



# Teaching History

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**TEACHING HISTORY**  
**A JOURNAL OF METHODS**

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## HEALTH ISSUES AND IMMIGRATION ON ELLIS ISLAND: THE CASE OF CARMELA SATURNINO

Eric Martone  
Mercy College

If you had been an immigrant at Ellis Island during 1892 to 1924, what would you have done if you had been granted clearance to enter America while your daughter had not? Such was the situation faced by Carmela Caruso, whose daughter, Carmela Saturnino, had been barred admittance to America on the grounds that the young girl had a “loathsome and contagious disease.” Through a document-based activity that uses a variety of documents, including photographs, students can explore the true case of Carmela Saturnino to learn about immigration on Ellis Island, connecting this case study to broader themes and issues in United States history and society.<sup>1</sup> This activity will help students to develop their skills analyzing primary source documents, interpreting written information, making inferences, and drawing conclusions.<sup>2</sup>

A special feature of this primary source activity is its focus on a single teenage girl. Since I have always been of the opinion that people of the past are essentially the same as the people of the present, I thought that if students examined the history of a girl roughly their own age to explore issues in United States history, it would rouse in them a greater degree of connection and empathy for the past.<sup>3</sup> The perception that it is easier for students to imagine a situation from the point of view of someone else their own age, thereby enabling them to better relate with “characters” in a historical drama, is not new in itself. Historical trade fiction, which is a popular way to incorporate social studies at the elementary level, often presents tales of the past from the point of

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<sup>1</sup>The documents used in this activity, most of which have never been published before, were collected during my participation in “Ellis Island and Immigration to America, 1892-1924,” a National Endowment for the Humanities Landmarks of American History Workshop for Teachers, run by Save Ellis Island in 2007. The full text for the first document, the 1891 Immigration Act, can be found at: [http://library.uwb.edu/guides/USimmigration/1891\\_immigration\\_act.html](http://library.uwb.edu/guides/USimmigration/1891_immigration_act.html). The documents relating to Carmela Saturnino and other immigrants treated at the Ellis Island immigrant hospital can be found in the Records of the Public Health Service, General Immigration Files, and the General Records of the Department of Labor at the National Archives.

<sup>2</sup>Lisa Hutton, Tim Keirn, and Dave Neumann, “The State of K-12 History Teaching: Challenges to Innovation,” *Perspectives on History*, 50:5 (2012), 25; Chauncey Monte-Sano, “Beyond Reading Comprehension and Summary: Learning to Read and Write in History by Focusing on Evidence, Perspective, and Interpretation,” *Curriculum Inquiry*, 41 (2011), 212-248.

<sup>3</sup>Elizabeth Yeager, Stuart Foster, Sean Maley, Tom Anderson, and James Morris, “Why People in the Past Acted as They Did: An Exploratory Study in Historical Empathy,” *International Journal in Social Education*, 13 (1998), 8-14; Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby, “Empathy, Perspective Taking and Rational Understanding,” in *Historical Empathy and Perspective Taking in the Social Studies*, eds., O.L. Davis, Elizabeth Yeager, and Stuart Foster (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), 199-222.



view of a child or adolescent protagonist.<sup>4</sup> I therefore sought to incorporate one of the elements of historical trade fiction that makes the genre engaging to younger students to the teaching of history at the secondary level.<sup>5</sup> To further this approach, I intentionally grouped the primary sources I collected into three sections and tried to end each section with a “cliff-hanger” to pique students’ interest. The questions at the end of each group of primary sources help students interpret the documents within the provided historical context as well as to recreate “episodes” in the unfolding historical drama of our teenage subject. To accomplish this task, students are exposed to and gain practice in the historical method. As a result, this primary source activity not only helps students learn to think “historically,” but seeks to make this cognitive process more engaging by building on some of the familiar components of historical fiction to remove several of their common misconceptions about historical knowledge. Students should see more clearly how “the leap from analyzing evidence to constructing interpretive accounts” is made.<sup>6</sup>

Following the conventions of the standard Document-Based Question format of the AP College Board, this activity labels the primary sources as a series of “documents.” The content of the documents in this activity is not particularly difficult to grasp. However, many of the documents are written in “legalese” that can intimidate some students. The documents also use many words with which some students are unfamiliar. I have found this to be the case especially with students with lower reading levels and ESL students. Consequently, some secondary students might have difficulty with this assignment. Advanced middle school students, however, might be able to use this activity too. And it certainly could work at the college level.

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<sup>4</sup>Examples include Scholastic’s “The Life and Times” book series, which uses the lives of fictional adolescents to explore the past. Two entries in the series that I have used in my classes are Barry Denenberg, *Atticus of Rome, 30 B.C.* (New York: Scholastic Inc., 2004), and Barry Denenberg, *Pandora of Athens, 399 B.C.* (New York: Scholastic Inc., 2004). Another example, which explores the French resistance movement during World War II through a fictionalized account of the life of an actual teenage spy, is Kimberly Brubaker Bradley, *For Freedom: The Story of a French Spy* (New York: Laurel Leaf Books, 2003). On elementary social studies, see Walter C. Parker, *Social Studies in Elementary Education*, 14<sup>th</sup> ed. (Boston: Pearson, 2012), 385-392.

<sup>5</sup>A book taking a similar teaching approach is Richard M. Wyman, Jr., *America’s History Through Young Voices: Using Primary Sources in the K-12 Social Studies Classroom* (Boston: Pearson, 2005).

<sup>6</sup>Some of these common misconceptions include the notion that historical narratives are “true or objective accounts of the past, with little or no room for ambiguity or contestation” and the belief that history is “an objective recording of the past, assembled from a clear and complete body of information” rather than “interpretive reconstructions of the past, assembled from fragmentary, sometimes contradictory traces.” See Terrie Epstein, “Preparing History Teachers to Develop Young People’s Historical Thinking,” *Perspectives on History*, 50:5 (2012), 36.

## Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this lesson, students should be able to

- Explain some of the reasons behind U.S. immigration policy in the early twentieth century;
- List some of the effects U.S. immigration policy had on potential immigrants;
- Use inference to draw conclusions about some of the effects U.S. immigration policy had on the United States;
- Develop their abilities to read, analyze, and interpret primary source documents;
- Draw conclusions and inferences from primary source documents.

## NCSS Curriculum Themes

- I. Culture
- II. Time, Continuity and Change
- III. People, Places and Environment
- V. Individuals, Groups and Institutions
- VI. Power, Authority and Governance
- X. Civic Ideals and Practices

## Preparing to Teach this Lesson

This document-based activity should be used within a larger unit on immigration in the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to complement the unit and further develop students' ability to read and analyze primary source documents. You should make copies of the document activity sheets (located at the end of this article) for each student. These document activity sheets, ready for classroom use, contain the background information necessary for the students to draw conclusions and interpretations from the documents, the documents themselves, and a series of questions to guide the students in reading and analyzing the documents.

You might also wish to incorporate the Ellis Island website (<http://www.ellisland.org/>) into the lesson, before or during the suggested activity. Using the website's passenger search feature, you or the students can look up the ship manifest record for Carmela Saturnino (she is listed as Carmela Saturnini). There is some doubt about whether her last name was "Saturnino" or "Saturnini"—U.S. official documents arbitrarily use both spellings. She lived in Benevento, Italy, departed from Naples, and arrived at Ellis Island with her mother and siblings on December 16, 1916, aboard the *Giuseppe Verdi*. Both a copy of the original ship manifest and a photograph of the *Giuseppe Verde* are available through the passenger search. If you decide to use the ship manifest, it is important to note that while Saturnino's siblings are identified as

Michele (10 years old), Donato (7 years old), and Eva (3 years old), in the manifest in other documents, Michele is referred to as Michelina.

### **Suggested Activity**

There are several different ways in which the activity can be carried out in the classroom. At least one full class period is needed in order for the students to carry out the primary source document activity, which includes reading background information and documents included as part of the document activity sheets, and develop interpretations. Students should read the background information first, either as homework or in the classroom—aloud or silently (or both) prior to reading the documents. You might ask some general questions to determine whether students understood the background material. The next step involves reading the documents, which again can be read either aloud or silently (or both).

After reading the documents, students should go through the questions located throughout the document activity sheets. These questions can be answered individually by each student or as part of a group discussion. Another possibility is to divide the students into groups and have each group answer the activity sheet questions. Each group's answers could be compared with those of the other groups in a classroom discussion. The use of a guiding question to orient students in connecting the documents to the broader issue is also useful. One suggestion for a guiding question: "What were the U.S. immigration policy's health restrictions during the early twentieth century and what effect did these have on entering immigrants?"

### **Assessment**

A variety of methods can be used to determine what students have learned from the document-based activity. In addition to informal assessments conducted through your observations and from student participation and responses, you could collect students' answer to the questions located throughout the activity sheets. Another possibility is to follow up the students' answers/discussion with an essay answering the lesson's guiding question: "What were the U.S. immigration policy's health restrictions during the early twentieth century and what effect did these have on entering immigrants?" Another possibility is for students to write a petition from an immigrant to be admitted through Ellis Island or write a letter of refusal from the point of view of an immigration officer. In each instance, the letters should reflect the point of view of the author of the letter and should provide reasons why the immigrant should or should not be admitted into the U.S., drawn from the documents studied. Finally, students could write a piece of historical fiction about Carmela Saturnino's experiences using both the documents and what they learned in the suggested activity.



### Extending the Lesson

To extend the lesson, you might have students look at additional documents based on health issues and immigration policy from this period to demonstrate to students that the case of Carmela Saturnino was not an isolated incident, but rather one example of a broader issue. Another extension activity is to explore what actually happened to immigrants whose admittance to the U.S. was rejected. Shipping companies were held responsible eventually for the return voyage of the rejected immigrants who secured passage on their vessels. A lesson could be constructed using the following questions: What consequences do you think this policy had on shipping companies' willingness to bring potential immigrants to the U.S.? In effect, who became responsible for "inspecting" immigrants? Are there any similarities today?

### Conclusion

During my eight years as a high school teacher, this was one of the most effective primary source activities I ever used. I taught this activity to three classes per year for four years. Each time, my students responded well to the focus on one teenager's ordeal and enjoyed piecing together her story from documentary fragments. I taught in an urban school district in the Northeast, where roughly 1/3 of my students had ancestors who passed through Ellis Island, which was also within field trip distance. For another 1/3 of students, however, the immigration experience was much more immediate. I consequently incorporated activities within my unit on early nineteenth- and twentieth-century immigration that connected past immigration to the present, using contemporary examples to enhance historical understanding. While students might proclaim a preference for learning about the present, contemporary examples alone do not help students develop historical (or long-term) thinking skills; they must be used in conjunction with activities like this one.

\*\*\*\*\*

### Health Issues and Immigration on Ellis Island: The Case of Carmela Saturnino

Name \_\_\_\_\_

**Background Information:** On December 16, 1916, Carmela Saturnino arrived at Ellis Island with her mother Carmela Caruso (married Italian women kept their maiden names) and siblings aboard the *Giuseppe Verdi*. They, like many other immigrants, left their homeland to seek new lives in America. Between 1892 and 1954, twelve million immigrants entered the United States through the federal government's processing center on Ellis Island, most between 1892 and 1924. This unprecedented influx, part

of the largest mass migration in American history at the time, is matched only by what some demographers and historians say is a comparable wave of immigration today.

Then, like now, the federal government had the responsibility for managing the numbers of people entering the country, while at the same time keeping America's "golden door" opened for those who met the requirements. Legislation enacted in 1891 established the Bureau of Immigration within the Treasury Department, and stipulated the reasons for which immigrants could be denied admission. Once in place, this process facilitated further restrictive legislation in 1903 (excluding beggars, the insane, prostitutes, and anarchists), 1907 (excluding the feeble-minded, imbeciles, persons with physical or mental defects that might affect their ability to work, etc.), 1917 (adding a literacy requirement), and 1924 (establishing a quota system). The legislation led to federal guidelines that mandated health inspections of each arriving immigrant, with the implicit goal of building a healthy, robust workforce for America's growing industrial economy, and controlling the numbers of people who, because of health or disability, would become "public charges." Ill or infirm immigrants received treatment upon arrival. Of the twelve million immigrants who passed through Ellis Island, 1.2 million spent some time in the Ellis Island hospitals, either for further evaluation or for treatment, and 1.2 million were detained for other reasons. Of these 2.4 million, only a total of 250,000 were returned to their country of origin and denied entry.

**Document 1:** Fifty-First Congress, Sess. II, Ch. 551, 26 Stat. 1084, 1891

"That the following ... aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States ... All idiots, insane persons, paupers or persons likely to become a public charge, persons suffering from a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease, persons who have committed a felony or other infamous crime ... polygamists, and also any persons whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another or is assisted by others to come ... All decisions made by the inspection officers or their assistants touching the rights of any alien to land, when adverse to such a right, shall be final unless appeal be taken to the superintendent of immigration, whose action shall be subject to review by the Secretary of the Treasury."

**Document 2:** To Frederic Howe, U.S. Commissioner of Immigration, Ellis Island, December 26, 1916 (National Archives)

"The undersigned immigrant—Caruso, Carmela—hereby respectfully appeals from the decision of the Board of Special Inquiry excluding herself and her children Saturnino, Michelina-Donato- and Eva- from landing in the United States ... the children as aliens likely to become public charges ... Your petitioner arrived here with another daughter Saturnino, Carmela aged 15—certified as having Tinea Tonsuras (sic)—ringworm of the scalp. The exclusion of said daughter has been the main reason for the exclusion of the entire family ... Your petitioner is coming here to reach the residence of her husband ... and he has resolved to establish his residence ... [in America] and sent for his family. Your petitioner has sold every thing in Italy and the deportation of the entire

family would be a great hardship for them. Consequently, she respectfully prays you to permit the landing of the family and to grant that the certified daughter be cured at Ellis Island ... at the husband's expense."

**Document 3:** Medical Certificate, Public Health Service, Ellis Island, December 28, 1916 (National Archives)

"Alien Carmela Saturnini (sic), aged 15 years, native Italy ... December 16, 1916, certified 'Tinea Tonsurans (ringworm of the scalp) a loathsome and contagious disease.' The disorder ... is not easily curable and alien cannot be landed without danger to other persons. Owing to the chronicity of this disease and its proneness to relapse it is impossible to state ... the length of time ... required to effect a cure."

### Questions to ask:

- Why was the United States concerned about immigrants who were likely to become "public charges"? How does this view reveal the U.S. government's attitude toward immigration and the role of immigrants in American society?
- Why was Carmela Saturnino barred from entry into the U.S.? Do you think that this reason was justified? Why or why not?
- Why do you think Carmela Caruso and her other children (Michelina, Donato, Eva) also were barred from entering the U.S.? Do you think that this reason was justified? Why or why not?

**Document 4:** Intent of Payment for Medical Services submitted on Behalf of Carmela Saturnino, January 1917 (National Archives)

"Vincenzo Saturnini (sic) and Savine Tesone ... and Jim Marinelli ... are held firmly bound unto the People of the United States ... in the sum of Five hundred ... dollars, liquidated damages ... Whereas the alien, Carmela Saturnini (sic) ... has been excluded from entering the United States because afflicted with a ... loathsome contagious disease ... has applied to the Secretary of Labor for permission to remain in this country for treatment ... and whereas the Secretary of Labor has granted permission to said alien to land temporarily for medical treatment in the Ellis Island Immigrant Hospital ... Now, therefore, the conditions of this obligation are such that ... the relatives or other interested persons shall ... have deposited with the Commissioner of Immigration a sum ... sufficient to cover the cost ... of treatment for sixty days and at least fifteen prior to the expiration of aid period make a further deposit to cover [further] cost of treatment [and repeat this procedure] ... until the alien is cured and permanently landed or ... otherwise disposed of [including deportation]."

**Document 5:** Below is a photograph of immigrant children who arrived in America with *favus*, a skin disease of the scalp, and were treated in the hospitals on Ellis Island (image from Save Ellis Island, <http://www.saveellisland.org>).



**Questions to ask:**

- Why do you think the U.S. government approved Carmela Caruso's appeal on behalf of her daughter?
- What did the U.S. government require in order to consider Carmela's family's request to allow her entry into the U.S.? Why do you think this requirement was made in this case and/or for all immigrants?
- Are there any clues to determine whether or not Carmela's father could easily afford his daughter's medical expenses at Ellis Island? Explain.

**Document 6:** Letter to Commissioner-General of Immigration, from U.S. Dept. Of Labor, Immigration Service, January 9, 1917 (National Archives)

"In accordance with Department decision No. 54188755 of Jan. 3, 1917 the alien Caruso, Carmela and children, Michelina, Donato, and Eva were duly admitted Jan. 9, 1917."

**Document 7:** Letter to the Commissioner-General of Immigration, Washington, DC, from the Asst. Commissioner, U.S. Department of Labor, Immigration Service, June 7, 1917 (National Archives)

"I have to advise you that on June 2<sup>nd</sup> a medical certificate was issued to the effect that Carmela Saturnino was no longer suffering from a loathsome contagious disease. She was taken before the Board of Special Inquiry and admitted."

**Questions to ask:**

- When were the Saturninos granted entry into the U.S.?
- How long was Carmela quarantined, and what happened to her when her treatment was finished?
- What do you think would have happened to Carmela and/or the Saturnino family if Carmela had not been cured?



## USING MUSIC TO TEACH LATIN AMERICAN (AND WORLD) HISTORY

Daisy V. Dominguez  
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As a student of Latin American Studies and as a librarian, I have discovered that film is the preferred audiovisual teaching tool. Music did not feature in the classes I took; moreover, in discussions with librarians, I have found that those interested in audiovisual materials typically focus on film.<sup>1</sup> This void has long been a curiosity to me because I knew, even as a child, how the music of artists like Ruben Blades, Silvio Rodriguez, and Mercedes Sosa could help bring Latin American history to life. Long before I opened up my first Latin American Studies text as an undergraduate, I learned about the disappearances and murder of dissidents in Latin America by listening to Blades' song *Desapariciones (Disappearances)*. And his song *Tiburón (Shark)* helped me reflect on how the United States is perceived in Latin America. These musical tales piqued my interest and would later reinforce what I learned in class.

Teachers in other areas of history have documented how effectively they have used music as a fun, immersive, and memorable way to introduce and discuss topics and concepts.<sup>2</sup> As the librarian for Latin American Studies and Spanish and Portuguese Literature at the City College of New York (CCNY), I became curious about whether faculty in these subject areas incorporate music into their instruction. I conducted two online surveys on the use of Latin American music in college-level instruction in 2008 and 2010. I shared survey links with faculty at CCNY and on the H-LATAM listserv, which is devoted to Latin American History,<sup>3</sup> as well as on Facebook and Twitter. What follows is a discussion of songs that survey respondents and I recommend for teaching particular themes and events in Latin American history.<sup>4</sup>

### Indigenous People in Latin America

The Otavalo Indian group Ñanda Mañachi's spoken word song *La Gran Marcha (The Great March)* can easily be used to discuss the treatment of indigenous peoples,

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<sup>1</sup>While a lot has been written on Latin American, Caribbean, and Latino music, not as much is written on how it is implemented in the classroom.

<sup>2</sup>Donna M. Binkiewicz, "Tunes of the Times: Historical Songs as Pedagogy for Recent U.S. History," *The History Teacher*, 39 (August 2006), 515-516.

<sup>3</sup>H-LATAM is a great and practical resource for faculty looking for recommendations on texts, films, and songs for use in classroom instruction.

<sup>4</sup>Respondents' names appear only if they were provided, and with permission.

their history of resistance, and, interestingly, the relationship between the academic and Indian communities. This song begins not with an indictment of the usual culprits—generals, dictators, or the Church—but rather, academia:

... Anthropologists search our grandfathers' teeth. Sociologists take photographs of our traditional homes. Politicians formulate redeeming plans. And everyone multiplies bread on paper and reads the *Declaration of Human Rights* to us. But Juan still has no land. Pedro wears his only shirt ... Julián does not know how to write Julián. We know about the Alliance for Progress. We also know about the OAS and the UN. But signs and acronyms do not feed us.<sup>5</sup>

*La Gran Marcha* criticizes aloof academics, politicians, and intergovernmental agencies (both from the North and South) that engage in work that purports to help Indians but which has often been materially useless to them. The sarcastic reference to “grandfathers’ teeth” brings to mind Indian craniological photographs and could be used to introduce scientific racism, while the organizations listed can lead to a discussion on American aid to and intervention in the region.

### **Afro-Latin American History**

Survey respondents suggested several songs for lectures on Afro-Latin American history and slavery. I have selected the two that seemed most promising in terms of showing the nuances in the historical experiences of Blacks in Latin America. One survey respondent recommended the music of the San Antonio Vocal Arts Ensemble (SAVAE) to discuss “transculturation,” by which I think the respondent meant the interaction between and the melding of African, European, and indigenous cultural expressions during the Contact period (and possibly in contemporary Latin America as well). SAVAЕ has produced four CDs of colonial music by using native instruments and codices, which have allowed them to reconstruct pre-Columbian and other early colonial music by assigning pitches and drum patterns to syllabic notations. They sing in indigenous (Nahuatl and Quechua) and West African languages in addition to Spanish and Portuguese. Some of these songs are sung from an African perspective and allude to the intercultural nature of Black life in seventeenth-century Mexico. SAVAЕ Artistic Director Christopher Moroney notes that the song *Eso rigor e repente*, written by Portuguese musician Gaspar Fernandes, not only gives voice to Afro-Mexicans vis-

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<sup>5</sup>Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

à-vis white society and an imposed religion, but also alludes to interethnic tensions between Africans.<sup>6</sup> The lyrics read:

But although the child (Jesus) was born a little white one, we all amount to brothers. We have no fear of the big white one ... Tonight we'll all be white! ... Let's go, Guinean blacks, to the little manger by ourselves. Don't let the Angolan blacks go because they're all ugly blacks. We want the child to see only polished and handsome blacks....<sup>7</sup>

This song is impressive for the themes it combines. Africans both lament and recognize their distinctiveness in a white-dominated society, but they make reference to Christianity's ideal of brotherly love as a way to level the playing field. If they are not accepted based on this tenet, through performance, they can undergo a temporary transmutation as whites, or *criollos*. This reference could be used to introduce the fluidity of race in Latin America, which has historically not been contingent on biological traits but on other factors, such as social class, legal status, and even clothing. This song is also striking because it alludes to the heterogeneity of Black culture, even going back to the period of Contact, when people could more easily trace their ancestry to specific ethnic groups in Africa. The act of positioning one's ethnic group against another to vie for a better position in a white dominated culture can work as a segue for discussing Black agency, social mobility, and distinctions between slavery in areas colonized by the English and the Spanish or Portuguese.

Brazilian musician Jorge Ben's song *Zumbi*, in homage to the famed *quilombo* warrior and leader Zumbi of Palmares,<sup>8</sup> is recommended for classes discussing Africans and plantation economies. *Quilombos*, or maroon communities, were made up of runaway slaves in Brazil, and Palmares was likely the most famous. Indeed, another respondent uses Gilberto Gil's song *Quilombos* as an "example of the present-day mythology surrounding the quilombo of Palmares." The song *Zumbi* begins with a list of the African cities that the slaves, now being sold at auction, come from. The song evokes the incongruities of the slave system: a princess and her subjects being sold next to "cotton so white" reaped by "black hands" that would not benefit from the profits. In the face of this injustice, the chorus sings "I want to see, I want to see, I want to see" and Ben replies, "What will happen when Zumbi arrives / Zumbi is the lord of war ...

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<sup>6</sup>"La Noche Buena: Christmas Music of Colonial Latin America," *SAVAE*, <http://www.savae.org/noche.html> (accessed February 8, 2014).

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.* SAVAЕ's translation.

<sup>8</sup>Scott Ickes, "Zumbi of Palmares (1655-1695)," in *Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora: Origins, Experiences, and Culture*, Volume 3, ed., Carole Boyce Davies (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 1009-1010. Gale Virtual Reference Library (accessed February 14, 2012).

When Zumbí gets here it's Zumbí who calls the shots." Although this is a reference to his military leadership and the might of the *quilombo*, it is interesting to note that outsiders depended on the maroon community of Palmares for trade and vice versa.<sup>9</sup> This song presents a great opportunity to get students thinking about the complexity of the slave experience and the ambivalent relationships that it produced.

## Repression

The Rúben Blades song *Desapariciones (Disappearances)* is a device to introduce the Dirty War in Argentina, although it might be used to teach about repression in other countries as well. *Desapariciones* is sung from the perspective of relatives inquiring about the whereabouts of their "disappeared" loved ones, the thousands of people who were kidnapped, tortured, and killed during military dictatorships across the Southern Cone. The song ends with a chilling visual of the matter-of-fact way that these kidnappings took place: "Last night I heard various explosions / Shotgun and gun shots / Cars speeding, brakes, screams / Echoes of boots on the street / Knocking on doors, protests, 'by Gods,' broken plates / The soap opera was on so no one looked outside." Released just one year after the Dirty War ended, the song's emotive last words about the scarred memories of survivors might have served as a catalyst for those seeking justice for impunity and present an opportunity to introduce students to activist groups like the Mothers of the Plaza Mayo who seek justice for their disappeared children:

Where do the disappeared ones go?  
 Look for them in the water and in the bushes  
 And why do they disappear?  
 Because we are not all equal  
 And when will the disappeared one return?  
 Every time you remember him or her  
 How do you speak to the disappeared?  
 With wrenched emotion from deep within.

Blades' song *El Padre Antonio y el Monaguillo Andrés (Father Anthony and his Altar Boy Andrew)* will be of interest to those studying civil wars in Central America and El Salvador in particular. The song memorializes Salvadoran archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero who spoke out against military repression before his assassination in

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<sup>9</sup>Judith L. Allen, "Palmares," *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture*, eds., Jay Kinsbruner and Erick D. Langer, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Vol. 5 (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2008), 20-21. Gale Virtual Reference Library, Web (accessed September 27, 2012).



1980 by a government backed right-wing death squad.<sup>10</sup> The song is surprisingly upbeat considering that it deals with a murder until you hear the closing message: Romero's death will not be in vain for he represents Central America's and, more widely, Latin America's plight out of violence and corruption:

But the bells ring again for Father Anthony and his altar boy Andrew  
 The bells ring / the earth will shake  
 The bells ring / for America ...  
 The bells ring / Oh Our Lady Virgin  
 The bells ring / who will save us now? ...  
 The Central American bells ring  
 The bells ring / for my sister land ...  
 The bells ring / to celebrate  
 The bells ring / our liberty  
 The bells ring / because a united people  
 The bells ring / will never be defeated ...  
 The bells ring / for a good priest  
 The bells ring / Arnulfo Romero ...  
 The bells ring / of liberty  
 The bells ring / for America

The song is also unique because it refers to a member of the Church in a positive way and therefore can be used to discuss Catholic activism in El Salvador specifically<sup>11</sup> and the influence of Liberation Theology in Latin America more broadly.

For this category, survey participants most frequently reference Victor Jara, whose name is synonymous with *nueva canción*, a genre that revived traditional folk music in 1960s Chile and featured indigenous instruments with modern lyrics.<sup>12</sup> This genre is closely associated with grassroots movements: For instance, it was popular among supporters of the Chilean socialist president Salvador Allende. With the spread of military dictatorships beyond Chile, however, censors banned *nueva canción* and

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<sup>10</sup>The 2011 Annual Register: World Events 2010, "El Salvador President's Speech on Anniversary of Murder of Archbishop Romero," [http://ccny-proxyl.lib.cuny.edu/login?url=http://www.credoreference.com/entry/pqar/el\\_salvador\\_president\\_s\\_speech\\_on\\_anniversary\\_of\\_murder\\_of\\_archbishop\\_romero](http://ccny-proxyl.lib.cuny.edu/login?url=http://www.credoreference.com/entry/pqar/el_salvador_president_s_speech_on_anniversary_of_murder_of_archbishop_romero) (accessed January 2, 2013).

<sup>11</sup>Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., "El Salvador," *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture*, eds., Jay Kinsbruner and Erick D. Langer, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Vol. 3 (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2008), 88-97. Gale Virtual Reference Library, Web (accessed September 26, 2012).

<sup>12</sup>Jane Tumas-Serna, "The 'Nueva Canción' Movement and its Mass-Mediated Performance Context," *Latin American Music Review*, 13, no. 2 (1992), 146-147.

other music because of, allegedly, political and sexually explicit lyrics.<sup>13</sup> Musicians were imprisoned, were exiled, or emigrated, the latter helping to spread the genre worldwide. Jara himself was tortured and killed following the coup that ousted Allende in Chile on September 11, 1973 (which in Latin American circles is referred to as “the other 9/11”). Professor Matthew Casey, now at the University of Southern Mississippi, recommends Jara’s *Manifiesto* as a vehicle for “a larger discussion of support for Allende and repression by Pinochet.” Jan Fairley notes that although *nueva canción* is sometimes referred to as protest music, it often does not have an overt political message, but rather deals with topics that touch all of humanity and therefore inspire solidarity.<sup>14</sup> This might be true of the song *Manifiesto*, which does not refer to specific events or people but rather speaks in poetic and general terms about the right of the poor to speak their mind and talk about the truth:

I sing because the guitar  
 Has feelings and reason  
 It has an earthy heart and a dove’s wings ...  
 Working guitar  
 with a spring-like smell  
 It’s not a rich man’s guitar ...  
 My song is that of the scaffolds ...  
 of those who will die singing truths ...  
 There where everything goes  
 And where everything begins  
 A brave song  
 will always be a new song (*nueva canción*).

Professor Donald Ramos, formerly of Cleveland State University, notes using MPB, or *Musica Popular Brasileira*, and Chico Buarque’s music in particular to study the *tropicália* genre and social protest. MPB primarily refers to Brazilian urban popular music from the late 1960s, which has acoustic instrumentation and was initially highly

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<sup>13</sup>The Argentinean government banned not only songs by Victor Jara and other Latin American artists but also some pop and rock songs by American artists; see this official memorandum: <http://www.comfer.gov.ar/web/blog/wp-content/uploads/2009/07/canciones-prohibidas1.pdf>. Rory Carroll, “How Pink Floyd spelled trouble for Argentina’s military junta,” *The Guardian*, August 6, 2009, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/aug/06/argentina-junta-banned-songs-pop#history-byline> (accessed October 17, 2011). Enylton De Sá Rego and Charles A. Perrone, *MPB: Contemporary Brazilian Popular Music* (Albuquerque: The Latin American Institute University of New Mexico, 1985), 10.

<sup>14</sup>Jan Fairley, “Cuba - Trova and Nueva Trova: Troubadours Old and New,” in *World Music the Rough Guide Volume 2: Latin & North America, Caribbean, India, Asia and Pacific*, eds., Simon Broughton and Mark Ellingham (London: Rough Guides, 2000), 408.

influenced by Brazilian musical traditions, but by the 1970s, was also influenced by international music.<sup>15</sup> One of its most controversial genres is *tropicália*, or tropicalismo, a socially conscientious genre that used contrasts and contradictions to critique the middle class and European cultural impositions, even as the genre was influenced by foreign music.<sup>16</sup> Though specific songs are not mentioned in the surveys, the song *Calice*, which defends the common man and critiques the military dictatorship, would be a good way to introduce this period of human rights abuses and censorship in Brazilian history (1965-1985).<sup>17</sup> Inventive and subtle lyrics were a necessity at a time when music was censored and lyrics had to be approved by the Brazilian Federal Censorship Bureau.<sup>18</sup> Brian Hodel notes that in Portuguese, the word “chalice” is pronounced the same way as the word “shut up.”<sup>19</sup> This play on words and the song lyrics deal with the difficulty of living under a repressive regime: “How hard it is to wake up gagged, / After having gone mad in the silence of the night. / I want to let out an inhuman cry. / It’s a way to be heard.”<sup>20</sup>

## Identity

One of the songs that can be used to introduce the topic of identity in Latin America is Ruben Blades’ *Buscando América (Searching for America)*.<sup>21</sup> Because the history of Latin America has been marred and influenced so strongly by dictatorships and the resultant torture, disappearance, and murder of so many, to speak of this topic is a poignant way to rally people from the region to a common pain and history. This song was released in 1984, the year after Argentina’s Dirty War ended and at a time

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<sup>15</sup>Charles Perrone, *Masters of Contemporary Brazilian Song* (Austin: University of Texas, 1989), x.

<sup>16</sup>Gerard Béhague, “Brazilian Musical Values of the 1960s and 1970s: Popular Urban Music from Bossa Nova to Tropicália,” *Journal of Popular Culture*, 14, no. 3 (1980), 448-449.

<sup>17</sup>Brian Hodel, “Censorship and Creativity in Brazilian Popular Music,” *Progress Reports in Ethnomusicology*, 2, no. 9 (1989), 12.

<sup>18</sup>Hodel, “Censorship and Creativity in Brazilian Popular Music,” 1-15. David Cleary, “Brazil: meu brasil brasileiro,” in *World Music The Rough Guide Volume 2: Latin & North America, Caribbean, India, Asia and Pacific*, eds., Simon Broughton and Mark Ellingham (London: Rough Guides, 2000), 340.

<sup>19</sup>Translation by Hodel, “Censorship and Creativity in Brazilian Popular Music,” 13.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>21</sup>Here, the term America refers to the Americas and specifically Latin America.

when Central America was in civil war. The lyrics refer to dictatorships and torture but also to a dream of rallying once again as a single people:

While there is no justice, we will never have peace  
 Living dictatorships, I search for you and don't find you  
 They don't know where / your tortured body is.  
 Argentina! Salvador! Guatemala! Paraguay! Chile!  
 If the dream of one is the dream of us all  
 Break the chains and walk  
 Let's be confident  
 Let's move on, my people ...  
 They have kidnapped you, America  
 And gagged your mouth  
 Not it's up to us to liberate you  
 I'm searching for you, America  
 Our future awaits  
 And before it dies  
 We will find you

Another Blades' song that deals with Latin American identity is *Plástico* (*Plastic*). This song exalts Latin American beauty and values and warns against "imported models that are not the solution." After listing the ways that a woman and man live a plastic (read: false) life, including counseling their son not to play with kids that are "strangely colored," the song appeals to Latin Americans to value themselves and the truth: "Listen Latin American, listen brother, listen friend. Never sell your destiny for gold or convenience ... Let's all move forward together so we can end the ignorance which influences us, stop using foreign models that are not the solution." The song speaks of Latin Americans as "a united race / the one [Simón] Bolívar dreamed of" and ends with Blades calling attendance for all of Latin America in a call and response format: "Panamá! Presente! (Panama! Here!)," etc.

Survey respondents also recommended Mercedes Sosa's moving song *Todas las voces, todas* (*All the Voices, All of Them*) to discuss identity. Like *Plástico*, this song calls on various South American countries and their united dreams through their unified voices. Sosa praises the beauty and bounty of Latin America ("I set out to walk / through the cosmic belt of the south ... a green Brazil kisses my Chile of copper and minerals"). Because of its references to the continent's natural and mineral wealth, the song also presents an opportunity to talk about Latin America commerce and neoliberal policies.



### Immigration, Diaspora & Exile

The norteño band Tigres del Norte was very popular among survey respondents. This group's repertoire lends itself to an engaging discussion on the complexities of the immigration issue. *Tres veces mojado* (*Wet Three Times*), for example, deals with the plight of undocumented immigrants, and more specifically those Central Americans who, unlike Mexicans, must cross three national boundaries to get to the United States. This comparison could be used to segue into a discussion on relationships among Latin Americans of different nationalities. While those exposed to U.S. media are accustomed to hearing about Mexicans being detained by Americans, Central Americans are both helped by Mexican immigrants and coyotes but also must fend off Mexican authorities. *Jaula de Oro* (*Golden Cage*) deals with the paradox of undocumented immigration, which brings material wealth but leaves immigrants feeling a sense of loss for their mother country and alienation from children who feel more American than Mexican. In the song, a father asks (in Spanish), "Son, would you like us to go back to Mexico?" The son replies (in English), "What you talkin' about dad? I don't wanna go back to Mexico. No way, dad." The father continues, "My kids don't speak to me. They have learned another language. They have forgotten Spanish. They think like Americans. They deny they are Mexican although they have my color." The song *Somos mas americanos* (*We are More American*) reframes the debate over illegal immigration from a Mexican perspective:

I want to remind the gringo. I didn't cross the border.  
The border crossed me. America was born free. Man  
divided it. They painted the line so that I would have to  
jump it and now call me an invader ... They took eight  
states away from us. Who here is the invader? ... And if  
we count by century, even though it hurts our neighbor  
[to admit it], we are more American than all the gringos.

Faculty cited Cateano Veloso's song *London, London* when teaching about exile and this song is an interesting counterpoint to the Tigres del Norte songs about the plight of Latin American immigrants in the United States. Veloso, who went into exile in London in the late 1960s, sings not of a hostile host city, but a peaceful London with friendly policemen. The chorus "While my eyes go looking for flying saucers in the sky" seems to be a reference to the strangeness of being in such a peaceful, free place with friendly authority figures.

### How to Find More Songs

Survey respondents suggested many other musicians, often without naming specific songs or to what end these songs were used in class. While the H-LATAM

listserv members are very helpful in suggesting appropriate music for a given theme, these are posted only upon request. Ideally, educators would have a resource where they could search for music at any time. One survey respondent welcomed a suggestions database as a way to learn about music. As a result, I have started a rudimentary Omeka database called Teach with Music that allows educators to submit information on songs that they recommend for use in classroom instruction.<sup>22</sup> To access Teach with Music, visit <http://daisilla.org/omeka>. Currently, each song record contains subject headings, an explanation of how a song is used in instruction, the name of the song writer/singer, the song's language, the country of origin, tags, and the name of the person who submitted the record information. The website currently only includes Latin American songs suggested by Matthew Casey and Marisa Pereyra of Immaculata University, but I welcome submissions for songs on any area of history. I envision Teach with Music becoming even more useful if developed to be interoperable with websites such as YouTube or Grooveshark, so that users can seamlessly link and listen to the songs they discover in the database. Linking Teach with Music to websites such as Wikipedia and scholarly databases would also lead users to important historical contextualization for the references made in songs and critical scholarship on artists and genres. I hope this essay has encouraged readers to reflect on what music has to offer their historical areas of specialization and piqued your interest in visiting Teach with Music and using music as another method of teaching history.

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<sup>22</sup>Many thanks to CUNY Digital Humanities Initiative members Charlie Edwards, Scott Voth, and Aaron Knoll for their guidance and technical assistance.

## SOME SUGGESTIONS ON HOW TO MENTOR TEACHING ASSISTANTS

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At many colleges and universities, teaching assistants play a critical role in undergraduate education, but too often professors throw TAs into classrooms on their own without adequate preparation. This essay proposes a time- and need-sensitive way for professors to become mentors to help teaching assistants, who are essentially student teachers, to get the most out of their education and their opportunities to teach. The focus of this essay is to suggest some ways to help TAs prepare for life after graduate school in their own classrooms in a public school, community college, or university, while at the same time to ensure equality undergraduate instruction. By the end of their assignments, TAs should be able to do the following:

1. Command sufficient flexibility to lead full-class and small-group discussions, tailoring the experience to each class meeting;
2. Create high-quality interactive lectures;
3. Create a supportive, inclusive, yet challenging academic environment in which students are encouraged to participate;
4. Adroitly meet the challenges of teaching issues, such as plagiarism, as instances to instruct and inform rather than to respond with personal attacks;
5. Communicate critical thinking skills to a diverse group of undergraduates.

This article presents one approach to TA training, adopted by the author, in a Social Sciences Department with a master's level (MA) history graduate program. Emporia State University is a regional university of approximately 6,000 students. Our teaching assistants generally work for four semesters and usually are assigned to one professor for a full academic year. Thus, most TAs are exposed to the teaching style of two professors. The courses for which instructors use TAs at ESU enroll between forty and eighty students depending on the section. Given smaller class sizes, faculty can offer TAs intensive, focused mentoring, while at the same time meeting the goals of first-rate undergraduate instruction.

Upon completion of our graduate programs, some MA students go on to Ph.D. programs; others teach at community colleges or continue careers in secondary schools. Some chart wholly different courses for their careers. Regardless, upon graduation many begin teaching their own classes as instructors. However, the majority receive little to no training in how to teach beyond their first assignment as a TA in our program, even if they pursue further studies. Hence, the reality: If we are committed on the MA level to the overall success of program graduates, then we need to make sure TAs are equipped to be successful in all areas of professional life—as researchers,



colloquies, and especially as teachers.<sup>1</sup> My goal is to prepare my TAs to teach a U.S. survey class. What follows in this essay is the operational specificity that I follow to encourage the development of TAs for this teaching assignment on their own.

Over the past several decades, both graduate students and faculty mentors alike have pushed for more preparation for graduate students on how to teach history at the college level. In 1995 Donald L. Fixico wrote about creating a course at Western Michigan University to fill this need. His course consisted of videotaping student lectures, writing papers, reading from textbooks, and discussing issues related to teaching and the profession.<sup>2</sup> Yet in the 1997 National Study of Teaching Assistants, graduate students continued to ask for “more training in lecturing, in using technology, and in evaluating their teaching.”<sup>3</sup> Almost twenty years later, graduate students still are asking for training in becoming effective teachers.

At the 2013 AHA convention in New Orleans, many panels focused on preparation of graduate students to teach. According to panelists, programs still are not preparing students adequately to be teachers.<sup>4</sup> Graduate student comments reflect this belief. In “Let’s Do Lunch,” Leonard Cassuto suggests that we cannot be effective mentors without getting to know the students.<sup>5</sup> Only then can we truly tailor our comments, approaches, and strategies to help each student reach his or her potential. To that idea Tapir33 commented, “How about talking with your graduate students about teaching?”<sup>6</sup> Graduate students obviously want more training in teaching.

Among the United States’ top 25 Ph.D. programs, no standard training for graduate students exists. Even among programs that espouse some training, widespread

<sup>1</sup>Cheryl A. Wells writes on the relationship between the assistantship and becoming tenured faculty in “From Teaching Assistant to Tenure-Track Faculty,” *Perspectives*, December 2008, <http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/2008/0812/0812gra3.cfm> (accessed May 11, 2013).

<sup>2</sup>Donald L. Fixico, “Teaching College Teaching and the Professionalization of History,” *Perspectives*, September 1995, <http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/1995/9509/9509TEC.CFM> (accessed May 10, 2013).

<sup>3</sup>“Teaching Assistants Still Want More Training, Survey Finds,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 3, 1998, <http://chronicle.com/article/Teaching-Assistants-Still-Want/1005771> (accessed May 10, 2013).

<sup>4</sup>Colleen Flaherty, “Educator or Historian?” *Inside Higher Ed*, January 7, 2013, <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2013/01/07/aha-session-focuses-role-teaching-discipline> (accessed May 10, 2013).

<sup>5</sup>Leonard Cassuto, “Let’s Do Lunch,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 25, 2013, <http://chronicle.com/article/Lets-Do-Lunch/138083/> (accessed May 10, 2013).

<sup>6</sup>Tapir33, comment on Leonard Cassuto, “Let’s Do Lunch,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 25, 2013, <http://chronicle.com/article/Lets-Do-Lunch/138083/> (accessed May 10, 2013).



disagreement exists about the nature of that training.<sup>7</sup> Some programs do a lot to prepare their students, others do very little. However, even in universities that champion TA training, exactly what and how much they will receive varies by department.<sup>8</sup> Though significantly different, programs do seem to have one central commodity: To varying degrees, all of the programs that focus on helping graduate students become effective teachers seem to rely on mentoring graduate students by individual faculty members.<sup>9</sup> Howard University offers a mentor program in which graduate students shadow a faculty member. The University of Minnesota's Preparing Future Faculty offers a "Practicum for Instructors in Higher Education" that centers on helping students create "a mentor relationship with faculty at any of the member institutions of Minnesota's PFF cluster." This mentor is charged with providing three teaching opportunities and "exposing the student to the rich array of faculty roles and responsibilities outside of the classroom in addition to the classroom experience."<sup>10</sup>

Hence, even for those institutions with centralized training programs, the crux of student preparation rests on students having time with an individual mentor. Yet, like Samuel Gorovitz, I "remain dissatisfied with what individual faculty are doing with their own assistants—as if this centrally provided training freed them of their responsibilities as mentors."<sup>11</sup> The central problem is this: More attention needs to be given to the mentoring relationship between a faculty member and a TA. Even in programs that have centralized TA training, mentoring faculty tend to believe that the specificity of training needed to equip TAs to be successful teachers will be (or should have been) done by someone else. In fact, the mentoring relationship remains the keystone in a TA's teaching preparation.

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<sup>7</sup>Flaherty, "Educator or Historian?"

<sup>8</sup>Thomas Bartlett, "The First Thing About Teaching," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 26, 2003, <http://chronicle.com/article/The-First-Thing-About-Teaching/30437/> (accessed May 10, 2013).

<sup>9</sup>Katherine S. Mangan, "Colleges Expand Efforts to Help Teaching Assistants Learn to Teach," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 4, 1992, <http://chronicle.com/article/Colleges-Expand-Efforts-to/80057/> (accessed May 11, 2013).

<sup>10</sup>David Rayson, Edward L. Farmer, and Robert Frame, "Preparing Future Faculty: Teaching the Academic Life," *Perspectives*, January 1999, <http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/1999/9901/9901TEC.CFM> (accessed May 10, 2013).

<sup>11</sup>Samuel Gorovitz, "Mentoring Teaching Assistants," *Inside Higher Ed*, January 7, 2011, [http://www.insidehighered.com/advice/2011/01/07/gorovitz\\_on\\_mentoring\\_teaching\\_assistants](http://www.insidehighered.com/advice/2011/01/07/gorovitz_on_mentoring_teaching_assistants) (accessed May 10, 2013).

### The General Premise

In order for mentors to teach “how to teach” effectively, TAs need to be invested in the outcome of the class. In a supportive atmosphere TAs can begin to brainstorm their own ideas regarding pedagogy, conveying content, and even assisting in classroom management. In the same way that Peter Monaghan has called for student investment, I encourage TA investment in the class. Monaghan has argued for better teaching of history, moving away from just memorizing facts and moving toward a more nuanced approach. Besides suggesting that students should be invested in the learning process, Monaghan advocates that instructors should strive to stimulate their students’ natural curiosity and engage them in issues currently being discussed among professionals.<sup>12</sup> Applying these principles to mentoring TAs, Monaghan suggests that in order to teach the TA how to teach, the TA needs to be encouraged to have part ownership of the process.<sup>13</sup> The professor still retains ultimate authority as the instructor of record for a class, having the final say in decisions and being a reference for the TA, but the relationship between TA and mentor shifts to one of collaboration.

My TA first observes my teaching. Based on these observations, I work with my TA to create an active learning environment that accommodates a variety of student learning styles. Moreover, rather than focusing on covering “life, the universe and everything” over sixteen weeks, we focus on selected topics. Within these selections we explore differing approaches and concepts about the past. As David Rayson suggested in an essay on active learning and theory, instructors should select focused topics of study. This approach enables students “to regard history as a critical and creative process of imagining a plausible past, based on fact that would help us understand our present and enhance our future.”<sup>14</sup> Through interactive lectures, Think-Pair-Share activities, a host of collaborative and cooperative techniques, debates, and discussion, the history survey also focuses on developing critical thinking and critical writing skills. The TA gains experience leading all of these activities.

To look at another important need for teachers, in pre-class meetings we brainstorm ways to encourage more class participation. For example, after delivering an interactive-lecture to a rather reticent group of students, one creative TA employed a “four-corners” activity, in which he placed the signs “strongly agree, mostly agree,

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<sup>12</sup>Peter Monaghan, “A Historian Devotes Himself to Urging, and Guiding, Colleagues to Teach Better,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 27, 2011, <http://chronicle.com/article/A-Historian-Devotes-Himself-to/126520/> (accessed May 10, 2013).

<sup>13</sup>Terry L. Seip, “Mentoring: Teaching Assistants and Other Issues,” *Perspectives*, November 2007, <http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/2007/0711/0711gra4.cfm> (accessed May 10, 2013).

<sup>14</sup>David Rayson, “Transforming the History Classroom,” *Perspectives*, January 1999, <http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/1999/9901/9901TEC.cfm> (accessed May 10, 2013).

mostly disagree, and strongly disagree” around the room. He then asked a series of interpretation questions in which the students moved to the various corners in response. Students then justified their positions. Ultimately, this TA’s discussion helped students think about evidence and its use as support. Thus, by being fully invested in the course, the TA becomes an active participant in the process of teaching critical thinking, while at the same time learning a variety of strategies to convey content. In this way all assignments—informal class activities and formal at-home assignments—build towards helping students develop their own unique interpretations about the past, grounded on sound evidence.

### Leading Discussions in a Supportive Environment

Early in the semester the TA and I address the individual TA’s strengths and weaknesses in classroom settings so that we can tailor the experience to attend to both. One of the first goals we make is for the TA to gain confidence and sufficient experience to lead full-class activities such as lecture and discussion. As a direct corollary, the TA also needs to practice “reading” a class to be able to tailor discussion to meet the needs of a class. In our discussion of individual goals, for example, many TAs express nervousness and apprehension with regards to standing before students. One TA commanded content and performed admirably with small groups of students, but he felt paralyzed by the idea of addressing the full class. He needed more opportunity to practice full-class engagement. Thus, in his case, I had him take responsibility of some full-class discussions earlier in the semester than I might do with other TAs. This immersion approach allowed him to face his fears early so that he could move past the paralysis.

Leading discussions of short films (roughly 30-45 minutes) is another relatively gentle way for a TA to engage a class. I have the TA lead a thirty-minute film created by the American Social History Project, “Daughters of Free Men,” on the Lowell mills.<sup>15</sup> One significant fear for most of my TAs is “what do I do when I ask a question and no one responds?” To help students evaluate the film critically, I ask them to complete a worksheet of guided questions. These questions also help prepare students for the TA-led discussion that follows. The TA’s discussion then connects to previously assigned reading and class lectures by asking questions such as “How did the film’s depiction of life in Lowell compare with the documents in Benita Eisler’s *The Lowell Offering*?”<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>For more information about *Daughters of Free Men* or for ordering information, see <http://ashp.cuny.edu/ashp-documentaries/daughters-of-free-men/>.

<sup>16</sup>Benita Eisler, ed., *The Lowell Offering: Writing by New England Mill Women 1840-1845* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1997).



For this discussion and for others that follow during a semester, the TA and I brainstorm questions and topics to raise, and I do guide him or her to ask questions of observation, some of interpretation, and a few of application. However, the TA "owns" the discussion, ultimately designing the questions, determining the order in which they will be asked, and reinforcing "the point" of both the film and the unit section. The formula for the number of each kind of question (observation, interpretation, application) we ask varies on the needs of the class. After every discussion we discuss how the class meeting went and any possible problems or questions. In one of these discussions, for example, one TA observed that our two classes of U.S. history to 1877 were very different from each other. In one class students were engaged, prepared participants. They appeared to have considerable background information. Further, when we asked questions, they readily discussed their ideas. In the other survey class students were more reticent. Together the TA and I brainstormed how to respond to both. The next time he led a discussion, the TA asked observation questions of the reticent class and more interpretive questions of the other class. By tailoring the discussion to each class individually, he successfully enabled both classes to arrive at the significance of themes for the day.

Much more challenging, however, was addressing my TA's perceptions of the two classes. He was wary of the reticent class because of the silence that followed his questions. With the more reticent class, my TA initially allowed what he perceived as their lack of interest to dampen his enthusiasm for teaching the subject and his attitude toward the class—in fact, the students were just quiet. In short he began, by his own admission, to "psych myself out." I explained to him that this is a dangerous cycle, because, regardless of their existing attitude, a class often will mirror an instructor's attitude toward them. We then focused on ways to create a comfortable teaching environment in which students are encouraged to "take risks" by volunteering their thoughts, such as not being afraid to laugh at ourselves when we make mistakes, using humor to create a welcoming atmosphere, and praising students' contributions. In this example, this TA and I created a series of good-natured running jokes between himself and me, in which we invited in the students. In doing so we created a safe, jovial atmosphere in the classroom in which students felt comfortable wrestling with complicated, complex historical issues and their modern legacies, such as slavery and racism.

### **Responding to Student Issues**

By the end of their assignment, my TAs gain experience handling a variety of student issues. Through these experiences the TA and I work together to determine the best course of action. By including my TAs in the process, they create a critical mass of examples from which they can draw in dealing with issues that might arise in their own classrooms. In yet another semester, a different TA struggled with how to respond to student issues such as plagiarism. The vast majority of students commit plagiarism



unintentionally. Thus, rather than regard these incidents as an offense against the instructor, I advise my TAs to view these as teachable moments. For most cases, TAs call students into their offices and explain to them again the rules of writing and how to incorporate citations. The student incurs a point deduction and fixes the error before resubmitting the essay. However, occasionally an instance of plagiarism will arise that clearly is not unintentional. In these situations I work with my TA to brainstorm approaches. For example, at the end of one semester, my TA received two essays in which 85 percent of the material in one paper appeared in another. The TA and I arrived at the following strategy: The TA called both students to his office and showed both students their papers with copied sections highlighted. He gave them a choice: Split the grade or do it over, arguing a different position. We surmised what most likely had happened. The one student, who was in the top ten percent of his class, had allowed his fellow athlete to “see what I did” during study hall. In the end, the students chose to split the grade—but both young men learned valuable lessons. More importantly for the TA, however, by my working with the TA to formulate a strategy to follow, rather than simply handling the issue myself, I helped prepare him for possible future issues.

### **Mini-Teaches**

In my survey classes, I employ a series of debates, such as “Was the American Revolution a true revolution?” Having a TA lead this group of assignments enables him or her to gain experience teaching critical thinking skills in addition to the content, while at the same time reinforcing general leadership skills (i.e., giving directions, explaining expectations, managing groups, ensuring quality data, etc.). All students participate in one of four or five debates during the course of the semester, depending on the size of the class. The TA is responsible for leading pre-debate meetings, usually held outside of class time, which help students prepare for the debates. These meetings usually are his or her first “mini-teaches.”

For this assignment the TA meets each side individually and thus has the opportunity to offer concerted instruction to a small group of students. The TA explains how the debate will be conducted and introduces grading criteria as based on my rubric. Much more importantly, the TA helps students realize they need to do significantly more than just prove a fact, such as that “Shays’ Rebellion happened.” They must use data to prove their thesis, which might look like this: “Shays’ Rebellion shows that some people were left out of the legacy of revolution. The Shayites were taxed, without their consent, and found their farms being seized by a new American elite. This suggests that instead of a radical change, the revolution simply resulted in a changing of the guard.” The TA challenges each student to answer the question of significance for each of his or her three points. Hence, the nature of mini-teaches allows us to focus on one of the main goals of the survey, which is strengthening critical thinking skills.

**The Lecture**

After every lecture the TA and I meet to discuss the content, the craft, and any questions he or she might have. About midway through the semester, the TA delivers his or her own interactive PowerPoint or Prezi presentation that incorporates many of the points we discuss. A PowerPoint presentation is not essential for a successful delivery. Some fine instructors choose not to use this technology. However, I have found that my TAs are much more comfortable having “talking points” on the screen and the visual aids (maps, images, graphs, etc.) help keep undergraduates focused and interested.

Thus, over the course of the semester, we focus on the mechanics of creating PowerPoint presentations—making sure an image is on every slide, making sure the font is large enough, and reducing the amount of text on a given slide. We also cover the overall big picture of a lecture—how to structure the narrative flow, selecting topics, what to include, what to leave out, etc. Then we discuss how to keep students interested and engaged—by interjecting anecdotes, funny stories, humor, and metaphors to help them relate to the past, the use of music and clips, etc. We also talk about the intangibles of delivery, including tone and body language. Toward the end of the semester, I attend the TAs presentation and we debrief after. I offer to buy a soft drink or coffee, and we together discuss avenues for improvement, making sure to celebrate their successes.

**The Review Sessions**

The TA is responsible for creating a review guide, leading review sessions, and proctoring exams. Assuming this responsibility allows the TA the experience of creating assessment data and then making adjustments in response. After every class meeting we discuss what identifications and essay questions were generated that day and should be included on the review guide. Though I take the lead on this in the beginning of the semester, gradually the TA takes increasing responsibility in this area, every day practicing how to make good exam essay questions and create fair identifications. Then, when the TA leads the review session, this allows for another instance of communicating critical thinking skills as the TA instructs students to create mind maps. The mind maps help students marshal and evaluate evidence in preparation for possible essay questions. Eventually, I also train the TA to grade exams. Independently, we both grade the same ten exams. Then we talk about our grades and our reasoning behind them. Once we are calibrated, the TA can then begin grading. We check our calibration again once the TA has finished half and again once all exams are graded. Rather than feeling as if they are being “checked up on,” most TAs express relief in knowing their exam grades are “correct.”

**Conclusion**

We need to conceive of the teaching assistantship more like an intensive independent study whose final exam comes in the TA's own (not too distant) classroom and less like cheap (should-have-been-trained-by-someone-else) labor. With this mindset, we should create activities and lessons tailored to addressing their strengths and weaknesses and building towards their becoming capable colleagues. One of the larger hurdles facing the professor as mentor is the lack of ability (or lack of desire) to relinquish some control to a TA. However, for the sake of our graduate students, we have to "get over ourselves." Before having a class of their own, they need opportunities to experiment with different teaching styles and pedagogical approaches. They need to see that we too can make mistakes and sometimes deal with issues that flummox us. They need to observe how we deal with balancing the demands of teaching, research, and service, how we deal with difficult students, and how we deal with failing (or missing) technology. They need us to share with them our past successes and failures. They need us to ask them hypothetical "how would you respond in a given situation" questions—such as when a young freshman told me she wanted Canadian bacon in the middle of my lecture—so they are somewhat prepared to respond should the need arise. Training TAs takes considerable time and, more importantly, patience. They are going to make mistakes; they are going to do things differently than their mentor might. How much better to do so when they have access to a mentor—someone to answer their questions, help them find solutions, and give direction.

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

### **“He enlisted to obtain his freedom”: Slavery and Freedom in the American Revolution**

Michael Hussey  
National Archives and Records Administration

On March 18, 1818, *An Act to provide for certain persons engaged in the land and naval services of the United States in the Revolutionary War* became law. It provided a lifetime pension for those who had served nine months or longer in the Continental army or navy. Officers would receive twenty dollars per month; enlisted men would receive eight. Not all veterans were eligible, however. Former soldiers and sailors needed to be resident citizens of the United States and of “reduced circumstances in life.” Pension applicants also were required to state under oath that they had served and to provide details of their service. Further, they would need to declare that they were in serious economic need.

Among the first soldiers to apply for these pensions was a man named Cato Greene. Just two weeks after the pension law went into effect, he began to gather the necessary legal paperwork. The commander of his regiment, the First Rhode Island, attested that “Cato Green, a man of colour, in the year 1778, inlisted [sic] ... into the Regiment [then] commanded by Colonel Greene of the Rhode Island Line, on the continental establishment.” The 1818 pension law required that Greene have served for at least nine months. In fact, he remained in the army until June 15, 1783, when General George Washington issued him an honorable discharge certificate.<sup>1</sup> Greene included this document with his successful pension application. He was awarded a lifetime stipend of eight dollars per month effective April 3, 1818.

Two years later, Congress enacted further requirements for pension recipients. Not only did the pensioner need to affirm that he was in “reduced circumstances,” he now needed to submit an inventory of all his worldly possessions. No pensioner would continue to receive his monthly stipend after March 4, 1820, until he “shall have exhibited to some court of record ... a schedule, subscribed by him containing his whole estate and income (his necessary clothing and bedding excepted) ....” Just over 6,500 former soldiers lost their pensions as a result of this new requirement. In 1823, Congress passed another law to reinstate some of the lost pensions.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See “Discharge Certificate for Private Cato Greene from Military Service, Rhode Island, 06/15/1783,” <http://research.archives.gov/description/7455392>.

<sup>2</sup>William Henry Glasson, *History of Military Pension Legislation in the United States*, New York, 1900, a doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, available at: <http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&id=>



By June 6, 1820, the eighty-year-old Greene had submitted the necessary inventory of his possessions and never lost his pension. His property consisted of, he said, "One acre of land in Cranston [Rhode Island], and a very old house thereon, 4 chairs very old, some knives and forks and 1 table." Further, he was "so old as to be unable to work."<sup>3</sup> He was twice widowed and had no children to help support him. He died at the age of 86 in September 1826.

Cato Greene's fascinating pension application is contained within the holdings of the National Archives. In addition to describing his property, his 1820 affidavit also provides biographical detail of his life in Africa and subsequent enslavement. He stated that "he was a native of Guinea [in west Africa] and brought to this country and sold as a slave" in Rhode Island. He was enslaved by William Greene, governor of Rhode Island from 1778 to 1786. After years of enslavement, Cato Greene was quite clear regarding his motivation for enlisting in the Continental Army. During the war, he stated, "he enlisted to obtain his freedom."<sup>4</sup>

Since Greene was enslaved, enlisting became an option only when the Rhode Island General Assembly passed a slave enlistment law in February 1778 permitting it. Throughout the Revolution, there had been significant disagreements among Americans regarding the enlistment of free blacks or slaves. For example, Rhode Island had excluded blacks from service prior to the February 1778 law. However, pressing manpower needs briefly overcame this bias.<sup>5</sup> Rhode Island, due to British occupation of Newport and a large portion of the rest of the state, could not meet its congressionally-assigned enlistment quota. For a majority of the Rhode Island General Assembly, allowing slaves to serve as soldiers seemed to offer a solution. The slave enlistment law stated, "Whereas, for the preservation of the rights and liberties of the United States, it is necessary that the whole powers of government should be exerted in recruiting Continental battalions ... [i]t is voted and resolved, that every able-bodied negro, mulatto, or Indian man slave in this state, may enlist ... to serve during the

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<sup>2</sup>(...continued)

P6FDAAAIAAJ&dq=%22Military+Pension+Legislation%22&printsec=frontcover&source=web&ots=64NB10xJUe&sig=qkioVACgY-p2qWqod5FdgBtGCfl@sa=X&oi=book\_result&resnum=1&ct=result. Cited in Will Graves, "Pension Acts: An Overview of Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Legislation and the Southern Campaign Pension Transcription Project" at <http://revwarapps.org/revwar-pension-acts.htm>.

<sup>3</sup>See "Pension Affidavit of Cato Greene, 06/06/1820," <http://research.archives.gov/description/7455390>.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Michael Lee Lanning, *African Americans in the Revolutionary War* (New York: Citadel Press, 2005), 73-81.

continuance of the present war with Great Britain.”<sup>6</sup> For their military service, each new soldier would be “discharged from the service of his master or mistress, and be absolutely FREE, as though he had never been encumbered with any kind of servitude or slavery.” Their former owners could receive up to 120 pounds in compensation. William Greene, for example, received 120 pounds for allowing Cato to enlist in the Continental Army.<sup>7</sup>

The slave enlistment law remained in effect for only four months. In June 1778, a newly elected legislature quickly overturned it. But Cato Green and the other slaves who had enlisted were allowed to continue to serve. The law had been controversial from the start. Indeed, some Rhode Island legislators issued a formal dissent when it passed. The dissenters stated that they had logistical concerns. More importantly, however, they also feared that slave regiments would appear antithetical to the philosophical underpinnings of the Revolution. They wrote, “The raising of such a regiment ... would ... produce an opinion in the world, that the state had purchased a band of slaves to be employed in the defence of the rights and liberties of our country, which is wholly inconsistent with those principles of liberty and constitutional government, for which we are so ardently contending ....”<sup>8</sup>

The conflicting opinions raised by the Rhode Island slave enlistment law highlight the complexity of the issue of race and slavery in the newly formed United States. Were the dissenting Rhode Island legislators concerned only about slaves serving as soldiers but not opposed to the institution of slavery generally? Indeed, Rhode Island and other northern states were involved directly and indirectly with slavery through the so-called triangular trade. Cato Greene might well have been brought to North America on a ship owned by a Rhode Islander. The Rhode Island legislature’s debate and Cato Greene’s pension application provide us with a potentially quite insightful view of the complex intellectual, economic, and social landscape of late eighteenth-century America.

This economic intertwining of northern as well as southern states with the institution of slavery might also shed further light on the often discussed contradiction of the Revolutionary cause. The United States fought for both the “unalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” and maintained slavery. The inherent contradictions between the language of the Declaration of Independence and the reality

<sup>6</sup>*Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, edited by John Russell Bartlett, vol. III, 358-359. See: <http://books.google.com/books?id=9IsaAAAAYAAJ&pg=PP9#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

<sup>7</sup>*Rhode Island Historical Tracts*, No. 9, Providence, 1880, “The Treasurer’s Account of the Negro Slaves Inlisted into the Continental Battalions, to whom They Did Belong and the Valuation of Each Slave, with Notes Concerning them, 1778,” 53. See: <http://books.google.com/books?id=LYNAQAAMAAJ&lpg=PR1&ots=R19SfJzbKl&dq=Rhode%20Island%20Historical%20Tracts%2C%20No.%209%22%20%201880&pg=RA3-PA53#v=onepage&q=%22cato%20greene%22&f=false>.

<sup>8</sup>*Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, vol. III, 361.

of slavery would not be resolved until slavery's abolition nearly ninety years later. Cato Greene and others could not wait so long. Greene seized the opportunity offered by the Rhode Island legislature. He won his freedom by literally putting his life on the line as a soldier.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Cato Green's pension affidavit and the honorable discharge from the army that he received from George Washington are currently part of the National Archives' Records of Rights exhibit. See: <http://recordsofrights.org/>.

## SOMEONE YOU SHOULD KNOW

### GOVERNOR RALPH L. CARR OF COLORADO IN THE TURMOIL OF WORLD WAR II—AMERICA

Kaoru Yamamoto  
Denver, CO

In the aftermath of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the United States declared war against Japan on December 8, and belatedly issued a parallel declaration against Germany and Italy three days later. In the ensuing turmoil, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, leading to the wholesale uprooting of West Coast inhabitants of Japanese heritage. The subsequent Executive Order 9102 (March 18, 1942) and Public Law 503 (March 20, 1942) mandated the eviction, relocation, and incarceration of the target populace.<sup>1</sup>

Close to 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry,<sup>2</sup> including 30,000 children, then living in the West Coast states and now classified as “enemy aliens,” suffered the exclusion experience for three years in a dozen concentration camps, located in the most desolate, hostile areas of the country.<sup>3</sup> More than seventy percent of all those “enemy aliens” had been born in the United States—hence, they were full-fledged American citizens. The enormous ravages wreaked upon these victims were detailed later in the

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<sup>1</sup>For the details, consult such sources as Roger Daniels, *The Concentration Camps, North America: Japanese in the United States and Canada During World War II* (Malabar, FL: R.E. Krieger, 1981), and *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Macmillan, 2004); Bill Hosokawa, *JACL in Quest of Justice* (New York: William Morrow, 1982); Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Jacobus tenBroek, Edward N. Barnhart, and Floyd W. Matson, *Prejudice, War, and the Constitution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

<sup>2</sup>The figure of 120,000 is roughly equal to the whole 1950 population of Tampa, FL, or Baton Rouge, LA, while exceeding that of Phoenix, AZ, or San Jose, CA, in the same year. See Thomas James, *Exile Within: The Schooling of Japanese Americans 1942-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987); War Relocation Authority, U.S. Department of Interior, *Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1946).

<sup>3</sup>The larger ten of these concentration camps, then euphemistically called “relocation centers,” were located in California, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Arizona, and Arkansas. Each housed 10,000 to 20,000 evacuees. See Deborah Gesensway and Mindy Roseman, *Beyond Words: Images from America's Concentration Camps* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987); John Howard, *Concentration Camps on the Home Front: Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).



report of the U.S. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, neither the 160,000 Japanese-lineage Americans in Hawaii nor the 201,000 Italian and German aliens residing in the Western states at the time were subjugated to similarly discriminatory treatment.<sup>5</sup>

Yet, in Colorado at least, this story of national infamy has a solitary hero in the person of Ralph Lawrence Carr. Born in 1887 in Rosita, a small silver-mining town of south-central Colorado, and schooled in Cripple Creek, a historic gold-mining town west of Colorado Springs, Carr earned a law degree from the University of Colorado. Then he began his practice in Antonito, another small town in south-central Colorado, bordering New Mexico. Thereafter, having progressively held the positions of county attorney, state assistant attorney general, and then U.S. district attorney, Carr was elected the governor of Colorado in 1939 and served two terms through 1943.

Under Executive Order 9102, the War Relocation Authority (WRA) had the task of relocating and handling the excluded population of Japanese lineage. In a Salt Lake City meeting on April 7, 1942, the new WRA head, Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, requested the cooperation of the governors of fourteen Western states in the resettlement of the displaced people. Governor Carr, who had opposed Executive Order 9066 from the outset,<sup>6</sup> stood totally alone in declaring his state's welcome for the evacuees.<sup>7</sup> Against overwhelming opposition everywhere, he argued that "one cannot test the degree of a man's affection for his fellows or his country by the birthplace of his grandfather!" He declared that "I am dedicated to the proposition that the Constitution must operate and function in time of war just as it does in time of peace," and insisted

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<sup>4</sup>U.S. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1982). Also, see John Hersey, "A Mistake of Terrifically Horrible Proportions," in *Manzanar*, J. Armor and P. Wright, eds. (New York: Times Books, 1988), 1-66; and Howard, *Concentration Camps*.

<sup>5</sup>Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii's Japanese* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1947); tenBroek et al., *Prejudice, War*, 99, 112-13, 116, 120; U.S. Department of Justice, *Report to Congress of the United States: A Review of the Restrictions on Persons of Italian Ancestry during World War II* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2001). At the time, national surveys by two opinion research firms revealed some noticeable contrasts in popular attitudes against the Germans compared to opposition against Japanese, Adam Schrager, *The Principled Politician: The Ralph Carr Story* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 2008), 174-75, 250-51.

<sup>6</sup>Schrager, *Principled Politician*, 112, 133.

<sup>7</sup>Ivona Elenton, "Governor Ralph Carr: An Archival Research Handbook to a Colorado Governor's Collection" (Uppsala University, Sweden, Master's Thesis, 2010), 28; Bill Hosokawa, *Colorado's Japanese Americans: From 1886 to the Present* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2005), 90; tenBroek et al., *Prejudice, War*, 89.

that "if we do not protect and preserve the Constitution and the Bill of Rights for all men today, it will not serve as a protection for any man six months from now."<sup>8</sup>

For his steadfast, principled, and humanitarian stance in the face of the mass anti-Japanese hysteria of the day, critics maligned Governor Carr bitterly as a "Jap lover," even within his own state.<sup>9</sup> A loss in his 1942 bid for a U.S. Senate seat rang the death knell for Carr's promising political future on the national stage. Thereafter, even the name of this man of principle has been mostly obliterated from the memory of both the general populace and the political circuit. He returned to his private practice as a country lawyer, continuing to fight Americans against "the shame and dishonor of race hatred" he had originally witnessed in small mining towns of Colorado and also against federal infringement upon Constitution-warranted state rights, particularly in relation to the water management issue in the western states.<sup>10</sup> Eight years later, during a re-election campaign for the governorship in 1950, his life was cut short tragically by a heart attack at the age of 63. In the years following his death, even the name of this man of principle was mostly obliterated from the memory of both the general populace and the political circuit. But times change and so can memories.

Needless to say, Americans of Japanese heritage never forgot their debt to this exceptional public figure, a fighter and martyr for justice. Over the years, they repeatedly expressed their appreciation and respect for his "courageous stand for Democratic American principle." That phrase was inscribed on a gold watch, presented to Governor Carr at the 1946 Denver convention of the Japanese American Citizens League. In 1974, a plaque honoring him as "a wise, humane man, not influenced by the hysteria and bigotry directed against the Japanese-Americans during World War II" was placed just outside the governor's office in the Colorado capitol by the Japanese community and the Oriental Culture Society of Colorado. In 1976, the centennial year of Colorado statehood, a bust of the governor was built in Sakura Square in downtown Denver, touting him for his "wisdom and courage to speak out on behalf of the persecuted minority."

Belatedly in 1996, the Colorado legislature honored Carr for his "efforts to protect Americans of Japanese descent during World War II." And the *Denver Post*, which had been one of his most strident critics in 1942, selected Carr as Colorado's

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<sup>8</sup>Schrager, *Principled Politician*, 90, 223, 238, 293, 301.

<sup>9</sup>For instance, in 1940, the Denver City Council "twice openly condemned the governor and his policy on the [Japanese] issue" (Schrager, 2008, 297). At the end, nevertheless, "Carr's belief in Japanese [proved] accurate. There were no examples of sabotage committed by anyone of Japanese ancestry living in the United States during the war." *Ibid.*, 315; also, tenBroek et al., *Prejudice, War*, 93, 139.

<sup>10</sup>Jason Brockman, "Biography of Ralph L. Carr" (The Governor Ralph L. Carr Collection at the Colorado State Archives), <http://www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/archives/govs/carr.html>; Hosokawa (2002), 95, 97.

“Person of the Century” for his “humane leadership during one of the nation’s most troubled times.”<sup>11</sup> In the same year, another memorial was placed on the capital ground of Colorado as “a remembrance of Governor Carr and Those Americans Who Passed through the Gates of Amache . . . to secure the blessing of liberty.”<sup>12</sup> This was under the joint auspices of the Colorado Bar Association and the Japanese American community.

More recently, in 2008, the Colorado General Assembly designated a major north-south highway “Ralph Carr Memorial Highway” (U.S. 285 over the symbolic, 10,000-foot Kenosha Pass, all the way into New Mexico).<sup>13</sup> Further, in the fall of 2009, the Denver City Council voted “for the preservation of the home of former Governor Ralph Carr.”<sup>14</sup> Significant, likewise, was the dedication in May 2013 of the new Ralph L. Carr Judicial Center in Denver, “as a Symbol of the Rule of Law.”<sup>15</sup>

Thus, the thoughts and deeds of this remarkable man of integrity and courage live on to inspire and instruct, making Ralph Lawrence Carr somebody every American should know.

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<sup>11</sup>Hosokawa (2005), 99.

<sup>12</sup><http://www.colorado.gov> (Colorado Capitol Art—Grounds, Memorial Pods—South Pod, No. 116).

<sup>13</sup><http://www.Coloradocapitoljournal.blogspot.com/2008/03/us-highway>.

<sup>14</sup>Christopher N. Osher, “Denver backs preservation of Gov. Carr’s former home,” *Denver Post*, September 29, 2009.

<sup>15</sup>Dan Cordova, “A Symbol of the Rule of Law: The Ralph L. Carr Colorado Judicial Center Consolidates the Judicial Department into a Single Iconic Building,” <http://www.aallnet.org/main-menu/Publications/Spectrum/Archives/Vol-17/No-7/colorafo.pdf>.

## A VIDEO REVIEW ESSAY: PART 2

### WITNESSES TO THE HOLOCAUST

Michael Howell  
College of the Ozarks

*Witnesses to the Holocaust: Jewish Responses*  
(67 minutes running time)

**Witnesses to the Holocaust, part 6—from a six-part series in DVD format.** Overland Park, KS: Midwest Center for Holocaust Education, Inc. DVD, \$15.

This DVD marks the final work in the series *Witnesses to the Holocaust* by the Midwest Center for Holocaust Education, which this reviewer welcomed enthusiastically in the previous issue of *Teaching History*.<sup>1</sup> *Jewish Responses*, although a bit longer than the others at just over an hour, follows the same format as those films, with off-screen narrators setting the context for stories told movingly by survivors. However, after viewing the other titles in the series, I think this latest offering adds only a little of value to the set. Viewers have heard at least parts of many of these stories before in a more specific context, whether about discrimination, attempts to preserve community life, to flee to safer places, to hide in dangerous areas, or to survive under Nazi oppression. This film lacks the compelling drama inherent in meeting these survivors and hearing their stories for the first time.

Jews coming to Europe faced problems in the majority culture from the start, but the film explains that they generally tried compliance when authorities demanded they wear distinctive clothing or live in limited areas. It does not explore employment restrictions. When compliance failed to achieve desired results, Jews resorted to bribes, protests, evasions, or flight. But such responses failed after Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of Germany in 1933, because he wanted to make Germany *Judenrein*, Jew-free, and later decided to annihilate all the Jews under his control.

Using an illustration from a German children's book of stereotypical Jews taking a one-way road from Germany, the filmmakers describe how the Nazis tried to drive out Jews: through economic boycotts, deprivation of rights and citizenship, arrests, imprisonment, concentration camps, and even violent attacks like *Kristallnacht*, the focus of an earlier film. Once again we hear stories of excluded Jews creating their own organizations. Survivors tell of their families' escapes to safer countries, even to Latin America or Shanghai. Others sought escape to Palestine, but British authorities there

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<sup>1</sup>Michael Howell, "Witness to the Holocaust: A Video Review Essay," *Teaching History*, 38 (Fall 2013), 94-101.



restricted entry. Many Jews wanted to go to the United States, but restrictions again stopped them.

*Jewish Responses* then tells again the story of the *Einsatzgruppen*, or Special Action troops, killing thousands of Jews on the Eastern Front in World War II, and then details the creation of death camps for the slaughter of remaining Jews. There are some new survivor stories here about Jews being rounded up and shot or sometimes escaping into hiding, but viewers of earlier DVDs will learn little they did not know already. One new aspect of survival described here is teaming up with nonrelatives to increase survival chances through cooperation. The film then makes a point of mentioning Jewish partisans and resistance fighters, but there are no survivor stories here. Finally, *Jewish Responses* insists again that Jews responded to the Holocaust persistently and assertively, even if most were killed. That is true, but this final film in the series adds relatively little to the excellent proof presented in the heart-wrenching tales told earlier.

## A REVIEW ESSAY

### J.M. ROBERTS AND SUSAN WISE BAUER: TWO GREAT HISTORIANS, TWO DIFFERENT APPROACHES

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Fishers, Indiana

Susan Wise Bauer. *The History of the Ancient World: From the Earliest Accounts to the Fall of Rome*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2007. Pp. 896. Cloth, \$35. ISBN: 978-0393059748.

Susan Wise Bauer. *The History of the Medieval World: From the Conversion of Constantine to the First Crusade*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2010. Pp. 746. Cloth, \$35. ISBN: 978-0393059755.

Susan Wise Bauer. *The History of the Renaissance World: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Conquest of Constantinople*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2013. Pp. 816. Cloth, \$35. ISBN: 978-0393059762.

J.M. Roberts. *The History of the World*. Sixth ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. 1280. Cloth, \$45. ISBN 978-0199936762.

Most historians, and therefore most history books, focus on relatively manageable topics such as wars, social movements, or (increasingly) commodities and technologies. Not many decide to spend a career writing the history of the world. The scarcity of historical writers who make the attempt to write a thorough world history, therefore, makes the recent publication of a new sixth edition of J.M. Roberts' *The History of the World* (2013) and the first three volumes of a history of the world, entitled *The History of the World: From the Earliest Accounts to the Fall of Rome* (2007), *The History of the Medieval World: From the Conversion of Constantine to the First Crusade* (2010), and *The History of the Renaissance World: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Conquest of Constantinople* (2013), by Susan Wise Bauer all the more important. For teachers of world history, the authors each offer very different scholarly approaches to the discipline that are useful in different ways. Where Roberts offers grand connections, Bauer offers specifics; where Roberts focuses on Western Civilization, Bauer provides rigorous balance with the civilizations of Islam and East Asia; and where Roberts occasionally sails high above his source material, Bauer reminds her readers constantly of how closely tied her narrative is to classical sources.

Since Bauer has written three volumes so far, enough material exists to discuss the different tactics used by the authors. The differences to Roberts exist throughout

Bauer's work, but for the sake of brevity, I will use only three examples. The single Roberts volume will be compared with excerpts from each of the three Bauer books.

When Roberts writes about ancient Sumer, he summarizes the content and keeps his material hidden:

Sumerian civilization had deep roots. The people had long shared a way of life not very different from that of their neighbors. They lived in villages and had a few important cult centres which were continuously occupied. One of these, at a place called Eridu, probably originated in about 5000 BC. It grew steadily well into historic times and by the middle of the fourth millennium there was a temple which some have thought to have provided the original model for Mesopotamian monumental architecture ... (p. 52).

Bauer's approach is more specific and she cites the source material in her text:

After the Great Flood, the Sumerian king list tells us that the city of Kish—to the north, surrounded by cornfields—became the new center of kingship. The list begins over again, with a series of kings generally known as "The First Dynasty of Kish." The first ruler of Kish was a man called Gaur; next came the magnificently named Fulla-Ndapa-annapad; after that, another nineteen kings led right down to Enmebarggesi, the twenty-second king after the flood. Thanks to inscriptions, we know that Emmebaraggesi ruled around 2700, the first date that we can assign to a Sumerian king (p. 17).

The treatment of non-European civilizations represents the most striking difference between the world history of Roberts and that of Bauer. The sixth edition of Roberts contains 36 chapters, and 22 are arguably about Europe and the West. Bauer's work is rigorously chronological and balanced. Her chapters are short, and each ends with a graphic timeline showing the key events from each region discussed. On page 214 of *The History of the Medieval World*, for example, Bauer provides a timeline including the major events in Arabia, the Persian Empire, Byzantium, and Western Europe.

Roberts devotes about three pages (from 438-441) to China's Sui Dynasty whereas Bauer devotes seven (pp. 223-230) in *The History of the Medieval World*, including a timeline. Roberts writes from the sky when talking about the Sui collapse:

One reason for the trouble was overstretch in terms of wars. A conflict with Vietnam in the first decade of the seventh century ended badly, as conflicts with Vietnam often do. A war in Korea also ended badly. The Sui had clearly overreached themselves ... (p. 440).

In her second volume; Bauer writes from the ground on the same topic:

[Yangdi] grew obsessed with completing the conquest of Goguryeo, pouring the remaining treasury into it and sending troops into the Korean peninsula over the bodies of their fallen comrades. The war had now dragged on for nearly twenty years; the standing Sui army of three hundred thousand soldiers had been reduced to less than three thousand.

Sui Yangdi drafted, conscripted, and enslaved enough men for one final push. In 612, he took an army reported to be more than a million men strong into tiny Goguryeo, where Eulji Mundeok made his stand at the capital city Pyongyang. In a fierce, epically bloody battle, the Korean soldiers surrounded and obliterated the Chinese troops (p. 229).

Finally, Bauer constantly presents fragments of source material for the reader in her narrative, something Roberts almost never does. Consider their different treatments of the Fourth Crusade. Roberts writes:

The fatal blow came in 1204, when Constantinople was at last taken and sacked, but by Christians, not the pagans who had threatened it so often. A Christian army which had gone east to fight the infidel in a fourth crusade was turned against the empire by the Venetians. It terrorized and pillaged the city (this was when the bronze horses of the Hippodrome were carried off to stand, as they did until the early 1980s, in front of St. Mark's cathedral in Venice), and enthroned a prostitute in the patriarch's seat in St. Sophia (p. 373).

In *The History of the Renaissance World*, Bauer's narrative presents the reader with the source material:

On the morning of April 13, Constantinople lay under Crusader control, and the Crusaders began to strip the city clean. "Gold and silver, table-services and precious stones, satin and silk," writes Villehardouin, "mantles of squirrel fur, ermine and miniver, and every choice thing to be found on this earth ... (p. 180).

Bauer goes on to include a full paragraph from this account and then another full paragraph from an Islamic source about the same event. Only rarely does a reader encounter an historical writer who makes such extensive use of primary evidence.

World history as a subject remains a relatively young field. One might trace its origins to the 1922 publication of *A Short History of the World* by H.G. Wells, who is better remembered for his imaginative science fiction. Roberts published the first



edition of *The History of the World* in 1976 and spent much of the rest of his life updating and revising the work. Shorter versions of the original were published, as were sections dealing only with Europe. Roberts, an Oxford professor, became a recognizable public figure in Britain when he presented his ideas about Western history on a BBC documentary in the mid-1980s.

Roberts' work did more to popularize world history than any other. His book, despite its intimidating page count, sold over a million copies. The gaps he left, chronicled above, have more to do with a lack of source material than a lack of scholarship. O.A. Westad, the editor of the sixth edition, explains in his introduction that Roberts continued updating his world history and was in the process of adding more about Eastern history when he died in 2003. Westad's additions to the sixth edition mostly include the addition of material only recently available to historians about Eastern and Islamic societies.

Because of the relative youth of world history as a discrete approach, and because of the incompleteness of the Roberts text, it is tempting, then, to look at Bauer's work as another step in the evolution of world history. Her work is undoubtedly more comprehensive, her story more detailed, and her mastery of the source material more impressive. I would caution against that interpretation, however. Although both Roberts and Bauer wrote for a general audience, they seemed to have different aims. We might understand the Roberts book as being character driven, and the West features as the protagonist. Bauer's volumes are plot-driven and lack a central character. The story is the main character, and she is not constrained by the single-volume format as Roberts was.

Twelve years ago, upon learning that I had procured a position as a seventh-grade teacher of world history, I hustled to the bookstore and discovered the Roberts text. That year, when budget cuts had eliminated my textbooks, I relied on Roberts almost exclusively for my content area knowledge (inexplicably, I had been given a license to teach world history without ever having had a course on the topic as a whole). That year, I treated *The History of the World* with a reverence that people normally reserve for holy books. More recently, I bought a copy to give to my first student teacher upon her departure.

But now I teach Advanced Placement World History, and my content-area knowledge is in a different place. AP World History leans toward the East, and Bauer's approach to her subject with its geographic balance and detailed explanations, proves more valuable to me now. Bauer and Roberts complement each other, and I return constantly to both authors for content area guidance when shaping my lesson plans, which is this teacher's compliment to them both.

## BOOK REVIEWS

David J. Staley. *Computers, Visualization, and History: How New Technology Will Transform Our Understanding of the Past*. Second ed. Armond, NY and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2013. Pp. 213. Paper, \$28.95; ISBN 978-0-7656-3387-3.

Historians are “word people.” Writing is the idiom we use to communicate about the past; it is how we create order out of the chaos of history. We publish scholarly articles and monographs to achieve status as professionals. We might use computers for word-processing while the real impact of computer technology has been as a graphic tool. In *Computers, Visualization, and History*, David Staley, associate professor and director of the Harvey Goldberg Center for Excellence in Teaching in the history department at the Ohio State University, challenges historians to recognize this potential of computers to alter the ways in which we think about the past and how we present that knowledge.

*Computers, Visualization, and History*, now in a second edition, is informed by practical applications of the theoretical framework presented in the original 2003 publication. The first three chapters, largely unchanged, focus on theoretical observations about prose, its place in history, and on visualizations as an alternative medium for historical narrative. The choice of medium is an “information design decision” with implications to the form and shape of the ideas presented. Written language shapes the past as linear and sequential; visual syntax, on the other hand, allows us to present information in its dimensionality. Staley defines visualization as “the organization of meaningful information in two- and three-dimensional spatial form intended to further a systemic inquiry.” It is not merely decorative or supplemental to the written word but the main carrier of information, a type of “cognitive art.” Historians tend to view visual displays as “not serious” history; Staley argues that a well-designed and researched visual display is a type of secondary source and an alternate way of presenting historical thought and systematic inquiry.

Chapters Four and Five take a closer look at visualizations. Computer-aided visual narratives, or virtual history, allow the viewer to experience the past on multiple levels. Staley convincingly demonstrates that such visualizations are equal to written prose as conveyors of knowledge and as tools for thinking about the past. But instead of presenting the past as a sentence, they present it as “architecture,” and the historian becomes the architect of historical space. Finally, Staley moves into the realm of abstract visualization, or pictures of concepts and ideas, requiring that we identify abstract images as meaningful vehicles of thought and expression.

Staley makes a compelling argument, in eloquent and engaging prose, for moving visual thinking into the center of historical scholarship. It implies a major cognitive shift for historians who view the written format as normative. Breaking this “institutional habit” requires that we change how we think about history and historical communication; how we teach about the methodology of history; and, how we present historical knowledge. Furthermore, since peer-reviewed publication is the accepted



form of evaluating the work of professional historians, we need to develop standards for assessing the rigor of visualizations for them to be considered valid secondary sources on their own right.

*Computers, Visualization, and History* is a valuable tool for thinking about how we construct historical knowledge. It is a must-read for any faculty member interested in designing digital historical material. It belongs in courses on historical methodology, especially the graduate classrooms where we are training the new generation of historians. It serves as a primer on the significance of visual thinking as a core competency. And, it is helpful for all faculty and teachers in the classroom as a “thing to think with” about our teaching and the ways in which students learn.

California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

Päivi Hoikkala

**Paul Edward Hutton, Suzanne Marchand, and Deborah Harkness.** *Many Europes: Choice and Chance in Western Civilization*. New York: McGraw Hill, 2014. Pp. xxxi + 865. Cloth, \$40.47; ISBN 978-0-07-338545-7.

The new Western Civilization textbook by Hutton, Marchand, and Harkness is a vast improvement over many textbooks today. The authors tackle difficult subjects with ease and clarity and provide the reader with examples, illustrations, and maps that would otherwise make topics dense and untenable. The colorful format is easy to read and its price of less than \$50, along with E-book and paperback options, certainly makes it affordable on a typical college student’s budget. The title, however, is the most interesting aspect of all. Throughout history, Western Civilization and Europe have undergone so many changes as to be almost unrecognizable from the previous centuries. Furthermore, there was never a single Europe of one people, language, religion, or region, each of which fought against each other for survival and dominance. *Many Europes: Choice and Chance in Western Civilization* highlights these changes as well as the role of humans and fate in making Europe the continent we currently know. They state “Diversity not unity, nations not empires, explain a great deal about the energy and dynamism of the history we study in Western civilization courses” (xxii).

The student is first introduced to Western Civilization with a look at the pre-history of the continent and surrounding areas. The emphasis placed on the creation of written languages (a key concept in the development of civilization) serves to introduce to the student the difference between pre-literate and literate societies. The team of authors highlights the advantages of a written language versus an oral culture as well as the emergence of cities, empires, and dynasties. The history of the beginnings of Western Civilization is often a difficult topic for students to grasp and understand, an issue which is addressed and partially solved by the clarity and in-depth discussion provided by the text. These, and other difficult topics, are addressed in such a manner that students will actually *want* to read this textbook. The authors provide vignettes

throughout the text about various episodes related to the topic. For example, they devote a page to the private life of Charlemagne or Luther's Ninety-Five Theses to show students exactly what he argued in his early years and why it caused such heated debate. This and other primary sources are available to students throughout the text as well as through the McGraw Hill Create program which provides access to select primary sources for instructors who would like to incorporate them into lectures.

The central aim of the text is to teach students about Europe in relation to its greater global context. Europe did not grow in a vacuum; it grew along with the rest of the world and was often influenced by cross-cultural contact. The authors seek to educate students about Europe, not because it is the only important region to study, but because it is an important part of the world as a whole and has played (and will continue to play) a key role in global affairs. Moreover, the term "Europe" or "European" is not exclusively made up of Britain, France, and Germany. Previous textbooks have focused on "Big Europe" rather than including the rest of the continent. The discussion of this "extended" Europe is concise, clear, and informative, as well as enjoyable to read. Dutton, Marchand, and Harkness provide students with historical and cultural contexts that speak to the experiences of the actors who lived them. The result is not an encyclopedic presentation of one dry topic after another, but a history that is relatable and understandable.

*Many Europes: Choice and Chance in Western Civilization* tells the history of the shaping of Western Civilization through the eyes of its actors and contemporaries. It is a new way to teach history, one that is integrative not exclusive. It has unique aspects that few other Western Civilization textbooks have. Dutton, Marchand, and Harkness seek to challenge students and their traditional ways of thinking about and studying history. It covers material from the pre-history to the twenty-first century and does so in an engaging manner that students will enjoy and instructors will find easy to work with. If it is true that history has as much to do with choice and chance as anything else, then *Many Europes* is the book to use to study those fateful moments.

Kansas State University

Stephanie McCallister

**Carlo Ginzburg. *The Cheese and the Worms, the Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*. Translated by John and Ann Tedeschi. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013. P. 174. Paper, \$27.30; ISBN 13:978-1-4214-0988-7.**

Colleagues will welcome this new edition of a classic work by noted Early Modernist, Carlo Ginzburg, who has taught at the University of Bologna, the University of California, Los Angeles, and the Scuola Normale Superiore de Pisa. Ginzburg has also published works on witchcraft, banditry, and agrarian cults. This work, published first in Italian in 1976, comes in an English-language edition, paperback as well as electronic, with a new preface as well as updated and enhanced notes that will be



particularly helpful to students. This translation continues to be both accurate and easy to follow. The 2013 preface underscores the importance of this work as an example of microhistory and corrects and enlarges what we know about the main protagonist, Domenico Scandello, called Menocchio, a miller who lived in the sixteenth century and was tried, found guilty, and executed by the Inquisition.

A mayor and father of eleven, Menocchio read widely and, unfortunately for him, did not hesitate to voice his unorthodox ideas. The number of books that this miller had access to and attempted to understand such as Mandeville's *Travels*, the *Koran*, the *Decameron*, and the *Fioretto della Bibbia* (a medieval chronicle) might surprise many. Ginzburg explains the social implications of this tale and the problematic position of the miller in the community. He explores the question of why the church proceeded so harshly against this insignificant and impoverished miller. At this same time, Giordano Bruno, a noted philosopher, was being tried in Rome. Both Bruno's and Menocchio's trials underscore the determination of the church to proceed against both those with the influence and those without if they challenged the church's attempts to impose the doctrinal conformity recently affirmed by the Council of Trent. Ginzburg, who is adept at reconstructing a tale from primary sources, in this case inquisitorial reports and letters (some of which are cited in entirety), tells us that he wanted to examine a category of the *menu peuple*, often ignored by historians, "the persecuted and the vanquished." This tale shows the interweaving of oral and written culture and more significantly how an individual challenged the religious and political authorities of the day and ultimately lost.

This paperback edition, although reasonably priced, is probably too challenging for undergraduates, especially in large surveys. It will prove useful particularly to graduate students as it will work best in a graduate course where it can be discussed and analyzed in depth. This rather gruesome and ultimately tragic tale will prove fascinating to graduate students who learn not only about one of the small people whose history is often difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct but also about the processes of the inquisition and the importance of keeping historical records. The inclusion of the preface to the original edition illustrates how the historical dialogue has both stayed the same and changed.

University of Montana  
Kansas State University

Linda S. Frey  
Marsha L. Frey

**John Locke. *A Letter Concerning Toleration*. Ed., Kerry Walters. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2013. Paper \$10.95; ISBN 978-1-55481-125-0.**

Instructors will welcome Kerry Walters' recent edition of John Locke's *A Letter Concerning Toleration* for its clear prose and fine notes that help to explain and amplify the text. The various appendices do an outstanding job of helping to put Locke's work

in its historical context and include excerpts from writings by William Penn, Baruch Spinoza, and Pierre Bayle. In addition, one appendix includes an illuminating exchange between Locke and a number of critics (Thomas Long and Jonas Proast) who attacked his writings on toleration. These documents help to demonstrate the range of both limits and possibilities in defining religious toleration in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Walters has chosen to modernize Locke's prose in this edition, thus making it more accessible for students in the twenty-first century. While I often prefer the more archaic language of the original, Walters' decision is clearly a strong one that will help students (especially those in introductory classes) more easily read and gain an understanding of Locke's arguments.

Walters' introduction to his edition of *A Letter on Toleration* offers a very fine summary of the letter and the context in which it was written. The prose is clear, argues in a logical fashion, and is easily understandable. The editor also offers a nuanced discussion of Locke's evolving opinions ("a sea change," in his words) about the desirability of religious toleration. Disturbed by the religious violence of the Commonwealth era, Locke, who described himself as an individual who "above all things originally loved order," originally had balked at the granting of freedom of conscience in religious matters. Based in large part on observations made during his journeys on the European continent in the mid-1660s, however, Locke later reevaluated his position, coming to believe that social stability in the polity rested upon the magistrate staying out of matters involving religious belief. The introduction also includes an important section on Locke's belief "that there is absolutely no such thing under the Gospel as a Christian Commonwealth," that religious institutions have spiritual rather than worldly concerns.

The notes to the Introduction, the letter itself, and the appendices are all clear and appropriately explain important concepts and provide additional biographical or historical information about important figures or events.

This version of *A Letter Concerning Toleration* is suitable for survey courses in world history or Western Civilization as well as for upper-division courses in English history or political philosophy. I am happy to recommend it.

Alabama A&M University

Edward L. Bond

**Marla Stone.** *The Fascist Revolution in Italy: A Brief History with Documents.* New York: Bedford/St. Martins Press, 2013. Pp. 180. Paper, \$15.00; ISBN 978-0-312-45415-9.

Is Fascism alive in 2014? Federico Finchelstein and Fabian Bosser posed this question in their op-ed piece in the *New York Times* in December 2013 titled "Is Fascism Returning to Europe?" Indeed, it appears Fascism and neo-Fascist parties are



on the rise in different parts of Europe, partly in response to ongoing austerity measures and continuing job crises. Do these recent developments mirror what Fascism was to Italy between the 1920s and 1940s? In order to understand the present, we must make an effort to grasp the past, particularly the origins of this ideology in Italy. Marla Stone's *The Fascist Revolution in Italy: A Brief History with Documents* is an excellent resource for this undertaking, for it examines "the tools used by the Fascist party to assume and maintain power in Italy and the experience of the party's rule" (vi).

Stone, a historian of Modern Europe and specifically of Italian politics and culture at Occidental College, takes on the task of piecing together a tome that would be suitable for undergraduate students in a class devoted to this topic. She is well suited for this endeavor, as she has published several books and articles on Italian Fascism, most notably with *The Patron State: Culture and Politics in Fascist Italy*. Her most recent work, *The Fascist Revolution in Italy*, is part of The Bedford Series in History and Culture. In line with the goal of this series, the book is designed to allow the student to become the "historian," fusing together secondary and mostly primary excerpts dated from the time period. Included in this work is a written collection of speeches, laws, manifestos, reflections, school curriculum plans, and other programs. Moreover, fascism as a visual culture is revealed here as well, as there is an assortment of photographs, paintings, and maps. Last, the book also includes several reference tools, such as chronology, mini bibliography, index, and "Questions for Consideration." This variety of historical tools induces the reader not only to read the collection, but also to reflect on the time period and context of fascism in Italy.

Stone divides the work into two major parts. Part I, titled "Introduction: The Rise and Fall of Fascism in Italy," provides an historical overview of the ideology. She points out that "Italian Fascism was the model and inspiration for violent nationalist, antidemocratic, antisocialist, and anticommunist movements" across much of Europe (1). This section includes a background of the ideology with focus on the culture, economy, and politics. Stone wants to give readers ample knowledge of how and why this movement came to fruition after World War I, how it lasted, and why it ultimately came to an end in 1945.

Part II, simply titled "The Documents," includes a variety of excerpted primary accounts. Stone is keen not only to give a view of Fascism "from above" but also "from below," by showcasing the words of those who experienced the party's policies firsthand. Chronologically ordered, this section commences with samples of Benito Mussolini's speeches and words that illustrate the formation of the Fascist party in Italy after the Great War. Next, documents show how the party came into power and how it promoted its Fascist ideology. In one sample document one can read the words of Achille Starace, of Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro (OND), the regime's working-class leisure organization, whose task was to make fascism understandable to the people. Next, one can see a photo of three young girls doing a Roman salute at a summer camp in Marina di Pietrasanta in the early 1930s. The final passages in the book highlight the Italian Empire's ultimate collapse, with excerpts from soldiers and Mussolini himself.

Overall, *The Fascist Revolution in Italy* offers teachers and students alike a valuable and meaningful resource for understanding the origins of Fascism in Italy. Stone deserves to be commended for taking on a major historical topic that not only reveals the dynamics of that time period, but also raises questions for its revival today. Her thought-provoking work, which includes a variety of primary excerpts, will allow for insightful essays and discussions on the part of students in the classroom.

Thomas More College

Jodie N. Mader

**S.C. Gwynne. *Empire of the Summer Moon: Quanah Parker and the Rise and Fall of the Comanches, the Most Powerful Indian Tribe in American History*. New York: Scribner, 2010, paper 2011. Pp. 371. Paper, \$16.00; ISBN 978-1-4165-9106-1.**

S.C. Gwynne's impactful work, *Empire of the Summer Moon*, is a powerful narrative of the tectonic collision of American societies that culminated across the lower Great Plains during the mid-nineteenth century. Arriving at the intersection of Native, Texas, and United States historical fields, the journalist employs the tragic story of Cynthia Ann Parker, an Anglo-Texan settler captured by the Comanche in 1836 who later gave birth to Quanah, the "last chief of the most dominant and influential tribe in American history," as a compelling device to relate the larger geographical confrontation. This meticulously researched journey, centering on the confluence of aboriginal and settler cultures, results in a work that is richly informed by primary sources while benefitting from an engaging writing style.

With such dynamic material, *Summer Moon* has found great appeal with a diverse readership since publication in 2010. Winner of the Texas Book Award and finalist status for the Pulitzer Prize, Gwynne's seminal history resonates across a wide range of interest topics and academic fields. The fusion of nineteenth century Amerindian and Anglo cultures in the persons of Cynthia and Quanah, in addition to a colorful cast of warriors, soldiers, settlers, and statesmen, makes the narrative a particularly engrossing story. While this setting makes *Summer Moon* an obvious destination for students, professionals, and enthusiasts interested in Plains Amerindian cultures and United States frontier expansion, it also offers insight into another field of study: military history.

This military significance emerges from the detailed prose that Gwynne uses to create the embattled environment of the western frontier that defined the Parker narrative. Serving as a readily accessible and entry-level work for students and scholars to gain familiarity with timeless concepts of guerrilla warfare, combat adaptation, and distinctive martial cultures, the collision of Comanche, Spanish, Texan, and American forces in northern Texas establishes an arena of "raids and counterraid" that shaped the fate of North America (53). While the military theme is subordinate to the biographical story of the Parker family and the historical importance of Quanah, it nevertheless



provides the background and context, unveiled with masterful portrayal, throughout the entire book.

In this manner *Summer Moon* provides an informative chronicle of how the Comanche empire experienced both epic dominance and crushing defeat on the lower Great Plains. Beginning with their rise to preeminence, Gwynne describes how in the early eighteenth century they invaded from the north to displace or destroy competing Amerindian peoples while stymieing the expansion of the Spanish Empire. As a precursor to military success, the Comanche adopt and master horsemanship to rapidly transform themselves from “poor foot Indians into dazzling cavalymen” (31). Using bows and spears in concert with complex tactics, the warrior people establish the mobile conditions of warfare in Texas for the next two centuries. This superiority subsequently creates the militant tribal culture into which Cynthia will assimilate and Quanah will inherit.

The bold arrival and horrific shattering of the Parker homestead in central Texas in the 1830s heralds the next round of societal collisions as Gwynne intertwines the destinies of Cynthia and Quanah with the progression of the regional Anglo-Indian struggle. Over the next fifty years the Comanche face attrition by disease and increasingly large and technologically advanced waves of aggressive settlers, Texan partisans, and finally the U.S. Army. Gwynne’s description of the Colt revolver as a “fundamental, paradigm-shattering change” that empowered the Texas Rangers is particularly educational (148). In the course of events Cynthia is repatriated to Anglo society to endure intense depression while Quanah rises to lead the remaining Comanche warriors in a final round of dramatic combat with the 4<sup>th</sup> U.S. Cavalry Regiment.

Taken in the context of a multi-faceted story that is both biographical and thematic in nature, *Summer Moon* thus provides an unexpected trove of military analysis that centers on a brutal collision of war-making methodologies on the periphery. From the perspective of the Spanish and Texans, Gwynne describes a long struggle of “grinding aggression that soaked their northern frontier in blood” (53). For the proud Comanche it ultimately represented the debilitating loss of “untrammled freedom” and “shattering transformation” (319). He does not minimize the cruelty of the era, but instead describes battles, torture, rape, and wanton massacres by all sides with unflinching detail. The resulting narrative is a work that delves into the experience of frontier combat and consequently offers opportunity for both enthusiasts and academics to gain a deeper understanding of a critical confrontation that shaped North American history.

**Simon Henderson.** *Sidelined: How American Sports Challenged the Black Freedom Struggle.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2013. Pp. 248. Cloth, \$40.00; ISBN 978-0-8131-4154-1.

In *Sidelined*, English historian Simon Henderson deals with the role of American sports in the tumultuous year of 1968. Specifically, he focuses on the raised black-glove salutes of sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos as they received their medals at the Mexico City Olympics of that year and how this symbolic act has been interpreted (and misinterpreted) both then and later. The year before, sociology professor Harry Edwards at California's San Jose State College (now University) had founded the Olympic Committee for Human Rights, whose goal was to mobilize black athletes at colleges for the wider civil rights struggle then rocking the nation and specifically to engineer a black boycott of the Mexico City games. No boycott materialized, but Smith and Carlos engaged in their much more moderate podium protest. Moderate it might have been, but not to Avery Brundage, head of the International Olympic Committee, and to the leadership of the U.S. Olympic Committee. These officials had long nurtured the ideal of sports as a bastion of racial inclusiveness and nondiscrimination, and they enjoyed support from a wide swath of the American public, who believed that politics had no place in sports. Young black men who were successful in college sports, so went the argument, should be grateful for scholarships and an education that might have been out of their reach otherwise, and they should concentrate on their studies and team solidarity and keep their opinions about the civil rights and Black Power movements to themselves.

Henderson presents case studies of sports and civil rights activities at UC-Berkeley, Marquette University, and the University of Kansas. There is also a revealing chapter on why college athletes in the deep South lagged behind their peers elsewhere in the nation. Integration of sports came to teams such as Alabama's Crimson Tide *after* major segments of the wider society, such as public schools, restaurants, and transportation, had begun to integrate, and college sports were used by fans and university officials in the South to hinder, not promote, integration. However, as Henderson points out, it was sometimes a bit more nuanced than this. As black players began, ever so slowly, to join all-white southern teams, a winning season did wonders to lessen racial tensions among players and fans. And some coaches, such as Alabama's Paul "Bear" Bryant and Vince Dooley at the University of Georgia, were racial moderates. Dooley actively recruited black players as a way to strengthen his team and reduce racial tensions.

One of the strengths of the book is the author's oral interviews with some fifty athletes, coaches, journalists, and Edwards himself. Although conducted some 30-35 years after 1968, the interviews provide a nuance and perspectives, sometimes changed, of the actors from that time period. Curiously, though, there were no interviews with Smith or Carlos and no indication of whether the author tried to meet with them.

Although a slim 166 pages of text, *Sidelined* could have used some rigorous editing, as its themes and arguments are repeated excessively. This said, the book is a welcome and thoughtful addition to the burgeoning field of sports history. Due to its somewhat narrow focus, it would be most suitable for courses in sports history or the sociology of sports rather than in survey courses.

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**Seth G. Jones.** *Hunting in the Shadows: The Pursuit of Al Qaeda since 9/11.* New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2012. Pp. 534. Paper, \$16.95; ISBN 978-0-393-34547-6.

The most significant event in recent world history is the Al Qaeda (AQ) attack on the United States in September 2001. This event, more than any other since the end of the Cold War, has driven the course of international relations. Seth G. Jones offers a unique approach to AQ's history through application of the "wave" concept in *Hunting in the Shadows*. In this work, Dr. Jones, a former advisor to the U.S. Special Operations Command, analyzes AQ's actions and campaigns to offer his recommendation for preventing its resurgence.

Jones argues that AQ executed terrorism against the United States in three waves between the 1998 embassy bombings in Africa and the killing of Osama Bin Laden in May 2011. He specifically applies David Rapoport's "wave" concept of modern terrorism to AQ and identifies three periods of its expansion and contraction of activity and power.<sup>1</sup> Jones defines the three AQ waves as: first wave—1998 embassy bombings in Tanzania to the 9/11 attacks; second wave—initiated by the U.S. invasion of Iraq and ended in 2006 with severe degradation of their ranks by western counterterrorism efforts; and the third wave—the rise of AQ in the Arabian Peninsula and Anwar al-Awlaki between 2007 and 2009. Jones contends each of these AQ waves were followed by reverse waves when it was attacked successfully and weakened.

Jones uses this understanding of AQ's history in his efforts to detail the success and failure of U.S. counterterrorism strategy as it relates to these ebbs and flows. He identifies three key determining factors of efficacy. The first is the variation in U.S. counterterrorism strategy: When the United States deploys large numbers of conventional forces globally and acts heavy-handed, AQ membership and power increases. The second factor is almost reciprocal to the first: When the terrorist organization is heavy-handed to the locals and uses what Jones calls a "punishment strategy," AQ's support and membership is severely diminished. The final factor in this

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<sup>1</sup>David C. Rapoport, "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, ed., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 47.



ebb and flow is the shifting authority and competence of the local government when faced with AQ presence. Governments capable of controlling AQ within their borders cause its support to wane.

*Hunting in the Shadows* contributes to multiple areas of scholarship: to the field of history through explanation of the last twenty-five years of AQ's history; to the field of counterterrorism by applying Rapoport's wave concept specifically to AQ and to the ongoing national debate over how to combat terrorism. Jones is a political scientist and national security analyst so his study of the history of AQ is designed to support his policy recommendations. *Hunting in the Shadows'* explanation of AQ waves and reverse waves supports the author's contention that a fourth wave is preventable if the United States follows the correct counterterrorism strategy. Jones recommends a "light-footprint strategy" focused on the use of covert intelligence, law enforcement, and the employment of special operations forces. Additionally, he suggests the United States should support governments threatened by an AQ presence to establish law and order as a defense against budding AQ support. The final component of an effective strategy to prevent a fourth wave would be improved U.S. exploitation of instances when AQ kills civilians through its punishment strategies. Jones argues that this three-pronged strategy will prevent the rebound of AQ since Bin Laden's death.

Jones offers a narrative of AQ history that often reads more like historical fiction than counterterrorism analysis. *Hunting in the Shadows* is thoroughly researched, using legal and court records, oral histories, and personal interviews, as well as declassified material captured from AQ members. His use of primary source material allows him to relate intimate details of AQ attackers and their families throughout the book. Effective primary source use is compounded in this book by the author's ability to place the materials in context because of his service as a senior advisor to Special Operations Command. These sources and Jones' ability to communicate his arguments eloquently makes *Hunting in the Shadows* easily assignable as a supplemental reading to undergraduates in an upper-class elective, but this book would be used most effectively in a graduate-level program.

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**Fritz Fischer. *The Memory Hole: The U.S. History Curriculum Under Siege*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, Inc., 2014. Pp. 184. Paper, \$45.99; ISBN 978-1-62396-532-7.**

In *The Memory Hole*, Fritz Fischer contends that an invented past has been inserted into America's classrooms. Fischer provides evidence of the ways in which anti-historians from the right and the left pretend the discipline of history has no rules and use the past as propaganda to serve present political needs. He warns that we are



on the verge of descending into an Orwellian nightmare in which joy, wonder, and an individual's ability to think cease to exist.

At the center of Fischer's argument in his articulation of the idea that the discipline of history is about questions, not answers. The author walks the reader through an overview of the central tenets of the discipline and the complicated contexts in which historians do their work, considering patterns of cause and effect, multiple perspectives, and the authorship of sources. Time and again Fischer diligently reminds readers that historians are governed by a mindset that binds them to evidence-based arguments. His anti-historians face no such disciplinary constraints, instead crafting a story of the past that fails to engage the past.

As a respected historian, Fischer supports with evidence his claims about anti-historians' misuse of the past. Fischer documents specifically how these ideologues begin their so-called histories with answers rather than questions, cherry-pick and mine the past for fragments that support their pre-conceived conclusions, and ignore evidence that challenges their political agendas. While the main culprits in this saga are anti-historians on the right, the anti-historians on the left hardly emerge unscathed. In Fischer's compelling narrative, anti-historians on the right and the left leave no room for nuance or thoughtful examination. For them, there is no need for questions; they have the answers.

Fischer focuses on historical content that has emerged as a target of those with political agendas. In the first four chapters of the book, he examines in detail the ways in which anti-historians serve contemporary political agendas by:

- crafting a vision of the Founding Era that serves the ideology of modern evangelical Christians;
- retelling United States economic history between 1875 and 1940 with the purpose of eliminating references to capitalism and celebrating free market enterprise while vilifying Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin D. Roosevelt;
- emphasizing American exceptionalism on the world stage and removing references to imperial ambitions; and
- returning to an understanding of the 1950s that focuses on consensus, erases key historical figures who are politically inconvenient, and glorifies the actions of Joseph McCarthy.

The examples outlined above focus on anti-historians on the right. In the fifth chapter Fischer carefully critiques the practices of anti-historians on the left who use history as a weapon and argue that, since historians cannot be absolutely objective, no attempts should be made to pursue objectivity. These anti-historians also see an imagined past in which they attempt to capture history as it, in their view, should have happened.

Fischer's study culminates in a chapter on Ronald Reagan. He examines Reagan's presidency and memorialization by the right and demonization by the left with respect to the issues addressed in the previous chapters: religion, the free market

economy, American exceptionalism, the Cold War, and overarching issues pertaining to race, class, and gender. This chapter is key because Fisher expertly outlines the ahistorical positions taken by anti-historians across the political spectrum. Importantly, Fischer's argument compels his readers to examine historical evidence; he does not allow even the casual reader to walk away from this chapter with the idea that splitting the difference between the right and left is a tenable solution or that a correct "answer" to historical questions lies somewhere in the middle.

The success of Fischer's book rests on his thorough research, the strength of his arguments, and his clear writing style. The book is important because of Fischer's articulation of key principles that build historical understanding. His content examples are compelling and convincing. But Fischer goes further. Appropriately, he places the "work" of anti-historians in a larger historical context, tracing the sway they now hold to the history wars of the 1990s. Arguing that these wars made history the "pariah discipline," he explains that history has failed to connect with educational reform efforts that have taken place in the Bush and Obama administrations. Since federal dollars are not tied to the teaching of history, the discipline is being ignored. Anti-historians are seizing the U.S. history curriculum, while the government and public worship at the altar of STEM.

Fischer's clear prose and well-structured argument make *The Memory Hole* appropriate for upper-level undergraduate courses, especially for students studying to be history teachers. It is a must-read for U.S. historians; historians ignore at their peril what is being passed off as "history" in our nation's schools.

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