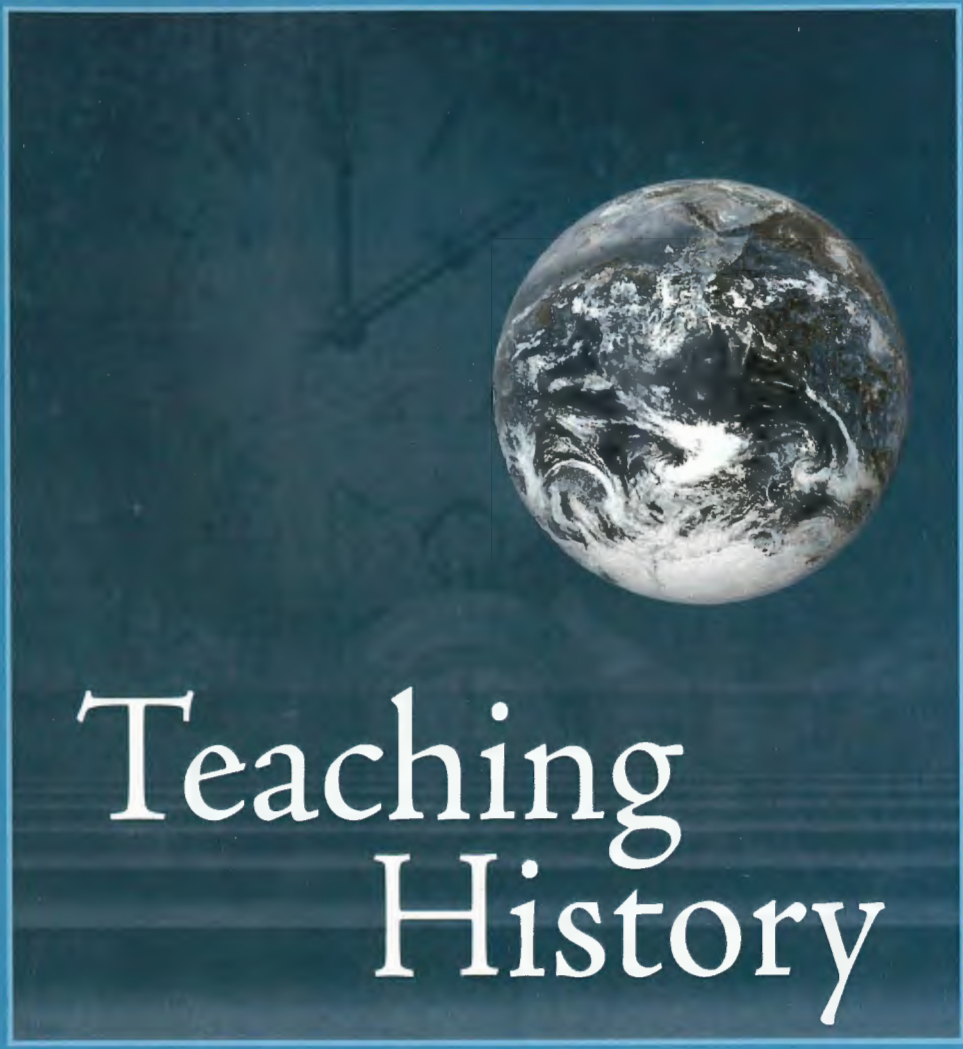

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## CONTENTS



## BOOK REVIEWS

# "GENTLEMEN, WHEN THE BARRAGE LIFTS" A REVIEW OF NEW LITERATURE ON THE ORIGINS OF THE GREAT WAR

**Christopher C. Lovett**
**Emporia State University**

When the guns ceased firing, signaling the end of the Great War, it was not uncommon for bereaved loved ones or surviving comrades to post memoriam notes in British newspapers. Many such memorials were posted on July 1, 1917, the anniversary of the kick-off of the ill-fated British Somme offensive in 1916. One note that was repeated year after year in British papers was to the memory of those lost serving in the 9th and 10th Battalions of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry. Shortly before the offensive began, officers of one of the battalions offered a toast and on the spur of the moment proposed, "Gentlemen, when the barrage lifts." The lifting of the barrage and the sound of a whistle were the signal for the infantry to go over the top and proceed across no-man's land. The initial assault engaged 800 men from those battalions. Within 24 hours, only eighty enlisted men and four officers had survived. All told, on the first day British losses included 20,000 killed and another 37,000 missing or wounded.[1] No one inquired whether the veterans of that ill-advised operation, which lasted several months, knew what the conflict was all about or why it started.

In the years that followed the Great War, scholars of all stripes as well as combatants of all nationalities wrote about the conflict. Publishers provided the public with an assortment of books—memoirs, diplomatic histories, and combat narratives—about the war, but few could understand why it had happened. A visit to the Combined Arms Research Library in Eisenhower Hall at Fort Leavenworth or any other major academic library in the United States or United Kingdom will introduce readers to the initial wave of publications available in their stacks. But this only raises questions concerning the significance of the Great War and its place in world history. Why should educators on all academic levels—higher education or secondary—spend valuable time in reviewing the Great War? Many of my students ask that question themselves, and, no doubt, many of yours do too. Many of the sources published following the Great War focused either on slanted diplomatic narratives or memorials to battles both lost and won.

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[1]Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 315-316; Edward Rothstein, "Revisiting the Nightmares of World War I," *New York Times*, August 15, 2014, accessed August 16, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/16/arts/design/first-world-war-galleries-reopen-at-imperial-war-museum-html?_r=0.

**Reflections on a War-Filled Century**

Modris Eksteins in *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989) ties the Great War to the general thrust of modernity that followed in the war's wake. Eksteins believed, much as William Butler Yeats did in 1916, "A terrible beauty is born," as a result of the conflict, when creativity and destruction changed places. The late Paul Fussell examined how a British Tommy viewed the conflict through the prism of the English literary tradition in his classic, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974). As Fussell demonstrated in reviewing their memoirs, British veterans were seared by their experience and were unable to shake the horrors that they endured, what we now call post-traumatic stress disorder.[2] Unfortunately those soldiers and their stories often do not resonate with students today who have only witnessed a world shaped by the tragedy of 9/11.

Unbeknownst to a younger generation is the fact that most of the issues in foreign affairs that have shaped their lives can be traced to a political murder in a small Balkan backwater on June 28, 1914. The policymakers in Vienna, Berlin, Paris, St. Petersburg, and London could not have envisioned the forces unleashed by Gavrilo Princip's assassination of Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie. With the subsequent war and defeat of the Central Powers, not only did Europe change, but so did the rest of the world. The Allies—the British and French—plotted the division of the Middle East in 1916 and artificially created Syria, Iraq, Palestine, Transjordan, and Lebanon. Problems that are still unfolding today are evident in a perusal of the *New York Times* or other news sources in print or on line as well in witnessing the barbarism of ISIS warriors in northern Iraq. While the principal belligerents were focusing on finding ways to defeat each other, Turkish nationalists—the Young Turks—were seeking to settle old scores with their Armenian subjects in 1915, often aided by their Kurdish allies. The term "genocide," while not coined until the early 1940s, was an apt description for what unfolded over the next 29 years, and on August 22, 1939, a few days before the start of another devastating European conflict, Adolf Hitler at his Berchtesgaden retreat told his assembled generals, "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"[3]

Not only did the First World War engender the Armenian genocide but also the coming of Hitler. The Third Reich grew out of anger and bitterness provoked by the

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[2]The belligerents had considerable difficulties in comprehending the neuropsychiatric conditions that prolonged stress caused frontline troops. Initially, medical professionals termed this condition "NYD," not yet diagnosed, and later gave it the name "shell shock." For a brief description see John Ellis, *Eye-Deep in Hell* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 116-117.

[3]Louis P. Lochner, *What About Germany?* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1942), 2.

Versailles Settlement. In time, German nationalists claimed that the German Army was not defeated on the field of battle, but instead was stabbed in the back by Socialists, pacifists, and Jews, whom German extremists termed the "November Criminals." The road to the Second World War was conceived from the ashes of the Great War, at least in the minds of right-wing Germans. It is difficult, if not outright impossible, to visualize the origins of World War II without Adolf Hitler, a German World War veteran who rose from obscurity to the pinnacle of power in a revived and re-militarized Germany.

Hitler himself claimed that the war was a defining moment in his life. However, Thomas Weber in *Hitler's First War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010) questions those assumptions. Germans willingly followed Hitler, not because he promised a new war—even his ardent followers could not visualize how destructive the next would be—but by how he effectively liberated Germany from the shackles of the "Diktat of Versailles." As Weber notes, Hitler's war experiences as a regimental runner shielded him from the horrors that so many others had confronted. Hitler hid his war record so successfully, according to Weber, that General Kurt von Schleicher claimed that Hitler's "tales" were a "fabrication." But accounts of "Hitler's treatment at Pasewalk" had no discernible impact on a German public already blinded by Hitler's promises of new visions of a thousand-year Third Reich.[4]

The First World War has cast a shadow throughout Europe and the United States for generations. David Reynolds, a professor of international history at Cambridge, examines the long-term consequences of the Great War in *The Long Shadow: The Legacies of the Great War in the Twentieth Century* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2014). For years, particularly during the 1970s and 1980s, scholars focused on what Reynolds terms "the cult of memory."[5] Reynolds is correct when he argues that memory has been "pushed too far" when covering the conflict, particularly in obscuring the direct, material impacts of the war," including the political and military as well as the intellectual consequences of what followed in its wake.[6] If only the war could have ended in 1916 by a negotiated settlement, something Lord Lansdowne, a former British Secretary, had proposed in November 1916, the hatreds engendered by the mass causalities might have been avoided.

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[4]Thomas Weber, *Hitler's First War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 287. Pasewalk was a military hospital in eastern Germany where Hitler was treated as a patient following a gas attack in Flanders.

[5]In addition to Paul Fussell and Modris Eksteins, Jay Winter is another scholar who has examined memory in his book *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[6]David Reynolds, *The Long Shadow: The Legacies of the Great War in the Twentieth Century* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2014), xx.

The futile Somme Offensive, where the cream of "Kitchener's Army" was decimated, dramatized the futility of the conflict. American novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald recalled the battle in *Tender Is the Night* (1934), when Dick Driver, the central character, informs his companions during a tour of the Somme battlefield: "See that little stream, we could walk to it in two minutes. It took the British a whole month to walk it—a whole empire walking very slowly, dying in front and pushing forward from behind. And another empire walked very slowly backward a few inches a day, leaving the dead like a million bloody rags."[7] It was that reality that Reynolds believed shaped the continent, especially the political climate following the collapse of Germany and Austria which generated the political havoc in the interwar years and brought forward the later horrors of the Second World War and the Holocaust.

**Europe and the World on the Eve of the Great War**

Europeans of nearly all persuasions were oblivious to the war clouds that were about to engulf Europe in the summer of 1914, and even today scholars find no ready call for war on the part of the European public. Charles Emmerson, a senior fellow at the Royal Institute for International Affairs, reviewed the world climate of that time in his book, *1913: In Search of the World before the Great War*. Emmerson does not seek to find explanations for the coming of the war. Instead, he seeks to put the political and social climate in historical perspective by examining a number of cities throughout Europe, North and South America, and Asia. What he discovered was how small the world was becoming because of the revolution in communications and travel. He also found that the middle and working classes were too busy getting on with their lives, or simply trying to survive, to comprehend or even notice the warning signs that were appearing in European capitals.

Michael S. Neiberg demonstrates in *Dance of the Furies: Europe and the Outbreak of World War I* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap/Harvard, 2011) that there was a political disconnect between the civilian and military leaders and the general public in regard to the issue of war and peace. He found that there was no massive public push for armed conflict, no inflamed nationalism before August 1914. Peter Englund, the author of *Beauty and the Sorrow: An Intimate History of the First World War* (New York: Knopf, 2011), follows the same path by reviewing 25 subjects living in the belligerent states throughout the war years. He realizes that the bellicosity comes not before hostilities, but after the first shots were fired and casualty reports appeared in the papers. Still, there were serious tensions within many of the powers on the eve of the Great War which could have altered the coming of the war itself.

Arno J. Mayer in *Persistence of the Old Regime* (New York: Pantheon, 1981) noted that the Dreyfus case still divided France, as did the Irish Home Rule issue in

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[7]F. Scott Fitzgerald, *Tender Is the Night* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1934, 2003), 56-57.

England, where the British had magically avoided open hostility and a damaging mutiny in the British Army when Herbert Asquith and his Liberals tabled the issue of Home Rule for Ireland.[8] In Germany the "social question" divided Imperial Germany between conservatives and socialists. Austria-Hungary confronted restive nationalities that threatened the monarchy. In Russia, Nicholas II faced the fear of another revolution like the one that followed Russia's defeat at the hands of Imperial Japan in 1905. Jack Beatty, in *The Lost History of 1914: Reconsidering the Year the Great War Began* (New York: Walker, 2012), reinforces Mayer's assumptions with the notable addition of looking at the situation between the United States and Mexico following the Mexican Revolution of 1912 and President Woodrow Wilson's quest for a new world order south of the border. Not all scholars, however, are willing to accept either Mayer or Beatty's analysis blindly.

For far too long, scholars have avoided Mexico when examining the political climate in the United States in the years immediately before the outbreak of the European conflict. There are a few sources that can fill in the historical record. The late Robert Quirk's study *An Affair of Honor: Woodrow Wilson and the Occupation of Veracruz* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1962) details Wilson's objectives in Mexico and remains as valuable today as it was when published initially. The late John S.D. Eisenhower provides an overview of the Mexican Revolution and its significance to the United States in his second volume on Mexican-American relations in *Intervention! The United States and the Mexican Revolution, 1913-1917* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1993). When Pancho Villa crossed the border and attacked Columbus, New Mexico, in 1916, it paved the way for Wilson to take an activist role in Mexico's internal affairs. Ellen Welsome, an investigative journalist, chronicles the Pershing expedition in *The General and the Jaguar: Pershing's Hunt for Pancho Villa* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2006). Mexico remained a major concern for Washington, and indirectly played a crucial role in Wilson's decision for war in 1917 following the British release of the

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[8]Alfred Dreyfus, a captain in the French Army, was accused of providing Germany with critical intelligence while serving on the French General Staff. He was tried and convicted for treason in 1895 and sent to the infamous Devil's Island. Soon doubts arouse concerning his guilt, led first by Georges Picquart, the chief of French counterintelligence, and Émile Zola, one of France's greatest men of letters. His arrest and conviction contributed to a wave of Anti-Semitic fervor throughout France, dividing the French public between those who believed in Dreyfus's innocence (Dreyfusards), who sought to reopen the case, and those who believed in his guilt (Anti-Dreyfusards). For more information on the case, see the classic study by Nicholas Halasz, *Captain Dreyfus: The Story of Mass Hysteria* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968); Ruth Harris, *Dreyfus: Politics, Emotion, and the Scandal of the Century* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2010); Piers Paul Read, *The Dreyfus Affair: The Scandal That Tore France in Two* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2012); Louis Begley, *Why the Dreyfus Affair Matters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Pierre Birnbaum, *The Anti-Semitic Moment: A Tour of France in 1898* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003); and two recent novels, Kate Taylor, *A Friend in Uniform* (New York: Crown, 2010), and Robert Harris, *An Officer and a Spy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014).

infamous Zimmerman telegram, which shocked Wilson and enflamed the American public.

Any number of individual events—a civil war in Ireland, a revolution in Germany, civil unrest in France and Russia, the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, or a Second Mexican-American War—might have altered what would happen in Europe in the summer of 1914. Still, the European public was oblivious to the unseen forces driving Europe to war. During and after the war, all the belligerents did their utmost to mask their own role in the coming of the conflict as well as point their collective finger at Germany and the Central Powers. Revisionist historians, from Sidney B. Fay to Fritz Fischer, sought to ascertain war guilt dispassionately, but Margaret MacMillan asks in *The War That Ended Peace: The Road to 1914* (New York: Random House, 2013), "What did the decision-makers think they were doing?" Even Max Hastings, a noted British journalist and historian, recently told the *New York Times* that "Germany could have dominated Europe in 20 years economically if only it had not gone to war."[9] The best historiographical presentation of who was responsible can be found in the concluding pages of Gordon Martel's *The Month That Changed the World: July 1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Even though many current scholars have simply repackaged what earlier historians have already written, their modern interpretations and narratives have considerable weight today. Although nothing in history is inevitable, European leaders in the prewar period were marching unknowingly, often in lock-step, toward the abyss that engulfed Europe from 1914 through 1918. Margaret MacMillan recounts European diplomacy since the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, from the rise of competing and dueling alliances to an unwarranted, if not unjustified, arms race. How could European monarchies, particularly the Austrians and the Russians handle the rise of irredentist nationalism in the Balkans, especially the Serbs who were St. Petersburg's clients?

Christopher Clark, the author of *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (New York: Harper, 2012), begins his account with the rise of Serbia, particularly the period following the June 11, 1903, coup and the ascension of Dragutin Dimitrijevic, a key plotter in the murder of King Alexandr and Queen Draga and organizer of the "Ujedinjenje ili Smrt," "Union or Death," commonly called "the Black Hand." Dimitrijevic was seriously wounded during the storming of the royal residence and barely survived. Later, in honor of his significant role in the plot, Dimitrijevic, whose *nom de guerre* was "Apis," "the Bee," was promoted to lieutenant colonel and assigned to the intelligence section of the Serbian General Staff. For Dimitrijevic and

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[9]Margaret MacMillan, *The War That Ended Peace: The Road to 1914* (New York: Random House, 2013), xxxv; Steven Erlanger, "The War to End All Wars? Hardly. But It Did Change Them Forever," *New York Times*, June 26, 2014, accessed June 28, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/27/world/europe/world-war-I-brought-fundamental-changes-to-the-world.htlm.

his compatriots the objective was to create a greater Serbia. The goals were obvious: First, target the remnants of the Ottoman Empire and, second, hasten the collapse of the Habsburgs. An explanation or understanding of the origins of the Great War, as Clark notes, are first found in the machinations occurring in coffee shops and apartments in Belgrade.

To learn how the Serbs exploited the weaknesses in the Dual Monarchy, readers should turn to Geoffrey Wawro's account of the difficulties Vienna confronted in facing Serbia in *A Mad Catastrophe: The Outbreak of World War I and the Collapse of the Habsburg Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 2014). Wawro, the Director of Military History at North Texas State, demonstrates that Austria was "essentially [a] feudal power whose crown lands with their dozen nationalities were botched together in the sixteenth century ... limped into the twentieth century under attack from its own peoples, who wanted federalism, home rule, or independence."[10] Sean McMeekin, the author of *July 1914: A Countdown to War* (New York: Basic Books, 2013), contends that Franz Ferdinand, who was determined to reform the empire, posed a clear threat to Dimitrijevic's plans. Even more problematic for Serbian plotters, the heir apparent opposed the annexation of Bosnia and realized that the Bosnian Crisis of 1908 "had wounded Russian pride deeply."[11] For Apis, the assassination of the Austrian heir apparent would further Serbia's long-term ambition of creating a greater Serbia, particularly at the expense of the Habsburg domains.

The assassination of Franz Ferdinand was told well by both Joachim Remak in *Sarajevo* (Vancouver: Criterion Books, 1959) and Vladimir Debijer, a Bosnian and a former partisan officer with Tito, as well as the official Tito biographer, who wrote what was for a time the best single-source account of the assassination in *The Road to Sarajevo* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966). Dedijer believed that in normal times, the murder "could not have provoked such momentous consequences."[12] McMeekin assumes that Vienna could have argued that Belgrade was "harboring terrorists," using the same logic of the United States following 9/11, thus justifying military action. The notable difference between the Serbian government in 1914 and the Taliban in 2001 was that there was no boasting, quite the contrary, and there was

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[10]Geoffrey Wawro, *A Mad Catastrophe: The Outbreak of World War I and the Collapse of the Habsburg Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), xxi.

[11]Sean McMeekin, *July 1914: Countdown to War* (New York: Basic Books, 2013), 4.

[12]Vladimir Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), 445.

a certain willingness to arrest some of the conspirators, but not the ever-dangerous Dimitrijevic, who was too closely linked to the Serbian government.[13]

It is precisely the interregnum between the assassination on June 28 and the beginning of the war that has captured the attention of the new wave of scholarship. McMeekin was the first with *July 1914* in 2013, followed by T.J. Otte's *July Crisis: The World's Descent in War, Summer 1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), and Gordon Martel's *The Month That Changed the World: July 1914*. Margaret MacMillan asked how European policymakers could have failed to avoid war in the summer of 1914. Otte agrees and places the blame not on one policymaker, but on all policymakers for the unfolding tragedy that engulfed Europe. The European public viewed the tragedy in Sarajevo as just another example of Serbian political violence, not much different from the murder of King Alexandr and Queen Draga in June 1903. Unfortunately the murder of the Hapsburg heir apparent was more serious than anyone realized—commoners and statesmen alike during that fateful interval between war and peace.

**Gavrilo Princip and Franz Ferdinand**

Few among the generation who would endure the unendurable in the trenches to the time of the Armistice could foresee the upheaval created by Gavrilo Princip when he fired two rounds from his Serbian-issued Browning automatic, killing Franz Ferdinand and his wife. Of course, the Serbian government could not admit their complicity in the murders, especially the links to Serbian military intelligence. Although earlier studies explain Princip's role, few authors sought to convey to contemporary readers Princip's motivation and passion. Tim Butcher, no doubt with the anniversary of the Great War in mind, wanted to follow Princip's footsteps from his small village in the Balkans to Belgrade and his infiltration with his seven accomplices into Bosnia-Herzegovina to Sarajevo. Butcher, in *The Trigger: Hunting the Assassin Who Brought the World to War* (New York: Grove Press, 2014), was influenced by the most recent bloodletting in the Balkans during the Bosnian War, which he covered in the 1990s as a war correspondent for British dailies. In many respects Butcher's work is an updated epilogue to Rebecca West's classic *Black Lamb and Gray Falcon* (New York: Viking, 1943), making his study a historical monograph as well as a unique travelogue into the mysteries of the Balkans and the region's violent past. Butcher did something that few writers have accomplished before or since: He found Princip's family and original home in a remote Bosnian village and conveyed the loneliness and poverty to his readers.

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[13]McMeekin, 391; for a far earlier account, see R.W. Seton-Watson's *Sarajevo: A Study in the Origins of the Great War* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1925).

The question remains: How then did a bloody assassination turn into a devastating conflict that toppled three dynasties and brought forth the modern era? Historians have sought explanations into why European statesmen permitted this tragedy to unfold. During the war all the belligerents wrote "color books" to explain and exonerate their policy decisions and point fingers at likely culprits. But it remains mystifying even today to explain why a political murder in the Balkans contributed to the mass carnage that followed. David Fromkin, writing in *Europe's Last Summer: Who Started the Great War in 1914?* (New York: Knopf, 2004), believes that historians have missed the point. Fromkin stresses that historians have assumed for too long that Europe confronted a single war following Serbia's rejection of the Austrian ultimatum of July 24, 1914, when in all practicality there were two wars, the Austria-Serbian clash and Germany's preemptive strike against Russia and France.

**Color-Coded Books with Justifications for War**

| Country of Origin | Color | Publication Date |
|---|---|---|
| Germany | *White Book* | August 1914 |
| Great Britain | *Blue Book* | August 1914 |
| Russia | *Orange Book* | September 1914 |
| Belgium | *Grey Book* | October 1914 |
| France | *Yellow Book* | November 1914 |
| Austria-Hungary | *Red Book* | June 1915 |

Source: Gordon Martel, *The Month That Changed the World: July 1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 402.

Much like Fritz Fischer, Fromkin believes that Germany, particularly the chief of the German General Staff, Helmuth von Moltke, anticipated that Germany was confronting an untenable situation of two unrelenting foes—France and Russia—and realized that Germany faced an existential threat vis-à-vis the Entente powers. Therefore, Germany needed to embark on a preemptive strike before, as military scholars would say, the correlation of forces would overwhelm Imperial Germany. The assassination provided the justification, according to Fromkin, for Germany to unleash her military might before France and Russia became even more of a threat to Germany's national security. In Fromkin's estimation, time was not on Germany's side. On the other hand, Emperor Franz Joseph, Field Marshal Conrad von Hotzendorf, and Foreign Minister Count Leopold von Berchtold, with the lukewarm support of the Hungarian Prime Minister Count Istvan Tisza, sought a localized conflict between Austria and Serbia. More problematic, no one sought to stop Berchtold's plan, which

was designed "to crush Serbia without outside interference." Quickly the Austrians discovered "their German ally had been working at cross purposes."[14] Vienna had expected Berlin to keep Russia at bay while the Austrians made short work of the Serbs. Instead Moltke told Conrad to concentrate Austrian forces not against Serbia but in Galicia along the Russian border. In Fromkin's assessment the blame for the catastrophe of 1914 was Germany's and Germany's alone.

**Pointing Fingers**

Otte, writing much later, took a different tact in looking at the failure to avoid the European-wide conflict that engulfed the Great Powers. Otte correctly notes that all the principal Powers failed to comprehend the profound implications of the assassination for European stability. According to Otte, both Poincaré, the French President, and Sazonov, the Tsarist Foreign Minister, regarded "'clarity of intention' as the best means of ensuring that the two Germanic Powers disengaged" from seeking a military solution to the crisis. However, did that actually happen? Unfortunately, British ambiguity, which had worked earlier in the century, was "not sufficient to restrain either Berlin or Vienna or force moderation on St. Petersburg and Paris" in 1914.[15]

More problematic for Otte was the inability of the Powers to visualize the changing diplomatic landscape in the early twentieth century. Otte believes "the field of vision of the continental Powers had narrowed" and they did not realize that Austria-Hungary had slipped from the ranks of the Great Powers to a "greater Regional Power," primarily focusing on the Balkans and the Serbian threat. Although for years historians had argued one of the principal causations for the conflict was the alliance system, Otte disagrees, highlighting that it was the quality of the statesmen in St. Petersburg, Vienna, Budapest, Berlin, Paris, and London, who failed to understand the consequences of supporting their allies. For the French, Paris was "driven by a perceived need to demonstrate to Russia that France, herself, was alliance worthy." While Britain was an alliance member, "her ties with France and Russia on account of the colonial and imperial arrangements with these two powers had grown more distant on the eve of Sarajevo." As a result, Otte feels, "Talk of the alliance 'system' as one of the contributing factors to the war, is exaggerated."[16]

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[14]David Fromkin, *Europe's Last Summer: Who Started the Great War in 1914?* (New York: Knopf, 2004), 299.

[15]T.G. Otte, *July Crisis: The World's Descent into War, Summer 1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 508.

[16]Otte, 509-510.

Sean McMeekin in his earlier study, *The Russian Origins of the First World War* (Cambridge: Belknap/Harvard, 2011), believes Nicholas II's government successfully managed to avoid criticism for its part in the conflict. McMeekin relates that a powerful clique within Russian officialdom assumed, much like Germany, that Russia was encircled by hostile powers—Austria-Hungary, Germany, and the Ottoman Empire. St. Petersburg constantly feared a "Crimean coalition" that "was replaced, after 1878, with dread of an even more bewildering 'Congress of Berlin syndrome,' wherein, despite Russia having for once fought a war against Turkey in which no enemy coalition had coalesced, diplomatic defeat had nevertheless been snatched from the jaws of victory on the battlefield."[17]

McMeekin feels that most accounts looking at the July Crisis fail to review Russian Balkan policy from the Balkan Wars through the assassination in Sarajevo. McMeekin notes that the Russians were not only revising Plan 19, Russia's initial operational mobilization plan, but also preparing for an amphibious operation to seize the Straits. Russia, as well as the other Powers, long assumed that the Ottoman Empire was about to collapse and actively planned to use the Black Sea Fleet and Imperial Army from the Odessa Military District to achieve St. Petersburg's objective. After reviewing the sources, he stressed that Russia opposed Berlin's posting of Liman von Sander to command the Turkish garrisons along the Straits, as well as their opposition to Britain's selling two Dreadnoughts to the Turks, because these were significant obstacles to Russia's on-going plans for the Straits.

McMeekin also surmises that St. Petersburg was aghast as Nicholai Hartwig, Nicholas II's ambassador who mobilized the Balkan coalition against the Turks during the First Balkan War, now threatened Russia's prime objective, Constantinople, in 1912. While this was occurring, McMeekin believes, the Russians "sanctioned a 'trial mobilization' in Poland as the war broke in October. On November 22, 1912, Russia's war minister, Sukhomlinov, prepared orders for a full-on yet 'partial' mobilization of the military districts of Warsaw (that is Russian Poland, targeting Austrian Galicia), Kiev (Russian Ukraine, targeting same), and, intriguingly, Odessa (from which an amphibious operation in Constantinople might be launched)." McMeekin believes that the most fascinating aspect of this move was that it was "almost identical to the one that would be mooted in July 1914 ... for Russia to appear to mobilize 'against Austria alone,' so as not to alarm the Germans."[18]

From the available evidence, McMeekin realizes that earlier scholars, especially those writing shortly after the war, assumed that St. Petersburg was less complicit than Germany and Austria. Unfortunately Russia, he believes, bears more responsibility

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[17]Sean McMeekin, *The Russian Origins of the First World War* (Cambridge: Belknap/Harvard, 2011), 23.

[18]Ibid., 24.

than many have assumed. In both of his works, *The Russian Origins of the First World War* and *July 1914*, McMeekin points to the assassination itself, and after reviewing the ground-breaking work of Luigi Albertini, *The Origins of the War of 1914*, stresses that the surviving participants do link the Russian military attaché, General Viktor Artamonov, to "Apis." One Serbian officer recalled that Artamonov, who later claimed he was not in Belgrade at the time of the event, actually gave the Serbs the go-ahead for the murder. The Russian ambassador, Nikolai Hartwig, also claimed he was not in Belgrade at the time.

More problematic was the official meeting between Poincaré and Viviani and Nicholas II and Sazonov. Records are missing that could explain Russian and French collaboration at the time of the issuance of Vienna's ultimatum. France, it appears from all the sources, was not willing to support Russian plans fully. Sazonov, in meeting with the military staff, told staff officers to plan for a partial Russian mobilization, which was conceivable according to Plan 19. Still Sazonov believed it was possible to conduct a partial mobilization against Austria, without threatening Germany, a move that was operationally impossible, because mobilization of the Warsaw Military District would threaten Germany as seen from Berlin. The Russians had hoped that they could conduct the mobilization in secret, something that was difficult for the Russians to implement.

The "Blank Check" to Austria by the German Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg, and the Emperor, William II, clearly pointed to Germany's guilt in the war's causation. However, their action should be viewed in light of the full range of documentary materials supporting claims that both Berlin and Vienna were complicit in the conflict. For Berlin, speed was critical, but that was impossible because of the internal politics of the Dual Monarchy and Count Tisza's conditional support for Berchtold's plan for military action against Belgrade. From those events we know what followed: Russia supported Serbia, France did not abandon Russia, and London stood by both Russia and France, resulting in world war. McMeekin asserts that "was hardly the way Germany wanted the story to turn out." Bethmann Hollweg's failure was that, when he "called the bluff of the Entente Powers," much to his complete surprise, Serbia "did not blink."[19]

**Mistakes, Misunderstandings, and Miscommunications**

During the anniversary summer of the Great War, the media made much of how the First World War began by both mistake and miscalculation and how a relatively little known event, an assassination in Sarajevo, could spark a conflict of horrific proportions never envisioned by European statesmen. Barbara Tuchman had foreshadowed this interpretation in her 1962 bestseller, *The Guns of August*, which

[19]Ibid., 45.

remained on the *New York Times Bestseller List* for 42 weeks. The central premise of her classic study was that the Great War was the result of policymakers making decisions without fully comprehending the potential consequences.[20]

The new sources concerning the July Crisis take a more nuanced approach to the outbreak of hostilities in 1914 than did Sidney B. Fay, Harry Elmer Barnes, Bernadotte Schmitt, Luigi Albertini, and Fritz Fischer, not because of access to more sources, but by the realization that all of the principal statesmen were directly or indirectly complicit in the tragedy following the assassination of Franz Ferdinand. All of the statesmen—Berchtold, Bethmann Hollweg, Poincaré, Sazonov, and Grey—in one manner or another failed to visualize the consequences of a general war upon future European stability. They all permitted a single terrorist act, one which they normally would have condemned jointly, to cloud their judgment. Instead of seeking a Europe-wide response among the Powers, they sought geopolitical gain or the weakening of their perceived adversaries. The Great War did not have to happen. It was not ordained by earlier events, it was simply the failure of the best and brightest of the European aristocracy to realize that once wars begin it is nearly impossible to halt the carnage once the battle has been engaged, to the detriment of millions of men killed and the fate of the European dynastic system.

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[20]John F. Kennedy read *The Guns of August* and was deeply "concerned with the unintended consequences of war after becoming commander in chief." According to Michael Dobbs, "the president was so impressed by the book that he often quoted from it, and insisted that his aides read it." If that was not enough, JFK wanted every military officer to read it too. Still, "unintended consequences" nearly came to pass. No single event following World War II came as close to general war than the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. Michael Dobbs, *Minute to Midnight: Kennedy, Khrushchev, and Castro on the Brink of Nuclear War* (New York: Vintage, 2008), 226.

# HISTORY AND THE MOVIES: SOME THOUGHTS ON USING FILM IN CLASS

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Hollywood movies about historical topics often present a dilemma for history instructors. On one hand, movies are a powerful medium and, certainly, no student is immune to their effects. As such, they have the potential to be an extremely effective teaching tool. On the other hand, movies have many flaws that can make them particularly challenging as instructional material. For the most part movies rarely, indeed if ever, depict history correctly. Thus, many instructors argue that movies usually do more damage than good and cannot possibly be used in any serious history class. To use film, one must balance the interest that students often have in the movies against the challenges associated with their use. Achieving that balance is not impossible. Based on my own experience, I would argue that instructors ignore film at their own peril. Moreover, when used correctly, movies can be effective in helping increase students' understanding of history and especially historiography.

Hollywood movie producers have long been fascinated with history. And who can blame them? Some of the most lucrative films ever made deal with historical themes. For example, the 1995 movie *Braveheart* chronicling the exploits of the legendary Scottish patriot, William Wallace, grossed over 210 million dollars.[1] Even this staggering figure pales in comparison to the returns seen by the movie *Titanic* based on the doomed voyage of the *Royal Mail Ship Titanic*, which to date has grossed, incredibly, over two billion dollars.[2] These two mega-blockbusters are just a small sample of countless other profitable historical movies.

Yet this success for Hollywood presents a problem for instructors of history in the classroom. History teachers know that many movies rarely if ever "get it right." There can be no better example of this than *Braveheart*, which aside from its five Oscars, including Best Picture, should have also received an award for a historical movie that gets almost all of its history wrong. Examples of the movie's historical inaccuracies are too numerous to list, but one of the most glaring infractions is the depiction of one of Wallace's greatest military victories, the Battle of Stirling Bridge. In the movie, there is no bridge to be found. Instead, the battle is staged in a wide, open field. The end result is a visually awesome battle scene, but one that is not at all accurate. Another glaring error in the film is the fanciful love affair between William Wallace and Isabella, the French wife of the future Edward II. Aside from the total improbability of such a scenario, Isabella was a little girl in France at the time of the

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[1] *Braveheart* (1995), IMDb http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0112573/.

[2] *Titanic* (1997), IMDb http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0120338/.

supposed affair and did not marry Edward until two years after Wallace had been executed, thus making such an affair impossible.

Now certainly, historians expect a certain amount of, shall we call it, misinformation from Hollywood films. History instructors are not too naïve to realize that producers and directors will use their "creative license" to titillate modern audiences. But even so, some inaccuracies can throw historians over the edge. For example, during one scene in *Braveheart*, the evil English King Longshanks, that is Edward I, grants English noblemen land and privileges in Scotland, including the right of *primae noctis*, the right of the lord to take a newly married Scottish woman into his bed on her wedding night. Edward does this, as he maliciously states in the movie, in order to "breed" the Scots out of Scotland. Because of this scene in particular, a Scottish historian from my graduate school days would just about have an aneurysm whenever the topic of *Braveheart* came up. The thought of the general public believing that this blatant misrepresentation of history was accurate was too much for him to even consider.

What is worse is that many movies—again *Braveheart* is a good example—spend a fortune on making their movies as elaborate in scale and as realistic as possible. This gives many movies an appearance of legitimacy. It is laudable that producers will at times go to great pains to accurately portray certain elements of their films such as making sure that their costumes and sets are as historically authentic as possible. However, they then often have their characters do things that no one at the time would have ever done or say things that no one would have ever said. This is when films are the most dangerous since these elaborate spectacles about serious topics may convince many movie goers that this is accurate history.

So if the historical accuracy of films cannot be trusted, then how can movies be at all helpful in the classroom? For one thing history instructors must keep in mind that, as the earnings of *Braveheart* and *Titanic* indicate, the American public flocks to these movies. There is no stopping them. As a result, whether instructors like it or not, most students have acquired at best an incomplete and often incorrect impression of history. However, my appeal for the use of movies as a teaching tool is not a "we can't beat them so we might as well join them" argument. There are three important reasons why incorporating movies in the classroom can, in fact, be a positive experience.

First, movies can get students interested in history as nothing else can. The power of film is truly remarkable. When I was growing up in the Chicago area, the local TV station, WGN, had a program on Sundays called *Family Classics* that featured a "classic" movie. Many of these movies had historical themes. I used to sit entranced in front of the TV watching films like *Captain Blood*, a 1930s swashbuckler starring Errol Flynn that takes place during the Monmouth Rebellion and the Glorious Revolution against King James II, or *The Sea Hawk*, another Errol Flynn swashbuckler

that takes place during the reign of Elizabeth I.[3] As a youngster, I had no idea who James II and the Duke of Monmouth were or what the Glorious Revolution was about. But these movies opened up a new world that resulted in many trips to the library. Even if most students are not that historically curious, it cannot be denied that historical movies are interesting to them and expose them to people, places, and times that they might never have known about.

Second, movies create common ground for discussion, a valuable link between the world of the instructor and the students. For example, a few years back I had just begun to talk about the reign of Henry VIII of England when a student's hand shot up in the air and she asked me if I had seen the miniseries *The Tudors*. At the time I had not, but many students in the class had and they all had various opinions about it. What impressed me the most at the time was that it created quite a buzz of energy. Because of their interest, I made a point of watching the first season of *The Tudors*. However, when I watched the opening preview, I almost had an aneurysm myself. While watching the steamy introductory trailer scenes, I read the blurb on the video jacket cover, which stated: "Henry VIII: young, sexy and the most powerful man in the world. The throne and the world became his at the age of nineteen."[4]

How, I wondered, could so much wrong information be crammed into two short sentences? I understood why the producers might falsely claim that Henry was the most powerful man in the world in order to exaggerate his importance. But why would they claim that Henry was nineteen at his accession when he was actually seventeen? How could they get something as simple as that wrong?

However, I found that these inaccuracies, which were so offensive to me, are exactly why the trailer works so well in class. After I show it to the students, I read out loud the blurb on the jacket cover and ask them what they think. As for the claim that Henry was the most powerful man in the world, this is a great way to introduce England's place in the world compared to other European powers such as France and Spain, not to mention places outside of Europe such as China. As far as getting Henry's age wrong at his accession, all one has to do is watch the movie trailer and the reason is apparent. Simply stated, it is full of sex—it would not be proper today to have a seventeen-year old high schooler engaging in that type of behavior. At nineteen, Henry is of legal age, which is acceptable to modern audiences. What is most important is that the students get this right away. This simple exercise always gets students' full attention while also conveying important information.

Third and most important, including movies is a great way to make students aware that they have to analyze critically not only everything they read, but everything they see. I think one of the most important things that any instructor does is to teach

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[3]*Captain Blood* (Warner Bros., 1935) and *The Sea Hawk* (Warner Bros., 1940).

[4]*The Tudors: The Complete First Season*, DVD (Showtime Networks Inc., 2007).

students how to analyze the world around them in a critical way. As historians, we should give our students the tools they need to analyze the written word. But I also think that critical analysis of what they see is just as important, especially when it relates to history. A great example of this comes from Walt Disney's animated movie *Pocahontas*.[5] In the opening scene, we see John Smith onboard a ship on the way to the New World. The movie then switches to Pocahontas' village and shows the daily lives of the Native Americans. I show this opening clip and then ask students how the Native Americans are depicted in this scene. Students point to their peaceful lifestyle and never fail to recognize that the Native Americans are shown to be civilized. Yet they never usually get what I am after and I have to repeat my question. How are the Native Americans *depicted*? That is, how are they actually drawn by the animators? Only once in awhile do I get a student who notices what I am talking about. The answer, of course, is that the Native Americans are in great physical shape. With their rippling muscles they look like they just came out of a gym. Even Pocahontas' elderly father has an abdominal "six pack." I ask students how the Europeans were drawn in the earlier scene. Except for the hero John Smith and his faithful sidekick, they mostly all had sagging bellies, five o'clock shadows, and were swilling beer as they contemplated killing Indians while their own leader plotted against them. Whether or not these depictions are right or wrong, good or bad, it is important that students recognize what is being presented.

Now having said all of this, there are several challenges that instructors must overcome in order to make movies a successful part of the classroom experience. The first and most important challenge is to not get bogged down in how correct the historical details of any movie are. Of course, no film gets everything right. Many people, instructors included, like to point out and argue about what the movies got right and wrong. Indeed, even the History Channel a few years back would show a historical movie and then, during the commercial breaks, have one or two historians and a moderator discuss the film's errors. This can be a lot of fun and can serve as a way to start a discussion like *The Tudors* example clearly shows. But aside from being fun, these types of discussions do not have a lot of value in the classroom. Thus, my main suggestion is to not make historical errors in films the focal point of any discussion. What is far more important is for students to recognize the historical *interpretation* that the movie portrays. Ultimately, most people do not know and do not really care what *Braveheart* got right and wrong. But you can be sure that they will remember the film's overall interpretation of Anglo/Scottish relations. That is, that the Scottish were innocent victims and the English were the evil aggressors. You can bet that the Errol Flynn movies mentioned above did not get much history right, but they had a definite interpretation of the personalities of King James II and Elizabeth I.

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[5]*Pocahontas* (The Walt Disney Company, 1995).

These interpretations—some obvious and some more subtle—are the most useful aspect of using film in the classroom, since they often are based on contemporary views and even historical scholarship. By pointing this out, movies can introduce students to historiography and many significant historiographical debates without much trouble. For example, in the relatively unknown comedy *Yellowbeard*, the English Queen Anne is played quite unflatteringly by a portly Peter Bull in drag, giving an exaggerated view, yet one based on contemporary accounts and later historians, of Anne's lack of ability.[6] In contrast modern historians such as Edward Gregg and Robert Bucholz have done much to rectify this image by pointing out Queen Anne's overlooked qualities and successes.[7] Thus this film clip sets up a nice discussion on the debate about the effectiveness of Queen Anne's reign. How deeply I plunge into the historiographical debate depends on the level of the class. In survey courses I usually just mention the debate. In upper-level courses I assign more sophisticated readings from primary and secondary sources to facilitate a more specific discussion.

Another example that illustrates this point that I use in class comes from *The Private Life of Henry VIII*, a 1933 black-and-white film starring Charles Laughton as Henry.[8] In one scene Henry barges in on a group of ladies-in-waiting when Anne Boleyn is about to be executed. He immediately becomes enamored with a young Katherine Howard who is present and during their following short conversation he gives Katherine a particularly leering glance, foreshadowing his future relationship with her. The scene is historically inaccurate for a number of reasons, but that is really incidental. With this one glance Laughton gives the impression that Henry's fondness for so many wives is based on his ego and insatiable sexual appetite. This, of course, is in opposition to Robert Shaw's portrayal of Henry in *A Man for All Seasons*, which depicts a Henry VIII that was forced to change wives for political and religious reasons.[9] Aside from a discussion on the personality of Henry, I find this an excellent way to introduce students to the debate on whether the English Reformation was a grassroots phenomenon or imposed from the top down. In more advanced classes, this introduction leads to readings from A.G. Dickens' traditional account of the Reformation, which depicts a corrupt church that was ripe for reform, to the revisionist

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[6] *Yellowbeard* (Orion Pictures, 1983). For a contemporary account of a negative view of Queen Anne, see Sarah Jennings Churchill Marlborough, *Private Correspondence of Sara, Duchess of Marlborough* (London: Henry Colburn, Publisher, 1838; 1972 reprint edition), vol. ii, 110-116. For a more modern view, see Norah Lofts, *Queens of England* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1977), 140-141.

[7] Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980); Robert Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

[8] *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (United Artists, 1933).

[9] *A Man for All Seasons* (Columbia Pictures, 1966).

works of Christopher Haigh and Eamon Duffy, which depict an English population that was satisfied with the Catholic Church and thus had the Reformation forced upon them.[10]

A second challenge with using film in the classroom deals with time. Instructors should not give into the temptation of showing or talking about movies for the whole of a class or even for a substantial part of it. Most history classes barely have the time to fit in all the lectures, discussions, and tests let along show movies. That is how it should be. A quality history course is *not* a film class, nor should it be. Film must be used sparingly, as a tool that opens a discussion or introduces or enhances a lecture but does not dominate. Thus, watching full-length films is out of the question and would dumb down a serious history class. Only carefully edited sections from movies should be used. For example, my introduction to Henry VIII only consists of a few short clips and thus does not take much time.

The last challenge deals with what films an instructor should use. This is a problem with no easy solution, since it requires a significant amount of time to wade through an endless amount of historical movies in order to find the one that will enhance exactly what is being taught in class. Once that is done, more time is needed to edit out the right few minutes that are most useful. In addition many historical movies, even though they deal with the topic that you are covering, do not lend themselves to be used easily in class. Once I started using film in class, I found that when I now watch movies, I am always on the lookout for something I can use in class. Also, I have found that it is useful to use anything that students are familiar with themselves. Movies such as *The Private Life of Henry VIII* that no student has heard of can work well, but it is always better to use recent films that they would have seen, or, like the Disney film, ones that they would have seen growing up. Ultimately, of course, the instructor can only use what he or she is familiar with. This means that as conscientious instructors, we are forced to go out and do our homework and watch more movies!

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[10]A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c.1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

# RACE, SPACE, AND BICYCLE PEDAGOGY

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In my teaching about race in the United States, one of the challenges I encounter is connecting the history of race and racism to the present moment and to the realities that students experience in our so-called post-racial moment. In the classes in which I fail to make the connection clear, students claim that race no longer matters, that there is really no longer such a thing as institutionalized racism or structural injustice along racial lines, that the only form of racism we consistently see is stereotyping, which will lose its power if you just ignore it or not let it bother you. As a teacher, I am always asking: How can I create for students a more intimate understanding of our multiethnic history by having them explore the continuing relevance of these histories in our present and immediate social landscape? How can we not only nostalgically celebrate the contributions of America's diverse peoples but also recognize and engage with the lasting legacy of race and racism in the United States?

During a recent fall quarter, a colleague in the Ethnic Studies Department at California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, and I each taught one section of a lower-division general education course titled "The Global Origins of U.S. Cultures."[1] According to the university course catalog, this course examines "how the global dispersal of Europeans, Asians, and Africans, the hemispheric dispersal of Latin Americans, and the forced internal migration of Native Americans have contributed to American cultural heritage and the struggles for ethnic, class and gender equality, and justice." To address the challenges I just described, we decided to organize our course by having students create a public bicycle tour of multiethnic historical sites around San Luis Obispo—perhaps all the more eye-opening because the community and the university are not known for their racial and ethnic diversity. We asked students to explain the region's demographics (which happen to be not only whiter than California but also whiter than even the United States as a whole), to find out about the diverse but under-documented communities that helped to define the region, and to relate these findings not just to abstract racial attitudes but to material and structural developments that enabled the movement, displacement, or settlement of communities.

At the end of the fall quarter, on a beautiful day in December with about seventy riders and walkers, students presented their research and analysis during a tour of eight sites around downtown San Luis Obispo. Perhaps any public presentation of student research would succeed in increasing student investment in the course content and

[1]I would like to acknowledge Yolanda Tiscareño, Don Ryujin, Victor Valle, Joy Harkins, Dan Rivoire, Kimberly Timbs, Catherine Trujillo, and the Fall 2010 ES212 students at Cal Poly for their efforts to support the course and make its final tour project a success. Most of all, I thank Denise Isom, my indispensable collaborator.

assignments. Apart from this particular advantage of a community-based learning project, I believe other aspects of our bicycle tour project also increased student interest and helped bring to life the dusty archive.

The tour and the course made the relevance of race and racial formation more concrete, specifically by examining racial formation through what I called "technologies of mobility," meaning mechanisms (structural or conceptual) that organized and disciplined bodies in the production of power (e.g., state power). These technologies include transportation technologies such as the bicycle, the steam engine, railroads, jet engines, the car, pavement, highway systems, and pneumatic tires; they also include governmental or organizational technologies such as road rules, rules about the use of public space, immigration legislation, city planning, zoning, home loan policies, and property ownership laws. These technologies not only produce movement and lay out spaces in the landscape; they also produce social identities—including racialized identities—and mediate relationships of power among social players. Thus, the bicycle—a practical and pleasant way to reach our tour stops downtown—worked double-duty as a conceptual and pedagogical tool: It helped students and tour participants engage with how social identities, space, and power emerge in relation to very concrete, even ordinary, instruments that govern human physical and social mobility.

In what follows, I provide a pragmatic guide to helping students create and host a public bicycle tour of the multicultural history of San Luis Obispo. I also include an overview of the course content and analytical framework, which will explain the theoretical significance of the bicycle tour. The bicycle history tour, as a community-based learning project, proved to be a rewarding and effective way to have general education students pursue archival research, communicate their research and argument clearly, and examine critically the intersections of mobility, race, and historical memory in their immediate and contemporary social landscape. Granting that our course was place-specific (keyed to San Luis Obispo), I believe that this sort of course design could be replicated at colleges and universities in diverse sites across the country.

## Bike as Theory

So, why the bicycle? The idea came to me as I reflected upon my own experiences living in Los Angeles without a car and during the bus strikes—this taught me quite a bit about the politics, culture, and history of mobility. One cannot help but to notice the race and class stratifications mirrored through the city's transportation routes and planned spaces. It occurred to me that the bicycle offered students a productive analogy for understanding the relationship between mobility and power. Bicycle movements of the last few decades—and from a century ago—offer invaluable lessons on socially constructed geographies. My inspirations for a student-hosted bicycle tour were the bike events in automobile-dominated Los Angeles, including Midnight Ridazz, Critical Mass, and CicLAvia. These grassroots "movements about

movement" engage in playful and creative contestations of infrastructure and rules about how to use the road. Bicycle advocacy groups are also attuned to the impact of governmental acts and subsidies and of local political action on our built environment. The bicycle allowed us to consider a transportation mode that had become marginalized since the introduction of Ford's automobile. What most of us do not know is that in the nineteenth century cyclists—or "wheelmen," as they were called—had once enjoyed some amount of political and social clout. Given the costs of the first safety bicycles, cyclists belonged to a leisure class with access to the political sphere. They even facilitated the transition from the horse to the automobile by lobbying for paved roads.[2] Thus, the contingencies of the bicycle's status gave us a perch from which to gaze critically upon the production of power, space, and social identities via the dominant structures governing the movement of peoples.

Another compelling case study for this relationship between technology, mobility, and social power is the bicycle's starring role in the fin-de-siècle women's movement. The first bicycles not only created more accessible public and recreational spaces (e.g., by creating paved routes and collapsing distances), but, by increasing access in this way, they also helped change women's position in society. As noted in the magazine *Puck* in 1892, "Perhaps the time when a woman most feels that she is the full equal of any man is when she has begun to feel at home on a bicycle."[3] The bicycle, in other words, no longer confined "home" to the domestic sphere but made women at home in the public sphere as well. In addition to healthy exercise, the bicycle offered women freedom of movement, even unchaperoned forays into public spaces. It catalyzed dress reform as women cyclists shed restrictive Victorian dress for bloomers and clothing seen by some as "too masculine." Leading figures in the early women's movement reiterated this intimate link between gender equity and the bicycle. In her 1898 letter to the editor of *Sidepath* magazine, Susan B. Anthony claimed that "the bicycle preaches the necessity for woman suffrage."[4] Given the numbers of bicycle

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[2]Two particularly useful bicycle histories are Robert A. Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle: Its Early Life and Times in America* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972), and David V. Herlihy, *Bicycle: The History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). Jeff Mapes, *Pedaling Revolution: How Cyclists are Changing American Cities* (Corvallis: Oregon State University, 2009), helps relate this past history to current grassroots bike movements.

[3]"An Early Bird," *Puck*, September 7, 1892.

[4]Sue Macy, *Wheels of Change: How Women Rode the Bicycle to Freedom (with a Few Flat Tires along the Way)* (Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, 2011), 70, 74.

enthusiasts among women, Anthony argued that wheelmen, lobbying for bike-friendly legislation, also should advocate for full suffrage for women.[5]

Rather than upholding the bicycle as a democratic instrument or "the great leveler," as some have done,[6] I wanted students instead to understand that technologies as seemingly innocent or mundane as a bicycle are not innocent of power, and in fact have the power to radically transform geography, social position, and identity. In using the bicycle as theory, I was asking students to critique the structures of power that establish our various forms of physical and social mobility. For the purpose of our project, other modes of transportation certainly could have worked well—the key is to historicize the links between technology, the politics of mobility, and social geography. We live amidst "geographies of privilege and power," as urban planning scholar Edward Soja explains, and although these geographies create "lasting structures of unevenly distributed advantage and disadvantage," they "can be changed through forms of social and political action."[7] The public bicycle tour offered one form of action to begin questioning our local social and political geographies.

## Assignment

The tour assignment asked students to synthesize what they learned about race and mobility with an analysis of historical memory. It was premised on a simple claim: A town, as both an imagined community and a geographic site, emerges out of both its infrastructural and its discursive constructions. In other words, a town's sense of itself as a community depends as much upon its histories—the documentation of and narratives told about it—as on the structured migrations, settlements, and displacements

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[5]While many bicycle histories address the technology's impact on women, very few address race. This absence is notable as the historic U.S. Supreme Court case, *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which upheld segregation laws under the doctrine "separate but equal," was decided in the midst of the nineteenth-century bicycle craze, and the bike boom in the early 1970s happened, as Mapes points out, "in an America that was becoming accustomed to revolutionary change—think of women's liberation, racial equality, the anti-war movement, gay rights, and R-rated movies" (in *Pedaling Revolution*, 24). A few histories, including biographies of Marshall "Major" Taylor, the record-holding cyclist and one of the first black star athletes in the U.S., note how segregation extended to bicycle organizations and events (Herlihy, 263; Smith, 162-4). One notable exception is Dan Koeppel's "L.A.'s Invisible Riders," a rare look at immigrant day laborers, a cycling constituency mostly overlooked by bicycle advocacy groups (reprinted in *Utne*, July/August 2006. http://www.utne.com/2006-07-01/InvisibleRiders.aspx (accessed September 11, 2014). See also Los Angeles-based City of Lights program, which outreaches to minority cyclists.

[6]Smith cites a few publications of the time that claim the bicycle as an instrument of democracy, as "the great leveler," especially in contrast to the hierarchy of other transportation modes, horse drawn carriages for the well-to-do and cable cars for the lower classes (Smith, 112).

[7]Edward Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 20.

these histories describe. In particular, we considered these representational and structural developments as a "racial project," which Michael Omi and Howard Winant define as "simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines."[8]

Since we had two sections of students, we decided to run two concurrent tours but starting at different points along the route. We each had about 35 students, whom we divided into groups, with each group assigned a tour point to research as a local case study. Based on their research, they were then to produce a script to present at their point along the bicycle tour. Dubbed by the students "Tour de SLO: A Path Through Our Multi-Ethnic History," the free public tour covered eight historic sites, selected by the instructors before the start of the term (see below for more explanation), that reflected the politics of space and movement:

(1) the railroad station, where students presented research on immigrant labor and the geographical and social changes wrought by this technology;
(2) the Dallidet Adobe built by a French immigrant who married into a prominent Mexican family, part of the power shift enacted both in national and intimate spheres following the Mexican-American War;
(3) a store and street that was the center of a nineteenth-century German-Jewish immigrant community, which exemplified the adaptation and assimilation of a European ethnic group;
(4) Chinatown and the analysis of class in the local white community's embrace of its most prominent Chinese merchant;
(5) Mission de la Tolosa, focusing on the culture of the Chumash, including their shipbuilding and navigation skills, and the erasure of indigenous culture and history subsequent to the arrival of Spanish missionaries;
(6) Murray Adobe, home of prominent citizen Walter Murray who led the Vigilance Committee as political power and land were transferred from Mexicans to Americans;
(7) Japantown, its pre-war community, and the impact of internment
(8) Brook Street, an African-American neighborhood formed in the vacuum created by the internment of Japanese-Americans and the seat of a local civil rights movement.

The students were not only tasked with uncovering for themselves hidden histories and thereby bearing witness to an often unmarked presence in the landscape; they also were

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[8]Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, second ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994), 56.

challenged to understand the material conditions that brought diverse groups to the region but allowed only a few to stay.

We required every student, through participation in one of the groups, to conduct research and produce a tour script for one tour point as a part of the course requirements; however, participation in the ride was not required, as some students were not comfortable biking or had other commitments on tour date. Students who decided to participate in the tour—either as tour guides, ride leaders, or in public relations—received twelve service learning hours. For those who did not participate in the tour, service learning hours could be fulfilled through volunteering opportunities with the SLO Bicycle Coalition, such as in their bike kitchen or with their bike valet programs, or at the History Center of San Luis Obispo County by serving as docents or research assistants. The intention of these particular volunteering opportunities was to introduce students to community resources that illustrate the effect infrastructure and advocacy can make on the local culture.[9]

To prepare the scripts for the assigned tour point, each student group was required to produce an annotated bibliography, which had to include sources from local archives. Students were encouraged to contact local community members for their research. For example, one group visited a Chumash elder and the culture center he co-founded with his wife. The groups then had to present to the class their research findings, as well as provide a larger historical context for the archival materials they found. Students were to evaluate what was and was not represented or well documented. These presentations also provided student groups an opportunity to receive feedback from peers on which of their research findings seemed relevant and interesting to share with the public. Finally, each group produced a fifteen-minute tour script based upon their research findings. We encouraged student groups to include personal or even alternative perspectives and to give voice to the community represented, for example, by including passages from family letters or oral history interviews that they found in the archives.

## Course Content and Project Scaffolding

The course content provided students with larger historical, cultural, and critical contexts to analyze primary materials (or lack of materials) from the local archives. To introduce students to the project and to the course—and to the relationship between the construction of historical narratives, the construction of social geography, and racial formation—I conducted an in-class exercise in which I asked students to generate a list of questions relating to race and race relations that remain unanswered in the city's brief

[9]The University's Community Center supports faculty with service learning courses and has experience placing student volunteers in the community.

history of itself provided on its website.[10] At first glance, students noted how the history acknowledges, rather than overlooks, the place of Chumash and Salinan Indians, Spaniards, Mexicans, Anglo-Americans, Chinese, and Japanese in the town's past. Given the town's demographics, the town's multiethnic history is not only surprising but reassuring to learn since students were able to see that the town acknowledges the contributions of a diverse group of peoples and cultures, even if they are largely no longer present.

Once students began generating a list of unanswered questions, they were able to look beyond representational diversity and start to examine critically this diversity in relation to power. Students, for example, were quick to note the elisions in the section describing first Western contact, asking, "Why don't they mention the interaction between Native Americans and Spanish?" Thus, they recognized how the narrative fails to go beyond identifying diverse populations to take into account the struggles and conflicts among groups along racial or ethnic lines. Students also often asked for further elaboration on communities that were once here—e.g. the Chinese and the Japanese. I put this list of questions on the course website so that students could refer back to it as research questions when they began researching and writing their own narratives for the bicycle tour.

The brief history also offered an opportunity to introduce the structured settlements or displacement of different communities and how these movements are depicted. For example, we asked: Why did "families such as the Picos and the Estradas [sell] much of their land to Anglo newcomers, including the Steele brothers, George Hearst, and Patrick Murphy"? Why were Chinese recruited to work on the local rail? Why were few Japanese farmers "able to own land, and only a small number returned to the County after the end of the war"?[11] And how did the conditions for settlement or displacement of communities affect how they were regarded or racialized?

To understand the answers to these questions relating to mobility and race, course units on the various cultures and communities were examined in relation to different technologies of mobility. For example, we covered U.S. immigration history, including the legislation regulating the racial and class composition of the U.S. and the legal and economic formation of the "back door." We studied the construction of whiteness and United States geography through Indian removal, dispossession of Mexican lands, and policies informed by the ideology of Manifest Destiny. We looked at slavery, segregation in the Jim Crow era, and then post-World War II suburbanization or "white flight," where the formation of the urban ghetto was underwritten by the development of the interstate highway system along with government-backed housing subsidies, the

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[10]City of San Luis Obispo, "A Little More History," http://www.slocity.org/history.asp (accessed September 11, 2014).

[11]Ibid.

phenomenon of "red-lining" and racist housing covenants.[12] These policies resulted in an America that is even more segregated today than in the pre-Civil Rights era.[13] We also looked at the mobilizations of World War II, from the movement of African-Americans to the city and to the West, to Japanese-American internment (euphemistically called "relocation" by the federal government), and to the reversal of immigration exclusions from Asia during the Cold War.

We also focused on counter-movements that challenged the governance of movement and space. For example, we looked at the history and the political and cultural significance of Chicano lowriders. Cultural historian Denise Sandoval explains the emergence of Chicano lowriders after the Second World War when working class Chicanos, with technical skills gleaned from military service, co-opted surplus military technology and cast-off automobile parts to build customized automobiles. As in the largely Anglo-American hot-rod culture, lowriders refused the homogeneity of factory-made cars and postwar suburbia but with a Chicano aesthetic and an emphasis not on speed but on display. Ben Chappell's work focuses on what he calls "spatial governmentality," the way that space and the racialization of that space is policed. He looks at how lowriders and cruising in the American Southwest transgress these racialized spaces, bringing the barrio to the main street.[14] Counter-movements also included cultural acts that emerged out of creatively contested spatial injustices. We covered the literature of borderland communities. We studied the formation of immigrant enclaves such as Chinatowns or Little Saigon in Westminster. Finally, we ended the course with a unit on the movements against environmental racism. Majora Carter's TED lecture on greening the ghetto is short but provokes discussion, and it works well with the documentary *The Garden* (2008) on the South Central Farmers' fight to maintain the largest urban community garden.[15]

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[12]See Douglass S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton's chapter, "The Construction of the Ghetto," in *American Apartheid* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 17-59.

[13]Following historian and cartographer Bill Rankin's map of Chicago by race (see http://www.radicalcartography.net/), programmer and designer Eric Fischer created a Flickr photostream of similar maps of U.S. cities using 2000 U.S. census data. He has since created a new set of images updated with 2010 census data. See http://www.flickr.com/photos/walkingsf/sets/72157626354149574/with/5559914315/.

[14]Ben Chappell, "Custom Contestations: Lowriders and Urban Space," in *City & Society*, 22:1 (2010), 25-47. In the future, I would also like to include an examination of Asian American youth import car culture. For example, See Soo Ah Kwon's "Autoexoticizing: Asian American Youth and the Import Car Scene" in *Journal of Asian American Studies*, 7:2 (2004), 1-26.

[15]Majora Carter's 19 minute TED lecture, "Greening the Ghetto," was filmed February 2006. http://www.ted.com/talks/majora_carter_s_tale_of_urban_renewal.html (accessed September 11, 2014).

**Pre-Term Preparations**

To execute this kind of community-based learning project, my colleague and I had a number of tasks before the term began. The first was to find the tour points for students to research since, in a ten-week course, students would not have enough time to pursue the needed research and writing and organize the tour event on top of having to worry about trying to discover the "hidden" histories of the town's ethnic communities. One consideration in selecting the tour points, especially of under-documented communities, was to make sure that students could still find enough research materials to craft a fifteen-minute presentation as well as to articulate the link between mobility and race.

I consulted with the university's Special Collections Department and the county historical society, where the staff and volunteers, with deep knowledge of their collections, were more than willing to offer ideas for topics and communities to research. I was also fortunate that during my search there was a series of railroad events where I met railroad history buffs who could provide long lists of publications and archival sources. While most people could talk about either ethnic communities or transportation history, very few could talk about them together. Though the depth of student archival research would be limited by the term's brevity, we could push students to apply to their research findings the recent scholarship and critical frameworks that bring together ethnic studies and transportation history.[16]

The second major task was to learn how to organize a safe group ride. A number of recent publications on the politics and social history of the bicycle point out a recent shift from regarding bicycling as a sport or recreation to seeing it as a utilitarian form of transportation.[17] Because our society does not usually see the bicycle as a commuter vehicle, there is a general lack of knowledge on the part of both automobile drivers and cyclists on how to integrate cycling into automobile traffic. The local bicycle coalition was an enormous asset in advising how to bike "smart" and how to lead and organize group rides. Before the term began, my colleague and I took a hands-on "street smarts" course, which taught us about road rules and about "vehicular cycling"—biking on the road with cars as a vehicle. After the quarter started, we solicited eight students from each tour group to complete the street smarts course and to then serve as "ride leaders" for the tour. Their job was to guide riders during the tour as well as to advise riders of the safest way to bike from one tour point to the next. Also, the bicycle coalition

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[16]See especially historian Cotten Seiler's intervention in transport history, "The Significance of Race to Transport History," *Journal of Transport History*, 28:2 (2007).

[17]For example, see J. Harry Wray's comparative study of bicycle cultures, *Pedal Power: The Quiet Rise of the Bicycle in American Public Life* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2008), or Mapes, *Pedaling Revolution*.

helped us design a route that would be easiest to negotiate on a bicycle, as well as pointing out where and how to cross lanes.

The last major task I should mention was assuring university administrators that potential liability was minimized by obtaining event insurance—it was the one task that I had the most difficulty negotiating. Because a bicycle tour would bring students out into the community, I had to go through the dean's office and the university's risk management office. Risk management stated that the college would assume any liability (but with a high deductible), and thus the dean's office required that I obtain event insurance in order to run the event. However, finding appropriate insurance coverage was a challenge—the risk associated with a group bicycle ride is quite low, but some of the insurance policies were geared toward covering liability for sports events or bicycle races, at a very high cost, and would have required us to close the route to automobile traffic. I had to reiterate that, for us, riding a bicycle as a part of the tour was a form of transportation— like walking or driving—and not a sport. The difficulty of finding an appropriate policy reiterates this dominant perception in the U.S. of bicycles as toys and cycling as a sport. However, if one is diligent, as my department's administrator was, one can find the appropriate policy, which cost us less than $200. This issue obviously should have been settled before the term began, but it was finally resolved on a very stressful day before the event! I learned the hard way the institutional rules for how to use public spaces and how to move across institutionalized spaces—all lessons that were, it turns out, apropos to the course and tour themes of space, mobility, and power.

## The Tour

Despite the forecasts of rain, the tour drew about seventy cyclists and a handful of walkers on a pleasant ride. (The rain held off, but in the future, I will not attempt a bicycle tour project during the rainy season!) From the presentations on the displacement of the local Japanese American community during the Second World War to the discussions of the sophisticated Chumash culture and science erased by Spanish colonization and the assimilation of German Jewish and Chinese merchants (versus laborers), students produced tour scripts that not only uncovered a rich history of diverse peoples that most tour participants were unaware of but they also explored the question of why historical amnesia persists. As one anonymous tour participant responded in our post-event survey, "I was so impressed with all the presentations. I particularly liked the discussions that engaged with 'dominant historical narratives' and what it means to retell history from a multicultural perspective—including asking different types of questions. I think this was particularly strong in the Chumash discussion and the Vigilance Committee."

The group covering the Vigilance Committee had organized their presentation around "the two perspectives we found when looking at the Vigilance Committee" that was formed in 1858 by Walter Murray—lawyer, eventual judge, newspaper founder,

and all-around prominent citizen. The first perspective is the oft-circulated one "that the committee had to be formed in order to help control the violence that had plagued the area for many years and the lawlessness that the town was suffering." The alternative perspective, however, "sees that these acts may have been race-based since the vigilantes seemed to target the Californios, the Mexican citizens in California, and Native Americans."[18] They also placed these perspectives within the larger context of movement, in this case, not only of people but also of geopolitical boundaries. As the students state, "we have to take into consideration that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had been signed making California now a part of the United States. The state was in transition from being Mexico to all of a sudden becoming part of the United States with different laws and procedures." Rather than claim that one is the "right" perspective, the students instead presented competing perspectives while focusing on how they are reflected by positions of power and maintenance of a new status quo.[19] Instead of finding a better archive or a better interpretation, the students unsettled sedimented narratives and called attention to the reorganization and mobilization of humans along ethnic-racial lines. At least a couple of tour participants noted that the presentations "all mentioned the lack of information available to the public about the different cultures and their impact. Lack of information = lack of power."

While the tour succeeded in inviting participants to question dominant historical narratives, one thing I would change in the future is making clearer, during the tour, how technologies of mobility mediate between race, space, and power. This aim could have been achieved by assigning one student group to introduce and conclude the tour by discussing the bicycle as a tool for traversing the geographies of power constructed by various technologies of power and made evident in the narratives told at each tour point.

At least my own students took to heart the interrelatedness of spatial governmentality, constrained movements, and social identities, which was especially evident in the way they related the concepts to their own everyday experiences. For example, one student during class discussion explained the relationship between spatial governmentality and the criminalization of lowrider identities by using his experience and perceptions as a skateboarder. Another student relayed how transportation modes mark class identity, writing in his final essay: "Right now in many places, such as my home town of Napa, riding a bike for transportation is reserved solely for the poorest class. The middle class drive around huge pick-up trucks while the upper class drive luxury cars. The only time it is 'acceptable' it seems, for an upper or middle class

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[18]Students drew from the critical framework provided in Ken Gonzalez-Day, *Lynching in the West, 1850-1935* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

[19]Beverley Kwang, Daisy Resendiz, Adam Fischlin, and Claudia Mendoza, "Murray Adobe," 2011. Unpublished.

person to ride a bicycle is if it's on an expensive road bike on a scenic back road for exercise." Turning a critical eye toward their experiences and communities, students recognized how social distinctions and hierarchies are produced through everyday movements, and can even be reworked through mass movements and the reimagining of public spaces.

## Conclusion: Community-Based Learning as High Reward Learning

A report by the Coalition for Community Schools on community-based learning notes the benefits of place-based learning, which "uses the unique history, environment, culture, and economy of a particular place to provide a context for learning. Student work is directed towards community needs and interests, and community members serve as resources and partners in every aspect of teaching and learning."[20] The bike tour project takes what students see as familiar or ordinary and turns it into a setting for learning. It also extends the resources that students have available to them by drawing upon the community members and local institutions. The project also makes them accountable for what they learn because they know that they will have to produce a quality product for the local community. As the Coalition report states, in community-based learning projects, "learning goals connect personal involvement to public purpose."[21]

With this greater responsibility also comes greater satisfaction. For the students who directly participated in the tour, they felt a sense of accomplishment and relevancy in their academic work. As one student tour guide, M.H., stated, "I was pleasantly surprised to have an attentive crowd with genuine interest before me. They also participated by asking questions afterward, and I was proud when my group knew the answers. I treasure the opportunity the course provided to learn and become an expert about little-known Japantown of San Luis Obispo. Now, I enjoy telling community members about the community that once existed." Another student, E.H., also remarked on the satisfaction of producing knowledge and a new perspective on the local community: "I enjoyed learning about the city that I have resided in for the last 4 years.... The most memorable part of this experience was being a part of expanding the knowledge of the local residents and students of San Luis Obispo. Watching the guests of the tour learn and ask questions about the information at each stop made me feel that I was making a difference in the understanding of our city history. I also

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[20]Atelia Melaville, Amy C. Berg, and Martin J. Blank, "Community-Based Learning: Engaging Students for Success and Citizenship" (Washington, DC: Coalition for Community Schools, 2006), 8-9, online at http://www.communityschools.org/assets/1/AssetManager/CBL_Book_1_27_06.pdf.

[21]Ibid., 9.

enjoyed seeing the relevance of all the hard work put in by everybody involved because without their combined effort this event would have never gotten off the ground."

Student comments also suggest the benefits of this community-based project as active and visceral learning. A.B.'s simple realization—that she "saw how easy it is to get around town on a bike"—shows that actually engaging in an act, rather than hearing about it, is much more transformative and revelatory. B.I. recognized how segregation is enabled not only by social proscriptions against whom we can share space with but also by the way our movement through social spaces is shaped by the machinery of movement. As he wrote in his essay: "When viewed from a car, interactions with the people and community in SLO [San Luis Obispo] are so limited. Your mode of transportation in a car constructs a sort of segregated social space that separates you from the rest of the community." Finally, one course evaluation comment made me realize how this kind of active learning can be effective for teaching across disciplines or to students who might have a difficult time relating to the theory and content in humanities courses. As this student wrote, "As an engineer, I constantly wonder what I'm missing out on by focusing on a single aspect of science. This course has not only sparked my interest in learning more but gave me hope that I can." Project-based learning that uses the local setting as a concrete teaching and learning site provides an immediate, kinetic, and intimate experience for the students, which adds to the more abstract or distant histories covered in the course texts.

Learning that offers a new way of seeing is not only memorable but also satisfying for the learner. But I would argue that this kind of teaching and learning experience is all the more important when we teach about the history of race in America. Students almost always understand the injustice of the kinds of blatant racial discrimination that was socially and legally permissible in the United States before the Civil Rights Movement. The challenge in teaching about race in the purportedly "post-racial" moment is connecting that historical legacy to the present moment. When asked why we need to know this history, students commonly respond, "so that we can learn from the past and not repeat it"—confining racism to "back then." But how does the present moment bear the bitter fruits of the past? Instead of a lesson in how far we have come, our multiethnic history—or any history—becomes more meaningful when it provides us a genealogy of the present moment, helping us to better trace the shape of our contemporary social landscape.

# DEVELOPING A CRAFT APPROACH IN HISTORY TEACHING: WHAT WE CAN LEARN FROM THE GILDER LEHRMAN INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN HISTORY'S NATIONAL TEACHERS OF THE YEAR

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> "There is no question that the cost of production is lowered by separating the work of planning and the brain work as much as possible from the manual labor."[1]
>
> Frederick Winslow Taylor, *Shop Management* (1911)

> "Skills that teachers used to need, that are deemed essential to the craft of working with children—such as curriculum deliberation and planning, designing teaching and curricular strategies for specific groups are no longer as necessary. With the large-scale influx of prepackaged material, planning is separated from execution. The planning is done at the level of production of both the rules for use of the material and the material itself. The execution is carried out by the teacher."[2]
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> Michael W. Apple, *Culture and Economic Reproduction in Education* (1982)

## The Nature of the Problem

The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History's "History Teachers of the Year" (HTOYs) program supports and rewards teachers who actively pursue their careers as a craft. HTOY recipients share an approach to the teaching of history that provides insightful solutions to some of the most pressing problems facing history education. Examining how these teachers implement their craft draws attention to various conceptions of the role of the teacher, provides suggestions related to teacher preparation and development and offers insights into the vexing problem of evaluating what good history teaching looks like. The HTOY program highlights teachers who hone discipline-specific skills and approach their work as teacher scholars. Nurturing

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[1]Frederick Winslow Taylor, *Shop Management* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1911), 121.

[2]Michael W. Apple, "Curricular Form and the Logic of Technical Control: Building a Possessive Individual," in Apple, ed., *Culture and Economic Reproduction in Education: Essays on Class, Ideology, and the State* (London, UK: Routledge and Kegan Paul Books, 1982), 255.

the craft of history teaching is vital to the future practice of teaching and learning for students. My purpose in this essay is to draw attention to curricular constraints imposed on teachers, to examine the work of teachers who have resisted these constraints successfully, and to place their work in the larger context of the purposes of education.

With school districts around the country scrambling to increase test scores to escape the punitive measures mandated by No Child Left Behind, a kind of "educational Taylorism" has replaced the craft of teaching, to the detriment of our students and society. At the turn of the twentieth-century, Frederick W. Taylor developed techniques that reduced skilled applications in manufacturing to their simplest form, creating efficiency models (deskilling), which allowed workers to perform one simple task repetitively more quickly throughout the day. This lowered costs, raised profits, and led to the pursuit of the "'one best way,' to do a job."[3] The current trend to test, test, and test some more runs contrary to the findings of Jonathan Rees, S.G. Grant, and others who have documented not only the negative impact of testing on pedagogical practices of teachers in the classroom, but also, in the case of Grant, the absence of any evidence that reform, based on testing, has ever been successful. Rees rightly asserted that "Scientific management in the classroom does not respect the idea that teachers know what to teach their students or how best to teach."[4]

To be fair, this emphasis on process over craft in the realm of education has been evolving for decades, since the advent of "Best Practices" studies that sought to identify skills and techniques that teachers could use to elevate learning across content areas and the concurrent push for charter schools.[5] Examples of Best Practices include cooperative learning, the use of varied instructional techniques, multiple intelligences, and so on.[6] When used by teachers pursuing their disciplinary craft, these methods can be fruitful. However, the trend has been to divorce the craft of teaching from the classroom in favor of curricular process.

This is envinced by the increasing number of canned curriculums or classes on a computer that reduce teaching to a process, effectively removing the teacher from the

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[3]Jonathan Rees, "Frederick Taylor in the Classroom: Standardized Testing and Scientific Management," *Radical Pedagogy*, 3:2 (Fall 2001), located at http://radicalpedagogy.icap.org/content/issue3.2.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Andrew J. Wayne and Peter Youngs, "Teacher Characteristics and Student Achievement Gains: A Review," *Review of Educational Research*, 73:1 (Spring 2003), 89-122.

[6]William A. Owings and Leslie S. Kaplan, eds., *Best Practices, Best Thinking, and Emerging Issues in School Leadership* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, 2003), 72.

equation.[7] Instead, teachers become the delivery mechanisms, with success measured in a series of nauseating quizzes, tests, and district assessments, both formal and informal, throughout the week. The term often used for these types of curriculum packages is "teacher-proofed." They are effectively a management system put in place to remove teachers from the equation (as much as possible) to raise test scores.[8] In states like Michigan, there is a push toward online courses that mimic the old Skinnerian model, which moves students from one unit to the next, or the use of a "Blended Curriculum," as in the Grand Rapids Public Schools, which follows a three-day rotation. On day one the teacher reads a script to students, on day two students complete a five-panel PowerPoint, answering a question related to the script topic, and on day three students answer a new question or complete the question from the day before. Students then return to day one, the teacher is handed a script, and the process begins again. This is what passes for "world class" instruction in one of the largest school districts in Michigan.[9]

The very reason we hire outstanding teachers to work in our schools is to "empower" their creative cultivation of the art of teaching history, not to force them to march mundanely through a bland process that strangles relevant historical thinking. Unfortunately, curricular and pedagogical decisions are being taken out of the hands of teachers, impeding the effective use of constant pedagogy in the classroom.[10] Teachers have effectively been separated from "the work of planning and the brainwork" in many districts. Yet, the Gilder Lehrman National History Teachers of the Year demonstrate that professionals allowed to practice the craft of teaching history enrich our students' lives through continued education, a deep passion for history and history education, and successful creation of imaginative and historically authentic lessons.

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[7]*Bring Learning Alive: The TCI Approach for Middle and High School Social Studies* (Palo Alto: Californian Teachers' Curriculum Institute, 2004). For increased computer usage see the International Association for Online Learning where the organization points out that there are 40 states with some type of online opportunity and 30 states with fulltime online schools that were used to instruct some 1,816,400 students in 2009-2010. *International Association for Online Learning*, "Key K-12 Online Learning Stats," http://www.inacol.org. Last modified 02/01/2012. Accessed July 11, 2012.

[8]Linda Darling-Hammond, "Teacher Learning that Supports Student Learning," in Barbara Z. Presseisen, ed., *Teaaching for Intelligence*, second edition (Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, 2003), 91-93.

[9]Gordon Andrews, Field Notes: Union High School, Grand Rapids Public Schools (unpublished), 17 February 2011.

[10]Avner Segall, "What is the Connection between Curriculum and Instruction," in *Social Studies Today: Research & Practice*, Walter C. Parker, ed. (New York and London: Routledge, 2010), 227.

The Gilder Lehrman Institute for American History's History Teachers of the Year nurture their careers as a craft. What does it mean to cultivate the craft? It means many things, including reading widely, seeking out others in the field, creating organizational affiliations, experimenting, risking failure, and certainly pursuing excellence in the best tradition of the scholar-teacher. To that end, it also assumes the continuous pursuit of knowledge, both formally and informally, in the discipline of history. The Gilder Lehrman Institute was established in 1994 to promote "the study and love of American History" and today accomplishes its mission with an impressive array of interactions among historians, teachers, and the public. By sponsoring national book awards, summer institutes for teachers, professional development, as well as granting access to primary documents from its private holdings, fellowships, and lectures by distinguished historians in the field of American history, the institute has established itself as the preeminent U.S. history organization in the country. Importantly for teachers, it has established a truly national history teacher of the year award that reaches into every state and U.S. territory.[11]

Recognized teachers are alternately selected from the ranks of elementary and secondary educators on an annual basis, after nomination by colleagues, students, administrators, or the parents of students. These teachers provide curriculum vitae, their philosophy of teaching, letters of recommendation from those who have witnessed their teaching, evidence of student success, and a sample lesson accompanied by a video explanation. They are verified as to eligibility, and then their work is sent to the state coordinators who vet the nominees and select a representative from their particular state or territory. It is a rewarding responsibility to take part in this process, as every year teachers who embody the very best in their field are nominated for the prestigious award. What makes the Gilder Lehrman History Teachers of the Year so powerfully effective is their professional and passionate pursuit of the craft, and it is to their careers that we now turn.

**The National Winners**

There have been any number of studies that examine successful teacher traits, or, more recently, models of wisdom studies that scrutinize what teachers do in the classroom.[12] Most teachers are never assessed by experts in their field. Instead, most

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[11]Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History's Mission Statement, http://www.gilderlehrman.org/institute/.

[12]Teacher traits have been examined over the years notably with the works of Martin Haberman's, *Star Teachers of Children in Poverty* (1995), Sam Wineburg's *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (2001), and for a more recent discussion examine *The Social Studies Today: Research and Practice*, Walter C. Parker, ed. (2010), which provides insights into

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will be visited by a principal whose chief concern, according to recent data, is not with the teacher's content knowledge, but rather classroom management and techniques to help struggling students.[13] In either case, principals are the curricular leaders who evaluate the professional effectiveness of teachers. More recently many states, like New York, are nudging the bar lower with the establishment of "leadership academies," where professionals with degrees (many of whom have never taught) will be turned into principals in a short time and allowed to lead schools.[14] The antithesis to that trend, the Gilder Lehrman Institute provides a model for assessment that is evidenced in the National History Teachers of the Year.[15] (See my description of the selection process above.)

So, how do these teachers pursue the teaching of history as a craft rather than a process? While some state licensing agencies have sought to deskill the profession by reducing and decimating license renewal requirements, the Gilder Lehrman winners typify the craft approach as they not only meet the minimum requirements of their craft (education, internship, licensing, and tenure) but also move toward becoming masters within the field of history teaching.[16] Each of the winners understand that continuing formal education necessarily includes attaining an advanced degree in a content area.

Like many nominees, Rosanne Lichatin, the 2005 teacher of the year, has pursued an advanced degree in her content area at great personal expense and sacrifice, so as to teach her students better. She has earned a B.A. in history from Kean University, a master's in history from East Stroudsburg in Pennsylvania, and beyond that another 45 credits in graduate-level history courses. When asked why, she thoughtfully responded

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[12](...continued)
the current framing of what teachers need to know as well as successful traits.

[13]Jean Johnson, "The Principal's Priority 1," *Educational Leadership*, 66 (September 2008), 72-76.

[14]Diane Ravitch, *The Death and Life of the Great American School System* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 72.

[15]For a closer examination of the selection criteria see http://www.gilderlehrman.org/programs-exhibitions/eligibility for eligibility standards, the selection process, and teacher requirements.

[16]Michigan Department of Education Office of Professional Preparation Services: Facts on Educator Certification, 2013, 7. http://www.michigan.gov/documents/mde/Facts_About_Teacher_Certification_In_Michigan_230612_7.pdf. In Michigan, for example, the standards for license renewal have been reduced. Prior to 2013, teachers needed to complete eighteen hours in a formal degree program during their first five years of teaching in order to renew their licenses and then six hours every five years after that. Presently, however, they need only complete six hours in a degree program during their first three years and another six hours in the subsequent three years to renew their license a second time. None of the hours need be in their content area and the requirements can be alternately met through state offered credits. Efforts on the part of state licensing agencies, like Michigan, to deskill the profession only serve to erode the craft.

that the more you learn "the more you are aware of what you don't know." It is that self awareness and passion for the discipline that drives her to continue her own learning and that passion is certainly transferred to her students.[17] David Mitchell, the 2008 winner from Massachusetts, possesses two master's degrees in the content area, and 2010 winner Nathan (Nate) McAlister, who teaches in Kansas, obtained a Master of Arts in Teaching (MAT). He felt compelled to pursue his MAT after he started teaching to cultivate a greater understanding of history in a purposeful effort to compensate for what he thought was weak preparation ("three or four classes in history") and to be the best teacher possible to his students.[18]

In stark contrast, Arne Duncan, while Secretary of Education, in a speech to the American Enterprise Institute on November 17, 2010, encouraged his audience to use fiscally difficult times "as an opportunity to make dramatic improvements." One of the "opportunities" he outlined is an end to increased salaries for teachers who obtain a master's degree. Duncan argued that "there is little evidence teachers with masters degrees improve student achievement more than other teachers—with the possible exception of teachers who earn masters in math and science." Over the past twenty years a consistent body of evidence has confirmed findings that well prepared teachers outperform less well prepared teachers in content areas, grudgingly alluded to by Duncan.[19] Some, like Duncan, argue that economic constraints should be used to deskill the profession of teaching by discounting master's degrees, but the evidence belies these assertions as nothing but a strawman erected to diminish the craft. As Linda Darling-Hammond has succinctly stated, teachers need to know "subject matter deeply and flexibly."[20] So, contrary to the beliefs of many "reformers," what history teachers need is continued support to pursue the discipline of history and the necessary pedagogical content knowledge, in collaboration with other scholars and teachers.

What drives the Gilder Lehrman's national winners to continue striving within the craft? Rosanne Lichatin, now an Education Coordinator for two of the Gilder Lehrman summer seminars, as well as a classroom teacher in her 36th year of teaching,

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[17]Rosanne Lichatin, Interview with Gordon Andrews, written responses in his possession, September 7, 2011.

[18]Nathan McAlister, Interview with Gordon Andrews, August 23, 2010, digital tape in Andrews' possession.

[19]Darling-Hammond, 93, and for an excellent paper framing the issues of teacher knowledge, preparation, and its impact see, *Touch the Future, Transforming the Way Teachers Are Taught: An Action Agenda for College and University Presidents* (Washington, DC: American Council for Education, 1999); and John Dewey, *The School and Society* (New York: McClure Phillips & Company, 1900).

[20]Darling-Hammond, 92.

pointed to an inspiring meeting with other winners, brought together by Dr. James Basker, President of the Gilder Lehrman Institute. During the meeting, winners discussed significant aspects of their teaching, and what the award meant to them personally and professionally. One observation that Lichatin shared was the profound respect they had for their profession, commenting that "each cares deeply about their teaching and each cares deeply about their kids." That deep respect and concern is evidenced in the way these teachers approach not only their own professional education within the discipline of history, but also the way they approach their lessons.

The teachers selected by the Gilder Lehrman, to a person, present their students with personally crafted lessons that purposefully involve students in the disciplinary aspects of history, commonly referred to as historical thinking. Nate McAlister stated that he wanted his students to be able to think critically about the issues that have confronted the American people throughout our history. In her acceptance speech, Maureen Festi, the 2005 elementary winner, expressed her philosophy to the audience eloquently, relating

> I have discovered that fifth grade journeys into the past need to be more than the memorization of facts from textbooks. Students need to touch and be touched by history. They touch history when they take on the roles of historians and interact with primary historical information. As they experience it, think about it, question it, challenge it, and make meaningful connections to their everyday lives, they begin to develop an American identity. They need to grab onto history, grapple with it, and make it their own.[21]

So, what does that look like in the classroom? How do master teachers craft lessons that challenge their students to think historically?

**Implementing Strategies in the Classroom**

By way of example, HTOYs offer a craft approach that stands in stark opposition to canned curriculums. They consistently develop engaging lessons and learning opportunities that require students to think deeply about history and demonstrate what they have learned in a way that is disciplinarily relevant.[22] To enable students to

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[21]Maureen Festi, Acceptance Speech at the 2007 Gilder Lehrman History Teacher of the Year Award, New York City. http://www.gilderlehrman.org/pressroom/news.php?headline_id=1230.

[22]Examine the following lesson plans by Maureen Festi (5th grade), http://www.eastconn.org/tah/CrossingTheDelaware.pdf, Nathan McAlister (middle school), http://centuryof progress.org/sites/centuryofprogress.org/files/Civil%20War%20Medicine%20Lesson%20Plan%20Summer%202012.pdf,

(continued...)

understand the complexities of history, master teachers spend many hours planning. They understand that historically literate citizens are better able to understand their own lives within the grand scheme of human and societal development. To that end, they take great pride and suffer a considerable amount of angst over how best to make the sometimes intricate and nuanced complexities of American history intellectually palatable, yet challenging for each class. Interestingly, because of their disciplinary expertise, these teachers are able to perform distinct tasks with students utilizing sources that many teachers fail to consider or understand.

In his research on the connection between curriculum and instruction, Avner Segall has drawn a subtle but important distinction when it comes to considering the pedagogical quality of texts. Segall suggests that when it comes to content knowledge, we have "not addressed the need for teachers to examine the inherently instructional aspects of content and what that examination might entail for their practice as classroom teachers."[23] Versed in the disciplinary distinctions of sources, however, HTOYs are able to glean from texts their silences vis-à-vis issues of race, gender, and ethnicity, evaluating those sources as to their instructional quality as Segall has suggested. Because of their commitment to professional development that is discipline-oriented, they have become attuned to textual and intertextual continuities and discontinuities that allow them to routinely make use of the pedagogical opportunities presented by sources. And, as a result, they are able to consistently create an engaged learning environment.

Responding to a question on how she approaches the preparation of a lesson, Rosanne Lichatin was clear, direct, and insightful:

> Each individual history lesson is part of a larger unit of study. At the beginning of a unit I identify an essential question that will guide each of my lessons, and typically, that question becomes the essay question students will respond to the end of the unit. An essential question is generally a broad one that is open ended. Each individual lesson builds on the foundation of the essential question. For each unit, I identify the *core documents* that my students should be exposed to, and I search for those that give particular insight into the lives of ordinary Americans as well. These documents become the basis of our class discussion.

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[22](...continued)
and Rosanne Lichatin (high school), https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/reconstruction/resources/lincoln%E2%80%99s-reconstruction-plan.

[23]Segall, 227.

> I ask students to read documents "closely." That is, in addition to answering teacher-designed questions which typically ask for historical context, time, author, audience, purpose, validity, and tone, I ask that they focus their attention on the language and details of the document. Unfamiliar words should be defined, and the document should be underlined in key places and show lots of analysis in the margins. Of course, primary sources may also include paintings, posters, maps, broadsides, artifacts, etc. I employ a number of tools to analyze various forms of primary sources. The questions guide the lesson. The primary sources are the "meat" of the lesson. And, the discussion that is generated from the primary sources allows students the opportunity to master the art of analysis and argument.[24]

These exemplary teachers consistently demonstrate imagination, as well as thorough historical and pedagogical knowledge of their subject. Nate McAlister fully utilized his graduate degree and his continued participation in Teaching American History grants, as well as the Gilder Lehrman's Summer Institutes, in a unit on the Civil War. He had students reenact battles on the school grounds, nurturing a sense of historical empathy that no textbook could emulate. One of Maureen Festi's lessons for her fifth-grade students involved hands-on investigation of a colonial ironworks, a far cry from typical upper-elementary experiences. While technology clearly has a role in her classroom, aiding her students' research, it does not end there. The lesson required these ten and eleven-year-olds to use primary sources, compasses, maps, and local sites, to unearth the existence of the mill and analyze its impact, "leaving," she said, "far more questions than answers."[25] David Mitchell of Whitman-Hanson Regional High School in Massachusetts utilizes debates, fishbowls, and primary sources, including documents, photos, cartoons, and letters, to encourage students to think more deeply about history. He said this helps his students feel "the pulse of history."[26] This is what master teachers bring to students on a daily basis, enriching their lives in both measurable and immeasurable ways, and cultivating a mature understanding of history that will inform their adult lives.

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[24]Lichatin, interview.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Meaghan Glassett, "A Master Teacher," *The Express*, December 3, 2008. http://southshorexpress.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2012%3Aa-master-teacher&Itemid=80.

**What Can We Learn?**

The current trend in educational Taylorism is anathema to good teaching, and is eschewed by the History Teachers of the Year. We learn from national award winners the importance of preparation and development, teacher assessment, and the possibilities that might be realized when a professional is permitted to labor in the craft. With regard to teacher preparation and professional development, content matters, contrary to the assertions of some "experts." A good deal has been written about the Finnish success story of late: Pasi Sahlberg in *Finnish Lessons* points out that all of Finland's teachers possess a master's degree before entering the classroom.[27] The old axiom that "you can't teach what you don't know" is taken seriously by the world's leading educational system. In turn, this lesson should aid American universities in understanding the vital importance of creating graduate degree options for teachers in the field. For example, most teachers do not plan on entering doctoral programs, and are discouraged from degree programs that have language, thesis, and oral defense requirements. In contrast, a Master of Arts in Teaching offers the same rigorous graduate content as the M.A., including classes on pedagogy, that are essential in effective K-12 teaching. HTOYs are clear examples of the varied needs of history teachers in the field, and universities must address those needs by offering degrees within their graduate history departments.

Regarding professional development, the American Historical Association has long advocated meaningful and substantive professional development for K-12 teachers and HTOYs clearly seek out content-specific professional development.[28] The nominees demonstrate their preference for relevant content through their experiences in Teaching American History grants, National Endowment for the Humanities programs, and participation in Gilder Lehrman's Summer Institutes. Not only do professional development opportunities offer welcome and appreciated content knowledge but also substantial occasions for discussing pedagogy. The summer institutes, for example, culminate in lessons created by teachers in a collaborative fashion that they can take back to their districts and implement in their own classrooms. These experiences could, and need to be, replicated in school districts. The cost is nominal when one considers the hundreds of thousands of dollars spent by districts on canned curriculums. Instead districts could unlock the synergistic intellectual capital of their teachers and produce rich historically relevant educational experiences for students at a fraction of the cost.

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[27]Pasi Sahlberg, *Finnish Lessons: What Can the World Learn From Educational Reform in Finland?* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2010), 79-80.

[28]Peter Stearns, ed., Benchmarks for Professional Development in Teaching of History as a Discipline, July 7, 2008, http://www.historians.org/teaching/policy/benchmarks.htm.

Professional development of the type advocated here influenced McAlister, who noted that his approach to teaching had changed quite a bit over time. As he progressed toward his master's degree, McAlister contemplated "how to get students involved, and that evolved into, how do I get the students to think like historians?"[29] This reflection moved him quickly away from a "chapter, worksheet" format (mimicking his student teaching experience), as he realized that was not the way he wanted to teach. Lichatin too recounted, "My approach has definitely changed over the years as a result of the Teaching American History grants and the seminars [Gilder Lehrman] I have attended. When I first started teaching I had a sense of the value of primary sources, but I did not know how to access them in ways that would work in the classroom."[30] History Teachers of the Year continually work to improve their teaching, seeking out content-rich professional development.

Assessing what master history teachers do in the classroom is also an area in which the Gilder Lehrman's HTOY process can help inform the broader K-12 community. Theirs is a collaborative effort (almost never emulated in the K-12 world) among an historian, the previous year's winner, and a representative from the National Council for History Education. Teachers participating in the process spoke of the tremendous respect they gained for the excellent teaching that occurs across the nation at all levels. They were also impressed with the way reviewers were able to hone in on common understandings of which prospective teachers emerged as finalists. After reviewing candidates individually, they confer as a group, routinely identifying the same teachers as finalists, then through extensive collaboration agreeing on the winner.[31] Teachers are rarely, if ever, evaluated by anyone in their content area, and if an administrator does have the content, the odds that they taught long enough or well enough to be considered a master teacher are smaller yet. However, a collegial environment within which master teachers and historians discuss what good teaching looks like in order to improve pedagogy need not be a utopian dream. It would take a greater degree of trust than now exists in the country for teachers, broadly speaking, and the encouragement of universities toward their faculty to engage in service with public schools. Conversations surrounding pedagogy commonly take place in the GLI summer seminars, where teachers and historians are able to discuss conversationally the discipline and delivery of history content. This is a model worth pursuing.[32]

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[29]McAlister interview.

[30]Lichatin interview.

[31]McAlister interview.

[32]Ibid., and Hammond, "Teacher Learning That Supports Student Learning," 91-99.

We also learn from the National History Teachers of the Year on a profound level that to teach history as a craft is to labor in a particular fashion that needs to be encouraged. Laboring within the discipline is common among the winners, providing them with a wisdom that comes from a lifetime's examination of what it means to teach history. In turn, that wisdom allows them countless opportunities to impart their own love and appreciation of history to students. Equally important to the notion of a craft is the freedom to toil daily in an effort to create the best lessons possible for students. Great teachers create; they are not handed a script, and they do not use a canned curriculum. Instead, they endeavor to enhance the craft, and thus the lives of their students. They would no more read a script than an artist would use a paint-by-numbers kit.

In the late 1980s, amid a tumultuous debate over history in the schools, Paul Gagnon and the Bradley Commission argued for the place of history in American schools by publishing *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education*. In it, various historians argued forcefully and artfully over pedagogy and content. But perhaps most importantly, they elegantly detailed the myriad ways the study of history expands our understanding of the world and our place in it. In one passage historian Gordon Craig pointed to eighteenth-century writer Friedrich Schiller: "History, in so far as it accustoms human beings to comprehend the whole of the past and to hasten forward with its conclusions into the far future, conceals the boundaries of birth and death, which enclose the life of the human being so narrowly and oppressively, and with a kind of optical illusion, expands his short existence into endless space, leading the individual imperceptibly over into humanity."[33]

By providing lessons that require students to think historically, the Teachers of the Year bring students closer to a substantial understanding of history. It is difficult to imagine the condition movingly described by Schiller accomplished by teachers consigned to a facile process.

Note: This essay will appear as part of the forthcoming book *Collaboration and the Future of Education: Preserving the Right to Teach and Think Historically* (2015) published by Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

[33]Gordon A. Craig, "History As A Humanistic Discipline," in Paul Gagnon, ed., and the Bradley Commission on History in The Schools," *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989), 137.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**T. Mills Kelly. *Teaching History in a Digital Age*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013. Pp. 184. Hardcover, $70, Digital Version, Free; ISBN 978-0-472-11878-6.**

T. Mills Kelly's book, *Teaching History in a Digital Age*, takes up an impossible subject—how changes in technology, particularly digital technology, are transforming the possibilities of how we teach our students history. We use the word "impossible" because changes in digital technology make anything written in the field look dated by the time it is published and almost obsolete by the time it comes to do a new edition.

Kelly avoids the problem of the speed of technological change by focusing on new possibilities for students—particularly chances for students to actually "do" history in class, rather than sit in class as passive recipients of the traditional history lecture. Mills sums up his project, writing, "I am not arguing that students should be free to do whatever they want, however they want—quite the contrary, in fact. I am, however, arguing that by structuring learning opportunities that address fundamental historical problems, and give students enough free rein to take ownership of their work, we open ourselves (and them) up to the possibility that much more can happen in our courses than the most basic forms of historical analysis."

Kelly does a great job walking both current and prospective history teachers through the use of digital technology in their classrooms. The chapters are nicely laid out and easy to follow. The book breaks down the arguments for use of digital technology without overloading readers with technical data. Instead the author presents the information in an easy format for teachers with quick reference material on how to incorporate digital technology in the classroom. Kelly also gives practical examples and ways to teach that almost any teacher could use while also incorporating specific examples in how to use technology. His book would be a great place to start in compiling ways to incorporate digital technology and to learn why this is becoming an important issue for history educators. His quick history on how education has changed gives a compelling argument in the importance of the use of digital technology.

The book sets out an ambitious agenda, and Kelly presents a series of chapters to flesh out the implications of his thesis. Kelly spends his first chapter laying out the debate over what is meant by "historical thinking," drawing on the last century of research into the subject. After examining several definitions, he gives us his list of fifteen key skills that define historical thinking, followed by the five questions that students ask about any historical event (the final one is "is it on the exam?").

Kelly then turns his attention to a chapter on searching the Internet. In the space of one generation of historians, we have moved from a world where our students could interact with very few historical sources (due to inaccessibility and languages) to an explosion of available material. Kelly is not a snob for print sources, and accurately points out that many fields have rich digital collections that overshadow those held in print in most libraries. However, he presents a cautionary tale of the "Adolf Hitler

Digital Museum" as an example of misleading web sources camouflaged as objective historical fact.

The next chapter on analyzing sources takes on issues such as the possibilities of historical data mining, linking texts, geographic interfaces, and other new methods of presenting historical information. Many of the examples will send readers to their screens to try out the websites and the possibilities available.

In this chapter on writing and presenting about the past, Kelly argues that the historical research paper is obsolete, and he gives a range of options to take its place. He favors genres where students can get out in the field and "do history," such as a project documenting historical cemeteries that he did with one of his historical methods classes. He also suggests creation of blogs, Wikis, and other digital tools as a method for students to write real history for an actual audience, not just a professor.

Kelly concludes with a chapter on what he calls DIY history, the art of creating un-stuffy and un-boring history coursework. He discusses an exercise in which his students create a hoax as part of a class, building a fictional story out of factual evidence, and then using this to build a historical narrative for class or public view (the hoaxes are taken down at the end of the term). While many history teachers will stop short of building fictional Wikipedia pages as part of a class, it is clear that the exercise gets students thinking in new ways about historical evidence, just as Anthony Grafton pointed out in his work on the history of close relationship between forgery and scholarship.

Perhaps the most direct way history educators could use this book in their teaching is examining the fifteen key skills that Kelly lays out as defining historical thinking. He very specifically breaks down why these skills are essential in thinking like a historian and the connection to life skills. The breakdown of these skills makes it easy for teachers to make sure they are just starting to develop these skills in their classrooms. Even if the idea of implementing technology in the classroom isn't set for the individual reader, Kelly still manages to give other useful suggestions and ideas that history teachers could use.

While readers will find themselves disagreeing with pieces of this book, it would be a challenge to get through it without finding something to try out in class or something to look into on the Internet. It is a book crammed with engaging material and examples, more than can be held between two covers. Reading it in digital format is a reminder that this story will change over the next years as technology changes, and hopefully Kelly will have the energy to update this work often as new paradigm shifts occur.

Early College Alliance at Eastern Michigan University — Amber Bishop
Eastern Michigan University — Russell Olwell

**Diana B. Turk, Laura J. Dull, Robert Cohen, and Michael R. Stoll. *Teaching Recent Global History: Dialogues among Historians, Social Studies Teachers, and Students.* New York: Routledge, 2014. Pp. 263. Paper, $46.95; ISBN 978-0-415-89708-2.**

Collaboration between historians, secondary teachers, and, at least indirectly, their students has dominated recent efforts at professional development in history education. Such efforts were at the center of Teaching American History grants, continue to enrich the development and scoring of Advancement Placement exams, and increasingly inform important scholarship on how to best teach and learn about the past. *Teaching Recent Global History: Dialogues among Historians, Social Studies Teachers, and Students* represents one of the more promising attempts to capture the value of such collaboration within a text. With chapters on Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the book provides a model within each chapter that begins with an interview with a reputable historian of the region followed by an essay authored by a teacher education specialist and multiple secondary teachers. The teachers, despite sometimes stark differences in school settings, grade levels, and teaching experience, attempt to translate the central issues of the historian's interview into curriculum and provide the reader with a sense of how the instruction and assessment unfolded in their classroom. Often this includes samples of student work and feedback from students as they grapple with both important historical questions and their teacher's instructional strategies. Finally, each chapter also includes the outline of a unit plan with "Essential Questions" and key ideas related to the unit. This section is complemented with numerous ideas for learning activities from the chapter's authors and one comprehensive lesson plan that often includes valuable primary sources.

In this age of standardized testing, both secondary and college teachers will appreciate conversations about history and teaching that emphasize provocative essential questions which often transcend the nation state or distinct historical periods. Most of the chapters explore the common misconceptions that Americans have toward parts of the globe while others address thematic questions in global history such as "How and why do revolutions happen?" or the role of material goods in shaping the rise and fall of nations. In addition, much of the book's information on curricula is enriched with contemporary issues as students of history face such questions as to the relationship between democracy and poverty in Africa, competing visions of democracy and freedom in Latin America, and the nature of Islam in the modern Middle East. As a result, the book's commitment to a dialogue in which historians and teachers generate essential questions will be attractive to history educators who argue for more emphasis on larger conceptual issues and the development of historical thinking at the expense of coverage.

Reflecting the growing interest in teaching and learning an integrated global history, the two most provocative chapters in *Teaching Recent Global History* are

thematic rather than geographic. The first explores the issue of war crimes in world history and includes material ranging from the history of Nazi Germany to the American military experience in Vietnam and even Iraq. Armed with a conceptual grasp of war crimes and history, students explore American wartime atrocities in No Gun Ri in Korea in 1950 and invariably find themselves reconsidering topics such as American exceptionalism, total war, human rights, and the challenges of historical investigation that arise with war crimes. The last chapter's focus is on the relationship between the United States and the rest of the world and challenges teachers and students to reassess much older assumptions about American identity, policy, and influence since 1900. Building on questions such as "In what ways was the United States an 'empire'?" and "What happens when 'change' does not represent 'progress' for all players?," students from three very different high schools play roles in a trial in which the United States is accused of violating the United Nations Charter. The outcome of the trial varies according to each school, but the powerful experience, not unlike the impact of this densely packed and ambitious book, transforms how the teachers and their students engage the complexity of the recent past.

Illinois State University Richard L. Hughes

**Laurent Dubois and John D. Garrigus. *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean 1789-1804: A Brief History with Documents.* New York: Bedford/St. Martins Press, 2006. Pp. 240. Paper, $15.00; ISBN 13-978-0312-41501-3.**

When most college students take a course in African-American history or on the history of slavery specifically, undergrads focus on forms of American slavery and the subsequent Civil War. Students rarely make essential connections between various forms of servitude in the world, as well as consider the challenges to this institution. Laurent Dubois and John D. Garrigus address this historical gap in their book, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean 1879-1804: A Brief History with Documents*. Specifically, Dubois and Garrigus aim to make available to North American students a history of a significant slave revolution and its ultimate success that resulted in the creation of Haiti. Their goal is to "invite readers to explore firsthand the complexities of this dramatic era of revolution," and point out that this moment was a "crucial turning point in the history of slavery, racism, and the broader meaning of democracy, and human rights" (v).

Dubois and Garrigus are highly qualified to produce such a tome. Dubois, a professor at Duke University, has published several works on this topic, such as *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (2004) and *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804* (2004). Likewise, Garrigus, a professor at the University of Texas at Arlington, has written books such as *Before Haiti: Race and Citizenship in French Saint-Domingue*

(2006) and *Assumed Identities: The Meaning of Race in the Atlantic World* (2010) with Christopher Morris.

Their combined expertise in this field has created a readable book that is part of *The Bedford Series in History and Culture*. In line with the goal of the publisher of this series, the book is designed to allow the student to become the 'historian,' fusing together secondary and mostly primary excerpts. Included in this work is a primary collection comprised of documents, letters, laws, constitutions, reflections, and criticisms from both men and women of the era. Some of the authors range from the unknown men and women, such as former slave Marie-Rose Masson to well-known figures such as Olympe de Gouges, Thomas Clarkson, Thomas Jefferson, and Napoleon Bonaparte. The documents span from 1685, when the French issued a comprehensive slave code, to 1805 with the creation of the Haitian constitution. Moreover, the visual culture of slavery is revealed here as well, as there is an assortment of maps and images. Last, the book also includes several reference tools, such as chronology of events, selected bibliography, index, and a "Questions for Consideration" section.

As typical with this Bedford series, the book is divided into two parts, one for the secondary literature and the other for primary source readership. Part I, titled "Introduction: Revolution, Emancipation, and Independence," provides an historical overview of how the slave revolution came about in the late 1700s. The authors trace how the Caribbean became a significant spot of colonial dominance from the 1600s onwards, particularly for the French. The middle of this section gives the reader a detailed overview of the revolution not only in Saint-Domingue but also in France, starting in 1789, as links between the metropole and colony are strongly emphasized. This section ends with the note that this rebellion was the "first to win universal freedom for their society, and in doing so they became founders of a larger struggle against slavery and racism" (40). What is particularly useful in this section is an index and description of the major revolutionary figures and groups associated with this historical moment.

Part II, simply titled "The Documents," includes a variety of excerpted primary accounts. What makes this book stand out is that some of these are recently translated documents from archives, usually not accessible to the undergraduate. For example, a student might read an account from Vincent Ogré, one of the wealthiest men of color in Saint-Domingue, who wrote a letter to the French governor of the colony urging him to carry out reforms and warning of impending unrest (75). This specific letter came from the Archives Nationales in Paris. Overall, these letters, articles, commentaries, and laws give the undergrad a nuanced view of this slave revolution.

In conclusion, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean 1879-1804: A Brief History with Documents* offers students a very valuable and meaningful resource for understanding a lesser-known moment in slave history. Dubois and Garrigus also offer

teachers and students the opportunity to think of the larger context of slavery, rebellion, and changes in understandings of human rights.

Thomas More College Jodie N. Mader

**Adrian Lashmore-Davies, ed. *The Unpublished Letters of Henry St. John, First Viscount Bolingbroke*. 5 vols. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013. Pp. 2160. Hardcover, $875.00; ISBN 978-1851969579.**

Adrian Lashmore-Davies, a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow and a member of the English faculty at Cambridge University, has provided those interested in early modern Europe with an invaluable resource. He has gathered together more than 1500 unpublished letters from more than twenty sources in England, Scotland, France, and the United States. Lashmore-Davies has painstakingly transcribed the letters of St. John and impeccably translated those written in French and Latin. St. John played an important role in both the political and cultural world, at home and abroad: scholar, poet, orator, statesman, historian, intriguer, libertine, celebrity. A man of great ability, perhaps greater ambition, and even greater energy, Henry St. John, first Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751), served his country in many roles: MP at the age of 23, Secretary at War at the age of 26, and Secretary of State for the Northern department at 32. An architect of the Utrecht peace, he later sought to "recover with his pen what he lost by his actions." A self-styled "friend to my country," he was impeached and spent 19 years in exile (1715-1725 and 1735-1744). He was a Jacobite who abandoned the Pretender, a Tory raised in a Whig family. We glimpse both his private and his public life. His letters reveal his mastery of detail and of complex argument. He frequently cited Seneca and Polybius. Bolingbroke, a brilliant stylist, also mastered French and Latin and thought of himself as a "cosmopolite."

In addition to insights into one of the most brilliant men of his age, researchers will find the central questions of his day illumined. With his usual wit and verve, Bolingbroke addresses the major issues of the day: the constitution, the role of a king, the education of the young, the balance of power, importance of religion, among others. The letters will testify not only to the industry but also to the brilliance of the author. These volumes will appeal not only to specialists interested in this era, but will also appeal to students, both graduate and undergraduate. He corresponded with not only the major political and diplomatic figures of his days, but also with the literary giants such as Voltaire. Those interested in the War of the Spanish Succession can read the letters to Marlborough; those interested in the peace of Utrecht can consult those of Bishop Robinson and Thomas Wentworth, first earl of Strafford, Matthew Prior, among others. The famous, Charles XII of Sweden, and the infamous, the princesse des Ursins, the well-known, Swift, and the unknown, Turner the messenger, grace the pages. Providing these letters is an invaluable service to the scholarly community but

the academic apparatus makes these volumes indispensable. The comprehensive index includes references to places, events, concepts, and individuals in the letters as well as letters addressed to them (indicated in bold print). The letters transcribed from originals are extensively annotated. Teachers could use it as primary source in courses in eighteenth-century Europe, early modern Europe, eighteenth-century Britain, as well as courses in international relations and writing.

University of Montana — Linda Frey
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**Christopher Clark. *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914.* New York: Harper, 2013. Pp. xxix + 697. Hardcover, $29.99; ISBN 978-0-0611-4665-7. Paperback [Harper Perennial, 2014], $18.99; ISBN 978-0-0611-4666-4.**

In anticipation of the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War in August 2014, a tide of books has appeared on various aspects of this seminal conflict. Of these, Christopher Clark's broad study of the origins of the war has earned the greatest of accolades: *The Sleepwalkers* has been reviewed by *The Economist* twice; the *New York Times* Sunday Book Review anointed it as one of the "10 Best Books of 2013;" its German translation has been among that country's twenty best selling non-fiction titles now for over thirty weeks running; in Berlin, Clark was featured in a roundtable discussion on the events leading to the war, sponsored by the German Historical Museum and introduced by Frank-Walter Steinmeier, the German foreign minister.

One hundred years later, the question of how the war came about—or, for that matter, even how far back its roots are discernible—is still an issue of baffling complexity. It remains one of the most intensely studied questions of modern history. An immense secondary literature apart: The list of memoirs numbers in the hundreds of titles; the documents published by foreign ministries, beginning in the interwar period, are in the tens of thousands; many of the scholarly editions of personal papers, which appeared between the 1950s and 1980s, are multi-volume collections—and all three of these sub-genres are to the archival holdings behind them what the tip is to the iceberg. Any book dealing with the problem as a whole, in order to remain manageable, must be an exercise in reduction. The need for compression, in its turn, hands every critic, whose favorite episode or document was omitted or insufficiently weighted, an easy opportunity for potshots.

So any author wading into these waters does so at her or his own peril. Clark charts his course by virtue of a crisp narrative and by what is nowadays almost an anomaly in a work designed to appeal to a broader audience: by engaging the historiographical controversies as they crop up and by giving a meticulous accounting of his sources in the endnotes.

Clark's narrative begins with the local setting for the murder of the Habsburg archduke Franz Ferdinand, evoking the irredentist and conspiratorial cauldron that had been Belgrade politics ever since the Serb coup d'état and regicide eleven years earlier—an event that turned Serbia from a client state of Austria-Hungary into a dedicated opponent of its former patron. Clark rounds out this first part of the book by proceeding to an analysis of the Austro-Serb relationship and how this tension resonated within the Habsburg monarchy. Unlike others, he finds the Habsburg Empire resilient and notes, with approval, dissenting narratives to the "auguries of imminent and ineluctable decline" (76-77); despite the toxic relationship between Austria and Serbia, "a war … did not appear likely in the spring and summer of 1914" (113).

In its examination of the foreign relations of the Great Powers in Part II of the book, *The Sleepwalkers* soft-pedals the structural explanations long favored by other historians—chief among them the Anglo-German naval race (Anglo-German "naval scares … were driven in large part by campaigns launched" by British navalists [150]). In early 1914, "none of the European great powers was … contemplating launching a war of aggression against its neighbors. They feared such an initiative on each other's part …, but pre-emptive war had not become policy" (363). Nor is Clark content to lay the blame on one of the usual villains of the piece, Kaiser Wilhelm II. This unwillingness to demonize an easy target is all the more interesting given that Clark—as author of a history of Prussia (*Iron Kingdom*, 2006) that has become standard reading in courses on German history and also a biography (2009) of this volatile figure—is an authority on the subject.

If the powers were indeed peaceable on the eve of the war, why trace its origins into the 1880s? In *The Sleepwalkers*, the purpose of the historical background is to showcase how earlier events shaped the reflexes of the personalities who were at the helm in July 1914. "Beneath the surface of so many of the key transactions lurked personal antipathies and long-remembered injuries," writes Clark (66). In this vein, Clark offers compelling portraits of Nikola Pašić, the Serb prime minister; Maurice Paléologue, the French ambassador in Russia; and Raymond Poincaré, the French president. Particularly notable is Clark's refreshing (and damning) account of Poincaré's state visit to Russia between July 20 and 23—an indictment that echoes the recent monograph of Stefan Schmidt, *Frankreichs Aussenpolitik in der Julikrise 1914* (656) and is the strongest yet from an Anglophone author.

The picture that emerges is that the principals of the July crisis were men on the defensive, beset by domestic opponents and captive to the fear that the forces arrayed against them would carry the day unless they launched a forward defense ("This combination of strength in the present and vulnerability over the longer term," 313)—an intriguing variation on Lloyd George's 1930s dictum that "weak men" had "slithered" into the war.

In making the case for the importance of contingency and of personalities, *The Sleepwalkers* demythologizes the shamans of the 1960s and 1970s—the following of Fritz Fischer, the Hamburg historian who held that Germany's reactionary elites, in

their attempt to consolidate their power and checkmate socialism at home, willed the war; and also demolishes the orthodoxy of the 1980s—the *Rule, Britannia* school of W.N. Medlicott and Paul Kennedy and their students, in whose view (one complementary to that of Fischer) British policy was in close communion with the forces of progress and the interests of humanity.

On a subject as complex and controversial as the outbreak of the First World War, the reader is well advised to cast nets widely. But for the beginner, this book makes for a superb point of departure; for the specialist, it is a well-written and enjoyable analysis that might well force a rethink of long-cherished truths.

Kent State University at Stark Ralph Menning

**Susannah J. Ural. *Don't Hurry Me Down to Hades: The Civil War in the Words of Those Who Lived it.* Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2013. Pp. 244. Hardcover, $25.95; ISBN 978-1849085908.**

Susannah Ural's new history of the Civil War attempts to describe the conflict through the lived experiences of the participants. The narrative of this work considers the common soldier as well as the prominent political and military figures in the conflict. In many ways Ural's work follows the expected progression of a Civil War history. Ill-prepared troops faced the deprivations of camp and the horrors of battle, only to discover that they can adapt to the rigors of life in the respective armies. As the war progresses, the enlistees develop coping mechanisms to overcome the difficulties. Ulysses S. Grant brings his son into the camp to offset his deep depression that stemmed from being separated from his family (141-144), while Wilbur Fisk deserted the army and found a renewed sense of purpose in his fiancée, Angelina Drew (105-109). Ural's narrative offers a unique perspective on the war, providing regular descriptions of not only the violence of battles, but also the lasting impact of the war on those who survived. The soldier returning home presents as vivid an example of the damage of the war as the soldier killed in battle.

Despite the familiarity of this sequence of events, Ural masterfully emphasizes and illuminates the flow of the work to invigorate a familiar narrative with new life. Ural intentionally foregrounds a collection of individuals who provide the narrative center of the war. This allows Ural to describe battles without delving into the tactics and grand strategy so often used as the descriptors of a battle. Instead of presenting battles as lines on a map, Ural presents the experiences of soldiers as their comrades die and suffer around them. This approach dramatically enhances the emotional impact of the narrative. For instance, the Battle of Gettysburg is viewed through the eyes of the Texas Brigade on the second day. The battle maintains its importance, but changing the traditional narrative climax allows Ural to shift the focus from the tactical decisions of the battle to the experience of the conflict (132-135).

This shifting focus also allows Ural to probe how soldiers interpreted the meaning of the war as they lived the events. The soldiers' morale adjusted remarkably to the conditions they faced, and though the soldiers naturally took defeats hard they demonstrated an incredible resiliency. James Loughridge, for instance, immediately after Gettysburg, had a difficult time putting the battle into words, but when he finally wrote home he expressed his dismay and disillusionment at the horrors of the war (132). Within three weeks, Loughridge had managed to not only recover his own morale, but he wrote to his wife explaining that Gettysburg in fact was not a Confederate defeat.

Despite enormous resiliency, soldiers often had difficulty readjusting at the conclusion of the conflict. More than one of the soldiers involved in the war had trouble settling back into the routines of civilian life, and several found themselves incapable of the adjustment. Likewise, the civilians the conflict touched demonstrated as much difficulty in coping with the levels of destruction encountered during the war. Ural uses the assassination of Abraham Lincoln and the attempted assassination of William Seward to illustrate this point. Ural details the extent to which the targets of the assassination plot only began the list of victims. For most of those immediately present for the attacks, recovery proved elusive (190-196).

If Ural's narrative lacks anything, the deficiencies are small. At times, the religious nature of many of the soldiers seems to be overshadowed. The army revivals are not featured, and the religious lives of civilians are not considered by Ural. Including this dynamic would offer a deeper understanding of how soldiers and civilians understood the importance of the conflict. This deficit does not detract from the overall work in any substantial way. Rather, Ural's book illustrates the need for further work describing additional aspects of mid-nineteenth-century America through similar methodological avenues.

This book seems custom made for the classroom. It is engaging enough for students who are only marginally interested to benefit, and it is enough of a challenge to the existing narrative that students interested in the Civil War will find new topics to consider.

The University of Akron Lucius Wedge

# CALL FOR REVIEWERS

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