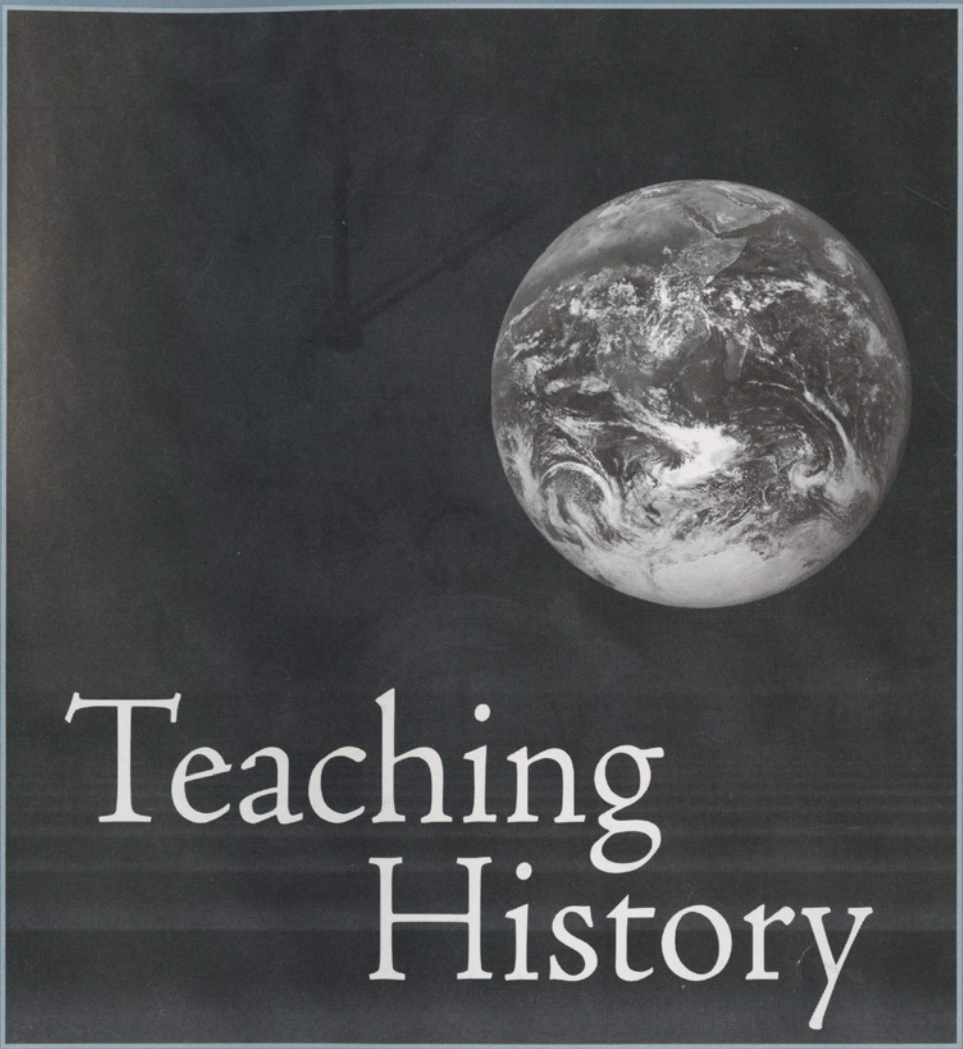

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TEACHING *NIGHT AND FOG*: PUTTING A DOCUMENTARY FILM IN HISTORY

Donald Reid
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

> *Night and Fog* is the deportation seen and recounted by Christ.... Alain Resnais offers the left cheek and it is we who receive the slaps smack in the face, each shot being a well-deserved blow. —François Truffaut[1]

I have shown *Night and Fog* (1956), Alain Resnais's documentary film on the Nazi concentration camps, for twenty-five years in courses in modern European and modern world history. The film "presented the first graphic depiction of the working of the camps and of the techniques of mass murder used by the Nazis since the end of the first Nuremberg Trial in 1946."[2] It is a work of memory and of history and of the ambiguities and conflicts that the interplay of these entails. Spurred by the Network of Remembrance (*Réseau du souvenir*) in France, composed of deported resister survivors and the families of those who had died in the camps, and commissioned by the French republic's official Committee of the History of the Second World War to commemorate— to bring together in memory—the tenth anniversary of the liberation of the camps, *Night and Fog* takes viewers on the journey to the camps when they were in operation and, in 1955, when the film was made.[3]

We see no footage of prisoners leaving the camps, because they never truly left behind the experience. Resnais suggests this will be true of the experience of viewing the camps for the audience of *Night and Fog* as well. Jean Cayrol, a Catholic poet and resister arrested in 1942 and sent to the Mauthausen camp in 1943, wrote the script for the film. At its release, he explained that *Night and Fog* is not a "chilled relic." Rather

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[1] *Cahiers du Cinéma,* February 1956, reprinted in Richard Raskin, *Nuit et Brouillard by Alain Resnais* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1987), 138. I would like to thank Daniel Letouzey for his close reading of this essay.

[2] Harold Marcuse, "The Revival of Holocaust Awareness in West Germany, Israel, and the United States," in Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert, and Detlef Junker, eds., *1968: The World Transformed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 142.

[3] For excellent accounts of the making and reception of *Night and Fog,* see Christian Delage, "*Nuit et Brouillard:* a turning point in the history and memory of the Holocaust" in Toby Hagith and Joanna Newman, eds., *Holocaust and the Moving Image: Representations in Film and Television Since 1933* (New York: Wallflower Press, 2005), 127-39; and Sylvie Lindeperg, "*Nuit et Brouillard*" *Un Film dans l'histoire* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2007).

it is "a living witnessing,"[4] in a meaning consonant with that given by those who witness for their faith: "The cloth [*la toile*] of the movie screen is not the cloth [*le linge*] of Veronica. [*Night and Fog*] is a film that burns the eyes."[5] Unlike the veil of Veronica, the film has no miraculous qualities: It can neither restore sight to the blind nor raise the dead. And it cannot convert unbelievers or get authorities to punish the guilty, as Veronica's veil convinced the emperor Tiberius of the divinity of Christ and to send Pilate into exile. But the film has been endowed with talismanic powers in France. After the desecration of a Jewish cemetery in France in 1990, the response of a horrified nation was to broadcast *Night and Fog* simultaneously on all French television channels.

The first time I showed the film was to a class in modern European history, following a lecture and reading on Nazi Germany. I was taken aback when two students left the room crying. I arranged to see each individually. The first told me she came from a family where anti-Semitic comments were made regularly and she felt complicit. The second was angry: "Why did you show this to me? I was a happier person before I saw it." Both students responded in ways I think Resnais and Cayrol would have understood and appreciated, recognizing that confrontation with the camp experience changes us in deeply painful ways.[6]

Knowing how individuals living in a time and place, and with their own understandings of the world and their own needs and interests, evoke the past, and how historically-situated audiences confront these evocations, is critical to students of history. When screening a documentary such as *Night and Fog*, I start by reminding students that, as with all works of history, documentaries are creative works. Resnais explained, "I've always refused the word 'memory' *à propos* of my work. I'd use the

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[4]*Les Lettres françaises*, February 9, 1956, reprinted in Raskin, *Nuit et Brouillard*, 137.

[5]*Le Monde*, April 11, 1956, reprinted in Raskin, *Nuit et Brouillard*, 38.

[6]This event took place in 1982. In keeping with my contention that students should be aware of the historical specificity of the reception of texts, I think that greater dissemination both of material on the Holocaust and of images of graphic violence have almost certainly changed the way American students today view *Night and Fog*. The same is true in France. For a long time, when anti-Semitic acts or troubling issues about French collaboration during the war were in the news in France, the Ministry of National Education invariably asked middle schools and high schools to screen *Night and Fog*. Yet, in 1993-94, a teacher commented that "for twenty years, I showed *Night and Fog* to students who had been made sensitive by what had happened to people; for the first time, this year I will not screen it, because the students watch this documentary like a film of Stallone, now that violence has been made commonplace by movies." Éric Conan and Henry Rousso, *Vichy: An Ever-Present Past*, trans. Nathan Bracher (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1998), 188-89.

word 'imagination.'"[7] The point is not that Resnais made up anything about the camps. He insisted on working with a survivor—Cayrol—to try to assure this did not happen. But, in turn, Resnais knew that "memory" is not transferable; his aim was to make the unimaginable imaginable. A documentary of only 32 minutes, the running time for *Night and Fog*, involves many decisions about what to show and not to show, what to say and not to say. As a documentary, *Night and Fog* is composed of numerous documents drawn from a variety of sources. Why were these documents created—most not for the use Resnais makes them—and why does Resnais present them in the order he does? What interpretation is he offering viewers as we move in the film from the present to the past and back to the present, now charged with a knowledge and awareness we might have lacked before?

Let us start with the title. *Night and Fog* refers to a decree of December 7, 1941, mandating that resisters in western-occupied territories, whose cases could not be resolved immediately, would be deported. Cayrol tells us in *Night and Fog* that concentration camps had the qualities of "nocturnal stagings that so pleased the Nazis."[8] The designation *Nacht und Nebel* (NN) comes from Richard Wagner's *Das Rheingold*, in which Alberich recites a magical incantation to render himself invisible to his slaves in order to torment them. However, the Nazi decree was intended to avoid trials and make captured resisters disappear: NN prisoners were not allowed to receive mail; all requests for information on NN prisoners' location or survival were rejected. Keeping populations in occupied nations uninformed as to the fate of NN prisoners was seen as a way of controlling them. The very nebulous nature of the decree, the fact that NN prisoners often did not learn of their designation for some time and did not understand what NN meant, made it the site of morbid fantasizing during and after the war. However, NN did not refer to extermination; it concerned political prisoners, not those deported because of religion or ethnicity.

Cayrol had been an NN prisoner, but the vast majority of deportees were not. Why did Resnais and Cayrol choose the title *Night and Fog* for the film? Postwar France sought to repress confrontation with the extent of the Vichy regime's collaboration with Germany.[9] All French citizens had experienced hardship during the

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[7]Jamie Monaco, *Alain Resnais* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 11.

[8]Jean Cayrol, *Nuit et brouillard* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), 21.

[9]Henry Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991); Joan Wolf, *Harnessing the Holocaust: The Politics of Memory in France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003). In order to receive the right to screen *Night and Fog* in France, Alain Resnais had to mask the distinctive *képi* of a French gendarme guarding Jewish prisoners awaiting deportation to the East in a still photograph taken in 1941 at the Pithiviers transit camp in France. The postwar French state could not allow recognition of the extent of the wartime French state's collaboration in deportation.

(continued...)

war and it was difficult for many of them not to resent camp survivors for trumping their own tales of deprivation and loss. The concern of deportees and the historians with whom they worked on *Night and Fog* was that the experience of the camps would be forgotten—that the postwar world would, as the Nazis had decreed, relegate the experience to the night and fog. Auschwitz survivor Primo Levi, writing in Italy on the tenth anniversary of the liberation of the camps, lamented that it was now considered "bad taste to speak of the concentration camps."[10] This situation angered and frustrated Cayrol as well. Though he was a respected poet, Cayrol had trouble publishing his *Poems of the Night and Fog* immediately after the war.[11] Shortly before Resnais approached him to write the script for his film, Cayrol had a revealing experience. At Mauthausen, Cayrol's fellow prisoners had hid him under a work table where he had written poetry as they worked. Cayrol lost these poems when the camp was liberated, but they were returned to him by an anonymous German in 1955. When Cayrol sought a publisher for the poems, he was told that it was time for "survivors to forget, to be quiet," and the poems were not published until 1997.[12] *Night and Fog* was a response to this environment. With the wide dissemination of the film, reference to "night and fog" became a way of affirming that memory of the camps and those sent to them must not be repressed or forgotten in line with the Nazi decree of 1941.

After screening *Night and Fog*, I begin by asking students: "What is the subject of the film?" Invariably, they answer that it is about Germans killing Jews. I then ask how they know this. If they listen to the soundtrack (or read the subtitles) of the film, they will see that "German" is used only once, and then to identify a "German worker" sent to the camps. If students place the film into historical context, they see that in 1956 West Germany wanted nothing to do with foreign presentations of the Nazi past.

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[9](...continued)
Although this censorship was mentioned in the press in 1956, it did not become a focal point of commentators on the film until the 1970s, when the French confronted Vichy collaboration in the Holocaust. Lindeperg, *"Nuit et Brouillard,"* 143-156, 228. In the edition of the 1956 film widely distributed in the United States (Video Yesteryear, 1981), the bar over the *képi* appears at 5 minutes 15 seconds into the videocassette. Ewout van der Knapp is right to question the removal of the bar in the re-release of the film in France in 1992 (and on the DVD released in the US by Criterion Films in 1003). The scene is 4 minutes 45 seconds into the DVD of the film. (All other times given in this essay are from this DVD.) The bar used to censor the *képi* has, he notes, "become part of the film's history." "The Construction of Memory in *Nuit et Brouillard*" in Ewout van der Knapp, ed., *Uncovering the Holocaust: The International Reception of Night and Fog* (New York: Wallflower Press, 2006), 8.

[10]Primo Levi, "Deportees. Anniversary" [1955] in *The Black Hole of Auschwitz*, trans. Sharon Wood (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2005), 3.

[11]Jean Cayrol, *Poèmes de la nuit et du brouillard* (Paris: Editions Pierre Seghers, 1946).

[12]Jean Cayrol, *Alerte aux ombres 1944-1945* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1997), 5.

West Germany joined NATO in 1955 and began rearmament; it was engaged in building a new Europe with France. Although Resnais and Cayrol were careful to attribute the concentration camps to the Nazis, not the Germans, this did not satisfy West Germany. The West German government included former Nazis and was very sensitive to East German charges that it was not totally immune to the legacy of Nazism. In 1956, when West Germany intervened with the French government to exercise the right of nations participating in the Cannes Film Festival to have a film that offended its national honor, *Night and Fog*, removed from competition, Resnais could not resist remarking that he did not know the Nazi German government would be present.[13] Cayrol vented the anger of resisters at the complicity of his own government in this act of censorship: "France thus refuses to be the France of truth. Faced with the greatest butchery of our time, it accepts it only in the clandestinity of memory ... It rips from history the pages that don't please it, it takes away the word of witnesses, it makes itself complicit in the horror ... My German friends ... it is France itself which makes its night and its fog fall on our friendly and warm relations."[14] *Night and Fog* was shown at Cannes, but not in competition. Albert Larmoisse's *The Red Balloon* won in the category of "short film" in which *Night and Fog* would have competed.

Yet the story does not end there. Although the West German government did not favor screening of *Night and Fog* before an international audience at Cannes, it came to recognize the need to inform younger generations of Germans of Nazi atrocities; the film's placement of responsibility on the Nazis, rather than the German people, fit the dominant approach to the issue at the time in West Germany. West Germany purchased a number of copies of *Night and Fog* and made them available to youth groups and to schools. By the 1970s, *Night and Fog* was widely shown in West German schools, sometimes even to elementary school students.[15] If older Germans found *Night and Fog* uncomfortably reminiscent of films of the camps that Allied occupying forces had required Germans to watch after the war,[16] it figured widely in accounts by members of the 1968 generation as an impetus to questioning their parents about their behavior during the Third Reich, the lynchpin of student revolt in West Germany. At the midpoint of Margareth von Trotta's film about a member of an ultra-

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[13]Lindeperg, "*Nuit et Brouillard*," 161.

[14]*Le Monde*, 11 April 1956.

[15]Lindeperg, "*Nuit et Brouillard*," 232. This practice has continued since unification. *Night and Fog* had not been widely distributed in East Germany. Between 1996 and 2000, the Federal Republic distributed some 1,500 videos of *Night and Fog* to be used for instructional purposes. Ewout van der Knapp, "Enlightening Procedures: *Nacht und Nebel* in Germany," in Ewout van der Knapp, ed., *Uncovering the Holocaust*, 78.

[16]Lindeperg, "*Nuit et Brouillard*," 176.

leftist, terrorist group, *Marianne & Juliane* (1981), we are shown the final three minutes of *Night and Fog* in a flashback of Marianne, the future terrorist, and her sister watching the film as teenagers. Later, we see the sisters reviewing similar black and white footage of emaciated, dying inhabitants of the Third World and Marianne answering the question posed at the end of *Night and Fog*: "I'll never put up with people doing nothing about it."[17]

If Resnais' and Cayrol's project to denounce the inhumanity of the camps limits references to Germans, what of the extermination of the Jews? Isn't this a film about the Holocaust? There is significant footage relating to the extermination of the Jews in *Night and Fog*, but no mention of which particular groups were sent to camps for immediate extermination. The audience hears a lone mention of a deported Jew and sees occasional glimpses of the Star of David sewn on deportees' clothes, but without any explanation of what this meant. In class this is a time and opportunity to review the diversity of deported groups (and the French term *déporté* used for all of them) and their fates: Jews, Roma and Sinti (gypsies),[18] gays, resisters, and diverse "asocials," a term officials used in camps. Jews, Roma and Sinti were dispatched to extermination camps; the others were sent to concentration camps where they were worked to death in inhumane conditions. *Night and Fog* merges the two experiences, mixing footage from the diversity of camps to make the camps into one entity.[19] The Holocaust, the project to exterminate the Jews, is the absent presence of *Night and Fog*. Although histories of the making of the film reveal that Resnais and the historians with whom he worked began with recognition of the particular experience of the deported Jews,[20] this is absent from the film: Annette Wieviorka is not wrong to say that, although *Night and*

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[17]The scenes appear at 45-48 minutes and 68 minutes into the videocassette of *Marianne & Juliane* (New Yorker Video 1998). However, there is some ambiguity in von Trotta's intertextuality. The footage from *Night and Fog* is followed immediately by extensive treatment of the inhumane conditions in which Marianne is being kept in prison. Her sister Juliane, who had been shown as more visibly affected by *Night and Fog* as a teenager, gags herself to try to experience the pain of the forced feeding her sister Marianne is undergoing in prison. Students debate whether von Trotta is trying to suggest some relationship between the inhumanity of the camps and of the prison or to have viewers reflect on the bathos of such efforts by radical fellow travelers.

[18]The girl looking out the slats of a train wagon at Westerbork (6 minutes 24 seconds into the film), often taken as an emblematic Jewish deportee, was, in fact, a Sinti. She was sent to Auschwitz and died there. Lindeperg, "*Nuit et Brouillard*," 63.

[19]Raskin presents the shooting script of *Night and Fog*, with each piece of footage identified by the particular camp depicted. This information, not presented in the film itself, helps viewers interpret what they see. Raskin, *Nuit et Brouillard*, 65-131.

[20]Lindeperg, "*Nuit et Brouillard*;" Christian Delage and Vincent Giugueno, *L'historien et le film* (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), 59-78, 215-26.

Fog includes significant footage on the extermination of the Jews, the film "in no way concerns the genocide of the Jews."[21]

Most American students have learned only of the extermination camps for Jews, not the other concentration camps. One discussion can be held about the reasons historians have to separate the two experiences. However, examination of *Night and Fog* also offers students the opportunity to ask why certain ways of presenting and remembering the past take root in different times and places. One explanation for the absence of reference to Jews is the French refusal after the war to confront the cooperation of the collaborationist Vichy Regime in the deportation of Jews from France to their deaths in extermination camps. Wieviorka develops this argument, contending that the deported resisters, particularly Communists, sought to incorporate the deportation and murder of Jews into a narrative of deportation in which resisters held leading roles, despite the fact that many more Jews died.[22] Another explanation is that French universalist republican ideology made the French mistrustful of dividing up the persecuted. The Nazis and the French who collaborated with them had separated Jews from other French; the republican response was to refuse to preserve this division in representations of memory of this past. What some see as evidence of anti-Semitism, others see as a response to it. And finally there is the apparent concern of Resnais and Cayrol that the film could not act as a "warning mechanism," in Cayrol's words, for a range of inhumane practices, if it was framed in terms of Germans and Jews. This is the danger of all efforts to universalize a historically-specific experience, to remember an experience by making it the bearer of lessons or mandates in a different historical setting. Whatever the reasons for the decision made in 1955 not to differentiate the experience of the Jews from other deportees, this, for Omer Bartov, introduced "a major distortion of the historical record" in a film often used to introduce or to foster memory of the concentration camp system.[23] As teachers of history, our job is not to censor

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[21]Annette Wieviorka, *Déportation et génocide. Entre la mémoire et l'oubli* (Paris: Plon, 1992), 223, note 94.

[22]There was no place for immediate sites of extermination in the discourse of a "concentration camp universe"—the title of deported resister David Rousset's influential 1945 account of what he learned at Buchenwald—which developed in France after the war and which took on new life in successive generations of condemnations of the Soviet gulag, labor camps which in their *raison d'être* resembled the concentration camps of Nazi Germany more than the extermination centers. This in turn explains why Communists in France, faced with the need to refute the parallels made between the Stalinist Soviet Union and the Third Reich, turned from ignoring the specificity of the Holocaust to emphasizing it.

[23]Omer Bartov, *Murder in Our Midst. The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 171. This makes troubling the fact that in France in the late 1980s-early 1990s government distribution of tapes of *Night and Fog* and screening of the film on television "became the almost Pavlovian response to anti-semitic acts or statements or the allegations of Holocaust deniers." Lindeperg, "*Nuit et Brouillard*," 229. Viewers are intended to think of the Holocaust when shown a film

(continued...)

such materials, but to develop our students' historical understanding of why the past is presented in different ways in different societies at different times.

However, there is another explanation of the paucity of references to Jews. The Nazis maintained secrecy about the extermination of the Jews and made great efforts to destroy documentation about the Holocaust. Historians dependent on archival documentation need to make this historical reason for the existence or absence of documentation itself a part of their problematic. This is a fundamental, but often ignored, issue for students engaged in the study of history. However, there is quite a bit of footage of Jews in *Night and Fog*, though it is not identified as such. While the iconic photograph of the Jewish boy with his hands up (an image first brought to public attention by Resnais in *Night and Fog*) was taken by the Germans documenting their destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto,[24] and footage of Jews boarding trains at Westerbork (in The Netherlands) was the work of Germans seeking to show the "utility" of this camp,[25] much of the most graphic material on the camps in the last part of *Night and Fog* comes from film made by Western Allies when they liberated the concentration camps in Germany, not the extermination camps for Jews, which had been shut down by Nazis before the arrival of Soviet troops.[26] However, a number of Jews were sent to camps in the West in the chaotic final months of the war. Anne Frank died at

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[23](...continued)
that does not mention it.

[24]See Richard Raskin's riveting study of the history of this photograph and its use: *A Child at Gunpoint: A Case Study in the Life of a Photo* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2004).

[25]Lindeperg, "*Nuit et Brouillard*," 62.

[26]For many students, the single, most searing image in *Night and Fog* is that of the bulldozers pushing corpses into a mass grave, the brutal act of cleaning up what should not and can never be cleansed. Students often cite this as evidence of Nazi dehumanization of their victims, but it is only secondarily so, for if the emaciated corpses are the product of the Nazi project, the decision to clear them away expeditiously to prevent the spread of epidemic disease, was made by the Allies. In 1945, the British made a film from footage of camps the Allies had liberated; it includes many of the clips which Resnais would use in *Night and Fog*. The film, including the 1945 script, is available as a PBS video, *Memory of the Camps*. Students asked to compare this film to *Night and Fog* can analyze decisions Resnais made in choosing some of this footage and not other parts of it, the similarity and differences of the script by Colin Wills and that of Cayrol, and the importance of Hans Eisler's music in *Night and Fog*, because the British film does not have a score. Another avenue to pursue with students is the use of images as evidence in making the case against perpetrators. The end of *Night and Fog*, when individuals deny responsibility for what the viewer has just seen, replicates an element of the Nuremberg trials, in which the prosecutor Robert Jackson made use of film of the camps—some of the same images viewers see in *Memory of the Camps* and in *Night and Fog*—in making his case at Nuremberg. This is the subject of Christian Delage's excellent film, *Nuremberg: The Nazis Facing Their Crimes* (DVD, Lions Gate, 2007).

Bergen-Belsen, site of the horrific British film of bulldozers pushing dead bodies in *Night and Fog*; the viewer of Resnais' film sees a photograph of Elie Wiesel on a bedstead at Buchenwald.[27]

If insufficient documentation can be a problem for any historian, the director of historical documentaries dependent on film footage faces particular problems. Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* (1985), a documentary on the Holocaust done thirty years after *Night and Fog*, is an implicit critique of Resnais's film. Lanzmann's response to the inadequacy of filmed documentation of the Holocaust is to use no contemporary footage at all, and to shift from the position that there is inadequate film of the Holocaust to saying that it is an event that is not possible to represent directly. (Lanzmann is notorious for having said in response to Steven Spielberg's *Schlinder's List* that if the SS had taken footage of the Jews dying in a gas chamber, he would destroy it.[28])

What do we see in the film? This is a question that students answer in many ways. A few are troubled by seeing a work of art made from the graphic depiction of anonymous inhumanity. For others it is the pile of women's hair, evidence of Nazi inhumanity, but also a presentation of Jews (without recognition of their Jewish identity) in an inhumane way consonant with Nazi views of them.[29] The humiliation

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[27]The photo appears at 10 minutes 58 seconds into *Night and Fog*. Wiesel contrasted *Night and Fog* to other filmed presentations of camps like *Holocaust* ("marked by vulgarity"), in praising Resnais' film for its authenticity. Raskin, *Nuit et Brouillard*, 8 note 1.

[28]Lindeperg, "*Nuit et Brouillard*," 110-11. Resnais contrasted black-and-white footage of the world of the camps, swarming with people, to the film he shot at Auschwitz in 1955, in color, but with no humans present. Lanzmann responded by eliminating footage of the camps, but filming (in color) survivors, bystanders, and historians talking about the camps several decades later. I often accompany *Night and Fog* with screening of footage from *Shoah* of Abraham Bomba (chapter 2 of disc 3, New Yorker Video, 2003). Bomba is a Jewish survivor who cut the hair of women who were to be gassed at Treblinka. He speaks about facets of his experience only when prodded by Lanzmann; Bomba is unlike Cayrol, who wrote with the fear no one would be willing to listen. Bomba is the individual for whom there is no place in *Night and Fog*. In telling his story, he also returns an element of humanity to the corpses and to the pile of hair we see in *Night and Fog*.

[29]A "brisk trade [in human hair] emerged between German death camps ... and German felt and textile manufacturers who used the versatile fibre in the production of thread, rope, cloth, carpets, mattress stuffing, lining stiffeners for uniforms, socks for submarine crews, and felt insulators for the boots of railroad workers ... human hair 'was often used in delayed action bombs, where its particular qualities made it highly useful for detonating purposes' [in the words of an assistant to Auschwitz doctor Josef Mengele] ... The [20 kilogram] bales were marketed to German companies at twenty pfennigs per kilogram." As the Nazis left no "smoking gun" documents and destroyed the crematoria at Auschwitz before abandoning the camp, the presence of cyanide from the Zyklon gas used to kill Jews in the concentration camps in the piles of human hair seen in *Night and Fog* was used as evidence in the

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at the heart of the camp experience is replicated in demeaning photographs of naked men and women awaiting death. However, students also see evidence of inmates' resilience, manifested in acts of creation.[30] Why are we shown these works? Do they soften the inhumanity of the camps? Not in the minds of the deported resisters who participated in the film. "Man is incredibly resistant," Cayrol tells us. After the war, the French addressed their experience of defeat and collaboration by embracing Charles DeGaulle's mantra that the French had been a people in resistance. This was certainly what the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs had in mind when it set the condition to its allocation of funding for the film, that the film be sure not to forget the Resistance. However, resistance in the camp could take different forms than that the Ministry had in mind. For deportees, including deported resisters, the camps had been the site of great inhumanity, but, for this very reason, the appearance of art (like the poems Cayrol himself had written) and of acts of solidarity among prisoners was evidence that the camps had also been the sites of *sui generis* acts of resistance, whose memory was what the survivors could offer to the moral rebuilding of France and Europe, which had to accompany the economic and political rebuilding.[31]

If students look for material about the Holocaust on the Internet, they will quickly find sites devoted to Holocaust denial. *Night and Fog* provides an opportunity to address the nature both of Holocaust denial arguments and of the documentary film. Although *Night and Fog* does not deal with the Holocaust as a separate topic, it cannot be interpreted as a work of Holocaust denial. Failure to discuss the specificity of the

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[29](...continued)
postwar trials of Nazi war criminals.

When the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum was being set up, the museum at Auschwitz-Birkenau sent about twenty pounds of hair. The U.S. Museum's Content Committee, composed of scholars, religious leaders, museum officials, and survivors debated whether to display the hair. Many believed it was important to show the hair as an important element of the historical record, but the survivors, knowing that the hair could have come from their mothers or sisters, opposed display of it. The Committee agreed and decided to show only a photographic mural of material at the Auschwitz Museum, including photographs of the two tons of human hair there. Timothy W. Ryback, "Evidence of Evil," *The New Yorker* (November 15, 1993), 68-69.

[30]If oppression is immanent in the objects of everyday life, resistance might be as well. We see a recipe recorded by a prisoner (at 16 minutes 14 seconds), a common activity among starving inmates of the female concentration camp at Ravensbrück. Was this a recipe recorded by Germaine Tillion, whom Lindeperg identifies as having contributed the cloth with writing on it we see just before the recipe? Intent that those who operated the camps eventually be tried and punished, Tillion recorded the names of camp officials in code in apparently anodyne recipes. Germaine Tillion, *Ravensbrück* (Paris: Seuil, 1988).

[31]Donald Reid, "From Ravensbrück to Algiers and Noisy-le-Grand: Dialogues with Deportation," *French Politics, Society & Culture*, 22:3 (Fall 2004), 1-24. For discussion of one work of art created by a deportee as an act of resistance and which was the fruit of other prisoners' solidarity—and contributed to this solidarity, see Donald Reid, "Available in Hell: Germaine Tillion's Operetta of Resistance at Ravensbrück," *French Politics, Culture & Society*, 25:2 (Summer 2007), 141-50.

Holocaust does not constitute denial. However, the fact that students raise this question can be used to show them that as readers of documents, they themselves are situated historically. At the time *Night and Fog* was made, denial of the Holocaust (as opposed to repression of discussion of it) was not broadly disseminated. The denial of the Holocaust that is now widespread is a later phenomenon, related to a resurgence of antisemitism and to the heightened resentment of Israel and what critics believe is a rationale for its illegitimate existence. Deniers' strategy has been a hyper-attentiveness to historical detail. They are, of course, not concerned with the presentation of images in *Night and Fog* as depictions of a generic deportation, when they are of Jews being deported and designated for extermination. Looking at *Night and Fog*, Holocaust deniers concern themselves with the occasional questionable assertion or factual error in the film.[32] Are the marks on the ceilings of gas chambers from the fingernails of those being killed as we are told in *Night and Fog*? Probably not, but since one cannot interview the dead, we will never know. It was long believed, as we are told in *Night and Fog*, that the Nazis made soap from the corpses, but it is now known they were unsuccessful at doing this.[33]

More revealing is the photograph in the film that purports to show unidentified deportees rounded up at the Vél d'Hiv, the site in Paris of a large round-up of Jews for deportation in July 1942. This is how the photograph was labeled in the archives in which historians working on the film found it. The photo was not correctly identified until 1983, when Serge Klarsfeld, master sleuth of Nazi Holocaust perpetrators in hiding, showed that the photograph was, in fact, of individuals suspected of collaboration with the Germans being rounded up at the Vél d'Hiv after the liberation of France in 1944.[34] The deniers' method is to argue that any documentary error in a text such as *Night and Fog* throws into doubt the totality of the text. Starting from consideration of this position, students can move to analysis of the documentary film as an historical document itself. Instead of dismissing *Night and Fog* for inaccuracies, might errors in the film enable viewers to interpret the context in which it was made? After the war, the extreme right in France sought to absolve itself by pairing the crimes of collaboration with Germany with acts taken during the purge of collaborators at Liberation. This was anathema to deported resisters. Those who worked on *Night and Fog* knew of the Vél d'Hiv round-up in July 1942, but had still been in concentration camps during the immediate post-Liberation period. The fact that archival documents contain errors and that witnesses and historians bring their own experiences and

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[32]See, for example, Robert Faurisson, "How many deaths at Auschwitz?" *The Revisionist* (2003), note 11, at www.vho.org/tr/2003/1/Faurisson17-23.html (accessed on October 6, 2008).

[33]Lindeperg, *"Nuit et Brouillard,"* 92-93.

[34]Ibid., 58-59. The photograph of Vél d'Hiv' appears at 4 minutes 50 seconds into the film.

understandings of the past into play are important lessons for students, who see that documentary films need to be analyzed with the same attention they bring to all documents. A documentary error does not necessitate abandoning the whole of a text, but might be revealing of new insights into the production of the text itself and what this error reveals about the historical context in which the text was made.

To understand *Night and Fog* as a work of history and a work of art, and to understand what guides viewers to interpret the images as they do, students can analyze the role of music and of the script in reception of the film. Hans Eisler wrote the music for the film. His life offers a commentary on the historical context of the film. Eisler, a German Jew with close ties to the Communist Party, had to leave his homeland during the Third Reich. He went to Hollywood, but became a target of Senator Joseph McCarthy's investigations after the war. Forced to leave the United States, he moved to East Germany. How does Eisler's score enhance the effect the film has on viewers? Resnais's answer was that "the more violent the image, the lighter the music. Eisler wanted to show that the optimism and hope of man always existed in the background."[35] However, the music itself conveyed arguments as well. Eisler worked elements of *Lied der Deutschen (Deutschland über alles)* into the music for the footage of Germans loading Jews into railway cars at Westerbork. This had been the national anthem of the Weimar Republic and was that of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) as well. The West German government cut this part of the soundtrack from the copies of *Night and Fog* it distributed to German schools.[36] A generation later, West German filmmaker Alexander Kluge went one step further. In *The Patriot* (1979), he used music from *Night and Fog*, which had become widely known in a film to remember the victims of the Germans, to accompany footage showing Germans as the victims of history.[37]

Resnais had wanted a deportee like Cayrol to write the text for the film. Cayrol's brother, Pierre Resnais, a resister as well, had died in a concentration camp. Cayrol spoke of Franz Kafka and his novel *The Penal Colony* as the first thing he thought of

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[35]Gaston Bounoure, *Alain Resnais* (Paris: Seghers, 1974), 119. Cayrol said he would have preferred to "the Dantesque vision" of *Night and Fog* a "comic opera on the period in which I was losing my youth." Cayrol's ironic text and what he calls "the close to waltzes on Hitler" of Eisler—"I wanted to be delirious," wrote Cayrol—respond to this. Lindeperg, *"Nuit et Brouillard,"* 124, 135.

[36]Lindeperg, *"Nuit et Brouillard,"* 139. Eisler had, after all, written the East German national anthem.

[37]Bartov, *Murder in Our Midst*, 140-41. However, this appropriation is yet more complicated. Unbeknownst to Resnais, Eisler had originally written the music heard in *Night and Fog* which Kluge would later use in *The Patriot*, for an East German drama on the German invasion of and defeat in the Soviet Union, in an effort to express both mourning for the loss of Germans and celebration of the socialist victory. Lindeperg, *"Nuit et Brouillard,"* 136-39.

when he'd entered the camp.[38] Cayrol's prize-winning novel, *Je vivrai l'amour des autres* (1947) addressed the difficulty of returning to France from the camps. In an extraordinary collection of articles, *Lazare parmi nous* (1950), Cayrol developed the figure of the deportee who survived as Lazarus, who had experienced death and returned, forever affected by the experience.[39] In an essay on "Lazarian art," Cayrol moved from camp memoirs to a re-reading of the literary canon as it existed before the camps, not to search for political precedents, but for intimations of the emotional experience of the camps, which Cayrol in turn saw traversing postwar culture: "the corruption of our world by the concentration camp or Larzarian element."[40] Cayrol

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[38]Lindeperg, "*Nuit et Brouillard*," 120.

[39]Hanna Arendt also describes the camp survivor as like Lazarus risen from the dead. *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1973), 441. François Mauriac saw in Elie Wiesel "the gaze of a Lazarus risen from the dead yet still held captive in the somber regions into which he had strayed, stumbling over desecrated corpses." "Foreword" to Elie Wiesel, *Night,* trans. Marion Wiesel (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), xix. Mauriac's letter of 5 May 1958, in response to Wiesel's appreciation for the preface, is addressed to "Cher Lazare Wiesel." François Mauriac, *Nouvelles lettres d'une vie (1906-1970)*, ed. Caroline Mauriac (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1989), 297. André Malraux brought the figure of Lazarus as the deported resister who returned into criticism of disputes over how the past should be remembered: "What dismays me is to see Lazarus coming back from the dead to argue over the shape of the tombs." Cited by Susan Rubin Suleiman in *Crises of Memory and the Second World War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 74.

Many have described the movement in the film from the Nazis coming to power and the construction of the first camp at Dachau in 1933 to the end of the regime and the camps in 1945 in terms of the stations of the cross, beginning with the historians who laid out the exposition at the origin of *Night and Fog* and who went on to serve as primary historical consultants for the film. Lindeperg, *"Nuit et Brouillard*," 56. Vincent Pinel, in his *fiche filmographique* on *Night and Fog*, long the most detailed study of the film (reprinted in Raskin, *Nuit et brouillard*, 142-46) speaks of Resnais' "transposition of the Christian idea of 'original sin'": "the first crime against humanity brings a defilement that it will be difficult to erase." All who follow will be born with an original sin that no baptism or affirmation of faith can wash away. Arnaud-Jean Cauliez was blunter, suggesting that the viewer of *Night and Fog* would feel the return of original sin (*Télé-Ciné*, July-August 1956, reprinted in Raskin, *Nuit et brouillard*, 148-49). Cayrol and others used the discourses they had, in his case Christian, to make sense of the unfathomable. Recognizing this, students can think about how individuals and societies faced with the traumatic, the unimaginable, use their most valued discursive resources to characterize and understand these experiences. Many Marxists confronted with the camps did the same with Marxist discourse, and there are traces of this—what appealed most in the film to 1968 era radicals—in *Night and Fog*. Students can ask how the use of discourse developed in very different historical contexts can enhance and can distort our understanding of events and experiences like those of the Nazi camps.

[40]Jean Cayrol, *Lazare parmi nous* (Paris: Seuil, 1950), 12. *Night and Fog* is criticized for failing to make clear the particular experience of the Jews in the Holocaust. The Lazarus metaphor reveals an element of the difference between the memory of the camps we see in *Night and Fog* and the memory of the Holocaust. The Lazarus figure returning from the camps is a figure of continuity. Scarred, haunted, and traumatized, he returns with the ability and curse of seeing what could not be seen before in the culture

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hailed Albert Camus, resister, but not deportee, as "the first historian and researcher" of Lazarian art."[41] Students engage easily with Cayrol's use of irony to tell of the imbrication of the normal world in the construction of the "apparent city" [*cité vraisemblable*] with all the accoutrements: entrepreneurs bid for contracts and gave bribes; buildings were constructed in different styles, Alpine or Japanese or no style at all; there were hospitals with illusory treatments in a world devoted to death; with "their storehouse of Nazis at war" of human hair, bones, and fat, the camps evoked industrial production, efficient in its inhumanity.[42] However, what begins with the distancing implicit in irony becomes for viewers the far more threatening origins of the abnormal in the practices of a world like that in which they live, which they know as normal.

Night and Fog had its origins in deported resisters' fear that memory of the camps would be relegated to a history past and forgotten. The film's concluding passage makes clear that Cayrol did not, as he said, write as a "war veteran," for the battle in which he had engaged continues.[43] The camps were built with the practices and the language of the world in which we live today. At the end of the film, we see camp officials from the lowest to the highest ranks deny "responsibility" for what went on in them. Guilt (the word used in German translations of Cayrol's text) suggests crimes committed by individuals, crimes for which most viewers could absolve themselves. However, responsibility, the term used by Cayrol, places far more onus on the viewer: responsibility for not opposing systems that could perform criminal acts; responsibility for ignoring inhumane acts invisible to those who do not want to see. The Nazi concentration camps might be gone, but we must not ignore their successors today. In the final line of the film, Cayrol reminds us that one does not cure the "concentration camp plague,"[44] an echo of Albert Camus's last sentence of *The Plague* (1947): "... the plague bacillus never dies or disappears for good."[45] *Night and Fog*

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[40](...continued)
he left. The Holocaust is the narrative of a break, the extermination of Yiddish culture with those who carried it. On this rupture, see Annette Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness,* trans. Jared Stark (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

[41]Cayarol, *Lazare parmi nous*, 77.

[42]Cayrol, *Nuit et brouillard*, 32, 36, 39.

[43]Cayrol, *Lazare parmi nous*, 8.

[44]Cayrol, *Nuit et brouillard*, 43.

[45]Albert Camus, *The Plague*, trans. Stuart Gilbert (New York: Albert A. Knopf, 1962), 278. The camp may have been site of the plague, but this made survivors like Cayrol and Wiesel "plague-stricken," in
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evokes resistance within the camps, but calls on resistance today against the inhumanity that created them and let them persist.

West Germans were sensitive about the presence of former Nazis in their government. Communists, reeling in 1956 from Nikita Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's camps during his "Secret Speech" to the twentieth congress of the Soviet Communist Party, feared that viewers would see Cayrol's concluding question as an accusation directed at them.[46] In fact, Cayrol and Resnais had in mind the use of "regroupment centers" by the French Army in the ongoing Algerian War of Independence:[47] "Do the new executioners really have a different face than our own?"[48] Pierre Daix, another resister deported, like Cayrol, to Mauthausen, and a Communist, wrote in 1956 of the shame he felt when a colonial subject looked on him. But, he

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[45](...continued)
the words of Jacques Doniol-Valcroze (*Cahiers du cinéma*, May 1956, reprinted in Raskin, *Nuit et brouillard*, 147). They carry an experience that can be, and should be, deeply unsettling to a world which maintains a quarantine from confrontation with the camps, even when it does not think it is doing so.

[46]*Night and Fog* was first shown on American television in a cut-and-paste version in which the camp scenes were edited to focus on extermination, and an extended conclusion on Communist atrocities was added. Lindeperg, *"Nuit et Brouillard,"* 206-16.

[47]Henri Michel, the director of the Committee which commissioned *Night and Fog*, and historical consultant for the film, feared Cayrol and Resnais would be successful—that French youth would draw the parallel between Nazi practices and French practices in Algeria. Michel himself envisaged showing *Night and Fog* in former French colonies to make inhabitants realize how much better French colonization was than other alternatives Africans could have experienced! Ibid., 226-27.

[48]Cayrol, *Nuit et brouillard*, 42. In 1960, Resnais signed the "Manifesto of the 121," asserting support for the right of French men to refuse to serve in the army pursuing the war in Algeria. Cayrol's next project with Resnais was the film *Mureil* (1963), set in Boulogne-sur-Mer. *Muriel* features a French soldier Bernard, who has returned from Algeria. *Muriel* implicitly asks what if a German combatant had set out in 1945 to address elements of the experience presented in *Night and Fog*. The film is set in the fall of 1962, not long after the end of the war. Bernard is haunted by memory of his fellow soldier Robert's torture of the Algerian woman, Muriel, that he witnessed in Algeria. As Bernard recounts her torture in a clarity and wrenching detail unlike any other element of the script, he screens his ineptly made movie of scenes of North African life, "very postcard" in Cayrol's words, and of young men goofing around for the camera. Jean Cayrol, *Muriel* (Paris: Seuil, 1963), 89-90. The juxtaposition of these anodyne images with the narration of the brutal death of Muriel recreates in a minor mode the contention in *Night and Fog* that the most inhumane acts emerge from a world of recognizably humane images. If *Night and Fog* was the documentary that made the effort to show what had happened, the footage in *Muriel* shows how film can totally miss "what happened," can preserve another memory. The French were defeated in Algeria, but there was no Nuremberg trial, no archives available in the 1960s to reveal what the French had seen and done. In the character of Bernard, Cayrol asks what if perpetrators who deny responsibility at the end of *Night and Fog* could not dismiss their acts easily as does Robert, who touts to Bernard the amnesty the French republic gave to all French soldiers for their acts in Algeria. Ibid., 115.

continued, *Night and Fog* allowed him not to avert his face: "For the first time, taken from our very own experience, a short film proclaims out loud that we didn't live in vain in the prisons of death; that our country would draw publicly all the lessons."[49]

Night and Fog offers an excellent opportunity for students to engage a document of history as historians of a document. They can move beyond an initial question: Is the film true to the truths the film seeks to convey? After *Night and Fog*, Resnais began work on a documentary about Hiroshima. However, he abandoned it in favor of his first feature-length dramatic film, *Hiroshima mon amour*, written by Marguerite Duras. At the beginning of this film, we see documentary shots of the devastation of Hiroshima and hear a French actress, herself haunted by the trauma of having had her head shaven as a collaborator when France was liberated for her love affair with a German soldier. She is in Hiroshima to perform in an "edifying film on peace" and tells us what she has seen at the museum of Hiroshima.[50] The man who becomes her lover, whose family died in Hiroshima, repeatedly replies that she has seen nothing in Hiroshima. In her "synopsis" of the film, Duras wrote that "it is impossible to speak of Hiroshima. All one can do is speak of the impossibility of speaking of Hiroshima." Then she corrects herself. One can speak of Hiroshima; the "sacrilege" is Hiroshima itself.[51] What historians can speak of and what they cannot is at the core of any viewing and interpretation of *Night and Fog*.

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[49]*Les Lettres Françaises*, April 12, 1956, reprinted in Raskin, *Nuit et brouillard*, 140-41.

[50]Marguerite Duras, "Synopsis" in *Hiroshima mon amour* (Paris: Gallimard, 1960), 6. *Hiroshima mon amour* was withdrawn from competition at Cannes so as not to offend the United States, which had made use of nuclear weapons at Hiroshima. Jean-Louis Leutrat, *Hiroshima mon amour. Alain Resnais. Étude critique* (Paris: Nathan, 1994), 37.

[51]Duras, "Synopsis," 2-3.

TEACHING THE HISTORY OF CHINESE CHRISTIANITY: SOME PEDAGOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

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Introduction

Beginning in the sixteenth century, European Catholic orders, including Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans, introduced Christianity and established mission outposts in China. Protestant missionary societies arrived in the middle of the nineteenth century. Despite the Eurocentric view of Christianity conveyed by Western missionaries, many Chinese believers successfully recruited converts, built churches, and integrated Christianity with traditional values, customs, and social structure. This pattern of Chinese church growth represents a large-scale religious development comparable in importance to the growth of Catholicism, Protestantism, and orthodoxy Christianity in continental Europe, the rise of Islam, and the Buddhist transformation of East Asia. The story of the Chinese church is an important chapter of the global history of cross-cultural interactions. The knowledge and insights gained from the China story throw light on the emergence of Christianity as a fast-growing religious movement in the non-Western world.

Some important questions arise for history teachers: How can we teach the history of Chinese Christianity, especially the transmission, acceptance, and appropriation of the Christian message in a Chinese context? How can we make the subject matter relevant to the discussion of Christian movements in contemporary China and of cross-cultural dialogues in the twenty-first century? What pedagogies should we use to contribute to a critical understanding of Christianity as an integral part of modern Chinese history and a fundamental aspect of human experience without teaching from a religious or ideological bias? How can we apply some of the pedagogies into a Chinese or Asian history survey and a World Civilizations survey? This article addresses these questions and looks at some pedagogical issues that arise from teaching the history of Chinese Christianity at the college and university level in the United States.

Over the last few years, I have drawn on research and fieldwork experience to teach an upper-level history course called "Bible and Gun: Christianity in China" at Pace University in New York City. This course presents an historical overview of the development of Christianity in China from 1500 to the present. Pace University has a diverse student body. The students take this course for different reasons. Some students are curious about any subjects related to China. Some students want to compare the development of Chinese Christianity with the Church in the West. Students from Russian Orthodox, Hispanic Catholic, Asian-American Protestant, and African-American Pentecostal backgrounds express strong interest in the religious experience of the Chinese church. Students majoring in political science, religious

studies, sociology, and anthropology are interested in church-state relations, human rights, and religious freedom in contemporary China. The students' intellectual concerns generate many interesting questions for discussion in each class session.

Beginning with a discussion of academic objectives and content of this course on Chinese Christianity, this article examines the use of historical games in teaching American college students about Christian missionary experiences abroad, the dynamics of Sino-Christian cultural interactions, and the indigenization of Christianity in modern China. As I argue elsewhere, historical games can be used as an interactive and reflective pedagogy in courses with international, cross-cultural, and comparative foci.[1] These innovative games are set in a particular political and social setting. Students are assigned specific roles and tasks informed by primary sources. By incorporating these materials into historical games, this course enables students to relive the past and gain personal perspectives on controversial topics such as the Rites Controversy in early Catholic missionary movements in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century China, the Protestant missionaries' reaction to the Opium War (1839-1842), the Taiping Movement (1850-1864), and the outbreak of the Boxer Uprising (1900). This style of pedagogy not only arouses students' interest in learning the development of Christianity in China, but it also makes them aware of the similarity of these problems elsewhere around the globe. Instead of subscribing to a deterministic view of history, students recognize that all events are unique. Contingency is a major principle of all historical interpretations. Whatever happens in the past is not random, but it is contingent on multiple factors, including the vagaries of individual acts. It is the historian's job to place the relevant factors into focus.

Why Teach a Course on Christianity in China?

This undergraduate course on the history of Chinese Christianity examines the internal and external factors that shaped Chinese responses to this world religion. It shifts the focus of attention from the role of Western missionaries in China to the study of Chinese participants in order to explore what Clifford Geetz calls "a native point of view" in the history of Sino-Christian interaction.[2] This reflects a new awareness of the experience of Chinese Christians and the development of Christian communities in

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[1]Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, "Teaching Nonviolence in Times of War," *Academic Exchange Quarterly*, 9:2 (Summer 2005), 240-245.

[2]Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 55.

the local society.[3] Major topics include the early history of Nestorian Christianity, the Jesuit mission and the Rites Controversy, foreign imperialism and anti-Christian violence in late nineteenth-century China, the emergence of Chinese Christian villages in the interior, the Christian involvement in rebellions and revolutions, and the church and state in the post-1949 era. After completing this course, students will gain a greater awareness of the cultural interactions between Christianity and China since 1500.

The course usually has twenty students per semester and the class meets for three hours a week. Each week, the class focuses on a particular historical topic. Students are required to finish weekly reading assignments and post questions and comments on Blackboard before coming to class. Besides submitting two research papers and completing the mid-term and final examinations, students should participate in classroom debates and presentations on selected topics.

The assigned readings for this course include historical narratives, scholarly articles, and English translations of Chinese primary sources. The key text is Daniel H. Bays' *History of Christianity in China*, which consists of many critical studies of the Chinese encounter with Catholicism and Protestantism and the experience of native believers in the local society.[4] The latest studies by David E. Mungello and Lars Peter Laamann throw light on the Chinese interaction with Catholicism at the intellectual and the popular levels. Both Mungello and Laamann bring to life the human experience of European Catholic missionaries operating in the interior before and after the Rites Controversy. They reveal the sense of loss and isolation, the problems of poverty, intra-mission disputes, interdenominational conflicts, and the worldly temptations facing missionaries on the ground. Because missionaries were totally dependent on their Chinese converts, Catholicism became assimilated into the local culture prior to the arrival of Western imperialism in the middle of the nineteenth century.[5]

In addition, the English translation of *100 Documents Relating to the Chinese Rites Controversy (1645-1941)* complied by the Ricci Institute at the University of San

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[3]Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, *The Bible and the Gun: Christianity in South China, 1860-1900* (New York & London: Routledge, 2003), Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, "Testing Missionary Archives against Congregational Histories: Mapping Christian Communities in South China," *Exchange: Journal of Missiological and Ecumenical Research*, 32:4 (2003), 361-377.

[4]Daniel H. Bays, ed., *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

[5]David E. Mungello, *The Forgotten Christians of Hangzhou* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), and *The Spirit and the Flesh of Shandong, 1650-1785* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2001). See also Lars Peter Laamann, *Christian Heretics in Late Imperial China: Christian Inculturation and State Contol, 1720-1850* (London & New York: Routledge, 2006).

Francisco is a useful source book.[6] The Rites Controversy revealed major disagreement among Roman Catholic missionaries on how Catholicism should relate to traditional Chinese rites for honoring ancestors and their ancient philosopher, Confucius, and what appropriate Chinese terms should be used to refer to the Christian God. Because the Pope had a final say in the debates, the Jesuits, Dominicans, Augustinians, Franciscans, and members of the Paris Foreign Mission Society fought for approval from Rome for their respective mission policies to the Rites Controversy. The controversy makes a fascinating study of the Sino-Western encounter. It highlights the major philosophical differences between Western Christendom and Chinese Empire, and reveals the intense rivalries between different Catholic missionary societies and their relations with the Vatican.

Students consult scholarly studies of Catholic and Protestant missionary societies to understand the operations of Western missionary enterprises in China and their contributions to China's modernization and nation-building efforts.[7] Students always praise Jonathan D. Spence's acclaimed study of the Taiping leader, *God's Chinese Son*, for its lucid and colorful account of Hong Xiuquan's conversion experience, his theology, and his political campaign.[8] An in-depth study of church-state relations in post-1949 China appears in works by Eriberto Patrick Lozada, Richard Madsen, David Aikman, and Jason Kindopp and Carol Lee Hamrin.[9] Furthermore, biographies by

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[6]Ray R. Noll, ed., and Donald F. St. Sure, trans., *100 Roman Documents Relating to the Chinese Rites Controversy (1645-1941)* (San Francisco: The Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco, 1992).

[7]Alvyn J. Austin, *Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom, 1888-1959* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), and *China's Missions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905* (Grand Rapids, MI: William Eerdmans, 2007), Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John King Fairbank, eds., *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings* (Cambridge: Committee on American-East Asian Relations of the Department of History, Harvard University, 1985), Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), Jessie G. Lutz and Rolland Ray Lutz, *Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity, 1850-1900* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), Kathleen L. Lodwick, *Crusaders against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China, 1874-1917* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), Oi-Ki Ling, *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999), Murray A. Rubinstein, *The Protestant Community on Modern Taiwan: Mission, Seminary and Church* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1991), Jean-Paul Wiest, *Maryknoll in China: A History, 1918-1955* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1988).

[8]Jonathan D. Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1996).

[9]Eriberto Patrick Lozada, *God Aboveground: Catholic Church, Postsocialist State, and Transnational Process in a Chinese Village* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), Richard Madsen, *China's Catholics: Tragedy and Hope in an Emerging Civil Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press,

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Bernard Wang, David Lin, and Robert Huang add a personal dimension to the study of religion and politics in the Maoist era.[10] These books and relevant journal articles are the reference materials for the course.

Pedagogically, an undergraduate course about the history of Chinese Christianity introduces students to basic research skills and provides them with sufficient knowledge to understand a subject that is largely unfamiliar to them. For example, it challenges students to examine critically the nature of Christian missionary expansion into China and missionaries' relations with both Chinese and Western secular authorities. It also helps them explore the Chinese reaction to Christianity, especially the phenomenon of mass conversions and the creation of Christian villages, the Taiping Movement, and the Christians' participation in nation-building in the twentieth century.

Thematically, this course seeks to address several goals. The first goal is to help students develop a China-centered rather than a mission-centered perspective when looking at Western missionary experiences in China. By a critical reading of scholarly publications on the history of Chinese Christianity and some selected missionaries' writings, I remind students that Catholic and Protestant missionaries working in China never acted in a social and cultural vacuum. Whatever they did and said was a reaction to the problems and issues that they encountered in the local society and politics. When studying the scholarly texts and primary sources, I often ask students to look at the Chinese side of the story. For example, it is important to look at the translated writings by Chinese believers in order to understand why many native converts saw Christianity as an escape from a society deep in crisis and as a way to achieve moral cultivation and harmony between man and heaven.

Another example of interplay between Christianity and Chinese traditions occurred in the context of mid-nineteenth-century South China where Hong Xiuquan, inspired by a Christian tract, proclaimed himself the Chinese son of God and the younger brother of Jesus Christ. He preached about the coming of his Father's Kingdom and founded the Society of God Worshippers, a mass movement that quickly developed into a political and military force against the Manchu dynasty. Hong and his followers defeated the imperial armies and founded a new government in Nanjing

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[9](...continued)
1998); David Aikman, *Jesus in Beijing: How Christianity is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Power* (Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 2003), Jason Kindopp and Carol Lee Hamrin, eds., *God and Caesar in China; Policy Implications of Church-State Tensions* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2004).

[10]Claudia Devaux and George Bernard Wong, *Bamboo Swaying in the Wind: A Survivor's Story of Faith and Imprisonment in Communist China* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2000), David Lin, *China Letters: A Collection of Essays* (Rapidan, VA: Hartland Publications, 1993), Stanley M. Maxwell and Robert Huang, *Prisoner for Christ: How God Sustained Pastor Huang in a Shanghai Prison* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 2004).

known as the Taiping Tianguo (or the Heavenly Kingdom of Everlasting Peace). While Anglo-American missionaries stressed individual salvation from sin, Hong Xiuquan was concerned with the national salvation of China. As with other Confucian literati, Hong was looking for the "Original Way" (*yuandao*). His understanding of Christianity derived from his knowledge of Chinese classics. When he first saw the translated term *Shangdi* (the Heavenly Lord) in the Bible, he thought of the reference to *Shangdi* in one of the ancient Chinese texts, *Shujing, (The Book of History)*. By Christianizing the Chinese concept of *Shangdi*, Hong rejected the legitimacy of the imperial Chinese institution and condemned the imperial emperors as blasphemous rulers. It is against this theological background that iconoclasm permeated the Taiping Movement. Smashing idols and rebelling against blasphemous rulers were two sides of the same coin in the Taiping crusade.[11]

The Taiping leaders were also committed to economic equality and social justice. They took over China's economic heartland from 1853 to 1864. They propagated the universal brotherhood and sisterhood under one true and only God. They banned opium smoking, foot-binding, prostitution, and alcoholism. Women were to be treated as equals of men and were to be permitted to hold office, fight in the army, and take government examinations. Civil service examinations were based on Christian rather than Confucian principles. More remarkable was Taiping land reform that divided all land among families of the Taiping Christians and their supporters according to family size with men and women receiving equal shares. However, factional struggles among the leaders and lack of support from the West undermined the Taiping domination of central China. On July 19, 1864, imperial troops stormed into Nanjing and crashed the Taiping headquarters. Subsequently, Manchu rulers effaced all memory of the Taiping Christians. In similar fashion, foreign missionaries refused to acknowledge Hong's efforts to integrate Christianity with Chinese culture. Instead most missionaries associated the Christian faith with the military power of the West. Their obsession with the Bible and the gun betrayed Hong Xiuquan's efforts to transform Christianity into a driving force of national and cultural liberation in China. Though the Taiping Movement ended in failure, it represented a new form of political mobilization and religious integration in late imperial China. The study of the Taiping Movement challenges students to understand the endogenous and exogenous forces that shaped the political and social functions of Christianity in a specific context.

On the other hand, we should not overlook the positive impact that European and American missionaries had on Chinese society. The best example can be seen in the role that Protestant missionaries played in establishing the International Safety Zone and rescuing large numbers of civilians during the"Rape of Nanking" in December 1937. The publication of the missionaries' correspondence about this tragic event

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[11]Thomas H. Reilly, *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom: Rebellion and Blasphemy of Empire* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004).

throws light on the complexities of religion and politics in wartime China.[12] On the controversial subject of church-state relations in Maoist China, I urge students to go beyond the conventional discourse in the West of religious persecution in order to see how the Communist religious policies were, in fact, an integral part of the nation-building process. I refer to the stories of Y.T. Wu (Wu Yuzong), Watchman Nee, and Wang Mingdao in discussing the strategies that some Catholic and Protestant leaders developed to engage with the socialist state after 1949.[13]

The second goal of this course is to acknowledge the active agency of Chinese believers in their religious transformation and the important role that they played in the establishment of Christian communities and in the spread of religious values within and between generations. Christianity became far more indigenous in modern China than has been acknowledged in the scholarly literature and mass media. What contributed to its success was the ongoing process of indigenization (how Christianity became integrated into local society and culture), localization (how the Church was created as a territorial body at the local level), and networking effect (how the religious message was passed from individual to individual, family to family, and village to village). Chinese Christians never kept their faith to themselves but took the gospel message to others and planted large numbers of churches. They played an active role in advancing Christian interests and transforming the church into a native institution at their home villages. They did not run the church according to some rigid regulations imposed by foreign missionaries. Instead, they skillfully combined the Western church model with the Chinese kinship, village, and lineage networks to construct their congregations. Their creativity and efforts earned them the reputation of cultural pioneers at the crossroads of East and West. Only by looking at the lives of these humble believers can we acquire a better understanding of the impact of Christianity in China.

The third goal is to acknowledge the conversion experience of Chinese believers and the ongoing development of Christian communities. Current scholarly interest in the dynamics of Chinese Christianity, responding to church growth in post-Mao China, recognizes Christian communities as an important site of Sino-Christian interaction. Coming from marginal sectors of society, rural Christians believed that this new religion would enable them to rely on foreign missionary resources and secular authorities for protection. They believed that their conversions would provide

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[12]Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), Zhang Kaiyuang, ed., *Eyewitness to Massacre: American Missionaries Bear Witness to Japanese Atrocities in Nanjing* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2000), Timothy Brooks, ed., *Documents on the Rape of Nanking* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002).

[13]Thomas Alan Harvey, *Acquainted with Grief: Wang Mingdao's Stand for the Persecuted Church in China* (Grand Rapids, MI: Bazos Press, 2002), Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, "Watchman Nee and the Little Flock Movement in Maoist China," *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture*, 74:1 (March 2005), 68-96.

advantages in the competitive arena of local politics. Their continued adherence to the Christian faith and their efforts to integrate Christianity into local society highlight the importance of native evangelistic movements as part of traditional religious diversities in rural China.

The China-centered dimension places Chinese Christians and their interactions with foreign missionaries at the center of discussion. This fosters an outlook of cultural sensitivity and global interdependence and creates a participatory and shared intellectual environment between students and teacher. It enables students to situate the development of the Church within the wider contexts of internal and external conflicts within China from the past to the present. Second, it promotes a multicultural understanding of the history of Chinese Christianity and it makes a significant contribution to East-West dialogue, showing that the core values of Christian, Buddhist, and Confucian civilizations—decency, civility, concern for public good, idealism, and critical thinking—are as important concerns for Christians in the past as for us today. It indicates that the interactions among different civilizations is not always a "clash," as Samuel P. Huntington has argued, but an entanglement whose inspirations are worth exploring and whose mutual developments are worth promoting.[14] Therefore, students do not just engage in an active dialogue with the minds of the past. They also develop a more sophisticated understanding of the world as opposed to a simplistic division of the globe into mutually exclusive and hostile civilizations. In fact, instructors can integrate some of the topics on the history of Chinese Christianity into an Asian or Chinese history survey and a World Civilizations survey. For example, we can ask students to compare the revolutionary ideas, mobilizing tactics, and political outcomes between Hong Xiuquan's Taiping Movement and Mao Zedong's Communist Revolution of 1949. We also can discuss the experience and survival tactics of civilians in World War II through a study of the missionaries' humanitarian works during the "Rape of Nanking."

What Are the Learning Outcomes?

To further stimulate interest in the subject matter, I use some role-playing games to teach the history of Chinese Christianity. I assign students "historical roles" with "victory objectives" informed by translated missionaries' sources. I ask them through role-playing games to debate controversial subjects such as the Rites Controversy, the Taiping Movement, and the Boxer Uprising. I divide them into teams and ask them to study the sources carefully, prepare their arguments in writing, and present their ideas in class debates. While students collaborate with each other in group discussion, they are continuously reminded in the games to present their arguments logically and

[14]Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs*, 72:3 (Summer 1993), 22-49.

sensibly. The preparation proves to be a difficult task, but the results meet and even exceed expectations.

This innovative pedagogy enhances the personal interaction between students and teacher in preparation for each game, the students' commitment to understanding the particular texts thoroughly in order to play the game, and their constant enthusiasm and excitement in group discussion. Drawing on student evaluations and feedback, what follows is an assessment of the strengths and limitations of their innovative pedagogy.

Most students find the games to be a challenging, stimulating, and engaging learning tool. The games draw attention to the complexity of past events through a combination of primary sources, historical role playing, and debates. In particular, the reacting nature of the games allows students to reconstruct the events such as the Taiping Movement and the Boxer Uprising. By participating in the games as if they were living in the past, students find it easier to understand the complexities that Hong Xiuquan, the Boxer soldiers, and the local Chinese Christians encountered in times of crises. As one student remarked:

> [The strength of the games] ... lies in the fact that it makes you aware of the crises faced by these historical figures in China. You almost feel as if you were Hong Xiuquan or the Boxers. As a learning tool, the games make you understand these events better. It is one thing to sit there and read about the events. It is another experience when you can actually relive these events.

Thus, this interactive pedagogy results in a valuable learning experience and students often refer to these games as an exciting way of learning history. Fascinated by the whole experience, one student made the following comments:

> I feel the games help me understand the events a lot better than just reading the book alone. It is a more hands-on approach and it is a lot of fun. ... The games change one's perception of history in general ... A stereotype of history often states that it is boring and all you do is sit and memorize dates, names and places. The games kill that stereotype because not only do you study history, but you actually live it out and have fun with it.

Through active involvement, students come to understand the past and develop effective interpersonal skills, which they would have otherwise had no opportunity to acquire in a traditional classroom setting.

Underlying this interactive pedagogy is a participatory learning experience between students and teacher. The ultimate goal of this cooperative and co-creative

learning process is to transform students from passive recipients into active learners. As one student recalled:

> I would say that this interactive learning is my favorite. I believe people learn better when they participate rather than simply being lectured to. During these debates, my mind does not wander ... I am constantly on my toes about what is happening and this helps me remember the topics under discussion. I remember things because I want to, not because I must cram for the examination and then forget it all. ... The games provide a creative outlet for us to take part in re-acting major historical moments.

Given the competitive nature of the games, each team must be critical of the sources and evidence used by the other teams to construct their arguments. The effective use of primary sources is indeed a key to the success of the games. The primary sources take students back to the events and the mindsets of the past and arouse a sense of curiosity and imagination among students throughout the learning process.

Conclusion

This course on the history of Chinese Christianity introduces students to the narratives of Western missionaries and Chinese converts in the modern era. Their stories are wonderful examples of religious communities that used Christian resources to empower themselves and to fight for positive change. These historical experiences enable students to understand better the rapid development of Christianity in mainland China today. Instead of asking how Christianity managed to survive in China from 1949 to the present, students look at the ways in which Christianity became deeply integrated into the society and in which Chinese believers used this religion to create a new set of religious, social, and political values in the process of nation-building and modernization. Other instructors might select some of these topics for discussion in an Asian, Chinese, or World Civilizations survey.

Conceptually, it is important to address the role of contingency in history. Some students asked about the historical alternatives (i.e., events that could have happened but did not). What if the Vatican had adopted the Jesuit approach in the Rites Controversy? What if the Taiping soldiers had succeeded in creating a Chinese Christian kingdom during the mid-nineteenth century? In exploring these alternatives, students did research on other important topics such as the conflicting ideas between Jesuits and Dominicans over Chinese rituals throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the factional struggles within the Taiping Movement. One might criticize such questions as "historical fantasies," but it is a great intellectual exercise to explore the question of "what might have been" with students rather than taking history for granted. The question of "what if" in history creates a much deeper impression on the students in understanding the past. After all, history without controversy is dead history. Controversies always challenge our opinions and raise questions about the human experience in other times and places. If alternative scenarios had happened, they would have completely changed the course of world history in the late twentieth century.

CORRECTING THE COURSE: THE ASSESSMENT LOOP

Maureen Murphy Nutting
North Seattle Community College

Background

In January 2002 President George W. Bush signed into law "An Act to close the achievement gap with accountability, flexibility, and choice, so that no child is left behind."[1] This "No Child Left Behind" (NCLB) law expanded federal jurisdiction of elementary and secondary schooling in the United States, which, from the founding of this country until the Lyndon B. Johnson administration, had been under the sole jurisdiction of state and local governments. NCLB also mandated the states to set standards for students from kindergarten through twelfth grade and to develop standardized assessments of student learning in mathematics, English, and science. The law required improvements in schools where the majority of students were failing, and it also required states to provide for student transfers from schools with failing records to schools where students were meeting statewide assessment standards.

While the discipline of history was not part of NCLB, history and social studies had been included in earlier and ongoing federal initiatives to evaluate student learning, in National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) tests developed as a result of Reagan administration initiatives in the Department of Education.[2] The NAEP tests did and still do include testing of students' knowledge of history facts. However, with the adoption of NCLB and its additional provisions for transfers and for attaching school funding to student performance levels in NCLB-mandated state tests, the result is that many teachers in school districts across the country teach to the English, math, and science tests and neglect history and the rest of the curriculum that is not subjected to NCLB scrutiny. The Department of Education provides Teaching American History (TAH) grants to fund programs proposed by local education agencies and their history partners to promote "traditional American history."[3] But TAH programs often have limited application, and nowhere do they compensate for the losses that social studies teaching and learning have suffered from programs that redirect curriculum, teaching time, and educational resources to meet NCLB standards. While all these programs deal with federal standards and state and local oversight of K-12 learning, post-

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[1]Public Law 107-110, 115 State. 1425, http://www.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/107-110.pd.

[2]For information on NAEP's history and programs, see http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/.

[3]The teaching American History Congressional initiative was introduced and championed by U.S. Senator William F. Byrd (D-West Virginia).

secondary assessment plans are underway that will affect the teaching and learning of history and other disciplines and interdisciplinary studies in American colleges and universities.

In the fall of 2006 the United States Department of Education, headed by Secretary Margaret Spellings, issued a lengthy report, "A Test of Leadership: Charting the Course of American Higher Education."[4] The report begins by noting that the federal government has made no significant decisions on American higher education since World War II when Congress passed the GI Bill of Rights and that American college and university graduates are falling behind graduates in math and the sciences at peer institutions in other countries, including nations with considerably fewer resources and far less stable pasts than the U.S. Then it calls for American colleges and universities to improve performance levels and to demonstrate that they are doing so. The report also recommends tying institutional accreditation—which ties to federal funding—to overall assessments of student learning in these public and private colleges and universities. Implicit in the Spellings Report is the message that if colleges and accrediting agencies continue to fail in their mission to ensure competitive learning in America's post-secondary institutions, then the federal government should take measures to correct this problem. Also implicit in the report is the suggestion that poorly- and non-performing schools should lose federal funding.

Recently the National History Center, with support from the Teagle Foundation, has convened several extraordinary conversations on history and history teaching and the differences in how history departments and history professors and how history education departments and education professors perceive what is and should be taught in the history classroom.[5] These meetings have suggested there are common grounds shared by some members of history and education departments, and that, if we historians do not embrace assessment on our own terms, others will impose assessment standards—and teaching agendas—upon us and our colleagues in the other academic disciplines. These standards will be enforced by accrediting agencies and those who choose to ignore them will risk losing accreditation and federal funding tied to accreditation.

Those of us who teach history at the post-secondary level know full well that our students are learning history and acquiring an understanding of how the past ties with the present. We know that in our courses students come to understand the importance of civic engagement and the consequences of disengagement. We know that history

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[4]See http://www.ed.gov/about/bdscomm/list/hiedfuture/reports/pre-pub-report.pdf.

[5]For information on the conferences, see http://www.nationalhistorycenter.org/conferences.html. The National History Center was created by the American Historical Association in 2002 as "a public trust dedicated to the study and teaching of history, as well as to the advancement of historical knowledge in government, business and the public at large." For more information on the NHC, go to http://www.nationalhistorycenter.org/index.html.

students learn to do research and to document their sources and that in writing and documenting papers they become better, more responsible, and more effective communicators. We watch them learn; we see them grow; and we hear them say that what they have learned from us has transformed them and equipped them for many life challenges.

But we are not inclined to document what we do or what our students learn. Savoring our academic freedom and preferring to use our time for intellectual and pedagogical pursuits and for community service, we see no need to underscore the obvious. However, others do, and since they do and since what they do could profoundly affect history teaching, we historians must establish clear criteria for what we want our students to learn. We must write, distribute, and post syllabi that clearly present student learning outcomes and clear explanations of the pathways by which students can meet our learning outcomes. We must also provide clear and compelling evidence that our students are learning history in such a way that they meet the general outcomes for learning set by our institutions in manners that are consistent with our institution's mission statement and general standards. We must demonstrate that we are consciously mindful that we are always assessing our work and our students' work and we are using what we learn from assessment to improve our programs and our students' learning.

If we choose not to make our students' learning and our effective teaching obvious in ways the state and federal agencies expect, college administrators and bureaucrats running state higher education agencies—who often have not studied history but allege that history has remained the domain of old white men teaching about older white men—will take over. They take a "one-size-fits-all" approach to general education and they see teachers as facilitators and generalists, not experts. They profoundly disagree with those of us who hold that teachers should be experts in their disciplines, sources of information in the classroom, and leaders and guides in learning. They would like to send us and our courses to the margins and homogenize our curricula. They would have us send our students forth with little understanding of how to do history well, how to research what happened in the past, how to interpret past events and know how issues have been changed by subsequent generations of historians, and understand why history matters and how it fits with other disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches to knowledge.

The recent focus on assessment and tying assessment to accreditation and funding requires those of us who teach post-secondary history courses to assess history learning and to provide clear evidence that students benefit from our conscious efforts to improve their learning. We know that disciplinary learning works and that disciplinary learning is essential for successful interdisciplinary learning. We know that experts are needed to train the next generation of experts, and that business, industry, government, and non-profits still require and recruit experts in their fields. We know that while learning history, our students meet many general education outcomes in the process, and that in our classes students improve critical learning skills,

research skills, writing skills, other communication skills, and even technical skills. Our administrators, consultants, and outside accrediting teams know it too, but they expect us to document student learning as carefully as we document articles and monographs. If we historians and other teachers of the humanities, arts, and sciences don't frame assessment the way we want it and the generalists understand it, others will frame assessment, pedagogy, and course content and outcomes for us. The U.S. Department of Education, state offices of education, and schools of education will frame the standards for our courses, give us our course outcomes, and tell us how we must measure student mastery of these outcomes. We will teach what they want us to teach, to the outcomes they mandate for us, and we will lose control over what and how we teach in our disciplines.

To move on this front and to ensure that our history program sets and upholds the standards we set for teaching and learning history at North Seattle Community College, our history team developed history learning outcomes that reflect and complement the institution's general education outcomes and provide the means for students to achieve those goals.[6] We have designed, within our limits, a comprehensive departmental assessment program. The feedback we get from the sources we tap indicates how we and our students are doing and allows us to further improve history instruction at North. Our team members understand history and history teaching; we have made strong and deep commitments to the students we teach. We work together to set and meet expectations, and in the process we assess each other's work and our own and we improve the teaching we do in campus-based and online U.S. history and world history courses.

What follows is an overview of our department's assessment program and how we use it to report internally and externally on what we do to evaluate our program as well as its parts and to improve instruction in history. Our program is particular to history, but much of what we do could be modified by other institutions and disciplines.[7]

History Assessment within the Institutional Setting

At the basic level, assessment involves grading. To that end, like all of you, we read tests, papers, reports, and assignments and assign grades to individual students for specific courses. We ask students to evaluate some of their courses and some of their

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[6]Besides the author, other members of the department are Scott Rausch, Ph.D., who teaches world, U.S., Latin American, and Asian history on campus and online; Brian Casserly, Ph.D., who teaches U.S., environmental, and Pacific Northwest history on campus and online; and Chiemi Ma, M.A., who teaches U.S. and world history surveys online.

[7]To get a sense of how we assess student learning in History at North Seattle Community College, see our website, "Assessing Student Learning in History at North Seattle Community College" at https://frontpage.northseattle.edu/nutting/history%20learning%20and%20assessment.htm.

instructors every quarter. But we acknowledge that there is a lot more to assessment—from peers, administrators, and outside evaluators.

In 1995 the Seattle Community College district developed a common academic transfer curriculum for our Associate of Arts (A.A.) and Associate of Applied Science (A.A.S.) degree candidates. To that end, they adopted a set of general education outcomes for all our campuses and for basic areas of emphasis—such as individuals and society, visual, literary, performance and the arts, mathematics and the sciences. North Seattle Community College instructors then went further to develop their own criteria for special designation courses meeting some of the articulated outcomes.

In 2005 when the district revised its general education programs, committees at North Seattle made further revisions to campus standards. To that end, they adopted thirteen education outcomes dealing with skills, knowledge, and attitudes.[8] Admittedly these outcomes need work; most of them simply cannot be measured. However, they guide our general education program, and students in Associate of Arts and Associate of Applied Sciences degree programs are required to take courses that meet the different outcomes. As good citizens, we historians submit to our Committee on Academic Standards (CAS) rule that we select only three of the general education outcomes from the skills and knowledge categories.[9] In course syllabi we highlight these general education outcomes and explain their meaning in clear language in terms of learning and working in our courses. To that end, we design assignments and examinations to ensure that students are working towards mastering the outcomes; we list outcomes on assignments; and, at the end of each term, we ask students in each course to evaluate the assignments, the course, and their own work in the course. We also ask them to evaluate the instructional materials and strategies we used in our courses. From this feedback and from our evaluation of students' work, we determine what worked and what did not and then adjust or revise foci, readings, and activities to improve student learning.

We also list *history learning outcomes* for each course that both reflect and integrate with general education outcomes and ensure that students learn the history, historical interpretations, and methods we want them to learn in a history course. Many

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[8]The thirteen outcomes suggest that the committee came up with a compromise that most committee members accept, a compromise that also ensured some enrollments in traditionally low-enrolled courses and programs.

[9]Go to https://frontpage.north-seattle.edu/CAS/PDF/2005GeneralEducationOutcomesNSCC.pdf to see these thirteen general education outcomes. This year CAS voted to limit all courses to three general education outcomes. A review of the list clearly suggests that if history students are meeting ONLY THREE of these outcomes in any of our courses, they are not learning history very well. But the thirteen outcomes remain because this compromise was the best that people could agree to and, at the same time, ensure that some poorly enrolled courses would get some students. This policy provides an example of what bureaucratic assessment does at a cost to disciplines and to student learning.

of the specific skills we focus on (research, writing, map-reading, interpreting census data, documenting sources, and the like) are integral to success in other disciplines.

History learning outcomes would include the following:

Identify and properly cite (Chicago Style) print, media, and online history sources.

Integrate information and analysis from different reliable print and online primary and secondary sources to explain different historical issues, events, and personalities in papers, examinations, and class presentations.

Locate on maps the sites where major events in history took place; explain how the geography of a region affected political, social, economic, and cultural developments in that region; read and use graphs, charts, and other data-based reports to explain historical trends and developments.

Provide a clear narrative of historical developments and issues within a set period of time in history; place that narrative within the wider scope of world and human history.

Write clear, comprehensive, well-supported history research papers and reviews that respect the conventions of grammar and punctuation.

Demonstrate in writings and oral presentations that historical interpretations change over time and in light of newfound sources.

Demonstrate in discussion and essay writing a clear understanding of and appreciation for the diversity of different men's and women's experiences within their own communities and within the U.S. or the world during particular time periods.

Successfully frame, explain, and grapple with the complexity of historical issues.

History Assessment within Our Classrooms

Students are introduced to and reminded of these outcomes when we distribute syllabi and assignments, and they are given opportunities to reflect on them as they work and as they evaluate our assignments, what and how we teach, and how effectively we teach, and how well they and their classmates learned and worked. At the beginning of our courses we also perform a diagnostic test that gives us some indication not only of students' prior knowledge of the subject, but of their ability to write simple statements of what something was and why it matters in history. In some classes we re-administer the diagnostic to see how much they advanced in both mastering the material and presenting it clearly, concisely, and effectively.

Throughout the class we do ongoing assessments and solicit student feedback concerning research and writing assignments, and we administer end-of-the-course evaluations tailored to the discrete courses. One assessment survey we designed and like particularly is the "What I Learned" survey we administer to U.S. history survey students at the end of the term. Since student responses are both qualitative and quantitative, we end up with considerable material to analyze. Unfortunately, we have had neither the released time, support personnel, or funding to do anything with these

data formally, but we routinely use this type of student feedback to discuss and revise courses, reading, and assignments, and to tweak assessment forms. Nor do we have the resources to contact these students (who have given us long-term contact information and permission to use it), to get a long-range perspective of the learning that goes on in our history courses.

Students are also involved in both self-assessment and peer assessment in our courses. In general discussion groups, they evaluate group members' contributions to these weekly activities; these evaluations translate into part of each student's grade. Students are also required to assess their own work on major projects and in the course. We also use these student responses to revise student assessment forms and to improve group learning activities and the information resources that students work with.

Members of our history program have also designed interdisciplinary programs linking history with literature, economics, political science, anthropology, and information services, and we have provided the same assessment guidelines and tools for these links.[10] In addition to these interdisciplinary studies links, we have worked directly with our social science librarians, who provide information literacy diagnoses of our students, orient them to information resources specific to history, maintain library websites for each of our history courses, and work daily with students to assist them in developing the skills and understanding we require of history students, college library users, and informed citizens. We develop and refine learning assessment tools with these librarians as well.

History Assessment for Internal and External Reviews

There are two other areas of assessment that do not often tie to course assessment, but it is critical that they do. These are program reviews and accreditation self-studies. Ideally, these reports should integrate with and inform each other along with the assessment information we get from our courses. Since 1999, when I wrote my first department program review, after soliciting feedback from my history colleagues, I included a general assessment of our program—its strengths and deficiencies in terms of course offerings, faculty strengths, library holdings, student successes and failures, and so forth. I followed this summary with short range (one-year) and long-range (five-year) plans for improvement based on the information we had collected. When I wrote the follow-up 2005 program review, I revisited the 1999 document, took the planning parts and integrated them into the 2005 review, along with a summary of what had been done that had been proposed, how, and by whom. I also summarized what had been proposed but not done, and why proposed actions had not

[10]For one example of a linked course at North Seattle CC, see Maureen Murphy Nutting, "The Linked Course: A Viable Option for Teaching and Learning History," *Teaching History*, 26:1 (Spring 2001), 3-12.

been taken. To that I added projects that had not been proposed in 1999 but accomplished since then, explained why they had been done, and by whom. This summary noted personnel changes; course additions and deletions; interdisciplinary course initiatives that were developed, continued, or discontinued; special projects; responses to campus-driven initiatives; and problems that endured. To be honest, one problem that emerged was that since several members of the general faculty who were not historians had control of history courses, we did not have oversight of all the "history" offerings. These "outside" instructors of "history" courses do not articulate any history learning outcomes; they do not require students to develop information literacy competencies or to use standard history documentation; nor do they use any of our general history assessment tools and materials.

The program review process and the data we included to support our findings helped our team closely evaluate our general history program, develop short- and long-term plans for history in the coming years, and lobby the administration to take action to strengthen the history program. Minimal progress has been made on this front.

We also realized that our program would benefit from external review by historians from other institutions, and to that end we brought in history experts to evaluate our work and our efforts to do what we claim to do and to improve what it is that we do. William Weber, professor of History at California State University Long Beach, one-time editor of the journal *The History Teacher*, and then Vice President of the American Historical Association's Teaching Division, visited our classes in 2001. He reviewed our 1999 self-study, spoke with individual faculty members and administrators, and later provided a formal written report. In 2004, Stephanie Camp, associate professor of African American and women's history at the University of Washington, reviewed what we were doing to address diversity issues with our diverse student populations. She examined course outlines and syllabi for U.S. Cultures (diversity) classes, observed our teaching, and spoke with participating department members individually and collectively before writing a formal report. We have also benefitted from meetings in May 2007 with representatives of the Northwest Commission of Colleges and Universities, and found their observations and questions helpful in framing the work we have done since then.

Assessment Challenges

These assessment parts have fit together well for the history team and history students at North Seattle Community College. Yet some elements of assessment are missing, some we are aware of and others we have not detected.

One challenge we face is actually figuring out what our students are learning about history, information literacy, critical reading, and expository writing. We need to find out what specifically from history enriches their general education and assists them in later academic and technical courses, the workforce, and in civic life. With students who often come to take one or two courses and others who at best complete

two-year programs, we have little time and few resources to track students at our own institution, to conduct exit interviews that address these questions, or to follow them as they move on to four-year institutions and into the workforce. What we learn about how their studying with us has affected their learning and their behavior after they leave us generally comes from what they reveal in emails, graduation announcements, and personal notes. During visits to campus, alumni tell us how they used what they learned from us and how they built on our foundations. From our "What I Learned" responses, we have archived six years worth of long-term contact information for former students, but we have no funds or administrative support to do any follow-up work. In our state, the transfer universities do not track this kind of information; they simply report graduation rates for community college transfers.

Another challenge we face is aligning our general education and history outcomes and assessment work with what history colleagues develop at other community colleges and four-year transfer institutions. We have had fruitful exchanges and collaborations with historians in local community colleges, but there has been no discussion across transfer lines and little work has been done in terms of assessment of student learning by history departments in four-year colleges and universities where our students transfer to do upper-division work in the disciplines. A conversation between community college historians and these history colleagues in the transfer institutions needs to begin, and collaborations on assessment initiatives need to take place to ensure that community college students are working towards developing the same skills and areas of knowledge as students taking lower-division history courses in the four-year colleges and transfer universities.

We need to assess our own work better. How well are we teaching and preparing our classes? How effective are the instructional materials we develop and use in our classrooms? How solid are the distance learning courses we deliver? What and how are we doing to stay current with new scholarship in our fields and integrate it into our courses? How well do we function as team members engaged in departmental and division work to foster teaching and learning? What should we be doing consciously to document and assess our own work and when should we be doing it?

While regional accreditation teams address some of these issues in formal visits and reviews, these visits are few and far between. While they make recommendations, institutions have considerable latitude in acting on them. For example, an accrediting team from the Northwest Commission of Colleges and Universities visited North Seattle over a year ago, and months later, in their formal report, commended historians at North for doing exemplary work at completing the assessment loop and improving history instruction for our students; they also noted that, while there is evidence of good assessment work in pockets at the school, the college needed to develop an institutional plan for assessment and to provide evidence that the plan was improving learning for all of our students. When responding to this charge, administrators chose to disregard the "exemplary work" done by its history faculty and come up with some plan that makes no use of our program. But then historians are not in the forefront of many

education initiatives. In fact, so far, the professional organizations that serve historians have done little work to promote accreditation work by historians. However, American Historical Association President Gabriella Spiegel, charged the members to take this work seriously or suffer the consequences of their disengagement.[11]

Locally, our history faculty will continue to use, evaluate, and modify the assessment work we are doing and reach out to our partners' history departments in transfer institutions. We believe that by doing so we can improve history teaching and learning in our college and perhaps encourage others to improve it in transfer institutions as well as in the K-12 systems; we also realize that if and when we cease these efforts, others who know and care little about history and history teaching will start telling historians what to teach, how to teach, and how to assess the teaching and learning of history. We know the history of "No Child Left behind" and we have read the Spellings Report and we have learned much from both. These challenges to history's place in general education and across college curricula raise serious concerns about the future of history learning in lower and higher education. In many places history has lost its rightful place in the center of higher education. Many students, after learning little to no history in the K-12 grades, take no history courses and learn no history in college. Many academic administrators, legislators, and educational policymakers are willing to consign history to the dustbins and focus on math, science, reading, and writing, failing to see how history instruction develops students' critical thinking, reading, and writing skills, and plays a critical role in developing informed, articulate, and constructive citizens.

If I had my druthers, I would prefer to focus on teaching history, not on detailing how and how well we teach it, not on measuring student learning, not on developing rubrics and writing reports. But critical times call for crucial actions, and we must do what we must do. In the process, we can generate evidence that we do what we say we do very well, and we can present compelling findings that underscore history's centrality to anyone's general education. Perhaps by doing so we will persuade some policymakers to restore history to the central place it deserves in the curriculum and in the general education of our citizens.

There is another question: Who benefits from this work we do? Well, we do. We learn from close examination of our work and the work of our students. And if we do something with what we learn to improve how we teach and how our students learn, everyone else benefits: those who learn from us, those who teach us, those who work with us and play with us, and those who share with us the challenges and opportunities that come with understanding the past and using that understanding to shape the future.

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[11]See Gabriella Spiegel, "A Triple 'A' Threat: Accountability, Assessment, Accreditation" in *Perspectives on History* (March 2008), available at http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/2008/0803/0803pre1.cfm.

TEACHING WITH ONLINE PRIMARY SOURCES: DOCUMENTS FROM THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

NO KITCHEN CABINET THIS: FRANCES PERKINS BECOMES SECRETARY OF LABOR

Daniel F. Rulli
History Educator

Franklin D. Roosevelt took the oath of office as the thirty-second President of the United States on Saturday, March 4, 1933. The same day he called the U.S. Senate into a special session to consider his ten nominees for his cabinet. In just 24 minutes, the Senate confirmed all ten. Among them was Frances Perkins as Secretary of Labor.[1]

At the date of the featured document, the United States was in the depths of the Great Depression. It was the worst and longest economic collapse in the history of the modern industrial world, lasting from the end of 1929 until the early 1940s. The Great Depression was characterized by severe and rapid declines in the production and sale of goods and a sudden and severe rise in unemployment. Businesses and banks closed their doors, people lost their jobs, homes, and savings, and many depended on charity to survive. In 1933, fifteen million Americans—one-quarter of the nation's work force—were unemployed. As a result, the Presidential election of 1932 was a clear and true contest to find a savior for America. In June 1932, Republican delegates convened in Chicago and nominated Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis. Later that same month, the Democrats also assembled in Chicago and nominated Franklin Delano Roosevelt and John Nance Garner. To demonstrate the urgency of the situation, Roosevelt immediately delivered his acceptance speech in Chicago and pledged a New Deal for the American people. In an overwhelming election mandate, Roosevelt and Garner collected 472 electoral votes to Hoover and Curtis's 59. The popular vote was equally lopsided with Roosevelt garnering 22,821,857 votes to Hoover's 15,761, 845.

In February 1933, President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt was forming his first cabinet and America was abuzz with rumors that he would appoint the first woman to his cabinet and that woman would be Frances Perkins. Reportedly, Perkins expressed her preference for a woman who was a trade unionist. Roosevelt, with encouragement from his wife Eleanor, a long and close friend of Perkins, persisted with the appointment. Perkins finally accepted, making it clear to Roosevelt that her goals were direct federal aid to the states for unemployment relief, public works, work hour limitations, minimum wage laws, child labor laws, unemployment insurance, social

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[1] *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States*; Vol. LXXIV, Seventy-Third Congress, Special Session from March 4, 1933 to March 6, 1933, 3-7.

security, and revitalized public employment insurance; if he didn't want all of that, he didn't want her. As we know now, Perkins's goals became majors features of the New Deal. Later, at a dinner in Perkins's honor, Eleanor Roosevelt pointed out that FDR nominated Perkins not only because of the demands of other women, but, more importantly, because she was the best-qualified man or woman the President knew.

Perkins's nomination, the featured document, went to the U.S. Senate for confirmation. In order to address America's economic emergency, Roosevelt hit the ground running after his election by executing his powers under Article II, Section 3, of the Constitution and under the newly adopted Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution. These provisions allowed Roosevelt to call a special three-day session of the Senate to confirm the nominations for his cabinet. When the cabinet nominations arrived for that special session of the Senate, Edwin A. Halsey, the Secretary of the Senate, made a most interesting annotation on the featured document. At the bottom of the document Halsey noted, "this is the first instance of a woman being appointed to a Cabinet position." A veteran officer of the U.S. Senate since 1913 and the author of several books on the history of the Senate, Halsey insured that the significance of Perkins' nomination and confirmation would not be lost.

Article II, Section 3, and the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution also authorized Roosevelt to call another session of both Houses of Congress to consider his New Deal legislation. That session, later known as the "Hundred Days," convened from March 9, 1933, until June 15, 1933. In that session, Roosevelt, his advisors, his cabinet, and the Congress concentrated on the first part of the New Deal strategy: immediate relief. A record number of bills, developed and created by FDR's cabinet and Brain Trust (his informal group of advisors), went to Congress and all easily passed. The 1932 election had also given the Democrats huge majorities in both Houses of Congress.

Born in Boston in 1880 and raised in Maine, Perkins, as the featured document shows, was a resident of New York at the time of her nomination. She studied natural sciences and economic history at Mount Holyoke College and was strongly influenced by Jacob Riis's book on the New York City slums, *How the Other Half Lives*. Perkins began attending lectures by labor and social reformers such as Florence Kelley, who was the general secretary of the National Consumer's League. After Perkins graduated in 1902, she volunteered her time at settlement houses, gaining firsthand knowledge of the dangerous conditions of factory work and the desperation of workers who were unable to collect promised wages or secure medical care for workplace injuries. By 1910, she was the Secretary of the New York Consumers' League where she worked closely with Florence Kelley. Perkins successfully lobbied the New York state legislature for a bill limiting the workweek for women and children to 54 hours. She was also active in the women's suffrage movement, marching in parades and giving street-corner speeches.

On a Saturday afternoon, March 25, 1911, Frances Perkins was visiting friends in Greenwich Village in New York when the sound of fire engines disturbed their

luncheon. Hurrying outside, Perkins and her friends discovered that the top floors of the Ache Building, just off Washington Square, were on fire. Those floors housed the Triangle Shirt Waist Company. Perkins was witness to the worst factory fire in the nation's history. The escape of the workers, mostly young women, was impeded and prevented because many of the factory doors were locked or blocked. Perkins watched as employees on the ledges of the upper-story windows leaped to their deaths. Understandably, the image of the charred human remains lined up on the sidewalks outside of the building was indelibly marked on Perkins' mind. The tragedy shocked all of America and intensified Perkins's dedication to workplace safety.

When the New York legislature appointed a State Factory Investigating Commission to investigate the fire, Frances Perkins became their chief investigator. Her investigations revealed filthy working conditions, fire hazards of all kinds, lack of sanitation, dangerous machinery that maimed workers, and women and children working in the garment industry for twelve and eighteen hours a day. She took many leading politicians with her to tour these factories, including New York Assemblyman Al Smith and New York State Senator Robert Wagner. In 1918, Perkins accepted then Governor Al Smith's appointment as the first woman on the New York State Industrial Commission. By 1929, New York's new governor, Franklin D. Roosevelt, had appointed Perkins to the top position in the state's labor department. Always in the forefront of progressive reform, she expanded factory investigations, reduced the workweek for women to 48 hours, and championed minimum wage and unemployment insurance laws.

As the featured document indicates, Frances Perkins became Secretary of Labor in March 1933. Although Al Smith commented that he thought men likely would take advice from a woman but probably would not take orders from a woman, Perkins was undaunted. Drawing on her experience in New York, she immediately proposed federal aid to the states for direct unemployment relief, an extensive program of public works, the establishment by federal law of minimum wages and maximum hours, unemployment and old-age insurance, abolition of child labor, and the creation of a federal employment service. Her proposals came to fruition in historic reforms such as the Wagner Act (1935), which gave workers the right to organize unions and bargain collectively, and the Fair Labor Standards Act (1938), which established for the first time a minimum wage and a maximum workweek for men and women. As chair of the Committee on Economic Security, she drafted legislation that eventually became the Social Security Act of 1935. She also played a crucial role in the successful resolution of a number of dramatic labor uprisings during her tenure. However, her accomplishments on behalf of organized labor did not set well with conservatives in the Congress. In 1939, the House Un-American Activities Committee brought an impeachment resolution against her that soon was dropped for lack of evidence.

At a testimonial dinner for Perkins at the Mayflower Hotel in New York City in 1944, William Green, the President of the American Federation of Labor, called her the greatest Secretary of Labor in history. Perkins served as Labor Secretary for the entire

twelve years of the Roosevelt administration, longer than anyone else held that cabinet post. Asked if she had ever doubted whether she should have accepted the appointment, she recalled her grandmother pointing out that if anybody opens a door, one should always go through. In 1945, Perkins resigned from her position as labor secretary to head the U.S. delegation to the International Labor Organization conference in Paris. President Harry Truman later appointed her to the Civil Service Commission, a job she held until 1953. In the last years of her life, Perkins assumed a professorship at Cornell University's School of Industrial and Labor Relations. After her death in 1965 at the age of 85, Cornell University named a professorship in her honor, and Congress named the Department of Labor Building in Washington, D.C., the Frances Perkins Building. William Wirtz, Secretary of Labor at the time of her death, said, "Every man and woman who works for a living wage, under safe conditions, for reasonable hours, or is protected by unemployment compensation of Social Security, is her debtor."

[For access to the document, visit www.archives.gov/research/arc/. In the search box, type the identifying ARC #595434. This document is from the Textual Records of the U.S. Senate, Center for Legislative Archives, Washington, DC; Record Group 46: Records of the U.S. Senate, 1789–, and may be printed and duplicated in any quantity.]

Teaching Suggestions

1. Focus Activity with Document Analysis

Provide students with a copy of the document and a copy of the document analysis worksheet found at www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/document.html. Group students in pairs and ask them to analyze the document by completing the worksheet. Then guide a discussion based on the questions from the worksheet. Ask students what the brief document reveals about our government. See Daniel Rulli, "Big and Famous is Not Always Best," *Social Education*, 67:7 (2003), 378.

2. Class Discussion

Tell students that the notation at the bottom of the document (that reads, "This is the first instance of a woman being appointed to a cabinet position.") was written by Edwin A. Halsey, Secretary of the Senate. Ask students to consider what motivated him to write on the document, and to define the word "historic." Lead a class discussion about moments in their lifetime that they would consider "historic."

3. Labor History through the Fine Arts: Cross-Curricular Activity

Like most social movements in America, the labor movement was accentuated by a rich collection of art, music, film, and literature. Examples range from songs such as Bob Dylan's "Maggie's Farm" to books such as *The Jungle*, films such as *Norma Rae*, or artwork from the Federal Art Project during the New Deal. Ask each student

to select one of the categories (art, music, film, or literature) and research an example from that category that supports the labor movement. Allow class time for students to report their findings and explain how their example relates to and teaches about the labor movement. Encourage them to support their presentation with audio-visual aids.

4. The Confirmation Process: Charting the Role of the U.S. Senate

As the essay above pointed out, the U.S. Senate plays a crucial role in confirmation of Presidential appointments. Explain to students that this role is derived from the U.S. Constitution (Article II, Section 2, Clause 2). Divide the class into small groups to do research on assigned Presidential appointments and Senate confirmations. A number of these in American history have been quite controversial, starting as early as John Adams's "midnight judges" in 1801. Ask each group to create a chart that traces the process from the nomination through confirmation or rejection by the Senate. Give each group time to share its findings.

5. Tradition Outside of the Constitution: Tracing the Development of the Presidential Cabinet

Explain to students that the Constitution only **indirectly** provides authority for a cabinet in Article 2, Section 2, stating the president "... may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices. ..." The Constitution does not specify which or how many executive departments should exist. George Washington initiated the precedent of creating a cabinet and held the first recorded meeting of a "Cabinet" in 1791. Assign an equal number of Presidents to each of the five small groups of students starting with Washington and ending with George W. Bush. Ask each group of students to research the cabinets for their assigned Presidents. Suggest that students examine who was appointed and why, how many cabinet posts existed, whether controversies associated with any of the cabinet members existed, and whether any were fired or impeached. Allow class time for each group to report their findings.

6. Advising the President: Advisor Role Play

Roosevelt faced a drastically difficult economic situation when he took office in 1933. He relied on his Cabinet, particularly Perkins, and his unofficial advisors, known as the "Brain Trust," literally to brainstorm ideas about how to solve the problems created by the Great Depression. Divide the class into two groups representing two presidential candidates. Assign each student in each group a role as either a specific cabinet officer or an "unofficial" advisor. Allow each group class time (1) to identify the current economic problems in America and (2) to propose solutions to those problems. Ask each group to submit a written report on their findings and solutions and make an oral presentation to the class.

7. The President, Congress, and Special Sessions: Responding to an Emergency in a Democracy.

In 1933, a state of economic emergency existed in the United States. Roosevelt used his powers under the Constitution's Article II, Section 3, and the Twentieth Amendment to respond to this emergency by putting Frances Perkins and other Cabinet members in office and by placing in immediate effect a large bundle of legislation. Help students brainstorm other emergencies that have faced America. Put the list on the board and assign students to research whether the emergency resulted in a special session of Congress. Alternatively, students could research Congressional Special Sessions and discover the reasons behind those sessions.

8. Government and Labor: Research a Changing Relationship

As an individual research paper assignment, ask students to explore the relationship between Federal and state governments and organized labor from 1800 to the present. Frances Perkins, in her role as Secretary of Labor, fundamentally affected this relationship. These research projects might examine such topics as the history of the Department of Labor or the government's role in the labor union movement. Ask students to prepare an abstract of their paper for presentation to the class. (An abstract is a short—typically one-page—description of a paper. The abstract should state the goals and purposes of the paper and any hypotheses made and provide a brief summary of the results or findings of the paper. There are two main types of abstracts: descriptive and informative. Descriptive abstracts provide a summary of the topics discussed in the paper. An informative abstract provides more detailed information about the findings of a single-topic paper.)

9. Frances Perkins and Teen Labor Issues: Surveying your Peers

Frances Perkins had a list of goals before assuming responsibility as Secretary of Labor in 1933. Help students develop a survey of ten questions about labor issues to ask other young adults. Require each student to administer the survey to at least five other students who are not in the class. In a class discussion, compare their findings with the goals Perkins set. Help students find differences and similarities.

10. Profiling Labor in Your Community: Creating a Snapshot

Frances Perkins faced a formidable task dealing with the state of labor in the country in 1933. Ask students to imagine that they are student interns in their local Chamber of Commerce office. Their first task is to create a "snapshot" of the labor situation in their community for a brochure given to newcomers to the community. The "snapshot" might include information on unions, the type of jobs, the characteristics of the local economy, the unemployment rate, and labor resources. Encourage students to use computer software to create the brochure, and allow class time for each student to share their findings.

BOOK REVIEWS

James M. Lang. *On Course: A Week-by-Week Guide to Your First Semester of College Teaching*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 2008. Pp. 316. Cloth, $26.95; ISBN 978-0-674-02805-7.

The first semester and indeed the first year of teaching at the college level presents instructors with a number of challenges. James M. Lang's *On Course: A Week-by-Week Guide to Your First Semester of College Teaching* addresses many of the common issues that instructors confront during their first semester. Lang's work is a useful survival guide for what can be a difficult experience. Although he advises new instructors to organize for an entire semester of teaching that integrates learning objectives into the syllabus and uses them as a road map for the semester, his approach offers a fair amount of flexibility. He covers important topics such as how best to construct a syllabus, effective teaching methods, technology, dealing with students, assignments, time management, how to re-energize a class towards the end of the semester, and adjusting to a new department and institution. His observations about the importance of classroom time and how to utilize the rhythms of the semester to one's benefit are particularly insightful. Lang encourages new instructors to experiment in the classroom and find techniques that fit their teaching style. But he rightly warns about the dangers to first-semester instructors of becoming overly ambitious in the classroom, too often outspoken in faculty meetings, or too committed to service.

Lang's work draws heavily from the scholarship of teaching and learning. Those unfamiliar with specific issues covered in its literature will find the lists of resources he gives at the end of each chapter especially useful. While he incorporates the scholarship of teaching and learning into his book, Lang's writing is largely free of theory and pedagogical jargon. Moreover, teaching is not an abstract topic for him. His love of teaching is clear in his writing. Furthermore, he illustrates his points with a number of anecdotes from his own classroom experiences as well as those of his colleagues. Finally, he approaches teaching with two qualities that both make his writing more engaging and are essential for maintaining one's sanity as a teacher: humility and a sense of humor.

New instructors of history should note two limitations to Lang's work. First, he writes for a broad audience and his discussions are not discipline specific. More importantly, while Lang mentions that teachers need to grow and improve over time, he does not offer any substantive suggestions on how to think of the first semester and the first year as the foundation for a career of teaching. Nor does he adequately discuss how to evaluate one's first semester in a fashion that will help one build for the future. Certainly new instructors are often so overwhelmed with course preparation, grading, and other responsibilities that it is often difficult to see beyond the semester break. Still, more extensive coverage of this issue would have been useful for those beginning tenure-track positions. Despite these limitations, Lang's contribution is considerable. Overall, his suggestions are well-thought out and supported by research. New

instructors of history will find his work an excellent tool to prepare for their first semester of teaching.

Georgia Highlands College Bronson Long

Jules R. Benjamin. *A Student's Guide to History*. Tenth ed. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2007. Pp. 288. Paper, $23.13; ISBN-13: 978-0-312-44674-1.

Jules Benjamin articulately provides a history student with a new best friend. *A Student's Guide to History* is a nonthreatening, interesting, and useful guide for students to become successful scholars of history. His "cut to the chase" writing style organizes topics in a concise and logical manner, giving examples to elaborate on the topics presented. The chapters are appropriately designed to follow a history course from the beginning of a semester to test taking, formal research, and research paper composition.

A Student's Guide to History's major theme is scholarship and is conveyed throughout five chapters. It identifies history in broad terms, discussing historians' rationalizations and interpretations of history, including a thorough examination of primary and secondary resources. It is a "how to" guide for success in a history course, discussing appropriate note-taking devices, location of main themes in reading assignments, and a comprehensive approach to preparing for different styles of exams. Benjamin emphasizes the significance of writing in a history course and outlines two distinct accomplishments for learning writing skills: "... it demonstrates that your thinking about a subject is logical [and] ... it enables you to convey to your readers in a convincing way exactly what you want them to understand." Utilizing the skills of writing, chapters four and five collaboratively prepare the student to compose a research paper. The chapters concentrate on thesis, themes, collecting resources, interpretation of primary and secondary resources, and plagiarism. Clear writing is the main objective for student success in generating a scholarly research paper. Throughout the text, Benjamin includes references Appendix A and B to assist students with research. Both list useful "indexes, references, collections, periodicals and hundreds of print and electronic resources ... including local and family history."

Benjamin expands the tenth edition to include new material throughout the text. But the most important contribution is his ability to comply with the digital age that "reflects the changing needs of history students." The most useful addition to *A Student's Guide to History* is the in-depth discussions on web-based research and helpful web references for student investigation of a topic. The coverage includes online historical dictionaries, newspapers, public documents, and resources in United States and world history. The exclusive online list is categorized in Appendix A and B. These resources are referenced and explained throughout the text to offer students more insight and clarification of online research.

A Student's Guide to History is a versatile tool for diverse levels of history students. A history instructor can use this book as a supplement in a college course or use it for independent lessons over the writing process. I would also suggest using the text in middle and high schools. Students at the secondary level would benefit from learning the fundamental writing skills taught in the text and I would highly recommend this text in an Advanced Placement United States History course to facilitate with DBQs and Free Response essays. All professors and history teachers should own a copy to complement their instruction. This text is a complete handbook for all students and when applied can make a history student a success.

University of Oklahoma Star Nance

Ambrosio Bembo. *The Travels and Journal of Ambrosio Bembo.* Edited by Anthony Welch and translated by Clara Bargellini. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007. Pp. 470. Paper, $24.95; ISBN 978-0-520-24939-4.

The Travels and Journal of Ambrosio Bembo is a seventeenth-century travelogue that offers contemporary readers an uncommon glimpse into the culture and civilization of Western Asia and India over three hundred years ago. Born in 1652 to a distinguished Venetian family, Ambrosio Bembo served in the Venetian navy and took part in several wars before completing his term of service. With military life behind him, Bembo left Venice in 1671 at the age of nineteen to follow the route of Pietro della Valle, another celebrated seventeenth-century traveler from Venice. Bembo's nearly four-year journey took him from Italy to Cyprus and across the Ottoman Empire, down the Tigris River to Baghdad and the Persian Gulf, and onto the western coast of India by sea, going as far south as Portuguese Goa. His return journey followed much the same route, apart from veering further east and traveling through seventeenth-century Iran.

Bembo composed an account of his observations from notes and memories after his return and thus the reader can rely only upon the personal veracity and accuracy of the author. Nonetheless, the 2007 edition of Bembo's journal is the first English-language translation and, thanks to the work of translator Clara Bargellini and editor Anthony Welch, is a highly readable, albeit lengthy, primary source book in history. The voluminous footnotes, which appear at the bottom of nearly every page, add considerable information and clarity to the often obscure terms and references used by Bembo.

For teachers of world or Middle Eastern history, the book has considerable value if used wisely and is most definitely worth reading. This reviewer, who teaches world history at the university level, is inclined to believe that the book, owing to its length and specialized subject matter, is likely too advanced for high school history students and possibly even for college freshmen. The use of excerpts from the book, if the

proper copyright regulations are adhered to, would be much more engaging and manageable for such students. The book would, however, be a fine and interesting addition to a topical course on the Middle East or Western Asia.

A further aspect of this book's value as a scholarly work would be in its contribution to the emerging field of Indian Ocean World studies, particularly with Bembo's account of the Portuguese trading posts in western India. This reviewer, who specializes in East African history, was fascinated by the book's insight into the Portuguese presence in this part of the world in the seventeenth century. In this regard, the book has genuine research value. The same can be said for scholars of Western Asia.

Finally, for anyone who teaches world history in this period, regardless of the classroom level, the book is a must read for its value in offering lecture-worthy insights, illustrations, and anecdotal material. As the back cover points out, this is the "most important new European travel account of seventeenth-century western Asia to be published in the last hundred years." It would behoove any teacher of recent world history to add the book to a summer reading list along with a fresh highlighter pen.

Longwood University Phillip A. Cantrell

Helen M. Jewell. ***Women in Dark Age and Early Medieval Europe, c. 500-1200.*** **New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. Pp. 192. Paper, $29.95; ISBN 0-333-91259-4.**

Jewell has presented us with a fine example of her scholarship in *Women in Dark Age and Early Medieval Europe, c. 500-1200.* The book covers the historiographic evidence on the status of women and the minutiae of their lives based upon settlement archaeology, ethnographic data, administrative records such as wills and land grants, as well as the infrequent documentary evidence of the period. Her book adds considerably to the field by the wide geographic scope of its coverage as well as by the combination of forms of evidence she incorporates. In the Introduction, Jewell provides the reader with a summary of other research on the topic and its relative strengths and weaknesses.

Jewell, whose previous works include a volume on medieval women in England, a volume on education in medieval England, and other assorted pieces on insular medieval history, has traversed the continent as well as the isles to provide a comprehensive overview of a topic that has needed a book like this. In providing research on the lives of women, Jewell also provides a deeper look at economic factors in family and clan life of the time, by explaining how dowry and other economic exchanges relating to family and marriage worked. And by traversing a large time period and various cultures, she helps to break down the assumptions of how monolithic these customs were and show their variances.

Jewell has presented us with a very good book for entry into the topic of women during this period. However, although this book covers the general swath of knowledge about the status of women at the time, this is not a generalist's book. The book presumes a knowledge of the major people, historical trends, cultural differences, and practices of the times covered in the book. And the book covers the period from late antiquity until the high middle ages, so it assumes a knowledge of quite different periods in European history. Thus, those who already have a background in history will find this book most useful.

Teachers of European history or women's studies will find this useful for providing information on the types of work that women performed or were allowed to perform. Upper-level undergrads in history and related fields (medieval literature, classics, and religious studies) might find this a useful though slightly challenging read as well.

One of the greatest strengths is Jewell's interdisciplinary nature of her research and vision: The book covers social, economic, political, and religious history. The book is divided into sections based upon spheres of life that women inhabited in order to better probe the contributions of women in rural, urban, political/landholding life, and religion.

If there is any flaw, it is a small one: The least effective section of the book is the last chapter, where Jewell presents case studies of exceptional women in the early middle ages. This section seems least effective because the previous chapters have all assumed a detailed knowledge of these exceptional women and others. Perhaps one way to use this book in a classroom would be to read these studies of individual women first—in order to orient new students to the women and their roles in the early middle ages—and then follow these case studies up with the rest of the book.

United Theological Seminary Andrea Janelle Dickens

Tristram Hunt. *Building Jerusalem: The Rise and Fall of the Victorian City.* New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt and Co., 2006. Pp. 608. Paper, $20.00; ISBN 0-8050-8259-X.

Works profiling Britain's post-industrial past are abundant, given the nation's standing as the world's first industrial and urban society. Accordingly, present-day authors face a massive challenge in conferring new information on Britain's development during the nineteenth century. Such a challenge thus confronts Tristram Hunt, author of *Building Jerusalem: The Rise and Fall of the Victorian City.*

Opening with "The New Hades," *Building Jerusalem* probes the horrendous state of city living following the onset of industrialization, and in the following ten chapters (including an epilogue) it bravely accounts for British endeavors to establish a new, improved urban vision. Emphasizing numerous social and environmental problems,

Hunt's articulate book leaves no stone unturned in explaining the British quest for progress. Offering a superb account of Victorian City misery, something instructors and students alike will appreciate, *Building Jerusalem* grapples with matters like Dickens' picture of urban Britain, the Victorian's enthusiasm for Ancient Greek and Renaissance urbanity, and the significance of architecture in comprehending the meaning of Victorian advancement. Implying that city improvement was principally a means to beautifying the urban form, Hunt outlines how the appearance of British cities purposefully came to resemble renowned cities from Europe's past so that the Victorians could celebrate Britain's rise to magnificence and laud their society as part of Europe's lengthy chronicle of cultural cultivation. Significantly though, Hunt also considers the dirtier side of urban evolution. He unpicks the story of road, drain, and sewer construction so as to weave together matters of the city useful with the city beautiful. Citing 1870s Birmingham as a case in point, *Building Jerusalem* lucidly describes its reformed-minded model of governance and so how public authorities could, if they wished, build better cities through both splendor and utility.

Exploiting the tradition of urban biography, as well as thematic and process-based approaches, *Building Jerusalem* additionally elucidates the development of the cultural, political, and economic heart of Britain and its empire, London. Presenting the metropolis as both a world city and a place of disorder, Hunt examines the affect of Social Darwinism and investigative studies that revealed by the 1880s an impoverished, undernourished human race whose existence was observed to endanger the future of the British race. With the subsequent materialization of model communities like Letchworth Garden City, Hunt appropriately notes that the distresses of urban life were alleviated by a social equity paradigm. Yet as significant as this was in providing good health and better housing as a right for all, as Hunt also notes, in practice suburban settings were generated that ultimately eroded the British urban spirit.

In summing up, *Building Jerusalem* should be acknowledged for being a dense manuscript that grants a detailed overview of the evolution of the Victorian City and the principles and people that forged its character. Thoroughly researched, eloquently written, and enthusiastic in tone, *Building Jerusalem* is adventurous in tackling a broad array of subjects and their impact upon the Victorians and their cities. While the tome's exploration is extensive, it is nonetheless imperative given the complex nature of British cities in the nineteenth century. Consequently, as Hunt appreciates, his narrative needs to examine a plethora of themes and not be lopsided towards just a handful of events, experiences, people, and places. The outcome, however, is that *Building Jerusalem* has much to offer to both the young learner and the more experienced scholar, although the sheer compactness and length of Hunt's thesis will be unmanageable to those unfamiliar with British History. Yet for those of advanced historical understanding, *Building Jerusalem* tidily complements classics like Briggs's *Victorian Cities* and Cyos and Wolff's *Victorian City*, thereby granting another stimulating insight into the world's first modern urban culture.

Chinese University of Hong Kong Ian Morley

Gregory Hadley. *Field of Spears: The Last Mission of the Jordan Crew*. Sheffield, England: Paulownia Press, 2007. Pp. 158. Paper, GBP 14.95, US $24.95; ISBN-13 978-0-9555582-1-4. Hardcover, GBP 21.95.

There has been an enormous output of works in English on World War II, dealing seemingly with any and all aspects of it: individual battles and military figures, the air war and battle at sea, politicians and the home fronts. Yet precious few narrative histories exist that allow readers to view and understand events from multiple perspectives. A fine new book, *Field of Spears: The Last Mission of the Jordan Crew*, uses a variety of sources to explore a single event and see the complex, broader implications that emerged from it.

Briefly, *Field of Spears* explores a harbor mining mission by an American B-29 bomber to the western Japanese city of Niigata, on July 19, 1945, just weeks before the Pacific war ended. The plane was shot down over a small rural community near Niigata; several of the eleven-man crew were killed on the ground by civilians, while the others were captured, interrogated by the Japanese military police, the Kempai-tai, and then sent to a harsh prison by Tokyo where they survived the war.

The author, Gregory Hadley, is Professor of English and American Cultural Studies at Niigata University of International and Information Studies, Japan. Having lived and worked in Japan for nearly fifteen years, Hadley is uniquely positioned to research both English and Japanese sources. And he does so, using Japanese archives and document collections as well as personal interviews with eyewitnesses and participants from events in July 1945. He interweaves this with similar research and interviews done in the U.S. The result is a very readable, even captivating, piece of history. Hadley fairly presents both sides of the story and follows the consequences for involved parties in the decades after 1945.

How useful is this book for teaching about western or world history? Put simply: quite. World War II continues to be an important part of the history curriculum, both at the secondary and college levels. As a possible course reading, the length of the book, its readability, and its level of detail make it attractive for colleges and universities, but also for advanced high school students. Instructors would need to ensure their classes had sufficient background knowledge, and the Introduction is helpful in this respect. This reviewer could envision using *Field of Spears* in a world history section for first-year students, but also in upper-division classes on twentieth-century U.S. history or specialized offerings on World War II. All in all, this is a case study with broad application, and Hadley is to be congratulated for writing a book that is so accessible.

In addition to classroom applications, both high school and college faculty members might find this book useful for background reading or preparing lectures. In addition, the many illustrations are useful, if at times graphic, and help to make this faraway time and place seem more real.

In sum, *Field of Spears: The Last Mission of the Jordan Crew* is a solidly researched and well-written account. Gregory Hadley takes one bomber crew, one mission, and one Japanese town, illustrates the impacts on those involved, and makes clear the longer term historical implications. This is a rewarding book, useful for classroom applications. Secondary and college faculty seeking a book on this topic would be encouraged to give it strong consideration.

Concordia University, St. Paul Thomas Saylor

Tibor Glant. *Remember Hungary 1956: Essays on the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence in American Memory.* New York: Eastern European Monographs, 2008. Pp. 246. Cloth, $50.00; ISBN 9780880336161.

Howard Zinn taught me long ago that objectivity is a myth, neither possible nor desirable, and that the best we can do in writing history is to be honest and open and up front about our biases and then proceed to write the best history we can. Assuming the same principle applies to book reviewing, I should note that Tibor Glant is my friend. We were colleagues for two years, 1994-96, at Kossuth University, in Debrecen, Hungary. I was the Soros Professor of American Studies; Glant and I coauthored a textbook during that time, and we have continued our relationship over the years. He is now Chair of the North American Department of the Institute of English and American Studies of the university, now known as the University of Debrecen.

But my biggest challenge in reviewing Glant's book is not my bias *for* him, but rather my bias *against* Richard Nixon. Let me explain. One of the five major sections of *Remember Hungary 1956* is entitled "Vice President Nixon's Refugee Fact-Finding Trip to Austria in December 1956 in American Memory." We read of Nixon's "bravery," "professional performance," "tact," "sincerity," and "professional handling of the delicate diplomatic situation" that helped make for "an effective public relations campaign." For a historian (myself) who sees Nixon as a tragedy American politics is in many ways still trying to rise above, it is difficult to read such positive things about him. But it was also good, for we *should* read things that challenge our biases, shouldn't we? In any case, surely we can *all* agree that the Ferenc Daday painting, now in the Nixon Library, that portrays "a Biblical image with Nixon positioned as the Savior" is too much!

But maybe this is also too much on that one part of Glant's excellent and interesting book. The other four major parts explore "The *New York Times* and the Memory of the 1956 Revolution," "Diplomatic Memoirs" (i.e., the memoirs of American ambassadors to Hungary), "Registers of Remembrance in English Prose: What the North American Reader is Confronted With (A Brief Overview)," which looks at everything from Hungarian Freedom Fighter accounts to American journalists in Hungary, from family histories to novels, and from crime fiction to juvenile

literature, and finally, the part that might be of most interest to many readers of *Teaching History*, "American College History Textbooks on the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 (A Selective, Preliminary Overview)." This section includes texts in such fields as Western Civilization, Twentieth-Century World History, Twentieth-Century European History, Russian and Soviet History, American Foreign Policy, and Eastern European History. Perhaps the only regret some readers might have is that there is no look at treatment of the Hungarian events of 1956 in United States History textbooks—but then, maybe we can assume that there is not much there to look at. But Glant himself does note in his Preface that the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 is "just about the only event that is regularly mentioned in American history textbooks in connection with Hungary."

Glant has done a valuable piece of work. The 1956 Hungarian uprising against the USSR is surely a highlight in the history of the Cold War. Among other things, *Remember Hungary 1956* reminds us that our response to events in Hungary tells us much about the Cold War, about *ourselves*. Nationalism has a much greater impact on the writing of history than historians are usually ready to admit. Some years back, volumes were done collecting foreign views of American history in both newspapers and textbooks; students presented with those views had a hard time recognizing the events. (*As Others See Us* was the title of both collections.) Historiography, defined simply as the study of historians and their interpretation of history, is a rich way to get students thinking about the meaning of historical events, the relevance of those events to their own lives. But it helps more than a little to know the "real" history, does it not? Students in the U.S. surely need to know more about the events of 1956 in Hungary and more broadly about the Cold War. Glant's volume should help open that door.

East Central University, Professor of History Emeritus Davis D. Joyce

Laurent DuBois and John Garrigus. *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789-1804: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2006. Pp. 240. Paper, $14.38; ISBN 0-312-41501-X.

Laurent DuBois and John Garrigus have made available a number of important primary sources relating to the events of the Haitian Revolution. The authors divided the concise text into two parts. Part One, which serves as a extended introduction, better contextualizes how the 45 documents found in Part Two fit into the larger discussion. The document collection is impressive and includes some source material translated into English for the first time. Some sources are more familiar, including *The Code Noir*, the work of Thomas Clarkson, French abolitionists, *The Abolition of Slavery* by the National Convention in 1794, and the subsequent revocation by Napoleon. Standard source material, however, is the exception with this collection of documents. The text is full of sources that will be somewhat unfamiliar, yet thoroughly

engaging for both instructors and students. *Insurgent Responses to Emancipation* outlines the tribulations of rebel leaders, some of whom in 1793 wished to end their quasi-alliance with the Spanish. Such a force was the rebel army that in 1793 French officials emancipated slaves in an attempt to gain miliary aid. *In the Camps of the Insurgents* provides an account of a colonial official captured by the rebel slave armies. Other documents give insight into Toussaint Louverture, the famous rebel leader, governor, and prisoner of Napoleon. *The Haitian Declaration of Independence* and *Haitian Constitution* provide a fitting end to this expansive collection.

Slave Revolution in the Caribbean would serve as a supplemental reader for an introductory global history class but would best complement a study of the Caribbean or slavery in general. Americanists will find useful sources in the fifth section of documents, "The Haitian Revolution and the United States." Notable is the *Petition* of French refugees who on October 25, 1799, in Charleston, South Carolina, plea for aid by invoking themes of French support for the American Revolution. Instructors could also use the aforementioned documents to develop a number of topics relating to resistance, abolition, and racial hierarchy in the Caribbean. This text is necessary for an upper-level or graduate course focusing solely on the Haitian Revolution, general Haitian history, or the French Revolutionary period.

The title, unfortunately, is deceptive as the book focuses heavily on Haiti rather than the region as a whole. Although the first collection of documents, "The French Caribbean in the Eighteenth Century," contains some information on areas outside of Hispaniola, most all documents relate directly or indirectly to events in Haiti. The authors only stray from the French Caribbean when discussing the United States and events in France. A complete history of slave revolutions in the Caribbean from 1789 to 1804 should mention the situations of British, Dutch, and Spanish inlands. In 1795 maroons and slaves in Jamaica staged a rebellion, which panicked British planters and officials, including Governor Edward Balcarres. He remained convinced the rebels were influenced by the events of Haiti and eventually had them deported to Nova Scotia. Despite this minor detail, the work is an outstanding text that demonstrates the knowledge and skill of the accomplished authors.

Cape Fear Community College Gregory G. Zugrave, Jr.

Thomas J. Whalen. *A Higher Purpose: Profiles in Presidential Courage*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2007. Pp. xvi, 254. Cloth, $26.00; ISBN 13-978-1-566663-630-8.

Inspired by John F. Kennedy's 1955 *Profiles in Courage*, Thomas J. Whalen's most recent book narrows its focus to nine politically challenging and defining conflicts in the history of the American presidency. *A Higher Purpose: Profiles in Presidential Courage* clearly depicts the events surrounding these presidential actions, whereas one of the work's subjects Andrew Jackson once remarked that "one man with courage

makes a majority." Whalen's sections include the well known stories of Jackson's war against the Bank of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt's trust busting of J.P. Morgan's Northern Securities Company, and Franklin Roosevelt's foresight in aiding Great Britain against Nazi Germany's aggression. The author also gives detailed attention to describing the political factions and forces faced by chief executives such as Abraham Lincoln when writing and advocating the Emancipation Proclamation and Gerald Ford before and following his Sunday pardon of Richard Nixon after only one month in the Oval Office. Whalen is to be applauded for his efforts to include the lesser studied tribulations of Chester Arthur's civil service reform and Grover Cleveland's stand against forced Hawaiian annexation.

The book is at its best when discussing Harry Truman's dismissal of the insubordinate General Douglas MacArthur. Whalen also includes John Kennedy's decision to promote civil rights, yet falls short in his analysis for not fully exploring some of the president's missteps, such as wiretaps placed on leaders of the civil rights movement during that pivotal time. Although currently in the United States, only a minority of Americans approve of their president's handling of the war in Iraq, the associate professor of social sciences at Boston University's College of General Studies does not include President George W. Bush in these assessments of courageous chief executives. Instead he finds Bush to be of "personal recklessness."

The eloquent Whalen weaves together a brief biography of each president in their stories of political courage. The author's work appeals to a wide audience, including the general public, students, and educators. This work would nicely complement a textbook on American history or U.S. government for both advance high school courses or undergraduate survey courses. Professionals will be impressed with the eight pages of sources yet frustrated by the absence of academic source citations. Whalen's entertaining and well written study of presidential courage is best suited for an audience not familiar with these facts as specialists will not find any new information or insight. As with any list, Whalen's readers will question some of his choices and omissions.

Jacksonville State University Scott W. Akemon

Blaine T. Brown and Robert C. Cottrell. *Modern American Lives: Individuals and Issues in American History Since 1945*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2008. Pp. 384. Paper, $32.95; ISBN 978-0-7656-2223-5.

Modern American Lives was conceived as a college text, meant to supplement the usual survey textbooks. It is composed of thirteen chapters, each focused on two individuals and a key issue. The chapters are grouped into three chronological sections (1945-60, 1960-80, and 1980-present) and cover a broad range of topics: national politics, foreign policy, social and political activism, popular and literary culture,

sports, and business. Each chapter is nicely set up by a two-page overview and ends with useful study questions and a selected bibliography.

An overall narrative is laid out succinctly in the introduction: The early postwar period is characterized as a time when Americans were fearful of the spread of communism; the 1950s as a time of stability and affluence, with a few challenging American prejudices and conformity; the 1960s dawns with "great expectations," then is followed by a conservative backlash, as the left "implodes." In the 1970s Americans struggle to come to grips with Vietnam and find their trust in politics undermined by "two failed presidencies." Conservatives win "newfound power" in the 1980s, which ebbs by the end of the decade. Bill Clinton's presidency initially promises a "renewed national covenant" but such hopes founder "in the midst of increasingly bitter political partisanship and scandals reaching into the White House." George W. Bush struggles to advance a conservative agenda, only to see his popularity plummet "due to divisions over the Republican domestic agenda, apparent government ineptitude and the seemingly endless carnage in Iraq." The introduction ends bleakly with the comment that Americans have entered the twenty-first century "as a nation divided, fundamentally at odds over the most basic questions that a people might face."

The chapters adopt different strategies but all share the same structure: a two-page introduction, followed by two separate mini biographies. Some chapters present individuals who are on opposing sides of an issue, while other chapters juxtapose individuals from different spheres of life. Some of the choices are inspired: like I.F. Stone and J. Edgar Hoover in "Fighting the Cold War at Home." Other pairs might raise eyebrows: Jackie Robinson and Allen Ginsberg as "Outsiders in a Conformist Society;" Tiger Woods and Clarence Thomas as examples of "New Horizons for Black Americans."

Teachers are bound to have questions about the selection and pairing of the biographies and might want students to discuss the challenges in this approach to studying history—by noting for instance that of the 26 individuals included, 21 are men, sixteen of whom are white. Interesting discussions could emerge out of the observation that the two athletes featured in the book are both black men while nine politicians and policy makers are all white men. The two other black men are Jimi Hendrix, described as a "Troubadour of Psychedelia," and Clarence Thomas, identified as a "Black Conservative in Judicial Robes." The four white women selected for treatment include Marilyn Monroe, "a symbol of sexuality," Gloria Steinen, "Feminist Icon," Phyllis Schlafly, "Counterrevolutionary on the Right," and Bernardine Dohrn, who is paired with Hendrix, to represent the "Collapse of the Counterculture and New Left." That being said, the individual chapters are carefully written and thought provoking. Whether this dense text will appeal to students is difficult to predict, but faculty will certainly be able to mine this book for interesting lecture material.

University of Florida Louise M. Newman