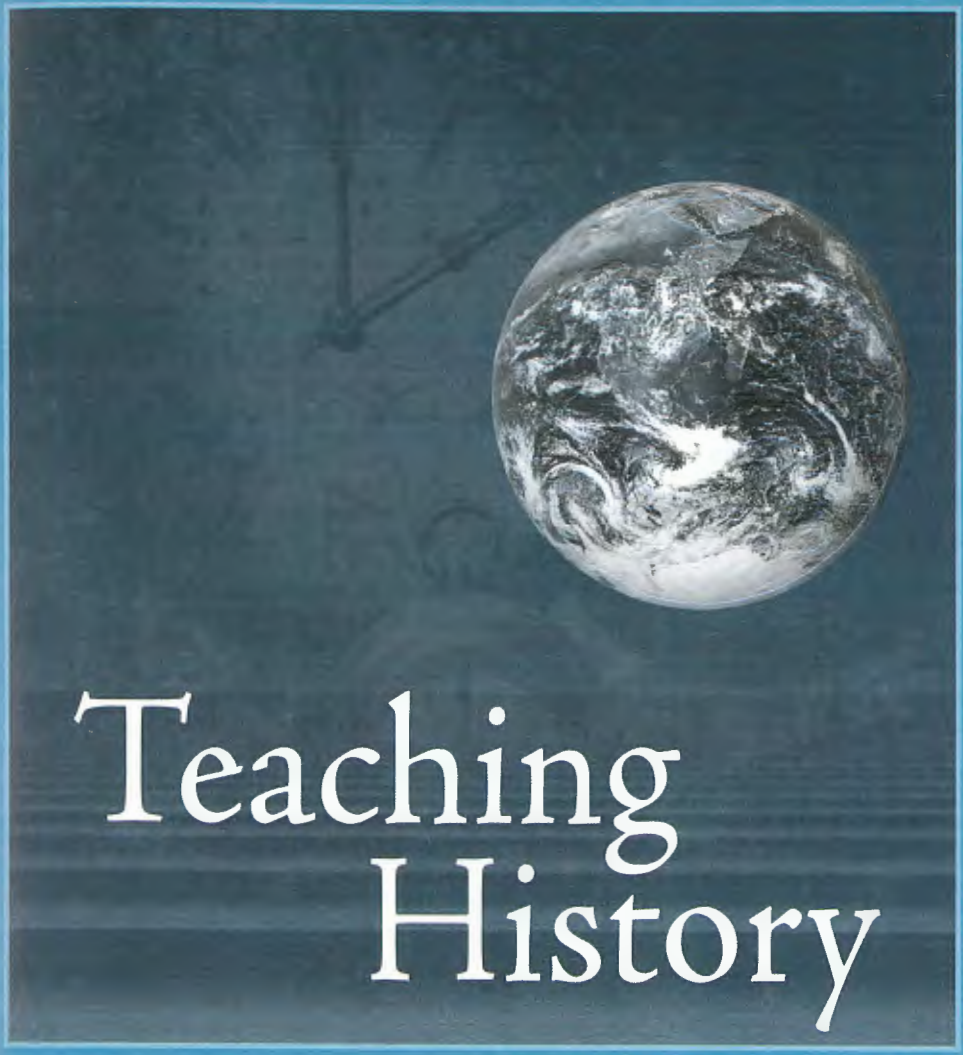

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BOOK REVIEWS

IMAGINED HISTORIES: BIOGRAPHY, FICTION, AND THE CHALLENGES OF HISTORICAL IMAGINATION

Eric J. Morgan
University of Wisconsin—Green Bay

> What we imagine, like what we remember, represents a good part of what we are and a good part of what we will become.
>
> —Tim O'Brien[1]

There is Indiana Jones, the adventuring archaeologist clad in his trademark fedora, wielding both his trusty whip and a mischievous smile. He is looking down at my America in the Twentieth Century course from the projected image of a *Raiders of the Lost Ark* theatrical poster, revealing to my students who, in part, I am. I proceed to tell my students that the very first profession I desired to pursue was, like my childhood hero in the blockbuster 1981 film, archaeology. But after researching what life as an archaeologist was really like, the punch line concludes, I turned to a much more exciting field: that of modern American history. I open the first class meeting of every semester with my own self-deprecating biography, discussing my upbringing in a Midwestern Rust Belt city famous for its history of depressing sports disappointments, my experiences of being drawn to the exotic pictures of *National Geographic* at an early age, what it was like coming of age at the end of the Cold War, and (somewhat embarrassingly) my childhood obsessions with the films of George Lucas, particularly the original *Star Wars* and *Indiana Jones* trilogies, which taught me about storytelling and took my imagination to far-away places. Our own pasts matter, I tell my students, whether we are the most famous of people or more anonymous historical actors.

I have always been drawn to biography—indeed I imagine that most historians in their formative years were—and decided that I wanted to experiment with a unique biographical pedagogy in my America in the Twentieth Century course to better connect students with the past. Historians, of course, often use biography in their classes.[2] My courses have certainly integrated biographies—throughout my more than ten years in the classroom I have taught many classics such as *Coming of Age in Mississippi* and *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*—and biography remains a vital way in which Americans connect with their past. Visiting any bookstore, I see shelves of volumes on the nation's most iconic actors prominently displayed. A recent perusal of

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[1]Tim O'Brien, "The Whole Story," in *Novel History: Historians and Novelists Confront America's Past (and Each Other)*, ed. Mark C. Carnes (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001), 345.

[2]See, for example, Kim Nielsen, "Using Biography to Teach Disability History," *OAH Magazine of History* (July 2009), 41–43. Also see the entire issue devoted to teaching biography in the *OAH Magazine of History* 20 (January 2006) as well as the various essays in the AHR Roundtable: Historians and Biography, *American Historical Review* 114 (June 2009).

The New York Times bestseller list reveals several biographies, including Lynne Cheney's *James Madison* and Scott Eyman's *John Wayne*. Hollywood loves biography too, as three of the last four winners of the Academy Award for Best Picture, including the phenomenal *Twelve Years a Slave*, were biopics.

As with biography, I have also always been drawn to fiction, usually fiction with a strong sense of time and place. I resist the label of historical fiction, as I believe that all fiction—even fantasy and science fiction—is historical, set in a specific time and place. The genre of historical fiction—popular works from Philippa Gregory on Tudor and Stuart England come to mind—usually chronicles the lives of notable historic actors, though I see such a definition as confining. John Updike's *Rabbit* novels, for example, are certainly historical and tell us much about the experiences of normal Americans in the post-World War II era. During my youth I loved to read about the adventures of Sherlock Holmes, of J.R.R. Tolkien's Middle-earth, and the tales of Robert Louis Stevenson, amongst many others. I was always drawn to adventure narratives, though a strong sense of place and character were important to my developing imagination. I decided to organize my course around biographies, but with a twist: along with historical biographies, we would also be exploring imagined biographies in films and novels.

I have traditionally asked students in my upper-level courses to engage in some sort of research assignment, typically a longer paper that asks them to craft an argument based on research into primary and secondary sources. What I have begun to notice, however, is that throughout these assignments there is often a lack of depth, with more general reportage rather than analysis largely dominating the papers. What if, I pondered, this course focused not on a chronological, thematic, or topical approach, but rather on biographies both real and imagined? What if, instead of producing a standard research paper on a historical figure, students were asked to create an *imagined* biography, a fictional account of a life based on primary and secondary sources? And, ultimately, I asked, how can biography—particularly imagined lives—help us to better understand the human experience? My students were asked to combine history and fiction, a difficult yet potentially rewarding task. What I found throughout this experience was illuminating and informed my understanding of how we teach about the past.[3]

Focusing on biographies and biopics presented several challenges. Biographies and films tend to emphasize notable Americans whose experiences may not necessarily provide the best window through which to understand a given time and place in history. But my course materials strove to move beyond the most famous Americans (though we certainly could not avoid them entirely), and the approach largely worked. Studying the lives of normal people "offered a real-world perspective of Americans during the twentieth century," as one student reflected. "Instead of just studying the events that

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[3]On the meeting of history and fiction, see Carnes, ed., *Novel History*.

happened, we were able to see how these events affected the society and people of the United States." Another student commented, "I thought more about the individuals who would have witnessed the events I covered. Rather than thinking only about the sources I found, I thought about people who might have been impacted but history never recorded."

I organized the course chronologically, though we moved throughout the twentieth century through biographies rather than major events. Often the biographies and major events coincided, but the purpose of this methodology was to see events through the eyes of individuals who either helped to shape them (such as the Freedom Riders of the Civil Rights Movement era) or who were reacting to these larger events (such as the Joad family in *The Grapes of Wrath*, set in the Dust Bowl and California during the Great Depression). At the beginning of each class I provided brief overview lectures to provide context for a given time period, and then we moved into discussions of our films or books, the latter discussions led by student groups. Historical documents, such as letters from American Expeditionary Force nurse Helen Fairchild and International Red Cross ambulance driver Ernest Hemingway during the Great War or videos of speeches from Huey Long and Malcolm X, complemented the course materials, adding primary sources to offer background and depth to our conversations. Our materials mixed both real and imagined biographies, from films to memoirs to novels. We watched several documentaries, including *Freedom Riders*, which chronicles a tense but successful effort to end segregation on buses during the Civil Rights Movement, and *Enron: The Smartest Guys in the Room*, which explores the excesses of capitalism and greed at the end of the twentieth century. Fictional films included *The Grapes of Wrath*, *Revolutionary Road*, *Saturday Night Fever*, *Wall Street*, and my students' consensus favorite, *The Best Years of Our Lives*.

What is so wonderful about *The Best Years of Our Lives* as a teaching tool is that it takes arguably the most dynamic and mythologized event of the twentieth century—the Second World War—and focuses not on battles or famous generals, but rather on the consequences of the conflict for three veterans as they return home and attempt to adjust to post-war life. Released in 1946 and directed by William Wyler, it is in many ways a quiet and contemplative film, a work of art that defies popular perception of the Second World War as a "good" war.[4] There are no action scenes, no moments of great valor or sacrifice, no ticker-tape parades or hyperbole of a "greatest" generation in this film, which won seven Academy Awards, including Best Motion Picture. Rather, the film offers a serious examination of the struggles of making sense of one's life after participating in such a monumental event. Fred Derry, Homer Parrish, and Al Stephenson are strongly drawn and flawed characters, not stoic action heroes. The film does not romanticize war, instead showing how difficult it was for

[4]See Michael C.C. Adams, *The Best War Ever: America and World War II* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).

Throughout my courses I always endeavor to help my students to understand that history is not something created only by the supposedly powerful, but that events are both experienced and shaped by people of various backgrounds. The goal was never more pressing than in this course and with this challenging assignment.

My largest fear was not a slew of final projects featuring an overly dramatic character like Indiana Jones, who, as admitted earlier, I had idolized as an impressionable and romantic youth. Instead, I worried about a seemingly more innocuous fictional character: Forrest Gump. Gump, a creation of author Winston Groom, appeared most famously in director Robert Zemeckis' 1994 film adaptation of Groom's 1986 novel, played in the film by Tom Hanks. The film won numerous Academy Awards, including the Oscars for Best Picture and Best Actor for Hanks. In the film, Forrest Gump has a charmed and oddly influential life, appearing at the intersection of nearly every important moment in the exciting and chaotic world of post-Vietnam America. Gump, amongst many other things, inspires a young Elvis Presley's gyrating dance moves; is in attendance at George Wallace's Stand in the Schoolhouse Door at the University of Alabama; serves and is wounded in Vietnam; meets both President Lyndon Johnson and President Richard Nixon; participates in the United States' goodwill ping pong competition with the Chinese, which helped pave the way for rapprochement; and invents the sport of jogging. Is Gump's story entertaining? Of course it is. But does it help us to understand the real experiences of Americans in a given time and place? Hardly.[5] The film portrays American history as a series of events—"one damn thing after another" as a character from the wonderful film *The History Boys* complains about a common misperception about history—with little introspection into these moments. Ultimately I wanted students to avoid creating characters like Forrest Gump, which would regrettably offer them only a facile way to learn about and reflect on the past.

Once the annotated bibliographies came in, I did have to help rein in the aspirations of my students, some of whom stretched the realm of believability in their proposals. The largest issue was scope, as many students hoped to cover an entire life in ten-to-fifteen pages. I urged them to focus instead on a specific moment in a character's life, which would allow them to add significant depth to their biography. I also saw the makings of several Gump-like characters. In one of my student's proposals, the author proffered that his main character would survive the sinking of the *Titanic* in 1912, consequently serve in the trenches of the First World War, survive the Spanish Flu pandemic, become a bootlegger during Prohibition, and finally lose everything following the stock market crash of 1929. That outline sounds like a great pitch for a Hollywood film, but ultimately it is too easy of a narrative and would most likely create a flat character with little depth. I wanted my students to think more

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[5]See Sam Wineburg, Susan Mosborg, and Dan Porat, "What Can Forrest Gump Tell Us about Students' Historical Understanding?" *Social Education* 65 (January-February 2001), 55–58.

intimately about history, that the major events of our past are certainly important, but they are not necessarily the best windows through which to understand human experience. I urged my students to think about intimate stories that would not be riddled with clichés. Do we need, I asked one student, yet another story about the romanticized heroism of D-Day?

As they began researching and writing, some students struggled with the parameters of this assignment, particularly the task of thinking *creatively* about the past. Many had been raised on History Channel documentaries and rote memorization of names, dates, and facts. The students in our history program are very skilled at discussing *what* happened in the past, but often struggle with drawing larger significance from the past or discussing *why* events unfolded as they did. They would not succeed in this course without tapping deeply into their historical imaginations. Imagining a past (or the present or future, for that matter) is difficult, and while most of my students had some experience with creative writing, they did not realize how much work and research they would have to engage in to make their biographies as realistic as possible. Throughout the semester we talked about narrative and writing, touching on techniques such as foreshadowing and flashbacks, character development, irony, dialogue, and writing clichés. "Writing a paper like that is intimidating to me," one student admitted, "so that is what I struggled with." Others reflected on the challenges of thinking both creatively and historically: "I had to come up with an interesting way to talk about the subject I wanted to discuss. It took many iterations before I was happy with my biography." Another student noted that "digging deep into the mindset of the time" provided a challenge while another found "trying to provide voice to the character" a major hurdle. "The biggest challenge I faced," another wrote, "was putting all of the information together. It seemed like a daunting task, but once I started it all fell into place."

Students chose a variety of methods for telling their imagined biographies. Some chose straightforward biographical narratives, while others experimented with more creative forms such as short stories and epistolary fiction, including letters and diary entries. Others included media such as photographs or poems, which added nice personal touches and realism to the biographies. Students set their imagined biographies throughout the entirety of the twentieth century, though biographies on soldiers and college students did dominate, and many situated their stories locally, which gave them opportunities to delve into local archives, adding an excellent sense of authenticity. Some characters included an aspiring grunge musician in Seattle in the early 1990s; a college student who experiences her political awakening by participating in the Free Speech Movement at the University of California in the 1960s; a soldier who is part of the disastrous Operation Restore Hope mission in Somalia in 1993; a man from Wisconsin ruminating on his relationship with his dying father through the memory of the famous Ice Bowl game between Green Bay and Dallas in 1967; and a 10-year-old girl from Chicago who is reflecting in her diary on events in Europe in the lead-up to the Second World War.

that some of my students engaged with, and does an excellent job of exploring the complicated gender dynamics of the 1970s:

> They say the Great Lakes region was where some of the most dangerous ship voyages took place. The lakes have become responsible for many almost shipwrecks, and, unfortunately, the deaths of many hardworking men. Perhaps the most famous, and mysterious, of these shipwrecks that occurred was that of the *SS Edmund Fitzgerald*. The wreck of this ship took the lives of many loved family members, including my husband, Theodore. My name is Margaret Cowen, and I am here to tell you all about my husband and that terrifying day when he was claimed by the sea doing what he loved. . . .
>
> Life at home became very hard for me and my children, John and Marie, while Theodore was gone. During the busy season, Theodore would be gone for days at a time, and when he did return home, it was often for only hours. This became hard because the children often missed him, and it began to create problems. As with all children, mine began to lash out at certain times without a strong male hand around to show them the ropes. I tried my best as a mother, and as the children grew older, the trouble making got better, and we were able to live a peaceful life while Theodore was away. This didn't mean that it became any easier to be a single mother during the times that Theodore was away. Due to the length of time some voyages took, Theodore was often not around to experience some of the children's most proud accomplishments. I remember telling Theodore of the day our John took his first steps, and how much he was hurting when he realized he would never be able to experience that moment. There were many times like this, however we knew that Theodore's job was very important so we could build a savings to help our children in their future endeavors.

As with most writing assignments, the quality varied, with some of the biographies offering little more than a list of events, though many, like the above examples, were exceptionally compelling, weaving together complex storylines based on solid research in both primary and secondary sources. Overall students did an excellent job of integrating primary sources, from various historical documents to letters, speeches, and photographs. Many studied primary sources such as diaries to get a better sense of language from that era. Students were required to provide a bibliography of their sources and also to include footnotes indicating where their research or, in some cases, direct quotes originated. It was clear that most students greatly enjoyed the process of research and writing, as they loved digging into documents and working through the puzzle of how to construct an imagined biography

based on authentic sources. One commented that the imagined biography was an effective way of learning "because of the amount of detail I was allowed to put into the paper. I didn't just regurgitate facts, but created a whole world based in fact and had my character live in it." Another reflected, "All of the details I learned by doing the [imagined biography] I wouldn't have learned. It is honestly the most I've learned in any class."

Other students appreciated the freedom and creativity they were granted with this assignment compared to typical assessments including quizzes, exams, or a research paper. "I felt," a student noted, "like since it was such a large part of our grade, we had more control of the grade and could work on our terms. It was actually fun creating something similar to what we had been discussing and studying throughout the semester." Another commented, "It gave me the opportunity to write creatively within a certain time period, drawing together a wide array of resources from the real world to create a fictional one." Another loved "writing on a subject as if you were really there." One student reflected, "It helped me understand a lot about the time period in a fun creative way." Finally, a student noted that the best part of the imagined biography project was "learning more about the time period that we researched and [that] we could use our creativity."

Ultimately students found both studying and writing biography as effective ways to better understand and interact with the past. Eighty-five percent of students preferred the imagined biography to exams or a standard research paper, and one hundred percent of students felt that biography, both real and imagined, was a useful way to learn about the past. One noted, "It forced us to focus in immense detail on a certain period and gave us free rein to place our created character in the time period. It allowed us, instead of retelling someone's life, to research in more detail about the period. Honestly, I feel it was the best writing assignment I was ever given and the most detail I have ever put in a paper."

This assignment forced students to think about the past in ways they never had before. Historical imagination is a critical component of history education, and by combining history and fiction, my students used their historical imagination, challenging themselves to dig deeper into understanding how historical actors reacted to various situations. Several students noted that the imagined biography helped them to think differently about the past. "It allowed us to think about history in a different way," one student wrote. "Instead of writing about events, we used events as a backdrop to tell a story about an individual." Another wrote, "I had to think differently than I ever have before. I have written so much over the course of my college career, but this is the first time I have written fiction in all of my years in college." One student thought the assignment greatly promoted and enhanced critical thinking, noting, "Writing a biography in this course allows someone to gain further insight into a particular cultural movement or national event while simultaneously developing critical thinking skills." Another student commented, "It gave me a new perspective of history; a different way of thinking." The larger goal of the course was not lost on students, as

Is there further research that you will need to engage in? Your bibliographic essay should be 3–5 pages in length, double-spaced, use proper grammar, and exhibit a sophisticated sense of analysis and critical thinking. This paper is worth ten percent (50 points) of your total grade for this course, and is due on Monday, October 7, via the Dropbox on D2L.

Peer Review: For the peer review assignment, you will provide written feedback (1–2 pages) to a classmate on a draft of their final paper. Please give constructive criticism, meaning comments that can be used to improve the paper. You may want to comment on the paper's overall narrative and effectiveness, its use of sources, overall structure, and style. Also note a preliminary grade that you would assign to the paper. Please give your paper draft to your partner no later than Monday, November 18 and e-mail your commentary to your partner and also submit them via the Dropbox on D2L. The peer review is worth ten percent (50 points) of your total grade for this course, and is due Monday, November 25.

Final Paper: Your final paper will consist of an imagined biography of your created individual. You may choose to write about one specific incident in this person's life, or you may take a more comprehensive approach, chronicling a larger period. Remember that the purpose of this assignment is to create a realistic portrayal of an American during a specific time and place in the twentieth century. How you choose to do so is up to you—the format could, for example, be a short story or a more conventional historical biography. Since the biography is based on historical research, you must integrate the sources you have collected throughout the semester, citing at least three primary and three secondary sources. Please cite your materials when providing information that is not common knowledge, quotations, or analysis that is not your own. Your paper should be 10–15 pages in length, double-spaced, use proper grammar, and exhibit a sophisticated sense of analysis, critical thinking, and creativity. This paper is worth forty percent (200 points) of your total grade for this course.

BRINGING WORLD CINEMA INTO THE HISTORY CURRICULUM

Ronald Briley
Sandia Preparatory School, Albuquerque, NM

Imagine a flyer promoting a history elective prominently featuring the image of a black-robed Death figure with the following caption: "If you would like to screen a two-hour black and white film in Swedish with English subtitles in which a knight plays chess with death while discussing the meaning of life and such philosophical questions as the existence of God, then this is the class for you." It was with some trepidation that I tried this novel approach for recruitment into a new history elective five years ago. And it worked, perhaps offering a certain snob appeal for some students. But I prefer to believe that "Introduction to World Cinema" addressed student intellectual curiosity regarding film and filmmaking as well as learning more about other cultures in our ever-shrinking world.

Over twenty-five years ago, I encountered resistance to a proposed class in which Hollywood feature films would be employed as primary sources through which to investigate the formation of American values and ideology in the post-World War II period. In other words, these films would be examined to ascertain how they reflected the time periods in which they were made.[1] Thus, I would not use *High Noon* (1952) to examine the American West. Instead, *High Noon* offers insight into such essential issues and concerns of the 1950s as the Cold War, communism and anticommunism, the Hollywood Ten, conformity, and suburbia. In a similar fashion, *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967) tells us more about the 1960s than the Depression era in which the film was set. A careful analysis of such films, supplemented by the well written and researched history of post-World War II America provided by William Chafe in *The Unfinished Journey*, has today made "U.S. History through Film" a respected part of the history curriculum at Sandia Preparatory School.[2] Having an established place for film history in the curriculum made it easier to find acceptance of "Introduction to World Cinema" by various school constituencies of administrators, teachers, parents, and students.

Recent historiographical and pedagogical trends to better place the American experience within the context of global history convinced me that the approach of the

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[1]Ron Briley, "U.S. History, 1932–1972. As Viewed through the Lens of Hollywood," *The History Teacher* 23 (May 1990), 215–236.

[2]William Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

U.S. film class was a bit narrow.[3] While Hollywood continues to exert considerable influence upon international filmmaking, a purely American approach to the study of film ignores major contributions to the art of cinema in Europe, Latin America, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa.

Accordingly, the "Introduction to World Cinema" class offers an opportunity to break down cultural and national boundaries, as well as challenge ethnic and racial stereotypes, through the medium of film—perhaps the most important art form of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This cinematic approach to world history allows students to examine the human condition through the lens of nationality, history, genre, and the artistic contribution of individual filmmakers. As with the American history film course, I expect students to place the international film texts within the historical and cultural contexts in which they were produced. Thus, a cinematic perspective provides an opportunity for upper-level students to apply their knowledge of world history from survey courses taken in their first two class years. But rather than simply a global history through film, the class is also a survey of World Cinema with representative artists and films from various historical and cultural traditions. To study the art of film properly, students must be exposed to film form or the grammar and language of film. An excellent source for understanding better how to analyze cinema is *Film Art* by David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, a book that also might be valuable for filmmaking classes and is employed throughout the Introduction to World Cinema course.[4]

Of course, in one class it will be impossible to address equally the broad spectrum of cultures represented by world cinema, so the films I have chosen for screening in class by necessity will be somewhat selective. The key is to provide examples of the diverse offerings provided by essential global fiilmmakers and to encourage students to explore further on their own time the rich possibilities of international film. Texts such as the *Oxford History of World Cinema* by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and *A Short History of Film* by Wheeler Winston Dixon and Gwendolyn Audrey Fowler will aid teachers in the selection of appropriate films for a world cinema course. The Dixon/Fowler text, organized chronologically, is certainly accessible for senior-level high school students, and I use it throughout the course.[5] Deciding which films to employ in class is really one of the most fun things to do in preparation for the

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[3]Carl Guarneri, *America in the World: United States History in a Global Context* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2007); Michael Schaller, Robert Schulzinger, et al., *American Horizons: U.S. History in a Global Context* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[4]David Bordwell and Kristen Thompson, *Film Art: An Introduction* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2010).

[5]Wheeler Winston Dixon and Gwendolyn Audrey Foster, *A Short History of Film* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009); Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, ed., *The Oxford History of World Cinema* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

course and makes one feel as if he or she is preparing a film festival or operating one's own art house cinema. Accordingly, the following summary of films that I have used in the class includes footnotes with additional reading recommendations on the film texts. While the readings might also be assigned to students, the primary purpose of the notes is to guide teachers to more in-depth readings on the films and filmmakers.

Of course, evaluation of student performance is always a major issue for teaching, and I use several evaluative tools for the class. To make sure that students are keeping up with course readings, I will sometimes give quizzes. Students also have the opportunity to prepare oral presentations on films and filmmakers that we do not have time to show in class—including some more contemporary examples of world cinema. The bulk of our class time is occupied with discussion of the screened film texts. I usually begin discussion with a general question as to whether students found the film interesting, and from there we move onto more analytical concerns as to what the film tells us about the filmmaker, the culture, and the historical context in which the cinematic work of art was produced. We follow these discussions with analytical writing assignments in which students expand upon the themes raised by classroom discourse. The following discussion of film texts employed in the course will include representative examples of the type of essay questions to which students are expected to respond. While the World Cinema class is a history course with an emphasis upon feature films as historical artifacts or primary sources, we also have a filmmaking class at the school, and some of the World Cinema students also enroll in the more creative filmmaking course and are encouraged to share their activities, screenplays, and short films with classmates in World Cinema.

Therefore, let me share some thoughts on films that I have included in the World Cinema class. I begin with three silent films. Similar to the experience with subtitles and viewing black and white films, if one expects students to treat film as an art form worthy of serious study, they usually have little problem adjusting to the differing visual style of silent film which is also made easier by the musical soundtracks that accompany silent features on contemporary DVD reproductions. For the silent unit of the class, I use Sergei Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin* (1925), Charlie Chaplin's *The Gold Rush* (1925), and Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (1926). Eisenstein's film celebrating the Bolshevik Revolution and the role played by the vanguard of the proletariat might not be popular with contemporary students, but his work certainly demonstrates the propaganda possibilities of film. Chaplin's *Gold Rush*, using the Klondike gold strike of the 1890s to comment upon the shallow commercial culture of the 1920s, is a favorite of students, offering an opportunity to analyze and appreciate Chaplin's approach to humor and social commentary that enjoyed international popularity and acclaim. Lang's *Metropolis* introduces students to the artistry of German Expressionism, and the political ideas suggested by the film provide a forum for discussing the rise of Hitler and the Nazi Party in Germany as exploited workers seek a mediator to alleviate their condition. And the visuals are simply stunning, with students often amazed that Lang was able to produce such images without the aid of

of reality, is set in the swinging London of the 1960s and challenges students who are, nevertheless, captivated by the film's cinematography, use of color, and philosophical implications.[10] The essay assignment for the auteur unit requires students to pick one of the directors and discuss how their work is distinctive.

Although existing apart from the European mainstream, the Soviet film industry, building upon the legacy of Eisenstein, played an influential role in world cinema. The centrality of the Second World War to Russian history and culture is evident in such films as Andrei Tarkovsky's *Ivan's Childhood* (1962) and Mikhail Kalatozov's *The Cranes Are Flying* (1957). Students are especially drawn to the tragic love story between Boris and Veronika in *The Cranes Are Flying* as well as the film's message of peaceful coexistence during the Soviet cultural "thaw" following the death of Joseph Stalin. Similar themes of how Americans and Russians are not really so different are apparent in Vladimir Menshov's *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears* (1979), a film that played well in the United States and was a favorite of Ronald Reagan.[11] I ask students to write about what these film texts reveal about life in the Soviet Union during the second half of the twentieth century.

The influence of Eisenstein is also manifested in the political cinema of the 1960s, which challenged the political hegemony of the United States and Western Europe as well as the Soviet Empire. The political thriller *Z* (1969), directed by Constantine Costa-Gavras, denounced the military dictatorship in Greece and its support by the United States. The political milieu of the post-World War II decolonization and wars of national liberation is captured in the powerful *Battle of Algiers* (1965) directed by Italian filmmaker Gillo Pontecorvo. Funded by the revolutionary Algerian government and filmed in a documentary fashion employing techniques of neorealism, *Battle of Algiers* describes the struggle for Algerian independence from France. The film examines the efficacy of terrorism and torture, giving the film a contemporary feel while offering students an opportunity to discuss the foreign policy of the United States in Iraq and Afghanistan.[12]

The themes of decolonization and independence provide a bridge to the study of film in Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. The Japanese film industry

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[10]Federico Fellini, *Fellini on Fellini* (New York: Da Capa Press, 1996); Ingmar Bergman and Joan Tate, *The Magic Lantern: An Autobiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Peter Brunett, *The Films of Michelangelo Antonioni* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[11]Jay Leyda, *Kino: A History of the Russian and Soviet Film* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Birgit Beumers, *A History of Russian Cinema* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2009); Tony Shaw and Denise Youngblood, *Cinematic Cold War: The American and Soviet Struggle for Hearts and Minds* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010).

[12]Carlo Celli, *Gillo Pontecorvo: From Resistance to Terrorism* (Secaucus, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 2005); John J. Michalyczyk, *Costa-Gavras: The Political Fiction Film* (Philadelphia: Art Alliance Press, 1984).

is one of the most significant in global cinema, and students in World Cinema must be exposed to one of the world's master filmmakers Akira Kurosawa, whose work has even influenced George Lucas and the *Star Wars* saga. Among the Kurosawa films that one might share with students are *Rashomon* (1950), *Throne of Blood* (1957), *The Hidden Fortress* (1958), *Kagemusha* (1980), and *Ran* (1985). However, I would recommend screening *The Seven Samurai* (1954), despite its nearly four-hour running time. In *The Seven Samurai*, Kurosawa employs the Samurai tradition to raise questions about the nature of post-World War II Japanese society following the end of the American occupation. Themes of social mobility, gender roles, social class, changing technology, honor, and tradition are explored in this masterpiece of the cinema. The ambiguity with which the Samurai, who saved a village from bandits, are treated relates well to the gunfighter in such American Westerns as *Shane* (1952), once again allowing students to place American history and culture in a more global framework. Although lacking the action of Kurosawa's epic, Yasujiro Ozu's *Tokyo Story* (1953) also examines Japan's postwar culture. Ozu tells the story of grandparents who travel from the countryside to visit their children and grandchildren in the bustling environment of contemporary Tokyo. The children and grandchildren, however, have little time for aging relatives, and the trip ends tragically. Ozu's simple but powerful tale interrogates the changing nature of Japanese culture, but the film also resonates with students for its universal themes regarding family. This film is an important humanizing portrayal of the Japanese people that played well in American art houses only eight years after the brutal war in the Pacific and the unleashing of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[13]

While viewers in the United States could view Japanese films easily, the politics of the Cold War limited access for Americans to Chinese cinema until the 1970s when Chinese films assumed a larger role on the world stage. Themes of contemporary life in China addressed through historical period films are the staple of acclaimed Chinese director Yimou Zhang whose work has enjoyed distribution in the United States. I have found his *Raise the Red Lantern* (1991), featuring Gong Li, to be quite effective in raising questions regarding the state of Chinese politics and economic development. The film is set in the early twentieth century before the Chinese Revolution and may be read as a condemnation of the exploitation of women and the working class by the elusive capitalist Master in this beautifully photographed film. An alternative and more allegorical interpretation of *Raise the Red Lantern* perceives the Master as a representation of the Communist Party. The mistresses of the Master are allowed to enjoy a fairly affluent lifestyle, but there is no toleration for dissent or disobedience.

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[13]Alistair Phillips and Julian Stringer, *Japanese Cinema: Texts and Contexts* (London: Routledge, 2007); Stephen Prince, *Warrior Cinema: The Cinema of Akira Kurosawa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Donald Richie, *The Films of Akira Kurosawa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

When the Third Mistress defies the Master, she is murdered in a scene reminiscent of the brutality inflicted upon protesters in the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre.[14]

In addition to Japanese and Chinese cinema, we also examine the influence of India and its film capital Bollywood upon international film. While many excellent Bollywood films might be used in the classroom, I would recommend *Lagaan* (2001), which involves a challenge cricket match between Indians and their British masters before independence. This film contains the usual elements of Bollywood, such as interrupting the narrative for a musical number, but *Lagaan* also provides an opportunity for students to examine the resistance of Indians to British imperialism by employing the English game of cricket as a means through which to avoid the imposition of a land tax—in other words, hoisting the colonizers on their own petard. Another powerful film for the classroom is *Earth* (1998), directed by Deepa Mehta, a Canadian product of the Indian diaspora. *Earth*, part of a controversial trilogy of films dealing with life in India directed by Mehta, is concerned with the partition of India following independence and focuses upon how religious differences are manipulated to divide former friends. The beautiful Hindu, Shanta (Nandita Das), is pursued by two Muslim suitors, Dil Navaz (Aamir Khan) and Hassan (Rahal Khanna), and the end result of this love triangle is a brutal and unsettling conclusion that parallels the violence accompanying the partition of the Indian subcontinent into India and Pakistan. In addition to the platform that this film presents for students to consider the continuing confrontation between Hindus and Muslims in the region, the treatment of Shanta also provides students a framework through which to discuss the violence against women that seems to plague contemporary India.[15]

Latin America also has a rich cinematic heritage, but I must confess that my World Cinema class curriculum is somewhat limited on this topic as most of our upper-division students take Spanish, and one of our teachers focuses upon Latin American film. However, I would like to share some brief comments on four recent films that I have found to be effective in the World Cinema classroom. The rich tradition of Magical Realism in Latin America, exemplified by the literature of Gabriel Garcia Márquez, is well illustrated in Mexican filmmaker Guillermo de Toro's *Pan's Labyrinth* (2006), set during the Spanish Civil War. This story of the brutality and evil found within fascism and the efforts of an innocent young girl to escape and find refuge

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[14]Christopher J. Berry and Mary Ann Fargahar, *China on Screen: China and Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Yingjin Zhang, *Chinese National Cinema* (London: Routledge, 2004); Francis Gatewood, ed., *Zhang Yimou: Interviews* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001).

[15]Vijay Mishera, *Bollywood Cinema: Temples of Desire* (London: Routledge, 2001); Bhaskar Sarkar, *Mourning the Nation: Indian Cinema in the Wake of Partition* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Devyani Saltzman and Deepa Mehta, *Shooting Water: A Memoir of Second Chances, Family, and Filmmaking* (New York: William Morrow, 2007).

in a fantasy world is certainly popular with students. A more realistic examination of resistance to the history of military dictatorship in Latin America, often supported by the United States, can be found in *The Official Story* (1995). The film focuses upon the protests of women in Argentina seeking information regarding family members who disappeared during the military dictatorship of the 1970s. History teacher Alicia Marnet de Ibáñez (Norma Alandro) comes to recognize that her adopted daughter and affluent lifestyle are dependent upon the compromises her husband Roberto has made with the corrupt military government. When writing upon *The Official Story*, students are asked to interrogate the nature of official truths presented by governments and the obligation of citizens to challenge such official stories. In *No* (2013), Gael Garcia Bernal plays a young advertising executive who employs the techniques of modern American advertising to win a 1988 plebiscite that drove Chilean dictator General Augusto Pinochet from power. The irony of using American popular culture to depose an autocrat who seized power in a coup backed by the United States raises a number of questions and ambiguities that students find fascinating. But for most students, their favorite film in the course is the Brazilian picture *City of God* (2002), directed by Fernando Meirelles. *City of God*, which enjoyed a popular run in American theaters, focuses upon the favelas created by the Brazilian military dictatorship of the 1960s. While the government initially promoted the favelas as a program to address poverty, the reality has proven to be the creation of slums in which crime and corruption abound far from the upper and middle-class neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro. In an artistic tour de force, Meirelles depicts the culture of violence, drug dealing, and official corruption that makes it almost impossible to escape the favelas. While most students love this film, I try to challenge this assumption by presenting them with reviews that question whether the film's bright colors and glitzy production values rather than a grittier look tend to glamorize violence. With these reviews, I try to raise the question of whether Meirelles avoids social responsibility by offering no solution to the problems of the favelas. And with the World Cup and 2016 Olympics just past, the favelas are certainly on the world's radar screen.[16]

A fair criticism of the World Cinema class is that we do not do enough with the films of the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa. There are strong film industries in Egypt, Palestine, and Israel, but due to time limitations I generally focus upon Iranian cinema which well reflects the complexity of a nation that many Americans struggle to understand. The diversity of Iranian culture is most evident in filmmaker Ashgar Farhadi's *A Separation* (2011), which was the first Iranian film to win an Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Picture. The religious, class, gender, and

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[16]Aberto Elena, Marina Diaz Lopez, and Walter Salles, *The Cinema of Latin America* (New York: Wallflower Press, 2004); John King, *Magical Reels: A History of Cinema in Latin America* (New York: Verso, 2000); Deborah Shaw, *Contemporary Latin American Cinema: Breaking into the Global Market* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007); Mar Diestro–Dopido, *Pan's Labyrinth* (London: British Film Institute, 2013.)

generational differences that characterize contemporary Iran are on display in this film as an educated middle-class family procures a poor woman from a more fundamentalist religious family to care for an aging male parent. A legal dispute arises over this care, allowing students a glimpse into the diversity of contemporary Iran. The divorce proceedings between Simin and her husband Nader, who refuses to leave Iran and his ailing father, also challenge student stereotypes of women in Iran and the Middle East. Preconceived assumptions about Iran are also interrogated in Bahman Ghobadi's *No One Knows about Persian Cats* (2009). This film, which includes documentary footage as well as a fictionalized story line, concerns the efforts of young Iranian musicians to gain visas that would allow them to perform in Europe. Employing music videos from the Iranian rock music scene, *Persian Cats* demonstrates that there is an active underground alternative music scene in Teheran despite the endeavors of the conservative government to place strict regulations over cultural expression. Through much of the film there is a lighter mood of poking fun at the authorities, but *Persian Cats* concludes with tragedy that often leaves students stunned. In response to the film, the Iranian government no longer allows Ghobadi to work in the country, and ironically some of the musicians featured in the film were able to relocate to New York City where several were killed in a shooting growing out of a personal rather than political dispute. Students who love music are drawn to this film, which demonstrates that despite the political and diplomatic differences between the United States and Iran, young people in the two nations share common elements of music culture exemplified through the power of world cinema.[17] For the essay assignment on this unit, I ask students to employ the films as windows into issues of gender, class, and justice within contemporary Iran.

Our World Cinema class does not do enough with the growing film communities of Sub-Saharan Africa, especially Nigeria, whose film industry, known as Nollywood, is second only to India's Bollywood in the number of features released annually—although many of these features are not readily available in the West for classroom use. However, this is beginning to change, and I have employed such African features as *One God, One Nation* (Nigeria, 2005) and *Nairobi Half Life* (Kenya, 2012). Students in World Cinema must also be introduced to the pioneering work of Senegalese director Ousmane Sembène, considered to be one of the first and perhaps still the best of African filmmakers. Condemnation of French political and cultural imperialism is well developed in Sembène's *Black Girl* (1966). The film tells the story of a young African woman whose employers take her to Paris where she works as a domestic. Isolated from her culture, the young woman tries to find solace in a

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[17]Hamid Reza Sadr, *Iranian Cinema: A Political History* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2006); Hamid Naficy, *A Social History of Iranian Cinema, Volume 4: The Globalizing Era, 1984–2010* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012); Hamid Dabashi, *Close Up: Iranian Cinema, Past and Future* (New York: Verso, 2001).

mask that reconnects her with African culture. The film ends tragically and is often upsetting to students, but Ousmane sends a powerful anti-imperialist message.[18]

This survey of films that I have employed in the World Cinema class is hardly an exhaustive list, but it does suggest the diverse possibilities of using film to investigate global history and culture. In focusing upon some of the key filmmakers who first influenced world cinema, my selection of films is rather Eurocentric, but in the last two years I have tried to expand the range of films to which students are exposed in order to promote greater cultural understanding. But no matter what films are chosen for screening—and I would suggest including students in this process—time is always a limiting factor in the classroom. I am fortunate to have two one-hour class periods per week which are adequate for screening most of the films, with three forty-five minute blocs for discussion and class presentations. Thus, my goal is to screen a film per week if there are not too many interruptions with the schedule. Of course, I could gain additional class time by having students screen the films at home, but I would argue that there is much to be gained by gauging student reaction in a community viewing. In addition, I sometimes make comments during the screenings to clarify a historical or cultural point about which students might be unfamiliar. Although I believe that complete viewings of the films are best, teachers who wish to utilize world cinema to supplement world history courses might include carefully selected film clips whose context must be developed and explained. I should note that some of the films might include scenes that parents find objectionable. Accordingly, I would suggest that parents sign a permission form for the class in which they are apprised of all films to be viewed in the class. Teaching a senior elective for seventeen and eighteen year-old students on the eve of college, I have not found film content to be a major problem with the class.

In conclusion, the World Cinema course has presented an excellent opportunity to broaden student horizons regarding film and world history by examining this art form within historical and cultural contexts. It is, indeed, the class for you if you would like to pursue some of the essential questions posed by Bergman in *The Seventh Seal*. And it is not simply a class that only appeals to students of the humanities: I have been humbled by comments of former students at the university majoring in math and science who assert that the World Cinema class altered their perception of both film and history. The class requires a great deal of labor on the part of both teachers and students, but for those willing to tackle the challenges of world cinema, the reward should be a deeper understanding of the diverse and complex world in which we reside as global citizens.

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[18]Annett Busch and Max Annas, eds., *Ousmane Sembène: Interviews* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2008); Kenneth W. Harrow, *Postcolonial African Cinema: From Political Engagement to Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); Mahit Saul and Ralph A. Austen, *Viewing African Cinema in the Twenty-First Century Art Film and the Nollywood Video Revolution* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010); David Murphy and Patrick Williams, *Postcolonial African Cinema: Ten Directors* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).

WIKIQUESTS, MICROBLOGGING, AND PERSONAL RESPONSE SYSTEMS IN THE HISTORY CLASSROOM

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Today's middle and high school students have never known a world without computers, the internet, smartphones, text messaging, and other digital technologies.[1] Social media is central to their lives—95 percent of twelve to seventeen-year-olds are online and eighty percent use Facebook or Twitter for interactive communication and personal learning.[2] When asked, students say that they want more technology-based learning opportunities at school. In one cross-national history learning study, high school students in the United States and Turkey said they could perform better academically if teachers utilized technological materials more often for classroom activities.[3]

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[1]Project Tomorrow, *Mapping a Personalized Learning Journey—K-12 Students and Parents Connect the Dots with Digital Learning* (April 2012), http://www.tomorrow.org/speakup/pdfs/SU11_PersonalizedLearning_Students.pdf; Tamar Lewin, "If Your Kids Are Awake, They're Probably Online," *New York Times*, January 20, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/20/education/20wired.html?_r=0.

[2]Amanda Lenhart, Mary Madden, Aaron Smith, Kristin Purcell, Kathryn Zickuhr, and Lee Rainie, "Teens' Kindness and Cruelty on Social Network Sites: How American Teens Navigate the New World of 'Digital Citizenship,'" *Pew Internet & American Life Project* (November 9, 2011), http://pewinternet.org/Reports/2011/Teens-and-social-media.aspx; Project Tomorrow, "From Chalkboards to Tablets: The Emergence of the K-12 Digital Learner" (June 2013), http://tomorrow.org/speakup/SU12_DigitalLearners_StudentReport.html.

[3]Ibrahim Turan, "Student Attitudes Toward Technology Enhanced History Education: Comparison Between Turkish and American Students," *Journal of Social Studies Education Research* 1 (2010), 152–167.

Many history and social studies teachers, by contrast, have a tenuous relationship with digital technologies as instructional tools. Now four decades into the computer revolution—Microsoft was founded in 1975 and Apple in 1976—history teaching at the high school level continues to feature lectures, fill-in-the-blank worksheets, and multiple-choice exams.[4] Except for presentation tools such as PowerPoint and Prezi, new technologies are not used regularly in history classrooms as instructional tools.

In this paper we discuss the introduction of three digital technologies—wikis, microblogging, and personal response systems—into high school history classrooms by new teacher candidates from the University of Massachusetts Amherst. In theory, digital technologies could change how history is taught and learned in schools. As two technology educators noted, "there are deep incompatibilities between the demands of new technologies and the traditional classroom."[5] In a technology-infused classroom, lecture-driven approaches give way to more student-centered, collaborative formats for exploring historical topics. In practice, however, new technologies rarely make a smooth transition to successful classroom use.

At one level, the new digital technologies discussed in this paper can be seen as just newer applications of older pedagogical devices and practices: Wikiquests as collaborative research projects, microblogs as student opinion pieces, and personal response systems as quizzes. As history teachers consider the role of new technologies, it is fair to ask: "What can teachers and students do *with* these tools that cannot be done without them?" We turn to the experiences of new teacher candidates to begin answering this question, recognizing at the outset that instructional change is not built into any computer, software application, or web-based tool. The impacts of technology are realized in how they are used by teachers and students. The experiences reported in this paper are intended to raise issues and offer insights for history teachers and history teacher educators as they integrate digital tools into instructional practice.

Wikis and Wikiquests as Interactive Resources

A wiki is a website that is edited and maintained by a group of people. This technology has emerged as an increasingly popular way for students and teachers to

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[4]Larry Cuban, *Hugging the Middle: How Teachers Teach in an Era of Testing and Accountability* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2008); Larry Cuban, *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1890–1990* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1993).

[5]Allan Collins and Richard Halverson, *Rethinking Education in the Age of Technology: The Digital Revolution and Schooling in America* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2009), 6.

create and share history learning.[6] Wikis enable collaboratively structured learning environments where students and teachers, as well as groups of students themselves, work together on different parts of a topic, discovering concepts and information to share online for all to access. In wiki environments, the teacher's role shifts from expert-in-charge to supporter and facilitator of peer-to-peer interaction, social learning, and technology use. Teachers learn with students just as students learn with teachers.

Wikis encourage students and teachers to work collaboratively in pairs or teams, to learn new processes, make mistakes, and monitor each other's ideas and reasoning—important ingredients of democratic classrooms. One educator concluded after reviewing recent research on instructional uses of computer-based tools that "wikis are seen as capable of providing more possibilities of open learning environments than many other traditional uses of instructional technology."[7]

During her student teaching at a local high school, Allison, a history major and master's degree candidate, quickly concluded that teaching history is not the same as telling students information. She noted that to engage students "in learning about topics that 'aren't relevant to my future' as they say, requires me to step away from traditional methods of lecturing and testing if I want to catch and keep student interest and attention." By her own admission, "I taught few classes where students were engaged in a lesson that required traditional note taking of information from a teacher lecture." Providing a range of different activities for classroom learning meant students could never predict a day's learning activities, for as Allison noted:

> "Why are we doing this instead of taking notes?" was a question often repeated when I began. Now, used to my attempts at keeping them engaged and interested in the material regardless of the topic, the question I hear is, "What are we doing today?"

For Allison, digital technology became a means for differentiating instruction to involve students in learning. And teaching without a textbook encouraged her to use technology even more than she anticipated when the semester began. Familiar with wikis from her graduate coursework, she developed a "history wikiquest" as part of her unit on the Vietnam War, a required topic under both the Massachusetts and Advanced Placement (AP) United States History curriculum standards.

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[6]Will Richardson, *Blogs, Wikis, Podcasts, and Other Powerful Web Tools for Classrooms* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, 2006). See also Audrey Watters, "Why Wikis Still Matter," *Edutopia*, October 18, 2011, http://www.edutopia.org/blog/wiki-classroom-audrey-watters.

[7]Lena Lee, "'A Learning Journey for All': American Elementary Teachers' Use of Classroom Wikis," *Journal of Interactive Online Learning* 11 (Winter 2012), 90.

A history wikiquest is an interactive online learning activity that uses a wikispace as the primary location for multiple sources of historical information. For her wikiquest, Allison used *resourcesforhistoryteachers*, an open public wiki developed by Robert Maloy at the University of Massachusetts Amherst.[8] As a multimedia/ multicultural wikispace for teachers and students, created by teachers and students, *resourcesforhistoryteachers* features different perspectives and a wide range of resources about historical topics listed in the Massachusetts History & Social Science Curriculum Framework as well as AP standards for U.S. history, world history, and government and politics.

Most of the students were familiar with doing online webquests to learn about a topic. What is different and engaging about a wikiquest is finding all the learning resources accessible from one web space. Allison recalled:

> To [my students], wiki means Wikipedia, the only wiki they know. Using that connection, I explained that *resourcesforhistoryteachers* is also a wiki, a similar concept, but not something that everyone may edit. It may be used by anyone as it has been created for students and teachers everywhere, but materials and resources at the site have been previewed by university faculty and college students.

First, Allison oriented students about how to view, explore, and navigate pages in *resourcesforhistoryteachers*, with its icons identifying different types of resources. After previewing several wiki pages with students, Allison posted the assignment on Moodle, her high school's online learning management platform. In a folder entitled "Vietnam Wikiquest," students could find two files, one with instructions about how to access the wiki, the other with directions for the assignment.

The directions stated that the students would view different types of materials—audio, video, primary sources, interviews, photos, and court cases—related to the Vietnam War. The resources were located on the wiki page for the Massachusetts History Standard USII.20 ("Explain the causes, course, and consequences of the Vietnam War and summarize the diplomatic and military policies of Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon") and included the following links:

- *Historical Perspectives on the History of Vietnam* from Michigan State University's Windows on Asia website.
- *Battlefield Vietnam: A Brief History* from PBS.
- *Transcripts and Audio Recordings from the Presidential Recordings Program* at the Miller Center for Public Affairs, University of Virginia.

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[8]http://resourcesforhistoryteachers.wikispaces.com/.

- *The War in Vietnam: A Story in Photographs* from the National Archives with documentary pictures of the war shot by military photographers between 1962 and 1975.
- *Vietnam War Causalities by Home of Record* from the Virtual Wall at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.
- President Lyndon B. Johnson's 1968 speech on "Peace in Vietnam and Southeast Asia" in which he announced he would not seek re-election as president.
- Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.'s 1967 speech, "Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break the Silence," in which he declared his opposition to the war.
- *Clay v. United States*, the 1971 Supreme Court case arising from Muhammad Ali's (Cassius Clay) appeal of his 1967 conviction for refusing to report for military induction.
- First-person interview selections from the book *Patriots: The Vietnam War Remembered From All Sides* by historian Christian Appy, available from Amazon.com.
- "Women: The Unknown Soldiers," an essay posted on a De Anza College website, "The Vietnam Conflict."
- "Women and the Vietnam War" website from the Wellesley College Department of Political Science.
- *Teaching the "American War": Looking at the War in Vietnam through Vietnamese Eyes* from the website "Primary Source."
- Text of the Vietnamese Declaration of Independence, 1945.[9]

Students were asked to explore two (three for honors credits) different sources from the above list and respond to the following questions:

- Who produced the source? When was it produced? Is the source trustworthy?
- What is the perspective of the source? Is there more than one perspective? What are the main points of the source?
- How does the source relate to class notes, discussions, and readings?
- Using facts, observations, and background knowledge, what is the essential question answered by the source?

Allison observed how the activity was well received by students whose "interest thrived in having choice. By making choices, students were passionate about discussing their sources. They disregarded the option of scanning the easiest or

[9]The last three resources on the list were posted on the *resourcesforhistoryteachers* wiki under World History standards WHII.32 and WHII.38.

quickest sources and instead searched for materials they found historically appealing." Afterwards, students were asked to rate on a scale from 1 (little or no interest) to 5 (interesting and helpful) whether the wikiquest held their attention, was easy to understand, and provided new perspectives on history. All responses were between 3 and 5. One student remarked how "being able to have a choice made the facts stick." Another wrote, "I liked that we could see perspectives from primary sources and from images and text like the casualty list." Allison concluded that choice enabled willing engagement and wide knowledge acquisition among students:

> In a "wikiquest" students are encouraged to pursue their own chosen interests. A student response illustrating this is: "I like to do homework online and also being able to listen and watch things instead of only reading." The choices in readings, videos, and audios nurtured a class discussion that included many different perspectives filled with a wide array of facts and data. A typical homework assignment does not fulfill this.

As an interactive learning strategy using digital technology, a history wikiquest is an idea worth pursuing—its learning possibilities cannot be replicated using textbooks or other paper sources. Online, students are able to read an overview of the war, view photographs from the National Archives, peruse oral histories, consult a list of casualties by state, listen to secret White House Oval Office tapes, and watch historic news footage. Students have access to resources that they are less likely to find searching on their own—sites from university faculty and departments, presidential libraries, historical organizations, government agencies, and independent scholars and researchers.

Because of the range and variety of resources, class conversations widen beyond discussions where student research is based on a small number of resources. In Allison's class, one student cited *Clay v. United States* (1971), explaining the details of why Muhammad Ali was accused of dodging the draft and what choices he was presented with in court. A different student summarized secret correspondence between President Johnson and his advisors as they crafted the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. A third student, reviewing casualty lists to find that the largest number of draftees came from lower socio-economic status communities (young men who were not enrolled in college), concluded: "I never thought college was for me, but if it gets me out of a war, I should look into it."

Allison's experience raises a fundamental question for history teachers: Can students learn from the wide range of resources found in a wikiquest without first gaining factual background about a topic? In most schools, since students do not have knowledge of historical events, teachers use lectures and textbooks to disperse core information in order to build a foundation for historical study. Given the amount of historical content to teach in schools, is there time enough in class to provide the

background and engage in the deeper study of primary source and multimedia resources featured in a wikiquest?

Sam Wineburg and colleagues at Stanford University have shown that students do not arrive in middle and high school as empty vessels, completely lacking knowledge or interest about the past.[10] Students possess broad narratives, what Wineburg calls "collective memory," gleaned from years of family, community, and media experiences (i.e. Hollywood movies). In one study, Wineburg asked high school students and adults aged 45 and over to list the most famous persons in American history, not including Presidents or First Ladies. Both groups named eight of the same persons, suggesting the limited knowledge of shared historical information across generations.[11] While these collective narratives are incomplete and accompanied by misconceptions and misinformation, they constitute a knowledge base teachers can utilize for historical study.

Viewed in this light, the process of having students read and view different types of online materials does not have to wait until they have heard the lecture, read the textbook, and learned the facts. As a learning experience, a wikiquest can offer new information, opening opportunities for teachers to examine and challenge students' culturally based beliefs about who did what and why in the past. Students who think they know about certain people and events can learn more through an activity such as this. A wikiquest can help to establish a creative balance between gaining knowledge and doing history.

Teaching and learning history in schools is much more than notes, sources, and lectures. At the end of a unit or a year of study, students need to be able to understand events and time periods completely enough to form historically accurate descriptions of what happened, and they need primary and secondary sources to do that. One suggestion is that a wikiquest be used in tandem with an online textbook such as *Digital History*, an interactive American history website housed at the University of Houston.[12] *Digital History's* online materials situate events chronologically while presenting readable summaries of key people, decisions, and consequences—a foundation on which more complete structures of learning can be built.

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

[11]Sam Wineburg and Chauncey Monte-Sano, "'Famous Americans': The Changing Pantheon of American Heroes," *The Journal of American History* 94 (March 2008), 1186–1202. https:/jah.oxfordjournals.org/content/94/4/1186.full?X

[12]Steven Mintz and Sara McNeil, *Digital History*, http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu.

Microblogging Backchannels for Inquiry-Based Learning

Social media use among young people is changing rapidly as youngsters ages 12–17 move away from Facebook toward photo sharing and microblogging sites.[13] Instagram and Snapchat are leading sites for sharing pictures and images; Twitter is the most well-known site for posting short messages (or tweets) online. Tweets are not restricted to written text, but can also include pictures, video clips, links, or other forms of digital content.[14] Increasingly popular in fields like business, marketing, and journalism, image sharing and microblogging are just beginning to be used by teachers.

Joe encountered these changing social media dynamics at the beginning of his high school history teaching internship when he found himself "constantly trying to find a balance between giving students autonomy with learning while at the same time giving guidance and support to help students be successful." He started using Twitter as a way to support learning by reminding students about assignment due dates and providing web links related to class curriculum topics. While this use of Twitter made students more accountable for due dates and upcoming assignments, Joe found it "too passive a tool; I wanted to more directly connect with students by making my Twitter account a desirable destination for students to go to while browsing the Web."

To make his Twitter feed a more visited location, Joe started posting class content online. After showing an in-class Prezi, Joe linked the presentation to his Twitter so students could see it on their computer or mobile device at any time. This allowed students to review class notes digitally before an exam. Joe found this strategy helped students who have difficulty taking notes in class: "Instead of trying to focus on the presentation, taking notes, and my voice, students can concentrate on what I am saying and refer to the presentation later."

Next, Joe began tweeting information pertinent to each day's lesson. If the class was reading an important historical speech or related primary document, he would link to audio or video of that speech or document on Twitter. Having audio or video access outside of class, Joe concluded, "allows students a more complete understanding of the document; how something is said is almost as important as what is said." Another favorite activity was displaying answers to students' questions that he could not answer

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[13]Shea Bennett, "Tumblr, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, & Snapchat—How Teens Use Social Media," *Social Times*, October 18, 2013, http://www.mediabistro.com/alltwitter/teens-social-media_b50664.

[14]Kay Kyeong-Ju Seo, *Using Social Media Effectively in the Classroom: Blogs, Wikis, Twitter and More* (New York: Routledge, 2012). See also Educause, "7 Things You Should Know about Microblogging" (July 7, 2009), http://www.educause.edu/library/resources/7-things-you-should-know-about-microblogging; Brian A. McKenzie, "Teaching Twitter: Re-enacting the Paris Commune and the Battle of Stalingrad," *The History Teacher* 47 (May 2014), 355–372. You can follow historian H.W. Brands as he tweets the history of the United States at Haiku History: The American Saga Seventeen Syllables at a Time, online at https://twitter.com/hwbrands.

immediately during class. "By posting this information on my Twitter account," Joe noted, "I am connecting to the students' passions and allowing them to investigate more fully questions they have."

Yet, while posting Prezi presentations and adding additional content gave Joe's Twitter account more traffic, he thought that it was still a one-sided conversation in which he gave information for students to receive. Moreover, Joe's Twitter posts were mostly limited to those students who had an account. Joe decided that he "wanted a space where students could connect with me and with their peers, and I really liked the idea of only having 140 characters to make students focus their thoughts and be selective about their word choice. His solution was an online backchannel using a website called "TodaysMeet."

A backchannel consists of all the information and conversation in a classroom that is not generated by the teacher.[15] Every classroom has a backchannel, even if it is not acknowledged officially, where students ask each other questions during class, pass notes, and talk with each other about personal interests. If thoughtfully accessed, the backchannel can give teachers immediate feedback about what students are thinking about academic lessons.

While many teachers either ignore or try to control the backchannel, Joe decided to use this communication process as a way for students to ask questions, share insights, and generate responses to classroom activities. The online backchannel of "TodaysMeet" functioned like a Twitter feed. Students could generate short comments (140 character limit) that would display either on Joe's computer at his desk or on a large screen at the front of the room when he connected his machine to an overhead projector.

Joe used the backchannel in two different ways: "First, during a presentation, the backchannel enabled students to ask clarifying questions, signal me to slow down, or to flag issues with the presentation." Second, everyone could see when "students posted responses to each other based on primary source documents." One example of this second use happened while studying American policy during the Spanish-American Cuban Filipino War. Two dominant ideas were being discussed: 1) The United States was saving Cuba and the Philippines from Spanish colonial oppression, and 2) the United States was removing Spain from its position of colonial dominance in order to take its place. To explore these ideas more fully, Joe asked students to examine excerpts from history textbooks published in the United States, Cuba, Jamaica, Spain,

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[15]For more background on backchanneling, see Richard Byrne, "Try TodaysMeet for Back-Channel Chat without Distraction," *Free Technology for Teachers* (December 4, 2009), http://www.freetech4teachers.com/2009/12/todaysmeet-for-back-channel-chat.html#.UrNAOhxiC7t; Richard Byrne, "A Teacher's Guide to Classroom Backchannels and Informal Assessment Tools," *Free Technology for Teachers* (January 29, 2013), http://www.freetech4teachers.com/2013/01/a-teachers-guide-to-classroom.html#.UWit26saeJI.

and the Philippines.[16] Not knowing which excerpt came from which book, students used the backchannel to discuss where they thought each excerpt came from and why. As Joe observed, "It was fun to see students engaging with the text and one another, challenging opinions and having a dialogue about a primary source."

For Joe, Twitter and "TodaysMeet" in the classroom became exciting methods to engage students while giving them greater autonomy in learning. He saw students continuing their development as engaged, motivated learners when they had opportunities to express ideas using this technology. At the same time, utilizing these microblogging technologies raises issues for history teachers to consider. One is access. While many students and schools have laptops and mobile devices, some do not. Successful implementation of backchannel conversation tools would seem to require that every student have access to a personal device to avoid digital inequality in the classroom.

A second issue is usage and purpose. Will mobile devices be a distraction from the processes of academic learning? Will students accomplish class work more readily with regular access to handheld tools? By employing the use of laptops or phones during class time, everyone in a classroom is entering into a social contract whereby students agree to stay on task and engage in thoughtful learning while teachers agree to make academic activities engrossing, not dull. Guidelines need to be developed with students so they are part of the process of guiding learning with technology. Trying to create and enforce rules about mobile technologies without significant student input and support is not likely to succeed. And parental input is a whole other issue.

Also present are practical questions about how teachers grade and monitor student backchannel activity and online statements. Should teachers use a rubric, a checklist, or have a mandated requirement that everyone post at least once during a class session? Additionally, rules must be agreed upon to prevent inappropriate or offensive statements by students about other students. As microblogging becomes a more widely used communication and instructional technology, everyone—teachers, administrators, parents, and students—must collaboratively establish norms and expectations for its use.

Finally, conversation is needed about the depth of analysis that can be shared using short messages. Learning history requires historical thinking, a process that involves analyzing primary sources, reading multiple accounts of events, understanding historical context, and being able to weigh evidence to support claims about what

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[16]Dana Lindaman and Kyle Ward, *History Lessons: How Textbooks from Around the World Portray U.S. History* (New York: The New Press, 2006).

happened.[17] Students must present and defend their interpretations of events, and to be able to do so requires deliberate study and clear analysis. Short responses such as those on Twitter or "TodaysMeet" might well aid the development of those skills as they help students to formulate viewpoints and express them cogently online. Therein rests an important tradeoff for teachers and students. Microblogging might promote active student investigation into the decisions and choices people made in the past, and that process could create a foundation on which more in-depth historical analysis can be accomplished.

Personal Response Systems for Learning Assessments

Personal Response Systems (PRS—sometimes known as audience response systems) allow students to answer questions in real-time using handheld digital devices (or clickers) while teachers can share that information with all the members of a class. Once students have submitted answers to various types of forced choice questions (for example, multiple choice, Yes/No, matching, or True/False), the system instantly displays those answers in a graphic or table format. Teachers and students can see immediately if everyone understands a topic under discussion, if additional activities are needed to clarify understanding, or simply where everyone stands on a question or issue under discussion. Popular at the college and university level as a way to engage students in large classes, personal response systems are becoming more widely used in middle and high schools.

For her senior-year Honors Program Capstone Project, Kate decided to explore using a personal response system in teaching history in secondary school classrooms. Earlier that fall, she attended a lecture by Brian Lukoff, a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard, speaking about the different ways that teachers can create interactive learning in classrooms.[18] Lukoff described ways to use technology-based systems where students respond to teacher questions using personal digital devices (laptops, tablets, iPods, or phones).[19] The assumption underlying these approaches is that students will be more mentally engaged if they can respond to academic subject matter in self-chosen and interactive ways.

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[17]Daisy Martin, "What Is Historical Thinking?" National History Education Clearinghouse, January 10, 2011, http://teachinghistory.org/historical-thinking-intro.

[18]Brian Lukoff, "Using Learning Catalytics to Create an Interactive Classroom," STEM Tuesday Talk at the University of Massachusetts Amherst (February 5, 2013).

[19]Emily Hanford, "Rethinking the Way College Students are Taught," *American Radio Works* (September 2011), http://americanradioworks.publicradio.org/features/tomorrows-college/lectures/rethinking-teaching.html.

With Lukoff's ideas as a starting point for encouraging interactive learning, Kate visited a high school history classroom, taking along a portable Insight 360 Personal Response System. She and the teacher of the class decided to use the PRS to review information from a previous night's history homework. Using the assigned reading as a reference, Kate composed twenty multiple-choice questions that highlighted key points, writing the questions in the style of the Advanced Placement United States History exam.

After explaining to students how the homework review would proceed differently than usual, she distributed the PRS clickers and went through the questions with the class, discussing the answers for each question with special attention to the ones that many of the students did not answer correctly. When she finished, she asked students for their evaluation of the response system using a scale from 1 (little or no interest) to 5 (very interesting and helpful). None of the students had used a personal response system in class before this experience.

On the helpfulness and comprehension scales, the students ranked the PRS activity a 4 on the five-point scale. But as Kate read students' comments, she concluded "what was most exciting was that 95 percent of the students said that their attention was held at level 5; the personal response system approach had been more engaging than other reviews they had done."

Students were asked to give written feedback about what they liked and did not like about using the PRS for homework review. Most described the activity as being fun; they liked having a clicker in their hands and they liked pressing buttons to get an immediate response. One student appreciated seeing responses displayed in a bar graph that showed the number of classmates who chose each answer, declaring how "it was exciting to see the number of people who guessed different answers. It made the review more competitive, but it also helped show where the class was confused." Another student cited the anonymity of the clicker responses: "What I liked the most was that no one was being called on specifically."

Some of the students said the font size of the questions was too small, making them hard to read. Others said they found some of the questions too challenging. Yet, overall students found the clickers an engaging way to gather information and discover where they needed to improve their knowledge and enlarge their understanding. One student summarized the viewpoint of the class: "It's pretty cool how we have this technology. I like how answers are confidential but you still get the chance to see the results and notice where you need to improve."

A personal response system in the classroom clearly seems to have the potential to expand lessons beyond the standard lecture and text reading history curriculum. Using a digital tool to respond to questions, students appear to be engaged and the learning could be more stimulating than paper-based quizzes. Importantly, by engaging students in evaluating their responses critically, a teacher has the opportunity to observe thinking and reasoning practices and then adjust teaching methods to fit those needs.

Research from science classrooms further suggests the value of quiz questions as a teaching and learning strategy.[20] In one study, students who read material and then took a test shortly thereafter retained fifty percent more of the material a week later than students who used two other common learning strategies—either studying the material extensively on their own or drawing diagrams and concept maps about what they had read.[21] Other researchers at the college level have found that the use of clickers in class produced greater participation and engagement among students, although not necessarily statistically significant improvements in exam scores when compared to those taught using traditional formats.[22]

This research would seem to suggest that there are benefits to history teachers quizzing students regularly in class, both to promote engagement and potentially to improve test performance. In this methodology, personal response systems offer a way to combine repeated content review with engaging digital technologies. Quizzing students regularly does not have to be done in a competitive format or in ways that overemphasize the importance of student performance on these activities. Rather, these assessments can be formative in nature so students could become involved in assessing learning progress.

At the same time, personal response systems raise a contradictory, perhaps paradoxical, question: Will the benefits of quizzing, which seem clear and incontrovertible, lead students and teachers away from extended interpretations of historical sources and historical causality? Earlier, we asked whether wikiquests and microblogging introduce too much open-endedness into the history classroom without sufficient attention to the basic outline of historical chronology. Now, clicker systems and repeated quizzing might go too far the other way, reinforcing an older notion that

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[20]See also Stuart Singer, "From a Teacher's Perspective: Test, Test, and Then Test Some More," *The Principal Difference*, National Association of Secondary School Principals (February 9, 2011), http://nasspblogs.org/principaldifference1/2011/02/from-a-teachers-perspective-test-test-and-then-test-some-more/; Karl K. Szpunar, Novall Y. Khan, and Daniel L. Schacter, "Interpolated Memory Tests Reduce Mind Wandering and Improve Learning of Online Lectures," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* (February 18, 2013), http://www.pnas.org/content/early/2013/03/27/1221764110.full.pdf+html.

[21]Jeffrey D. Karpicke and Janell R. Blunt, "Retrieval Practice Produces More Learning than Elaborative Studying with Concept Mapping," *Science* 331 (February 2011), 772–775, http://science.sciencemag.org/content/331/6018/772.

[22]Emma D. Bojinova and James N. Oigara, "Teaching and Learning with Clickers: Are Clickers Good for Students?" *Interdisciplinary Journal of E-Learning & Learning Objects* 7 (January 2011), 169–184; David S. Fiske, Renea Fiske, and Krystal Lucio, "Does Clicker Technology Improve Student Learning?" *Journal of Technology & Teacher Education* 20, 2 (2012), 113–126; Lorena Blasco-Arcas, Isabel Bull, Blanca Hernandez-Ortega, and F. Javier Sese, "Using Clickers in Class. The Role of Interactivity, Active Collaborative Learning and Engagement in Learning Performance," *Computers & Education* 62 (March 2013), 102–110.

history involves memorizing names, dates, facts, and places. Finding a balance between these opposing points will be another challenge for history teachers if they continue to integrate digital technologies in the classroom.

Conclusion

In these classrooms, the use of new digital technologies generated significant changes in teaching methods for teachers and students alike. While history teacher candidates and high school students could be said to be technologically savvy based on prior experiences with computer technologies, none had accessed a wiki previously, done microblogging, or used a personal response system. Teacher candidates and students thus encountered new technologies in novel and unexpected ways, generating questions and gaining insights relevant to all of us involved in history education.

History teacher candidates ventured away from more traditional methods of teaching history they had experienced in their own education. Doing a wikiquest enabled students to research American involvement in Vietnam in ways sharply different from a teacher-based lecture about the topic. Through microblogging, students expressed perspectives and opinions that might otherwise have remained unvoiced by individuals who are reluctant to speak in class. Using a personal response system for topic review, students had the opportunity to analyze answer choices without feeling as though wrong answers would be penalized or criticized.

Familiar with using technology for personal communication and recreation, high school students responded positively to using technology for learning. Their responses affirmed that they were both surprised and pleased that history learning could happen in interesting and interactive ways. Longer-term studies are needed to assess whether new technologies generate substantive improvements in student learning, but the students in these classes were visibly more engaged in thinking about and analyzing historical topics.

As for the potential transformative impact of technology on instructional practice, did these new digital tools make it possible for teachers and students to do learning activities in new ways they could not have done without these technologies? In each case, technology changed the experience for teachers and students. Unlike non-digital forms of collaborative research, wikiquests made high-quality, multimedia online resources instantly available to students. Using a wiki means that teachers and students must learn how to assess the reliability of online resources. Teachers' collection of web-based materials in digital space then allows students to engage in never before possible interactive learning experiences—from building a medieval cathedral to viewing historic documentaries, listening to famous speeches, recreating battles, and engaging in countless other historical explorations.

In a similar way, microblogging and personal response systems change the nature of individual and group discussion. Microblogs activate a backchannel of student thinking by allowing individuals and groups to post their thoughts in real time.

Personal response systems allow students to respond to both factual recall and open-ended questions without facing pressure from peers or teachers when speaking aloud in class. These interactions are not possible in face-to-face conversations or small group cooperative learning settings. Technology educator Marc Prensky has characterized this technology-driven change as moving from "doing old things in old ways" to "doing old things in new ways" to "doing new things in new ways."[23]

At the same time, the use of new technologies does not have to mean abandoning longstanding non-technological teaching practices. Group work, face-to-face discussions, and rethinking one's ideas in response to thoughtfully posed questions can happen alongside wikis, microblogs, and personal response systems. What began to emerge in the classrooms of these three teacher candidates was a blend of interpersonal and technological experiences that point the way toward a more active and engaged history teaching.

Computers, online resources, and other digital tools give teachers exciting new ways to organize historical learning. The challenge is to continually investigate the uses of technology in the classroom, improving what works while recognizing, as one commentator noted at the beginning of education's computer revolution, that "technologies do not change schools in any sense worth talking about. Thoughtful, caring, capable people change schools, sometimes with the help of technology, sometimes not, and sometimes even despite it."[24] Effective teachers and actively engaged students are the ingredients for successful history education in schools. Finding ways for technology to further that goal is the challenge going forward.

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[23]Marc Prensky, "Shaping Tech for the Classroom: 21st Century Schools Need 21st Century Technology," *Edutopia*, April 13, 2014, http://www.edutopia.org/adopt-and-adapt-shaping-tech-for-classroom.

[24]George Brackett, "Technologies Don't Change Schools—Caring, Capable, People Do," in *The Digital Classroom: How Technology is Changing the Way We Teach and Learn,* ed. David T. Gordon (Cambridge: Harvard Education Press, 2000), 29–30.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ross E. Dunn and Laura J. Mitchell. *Panorama—A World History*. New York: McGraw Hill Education, 2015. Pp. 852. Cloth, $208.00.

Educators and writers of history textbooks have struggled with the need to reconcile traditional forms of content delivery with the fact that students can readily access this same material from varied, though not necessarily academically vetted, sources. As a result, social studies educators and historians have had to reimagine the fundamental nature of both the teacher and the textbook, as neither are necessarily the vital source of content that they once were. An existential crisis of sorts has emerged, as some have called into question the nature and value of social studies in the K-12 classroom. From this relative chaos comes the opportunity to reimagine history education as a means of higher order learning, in that the modeling and development of history-based skills become the most vital and important aspect of the history classroom. *Panorama*, a new textbook from historians Ross E. Dunn and Laura Mitchell, best exemplifies the pedagogical opportunities enabled by this technologically-driven sea change within history education.

Contextualization and the identification of global interconnectedness are amongst the skills modeled in *Panorama*, making this new text a welcome addition to the offerings available to teachers of world history, at both the high school and college level. Such is evident in how the authors present the content. Historical phenomena are couched within their global perspective, challenging readers to think about how external forces might have shaped regional developments. Underscoring this are sidebars and in-text definitions that clarify and contextualize ideas, themes, and words that might need further explanation. Thus, the reader has the opportunity to continuously engage with the content without having to turn to a glossary or dictionary. Each chapter begins with an illustration—noted by the authors as "A Panoramic View"—visually depicting the movement of people and ideas that were central to the topics to be covered. This is an interesting and effective pedagogical approach, for it forces the reader to view the world and its history as a crosscurrent of activity, thus moving students away from the belief that history is nationally insular. As a result, the reader is consistently being asked to think about the larger, global processes that shaped and informed historical events. Each chapter closes with a graphic entitled "Change Over Time," which serves to reinforce the chapter's content by signposting content in ensuing chapters. As such, the fundamental process of thoughtful reading will force students to view history as a macro-global narrative. This macro view, however, does not teleologically negate the importance of regional histories. Rather, the authors are careful to construct parallel and interconnected narratives so as to model the interaction of the macro and micro.

The arc of *Panorama* gives enough detail to provide readers a vital historic narrative necessary to develop the skills mentioned above. Moreover, the authors neither seek to be authoritative or unnecessarily esoteric in their narrative, instead

constructing a foundational set of knowledge that allows educators to build on the text by constructing more specific or detailed lessons into certain topics. In this regard, *Panorama* is perfectly suited for the World History Advanced Placement curriculum, as well as a text for college-level surveys in world history. Moreover, the authors' deemphasizing of national narratives in favor of regional and chronological histories does much to model for readers a more balanced understanding of the history of humankind. As such, the focus on cultural, economic, and intellectual history does much to exemplify and model the importance and value of human interaction and the significance of syncretic cultures. Regional specialists will have few qualms with the geographic and chronological reach of this book, as the authors have successfully worked to evenly integrate as many world regions as possible across the span of human history. This is a much welcome departure from the Anglo- and Sino-centrism of many global history texts.

A minor, yet important correction should be made in future editions of the book. At one point, the authors' claim that the Irish Free State came into existence in 1923, which actually occurred in 1922 (743). Later in the text, the authors' offer a contradictory statement claiming that the Republic of Ireland "achieved independence in 1922" (811). This latter point is incorrect: the 1937 Irish Constitution established a republican government independent of the British Dominion, and the nation officially became the Republic of Ireland in 1949.

University of Wisconsin–La Crosse Kenneth Shonk, Jr.

Pieter M. Judson. *The Habsburg Empire: A New History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016. Pp. 567. Cloth, $35.00.

By focusing on the policies of imperial government and their effect on the different peoples in the second-largest state in Europe, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* offers a new lens through which to view the history of the Habsburg Monarchy. It synthesizes scholarship from the past thirty years to provide an alternative to previous conceptions of the empire that portrayed it as a backward relic of the old regime that barely held together in the face of nationalist eruptions within its territories. If nationalism operates as a sense of communal belonging, then this book compellingly illustrates similar feelings toward the Habsburg Monarchy among several constituencies, complicating notions of how people identify with political entities. Instead of repeating the traditional dichotomy of East against West, this book urges readers to consider the empire as a viable multinational government still unique, but not so unlike other modern European states and societies.

The author consistently draws our attention to the liberal features of the Habsburg Monarchy at key moments in its history: the origins of imperial reform began under the reign of Maria Theresa whose centralizing policies increased state revenue in response

to mid-eighteenth-century European military conflicts. The changes in economic, legal, and educational policies that continued under her successors were only strengthened by French revolutionary ideas of national citizenship. Even in the post-Napoleonic era, administrative innovation persisted amid renewed conservatism, particularly surrounding industrialization, which surfaced unevenly and sporadically across the Habsburg lands. Despite fiscal challenges, the imperial government supported the expansion of transport and trade, although the pace of change failed to keep up with the demands of middle and peasant classes and led directly to the short-lived 1848 revolutions.

Following the defeat of the constitutionalist movement, the empire nonetheless retained a number of liberal platforms, including the abolition of feudalism, equality under the law, and investment in railroads. At the same time, the crown banned all political activity and instituted police surveillance over the citizenry, revealing that modernization of government could simultaneously blend certain reactionary and progressive elements. Military defeats and the threat of economic collapse led to the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary in 1867, which continued reform via secularized education, expansion of communication and transportation networks, and local and imperial parliamentarization. A mass politics emerged thereafter pitting liberal and conservative forces vying for the future of the empire, most frequently through language use in local schools and government. With accelerating urbanization after 1880 came increased state administration and politicization, eventually culminating in universal male suffrage by 1907. Although the First World War brought the empire's demise, in large part by renouncing liberal government in exchange for military dictatorship, many of its successor states directly adopted institutions first put into place by the Habsburgs. To underscore the imperial legacy, the author intriguingly describes the government that followed as "new empires" (442).

The book is well written and convincingly demonstrates multiple ways that the Habsburg Monarchy utilized the tools of liberalism to creatively respond to political, economic, and cultural challenges confronting it. It shows that the practice of European liberal government was not solely the domain of Britain and France, but also had significant roots in the Habsburg Empire. Any walls historians imagine dividing East and West before the Cold War have thus been dealt a serious blow. The author skillfully traverses the diverse linguistic and geographic complexities of Habsburg history and refuses to write the account from a nationalist perspective. Certain place names therefore appear in the three languages local people used to describe them: Czernowitz/Cernăuţi/Cernivci and Lemberg/Lwów/Lviv stand out prominently, for example. This device both burdens readers and impresses them with the multiethnic reality of this imperial past.

Still readable for an educated audience, the *Habsburg Empire* is a highly specialized study with nearly 100 pages of endnotes that offer indispensable secondary sources in English and German published since the 1990s. While it makes most sense in a graduate history seminar on the Habsburg Monarchy itself, the book in whole or

in part could be fruitfully employed in other upper-level history, political science, and European or global studies courses as well. It may also make an instructive addition to advanced classes on comparative liberalism, nationalism, and land-based empires, such as the Romanov, Ottoman, or Qing dynasties. Due to its deep rootedness in Habsburg historiography, however, the work may be beyond the reach of beginning students of history and the social sciences.

Seattle Central College Nathaniel Parker Weston

Gordon H. Chang. *Fateful Ties: A History of America's Preoccupation with China.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. 336. Cloth, $32.90.

The United States and China share one of the most important international relationships on the planet. Gordon H. Chang's *Fateful Ties: A History of America's Preoccupation with China* is an excellent starting point for understanding an American cultural and intellectual perspective on the long history of this relationship. Chang boldly argues that "China has been a central ingredient in America's self-identity from its very beginning and in the American preoccupation with national fate" (8). Surveying U.S.-China relations from the American Revolution to the present, Chang highlights the double-edged nature of the United States' infatuation with China. On the one hand, Americans have viewed China as a promising frontier for markets and missionaries. On the other hand, they have simultaneously feared China for its huge population and its leaders' unwillingness to embrace American political and cultural values. These contradictory impulses represent the hope and disappointment associated with "the persistent view of China as part of [America's] imagined national destiny" (258).

Chang's narrative begins by highlighting China's role in the American Revolution, noting that trade in the Pacific, specifically with China, played a key factor in the New England elite's decision to break with the British crown. After independence, that desire for trade further fueled America's gradual expansion westward to California and the Pacific Northwest. China also served as a convenient, if misunderstood, intellectual foil to the monarchies of Europe. Finally, China became an important means of "rejuvenating churches at home" by propagating Christianity abroad (55). Thus, from the earliest days of the United States, China helped to sustain the ideas of American exceptionalism and manifest destiny.

Beyond economics and religion, Chang describes how the United States gradually became politically enmeshed in China. By the late nineteenth century, the United States was a continental power with an expansionist gaze towards the Pacific and China trade. It was under this context that Secretary of State John Hay issued his Open Door Note in 1899, which called for equal access to China's market. The following year, the United States took part in the Eight-Nation Army that put down the

Boxer Rebellion. Though many Americans saw U.S. involvement in China as benevolent and paternalistic, many Chinese viewed the United States as imperialistic, particularly after Woodrow Wilson sided with Japan and the European powers at Versailles. Nevertheless, the idea that America and China shared a certain destiny continued to grow through the efforts of the missionary community, namely Pearl S. Buck, author of *The Good Earth*, and Henry Luce, founder of the *Time* media franchise.

The American hopes and aspirations for remaking China in the United States' image reached its apogee during World War II, when China was nominally unified under Chiang Kai-shek. However, with the Chinese Communists' defeat of Chiang and the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, Americans suddenly confronted a China vastly different from what Buck and Luce described in their writings. Rather than an aspiring Christian and democratic China, the PRC was allied with the Soviet Union and, from the perspective of many Americans, threatening to spread Communism across Asia. This spurred U.S. policymakers to adopt a containment policy, which, as Chang notes, resulted in military confrontation with China during the Korean War, over Taiwan, and during the Vietnam War (204).

One of Chang's most insightful points concerns Americans' peculiar sentimentality toward China, which had been fostered by the stories of missionaries in China, American commercial interests, and the shared experiences fighting against Japan during World War II (189). However, this sentimentality also contained complementary fears, dating back to the mid-nineteenth century, that hordes of culturally unassimilable, low-wage Chinese immigrant laborers threatened Americans' jobs and perhaps even American culture. This darker side of American sentimentality toward China partially explains American's emotionally-charged response to the PRC during the Cold War. Nevertheless, America's hope and promise in China returned with President Richard Nixon's historic visit in 1972. Since that time, U.S. political leaders have generally viewed China as an integral part of America's economic, political, and cultural destiny.

As is clear from this brief overview, *Fateful Ties* covers a wide swath of history. Chang succeeds in producing a highly readable account that will be a great asset to history courses focusing on U.S.-China relations. Though Chang overstates China's impact on America from the early to mid-nineteenth century, when the United States was more politically and economically focused on Europe, he nevertheless artfully depicts how America's preoccupation with China has intensified since the 1800s. Chang also highlights fascinating cultural connections, such as how W.E.B. Du Bois came to link the fight for African-American rights in America to China's own domestic and international struggles (212-214). Thus, *Fateful Ties* demonstrates how, for many Americans, China became an important ingredient in their country's imagined future destiny.

Peking University, Beijing Jason Halub

Ruma Chopra. *Choosing Sides: Loyalists in Revolutionary America.* New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013. Pp. 241. Paper, $29.00.

Ruma Chopra has achieved a worthy addition in American Revolution scholarship and its sub-field of Loyalist studies. In *Choosing Sides: Loyalists in Revolutionary America*, Chopra challenges traditional narratives in history, fiction, and film that have depicted British Loyalists as a homogenous cast of wealthy, educated Euro-Americans. Chopra asserts, rather, that Loyalists were socially, economically, and ideologically diverse. Indeed, within Britain's thirteen mainland colonies, twenty percent of Euro-Americans and overwhelming numbers of African Americans and Indians, both free and enslaved, remained loyal to the empire throughout the Revolutionary era.

Chopra engages a wide variety of primary documents, including letters, petitions, and articles, to demonstrate that choosing sides was, for most Americans, a complex and reactive process that emerged gradually in response to shifting circumstances. The author argues that while some Loyalists endorsed the British cause on the basis of philosophical or political principles, most Americans took sides, changed sides, or chose to remain neutral due to fundamental exigencies of time and space. Chopra highlights the extensive number of Euro-Americans in the "undecided majority" who, according to Dr. Benjamin Rush, "had no fixed principles and accommodated their conduct to their interest, to events, and to their company" (65-66). Correspondingly, Chopra emphasizes that many enslaved Americans used the conflict to fight for personal emancipation, while Indians battled categorically for societal preservation.

In its historiographical context, *Choosing Sides* is situated antithetically to *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson*, Bernard Bailyn's 1974 keystone of Loyalist scholarship. Chopra maintains that Bailyn's work fostered an image of Loyalists as disengaged "losers" who did not fully comprehend the Revolution's progressive political and social dimensions (2). To the contrary, Chopra argues that ideologically motivated Loyalists were as impassioned and informed as their Patriot counterparts. The author recounts the bitter falling out and subsequent estrangement of Benjamin Franklin and his son, William, in order to affirm that highly educated people could be found on both sides of the conflict. Moreover, this high-profile example of intrafamilial alienation underscores that the Revolution was a widespread civil war that reached deeply into personal as well as public lives.

While Chopra cites *Thomas Hutchinson* as a particular point of departure, the author does not expand this mention into a general overview of Loyalist historiography. Consequently, readers unfamiliar with the enduring rhythms of Loyalist scholarship might want to refer also to Jerry Bannister and Liam Riordan's elegant historiographical survey, "Loyalism and the British Atlantic, 1660–1840," in *The Loyal Atlantic: Remaking the British Atlantic in the Revolutionary Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012). Among contemporary scholarship, *Choosing Sides* joins a growing body of literature whose aim is to broaden the social, geographical, and temporal scope of

Loyalist representation. This fresh wave of scholarship includes Thomas B. Allen's *Tories: Fighting for the King in America's First Civil War* (New York: HarperCollins, 2010), Maya Jasanoff's *Liberty Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York: Knopf, 2011), and Chopra's own *Unnatural Rebellion: Loyalists in New York City during the Revolution* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011).

Choosing Sides is part of the American Controversies Series, whose larger aim is to nourish lesser-known sides of various controversial historical issues in order to promote and enliven informed debate. As such, *Choosing Sides* is a valuable resource for teachers at advanced secondary and university levels. A particular strength is the book's chronological breadth of one hundred and thirty years, from the 1754 Albany Plan of Union to an 1884 memorial speech dedicated to the "United Empire Loyalists" of Upper Canada (222). Furthermore, Chopra's lengthy introductory narrative can stand alone as a general overview of Loyalist thought and purpose. The remainder of the book consists of ten thematically organized chapters, each comprised of four to nine primary documents. Each chapter addresses a narrow topic, such as slaves, Indian allies, or exiles, thus making it easy for teachers to locate specific documents for use as supplementary readings, writing prompts, or counterweights to skewed film narratives. In sum, *Choosing Sides* is a cogent and convenient resource for teachers of upper-level secondary and university courses.

University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign Lisa Mercer

Bethany Jay and Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, eds. *Understanding and Teaching American Slavery*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2016. Pp. 318. Paper, $34.64.

When President Barack Obama dedicated the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, he echoed many historians in reminding the nation that "African American History … is central to the American story." Rarely in American history have such reminders been more urgently needed. In recent years, fierce debates have raged over the history of brutality and prejudice that gave rise to the Black Lives Matter movement, the cultural context of the Confederate flag, and textbooks that distort or diminish the history of race. Slavery and its legacies have been central to these conversations. In this context, we have witnessed a grassroots quest for good history, as evidenced by both the *Charleston Syllabus* (the book that began as a Twitter hashtag after the 2015 killings at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church) and the widespread interest in the new Smithsonian museum. And now Bethany Jay and Cynthia Lynn Lyerly have given us *Understanding and Teaching American Slavery*, a remarkable volume of essays that seek to guide high school and college instructors as they help students grapple with this troubling, challenging, and essential American story.

Understanding and Teaching American Slavery is just the right book at just the right time for teachers who hope to encourage conversations about slavery, even as political pressures, inadequate textbooks, and their students' (and possibly their own) discomfort with the topic impede their efforts. The book begins with a forward by Ira Berlin, in which he argues forcefully for including the examination of slavery in the classroom and offers a useful conceptual framework for teachers to consider as they design courses. The essays that follow—all by recognized academic scholars, public historians, and secondary educators—are divided into three sections, each of which underscores the book's practical applications. The first section addresses the challenge of creating a constructive classroom environment and offers teachers the language with which to confront the history of race frankly and openly. The second section suggests ways to teach different periods and themes in the history of American slavery, like the trans-Atlantic slave trade, slave resistance, and the diversity of slave communities and experiences. These essays cover content and offer concrete suggestions for how instructors can locate slavery at the center of narratives they already teach, like the rise of capitalism. And the third section focuses on pedagogy, providing strategies for using specific kinds of sources (such as WPA narratives and film) and lesson designs (process drama) for students at different levels. Taken together, these essays offer advice and insights that will be of tremendous use to any teacher who seeks to address this history more fully and honestly.

Every essay adds value to this collection. Some merit special mention, though, because their contributions illustrate the book's strengths as a whole. Paul Finkelman's "Slavery in the New Nation: Human Bondage in the Land of Liberty" explains how early American elites preserved their rights as slaveholders (59-76). Finkelman walks readers through a classroom exercise in which students would search the Constitution for language that enshrined slavery. He lists the clauses that students are likely to find first (like the three-fifths clause), but then he digs deeper, locating provisions that protected slavery in subtler and often hidden ways. Sowande' Mustakeem's essay, "Blood-Strained Mirrors: Decoding the American Slave-Trading Past," not only sheds light on the slave trade's human and economic impact, but it also suggests sources for classroom use, such as the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database and several interactive museums (77-95). And finally, Antonio T. Bly's "'A Likely Negro': Using Runaway-Slave Advertisements to Teach Slavery" shows teachers how to help students contextualize and decode the language of these advertisements (263-282). Using the documents, students can explore not only the fugitives' plight but also the tensions between resistance, repression, intimacy, and enmity that defined relationships between slaveholders and the enslaved. As is true of most of the book's essays, the main text and footnotes alike provide many suggestions for teaching resources, strategies, and projects.

Readers looking for new scholarly insights or fresh research will not find them here, but it would not be fair to expect those kinds of contributions from a book like this one. Rather, the contributors to this volume perform a different but equally valuable

service: They distill the flood of recent scholarship on slavery so that teachers can use it in practical ways to enhance their instruction. The history of slavery is not peripheral to American history; it *is* American history. For teachers who understand that truth and hope to communicate it to their students, this book is essential reading.

Metropolitan State University of Denver Shelby M. Balik

Manisha Sinha. *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016. Pp. 768. Cloth, $37.50.

In this densely researched work, Manisha Sinha offers not only a synthesis of American antislavery but a compelling interpretation of a "hundred-year drama in law, politics, literature, and on-the-ground activism" (2). Building her argument in part on the rich body of abolitionist print culture, *The Slave's Clause* refutes characterization of the abolitionists as white bourgeois romantics confined to antebellum America.

Sinha instead traces two waves of a transnational, interracial, dynamic movement that intersected with other societal movements of the time, from women's rights to emerging critiques of capitalism. Wave one began prior to the Revolution and continued through the 1820s. Early abolitionists, she argues, were the nation's original critical thinkers: Phyllis Wheatley, she points out, was no "lone genius" but was "representative of an emerging African American antislavery critique of revolutionary republicanism" (31). First wave abolitionists introduced tactics and ideas that appeared again in the second antebellum wave. "The history of abolition," Sinha compellingly argues, "is marked as much by continuity as by disjuncture" (191).

She recasts the emergence of immediate abolitionism as an "interracial immediatism" arising from black protest from David Walker to *Freedom's Journal.* Nat Turner's rebellion inspired black and white abolitionists alike; as they would with John Brown decades later, many abolitionists admired Turner (if not always his violent means). In response to the vehement antebellum proslavery backlash, black abolitionists created a "concerted intellectual response to American racism," and white and black abolitionists together forged what Sinha terms "the modern concept of human rights" (311, 249). Black abolitionists at times considered emigration, and Sinha offers detailed accounts of their efforts and ideas. In both waves, too, international happenings influenced abolitionists; Sinha lingers especially on the 1848 moment. The author also highlights the work of both black and white women, abolition's "most effective" if not always welcome "foot soldiers" (266).

Sinha makes the case that slave resistance sat at the center of abolitionism—perhaps her most radical argument. She states this explicitly, but it is also implicit within the narrative structure of the work. Case in point: Sinha opens her section on pre-1830s abolition not with the story of white Quakers but with the 1721 story of an unnamed African woman who roused men to rebellion onboard a slave ship (to tragic

end). And in the antebellum era she traces how "fugitive slaves fostered abolitionist organization and antislavery sentiment and laws," producing abolitionist activists whom she dubs "John Brown's forerunners" (393). Only after chapters on slave resistance and fugitive slave abolitionism does Sinha turn to abolitionist politics and Civil War. Sinha also highlights black agency. In wave one, she recounts how Mumbet, the enslaved Massachusetts woman who sued for her freedom after hearing Revolutionary rhetoric, initiated "the first emancipation in the Atlantic world." (65). In wave two, she details how black abolitionists fought to desegregate Boston schools in the 1840s and the work of "fugitive slave abolitionists," both preceding and during the Civil War (460). This is a brilliant scholarly reframing of the abolitionist narrative to counter those in which slaves are "forgotten as the architects of their own liberation" (585).

In this area especially, *The Slave's Cause* is essential to teachers. Sinha provides countless examples that can be used to counter problematic approaches to the story of emancipation such as the historical narrative in the novel and film *The Help*. Additionally, her longue durée of antislavery challenges teachers to incorporate the story of not just slavery but of antislavery activism (black as well as white) prior to the antebellum era. Finally, this work provides essential information about the transnational nature of abolitionism and offers a rich compendium of antislavery print culture.

Though her work is full of accounts of their bravery, Sinha does not generally over-idealize her abolitionists. Early on, she admits that "only the enslaved showed a consistent devotion to the antislavery principle," and she chronicles the various divisions, schisms, and paternalism present in the movement (70). The extent to which harmony and division, racist and egalitarian belief, co-existed will continue to be debated by historians, but she argues compellingly that the abolitionist movement itself created a space for interracial conversations to take place and for new understandings to emerge. That these conversations did not end in complete triumph but in Jim Crow-era repression of black rights is a sad conclusion to Sinha's narrative.

Eastern Illinois University Bonnie Laughlin-Schultz

Bridget Ford. *Bonds of Union: Religion, Race, and Politics in a Civil War Borderland.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Pp. 383. Cloth, $45.00.

Bridget Ford, in *Bonds of Union: Religion, Race, and Politics in a Civil War Borderland*, provides a fresh and well-researched study of the experiences of individuals and communities in Louisville, Kentucky, and Cincinnati, Ohio, both white and black as well as northern and southern, before and during the American Civil War. Specifically, Ford examines how these disparate borderland peoples built alliances in a culturally and politically turbulent region in order to advance racial harmony. As the

title of the book suggests, Ford examines these "bonds of union" through three historical lenses: religion, race, and politics. In this context, northern, southern, Catholic, Protestant, black, and white Americans on both sides of the Ohio River overcame their differences and found a common interest in religious devotion, class standing, and providing medical aid to wounded soldiers.

In her section on religion, Ford examines how in the light of the Catholic and Protestant competition for souls, devotional poetry reflected one's personal religious convictions but at the same time revealed a common understanding of religion as a bond of union between all people and God. Relatively few historians have wanted to comb through the immense number of religious poems of this era, while other scholars have devaluated the use of poetry as a historical source. Ford, however, moves beyond the conventional focus on sources such as newspaper articles, diaries, letters, and public records in a quest to construct a richer history. As the Civil War approached, this new religious literature also fostered unlikely and often underappreciated bonds of union in a world of suffering and loss.

In a provocative section on race, Ford explains how white and black Cincinnatians and Louisvillians came to depend on one another. To be sure, these two cities were epicenters of commercial success. In this burgeoning economy, rising middle class men and women required a multitude of personal services in order to establish and maintain their class standing. Blacks often provided housework, dressmaking, barbering, and hairdressing, and, in turn, these successful black businessmen who helped to maintain white appearances used their clients' professional and political ties to obtain legal protection of their property and civil rights. In many instances, this mutual dependence nurtured a heart-felt union between whites and blacks. A large number of middle-class and elite whites in both Cincinnati and Ohio withdrew their support of colonization as unfair to blacks in the region who had built homes, schools, and churches.

In her last section, Ford argues that as Cincinnati and Louisville became commercial centers for the entire Ohio and Mississippi River Valleys, the process of commerce diluted their regional differences. Louisville especially prided itself in being an intermediary between North and South. This economic bond of union between the two cities tended to tamp down disunion rhetoric and, in fact, helped to create the Free Soil and Republican parties in this region. Lastly, when war finally came to the Ohio River Valley, residents in both Cincinnati and Louisville began to form new bonds of union through the shared experience of suffering and loss. Through relief work in hospitals and on the field, citizens put aside their regional differences in regard to religion, slavery, and politics in order to show their loyalty to wounded and dying soldiers.

Bonds of Union certainly has an important place within pre-Civil War ideology and geography of the Ohio River Valley's historiography. Many scholars over the past twenty years have argued the violence along the Kentucky/Ohio border was a critical forerunner of the Civil War. Similar to Ford, Matthew Salafia's book, *Slavery's*

Borderland: Freedom and Bondage Along the Ohio River (2013) explores the economic ties between Kentucky and Ohio that tempered disunion instead. Ford goes one step further, however, and adds religion, race, and politics as important bonds of union.

Given its ambitious nature and breadth of historical lenses (religion, race, and politics), *Bonds of Union* as a whole might not be suitable for an entry-level U.S. history course. Given the time constraints in most U.S. history survey courses, teachers might, however, find the work to be a great resource if they assign one of the three parts individually. While survey courses might benefit from any of the three sections as they can certainly stand on their own, instructors in upper-level and graduate courses on the Civil War could easily rely on the entire book for a valuable reading assignment.

In today's political environment where the county's sense of union seems to be so fragile, Ford's book reminds us that this sense of a fractured society is nothing new. If the diverse postbellum people of Cincinnati and Louisville, faced with tremendous religious, racial, and political divisions, were able to preserve the Union and make landmark social changes, there is certainly reason for optimism as we continue to face the challenges of our contemporary society.

Illinois State University John Moreland

Edward J. Blum and Paul Harvey. *The Color of Christ: The Son of God and the Saga of Race in America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014. Pp. 352. Paper, $26.00.

When Dylann Roof charged into Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston in June 2015 and shot and killed nine African Americans, his actions, on many levels, paralleled those of the evildoers who bombed the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham in 1963. Both actions were motivated by race and carried out at religious institutions. Although one is contemporary, both events illustrate the importance of studying the provocative intersection of race and religion in American history. Historians Edward J. Blum and Paul Harvey present a pithy narrative of the two in their 2014 monograph, *The Color of Christ: The Son of God and the Saga of Race in America*.

Divided into three succinct parts, *The Color of Christ* sets out to debunk four myths related to history in America: Racial and ethnic groups necessarily create God(s) in their own image; Americans inherited iconography through their European ancestry; black liberation theology is only as recent as the 1960s; and the United States was born as a "Jesus nation" and will endure as one forever. Blum and Harvey successfully debunk these myths by drawing upon a plethora of primary sources.

Covering the Age of Exploration all the way through to the digital age of the twenty-first century, *The Color of Christ* injects religion into important historical topics,

ably illustrating how depictions of Jesus were created, destroyed, recreated, and manipulated by historical actors. For this reason, Blum and Harvey's monograph could be successfully employed in both high school and college history courses. Although it would certainly have to be divided and conquered outside of a history of religion in America course, its applications and arguments remain important, even when studied a chapter or section at a time. Entitled "Born Across the Atlantic," part one features three chapters on Jesus' utilization beginning with the passage across the Atlantic and ending with his portrayal during life in the early republic. This section certainly reinforces the notion that depictions of Jesus were scarce in colonial times, and it absolutely challenges the myth that America was born a Jesus nation.

Teachers of courses on the American Civil War or slavery will find part two, "Crucified and Resurrected," especially relevant and informative. Chapter five—"Christ in the Camps"—devotes special attention to how Americans represented Jesus during the American Civil War. Studying the role of religion during the war sheds important insights into the cultural conditions of the time. In the age of Lincoln, Americans, ranging from soldiers on both sides of the fighting to slaves who perceived Jesus as the great liberator, embraced depictions of Jesus as ways to cope with the difficulties of war.

Part three, "Ascended and Still Ascending," offers new information on a belabored, yet important, topic. It is common knowledge that The Great Depression caused nearly a quarter of the American work force to be without a job. Blum and Harvey discussed this era, but from the vantage point of religion. Not representing the times, people created a rendition of Jesus as a working man, ready to tackle the problems of unemployment. He grew muscles and a Protestant work ethic seemingly overnight. More recently, Jesus has been seen as liberator during the Civil Rights era and a rap or hip-hop song lyric in the digital age. Advancements and access to technology has allowed for Jesus to be depicted as black, Latino, and Asian, and more recently, Hollywood has tried—although with only partial success—to represent Jesus in a more colorful light.

Cultural and intellectual historians alike will find particular satisfaction with *The Color of Christ*, as it considers how and why historical actors have dealt with Christ throughout time. Relying on a variety of sources such as lyrics and hymns, journals and images, and published depictions of Jesus, Blum and Harvey illustrate time and time again how different groups of Americans manipulated ideas of Jesus and injected them into everyday life. White Jesus was not conceived through immaculate conception; rather, he was born out of contact, conflict, and the creativity of people, and because of that, will continue to be remade in their image. Understanding this evolving construction and reconstruction of Jesus in America allows for a more instructive

appreciation of both historical and contemporary tensions concerning religion and race in the United States.

Minooka High School, Illinois Trevor Shields

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