," *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, 30 (2004), 135-49.

⁷For an interesting commentary on the lecture method, see Robert Blackey, "New Wine in Old Bottles: Revitalizing the Traditional History Lecture," *Teaching History*, 22:1 (Spring 1997), 3-25.

⁸Barbara A. Frey and David J. Birnbaum, "Learners Perceptions on the Value of PowerPoint in Lectures," January 31, 2002, accessed via ERIC.

⁹Diana Oblinger, "Boomers, Gen-Xers and Millenials: Understanding the New Students," *EDUCAUSE*, July/August 2003, 37-47.

grading rubric.) When read collectively, these give a good impression of what went on behind the scenes and enables me to adjust individual grades appropriately.

I also use a variety of audio-visual resources as another way to alter my classroom pedagogy. I have screened Hollywood movies such as *The Patriot*, *Glory*, and most recently *The New World* in my classes. Obviously none of these films is history the way we would want our students to learn it. But they are powerful texts for critical thinking exercises. Using *The Patriot*, for example, we can ask "What is wrong with Hollywood's portrayal of slaves in South Carolina during the American Revolution?" At a more basic level, these kinds of films teach fundamental lessons about how history is used in mainstream society. Politicians, advertising agencies, and Hollywood all manipulate American history constantly and students can and need to be taught to recognize that.¹⁰

I also like to use films to break up the routine of devoting class solely to lecture and discussion. One favorite tactic is to cancel class during the day and screen the movie at night, allowing students to view the movie in its entirety and with the whole class. Although this means that students are technically in class for a longer period of time, they feel better about it because they did not have their regular class session. Viewing films as a class at night becomes a social experience, with the audience laughing, grasping, and learning together.

Within the normal class session, documentaries and PBS "reality" shows, such as *Frontier House* and *Colonial House*, can be useful, both for providing visuals and for inviting outside experts to weigh in on history. In an even shorter form, *Schoolhouse Rock* episodes, those three-minute lessons that appeared after a Saturday morning spent watching cartoons, offer a fun and entertaining account of some historical events. These visuals all must be used critically. *Schoolhouse Rock* in particular seems like a dated 1970s version of the consensus school of American history, but it has the benefits of holding student interest and provoking discussion on history and its uses.¹¹

It is also useful to incorporate popular culture into the history curriculum. Chevrolet's "An American Revolution" and "This is my country" campaigns and Nike's "Don't Tread on Me" ads promoting the U.S. men's soccer team for the 2006 World Cup were useful for applying American history to popular culture. This is an easy example of how history is relevant, of how perception and popular knowledge about a certain subject is manipulated to construct an image in the public mind. These ad campaigns were designed to tap into our prior knowledge about a topic with a

¹⁰Ryan Sprau, "I Saw It in the Movies: Suggestions for Incorporating Film and Experiential Learning in the College History Survey Course," *College Student Journal*, 35 (March 2001), 1.

¹¹John E. O'Connor, "Reading, Writing and Critical Viewing: Coordination Skill Development in History Learning," *The History Teacher*, 34 (February 2001), 183-192.

positive connotation. After all, don't we all embrace the American Revolution every July 4, as the nation's birthday and the dawn of freedom and liberty? What better way to express that freedom than purchasing a new Chevy or a pair of Nikes?

If people, our students included, were not interested in history, then big-budget movies such as *Gladiator* and *Pearl Harbor* would not get made. There would not be a television channel devoted to history, which now has several variations on digital cable and DirecTV, if America were not tuning in to history. We cannot be afraid to use this popular interest for history in our classes. Yes, the student who watches the History Channel uncritically and who is only interested in military history has much to "unlearn" in the American history survey as it is frequently taught. But a large part of that responsibility falls on us, the classroom instructor, to harness that interest in history and turn it to productive purposes.

All of this is not to say that I do not enjoy upper-level and graduate courses in my areas of specialty. I do. I have found, however, that these courses always help inform my survey as well. Reading new monographs or simply discussing shopworn topics with a new group of students provides additional insights into survey subjects. Information for specialized classes is converted easily into materials for the survey. This has the added benefit of keeping things fresh for both me and my students. Instead of just "pressing play," I'm adding new scholarship and anecdotes to the survey course.

Similarly, that is why I take the opportunity to teach the second-half of the survey (American history since 1865). Although outside of my primary research interests, this course offers an opportunity to cover topics and themes of interest to me but outside of areas I normally teach. I will not be publishing on the 1960s, but it is still enjoyable to teach about the civil rights movement or apply lessons of the Vietnam War to contemporary American society. If anything, incorporating movies, music, and popular culture is easier in the second half of the American history survey than it is in the course ending with the Civil War.

This is just a small sampling of ideas that I have used to reinvigorate my history teaching.¹² Although many of them have been discussed and dissected before, my point is to show how easily they can become a part of classroom routine. We would not be in the profession if we did not love it. Almost all of us, I suspect, consider ourselves lucky to have a career in which we get paid to do something we love. In addition, we have the opportunity to make a difference. We can turn our students on to history, even if they had previously despised the subject. We can show them that history is relevant to the primary questions and issues facing the United States today as well as to the central mission of higher education. As a profession, there is simply no excuse for not embracing this challenge. There is no reason not to experiment with new teaching

¹²For a survey of recent articles on improving content and interest in history classes, see Allen E. Yarema, "A Decade of Debate: Improving Content and Interest in History Education," *The History Teacher*, 35 (May 2002), 389-398.

methods or to use all of the facets of modern society to apply the skills of the historian's craft. We can and should be doing more to use new technologies, to appeal to different learning styles, and to reach as broad an audience as possible. We must not let the survey become a chore. Instead, we should seize it as an opportunity to take risks in our teaching to attract others to a field we love.

APPENDIX A: Peer Grading Rubric—Writing Exercises

Paper Title _____

Your Name _____ Paper's Last Initial _____ ID# _____

Instructions: Evaluate the paper based on the criteria listed below. Please do not write on the paper itself, but feel free to make additional written comments on the bottom and reverse of this page.

Content (30 points) _____

Does the paper answer the question in a comprehensive manner?

Does the author present his/her opinions instead of just summarizing the readings?

Does the author have a clear thesis?

Does the author demonstrate s/he has read and understood all of the readings?

Sources and Evidence (20 points) _____

Does the author make sufficient use of evidence from the readings, including quotes?

Are sources properly cited?

Organization (20 points) _____

Does the paper flow logically from the beginning to end, sustaining and proving the thesis?

Does the first paragraph introduce the author's argument clearly and concisely?

Does the author summarize the main ideas in the conclusion?

Style/Grammar (20 points) _____

Is the paper easy to read and understand?

Does the author make proper use of grammar (no run-ons, fragments, etc.), punctuation, and vocabulary?

Does the author vary phrasings and sentence structure?

Overall Assessment (10 points) _____

What is your overall analysis of this paper? _____

Total Points _____

Make any additional comments here and on the back.

**APPENDIX B: Peer Grading Rubric—
Constitutional Convention Activity**

Name _____

Group _____

At the bottom, please write the name of every member of your group, including yourself, then assess the degree to which each member of the team fulfilled his/her responsibilities to the group. Assessments are as follows:

- Excellent** Consistently went above and beyond. Aided teammates, carried more of the load than his/her share.
- Very Good** Consistently did what she/he was supposed to do. Active participant in the group's activities. Well prepared and cooperative.
- Satisfactory** Usually did what he/she was supposed to. Adequately prepared.
- Ordinary** Did some of what he/she was supposed to. Minimally prepared.
- Marginal** Did not fully participate, few contributions. Rarely prepared.
- Deficient** Rarely participated in the group. Unprepared.
- Unsatisfactory** Consistently failed to complete assignments and responsibilities.

Name

Assessment

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Your Signature _____

You may use the back or another sheet to add additional comments/justifications for each assessment. You must provide a paragraph stating your contribution in greater detail.

ENCOURAGING STUDENTS TO READ THE TEXTS: THE JIGSAW METHOD

Cynthia Resor
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"The information in the book will be on the exam" is probably the most common technique used to inspire college history students to read assigned texts. Unfortunately, this vague threat does not always encourage students to read and analyze the assignment carefully. College history students are much more likely to read assigned monographs, chapters, or articles if the instructor provides a specific purpose for the assignment. The jigsaw method is a teaching and learning strategy with a specific purpose that can promote comprehension and retention as well as encourage in-depth scrutiny of assigned readings. Additionally, students enjoy the peer interaction involved in jigsaw activities and instructors appreciate lessons in which students must take the initiative.

The jigsaw method was first introduced to elementary and secondary teachers in the late 1970s as a method that could produce academic and social-emotional gains.¹ The method was one of many cooperative learning methods developed in response to the research of David Johnson, Roger Johnson, and Robert Slavin. Johnson, Johnson, Slavin, and many other researchers conducted numerous empirical studies in school settings, finding that cooperative learning enhanced student achievement in all grade levels, all subjects, and among all type of students. Many additional outcomes have been documented, including improvements in self-esteem, group relationships, attitudes toward school, and acceptance of and ability to work with others.² While not as widely researched in the college classroom, positive results have been reported in biology, chemistry, geology, statistics, sociology, and psychology classes.³

¹Elliot Aronson, Nancy Blaney, Cookie Stephan, Jev Sikes, and Matthew Snapp, *The Jigsaw Classroom* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1978); Elliot Aronson and Shelley Patnoe, *The Jigsaw Classroom*, second edition (New York: Addison Wesley Educational Publishers, Inc., 1997).

²Arthur K. Ellis, *Research on Educational Innovations*, second edition (Larchmont, NY: Eye on Education, 2005), 178-179.

³Deborah S. Temperly, "Cooperative Learning in the Community College Classroom, Teaching Students to Teach Themselves in the 'Jigsaw Classroom,'" *Journal of College Science Teaching*, 24 (November 1994), 94-97; Joseph C. Colosi and Charlotte Rappe, "Jigsaw Cooperative Learning Improves Biology Lab Courses," *Bioscience*, 48 (February 1998), 118-24; G. Douglas Martin, "Cooperative Learning in Chemistry Tutorials, Assessing the Effectiveness of Group Learning Strategies," *Journal of College Science Teaching*, 25 (September/October 1995), 20-23; S.W. Tina Choe and Philippa Drennan, "Analyzing Scientific Literature Using a Jigsaw Group Activity," *Journal of College Science Teaching*, 30 (February 2001), 328-330; Terri Lynn Constantopoul, "A Cooperative Approach to Teaching Mineral Identification," *Journal of Geographic Education*, 42 (May 1994), 261-263; David V. Perkins (continued...)

During the activity, students must discuss an assigned reading with one group of peers and teach the material to another group of peers. The acts of reading, discussing, and teaching reinforce student learning. Furthermore, a jigsaw activity places the responsibility of mastering the material firmly on the shoulders of students.

Description of Jigsaw Method

In the jigsaw method, students are divided into two groups, the expert group and the teaching group. The members of the vertical groupings—the expert groups—are assigned the same reading (refer to vertical columns in chart below labeled Chapter 1, Chapter 2, etc.). Each student reads assigned material and prepares a handout that will assist in teaching the material to the students in the horizontal grouping. The horizontal groups are the teaching groups (refer to horizontal columns labeled Group A, Group B, etc.). The students in the teaching group actually teach their assigned reading to their peers, providing each student in the group with a concise handout that summarizes the material.

For example, referring to the chart below, Student 6 would read Chapter 1, discuss Chapter 1 with her expert group consisting of students 1, 5, 10, and 14 who also read Chapter 1. Then Student 6 would teach Chapter 1 to her teaching group consisting of Students 7, 8, and 9.

	Chapter 1	Chapter 2	Chapter 3	Chapter 4
Group A	Student 1 & Student 5	Student 2	Student 3	Student 4
Group B	Student 6	Student 7	Student 8	Student 9
Group C	Student 10	Student 11	Student 12	Student 13
Group D	Student 14	Student 15	Student 16	Student 17

Advance Preparation

Prior to introducing the lesson, the instructor must prepare a chart similar to the one above that assigns each student to an expert and a teaching group. Teaching groups should be no larger than five students so as to allow each student to participate fully in

³(...continued)

and Renee N. Saris, "A 'Jigsaw Classroom' Technique for Undergraduate Statistics Courses," *Teaching of Psychology*, 28 (2001), 111-113; Timothy Hedeon, "The Reverse Jigsaw: A Process of Cooperative Learning and Discussion," *Teaching Sociology*, 31 (July 2003), 325-332; David W. Carroll, "Use of the Jigsaw Technique in Laboratory and Discussion Classes," *Teaching of Psychology*, 13 (May 2001), 111-13.

the activity. Many classes will have an "odd" number of students that do not fit neatly into the chart. In this case, two students might be assigned to the same "block" and share the teaching responsibilities (refer to Student 1 and Student 5 in the chart above).

The instructor must also select appropriate texts. Each assigned selection should be similar in length and complexity. The instructor should carefully analyze what she or he wants students to learn from the text and prepare appropriate guiding questions for students. Specific examples of assignments are provided below.

Day 1: Introduce jigsaw and assign reading material

On the first day of this exercise the instructor must explain the concept of the jigsaw activity, provide students with the jigsaw chart, and outline the timeline for completion of the assignment. Students should receive a printed timeline for the activity as well as detailed instructions for the handout that they will provide to members of their teaching group.

In my experience, the handout that students prepare should be limited to a one-page, typed outline of the material. The one-page limitation forces students to think carefully about the most important points. Each student is responsible for making enough copies to provide one to each teaching group member, as well as a copy for the instructor. The instructor might also require each student to write appropriate test or quiz questions over the assigned material. Only fifteen to twenty minutes of the class period are needed to introduce the jigsaw activity.

Day 2: Expert groups meet

By the second day of the activity, students should have completed the reading assignment. The second day might be the class period immediately following the introduction of the activity if shorter texts are assigned or the second day might take place several class periods later in order to allow students more time to read longer assignments. Class time during the second class meeting is dedicated to a discussion of the text among the expert group members. This discussion allows the students who read the same material to ask questions, share thoughts, and clarify their thinking about the reading material. The instructor visits each group, answering questions that arise. Meetings of the expert groups might take as little as fifteen minutes or as long as the entire class period, depending upon the length and complexity of the material.

Day 3: Teaching groups meet

Students must come to class the third day of the jigsaw activity prepared to teach and must bring the required number of copies of their handouts. Students meet with the members of the teaching group, each taking a turn to teach the material to the other students in the teaching group. This phase of the activity takes the longest amount of class time, as each student must have sufficient time to present the material and answer relevant questions.

The instructor should indicate the time limit for each student presentation and assign one group member in each teaching group the responsibility of keeping time. For example, each student within each group might be allowed from fifteen to twenty minutes to teach the assigned material. As each group finishes, the instructor should provide a list of discussion questions to the teaching groups to insure that the most important points have been covered. The meetings of the teaching groups might take more than one class period, depending upon the length and complexity of the assigned readings.

Common Problems

The most common problem occurs when a group member does not attend class on the teaching day, creating a gap in the information learned by the remaining teaching group members. One method that can effectively prevent unnecessary absences is to assign a substantial grade for attendance on Day 3, the teaching day. But student absences still might occur. In such a case, the instructor should obtain a copy of the handout of that particular reading from another student with the same reading assignment and make photocopies to provide to the teaching group with the absent member.

I have unusually high success in motivating students to read their assignment carefully and prepare high quality handouts when I use the jigsaw method. A few students have missed class on the teaching day, but no student has come completely unprepared. Students know from the outset that their peers will judge their performance and this type of peer pressure is an excellent motivator. But if a particular student fails to do her or his part, the other students will be "cheated" of that information. In the rare case that a student has not completed the required reading or done a poor job of summarizing the material for teaching group members, I simply provide that student's teaching group with a copy of a high-quality student handout from another group and mark down the grade of the student who made a substandard contribution. Additionally, the instructor can add a student rating system in which each student provides the instructor with a confidential evaluation of the performance of each of her or his group members. An average of the ratings of the group members might be added to the total grade for the jigsaw assignment.

Prior to introducing this activity for the first time in a college classroom, I had serious reservations, many based on my own negative experiences with group activities. First, my classes commonly contain many types of students with busy schedules (traditional on-campus students, commuters, and non-traditional students) that resent scheduling time outside of class to meet as a group. When introducing the jigsaw activity, I make it very clear that students are not expected to meet as a group outside of class. My second reservation was that the students would think that the activity involved too much pointless interaction with peers or that it was too elementary for the college classroom. But, to my surprise, in course evaluations, students consistently

mentioned jigsaw activities in positive terms. In fact, students in upper-level and graduate courses are the most enthusiastic about this approach.

Examples

Reading assignments in my classes often serve two purposes: reading for a broad, factual understanding, and reading to critically analyze. These purposes might overlap in the same reading or the reading might only serve one of the two. The following discussion will provide examples of each.

Jigsaw for "Learning the Facts"

In a sophomore-level course that introduces the early Middle Ages, I want students to have an understanding of the daily life of various medieval environments and how the diverse groups of people within these environments interacted. I assign four chapters from Jeffrey L. Singman's *Daily Life in the Medieval Europe*: "Village Life," "Castle Life," "Monastic Life," and "Town Life."⁴ In order to prevent students from becoming overwhelmed by the details in the chapter, I provide guiding questions to assist in their preparation of the lesson and handouts. For example, students should address the following issues: What is the formal or informal system of government used within the environment described in your chapter? What are the distinct socio-economic groups in this environment? What economic activity supports the members of each socio-economic group? In what ways does the Roman Catholic Church influence economic activity, governing, and social activity?

When the teaching groups meet (on Day 3), I provide the following final questions for discussion after the conclusion of each student's lesson: How do the systems of government of each environment overlap? What are the similarities and differences in the socio-economic groups? How are the economies related? How is the influence of the Church the same, or different, in each group? Students are expected not only to discuss these issues, but also to take notes recording the conclusions of the group. Finally, I lead the entire class in a discussion during which the answers to these questions are carefully examined. This final discussion provides both a review and an opportunity to clarify main points and correct misconceptions.

Jigsaw for Critical Analysis

The critical analysis of texts also can be encouraged using the jigsaw method. The instructor might choose sets of primary sources, excerpts from the work of historians with conflicting opinions, or contradictory opinion pieces on current issues.

⁴Jeffrey L. Singman, *Daily Life in Medieval Europe* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999).

For example, the assigned readings can be primary sources that describe the same event from different viewpoints.⁵ Or, the readings might represent the spectrum of interpretations on a particular issue, incident, or era.

An especially useful text for the student of medieval historiography is Rosenwein and Little's *Debating the Middle Ages*. This text contains a set of five to six essays by different historians in four key areas of study: the fate of Rome's western provinces; feudalism; gender; and religion and society.⁶ Each set of essays might be used as a separate jigsaw activity and placed within a medieval survey or historiography course as an introduction or conclusion to the study of the appropriate time period or theme.

Numerous collections of primary sources are available from textbook companies that provide sources organized by era or topic. These short selections can be readily assigned and analyzed using the jigsaw method. For a more challenging primary source analysis, I ask students to analyze interpretations of Charlemagne by assigning students one of the following works about Charlemagne: the epic *Song of Roland*, Einhard's *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, or the medieval "gab,"⁷ *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*.⁸ In this extended jigsaw, each of the primary sources is divided into three sections and discussion of the expert groups extends over several class periods as students complete each section. It is essential that the instructor spend time with each of the expert groups to explain the differing literary forms and context of each source. When the teaching groups convene, each student shares the details of the assigned account of Charlemagne as well as information about literary form. After student presentations on each source, teaching groups compare and contrast the three accounts of Charlemagne. Key questions to be answered include the following: What is true and what is not? How can

⁵A. Vincent Ciardiello described a high school jigsaw activity in which students compare conflicting primary sources pertaining to the ratification of the U.S. Constitution in "A Jigsaw Strategy: Teaching Opposing Viewpoints on the Ratification of the United States Constitution," *OAH Magazine of History*, 7 (Summer 1993), 8-11.

⁶Barbara H. Rosenwein and Lester K. Little, eds., *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings* (London: Blackwell Publishing Limited, 1998).

⁷The gab begins with a boast or jest which is followed by a challenge to perform the deed. This form of literature was generally associated with drinking alcohol. In this story, Charlemagne is goaded by his queen to prove that he is greater than Hugo the Strong of Constantinople. Charlemagne and the Twelve Peers make a hilarious pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Constantinople to prove the queen wrong. John L. Grigsby, *The Gab as a Latent Genre in Medieval French Literature, Drinking and Boasting in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 2000).

⁸*The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne (Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne)*, ed. and trans. Glyn S. Burgess, introduction by Anne Elizabeth Cobby, vol. 47, Series A of the Garland Library of Medieval Literature (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988). Various editions of the *Song of Roland* and Einhard's *Two Lives of Charlemagne* are widely available.

historians distinguish between the two? When do truth and myth merge? What purposes do truth and myth serve? What parallels can be made to current events?

I especially enjoy providing students current events articles written from varying political viewpoints, encouraging them to pinpoint the affiliation and argument of their article, and then asking them to compare this view with the vastly different views represented in the articles of their peers. For example, for a lesson about modern public school funding in a graduate-level education course on "Teachers, Schools, and Society," I assign students to review the websites of five groups with diverse views on the issue of public school funding and choose a polemical article from each website.⁹ I print the article from each website for each of the five expert groups and provide the students with the link to the website. Students are expected to analyze the argument of each author or group and distinguish between fact and opinion, visiting the website to learn about the sponsoring organization if necessary. Guidelines for the handout and lesson include the following: 1. Research the background and mission of the author or group and explain to peers how this mission is illustrated in the article. 2. Explain the argument utilized in the article and analyze its truthfulness and its effectiveness on the intended audience. 3. Explain whether you agree or disagree with the argument presented in the article. As with the "just the facts" jigsaw, a whole-group discussion session is needed at the end of the group meetings during which the instructor clarifies main points and corrects student misconceptions.

Student evaluation of the jigsaw activities in my classes are consistently positive. Most comments convey that the jigsaw method made the content more interesting and promoted more in-depth thought and critical analysis. One student said that "it was fun and enlightening because it brought to light things I hadn't considered." Others noted that reading and discussing helped them to better form their own opinion, and they enjoyed hearing more than just the instructor's voice. A few noted that they "had" to learn the material because they were expected to teach it. I would have preferred that students view learning as less of a chore, but they believed that the jigsaw assisted them in the burdensome task of scholarship. Several students preferred the jigsaw method because it lightened their reading load. This was clearly an advantage in the eyes of students, a somewhat discouraging comment for instructor. The most common negative

⁹A. Alliance for the Separation of Church & State, <http://www.schoolandstate.org/home.htm>, Chris

Cardiff, "What about the Poor?" <http://www.schoolandstate.org/kb-CardiffWhatAboutPoor.htm>.

B. People for the American Way, <http://www.pfaw.org/pfaw/general>, "Florida Vouchers Under Fire: Outcry From All Sides Over Investigations and Mismangement,"

<http://www.pfaw.org/pfaw/general/default.aspx?oid=13709>.

C. American Enterprise Institute, <http://www.aei.org>, Frederic Hess, "Soaring School Spending," April 14, 2004.

D. The Committee for Education Funding, <http://www.cef.org>, "The FACTS About Education Funding," <http://www.cef.org/press/pr021105.asp>.

E. Hoover Institution, <http://www.hoover.org>, Eric Haushek, "The Truth About Teacher Salaries and Student Achievement," reprinted from *The Weekly Standard*, April 3, 2000.

comments described concerns that peers had not carefully read and summarized their assigned material. The most interesting group of comments revolved around the objective and subjective nature of history. These students were frustrated by the jigsaw activity because they seemed to be seeking one undeniably correct version of what really happened in the past. One student described this dissatisfaction in the following statement: "The true message can get lost in the political agenda, just tell me what I need to know." These telling comments demonstrated that students might have conceptions of the nature of history very different from my own. As a result, early in each course I directly address the objective and subjective nature of the discipline of history.

Summary

The jigsaw method is an excellent strategy for the college history classroom. This approach promotes critical reading and discussion skills and retention of the material through teaching and discussion among small groups. Students enjoy the activity because they take an active role in historical analysis and discussion and are given an opportunity to develop their thoughts and opinions in conversation with peers. Instructors take pleasure in the jigsaw activity because students become more responsible for their learning, actually read the text, and actively take part in debating historical topics.

INCORPORATING FILMS INTO A HISTORY CLASSROOM: A TEACHING NOTE

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While reading and writing remain at the core of the history classes that I teach, it is simply a fact of life that, as Robert Toplin and Robert Rosenstone have argued persuasively, students tend to receive most of their history through film and television.¹ Accordingly, it is imperative that history teachers provide them with some tools for visual literacy. Faculty and students discuss these topics today in the nation's graduate schools, but when I was pursuing my advanced degrees in history, no consideration was given to the subject of film. I found it necessary to educate myself in the grammar of film by reading such essential texts as David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson's *Film Art*.² History teachers also must recognize that there are differences between history on film and traditional historical writing, but it is important to acknowledge that both films and monographs are reconstructions of the past. In telling about the past, filmmakers as historians must compress certain details and characters to fit within a two-hour format. History teachers should concentrate on whether cinematic history contributes to our understanding of the larger historical truths rather than focusing on the minutia of detail.

While I have been fortunate over the last quarter century to teach a senior-year elective that uses popular film as a primary source through which to examine the formation of values and ideology in post-World War II America, I also try to incorporate the study of film into the eleventh-grade American history survey class. I believe that many of the issues that I introduce in this college preparatory course are applicable to college and university history curriculum and classrooms as well.

Time is certainly an issue with film in the classroom, so in most cases I simply utilize film clips running from five to fifteen minutes to illustrate a point. Preparing these clips certainly takes some time and energy, as teachers must carefully select a brief segment of the film that visually illustrates the point that they wish to make with the class. Also in feature narrative films, it is certainly essential to establish for the class the characters and plot context for the selected clip. Accordingly, the scenes employed in the classroom need to be introduced carefully.

We do make some use of documentaries (such as the work of Ken Burns on jazz, baseball, the Civil War, and Mark Twain), but students need guidance to understand that "documentary" does not necessarily mean accuracy and objectivity. To illustrate this point, we spend some time with the amusing 1980s documentary *Atomic Café* that

¹Robert Brent Toplin, *Reel History: In Defense of Hollywood* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2002), and Robert Rosenstone, *History on Film/Film on History* (New York: Longman, 2006).

²David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, *Film Art: An Introduction* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2004).

shows clips of life under threat from an atomic cloud in the late forties and fifties. We examine how the film fits into the political discourse of the 1980s surrounding Ronald Reagan's efforts to reinvigorate the Cold War in the early years of his presidency. Generally speaking, students do not enjoy documentaries, which they perceive as being dominated by the talking-head expert, but this is not the case in *Atomic Café*.

Noting this general aversion to documentaries among students, I tend to rely on clips from Hollywood features to tweak student interest and provide some visual historical reconstructions. In addition, this approach allows for an examination of the role played by Hollywood in shaping the national consciousness. The idea is not that Hollywood is an accurate historian, but rather that popular films also tend to reflect the ideological assumptions of the time period in which they were made. Thus, teachers can employ popular films as primary sources through which to examine ideological developments in the twentieth century, just as scholars often use novels to study nineteenth-century America. For example, a film such as the classic western *High Noon* (1952) is valuable not for what little light the film might shed upon the American West, but rather as an allegorical text that might tell us a great deal about such concerns of the 1950s as the Cold War, conformity in the suburbs, McCarthyism, and the Hollywood Ten.

I would like to describe specifically a few of the clips that I use and the teaching points that I try to make with them. Mel Gibson's *The Patriot* (2000) allows students to envision how the Revolutionary War battlefield looked, but of greater significance is how the film might be misleading. In one section, the film depicts how an enslaved man earns his freedom by fighting for the patriots. This was certainly possible, as approximately 5000 slaves followed this path to freedom. However, someone not educated in the larger historical reality of the American Revolution might come away from this film assuming that most enslaved people were freed following the war, rather than recognizing that the ideology of the Revolution failed to alter the status of most slaves.

Students also enjoy looking at the Walt Disney production of *Davy Crockett, King of the Wild Frontier* (1956). It is somewhat campy today, but the popularity of the Crockett series and its merchandising tell us a great deal about the values of the 1950s. We also deconstruct some of the mythology surrounding Crockett and the Alamo, examining the fact that one of the liberties for which the Texans were fighting was the right to hold slaves. Students also investigate contemporary scholarship that suggests that Crockett's role at the Alamo might have been less heroic than portrayed in the cinema. I like to have students grapple with the question of whether we should attempt to correct mythology with historical accuracy that might undermine traditional heroes.

Perhaps one of the most important issues regarding the power of popular culture comes with the screening of D.W. Griffith's epic *Birth of a Nation* (1915). While the film is important for its contributions to cinematic art, we concentrate on the film's historical representation of Reconstruction. We only screen about thirty minutes of the

film, for cinema of the silent era fails to engage most young people. They are, nevertheless, shocked and appalled by many of the film's racist images. But what we try to do in class is dig somewhat deeper, investigating how Griffith's film reflects race relations in the Progressive era. President Woodrow Wilson's endorsement of the film, protest by the NAACP, and the sexual politics of the film illustrate well to students how, amid the context of the Great Migration out of the South, the post-World War I period was characterized by racial violence and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan on a national level. The imagery of the rape of the South is also perpetuated by *Gone With the Wind* (1939). In a brief film clip Scarlet O'Hara is attacked by freedmen and scalawags, but she is saved by her loyal former slaves. She is avenged by a group of night riders—the film avoids calling them the Klan—who destroy the freedmen's camp.

While historiography is not a major component of the course, students read a few pages from William Dunning's work on Reconstruction, and they recognize that Griffith's interpretation parallels that of some historians. In fact, several enterprising students examined Klan web pages, discovering that the Dunning/Griffith/*Gone With the Wind* interpretation of Reconstruction continues to be perpetuated on the political fringe. Students recognize that contemporary historians have discredited the Dunning school, but many point out that in a less crude fashion, despite the best effort of scholars such as Eric Foner, the image of the South at the mercy of uneducated freedmen and scalawags in conjunction with ruthless carpetbaggers still carries considerable weight with the American public, demonstrating the power of popular culture.³

Mythology is also an essential element of examining the American West and its cinematic image. We look at clips from John Ford's cavalry trilogy, *Fort Apache* (1948), *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), and *Rio Grande* (1950), considering how the films tend to reinforce Cold War attitudes and how Anglo settlement is portrayed as a civilizing factor. For contrast, it is useful to show a clip from *Little Big Man* (1970), asking students why General George Armstrong Custer is now depicted as a villain in popular culture. Finally, for how outdated cowboy imagery might be for the contemporary world, a short clip from *Dr. Strangelove* (1964), depicting Slim Pickens slamming on a cowboy hat and preparing to go to nuclear war "toe-to-toe with the Russkies," is most effective.

In general, Hollywood cinema, controlled primarily by white males, has perpetuated stereotypes of African-Americans, and well-intended liberal films have a tendency to deny black agency and pit evil racist whites against saintly white liberals, while blacks are placed on the political sidelines. Examples of this white liberal approach include such films as *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1962), *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967), *Mississippi Burning* (1988), and *Amistad* (1997). I show clips from

³William Dunning, *Reconstruction: Political and Economic, 1865-1877* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1907), and Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

these films primarily to show how Hollywood's history can be misleading, even if on the surface the message is an affirmative one. While it is true that students generally do not care for documentaries, to provide them with a greater understanding of black agency, I include segments from *Eyes on the Prize* (Set I in 1992 and Set II in 1993), an excellent study of the civil rights movement produced for public television. An African-American feature film perspective might be introduced by examining the controversial cinema of director Spike Lee in films such as *Do the Right Thing* (1989) and *Malcolm X* (1992), both of which provide excellent supplementary material for any class reading *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*.

Overall there is a tendency to perceive the civil rights movement in terms of black and white race relations, but in the Southwest where I teach and really everywhere it is important to recognize that stories about the Chicano and Native American struggle need to be incorporated into the historical narrative. *Chicano! History of the Mexican Civil Rights Movement* (1996) and *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* (1990), both of which aired on public television, have proven successful in broadening student horizons. Fortunately, Hollywood is becoming somewhat more accessible to Latinos and Native Americans, and teachers now have the opportunity to introduce clips from such films as *Mi Familia* (1995) and *Smoke Signals* (1998).

Insecurities regarding the post-World War II role of women in American society can be addressed in the immediate postwar years by examining the popular Hollywood production *Mildred Pierce* (1945), starring Joan Crawford. More positive depictions of working-class women in post-World War II America—albeit in later decades—can be found in films such as *Norma Rae* (1979) and *Silkwood* (1983).

Hollywood films need not always be viewed as perpetuating stereotypes and misunderstanding of historical events. For example, *Glory* (1990), which tells the story of the black 54th Massachusetts regiment during the Civil War, is inaccurate when it comes to some historical details, but it deserves credit for calling popular attention to an often neglected but important aspect of American history, providing a greater sense of black agency than most Hollywood films.

One of the few films that I usually screen in its entirety is director John Sayles's *Matewan* (1987), which focuses upon a post-World War I coal strike in West Virginia. I take valuable class time for this film as my students, many of whom tend to be affluent or middle class, often have difficulty grasping the sacrifices and contributions made by the working class. They are often quick to adopt the perspective of Frederick Jackson

Turner, arguing that discontented workers should have moved west and taken advantage of the Homestead Act. In *Matewan*, Sayles provides a visual narrative that explains to students why forging a labor movement was really the only viable alternative for coal miners. Economic exploitation such as payment in scrip, use of company detectives, government suppression to prevent unionization, manipulation of ethnic and religious divisions to divide the workers, the role of violence, and working-class solidarity are all themes that Sayles incorporates into his film. In a nation in

which our labor heritage seems to be in danger of being lost, *Matewan* serves as a crucial reminder of our working-class legacy.

I have found clips from some of the films introduced above to be instrumental in exciting the intellectual curiosity of many students. We usually follow the clips with spirited discussion. Of course, there are always students who will perceive film as being superfluous, and they might refuse to take this aspect of the course seriously. Therefore, I would suggest that, in response to student focus upon grades and evaluation, teachers make it clear that the film texts will be on the test.

**TEACHING WITH ONLINE PRIMARY SOURCES:
DOCUMENTS FROM THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES**

**UNSHUTTERED LENS:
DOROTHEA LANGE, DOCUMENTARY PHOTOGRAPHY,
AND GOVERNMENT WORK, 1935-1945**

Carol B. Conrad
National Archives and Records Administration

In November 1940, on Arizona State Highway 87, south of Chandler, in Maricopa County, Dorothea Lange took a photograph of a mother and four small children. Caught in the powerful forces of the Great Depression, this migrant family's plight was used to drive government relief policy. Twenty months later, at the Manzanar Relocation Center in California, Lange photographed another family: a Japanese American family whose migration was intentional, forced by government order.

Understanding that government reports from the New Deal's "alphabet agencies" alone did not always grab the attention of Congress or the public, the Roosevelt administration hired photographers, including Dorothea Lange, to get its message across. Lange was initially employed by the Resettlement Administration (RA), which later became the Farm Security Administration (FSA), and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics (BAE), and later was employed by the War Relocation Authority (WRA) and the Office of War Information (OWI). In these positions, her photography did more than satisfy the government's primary purpose of creating an informational record. Her work focused on the government's policies and their impact on people.

More than 1,300 of her government photographs, including the migrant family and Japanese American family, are digitized and readily available online through the National Archives' Archival Research Catalogue (ARC) at <http://www.archives.gov/research/arc/>. The collection provides students with the means to explore the intersection between photography and public policy that occurred as images became a more powerful medium in the twentieth century. Was Dorothea Lange a cultural interpreter? Former Lange assistant, noted photographer, and protégé Rondal Partridge, said, "You ask questions of great photographs, and great photographs ask questions of you."¹ Lange's photographic work "begs the question."

Dorothea Lange was an unlikely candidate for success in the male-dominated field of photography. Born into a middle-class family in Hoboken, New Jersey, in 1895, she was expected to pursue a traditionally female profession, such as teaching. Unwilling to be limited by such gender expectations, she announced upon graduation

¹Bruce Bustard, *Picturing the Century: One Hundred Years of Photography from the National Archives* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 5.

from high school that she was going to be a photographer, and, without having picked up a camera, set out in pursuit of that goal.

The equipment in those days was very cumbersome, a possible difficulty for Lange who limped after contacting polio at age seven. Teaching herself the rudiments of photography, she began her career by convincing the owner of a highly successful Fifth Avenue portrait studio to take her on as an apprentice. There she developed an eye for crafting evocative images through staged portraits. She learned darkroom techniques by allowing an itinerant photographer to use her basement for his work. She took one course at Columbia with a respected photography professor, but did little of the assigned work.

Her independent spirit was evident in 1918 when she and her only close friend pooled their resources (\$140) and set off to "see the world." In San Francisco, when their money was stolen by a pickpocket, Dorothea took a job at a photography developing lab, joined a camera club, and developed a group of Bohemian, artistic friends. Set up in her own studio by a benefactor, Dorothea launched a successful portrait studio catering to San Francisco's upper class. She married an artist 21 years her senior, Maynard Dixon, entered what developed into a rocky marriage, and had two sons. Working hard at balancing family, artistic trips with her husband, and her portrait studio, her life suddenly shifted with the onset of the Great Depression. National events stirred her to focus her lens in a different direction.

Wanting to document the effects of turmoil outside caused by the crisis gripping the nation, Dorothea abandoned her indoor studio. She took her camera to the streets and focused on social crises in the city such as Depression breadlines. Her street images from 1932 to 1935, such as the unemployed worker seen in ARC# 195825, were exhibited in the Bay Area titled as "Documentary" and caught the attention of Paul Taylor, an economics professor and social activist at the University of California, Berkeley. Concerned about the changing rural economy, Taylor was working on a report for a state relief agency on farming communities hit hard by the Depression. He hired Lange to take photographs to illustrate this report. While preparing the report, Taylor and Lange were struck by the numbers of families who had been "blowed out" by the Dust Bowl storms and had flooded into California seeking employment in agribusiness.

Lange's work as a portrait photographer enhanced her ability to see striking images in the field and endowed her photographs with a special personal and emotional quality. Even her method of using large, fixed-tripod cameras, instead of the smaller, lighter 35mm cameras favored by other field photographers, distinguished her field work. These cameras, which were more stationary and personal than 35mm, created a polite space between Lange and her subjects, and allowed her to establish direct contact until the last moment when she bowed her head over the viewfinder and snapped the photo. The cameras allowed shots to be composed in a careful, unrushed manner. The three-image series of a migrant family found in ARC (#s 522506, 522527, 522529) demonstrated her technique. She only used natural lighting, again less

intrusive, more nuanced, and more authentic in documenting the scene. Some critics have attributed her method as critical to the effectiveness of her work.

One photographic series of desperate pea pickers whose crop had failed was rushed to the *San Francisco News* desk. Spurred by these images of displaced farm workers and families, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) allocated \$22,000 in funding to establish two emergency migrant worker camps in California. Lange visually documented the improvements in the lives of the migrants in those camps, with toilets, hot showers, stoves, platform tents, and a large community building made possible with federal funding. The government established over 25 similar relief camps over the next four years.

As Paul Taylor and Lange worked together for the relief cause—his writing paired with her images—they developed a deep relationship. Both divorced out of weak marriages and then they married, cementing a lifelong partnership. Their work came to the attention of Roy Stryker in the Resettlement Administration (RA) in Washington, DC, which later, under political pressure from Congress for more oversight, became the Farm Security Administration (FSA) under the Department of Agriculture. In August 1935, Dorothea Lange joined two male photographers on the staff of the RA. This group, under the FSA, eventually encompassed some twenty photographers and logged over 270,000 photographic plates.

In February 1936, the RA authorized Lange to make the first of many field work trips. Roy Stryker sent his photographers out with specific “scripts” in mind but gave them great freedom in choosing subjects to support the scripts. In 1937-38 Dorothea worked for the FSA throughout the West coast region, documenting the plight of farmers affected by the Depression, the Dust Bowl, and the effects of mechanization. Both her photographs and her captions provided insight into upheaval among rural laborers at a time when one tractor did the work of eight men and eight mules and farmers were turned off land that had supported them and their forbears for generations.

Lange’s photographs documenting advertisements offering work at 35 cents per hour for harvesting fragile plums, one dollar per ton picking peaches, twenty cents per hour for potatoes, and special rates for African Americans to pick cotton, highlighted the effects of agribusiness on migrant laborers and the issues of tenant farming and sharecropping throughout rural America. Her work in the migrant labor camps filled with “Okies” led to collaboration with John Steinbeck in 1938. They jointly published a pamphlet titled *Their Blood is Strong*. The impact of their work was evident the next year when John Steinbeck published *The Grapes of Wrath*.

Lange not only documented displaced farm laborers in the West but also traveled the nation in 1937-39 to photograph rural communities. She provided a record of rural life in Depression-era America. These images make up the bulk of the images contained in Record Group 83 in the National Archives. In the fall of 1939 budget cuts caused Roy Stryker to cut back his photographic outreach program. As a result, Lange was dropped from the Federal payroll in January 1940. Her government work had developed her reputation as a photographer, and as a result she was awarded a

Guggenheim Fellowship, the first ever for a woman photographer. Her plan was to document rural religious communities across the nation. World events, however, led her to postpone this work.

As the nation shifted its focus during World War II, so did Dorothea Lange. After the bombing of the American naval base at Pearl Harbor, on December 7, 1941, anti-Japanese feeling in America ran high. Despite the fact that Nisei (American-born Japanese) eagerly joined the war effort, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, on February 19, 1942. This order led to the internment of all persons of Japanese ancestry (some 110,000) for the duration of the war. It was administered by the War Relocation Authority (WRA) of the Department of the Interior under the sensitive direction of Milton Eisenhower. He had formerly been with the Department of Agriculture and was aware of that agency's successful use of government photographers. The WRA hired Lange to document the entire process of relocation from home through assembly centers to the Manzanar internment camp, one of ten isolated camp locations.

Lange began work on March 22, 1942, when the roundup commenced. Japanese Americans were assigned numbers and given seven days to settle their affairs, including disposing of homes and businesses. At the end of those seven days they reported to be relocated. Her photograph of "the Mochida family awaiting evacuation bus" (ARC# 537505) poignantly illustrated the government-ordered relocation. The next step was busing to temporary assembly centers, one at a San Bruno racetrack where families were housed in horse stalls. Dorothea photographed each step of this process, ending with settling in the internment camps. There she photographed community meals, activities, and labor, including the making of camouflage nets for the war effort. By following several specific families through the process, she personalized the experience. She continued to use large cameras with tripods and even had a platform built for the top of her station wagon. Long hours on the road, often from 7:30 a.m. to 9:30 p.m., ended with Lange processing the film in her darkroom at home.

Although assigned to document the process thoroughly, Lange was limited in a variety of ways, especially when the Japanese Americans were actually in the camp at Manzanar. Her most moving photographs were taken when she had the most freedom, documenting the process prior to arriving at the camp. In the end, she was only allowed into Manzanar three times. The WRA employed her, but the military supervised the relocation that she was trying to document. Each authority was working under different agendas. The WRA was interested in managing information to promote positive public opinion, while the military was most concerned about limiting public exposure on the grounds of national defense. As a result, Lange was caught in a crossfire of overlapping jurisdictions. She was restricted from taking photographs of soldiers with guns, barbed wire, and watchtowers. The Western Defense Command had a working arrangement with the WRA for clearance of all photographs. Correspondence between the two parties and legal counsel for the WRA indicated that this working arrangement was ambiguous.

Controversy surrounded Lange who had shared one of her photographs with Caleb Foote, a Quaker activist who used it as the cover of a pamphlet exposing internment. This action led the Western Defense Command to revoke Lange's credentials, but since the House Select Committee investigating defense migration (the Tolan Committee, February 28-March 2, 1942) had already published the picture, making it part of the public domain, charges that she had unlawfully leaked military information could not be sustained. On July 30, 1942, her employment with the WRA ended. She resigned, but the term "terminated" was also used in file correspondence. Lange was required to certify that all negatives, prints, and undeveloped film had been turned over to the government. She was not even allowed to retain a set of her own prints.

In 1946, Lange's WRA photographs were accessioned into the National Archives. These photographs received no public notice during her lifetime. Although the images were not readily available without clearance during the war, there were no restrictions on their access once they were part of the holdings of the National Archives. Yet they did not come to wide public attention until 1972, during heightened awareness of civil rights, when a Lange protégé and his wife, Richard and Maisie Conrat, used 27 still pictures for an exhibit entitled "Executive Order 9066." A few years later during the Jimmy Carter administration, there was an investigation on internment. Congress later approved reparations for those interned, and President Ronald Reagan presided over a formal reconciliation ceremony for them in 1988. The relocation was brought to the public eye. And in 2006, the volume *Impounded: Dorothea Lange and the Censored Images of Japanese American Internment* featured the most extensive use of the Lange images held at the National Archives.²

With the end of her government work in 1944, Lange continued her work as a freelance photographer and a staff photographer for *Life* magazine. In 1945 Lange fell ill with intestinal issues, possibly influenced by the rigor and stress of her government service. Continuing the focus from her early government work, she pursued projects related to rural life and gender, expanding to a global scale. By 1963 her health began to deteriorate and public attention to her body of work increased. Her photographs inspired a documentary film at KQED public television and an oral history interview with the Smithsonian Institution. It was at this point that she was given access to the Department of Agriculture negatives by the National Archives and the Library of Congress so that she could choose and develop prints for what was to be her final project, a retrospective of her life's work. She completed the project before she died on October 11, 1965. Her retrospective opened at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City in 1966.

Lange's work for both the FSA/BAE and the WRA/OWI created powerful images that helped drive public policy through a critical period in American history.

²*Impounded: Dorothea Lange and the Censored Images of Japanese American Internment*, Linda Gordon and Gary Y. Okihiro, eds. (New York: Norton, 2006).

Raising artistry in the field to new levels, her work had a lasting impact on the field of documentary photography. Her unshuttered lens helped millions of Americans to “see” history, both then and today.

The documents featured in this article can be accessed online through the National Archives Archival Research Catalog (ARC). Those documents relating to the RA, FSA, and BAE (Great Depression) come from the Records of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Record Group 83, series G (488 images are digitized and available online), and are held at either the National Archives in College Park, MD, or the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, NY. Those documents relating to Japanese relocation comes from the Records of The War Relocation Authority, Record Group 210, series G (864 images are digitized and available online), and are held at the National Archives in College Park, MD.

Teaching Suggestions:

Dorothea Lange’s photographs in the holdings of the National Archives can be accessed online through the Archival Research Catalog (ARC). You can access the entire collection or view them individually. To access the entire collection, go to http://www.archives.gov/research_room/arc/. Select the yellow “Search” button on the left side of the page. In the keyword box, type in “Dorothea Lange.” Check the “Limit results to” using 2000 (because there are 1,361 images in the collection). Check the filter “Descriptions of Archival Materials linked to digital copies.” GO. On the next page, in the “Sorted by” line, check “record group/collection” and select “Re-sort.” This will present her photographs, six per page, by the two record groups, 83 and 210. The first set will come from Record Group 83, Records of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The second set will come from RG 210, Records of the War Relocation Authority. (Hint: To scroll through the entire collection without the live links to information, click the “Printer-friendly version” button, in a few moments thumbnails of the entire collection will be available to scroll through. If individual images are to be selected, return to the search screen and conduct a keyword search using the chosen image’s ARC identifier number.)

1. Focus activity with photo analysis: Learning to “see” from a photographer’s perspective:

Provide students with a copy of “Depression: Unemployed; destitute man leaning against vacant store: photo by Dorothea Lange, ca. 1935” (ARC# 195825), available online in the Archival Research Catalogue (ARC) on the National Archives website at http://www.archives.gov/research_room/arc/ and give them a copy of the photograph analysis worksheet found at www.archives.gov/digital_classroom/lessons/analysis_worksheets/worksheets.html.

Ask student pairs to create a physical “lens” by folding a sheet of paper into quarters and cutting/tearing a one-inch quarter circle in the center. Tell them to unfold

the paper and carefully explore all parts of the photograph. Encourage them to share their discoveries. Next ask student pairs to complete a copy of the photograph analysis worksheet. Then guide a discussion about the Great Depression based on questions from the worksheet.

2. Comparison activity: Family from two views:

Divide the class in half. Provide one half of the class with a copy of ARC# 522527 (Migrant family along Arizona Highway) from the BAE/FSA collection and the other half with ARC# 537989 (Japanese American family at Manzanar) from the WRA collections. Using the "lens" technique from teaching activity #1, ask students to explore the images individually. Ask them to hypothesize when each was taken and for what purpose. Next, present students with information about each government agency and its purpose. Guide a discussion that compares and contrasts the two images. Ask students to consider the public relations implications of having these images available to the American public.

Extension activity: Comparing the collections of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics taken during the Depression and of the War Relocation Administration taken during Japanese relocation:

Ask student pairs to create a chart with eight columns. Instruct them to label the columns: Transportation, Possessions, Housing, Work, Activities, Meal Preparation, Size of Families, and Children. Next, direct them to go online into ARC and tell them to access the entire BAE/FSA and WRA collections. (Instructions are found at the beginning of the Teaching Suggestions. The BAE/FSA group begins with "hit" #1; the WRA set begins with #489.) Ask student pairs to scroll through both collections looking for one example from each collection to reflect the elements identified on their charts. Tell them to list the ARC #s of their examples on their charts and describe the content of the selected images. Direct students to examine their completed chart and circle similarities and underline the differences they see in the examples. Based on the charts, ask students what differentiates the two families' experiences. Close with a discussion of the emotional impact of each collection and the impact of documentary photography on their understanding of the two events.

3. Connecting words and images: Writing captions to articulate point of view:

Using ten examples of Dorothea Lange's photographs (see below) on migrant workers displaced during the Depression, ask students to create captions for each image. Two ways to present the images are: 1) Using PowerPoint, place the images in a slide show format, run through them once with five-second intervals. Then repeat the slide show, at twenty-second intervals, asking students to suggest their own captions. 2) A second method would be to distribute a thumbnail contact sheet of the slideshow and ask students to write captions at home. On completion of the captions, go through the set of images, using the slideshow method, and invite three or more students to

share their captions (or until the variety of perspectives wanes) for each image. Guide a discussion of what each caption reveals about how captions combined with images stimulate deeper analysis. Ask why they choose their particular wording. Conclude with students creating a list of five ways words and images can reflect point of view.

Suggested image ARC #s: 195825, 521808, 521735, 521748, 196510, 521699, 522527, 521786, 522540, 522541, 521652, 521650, 522492, 521717, 521764, 522176, 522262, 522028, 522024, 522239, 522504, 522214, 522251, 522508, 521805, 521788, 521804, 521787, 521812, 521809, 521578, 521680, 522054, 522058

Extension activity: Working from a “script”:

Ask students to work in small groups to categorize the three most common types of captions used by students. Combine their choices to create a class list to use as a guide for finding provocative subjects worthy of a photographic essay, just as Roy Stryker sent the FSA photographers out with a “script.” Send students out with digital cameras to create their own ten-image documentary. Invite them to present their documentary as a poster, PowerPoint, video, or exhibit. Use the style guide as a basis for critique to explore how students found their own “voice” through their scripted photographic essays.

Extension activity: Read between the lines:

Compare the captions that Lange wrote for the two photographs in teaching activity #2. Encourage students to examine her word choice to uncover how point of view is revealed. Ask them to consider where Lange limited herself to being informational and where she injected commentary through her word choice. Identify specific words or phrases that indicate her point of view.

4. Cross-curricular activity: Illustrating history and literature:

Team up with a language arts/literature colleague and prepare a unit related to the Japanese internment experience. Assign students to read either *Farewell to Manzanar* or *Snow Falling on Cedars*.³ Ask students to take on the role of the illustrations manager at a publicity firm. Tell them to choose five to ten photographs that Lange took for the WRA to help illustrate the work they read. Chapters 7, 9, and 10 are the most relevant to this activity in *Snow Falling on Cedars*, while Chapters 1-5 are useful in *Farewell to Manzanar*. Next, ask students to develop a plan for using the images in a publicity campaign to advertise the literary work. Post the work and ask students to reflect on how literature is served by photographic illustration. (To access the WRA collection in an ARC search, type in the key word “Manzanar.” Click the filter that re-sorts the images by date to get a chronological order to the images. Then

³Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston. *Farewell to Manzanar: A True Story of Japanese American Experience During and After the World War II Internment* (New York: Random House, 1973); David Guterson, *Snow Falling on Cedars* (New York: Random House, 1995).

utilize the “print friendly version” button to create a thumbnail list to scroll through the entire collection. Additional information on FDR’s Executive Order 9066 can be found at <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=74.>)

Extension activity:

As a related activity using the same photographer but a different topic, ask students to choose specific Lange images to illustrate John Steinbeck’s *The Grapes of Wrath*, the novel inspired by their joint project on migrant workers. Dorothea Lange’s photographs of migrant farm workers displaced by the Dust Bowl are found in Records of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Record Group 83, at the National Archives.

5. Online Resources Review: Understanding history through place:

Ask students to explore two different online sites that feature information and images of Manzanar. Through the Archival Research Catalog (ARC) on the National Archives website, <http://www.archives.gov/research/arc>, begin a search of Dorothea Lange’s images in ARC under the key word “Manzanar.” Next, go to the National Park Service’s Manzanar general website to explore their information on Manzanar at <http://www.nps.gov/manz/forteachers/teaching-with-historic-places.htm> or go to the specific link at <http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/twhpwwlps/lessons/89manzanar/89manzanar.htm>. Instruct students to compare the two presentations of the subject and consider how and why the two approaches to information differ. Assign students to write a review for each approach for a hypothetical website review blog. Tell them to include in the review a consideration of the purpose of the organization in posting this information; ease of use; and effectiveness of the information; and, if there is a point of view evident with each approach, explain what it is and why that perspective might exist.

6. Cross-curricular activity: A study in method and view through photography:

Team up with a visual arts or photography teacher. Using images from two photographers on the same subject, ask students to evaluate the two photographers’ “lens.” Access the work of both Dorothea Lange and Ansel Adams related to Manzanar. Lange and Adams photographed Manzanar but at different times (Lange in the early stages, Adams not until 1943) and saw the camp through a very different lens. Introduce students to the relocation process by going to “Teaching with Documents” lessons on Japanese relocation: <http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/japanese-relocation/>.

The social studies students research the government’s use of photographers during the Roosevelt administration. (Another study of government photography can be found in *Picturing the Century: One Hundred Years of Photography from the National Archives* [see footnote 1], at http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/picturing_the_century/.) Share their findings with photography students.

Photography students should research and develop an expertise to share about cameras and methods by researching the capabilities of the cameras Lange used: a Rolliflex 4x5 and a Graflex. For her work in the 1940s, she added a Zeiss Juwell, after working with Ansel Adams. Share how camera type affects the result. Explore what other aspects of photography (e.g. developing and cropping) can affect an image.

Choose a series of images (teacher- or student-generated) from each collection. Divide students into groups and give them the two sets. Assign students to create a chart with six columns labeled: theme, subject matter, point-of-view, method, composition, and tone. Direct them to fill in the chart either in groups or as a class based on their assessment of the selected images. Encourage student groups to take the role of curator and create an exhibition of the images complete with explanatory captions. After the exhibit is completed, guide a "critique session" of each exhibit wherein students compare and contrast the manner in which each photographer used the lens. Create a list of these identifying aspects based on the comparisons, one for each photographer. Conclude with a discussion on what could be the reasons for those differences.

Lange's WRA work is in Record Group 210 and can be accessed with the keyword "Manzanar." Adams' work can be found at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/anseladams/aamabout.html> or in *Manzanar* (New York: Times Books, 1988), photographs by Ansel Adams and commentary by John Hersey.

Extension activity: Visit an exhibition of photographs at a local gallery and review the exhibition based on the skills demonstrated in the above curator activity.

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FILM REVIEW

***The Battle of Chernobyl*, First Run Icarus Films. Directed by Thomas Johnson. U.S., 2007; color; 94 minutes. VHS, DVD \$440.00. Rental/VHS: \$125.**

In the early morning hours of 26 April 1986, in the Ukrainian city of Pripjat, a reactor at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant exploded. Soviet technicians at the No. 4 unit, paralyzed by the fear of responsibility and failure (though not of death), delayed to inform the highest authorities, including General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, until the surrounding population and countryside had been saturated with high levels of deadly radioactivity that has rendered the region around the abandoned city uninhabitable now and into the future.¹ *The Battle of Chernobyl* documents the accident, the local and national efforts to both combat and contain the disaster, the medical consequences, and the aftermath of this unprecedented event through contemporary footage, interviews with participants, and computer graphics. The film presents the nuclear disaster as analogous to the Great Fatherland War of the 1940s as well as the final battle of a Soviet Union on the precipice of collapse. This review will examine these various issues and comment on the film's usefulness in the classroom.

The Battle of Chernobyl begins with footage of the No. 4 unit's destruction as the reactor explodes and shatters the roof of the containment building, spewing radioactive debris both across the adjoining structures and as a deadly and invisible skyward plume. A local workman is embarrassed to describe the explosion's effects in the night sky as "a rainbow ... it was beautiful." A quick cut to Mikhail Gorbachev, who remembers his initial information about the disaster being confined to vague references to "a fire" and "some accident," establishes the film's ambition and credentials as director's scope extends throughout the Soviet hierarchy, from the proletariat to the General Secretary.

Running through *The Battle of Chernobyl* is an ominous undercurrent that builds tension in a story whose ending its audience already presumably knows. Since the disaster, Soviet and Russian authorities sought to keep secret a potentially catastrophic second explosion that was avoided at the cost of thousands of Russian miners, firefighters, military personnel, and everyday citizens' lives. The narrator informs the viewer that this second explosion would have been "ten times worse than Hiroshima" and "would have wiped out half of Europe." Indeed, it is the "heroic" efforts to prevent this apocalyptic outcome that transforms a nuclear accident into a life and death "battle" on the Chernobyl "front," recalling the Nazi invasion whose ravages remain in the memories of the city's elders.

For teachers of twentieth-century history surveys, *The Battle of Chernobyl* opens avenues of discussion along three lines: the other-worldly, or science fiction, quality of the response of the Russians to the radioactive foe, how the fear of panic led to

¹According to Robert Gale and Thomas Hauser, *Final Warning: The Legacy of Chernobyl* (New York: Warner Books, 1988), Chernobyl was "one of the 179 towns and settlements evacuated in the wake of the worst nuclear accident in history," 23.

secrecy and fatal blundering until the reactor disaster provoked mobilization for war upon the Chernobyl "front," and, finally, nuclear disaster as metaphor for both modernity's unfulfilled promise and the Soviet Union's sudden, surprising demise. These foci of discussion center round the idea of "modernity" and the new society promised by Soviet leaders who believed themselves the vanguard of technological and political progress. The lesson is one of irony as the Enlightenment is derailed upon human foibles that predate and, indeed, transcend the Soviet experiment in Russia.

Iurii Shcherbak asserts that the accident at Chernobyl ushered in "a new period in the development of civilization, a period about whose possibility only writers of science fiction had conjectured vaguely and intuitively."² The film's narrator speaks ominously of the ineffectiveness of "tons of water on a strange fire." Circling the site in a helicopter the following morning, a photographer describes "a black hole, a tomb, and deadly silence." At Chernobyl, "mortal danger does not even have taste, color, and smell."³ This alien quality continued after the Soviet authorities finally mobilized the nation with the complaint that Chernobyl "was worse than war; here you couldn't see the enemy." May Day celebrations went ahead as planned with a march of the living dead as the latency period of radioactive poisoning allowed one last public demonstration before the collective body of Prip'yat began to disintegrate. During the so-called "liquidation" of the radioactive site, men and robots' deaths were pre-ordained: miners and soldiers were declared "national heroes" as they entered the maw; robots went awry because of the ambient radioactivity and disobeyed orders by throwing themselves into the chasm burning with radioactive magma that threatened to penetrate the containment building and precipitate a second and more devastating explosion. Afterwards, contaminated earth is bulldozed into huge ditches and covered with concrete—images indicative of the novelty of nuclear containment.

The ignorance attendant to the Chernobyl disaster had much to do with both the exoticness of nuclear power and of somehow failing the test of modernity that the ruined reactor represented in both its promise and precariousness. Ignorance reverberated up and down the Soviet hierarchy, shaking the system to its foundations. Ignorance exacerbated at every level by widespread secrecy designed to prevent panic. Panic, of course, could cast doubt on both Soviet technical competence and political legitimacy.

Grigori Medvedev described Chernobyl as marking "the final, spectacular collapse of a declining era ... aggravated by a deliberate policy of downplaying its

²Iurii Shcherbak, *Chernobyl: A Documentary Story*, translated from the Ukrainian by Ian Press (Alberta, Canada: Macmillan in association with the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989), 3.

³Ibid., 4.

dangers, as well as by the secrecy that surrounded the Chernobyl tragedy."⁴ Three days after the accident, while Gorbachev was still trying to gather information, United States satellites began to take pictures of the ruined reactor. In the film, Gorbachev admitted that "such ignorance had dramatic consequences for our approach to the problem." May Day celebrations went ahead as scheduled, in part, according to Gorbachev, "to avoid panic." Back at the site, the consequences of mismanaging modernity was made plain by the lingering taste of radioactive iodine on the palates of those trying to stifle the strange fire. Gorbachev would finally resort to the traditional remedy of Russian leaders by sending the KGB to the site to report back to him everything the gathering scientists had to say. The film is especially effective at ratcheting up the tension as both institutional ignorance and radioactive magma plumb their respective depths, the former contributing to the latter's potentially catastrophic explosion with dire consequences for all of Europe and elsewhere.

For the teacher of twentieth-century surveys—U.S., Western, and World—*The Battle of Chernobyl* is an effective accompaniment to lectures and discussions about the complexities of modernity, the Chernobyl accident as analogous to war, and the disaster as a metaphor for the demise of the Soviet Union.

The Chernobyl disaster occurred five years before the startling end of the Soviet Union. Students and instructors could investigate links between these two events through *The Battle of Chernobyl* as the film reveals the character traits of Soviet society, from top to bottom, in its various assumptions and actions—both absurd and heroic. Established arguments concerning President Ronald Reagan's role in dispatching the "evil empire" by outspending the Russians might be complicated by a closer examination of the Soviet response to this nuclear accident.

Finally, discussions both of modernity and Cold War history should not neglect the long-held secret of the potentially disastrous second explosion had the radioactive magma penetrated man-made containment to reach the ground water. The consensus, had this occurred, would have meant the abandonment of much of western Eurasia as the contamination would have reduced Europe to a status similar to that of 1492. And yet we continued to debate the efficacy of nuclear weapons when we have witnessed the consequences of Chernobyl—only one nuclear explosion when any full-scale nuclear exchange would envision many. Chernobyl is the perfect poster-child for nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.

Georgia Highlands College

Steve Blankenship

⁴Grigori Medvedev, *The Truth About Chernobyl*, translated from the Russian by Evelyn Rossiter, with a Foreword by Andrei Sakharov and Author's Preface to the American Edition (New York: Basic Books, 1989), ix.

BOOK REVIEWS

Barry A. Lanman and Laura M. Wendling, eds. *Preparing the Next Generation of Oral Historians: An Anthology of Oral History Education*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, AltaMira Press, 2006. Pp. 508. Paper, \$36.95; ISBN 0-7591-0853-6.

Preparing the Next Generation of Oral Historians is a topically organized anthology of shorter pieces, typically ten to twelve pages, on a broad range of themes related to the multiple applications of oral history in the classroom. Some of the articles have appeared elsewhere, in journals or other collections, and are reprinted here unchanged. Other pieces are new for inclusion in this volume.

Following a helpful introduction that develops an overall context, the authors organize the individual articles into four main sections. Part 1 examines "Foundations of Oral History Education." Here subjects include trailblazing concepts such as the 1960s Foxfire project and key figures such as Studs Terkel, but also practical models for classroom use and meeting standards. Parts 2, 3, and 4, with 26 different chapters, focus on incorporating oral history into various levels: elementary, secondary, and college and university. Each of these three sections begins with a brief overview, includes at least one chapter devoted to standards and assessment, and has a number of real, practical case study examples, authored by the educators themselves. It is encouraging to see the multitude of possibilities offered here by oral history, to students at all levels. Whether students with special needs or gifted and talented, early primary grades, middle school or senior high, or colleges, the chapters here demonstrate that teachers at all levels can confidently embrace oral history as a learning tool. A final section, Part 5, includes helpful resources, such as a sample syllabus, an up-to-date bibliography of additional reading (although this reviewer would have wished for online resources in addition to the print sources), and the Oral History Association's detailed principles and standards.

How might an instructor use this book? With its helpful, topically organized articles, this book is best considered a reference work, a how-to guide, for educators at different levels. Indeed, it is difficult to envision this volume being assigned as reading in any level class, but it does lend itself well to having chapters or whole sections excerpted, depending on the focus of the class or workshop. Learners below college or university level, though, might struggle with some concepts. With regards to usage, helpful in this respect are "Thought Questions" that precede each chapter. Instructors have a ready set of discussion topics or project assignment starters. A more developed set of sample syllabi would have been a welcome addition, but there are plenty of ideas for instructors to consider as they construct their own projects or classes.

In sum, Lanman and Wendling's *Preparing the Next Generation of Oral Historians* is the practical oral history guide that we've long needed. The specific examples outlined and discussed throughout the book, the careful attention to assessment and the meeting of standards, and the well-conceived and well-written

individual pieces make this the new standard in the field. Those new to the field, educators, and even experienced practitioners, will find much here to take first steps or to help bring in-class projects to the next level. Strongly recommended.

Concordia University, St. Paul

Thomas Saylor

Steven M. Beaudoin. *Poverty in World History*. Themes in World History Series. London and New York: Routledge, 2007. Pp. 136. Paper, \$26.95; ISBN 978-0-415-25459-5.

The Themes in World History Series has acquired a new and important addition with Steven Beaudoin's treatment of poverty throughout world history. Designed specifically for the classroom, the book provides an impressive overview of the state of current scholarship while intertwining strands of world history. The result is a very readable narrative that investigates the causes of poverty, attitudes toward poverty, and relief efforts from the pre-modern world to the present.

It seems unlikely that such a significant and vast topic could fit into such a brief space; however, the key is in the organization. Surveying scholarly descriptions of poverty and taking ideas from several definitions with emphasis on the belief that "all poverty is born of insecurity," Beaudoin divides the poor into three categories: the destitute, the structural poor, and the conjunctural poor. Using these definitions, he then examines poverty and charity in the pre-modern world, the early modern world from 1450 to 1750, the industrial world from 1750 to 1945, and since 1945.

The demarcations should be familiar to students of world history and allow them to contextualize the place of poverty in the overall scheme of world history. As Beaudoin points out, the history of poverty both follows and strays from traditional patterns of world history. During the pre-modern era, most poverty grew out of chronic hunger and undernourishment. People saw poverty as a natural occurrence. Family, friends, informal sources, and a few private and state-run organizations provided limited relief. Around the mid-1400s, new forms of poverty emerged based on global networks of trade and subsequent economic insecurity. The incidence of structural and conjunctural poverty became more widespread as individuals and societies became more vulnerable to fluctuations in world trade. In response, several Western European states came to view poverty as a moral scourge of one's own making that needed to be eradicated through discipline, confinement, and education. With the onset of industrialization in the mid-1700s, poverty became "less dangerous and more common." Ironically, the same economic system that expanded poverty also created more powerful tools to ameliorate poverty through programs such as the social welfare and social insurance systems. The period after 1945 saw increased intensification though few changes in the causes of poverty. Enhanced global connections meant that relief efforts became much more international though still dominated by the Western

world. Currently, there are reasons for both optimism and concern regarding the state of world poverty.

Clear, concise, and well-written, the book has much strength and few weaknesses. It would work equally well as an assigned book in a world history survey or as material from which to draw lecture notes. Though the Western world occupies a vital place in the history, the study takes a global approach that does not neglect regional, religious, political, and cultural variations. While Beaudoin describes specific examples of poverty to introduce chapters and draws upon statistical information, those looking for vivid descriptions of poverty or tables of statistics may be disappointed. Yet, this is not the purpose of the book. The book illuminates the elements of continuity and change in the history of poverty and serves as an excellent jumping off point for further study.

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Thomas C. Percy

Eric F. Johnson, Andrew J. Donnelly, and Gabriel K. Wolfenstein. *The Bedford Glossary for European History*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2007. Pp. 144. Paper, \$10.00; ISBN 0-312-45717-0.

In this digital age in which a new online reference source seems to crop up every few minutes, many of them often having a less than scholarly scope, it is reassuring to know that there are still reliable, affordable print sources being produced for students and their educators. Oftentimes, there is a tendency on the part of instructors to rely on the glossary in the back of textbooks or on websites such as Google to provide students with definitions of terms and further information on topics not found within the narrative texts or lectures. However, textbook glossaries are very concise and might not prove to be an adequate reference source. It cannot be assumed that students will rely on peer-reviewed, authoritative sources that a Google search yields.

Bedford's latest offering in the realm of glossaries covering the topic of general European history can help to remedy this problem. The glossary is designed as a companion piece to the *Making of the West* survey text series, but it certainly is an appropriate supplement to any European history or Western civilization text. The book is organized in the traditional alphabetical format and covers just over 600 primary terms. The entries run the gamut of political, social, economic, and cultural topics and cover the periods from ancient history through the modern era. A particular strength of this reference work is the detail given to providing the historical context to the terms, not simply a thorough definition. Subject specialists will, naturally, find some terms they consider key to the topic omitted, but overall the coverage is quite thorough for such an ambitious span of time and topics. However, this glossary does not contain any biographical entries, so the student looking for a ready reference for a simple fact, such as the ruling dates of Napoleon, will come up wanting. The role of this glossary is to familiarize students with terms that they are likely to encounter in readings and lectures.

The writing style of the work is appropriate for upper-level high-school students and undergraduates. Due to some assumed knowledge in some of the definitions, beginning high-school-level students might find it somewhat difficult, although the authors have made good use of the "see also" convention in order to allow readers searching for background or additional information to find it quickly. Although not considered a standard to glossaries, in some instances the entries would be improved if they included a pronunciation guide to assist students' familiarity with the word.

The glossary is lightweight and compact, making it a true pocket reference. Both students and educators will find it easy to use and a useful add-on to standard survey texts. *The Bedford Glossary for European History* is the type of reference work that is probably best used as classroom copies or as library reserve materials as opposed to being distributed to each student. Of course, this is completely dependent on the strength of the glossaries of the survey text in adoption for a course. If it appears to be lacking, then this offering from Bedford can certainly fill that void.

Southern Illinois University Edwardsville

Amanda Bahr-Evola

David F. Crew. *Hitler and the Nazis: A History in Documents*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Pp. 176. Hardcover, \$36.95; ISBN 0-19-515285-9.

Crew brings his expertise in modern German history to bear on this didactic and considerably arranged text aimed at secondary students, but useful even to introductory college courses in world, European, German, or comparative history. Crew does not immediately begin with the question of "Hitler and the Nazis," but rather by asking "What is a document?" By presenting Hitler and Nazism as "documents," the author successfully introduces a redemptive dimension to the at times horrible events recounted in them. Crew appropriately balances the images of dread with many images of hope, and overall the documents succeed in bringing further understanding to this human catastrophe. This is a "hands-on" history using numerous primary sources contextualized with concise secondary narrative. Each chapter begins with an overview followed by primary source excerpts relevant to the topics and including revealing images that enliven the collage of texts. The fascinating images comprise diverse and rare photographs, posters, maps, and diagrams, such as racial family trees, Gestapo photographs of suspected gay bars, and Roma prisoners in Belzec, for example.

Crew devotes his first chapter of narrative, documents, and images to the roots of German National Socialism and shows these originating under the lingering shadows of the Great War, contradictions within the Weimar Republic and Weimar culture, as well as the various economic disasters after 1918. Documents involving Hitler emerge in the second chapter from the ashes of the war, through his failed 1923 *Putsch* and subsequent electoral strategy. The book includes a "picture essay" on the Nazi propaganda, with which Crew shows how media was essential in the Nazi rise to

power, subsequent construction of a "Racial State," and the "social death" of German Jews up to 1939. With detailed documentation of *Kristallnacht*, the 1938 uprising against Jewish businesses that resulted in killings and beatings of individual Jews, synagogue burnings, and near-universal Jewish property destruction, Crew rightfully shows the event as a turning point in Nazi aggression towards German and other Jews living under National Socialist administration, including Austria, the Sudetenland, and later the remainder of Czechoslovakia.

With other selections and accompanying images, Crew demonstrates how anti-Semitism was at the heart of the Nazi racial worldview and that it provided the core ideology within the Nazi "Racial State" that was enforced, he shows, through the "Concentration Camp System." Race also provided the motivation for the War of Plunder," these documents show. Crew provides wide coverage of the Second World War, before the penultimate chapter on the Holocaust, which is the highlight of the book, proving in irrefutable documentary fashion how the Nazis carried out the destruction of European Jews. The final chapter furnishes documents about Germany after the Holocaust that reflect how it has attempted to come to terms with the past, ending thereby on another potential note of redemption.

Instructors and teachers could assign the book for a unit on the Great War, interwar, Depression, World War I, or any combination of these, because Crew's clear narratives and vital selections of documents help convey the important motives and realities surrounding Nazism. Marginal notes and descriptions of images guide readers' comprehension of the primary texts and in general the book is an excellent resource on Nazism for the classroom as a succinct chronological documentary account of "Hitler and the Nazis." A timeline, recommended further readings, and websites follow the narrative.

University of Washington

Nathaniel P. Weston

Kenneth Bridges, ed. *Freedom in America*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2008. Pp. 464. Paper, \$46.67; ISBN 13:9780136147343.

Freedom in America is a collection of 95 documents from U.S. history that define and discuss the concept and practice of freedom. From the Charter of Virginia (1606) and the Mayflower Compact (1620) to speeches by Ronald Reagan (Tear Down This Wall, 1987) and Bill Clinton (Religious Liberty in America, 1995), students can explore through these primary sources how Americans' ideas about freedom, liberty, and justice have changed through the course of four centuries. After a one-page introduction, in which Kenneth Bridges stresses that despite all criticism, the documents' authors "exude a tremendous sense of optimism that the nation can overcome prejudice, repression, and whatever impediment that slows the progress of justice," the documents are presented with paragraph-long introductions. The three-

page bibliography at the end of the book provides citations for the sources. The collection's focus on one of the key concepts in American history makes this a useful resource for teaching U.S. political history.

The collection does, however, have limitations. It represents traditional, elite American history—founding documents and laws as well as speeches and writings by presidents, other politicians, and prominent rights advocates define Bridges's American discourse on civil liberties. Thus, the 1960s are represented by Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., Lyndon B. Johnson, and Robert Kennedy. Malcolm X, any feminist of the day, or any communist or anarchist do not get a word in edgewise. Perhaps even more glaring than the absence of radical thinkers and activists is the absence of establishment representatives who trampled on civil rights, such as Senator Joe McCarthy. The selected documents tell the feel-good story of America as the world's beacon of freedom.

The overall design of the document collection is functional and sparse—at times too sparse. Over half of the sources are quoted from websites without any information about the rationale for using websites and without a word of caution about websites. A speech by Chief Joseph of Nez Perce, for example, is reprinted from a PBS website without reference to the original source. It is unclear whether or how the PBS website creators might have manipulated the original source. It is also unclear how much care Bridges, who teaches history and geography at South Arkansas Community College, has taken to check for transcribing errors. He claims in his introduction: "Wherever possible, the actual spellings of the words in these essays have been preserved." But his Gettysburg Address begins: Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." The original, however, reads: "Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that 'all men are created equal.'" Last but not least, there is no information to help readers with understanding the documents' language, especially that of the older documents.

Despite these limitations, *Freedom in America* can be used as a thematic collection of primary documents in undergraduate courses in (mainstream) U.S. political history. Alternatively, a high school or college teacher might use this as a personal resource to direct students to specific documents, online or in print.

University of Winnipeg

Alexander Freund

Peter Charles Hoffer. *The Brave New World: A History of Early America.* 2nd edition. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006. Pp. 554. Paper, \$35.00; ISBN 0-8018-8483-7.

Instructors of courses in colonial America should consider this thorough textbook. By developing a unifying theme for understanding early America, Peter Hoffer keeps the text focused. While living standards and freedom improved for many, he argues, others labored as subordinates. But the story, as the author emphasizes, is more complex, as even oppressed people had human agency. Hoffer does a remarkable job developing this theme throughout the book. In particular, his discussion of relations between Native Americans and Europeans is balanced. In his presentation of trade relations, for example, he provides the point of view of both sides, placing the reader in the mind of both the European and Native American.

One of the great strengths of the book is that Hoffer recognizes that, in order to understand how Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans encountered each other, the reader needs extensive information about who these people were before they collided. Moreover, while the book might be about colonial North America, an entire chapter is devoted to Spain and its colonies to provide a context for the exploration and colonization of North America. This second edition also has an important added chapter on the American Revolution, enabling instructors to end in 1783 rather than in 1775, if they choose.

There are, however, limitations to the textbook that are important to note. Some historically significant topics are given limited space. There is scant attention, for instance, to non-British immigrants, so that the story of ethnic diversity among colonials remains untold in this text. While the Protestant Reformation is discussed, the focus is on its relationship to politics and exploration. The reader does not come away with an understanding of the theology of Protestant sects.

Instructors considering this text should also be aware that the writing can be dry at times. While the book has a unifying framework to keep it focused, the author's narrative often provides details of events at length without explaining to the reader their significance. Long sentences with listings of names and dates, without a clear point, can confuse undergraduate readers. In this sense, however unintentional, the writing style reinforces the notion that history is all about knowing facts.

For instructors whose students tend to be highly motivated history majors, I would recommend this book as a textbook to complement any monographs assigned for the course. Instructors who have a significant number of students from other majors, however, might want to consider a more accessible text. That said, anyone teaching the history of early America will find useful material in *The Brave New World* from which to develop lectures. The discussion of slavery in eighteenth-century South Carolina is just one of many examples. Hoffer integrates well some of the most recent research on the subject to tell the story of the oppressive nature of slavery in the colony, while also highlighting the ways in which slaves resisted. Equally important,

comparisons are made to slavery in Virginia. With the numerous examples available in the narrative, instructors have both the framework and the stories to offer an interesting lecture. Hoffer's excellent bibliographic essay, which illustrates the depth of his knowledge in the subject, also provides a plethora of sources that instructors can refer to, either to utilize as monographs in the classroom or for their own edification.

Medaille College

Daniel P. Kotzin

Susan Dunn, ed. *Something That Will Surprise the World: The Essential Writings of the Founding Fathers*. New York: Basic Books, 2006. Pp. 450. Cloth, \$32.00; ISBN 0-465-01779-7.

Every teacher who makes a commitment to using primary sources in the classroom either faces a lack of easily accessible materials or such a cornucopia of resources that making the best selection is time-consuming and complicated. For those educators who teach early American history or history of the American Revolution, the latter scenario is more often the case. The founders were prolific writers and the ongoing publication of their public and personal writings shows no sign of tapering off in the years to come. While this might seem like an enviable position for teachers and students alike, the process of selecting the appropriate resources for the content and approach utilized by the teacher in the classroom will be more successful if the primary source material is tailored to the particular goals of the instructor.

This collection of primary sources is unique in its predominant focus on the personal correspondence of Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Hamilton, and Madison. Dunn organizes the material by author and precedes each section with a very brief, but illuminating introduction. This approach is to be lauded because it allows the reader to enter into the personal intellectual arena of the founders without heavy-handed editorial directions, a problem that often deters from many other similar compilations. A brief introductory essay by Joseph Ellis is interesting but adds no new insight to the materials.

The selection will provide teachers and students with a look into the more personal processes of decision-making and governance. It is often difficult for students to recognize and empathize that the founders were struggling on a very personal level with ideas many of them sensed would have a profound impact on a world much larger than their own. They had a sense of humor, they were governed by passions, they had personalities that clashed and complicated the development and implementation of their collective ideas. Through the selection offered by Dunn, students and teachers will come to understand the dynamic intellectual struggles and compromises inherent in their achievements. Students will see them as friends, rivals, husbands, and fathers. Tempers flare, friendship is offered, and loyalties are defended in their ongoing collaboration.

While the collection emphasizes personal correspondence, it also includes the public documents essential in any collection, such as Washington's Farewell Address, which is reprinted in full text. Dunn's selection of public writings only complements and illuminates personal writings of the authors. At times it is as though she wants the readers to recognize the personal path to the public product.

The only fault found in the collection is the absence of writings by Benjamin Franklin. It is hard to understand why Franklin's writings are absent and the author offers no explanation for such a glaring omission. For those educators who are looking for a comprehensive selection of documents in a single volume for the classroom, the lack of Franklin's work and his personal correspondence leaves the reader with the sense that a big part of this personal and public collaboration is absent. Despite this disappointing omission, we can be assured that there are many sources, both online and in print, of Franklin's writings to fill this need.

Purdue University

Dawn Marsh Riggs

Charles W. Calhoun, ed. *The Gilded Age: Perspectives on the Origins of Modern America*. 2nd edition. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007. Pp. 402. Paper, \$26.95; ISBN 0-7425-5038-9.

In this second edition of collected essays on the Gilded Age, editor Charles Calhoun has improved upon an already valuable teaching text. As stated in the preface, this edition includes revised and new essays as well as a list of suggested readings that showcase newer works of related scholarship. Calhoun's synthesis of sixteen lively essays offers an amalgamation of topics that remains extensive in scope. These engaging pieces allow students to consider the numerous political, socio-economic, and cultural factors that moved the United States from a rural, isolated society to an increasingly urban and integrated modern America. Calhoun also shows why understanding the Gilded Age remains crucial to our understanding of America today.

Of particular note are essays by authors Ellen M. Litwicky and W. Bernard Carlson. Litwicky demonstrates how Americans progressively participated as agents within a growing consumer society and also addresses race. Using the Columbian Exposition as a microcosm of larger urban trends, she carefully reveals a myriad of the motives and meanings of commercialized leisure, technology, commerce, and race to show the pervading diversification of a cultural economy. Because entertainment businesses remained dominated by the white middle class, African Americans increasingly found themselves isolated from popular culture. Litwicky's essay opens a valuable, yet largely overlooked, window that lends great insight into the consociation of technology, consumerism, entertainment, and race. W. Bernard Carlson also addresses technology and consumerism from 1870 to 1900. Citing Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, published in 1888, Carlson analyzes Bellamy's utopian vision with

the "gilded" reality that, through consumerism and mass production, American technology would produce goods affordable for all classes of people. Although Carlson recognizes that Bellamy's ideals remained flawed, Carlson recapitulates that "Americans during the Gilded Age used technology to dramatically change daily life and establish the basic contours of America as a consumer society."

Other notable essays address particular groups based on gender, race, and ethnicity. Stacy A. Cordery addresses gender in "Women in Industrializing America," while Leslie H. Fishel, Jr. examines the African American experience. Multiple essays reflect realities for different ethnic groups such as Native Americans, European immigrants in America, and Non-Western groups largely influenced by the intrusion of American imperialism. Regrettably, certain essays are inundated with statistics that leave readers with dry, impersonal representations of important trends. Finally, several essays remain dedicated to political life from both the top down and the bottom up. Two other essays trace the development of third party politics and conflicts within the prevailing two-party system. Worth Robert Miller does an exceptional job showing the influence of the Populist Party as well as the void left after "freeholders and independent workers were proletarianized," leaving no political voice after 1896 for the millions who felt disillusioned by American business and government.

Calhoun's synthesis remains a great tool for teaching. Not only does it allow a glimpse of specialized topics and groups within the Gilded Age, essays are also read with relative ease. Although certain essays pertaining to politics and immigration remain less engaging for class readings and discussion, teachers could easily use this text to divide among students, subsequently allowing students to present findings from each chapter. With Calhoun's second edition of *The Gilded Age*, educators and students alike can gain a better perspective on the origins of modern America.

The Harpeth Hall School

Mary Ellen Pethel

Gary Donaldson, ed. *Modern America: A Documentary History of the Nation Since 1945*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2007. Pp. 306. Paper, \$29.95; ISBN 978-0-7656-1538-1.

It seems as if there are dozens of documentary histories of post-World War II United States. Most cover the same ground—Cold War, life in the 1950s, civil rights, feminism, protests in the 1960s, and Vietnam. Gary Donaldson's *Modern America: A Documentary History of the Nation Since 1945* differs from the pack with unexpected depth and an unusual choice of documents that might very well prompt undergraduates to read the book.

Donaldson opens his book with a preface that discusses the difficulties of studying and understanding modern history when we are so close to it. In common with the rest of the book, it is a piece that is useful for prompting classroom discussion.

Donaldson then addresses the "Origins of the Cold War" with an introduction and documents that include Harry Truman's decision to drop the bomb, George Kennan's explanation of containment strategy, General Omar Bradley's warning about the risks of a global war, and love letters home from Korean War soldiers. Bradley's advice to the U.S. Senate came a month after General Douglas MacArthur's celebrated speech on the virtues of total war. It will help students understand why Truman did not want to invade China, as MacArthur demanded. The love letters, especially a last letter home to be delivered to a soldier's wife in the event of his death, might well mesmerize students. The chapter concludes with a biographical sketch of J. Robert Oppenheimer, study questions, and further readings.

Donaldson includes pieces that are fairly standard additions to document collections. His book contains an excerpt from Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, John F. Kennedy's inaugural address, Lyndon B. Johnson's explanation of why the U.S. was in Vietnam, the Weatherman Manifesto, passages from Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, and Ronald Reagan's "Evil Empire" and "Government Is Not the Solution" speeches. However, Donaldson also includes a number of unusual documents. In "Myths That Imperil Married Love" from 1958, Hugo Bourdeau argues that women do not need sex as much as they think they do. To explain the 1960s, Donaldson uses comic Vaughn Meader's 1962 routine on the "First Family." George Wallace argues in 1964 that the civil rights movement is a hoax, while Reagan recalls the 1969 Berkeley Riots. Residents within the radius of Three Mile Island send an open letter to the uncontaminated in 1979. T. Boone Pickens explains his support for Reagan in 1984, just before Reagan discusses "The New American Revolution." Kandy Stroud and Frank Zappa debate whether 1980s efforts to stop "pornographic rock" qualify as "cultural terrorism," while Dan Quayle attacks the television show *Murphy Brown*. The 1994 Republican Contract with America is reproduced alongside President Bill Clinton's Monicagate interview, his speech to the nation, and the articles of impeachment drawn up in 1998. Donaldson concludes with President George W. Bush's Axis of Evil speech and the 9/11 Commission Report.

Donaldson, a Xavier University historian, has clearly spent considerable time in the classroom trying to prompt students to discuss the day's material. His collection is carefully chosen to both educate and interest students. This book would be useful to any introductory college class on post-1945 history.



