



Teaching History

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TEACHING HISTORY
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All correspondence in regard to contribution of manuscripts and editorial policies should be directed to Stephen Kneeshaw, Department of History, College of the Ozarks, Point Lookout, MO 65726-0017, fax 417/690-3250, e-mail kneeshaw@cofo.edu. All books for review and correspondence regarding book reviews should be sent to C. David Dalton, Department of History, College of the Ozarks, Point Lookout, MO 65726-0017, fax 417/690-3250, e-mail dalton@cofo.edu.

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Teaching History in Transition at Forty Years

Stephen Kneeshaw
College of the Ozarks
Editor, *Teaching History*

I hate clichés. You know what I mean: those trite phrases that we use to make a point crystal clear or as plain as the nose on our face. We all fall victim and often step into a verbal trap that we had hoped to avoid. I often remind my students in “tips for writing” that they should avoid clichés like the plague. But sometimes old and trusted phrases work well for us. For me, this is one of those moments when clichés work, specifically “it ain’t over till it’s over,” “every dark cloud has a silver lining,” and “we are all in this together.”

Here late in 2015, as we put the finishing touches on the fall issue in Volume 40 of *Teaching History*, which will be my final issue as Editor, I look back with great pride on the times and the people and the places that this professional adventure has taken me. “Oh, the places you’ll go!” to quote from Dr. Seuss is a line that comes to mind. When the late Philip Rulon of Northern Arizona and Loren Pennington of Emporia State University asked me in the spring of 1974 to join them in founding a new journal in history education, I jumped to accept the kind of challenge that seldom comes to a 20-something historian and teacher. But I was young and eager and confident that I could do the work of editing *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods*. I knew from that first moment that I would have great counsel and support from Phil and Loren.¹

Together, we three founders created a larger team, starting in the spring of 1975, taking slow but carefully measured steps, convinced (in our hearts if not our heads) that this venture—to start and build a professional journal that could make a difference in the lives and careers of other teaching historians just like us—could succeed and survive in a tough journal world. In that first year, we brought together eleven young men and women with promise: To start, Ronald Butchart then at SUNY Cortland agreed to be our first book review editor, and he quickly became my “number two” on the editorial team and a good friend to this day. Marsha Frey of Kansas State University and Bullitt Lowry of the University of North Texas, among others, also said “yes” to our invitations to join the team. To add some experience, Phil Rulon agreed to serve on the Board of Editors, a spot he held for almost four decades until his untimely passing in 2014. Loren Pennington volunteered to direct the journal’s

¹For some thoughts about the early days of the journal, see Stephen Kneeshaw, “A History of *Teaching History*” and “Crisis in the Classroom, or Clio Down But Not Out,” *Teaching History*, 1 (Spring 1976), 1–5, and Stephen Kneeshaw, “*Teaching History* after Five Years,” *Teaching History*, 6 (Spring 1981), 1–4.

subscription and publication efforts out of Emporia State where we have published *Teaching History* for all of these forty years.

As we moved through the late 1970s and into the 1980s, some of our original board members left the editorial and advisory teams, but we filled those slots and added more positions with other history educators whose work became critical to our continuing rise: William Muggleston of Albany Junior College, Raymond Hebert of Thomas More College, Donn Neal of the National Archives, and Calvin Allen, Jr., my colleague then at the College of the Ozarks, to name four of the newcomers, became key players as editorial readers and counselors for me. Muggleston succeeded Ron Butchart as book review editor at the six-year mark. Even as a fledgling journal, we attracted some big names in the history profession who published in *Teaching History*, including Darlene Clark Hine of Purdue University (later the president of the Organization of American Historians), Robert A. Divine of the University of Texas, and Don Wilson, the National Archivist of the United States.² But most of the essays we reviewed and published came from enterprising young history educators with good ideas to share with our growing audience of teachers and subscribers. By our tenth year and then beyond, we knew that *Teaching History* had made a difference in our discipline. We had silenced any doubters who had expected *Teaching History* to fall as many professional start-up journals do in their first five to ten years. To quote the late great Yogi Berra: "It ain't over till it's over." There was no "over" for us. In fact, *Teaching History* was just getting started.

Through the 1980s and 1990s and eventually into a new century, the journal underwent some cosmetic changes, notably in cover design and coloration. More important changes took place behind the scenes. The editorial and advisory boards changed while growing in numbers; we brought some other rising history educators into "the TH gang," as we often called ourselves, while other members rotated off or left the TH boards when they retired from teaching. We also suffered some notable losses of good friends when Bullitt Lowry and Phil Rulon passed away after long illnesses. But the others of us continued to feel their spirit as we recommitted to do our best work in years still to come. And the journal grew in size, starting at 40 pages with the first issues in 1976, rising to 48 and then 56, and now *Teaching History* runs at 64 pages per issue, assuring our readers even more high quality ideas and insightful book reviews to aid them in their careers and classrooms.

Yet even in the midst of change, some things stayed constant. One person continuing for forty years as Editor ensured consistency in the quality and format of the journal's essay—over four decades, *Teaching History* has spoken in "one voice," if

²Darlene Clark Hine, "The Four Black History Movements: A Case for the Teaching of Black History," *Teaching History*, 5 (Fall 1980), 108–117; A. Divine, "Viewpoint—The Historian and the Nuclear Arms Race," *Teaching History*, 9 (Spring 1984), 33–36; Don Wilson, "Teaching for the Future by Reaching into the Past," *Teaching History*, 18 (Spring 2003), 3–13.

you will. Emporia State University started as our home base in the mid-seventies and continues in that role in 2015. The management of publication at ESU has shifted hands from Loren Pennington to Sam Dicks to Chris Lovett, but their dedication to *Teaching History* never wavered. We also have enjoyed top-quality work from our administrative specialist at ESU, Jacque Fehr, who prepares copy in the critical stages between editorial work and publication. As Editor, I have been blessed with a team that always has worked well together. Sometimes the names changed on the editorial and advisory boards, but one after another gave me good counsel when I sought out their advice, met deadlines that I set for them, and provided thoughtful commentary and recommendations on essays and book reviews under consideration for publication. The Book Review Editors—from Ron Butchart in the beginning to Bill Mugleston and Robert Page, both at Georgia Highlands College, to David Dalton of College of the Ozarks today—have always maintained an efficient and effective operation that made my work as editor easier to manage. And over forty years, we have stayed faithful to our original mission, set by the founders in 1975: "...to provide history teachers at all levels with the best and newest teaching ideas for their classrooms." Working closely together, for four decades "the TH gang" has turned out a journal in the spring and fall of each year that I would stand alongside any other history education journal to measure its quality and impact on our profession. We worked well as a team because we never forgot that "we are all in this together."

Where do we go from here? For *Teaching History*, I would go back to the old line and say with confidence that "It ain't over till it's over." Maybe I could add another one: "Our best days are still ahead." But for my run as Editor, the "over" has arrived. Fifteen years ago, as I reflected on *Teaching History* at twenty-five years in its journal life, I noted that "In the journal world, twenty-five years can be an eternity." We already had outlived most journals in history or any other discipline, but I predicted then that "Over the next several years surely *Teaching History* will continue to evolve."³ And I could have added that I expected the journal to continue to grow and to prosper. All came true ... But times change and over time we all face transitions in our lives: That moment has come.

Maybe five years ago or so, I started to think about days and years to come for *Teaching History* and for me as Editor. I asked myself how much longer I wanted to teach before retirement without any specific answer in mind. But I also started to think beyond my classroom days and about the changes that would come for *Teaching History*. What new changes might come for the journal? I thought about transitions approaching for the journal and about changes in the leadership of *Teaching History* that surely would happen. But questions still remained: When? and Who?

³Stephen Kneeshaw, "Teaching History at Twenty-Five Years," *Teaching History*, 25 (Spring 2000), 3-5.

The “who” came to me more quickly than the “when.” I first “met” Sarah Drake Brown in the late 1990s when she submitted a manuscript to *Teaching History*. Her writing skills and her insight into teaching and learning, already evident in her as a rising history educator (actually a graduate student at that time), caught my attention. We published that essay in the fall of 1998.⁴ She published a second essay with us fifteen years later.⁵ In short order, I invited her to join “the TH gang” as a member of the Board of Editors in which role her recommendations and comments on essays under publication consideration always stood out as some of the best reviews I received. After tracking her work for a time and then following good counsel from several other board members, I asked Sarah to step up to become my Assistant Editor, in effect to become the editor-elect of *Teaching History*. She never hesitated: “I would be honored.” That conversation over lunch during the meeting of NCHE (National Council for History Education) in Albuquerque in the spring of 2014 helped me decide that the time was right for *Teaching History* to move forward with a new generation of leaders. At one point, I had wondered if “dark clouds” might hover above *Teaching History* when I decided to step down from the editorship: Would we find a new Editor who would maintain a high level of performance for the journal? Not to worry: I am confident that Sarah Drake Brown is the “silver lining” whose move to Editor assures me that we will continue to move ahead in the journal world.

In another companion change near the top of our leadership team, this fall 2015 issue that closes volume year forty marks a change in Book Review Editor for *Teaching History*. My good colleague, David Dalton, who stepped into the role of BRE two years ago when the book review position was in flux, has taken on some new challenges at College of the Ozarks and cannot continue as Book Review Editor. He will move back to the Board of Editors. At the turn of the year, we will transfer this position to Richard Hughes of Illinois State University, who has been serving recently on the Board of Editors. Sarah and Richard already enjoy a close working professional relationship in history education circles that should guarantee a seamless shift from one pair (Kneeshaw and Dalton) to another (Brown and Hughes) in the lead positions for *Teaching History*.

Over many years, one of the hallmarks of *Teaching History* has been the close connections we have developed and friendships we have enjoyed within “the TH gang.” We do things together, making decisions for or against accepting essays to publish (I often rely on suggestions from my editorial readers), proposing and presenting sessions sponsored by *Teaching History* at professional conferences, preparing new issues for

⁴Sarah E. Drake, “One Teacher’s Experiences with Student Portfolios,” *Teaching History*, 23 (Fall 1998), 60–76.

⁵Sarah Drake Brown, “A Systematic Use of Oral Histories to Promote Historical Thinking: Historical Thinking and the Iraq War,” *Teaching History*, 38 (Fall 2013), 66–73.

publication every spring and fall, and more. In that tradition of banding together, four of my closest friends and longtime members of the Board of Editors will retire from *Teaching History* with me. All but one of them already have retired from teaching and administration, but at my request they stayed active with the journal until this moment now at hand. Ronald Butchart of the University of Georgia, Marsha Frey of Kansas State, Calvin Allen, Jr., of Shenandoah University (once a history colleague at College of the Ozarks), and Roger Malfait of North Kitsap High School in Washington (a friend since our college days together) will join me in retirement from the journal as we close out this fortieth year of *Teaching History*.⁶ Over many years, they all have given the journal great service and me great counsel as we built up *Teaching History* from a good idea to become reality. To them and to all of the other men and women who have worked with me for so many years, I say “thank you.”

Teaching History also stands out in quality for its corps of authors, reviewers, and readers who make the work of Editors and Book Review Editors a pleasurable part of our professional careers. Our authors have run a wide spectrum of academic interests and levels, but almost to a one they have worked closely and graciously with me as Editor, accepting suggestions for revisions without much hesitation and making changes within the time frames that I have suggested. Book reviewers also have met deadlines set by the BRE, helping us stay on schedule for publication in the spring and fall.

No professional journal can survive without an audience of readers and subscribers who appreciate the time and energy that our leadership and editorial teams commit to *Teaching History*. We have given our readers old standards for their classrooms—two examples come quickly to mind: the continuing value of the lecture method and the power of films to illustrate key points we want to make in our classrooms. But we also have stepped into new territories as times and technologies change—for example, essays on both board and electronic gaming in the classroom have appeared in the journal as has discussion of online instruction. As evidence, this fall 2016 issue will deliver some new and some traditional thoughts about teaching in history.⁷ To all of these groups who have contributed to *Teaching History*, we also extend our gratitude and our promise to continue to do our best work for you.

Finally, it is time for my “over ... and out!” On January 1, 2016, *Teaching History* will experience the biggest changes in its history. Sarah Drake Brown of Ball State will take the lead as Editor and Richard Hughes of Illinois State will become Book Review Editor. I have great confidence that under their direction *Teaching*

⁶Butchart, Frey, and I are the last three of the original start-up group for *Teaching History*. It seems fitting that we all should retire from the journal together.

⁷To see the full list of essays we have published over four decades, check out our website at <http://www.emporia.edu/~teaching-history/>.

History will continue to thrive and prosper. For me, this is a bittersweet moment to see “my baby” enter a new stage of life. But I am proud to say “welcome” to Sarah and Richard and “thank you” to all of you who have played a part in this greatest adventure of my professional career!

Editor of *Teaching History* (effective January 1, 2016)

Sarah Drake Brown

Department of History

Ball State University

Muncie, IN 47306

(765) 285-8700

Email: sedrakebrown@bsu.edu

Book Review Editor of *Teaching History* (effective January 1, 2016)

Richard Hughes

Department of History

Illinois State University

CB #4420

Normal, IL 61790-4420

(309) 438-5424

FAX: (309) 438-5607

E-mail: rhughes@ilstu.edu

To contact **Stephen Kneeshaw** as Editor Emeritus (effective January 1, 2016), use email kneeshaws@msn.com.

DEVELOPING EFFECTIVE UNDERGRADUATE ONLINE HISTORY COURSES: AN EXPERIENTIAL MODEL

Michael E. Brooks
Bowling Green State University

Introduction

This article offers an overview of the techniques and strategies that I have found most successful in a ten-year career teaching undergraduate history courses in online and hybrid settings. While geared toward instructors new to online teaching, veteran online instructors should also find useful ideas here to improve their virtual classrooms.

Instructors seeking to hone online teaching skills should take advantage from the onset of as many formal training opportunities as possible. A University of Central Florida study noted that faculty members who have taken part in online pedagogy seminars experienced renewed interest in teaching as a result of their participation in online trainings.⁸ It is critical to stay current with the rapidly evolving world of educational technology, and the best way to accomplish this is to interact regularly with other online instructors and designers. Most colleges and universities offer internal training for their current learning management system (LMS), while the creators of the LMS platform typically provide online question-and-answer forums for users.

Seminars and trainings offered by Quality Matters⁹ and the Sloan-C Consortium¹⁰ are excellent venues to develop online teaching skills and network with other online teaching professionals. Quality Matters also has designed a nationally-recognized peer review process and rubric that certifies the quality of online classes.

Developing an Online Teaching Philosophy

Before beginning to teach history online, instructors should develop a separate philosophy of teaching for online courses. Certainly there is considerable overlap in both types of classrooms (traditional and online), but many new online instructors make the mistake of attempting simply to duplicate their face-to-face (F2F) classes online rather than creating wholly new online learning environments.

An important component of an online teaching philosophy is instructor willingness to wear additional institutional hats. As much as possible, online instructors

⁸University of Central Florida, "Research Initiative for Teaching Effectiveness: Faculty Perceptions of Teaching on the Web," <http://online.ucf.edu/research/dl-impact-evaluation/#Perceptions> (accessed September 2, 2015).

⁹Quality Matters, <https://www.qualitymatters.org/> (accessed September 2, 2015).

¹⁰Sloan-C Consortium, <http://sloanconsortium.org/> (accessed September 2, 2015).

need to be technological problem-solvers for students. Admittedly it might be easier to send a student with a question regarding the LMS to tech support personnel. However, if instructors can answer student questions adequately on their own, problem resolution is much faster. Moreover, student engagement and retention increase when instructors take time to troubleshoot basic technological problems, and given the lower rates of student retention in online settings,¹¹ efforts by front-line instructors of online classes are crucial in maximizing student retention.

Most technological problems faced by students fall into one of the following categories:

- Browser compatibility issues with the online platform;
- Difficulty in understanding solutions to word processor programs;
- Software compatibility issues (such as between MS-Word and the LMS).

One need not be a high-tech savant in order to be helpful to students who face technological problems in an online classroom. Solutions to student technical problems often can be found by using a search engine such as Google to find help forums for the LMS. If a problem occurs for which the instructor has no solution, instructors at least can follow up with students to ensure that tech support has solved the problem. At a minimum, instructors need to provide links in their syllabi and course shells (another term for the individual course website) to help resources.

Consistent student outreach is another significant component of an online teaching philosophy. Unlike F2F classes, where students interact in a physical classroom with the instructor, online students (especially students new to online settings) sometimes feel alienated.¹² Most online platforms offer diagnostic tools to help instructors quickly identify struggling or non-participatory students, such as analytical data or site visit history, and a simple telephone call or email can be effective in getting such students back on track before they fall too far behind.¹³ Reducing the

¹¹Retention rates might be as much as twenty percent lower in online classes than in F2F classes, although some of this could be due to the fact that online environments are more likely to attract “exploratory” students than brick-and-mortar institutions. See Wallace E. Boston, et al., “Comprehensive Assessment of Student Retention in Online Learning Environments,” *Online Journal of Distance Learning Administration*, IV (Spring 2011), http://www.westga.edu/~distance/ojdl/spring141/boston_ice_gibson_141.html (accessed September 2, 2015).

¹²Alfred P. Rovait and Mervyn J. Wighting, “Feelings of Alienation and Community among Higher Education Students in a Virtual Classroom,” *Internet and Higher Education*, 8 (2005), 97–110.

¹³The most significant factor in predicting the likelihood of withdrawal from an online class is class rank: Seniors are less likely to withdraw from online courses than non-seniors, while withdrawal rates are highest for freshmen. See Justin D. Cochran, et al., “The Role of Student Characteristics in Predicting Retention in Online Courses,” *Research in Higher Education*, 55 (2014), 42.

“disappearing student” phenomenon is especially critical in the early weeks of a semester, when early alert systems can be most effective.¹⁴

Creating an interactive learning environment is another critical component of an online teaching philosophy. In addition to the instructor’s individual and group interactions with online students, it is important to develop opportunities for students to interact with peers via group projects and discussion forums. This is one way to break the isolation that some might experience in an online course that lacks the interaction of F2F settings.

Before the Course Begins

In online classes it is important to be more proactive than in F2F classes about getting important course information to students, as some students enrolled in online courses might be located in places far from the physical location of the institution. These distances represent logistical challenges, especially in obtaining textbooks and other course materials.

Syllabi for online history courses should contain a number of components that are different from those created for F2F classes. In addition to sections related to technological items, syllabi for online courses need to contain specific information related to the virtual classroom experience. This would include (but is not limited to) details such as the preferred method of contacting the instructor, assignment submission instructions, acceptable file formats for papers, and a discussion of the differences for students between online and F2F classes.

Email the syllabus to students a week in advance and send out a separate email with the required texts for the course at the same time. This method counters the normal level of student procrastination and/or delays in obtaining financial aid associated with acquiring textbooks. In the emails stress that students will begin using the textbooks the very first day of class in order to emphasize the importance of prompt acquisition of course materials.

Consider opening course shells at least three days before the term begins so that students will have time to surf the website, learn the course layout, and familiarize themselves with course expectations. On average, about half the students take advantage of the early opening to visit the website, and approximately one-fourth on average actually begin work in the class. Sometimes this takes the form of watching course videos, while other times students actually complete assignments from the first week before the official start date. Some universities control student access to course

¹⁴The most significant challenge with early alert systems is getting buy-in from stakeholders. Until the “messy, human side of educational technology” changes, early alert systems will not be a silver bullet solution. See Melinda Mechur Karp, “Tech Alone Won’t Cut It,” *Inside Higher Ed*, January 13, 2014, <http://www.insidehighered.com/views/2014/01/13/essay-looks-how-early-warning-systems-can-better-boost-retention> (accessed September 2, 2015).

shells via preset, system-wide open and close dates, but most online learning platforms allow individual instructors to choose the start and end dates for a course.

The use of a brief syllabus quiz helps reinforce course policies and expectations. The quiz can be weighted as little as twenty points for a 1000-point course. It should cover items that generally had been sources of confusion to students (and occasionally sources of aggravation to the instructor). Consider the use of quiz questions as opportunities for interactivity and learning. Include feedback with quiz questions, explaining the correct answer so that students learn from the incorrect answer. Below is a response to students who incorrectly answered a syllabus quiz question on the number of required discussion board responses:

Commenting on at least two other essays is a requirement, and the failure to do so will result in lower discussion grades. Discussion forums create the online equivalent of scholarly classroom conversations, and the interaction with other students is a critical part of the learning process in this course. In many discussion forums there are lengthy conversations occurring between students that take on lives of their own.¹⁵

During the early opening of the course shell, many students complete what I consider to be an important interactive component of the course, a forum entitled "Introduce Yourself." In this required forum, students post an autobiographical essay and respond to the essays of other students according to a detailed prompt.

This personal essay and related student responses work well as ice-breakers, which is an ideal way for an instructor to make connections with students at the start of the semester. The instructor should respond to each student introduction in a fairly lengthy manner, typically at least 100 words. I try to identify at least two items I have in common with each student in an effort to cement interpersonal relationships between the students and myself. One study noted that the first days of an online course are "a critical time for establishing instructor presence," and that "in the absence of a physical instructor, students look to whatever text and image-based presence might be available to learn more about" the person leading the course.¹⁶ Making these early connections reduces student alienation, increases student participation, and lowers the likelihood that students will find an online instructor to be unapproachable. Instructors might find this forum to be exciting: They can learn about the students taking online classes in a more detailed way than in the first week of F2F classes, and students are more likely

¹⁵Michael E. Brooks, "Converting a Narrated PowerPoint into a WMV Video," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IRA2cH7izU4> (accessed August 13, 2013).

¹⁶Vanessa Paz Dennen, "Presence and Positioning as Components of Online Instructor Persona," *Journal of Research on Technology in Education*, 40:1 (2007), 96.

to offer insights into their goals and dreams in an online forum than they would in a first-day F2F icebreaking exercise.

Course Shell Design

As a rule, make course shells as easy to navigate as is possible. The first step in this process is to limit the number of items on the navigation bar.¹⁷ Students—especially individuals new to online learning—can become overwhelmed if confronted with a wide array of navigational tabs. One can effectively cover pedagogical needs—while maintaining simplicity of design—with about six navigational tabs.¹⁸

Create a page in the course shell that is titled “Start Here,” and provide several links to this page in places where students first visit, such as in the announcements section, in the course modules, and in the syllabus. The “Start Here” page includes a truncated overview of key syllabus items and details the first steps students should take as they begin the course. Include a list of minimum technological requirements student computers need as well as a brief discussion about “Netiquette,” reiterating expectations about social interaction in the course syllabus. Interestingly, research indicates that students as well as instructors share this need for clear Netiquette expectations.¹⁹ Students want to work in an environment relatively free from the more abrasive features of many online environments.

Create redundancy in online courses through frequent use of hyperlinks to reference important items. For example, any time in the course shell the word “syllabus” is mentioned, hyperlink that term with the syllabus page or file. Make use of links in comments to students in discussion forums or in grading feedback through what the author refers to as “individualized hyperlinked instruction,” whereby instructors hyperlink to external sources any terms unfamiliar to students as well as content-related material that expands the knowledge base.

¹⁷Most learning management systems include some sort of sidebar with tabs to important course functions. Blackboard, for example, allows instructors and instructional designers to customize these under the “Manage Course Menu” function. Canvas has standardized menu tabs with common functions, but customization of the names of the tabs is not offered as an option. Sakai and Moodle allow greater customization.

¹⁸Rob Kelly, editor, “Online Course Design: 13 Strategies for Teaching in a Web-based Distance Learning Environment,” *Online Classroom*, <http://hilo.hawaii.edu/academics/dl/documents/13StrategiesforTeaching.pdf> (accessed September 2, 2015).

¹⁹Myrna J. Dow, “Implications of Social Presence for Online Learning: A Case Study of MLS Students,” *Journal of Education for Library and Information Sciences*, 49:4 (Fall 2008), 231–242.

In my own teaching, I have migrated toward a module-based approach to organizing course materials and assignments over the past few years. Modules follow a chronological approach based on semester weeks, and each module incorporates weekly themes based on the historical content for each week toward which lectures and assignments are oriented.

In designing an online undergraduate history course, I emphasize student writing. Student essays and projects typically comprise 50-65 percent of the total course grade in my survey-level classes. The higher weight given to writing assignments reflects my observations and experiences that writing essays and doing research projects provide better assessments in gauging student comprehension and student mastery of course learning outcomes. Using 1000 points as the basis for classes helps students easily understand grades at any moment in the term.

Multiple choice and true-false questions constitute a relatively small portion of the overall grade in my courses. Quizzes and exams are the only components in which lower-order assessments such as multiple choice and true-false questions might appear. Typically the vast majority of the components of the grades in my undergraduate courses are determined by scores on essay-based exams, research papers, discussion forum essays, and other written projects.

Discussion Forums

Discussion forums are a critical piece in designing a course that is capable of enhancing deeper learning. Some of the most impressive student work comes from the reflective and interactive components of a discussion forum, mirroring findings from Susan Land and Michele Dornisch that "students progressively deepened their understanding, as they clarified ideas, asked questions, and refined their initial conceptions" through the use of discussion forum assignments.²⁰ At the beginning of the course, I spend extra time educating students about the importance of forums and expectations regarding the quality of work and participation. The inclusion of discussion guidelines in the syllabus and on the course website reduces the number of problems that can occur with students who are unfamiliar with the expectations of academic discourse (or who spend a great deal of time on free-for-all Internet sites where personal attacks are the norm).

Instructors new to the online classroom might feel a compulsion to provide a written response to every initial post by every student on each discussion forum. However, this is not a realistic expectation, as one class of 25 students would generate 400 initial posts in a sixteen-week term, and an instructor who attempted to post even

²⁰Susan Land and Michele Dornisch, "A Case Study of Student Use of Asynchronous Bulletin Board Systems (BBS) to Support Reflection and Evaluation," *Journal of Educational Technology Systems*, 30:4 (2002), 375.

as little as 100 words in response to every post would write the equivalent of a 40,000-word monograph over the course of a single semester.

Instead, in a class of 25 students, a half-dozen quality comments per week is a much more reasonable objective, and responding to a variety of different students each week means that each student will receive in-depth comments on several discussion forum essays over the semester. Comments earlier in the week set the tone for the discussion and make the instructor's presence known. Interestingly, research suggests that too much instructor presence in discussion forums might be as deleterious as too little presence, as instructors who insert their subject matter expertise into discussion might actually inhibit peer interaction.²¹

In grading discussion forums, I assign eighty percent of the grade to the quality of the initial post, which takes the form of a 400–600 word essay. The remaining twenty percent of the discussion forum grade is based on the quality and quantity of comments provided to other students, and students receive a grading rubric with each discussion forum. I require a minimum of two “meaningful”²² comments per forum from each student, and hypothetical examples of high-quality and low-quality responses can be found in the syllabus. I was a bit idealistic when first teaching online, thinking I would not *require* responses but instead *encourage* responses by creating such engaging forums that there would be excellent participation organically. However, many students would not produce any extra effort if there were no points associated with the activity, and the comments that did appear were almost exclusively the highly motivated A students.

In discussion forum prompts, I build in a variety of different types of activities, including such activities as: a) primary source comparison/analysis; b) interpretations of historical artwork; and c) essays in which students imagine themselves to be living in the time period being studied in the module. It is important to design forum assignments in which text cannot be simply copied-and-pasted from the Internet. Here is an example of a discussion prompt from a survey-level world history course that illustrates the third type of prompt:

For this week's essay imagine that you are a person living in one of the regions and time periods covered in the texts this term. Begin your first-

²¹Vanessa Paz Dennen, “From Message Posting to Learning Dialogues: Factors Affecting Learner Participation in Asynchronous Discussion,” *Distance Education*, 26:1 (2005), 127–148. See also Timothy Barnett-Queen, Robert Blair, and Melissa Merrick, “Student Perspectives of Online Discussions: Strengths and Weaknesses,” *Journal of Technology in Human Service*, 23:3/4 (2005), 229–244.

²²“Meaningful” is defined for the students in a detailed description in the syllabus and on the grading rubric. In short, students are expected to engage in substantive dialogue with the original poster as opposed to disengaged statements such as “good job” or “nice work.”

person narrative by briefly describing such items as your daily life and family situation. Next, discuss the social, economic, and political changes that are occurring around you. What are the most important issues you face? To what extent do you control your own destiny, and to what extent is your life largely driven by forces you cannot control? Why does your character think this way? What forces or people exercise control over your character? Stronger essays will reflect evidence that the student has mastered the information in the course textbooks, lectures, and supplemental materials.²³

This sort of activity typically would be used near the end of the term as a means to assess the mastery of learning objectives. This type of ruminative essay is also useful for students as they prepare for final examinations.

Video Lectures

When I first started, I provided Microsoft PowerPoint presentations for topic lectures in online undergraduate courses. Over time, though, I became frustrated with the amount of time spent providing technical support to students. Problems included students having outdated versions of PowerPoint, students who did not use PowerPoint or who lacked access to the software, and students for whom PowerPoint was simply a struggle. Instead I developed a seamless and easy-to-access method of delivering lectures, using narrated PowerPoints converted to WMV videos that could then be hosted on YouTube.²⁴

The benefits of this approach are numerous, especially being freed up from providing technical assistance to students for whom PowerPoint was problematic. Students simply click the hyperlink and instantaneously access course lectures, and, more importantly, students with smart phones can watch lectures almost any time they want if they have Wi-Fi access. Even better, with the Canvas LMS, simply pasting the URL on a course page converts the URL to an embedded YouTube player. Of course, compared to some disciplines, history lends itself well to narrated videos, and there never seems to be a shortage of relevant and engaging topics that can be added to a video to liven up the presentation, such as a brief discussion of Rasputin in a Bolshevik Revolution video or the bombing of Guernica in a Spanish Civil War video.

²³Brooks, 2013.

²⁴The following link connects to a video that explains the production process; readers can access the video via YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IRA2cH7izU4> (accessed September 2, 2015).

The optimal time for video lectures is the three-to-five minute range, with a general pedagogical goal of keeping all videos under ten minutes.²⁵ It is better to have a series of shorter videos than one long video, as students are more likely to access short videos. Timing in video lectures is different than with traditional lectures, as an hour of F2F lecture ends up being 5-8 minutes of video if the instructor develops a detailed script. This is due to the faster pace of video lectures, which are more like news reports or documentaries than traditional lectures. In addition, the process of condensing content to a short video also reflects the lack of class discussion or students asking the instructor to slow down during a traditional F2F lecture.

Some educators are reluctant to create video lectures for fear that the finished product will not be of high quality. While it is true that one's initial attempts to develop video lectures might not be perfect, and even amateurish, the only way to develop this skill is simply to jump in and experiment, avoiding obsessing over perfection, as we are educators, not Hollywood directors. Minor glitches will not mar an otherwise strong lecture, nor will students even notice most technical shortcomings. Besides, editing these lectures is quite simple, and one need not re-record an entire lecture because one small segment happens to be clunky.

Make video lectures seem as "live" as possible. The best way to accomplish this goal is to include video footage of the instructor as part of the lecture. Include at least some introductory footage of the instructor in video lectures and one other "live" segment, even just a ten-second transition. When possible, add a "live" conclusion to video lectures with a brief summary of the topics covered in the lecture.

In the most effective style of video lectures, the instructor maintains a relatively informal and personal style of narration. Look directly into the camera in these segments, which is in keeping with current pedagogical best practices,²⁶ and use the traditional newscaster approach of looking down for a few seconds at notes before returning right back to face the camera. The addition of personal experiences and life anecdotes helps liven up video lectures, and they help students make connections across temporal and geographical divides. A dose of humor also can be effective in illustrating points, but be careful: Sometimes humor does not translate well across cultures, and humor works best in segments where students can see the instructor's face on the screen to pick up visual clues.

When narrating a video lecture or creating a "live" segment, be sure to speak clearly, to enunciate, and to speak with confidence. It might take a few practice recordings to develop a confident delivery, so do not be disappointed if the first take of the first video comes across as less-than-polished. Even a choppy video lecture is

²⁵Janet Whatley and Amrey Ahmad, "Using Video to Record Summary Lectures to Aid Students' Revision," *Interdisciplinary Journal of Knowledge and Learning Objects*, 3 (2007), 187.

²⁶Whatley and Ahmad, 193.

more effective at delivering content and helping students understand concepts than a completely static textual passage or non-narrated PowerPoint lecture. Remain as timeless as possible: Narrators of video lectures should avoid referencing specific contemporary events or popular culture, as these items can make the lecture seem outdated quickly, necessitating editing or even a complete revision of the video lecture. Finally, be sure to use detailed scripts: Even if you are a polished speaker, the use of scripts reduces the “umm” and “uh” factor, leading to a more polished production. Scripts also reduce the amount of time you spend on videos, since you are more likely to include everything you wanted to cover, and the net result is a tighter and professional production.

There are a few technical recommendations to keep in mind as you plan the production of video lectures. Using the method outlined in the video tutorial (see footnote 8) an instructor does not need a technical assistant, but a work-study student or teaching assistant is a logical choice for delegation. Either way, make sure to test the recording environment. Be sure to run lighting and sound checks before recording, as nothing is more frustrating than creating a video only to find out the microphone was off or the lighting was too dim. Use the best hardware that you can afford: Most laptops have built-in cameras and microphones, but the sound and video quality of these free tools is somewhat low. Inexpensive external webcams and microphones will produce much better videos. Finally, be sure to proof videos before releasing them in a live environment to avoid any glaring errors from becoming viral memes in social media.

Many programs are available for instructors to use to produce high-quality video lectures. Some are free, and some can be purchased; be sure to check around your institution to see what software already is available. Camtasia Studio is an excellent tool for PC users, while ScreenFlow works well in Mac environments. Screencast-o-Matic is also popular, and this software is available in PC and Mac versions.

Keep the pace lively in the video lecture, and limit time on individual slides to thirty seconds or less. A pace of at least three narrated slides per minute makes the video seem more like a documentary. Avoid the use of gimmicks such as text animations, unnecessary sound effects, or silly fonts, all of which can be distracting to students viewing the lecture. Emphasize images over text on the individual slides, as the screen focus in video lectures should be on images, keeping text to a minimum, such as a title and just a few important terms. Try to keep at least eighty percent of the screen as a single image with a brief headline across the top plus a few relevant terms. Be aware of academic jargon and foreign terms that might confuse students, and be sure to spell out words students might not know, or use video-editing to insert a quick caption for unfamiliar words. Finally, include the lecture material as the basis for quizzes and exams: If students do not see a direct connection between the material and their course grades, they are much less likely to access the video lectures.

Quiz, Exam, Discussion, and Assignment Design

When designing any assessment or assignment for an online history course, it is important to keep in mind that online students generally have access to course texts and Internet browsers.²⁷ One group of educators suggests that the changing nature of information retrieval and ubiquitous access to information means that we should be reinventing the entire process of education. Instead of cracking down on online students as somehow “cheating,” we might simply allow our F2F students the same opportunity to use study aids during exams. Such behavior, as goes the argument, more closely mirrors the employment world that today’s graduates will face, as it is almost unthinkable that a person would have to memorize prodigious amounts of content to be successful in a career. This approach could be described as an open-note, open-book, and open-browser methodology, and a number of studies suggest little difference in achievement between open- and closed-source environments.²⁸

Anecdotally I have experimented with open-note and open-book exams in several F2F classes. There did not appear any statistically meaningful difference in these classes than from exam results traditionally found on closed-book, no-notes exams. One of the keys, though, is to design exams and quizzes with questions that cannot be answered easily by a quick Google search and jumping to the index of a textbook.

Place time limits on quizzes with multiple choice or true-false questions, capping the time at sixty to ninety seconds per question.²⁹ This reduces what Thomas Brothen and Catherine Wambach have called the “quiz-to-learn” approach,³⁰ whereby students only open the textbooks as they go along during a quiz to find out what they need to pass the quiz. Randomizing question order on quizzes and exams, plus randomizing answer orders, will help reduce cheating between students, and most LMS offer these features.

Plagiarism remains a concern for many faculty members who are reluctant to embrace online teaching, but tools to detect plagiarism have significantly improved the

²⁷Admittedly, a few institutions have developed proctored testing centers where students can take online exams, but to my way of thinking a class would not be a truly “online” course if there was an on-campus component.

²⁸See for example Jeremy B. Williams and Amy Wong, “The Efficacy of Final Examinations: A Comparative Study of Closed-Book, Invigilated Exams and Open-Book, Open-Web Exams,” *British Journal of Educational Technology*, 40:2 (2009), 227–236.

²⁹Joan Conkin and Neddie Serra, “Continuing Education Corner: Multiple Choice Testing,” *New Jersey Nurse*, 27 (1997), 7.

³⁰Thomas Brothen and Catherine Wambach, “The Value of Time Limits on Internet Quizzes,” *Teaching of Psychology*, 31:1 (2004), 64.

last few years. Turnitin, which is built into Canvas Instructure, and the Blackboard SafeAssign system work quite well in identifying plagiarism on submitted papers. However, while anti-plagiarism software is useful, there are more proactive strategies in dealing with academic dishonesty.

One key to reducing or even eliminating plagiarism is simply to design difficult-to-plagiarize writing assignments. One strategy is to use a version of the aforementioned first-person fictional narrative paper illustrated in the section on discussion forums. Below is an example of an assignment prompt designed in lieu of having the students write a traditional book review of the classic microhistory book *The Return of Martin Guerre* by Natalie Zemon Davis:

After reading *The Return of Martin Guerre*, imagine that you are a villager in the town of Artigat during the time covered in this narrative; your character might be a poor peasant, a merchant, an artisan, or a person of higher socioeconomic status. Compose a narrative in which you create a fictional historical character, making sure to include biographical details for your fictional character. Discuss your history and life in the village, and discuss how you became acquainted with Arnaud du Tilh/Martin Guerre. Considering the evidence presented in the text, discuss why your character is inclined to believe or disbelieve the claims of du Tilh, making sure to include the interactions your character experienced with the main characters of the story. Discuss your character's assessment of the legal findings, and whether your character believes that justice was served in the case. Stronger papers will exhibit evidence that the student understands the major themes and events developed by Natalie Zemon Davis in *The Return of Martin Guerre*.³¹

Academic dishonesty and plagiarism should be addressed in the “Start Here” pages and in the course syllabus and these sections should list the types of behaviors that constitute plagiarism. I include reminders about plagiarism policies on all assignment prompts, and post announcements discouraging the behavior as well as links to informative Web pages and videos on plagiarism to defuse the “I didn’t know I was plagiarizing” argument.

Finally, instructors should be transparent with students regarding the use of anti-plagiarism software in online courses. Turnitin can be embedded directly into the course shell on Canvas, and the course website shares the Turnitin report with students as soon as it is available. Most students will not consider plagiarism to be worth their time when they know that an instructor is closely monitoring their written work.

³¹Brooks, 2013.

Conclusion

Teaching history in online settings requires different philosophical approaches and skill sets than in traditional F2F classrooms. Online history instructors need to develop the ability to problem-solve site design and student access problems that inevitably occur, and possessing the ability to see the course shell through the eyes of a student is also a valuable skill. Assignments should be designed with the knowledge that online students have access to resources that F2F students lack, especially as related to quizzes and exams.

In some ways teaching online is more labor-intensive than many F2F classes, given the fact that written work is the principal means by which online students demonstrate mastery of course content and themes. Increasingly faculty job postings include online teaching experience as a requirement for open positions, and as universities and colleges continue to pursue online education, the ability to teach online is directly related to career success in higher education.

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**IN DEFENSE OF THE GOLD STANDARD:
SOME THOUGHTS ON MICHAEL BROOKS' ESSAY ON ONLINE
TEACHING**

Donn Neal
Retired Historian
Pittsburgh, PA

Perhaps it is no surprise that someone like me, a retired faculty member at a liberal arts college, would wince his way through the essay on online courses that appears in this issue of *Teaching History*. But despite my personal skepticism about such courses, my response to that essay is less a critique or a rebuttal of it than it is a passionate defense of what I regard as the gold standard of higher education: the venerable, valuable, but now seemingly vulnerable tradition of a teacher-led, on-campus, classroom-based, interpersonal education that has served us so well for so long. It behooves us to think about how invaluable the several elements and attributes of this gold standard are before we send it packing, because, if we do, we will be hard pressed to bring it back.

I am no Luddite (hey, I too have a smart phone). Neither am I naïve or foolish enough to think that all online, computer-based, distance learning is invalid or inappropriate. Nor do I think that the teaching and learning model I revere is the only one teachers should use. My own experience in a dozen years of teaching involved experimenting with a variety of models. Then, I helped to devise and lead a consortial program that assisted college faculty members to rethink and refresh their teaching strategies and skills and that emphasized having different arrows in one's quiver for different situations. After that, overseeing the creation of a competency-based certification program for a national professional society afforded me an opportunity to understand how training exercises can be a key component in learning. Finally, serving for a number of years as the director of an education and training program for a Federal agency brought me a deeper sense of how both of these teaching and learning processes can work together harmoniously when used appropriately.

But all of these experiences, while exposing me to and helping me to appreciate a broader panoply of learning styles and formats, also strengthened my affection and appreciation for the gold standard I have described. To paraphrase an advertisement I recently saw: Interactive classroom teaching sessions led by a skilled professional do not just set the bar for successful teaching, they *are* the bar when it comes to inculcating and honing the critical-thinking tools and habits that enable a mind to survive and succeed, especially in an information-laden, rapidly changing, and multi-voiced environment. We need *more* of these opportunities, not fewer.

Of course, the gold standard I describe is not the only path to learning. Studying on one's own obviously has its own special place at the center of an education. Two or more people cannot read a book together, at least for long; joint research is a tricky

beast to master; and group projects are a different species altogether. And thinking things through in the quiet of one's own head when new ideas come along, and again in moments of retrospection, will always be the most important intellectual activity we can engage in.

At some point, though, education must become a shared experience. Confining larger and larger swaths of learning to passive or solitary study isolates individuals from the greater energy and stimulation of communal learning. It is the confluence of disparate attitudes and minds, of a multiplicity of interests and intellects, that sparks the sort of learning environment that one admires and envies, not only on campuses but in such other give-and-take exercises as corporate board meetings, political strategy sessions, advertising agency brainstorming, medical conferences, musical collaborations, and similar situations where the principal goals are sharing and evaluating information, insights, and inspirations while building a capacity to do these things even better.

So in our enthusiasm to explore and exploit the very real potential of online methodologies and experiences (a not-surprising by-product of a trendy and device-dependent society that is also eager to pare personnel costs to the bone), let's not carelessly discard the tried and true teaching and learning experiences we know can work well when they are done right.

In a purely instructional sense, for me that means the small Socratic-like seminar—a teaching revolution in its own time, of course, though hardly the most economical model in a curriculum dominated by dollars. I am also a fan of the somewhat larger class-discussion model (say, 15–40 participants), which has both strengths and weaknesses when compared to the classic, more intimate seminar. In my view, even the traditional didactic lecture—better yet, the partially didactic one that includes considerable directed discussion—has considerable merit when efficiency of delivery of information is preferred and when creative techniques introduce elements of the kinds of discussions employed with smaller numbers.

In my view, nothing can fully replace the small (we can debate the exact size) group's immediate give and take of information and opinions; the non-verbal responses ranging from raised eyebrows to stifled yawns to the gleam of realization; the infectious joy of grasping someone else's incisive point as it is spoken; the collective coalescence around a consensus arrived at after intense effort (the collective disagreement is no less a victory); the testing of wits and half-baked ideas in a setting where no one has all the answers but all have an obligation to strive for them. Teaching is helping students to learn, from one another as often or as much as from the instructor, and I mean as *people* rather than as ephemeral electronic strangers.

These vehicles work so well because they develop the skills of critical thinking. They echo, encourage, enable, and enhance the central thrust of a liberal education, which is awakening the ability and honing the capacity to analyze, acquire, and assimilate a torrent of new information; the ability to articulate and knead complex and

widely varying concepts into a larger construct; the capability to marshal evidence to support or challenge an opinion; and, yes, the skill to make sound arguments for and against propositions put forward by others. These vehicles do that work by having individuals engage with one another in a series of immediate and multi-party discussions, testing their own beliefs and the ideas of others in company with other, critical-thinking individuals.

An incidental but not significant by-product of campus-based educational exercises designed to bring people together into distinct groups is the spirit of joint endeavor that can emerge and develop as a mixed body of students get acquainted and work together, over time, to think as a group about an assigned topic or to explore and master a challenging body of work. Such an education is not just richer and more satisfying on a personal level but lays a good foundation for the way much of society functions today. Moreover, a predominantly on-campus, group-based learning journey can easily be augmented with certain on-line learning opportunities of special merit that, quite literally, widen horizons. I am less sanguine that a mixture reversing these proportions would be as successful.

And let's not overlook the (sometimes superior!) pre- and post-classroom discussions among students and with the instructor. There is ample evidence to suggest that the professional—and personal—growth of students outside of their classrooms can be every bit as significant as what happens inside those rooms. Learning occurs all over a campus, whether it is a bucolic one spread over many acres or a vertical one plunked down in the middle of a city. Moreover, the personal connections a student makes in on-campus experiences can influence and enrich an entire lifetime, not just one's intellectual development. A good discussion thus is an adventure that begins before and continues beyond a single class session, and this is more likely on a campus dedicated to education than anywhere else.

A unique value is derived from a concentrated, immersive focus on a topic or set of related topics, perhaps on a provocative question to be devised or answered in company with others of diverging views. It often begins with a deceptively simple question: "So, after all that you have read, how should we view Andrew Jackson?" Or, "Was FDR's managerial approach the right one for the circumstances of the Great Depression? What effects of his leadership style do we still feel today, and is it still an appropriate approach?" Or, "Thinking about the kinds of reasons people had for migrating to America, do we still see those impulses in today's migration movements?" And so the adventure begins. Such a focus is far superior to having individual students posting and reading comments on imaginary discussion boards or emailing responses now and then during their busy lives, as time or a job or traffic signals permit.

In sum, well-taught and freewheeling *discussion* courses are the essence of, perhaps even a microcosm of, what the best college-level experience can be: a chance—heavily subsidized by society, it bears noting—to work together to confront,

delve deeply into, and debate essential questions about various aspects of the human experience. There should be *more*, not fewer, courses with these attributes.

Do the teaching and learning models I am saluting here lack in the convenience and sense of accelerated progress that online learning promises? Yes, but they offer instead time for contemplation and the dynamic of many minds with different perspectives joining to examine—and debate—the same topic. Are these models labor-intensive, and thus fairly expensive? Yes, and thank goodness they are: That is the justifiable price for having the complete, personal attention of a well-prepared and skillful mentor. Do these models lack technical wizardry? Only if you are thinking of machines: *Real* wizardry comes in the form of the miracles of inspiration and comprehension a good instructor and bright students can pull from an hour of intensive and wide-ranging conversation that follows putting a stimulating topic into play.

I close with a caution: Just because it is now possible to drive a vehicle and send texts at the same time, it is not necessarily right or wise to do so. Similarly, I suggest, just because it is *possible* to design online courses that emulate some of the characteristics of traditional, interpersonal classroom courses, it is not necessarily right or wise to do that. (I recently saw an advertisement promising a nursing degree to be taught “entirely online.”) The gold standard of teaching and learning that has served us for generations should not be abandoned just because there now are some more convenient, trendier, and (perhaps) cheaper alternatives.

So let’s not deprive ourselves—and, more importantly, our students—of the all-too-few opportunities that the college years provide to take part in the range of interactive, teacher-led models that a campus-based person-to-person education offers. There will be plenty of occasions, later, for our students to learn at the computer monitors in their work stations or in their palms.

EATING HISTORY: A UNITED STATES HISTORY PROJECT

Christopher Lewis
Chapman University

Our lives are enlivened by sensory experience. Memories are constructed with the building blocks of what we see, touch, taste, smell, and hear. Learning occurs best when our minds and bodies are engaged actively and challenged by new experiences and situations. Teaching history allows me to explore the various ways students learn: analyzing visual and music sources, engaging in total physical response, and also reflecting to build empathy and problem-solving skills. However, it was not until recently that I realized one sense is often ignored in teaching: the sense of taste. Taste might be one of the strongest and most engaged in our lives. We all eat. What we eat reflects our personal and social situation. But the use of food as a teaching tool is not limited to the sense of taste. Food engages all of our senses. And thus, I argue that thinking historically is not limited to what we read or discuss. Studying history must include an exploration of what we eat as well.

History classes are frequently difficult for students because they fail to make connections between the past, the present, and the future. Therefore, students struggle with practicing periodization, identifying cause and effect, or analyzing primary source documents that reflect the political, social, and economic tensions of any given time period. Teachers use photographs, political cartoons, or personal narratives to incite discussion and develop critical thinking about the past. But these materials might create distance between students and studying history where history is to be acquired or obtained instead of lived. Students do not see themselves as participants actively creating, making, and navigating their own personal histories. Thus, history is reduced to memorizing names, events, and dates about people that are not connected to students' immediate experiences. History educators bear a responsibility that is unlike many other subjects. The way in which history is presented can positively or negatively affect a student's self-efficacy, identity development, and worldview.

We might narrow the distance between past and present by using food as a tool for historical analysis. By studying history from a thematic perspective with food and food ephemera as the centerpieces, we can explore issues of immigration, migration, assimilation, and identity development more creatively. Food is an element of survival and all humans share it as an experience that relates to the development of cultural identity. Where our food comes from, what we eat, and how it is prepared, all become part of our cultural performance. For many immigrants, food is a way of maintaining ethnic heritage and defining cultural identity. Simultaneously, food culture is influenced by the availability of certain resources and living conditions. In my classroom, I began to explore ways of integrating food culture to engage students in a historical sensory

experience. I did this by infusing food into our study of immigration and migration in the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹

In this paper, I intend to include food, recipes, cookbooks, and restaurant menus as primary sources. These items allow history teachers to deepen student understanding of issues related to ethnic identity and assimilation. I developed a unit plan that focuses on immigration into New York City during the twentieth century and the purpose of this essay is to introduce the inclusion of food history in my lessons. I focus on the project students completed at the end of the unit where they engaged in three major tasks; first, using digital archives to create a timeline of events; second, doing a close analysis of one artifact in their timeline; and finally, doing an analysis of a food dish using a New York Public Library database of menus. I hope to encourage teachers to think of what we eat as part of our individual histories. By including food and its related ephemera as resources used in the classroom, history is more than words on a page or voices of the past; history is something we can eat too.

An Apertif – Food Culture

Luckily, history scholars who have tried to explain immigration and migration through images of food encourage this kind of exploration. Competing views of the *melting pot* and *salad bowl* theories provided some inspiration. I do not intend to ignore the justifications for these theories of assimilation, but there are other important questions for the purpose of this article. These images were used to describe the socialization of Americans and immigrant groups using food as a metaphor. I started to ask, what were Americans cooking? What is American food? When does an immigrant become American?

Hasia Diner argued that food has played a significant role in the development of political, economic, and social structures within communities.² From agrarian communities based on hunting, gathering, and bartering to industrial societies in large urban neighborhoods, food has always driven the ways in which people interact. Gender roles often are attributed to food culture and preparation. Familial and celebratory practices revolve primarily around food and the dinner table. Food also

¹This work was inspired by my experiences working with the New York Public Library and the National Endowment for the Humanities Grant program titled "Recipe for America: Immigration, Assimilation, and Food Culture." I participated in this teacher seminar during the summer of 2012. The seminar included lectures from history scholars that focused on subjects such as food culture, immigration, and identity development. We also spent time touring various immigrant communities around New York City and visiting museums, restaurants, and food carts to expand our study. At the end of the seminar, teachers created unit and lesson plans that integrated food into the teaching of history.

²Hasia Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2001).

divides people: The poor do not eat the same items as the rich, and immigrant groups bring unique items and preparations from their own ethnic backgrounds. Food is politicized and manipulated by the government as seen in labor laws, production laws, the Food and Drug Administration, and even school lunches. Our personal tastes are products of experience. And as Diner noted, “for all human history people have contended with the stark reality that they must eat to live.”³

Deciding to explore food culture and food identity at the turn of the twentieth century was an ideal fit because taste added a new element to a period of history rich in sights, smells, and visuals of bustling city streets and urban neighborhoods. The unit of study focused on immigrants arriving through Ellis Island and settling in Manhattan. The ethnic and racial makeup of Manhattan provides students the chance to explore diversity issues against the backdrop of industrialization and urbanization. As immigrants arrived, they usually sought out communities in which their own language and cultural needs could be met. One could walk down Orchard Street in the Lower East Side and find familiar faces, languages, crafts, and foods. And while beer, pickles, pretzels, cheeses, and kosher meats are commonplace in today’s world, an exploration of their arrival and history allows students to evaluate the connection between food and ethnic identity.

The dill pickle is one of the most fascinating foods to study historically. And while I am specifically referring to pickled cucumbers, easily found in local markets and on pushcarts in the Lower East Side through the nineteenth century, I could also extend this discussion to the process of pickling. Many cultures in the world use pickling: kimchee in Korea, pickled jalapeños and carrots in Mexico, sauerkraut in Germany, and pickled herring in Eastern Europe. The process is historically and geographically situated and the need for pickling also relates to economic class, food sustainability, and living conditions. Depending on one’s geographic location, pickling is a way to preserve meats and vegetables in order to last harsh winters where harvesting is impossible. Pickled goods are also fairly easy to prepare, sell, and trade within a community.

Students seemed to be fairly comfortable with the idea of pickling but could not believe we could take a historical, political, sociological, or economic stance on the effects of pickles. In one lesson, we focused on analyzing primary source documents from the late nineteenth century depicting pickle pushcarts and pickle stores. We sampled dill pickles and discussed the pushcart culture of immigrant communities in the Lower East Side. Jane Ziegelman, in her food history book *97 Orchard: An Edible History of Five Immigrant Families in One New York Tenement*, explained that some “saw pickle-eating as a kind of compulsion” where “the undernourished child was drawn

³Ibid., 2.

to pickles the same way an adult was drawn to alcohol.²⁴ Ziegelman also noted that other concerns arose because Americans, mostly the wealthy from upper Manhattan, did not like the strong pungent smell of vinegar and feared germs from the shared barrel that required one to dip their arm inside to get a fresh pickle. During World War I, the push for temperance increased as anti-German sentiment spread into urban areas where bars and pubs served salty pickles alongside a cold glass of Bavarian beer. But pushcarts and street markets were a way of life. Despite challenges, they were simple to set up and a way for poor families to survive the hardships of starting over in the United States.

Because this was the first time that I included food as a part of the curriculum, I struggled to balance between the idea of teaching *with* food versus teaching *about* food. Students were definitely more interested in the lesson because they were eating and learning simultaneously. One day during the unit I served a buffet of options where students sampled foods from different cultures as we discussed processes of urbanization and assimilation for recent immigrants. Students made connections between pushcart culture and the *elote* (corn on the cob) or *paleta* (Popsicle) seller that is often waiting outside the gates of our school when the bell rings at the end of the day. After eating *polenta*, they exclaimed that it tasted like *masa* from tamales; we discussed the role corn has played in the cuisine of many cultures around the world because of its growth cycle and resilience in harsh conditions. Food issues from the past seemed to creep into my students' relationship with the present. This unit could have lasted longer than two days, but time constraints forced me to press on and begin working with students on the final project.

Multiple Entrees – The Unit Project

The unit project my students completed included three tasks: creating a digital timeline, examining an artifact, and analyzing a recipe. The goal of these three tasks were two-fold. First, I wanted to introduce students to online resources and visual media useful when studying history. Second, I wanted students to interact with digital platforms to create products that reflected the emerging technologies available today. My students were given some introductory activities and directions on how to use digital galleries and choose effective key terms for searching as well as storing digital information. Each of the tasks did not directly reflect the inclusion of food history because other skills and content were being evaluated. However, inter-departmental connections can be made with culinary arts courses or nutrition courses to identify alternative assessment strategies that include multiple modalities and senses.

⁴Jane Ziegelman, *97 Orchard: An Edible History of Five Immigrant Families in One New York Tenement* (New York: Harper, 2010), 150.

Digital Timeline

In the first task, students explored digital collections of the New York Public Library (<http://www.nypl.org>). Having technology available in the classroom allows students to move beyond the walls of a school and into museums and libraries across the world. Other sites also provide digital field trips where students can walk down streets and view places being studied. For the purpose of this task, we focused on databases organized by the New York Public Library but found we had to branch out to include the Library of Congress (<http://www.loc.gov/index.html>) and the National Archives and Records Administration (<http://www.archives.gov>).

When students were introduced to the three digital collections, I did not provide detailed guidance as they searched for photographs, charts, graphs, and documents. I wanted to wander around the room, watching them use the websites and talk with their peers about the terms they were using to search. A negative effect of using search engines is that students struggle to narrow down results. Most students immediately did an image search, but I emphasized the need to track source information carefully that would be included in the timeline. After approximately fifteen minutes, I stopped the class and we debriefed their processes thus far. I guided them through some tasks regarding search terms, Boolean logic, and navigating databases. Instead of starting with the search bar, I showed students how to find tools and links built into the website that automatically narrow searches thematically, chronologically, or topically. Students also looked at their notes to determine what terms (e.g., nationality, geographic location, time period) would yield the desired results. After locating an appropriate image, the NYPL Digital Gallery lists alternate subjects and headings in order to find more documents. By reviewing the website's structure and organization, students were able to find information more quickly.

Students were responsible for collecting at least ten artifacts to include on their digital timeline. In small groups of two or three, students gathered images and began adding them to a website called Dipity (<http://www.dipity.com>) that supports the creation of interactive timelines. Each item that is added can include a title, date, description, picture, web link, and geographic location. The geographic location is a unique function. Not only can students view the timeline as a chronological chart or series of flashcards, they can also view a web-based world map that labels each one of the events they included on the timeline based on the location chosen. For a project on immigration, this was an important element so that students could see changes over time from a spatial and geographical perspective. I encouraged students to locate images that showed food in the home, community, or marketplace. They could see where different immigrant groups settled and developed their neighborhoods. The work that students did in completing this task was essential to the next part of the project where each student chose one artifact to study in more detail.

Examining an Artifact

Students were required to choose one of the photographs they included in their digital timeline to evaluate in more detail. One graphic organizer (Figure 1) I use to examine visual artifacts utilizes a process called “See, Mean, Matter.” This process requires students to (1) identify what they *see* by making observations about the details included in the picture; (2) infer the *meaning* behind some of their observations, including symbolism or connections to historical context; and (3) determine why this image *matters* or is significant to studying the time period. This process works particularly well when analyzing political cartoons because the three steps encourage students to break down visual media in order to infer historical importance.

Figure 1
Image Analysis Tool

SEE (What do I see?)	MEAN (What do the content and images symbolize?)
MATTER (What is the creator’s message, intent, or bias?)	
VOICE (What might the people be thinking or saying about their situation?)	
CITATIONS (Where did you find the details as you constructed the dialogue?)	

For the purposes of this task, I added a step to the process that I called “voice.” In addition to analyzing the observations students made based on what they saw in the photograph, I wanted them to use what they knew about the time period to construct a dialogue between the people within the picture.⁵ By placing themselves within the

⁵Edward T. O’Donnell, “Using Images to Teach History” (presentation, Recipe for America, New York, NY, August 1, 2012). Dr. O’Donnell is the author of several books regarding social science education and his lecture focused on the way teachers can use visual imagery in the classroom. His insightful practice of challenging students to develop fictional narratives based on photographs and paintings is what inspired me to add the element of “voice” to my graphic organizer. I appreciated his view of

(continued...)

picture, students reflected upon the feelings and reactions of the people at that time. For example, I showed an image of a family arriving at Ellis Island. The father is not in the picture, the mother carries an infant while her other two children are at her side, and they are surrounded by several bags that appear to be their personal belongings. The title of the photograph indicates that the family is of Italian descent and had arrived to Ellis Island in the early 1900s. Students practiced writing a dialogue this family might have had going through the arrival process into New York City. The children could have asked about the medical examinations, lunch options, or diversity of people. Sometimes students used anachronistic language when representing the thoughts of people in the pictures; however, the intention was to provide students with the ability to develop empathy and imagine what immigrants experienced arriving to the United States. When constructing the dialogue students used their notes and other documents read during the lessons to find key vocabulary to include. In the graphic organizer, I included space for students to cite their evidence by referencing materials that were studied in class or found during the time students independently conducted their research.

Another photograph we analyzed as a class depicted a different Italian family living in the Lower East Side. It appeared that two mothers were sitting with their infant children and young daughters while they shelled peanuts that were heaped on a table. This picture represented the way many immigrant families made a living by turning the home into a factory of sorts. Other images students found related to the home-as-factory theme were pictures of Orchard Street, which depicted a bustling community filled with street vendors. When adding the thoughts of the figures, students noted there were no sanitary regulations, no minimum wage, and no protection against child labor. They also noted the crowded tenements, harsh working conditions, and potentially long hours. They identified characteristics of urban life in Manhattan. Some of the documents students found within the database included restaurant menus and store fronts from the time period, which provided an important connection to the last task.

Analyzing a Recipe

For this part of the project, students participated in some important work being done by the New York Public Library. The NYPL Lab titled “What’s on the menu?”

⁵(...continued)

studying history by emphasizing the need to “explore conflict,” “humans as agents of change,” and “the study of choices.” Instead of viewing visual imagery as static and fixed in our historical memory, teachers and students can understand history as more fluid and transforming if we interpret information from multiple perspectives.

is a digitized gallery of restaurant menus dating back to the 1850s.⁶ The purpose of this project is to allow researchers to evaluate the types of dishes being served, the popularity of certain food items, the geographic location of food sales, a chronological account of menu preparation, an analysis of pricing, and the influences economic conditions have on eating habits. The website discusses the benefits of this collection and, to encourage historians to use the collection, offers up questions such as “Where were oysters served in nineteenth-century New York and how did varieties and cost change over time? When did apple pie first appear on the Library’s menus? What about pizza? What was the price of a cup of coffee in 1907?”⁷ This site is interactive and encourages visitors to join in the process of adding details from the menus to the searchable database.

The assignment my students completed included two parts. First, they added three menus they had researched to the database. We spent some time in the computer lab exploring the website and adding items to the digital library. Second, students chose one food item or dish to explore in more detail. They searched for information about the history of the food dish, including its ingredients, nation of origin, and cultural significance. I created a graphic organizer (Figure 2) to help students identify specific parts of the dish in order to make connections between the historical time period, the construction of the dish, and the diner who might enjoy it. I had hoped to challenge students to make the dish and bring it in as a way to share in the experience, but time and availability of ingredients prevented this from happening. Next year, I hope to work with our culinary arts teacher to discuss a project where our students can work together in making connections between food preparation and food history.

⁶“What’s on the menu?”, New York Public Library, <http://menus.nypl.org/>, accessed September 2, 2015.

⁷*Ibid.*, “About” page.

Figure 2
Recipe as Primary Source

Restaurant:
Location:
Year:
Recipe Title:
Price:

Ingredients	
Preparation	How is the dish prepared? Are there variations from different cultures?
Brief history	When was it first documented? Has it changed in preparation or price over time? Where has it been served? Who might have eaten this dish
Why America?	How does this recipe relate to the rise in immigration and urbanization in the United States during the early 1900s?

Just Desserts – Next Steps

Do you have a favorite food memory? Is it a smell, a taste, or a texture that takes you back in time? When your senses are triggered, are you instantly transported to a place where you remember where you were, who made the dish, and whom you were with? I can remember the smell of sautéed garlic and olive oil lingering through the house on Sunday mornings. Each Sunday I visited a close family friend's home where marinara simmered on the stove, fresh parmesiano reggiano had been grated, and the pasta was cooking to a perfect al dente. We sat around the table with ten to fifteen people, ripped a piece of crusty bread, passed it to the next person, and talked about everything from school to politics and family affairs. I learned about my Nana and Papa's migration from Sicily to the United States where they opened a catering company serving Italian food. Smelling garlic and olive oil reminds me of family members, friends, and endless stories that help me explore my own personal history. Food memories are powerful. It is these memories that can inspire a new and invigorated interest in studying history.

This unit was the first time that I attempted to include food in my teaching. One thing I know about food is that it brings people together. Sharing conversations during meal time is just one way we communicate with our families, friends, and loved ones.

Eating in my class is more than just part of the curriculum; it is part of the community. My morning classes are usually finishing their breakfast and my afternoon classes continue snacking throughout the day. I challenge myself to find ways to include food and food history regularly. Some of my students come back after having talked to family members about cherished dishes or after having sampled a new item. Eating is allowing my students to add a new element to their personal narratives. Each time we taste a familiar or even a new food we can be reminded of times past and open a gateway to studying history.

WHAT'S IN YOUR WALLET? ONE WAY TO TRANSFORM RELUCTANT STUDENTS INTO HISTORIANS

Matthew Ridenour
Minnehaha Academy (MN)

It is the beginning of yet another school year, and I am again confronted by this solemn truth: Not all of my students *like* history. I know this is hard to believe, considering how compelling the material can be (not to mention how wonderfully engaging history teachers are by nature). Nonetheless, I urge you to set aside your disbelief and hear me out.

In my experience as an educator, students will provide several explanations for their lack of excitement about history. Chief among them is the ever-confounding statement, "I'm not sure that it has anything to do with me." I would be remiss if I did not also mention my personal favorite, "I don't like words" (a profession recently made by a student with an unabashed calculator fetish). Regardless of the reason, these students present a particular challenge for the history teacher; they require a plan of action that subverts their reluctance or apathy and transforms them into lovers of the *process* of history (for it seems that the *content* of history might not be alluring enough).

Some students don't need this sort of prodding—they find topics such as the Aroostook War and the subsequent Webster-Ashburton Treaty inherently interesting. However, those who dare to question the importance of such obscure historical events necessitate a different approach from their history teachers. To hook such students, we need to invite them into the fold by demonstrating the complex, inquiry-laden, inductive, scientific processes that make history intelligible in the first place. Otherwise stated, we need to make *them* historians, with the hope that the *process* of deciphering history will engage even the most reluctant and apathetic learners.

Historiography Standards and Methodology

Ernst Breisach argues in his seminal work *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval & Modern* that the twenty-first century has brought with it a necessity for historians to "come to terms with the role of creative imagination in historiography." Furthermore, Breisach emphasizes that this should be a reason for rejoicing, insofar as "[historians] once more are called upon to perform the key role of interpretation" as opposed to the secondary role of merely translating the past.¹

John Lewis Gaddis supports this return to interpretive historiography. While he reminds all would-be historians that "we're obliged to tie our narrative as closely as

¹Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval & Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 410.

possible to the evidence that has survived,”² Gaddis still welcomes the use of inductive calculations and certain types of generalizations (what he calls “microgeneralization” or “particular generalization”³) to produce historical narratives. This sort of calculated creativity is at the heart of acceptable standards in modern historiography.

Additionally, George Iggers notes that today “a new conceptual and methodological approach to history is called for that sees history no longer as a unified process, a grand narrative ... but as a multifaceted flow with many individual centers.” Otherwise stated, “Stories are what matter now.”⁴

As Breisach, Gaddis, and Iggers all agree, we are in need of a philosophy of historiography that views creative interpretation, story-making, and the testing of hypothesis (through inductive methods) as both appropriate and acceptable. The exercise that follows is designed to cultivate that perspective.

The Set-Up

I prefer to employ this exercise on the first day of my AP U.S. history course, insofar as I assume that my students represent a typical cross-section of high schoolers, each of whom falls within the predictable spectrum of interest in history. These include history fanatics, reluctant historians, and apathetic students (whom I prefer to simply see as possessing a latent, yet-undiscovered passion for all things history). If I am correct, then a large portion of the class might benefit from the experience.

To begin, you will need a set of identical wallets—usually distributed at a ratio of one wallet for every 3–4 students. Each wallet should have, within its folds, identical sets of documents (meaning that the contents are precisely the same from wallet to wallet, right down to the minutest detail). While a teacher might prefer to choose their own “artifacts” for the activity, I prefer to incorporate the following:

- Approximately \$20 in U.S. currency⁵
- An ATM withdrawal statement for the aforementioned currency, complete with the account’s available balance
- A used ticket to a local sporting event
- A train or bus pass

²John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 107.

³One might also call this “microhistory,” which abandons the pursuit of a grand, macro-level historical narrative out of preference for seeking to test historiographic hypotheses in the context of smaller units of research through inductive methods.

⁴Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century from Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1997), 103.

⁵I use “play money” from popular board games one might have at home.

- Miscellaneous business cards for local goods and services
- A single photograph of individuals unrecognizable to the students
- A post-it note containing unisex names and phone numbers

Insofar as the exercise requires piecing together multiple sets of the artifacts, making photocopies is absolutely acceptable and does not compromise the authenticity of the experience for students. I have stockpiled copies of used tickets for our local Major League Baseball team over the years, as well as solicited business cards from local merchants. I have used my own checking account for the ATM withdrawal and, after whiting-out my name and account number, made photocopies to distribute in the wallets.

While the content needs to be consistent (from wallet to wallet) in order to be utilized effectively, my suggestions should merely serve as a starting point. What you include might change based on location, context, and availability of resources.

Instructions

Divide the class into groups of three or four and provide each group with a wallet. Offer no other front-loading information beyond this brief explanation, which I have scripted for the sake of consistency from year to year, although you may change it to suit your personality, or that of your class:

“Before we study history in textbooks, someone has to write it. Someone has to do the work of discovering and interpreting artifacts and documents related to a particular event or person in order to piece together a coherent narrative for the rest of us. This is called ‘historiography,’ which is the art of the historian. Some of you like history because of the people and stories. Some of you will come to like history because of the process behind those two things. Today we are going to explore that process.

“Each group has been given a wallet to explore. Each wallet and the contents are identical. For the next fifteen to twenty minutes, you have one simple task: Explore the wallet. Use a scratch sheet of paper to write down as many conclusive statements about the owner of the wallet as you feel comfortable. Only write down conclusions on which the group agrees. You may begin.”

While students are exploring the wallets, I eavesdrop on their conversations in order to prepare for the upcoming debriefing session, keeping an “ear out” for student statements that will serve as the fodder for a teachable moment or two.

Processing and Debriefing

After the students have had sufficient time to investigate, explore, discover, and discuss the contents of their wallet (which I believe is approximately 15–20 minute), the

most critical component of the exercise will begin—processing and debriefing. It is at this point that reluctant and apathetic learners might find something about the complex, inquiry-laden, inductive, scientific processes of historiography to engage them. With that said, the following questions are those that I use in the hope of facilitating said engagement (reporting back is typically done orally):

- Was there anything about the contents of the wallet that led you to a conclusive statement about its owner?
- Describe the processes that you needed to employ in order to draw up those conclusive statements. (Descriptive words such as synthesizing, comparing, contrasting, hypothesizing, and storytelling are common.)
- What artifacts did you think were most directly related to the owner of the wallet, and therefore most helpful in drawing direct conclusions about that individual (primary sources)?
- Are there any “conclusive statements” about the owner of the wallet that you now wish to retract, in light of our further exploration of these topics?
- What is the relationship between context and content, when it comes to historiography?
- How do beliefs, assumptions, and previous experiences color our conclusions?
- In what ways can this exercise inform the way you read history?
- In what ways does this exercise influence your appreciation for the art of the historian?
- In light of this experience, is there anything that we need in our classroom in order to be better students of history? (This could be an object, an attitude, or even a description of the classroom atmosphere.)

To Conclude the Exercise

As many of us already know, experiences like this and the information gleaned from subsequent processing sessions often are forgotten by students. Even the best lessons are subject to the cognitive decay that results from time. Therefore, I prefer to conclude this exercise (which, again, is the first thing my students do in a school year) by asking them to compile and combine their learnings in order to draft a compact we call “The Task of the Historian.” This document becomes an agreement—a scholarly promise to one another that will guide and direct our investigation of history during our class time together. I ask my students to limit their list to five items, although you may choose to shorten or lengthen the list to suit the ethos of your classroom. Below are some examples taken from a previous compact created by my students:

1. Historians use multiple reliable sources to make arguments and draw conclusions. We will do the same.
2. Historians listen carefully (not just to people, but to the documents that act as living, breathing connections to the past). We will do the same.
3. Historians are mindful of how their personal beliefs, assumptions, and experiences color their historical lens. We will do the same.
4. Historians respectfully question the conclusions of others when they believe there is reason to do so. We will do the same.
5. Sometimes historians love history because it is interesting, and sometimes because the process is fun. We will honor both in our classroom.

Student Feedback

What follows is feedback provided by my students after experiencing the wallet activity on the first day in AP United States History. Students were 16-17 years of age at the time (juniors in high school). All feedback is in response to the question, "In what ways can this exercise inform the way you read history?"

- "It has helped me to realize that history goes beyond easily observable facts. There is a story to accompany those facts."
- "As a historian, information must be read with context. Without it, many different conclusions could be taken from the same content."
- "One needs to compare and contrast multiple explanations of the same event in order to understand it."
- "This exercise demonstrated the way my past experiences, cultural assumptions, and biases affect the way I see history and make judgments."
- "This exercise illustrates the necessity of a certain attitude of awareness that must be carried while reading history."
- "I realize that I need to be more careful about developing and testing historical hypotheses."

Potential Adjustments for the College Classroom

While this exercise is presented here for use in the high school classroom, certain adjustments could be made for use in a college setting. Since many institutions require college students to enroll in a survey course in U.S. history (and some of those students would not enroll unless forced to do so), the necessity of drawing in reluctant learners is just as imperative as in high school. In order to do so, I would encourage college teachers to consider replacing the contents of the wallet with institution-specific artifacts such as receipts to the college bookstore, a dining center card, and even a mock dorm room key. This would allow students to contextualize their exploration of the wallet in

a setting that is rife in familiar assumptions, bias, and stereotypes. This adjustment should make for the type of conversation that would interest a college student. It also would allow students to engage in the complex, inquiry-laden, inductive, and scientific processes so essential to historiography.

An additional change for the college classroom might come by way of abandoning the notion of a compact in favor of assigning a paper. For example, in an American history survey course, one might begin by assigning students the task of collecting a sample of primary sources on the American Revolution and conducting an exploration of them using the same inductive-processes modeled during the wallet exercise. Each student's conclusions then could be compiled in a paper and compared against those of other historians. In my view, this sort of assignment could help cultivate an atmosphere of great ownership over one's study of history.

Conclusion

After engaging students with this exercise for several years, the long-term results are worth noting. During a recent activity in which students were occupied with another task of investigative narrative-making similar to the wallet exercise (this time centered on the precarious economic circumstances of the 1920s), one formerly apathetic student shouted aloud while referencing of the commitments outlined in our compact, "This makes me love history!" For this one student, an infatuation with the creative and inductive processes of historiography overcame a lack of initial interest in the content. This example is hardly the exception. As a rule, once I invite students to employ such a different approach to history, the atmosphere of the classroom changes—every historical event is a mystery worthy of exploration, every document is a piece of evidence worth exposing, and everyone has a story to investigate and interpret.

With that said, it is true that students tend to forget a skill if it is not consistently practiced. Therefore, I make a point to include an activity in each of our units that reinforces our classroom compact and revisits the aforementioned philosophy of historiography. Additionally, our exploration of primary source documents is guided by those very same principles. Needless to say, the wallet exercise transforms my classroom each fall. I hope that it can do the same for yours as well.⁶

⁶For more information on this exercise, see <http://static1.squarespace.com/static/52477a0ae4b031f96a665059/t/55dc8502e4b0e21ade3f9e43/1440515330320/Wallet+Presentation.pdf>.

“I’LL REMEMBER THAT” ORAL HISTORY, SERVICE LEARNING, AND HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING

Michael Clinton
Gwynedd Mercy University

Assignments that pair students with seniors to record oral histories are nothing new nor is service learning.¹ Service learning in general seeks to inspire students to look beyond the walls of the classroom and move into the community so that they can connect and apply what they’ve learned in coursework with the reality of lived human experience.² Seeking to understand history is fundamentally about seeking to understand humanity (one’s own and others’), which is the thread that binds service with learning. Service learning is a more far-reaching and sustained experience than “volunteering” in that it requires continual reflection about the connections between coursework and service. It also involves reciprocity, the recognition that those serving and those being served each have something to offer the other through their interaction.

Since 2008 I have assigned a service-learning project in my university’s common core history course that partners my students with residents at Foulkeways, a nearby senior community. Each student visits and interviews a partner several times with the aim of producing some form of biographical presentation and a separate reflection paper that analyzes the experience from the student’s perspective. The particular value in this project is in how it emphasizes to students that the process is not just about learning details about the seniors and the past that they lived through; it is also about their relationship with their partner and what happens as they talk to each other about their lives in a way that links past, present, and future. This description of the project begins with thumbnail sketches of the university, its students, and the course to provide some

¹The literature exploring oral history as service learning is voluminous and continues to grow. Some examples that have contributed to my own reflections on this topic include Vicki L. Ruiz, “Situating Stories: The Surprising Consequences of Oral History,” *Oral History Review*, 25 (Summer/Fall 1998), 71–80; Marjorie L. McLellan, “Case Studies in Oral History and Community Learning,” *Oral History Review*, 25 (Summer/Fall 1998), 81–112; Elsa A. Nystrom, “Remembrance of Things Past: Service Learning Opportunities in U.S. History,” *Oral History Review*, 29 (Summer/Fall 2002), 61–68; Erin McCarthy, “Oral History in the Undergraduate Classroom: Getting Students into History,” in Barry A. Lanman, Laura M. Wendling, eds., *Preparing the Next Generation of Oral Historians: An Anthology of Oral History Education* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006), 313–326; George White, Jr., “Crafting History: Oral History Projects, Experiential Learning, and a Meditation on Teaching and Learning,” *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods*, 38 (Spring 2013), 23–38.

²Barbara Jacoby, ed., *Service Learning in Higher Education: Concepts and Practices* (Hoboken, NJ: Jossey-Bass, 1996); Ira Harkavy and Bill M. Donovan, eds., *Connecting Past and Present: Concepts and Models for Service-Learning in History* (Washington, DC: American Association for Higher Education, 2000).

context, and then discusses specific aspects of the project to illustrate how it has influenced the way that students understand history.

My university is a small institution in Pennsylvania with around 1300 full-time students, sponsored by the Sisters of Mercy, a Catholic order whose mission is rooted in social justice and service, especially through education and health care. Many students come from lower-middle and working-class backgrounds, and most live in the metropolitan area where the university is located. A large majority of students pursue degrees in pre-professional programs, such as nursing and other health-related fields, business, and criminal justice, and tend to regard their liberal arts and humanities courses as ancillary rather than central to their education. In its mission statement, the university emphasizes “professional competency with the Mercy tradition of service to society” and offers service opportunities for students through Campus Ministry, the Freshman Year Experience, and as part of their course work. These experiences are meant to inspire students to continue to be involved in civic engagement.³

The “signature” (or common core) course in history that I began to offer in 2008 incorporates the curriculum’s mission-centered objectives and seeks to make history more accessible and relevant to non-history majors who mostly fill my classrooms. Titled “Conflict & Consensus in History,” the course strives to get students to develop a critical understanding of the interpretive nature of history and the ways that historical perspectives influence how people understand the world around them and their place in it. Many of these students arrive in the classroom skeptical about the value and relevance of studying history, and their own past experiences in history courses have left quite a number of them with trepidation about taking one at the college level. My hope is that students discover more of what history as a field of study has to offer, but all too often “Conflict & Consensus” is a student’s only exposure to history at the university.

The course was designed specifically to align with the university’s core values, including community and collaboration, compassion, dignity of each person, service, social responsibility, a spirit of hospitality, and valuing diversity. These values derive from the university’s religious identity, but anyone can appreciate them as fundamentally good human values. Examining and understanding history can provide students with opportunities to develop these human values: If we can recognize the humanity of others across the divide of time, after all, we ought to be able to respond to the humanity of those living now in far away parts of the world or even close by. Each requires that we abandon the tendency to reduce people to abstractions and to exercise that part of our imagination that allows us to recognize a common humanity.

The service-learning project I assign to students in “Conflict & Consensus” reflects this view of history as a way of knowing and connecting with the world and

³Jennifer Reed-Bouley and Ken Reed-Bouley, *Introducing Students to Social Analysis and Theological Reflection: Foundations for Facilitators of Service-Learning at Colleges and Universities Founded or Sponsored by the Sisters of Mercy* (Omaha, NE: Conference for Mercy Higher Education, 2007).

those in it. Outcomes of the service-learning project that I assign include a better understanding of historical methods, an appreciation of the human dimension of historical experience, and an awareness that history involves not only those grand moments highlighted in textbooks but even the everyday aspects of people’s lives. On their end, seniors benefit socially, cognitively, and otherwise from interaction with traditional-aged college students. Moreover, insofar as people have a fundamental need to share their stories, students provide their partners with opportunities and an audience as they give voice to their reflections about their lives.⁴ A Foulkeways resident who has been helping me to coordinate this project since the beginning explains to students when he addresses each of my course sections that he and his fellow residents simply want the opportunity to spend time with younger people, a desire that other participating seniors have reiterated to me.

The course begins with a consideration of various methods and sources that historians use to learn about the past. The course content features several examples that examine problems with oral histories as well as their value, and so students are prompted to consider some of the challenges associated with the validity, reliability, and integrity of historical sources and accounts. Before students begin the actual process of interviewing their partners, they review material in a “Suggested Readings and Resources” section that offers some guidance in the appropriate methods involved in recording oral histories.⁵ Students learn about the biographical tradition in history in

⁴Some of the literature that addresses the benefits of inter-generational relationships through service learning includes Barbara D. Ames and Jane P. Youatt, “Intergenerational Education and Service Programming: A Model for Selection and Evaluation of Activities,” *Educational Gerontology*, 20 (1994), 755–764; Sally Newman, Emin Karip, and Robert B. Faux, “Everyday Memory Function of Older Adults: The Impact of Intergenerational School Volunteer Programs,” *Educational Gerontology*, 21 (1995), 569–580; Sally Newman, “The United States,” in Allan Hattan-Yeo and Toshio Osako, eds., *Intergenerational Programmes: Public Policy and Research Implications, An International Perspective* (Hamburg: The Unesco Institute for Education and the Beth Johnson Foundation, 1999), <http://www.unesco.org/education/uie/pdf/intergen.pdf> (accessed January 6, 2014); James L. Knapp and Patricia Stubblefield, “Changing Students’ Perceptions of Aging: The Impact of an Intergenerational Service-Learning Course,” *Educational Gerontology*, 26 (2000), 611–621; Matthew S. Kaplan, *School-Based Intergenerational Programs* (Hamburg: Unesco Institute for Education, 2001), <http://www.unesco.org/education/uie/pdf/schoolbasedip.pdf> (accessed January 6, 2014); Shepherd Zeldin, Reed Larson, Linda Camino, and Cailin O’Connor, “Intergenerational Relationships and Partnerships in Community Programs: Purpose, Practice, and Directions for Research,” *Journal of Community Psychology*, 33 (2005), 1–10; Carmen Requena Hernandez and Marta Zubiaur Gonzalez, “Effects of Intergenerational Interaction on Aging,” *Educational Gerontology*, 34 (2008), 292–305.

⁵Through the Blackboard course companion site, students have access to two guides: Marjorie Hung, *The Smithsonian Folklife and Oral History Guide* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, 2003), and Judith Moyer, “Step-by-Step Guide to Oral History,” http://dohistory.org/on_your_own/toolkit/oralHistory.html (accessed January 6, 2014). In the library, students are also directed to Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide* (Oxford: Oxford (continued...))

a unit examining how historical and cultural circumstances can influence biographical portrayals. They are also directed to do additional research about the times and places where their partners lived in order to contextualize and to corroborate the information they acquire.

Acknowledging that students come to the class with different skill sets and talents, I encourage them to choose a medium for producing their biographical account that makes the best use of their talents. It is also a way to reinforce to students that history can be told in a variety of formats, producing a variety of artifacts. While some students submit standard written narrative accounts, others have taken the opportunity to do something more creative, such as constructing scrapbooks, developing web pages, recording videos, and in one case even making a quilt.

The student who made the quilt explained that service learning “is much more than just reminiscing about the life of another, but connecting that life with your own sense of self... Uncovering my partner’s life quilt ... not only gave her the opportunity to reflect on her own life, but gave me the same experience as well. Her life quilt truly resembles the many memories and life lessons she has experienced over the past eighty-two years, each of which I am now extremely grateful to understand.”⁶ Quilts are a traditional medium for passing along historical information, so its choice by this student demonstrated a good understanding of the various ways that stories about the past get told.

Students generally produce biographical accounts and representations that do not go so far as the quilt in terms of creativity and sophistication, but in any case my evaluation of their participation in the project relies more on the reflection paper that they submit. This tells me about the student’s experience—what was learned about history as a mode of critical understanding and the process of learning through oral accounts—which is what I am truly after.⁷ In their reflections, students most often relate how their perceptions of seniors changed as a result of their interactions. Foulkeways is a community that promotes a lifestyle of autonomy and dignity for seniors, where residents are not only active but run the community themselves through dozens of

⁵(...continued)

University Press, 2003), and Valerie Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2005). A helpful resource for instructors is Glenn Whitman, *Dialogue with the Past: Engaging Students and Meeting Standards through Oral History* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2004).

⁶Cassie Lloyd, Reflection Paper, Spring 2009. This and other student papers are on file in the possession of the author.

⁷Julie A. Hatcher, Robert G. Bringle, and Richard Muthiah, “Designing Effective Reflection: What Matters to Service Learning?” *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 11 (Fall 2004), 38–46.

committees; yet, students reflexively think about Foulkeways as a nursing home when I first describe this service-learning activity to them. That image invariably changes when two Foulkeways residents come as guests to my classrooms to discuss the project with the students. They are charming, witty, and engaging in a way that reassures students so completely that the sense of relief is palpable in the classroom. Even then, students’ attitudes still can be condescending when they describe our two guests and other Foulkeways residents with words such as “cute,” “sweet,” and “adorable.”

As students get to know their partners for the substantial lives that they have led and learn about the dramatic experiences that some of their partners have had, recognition of the discrepancy between their expectations and what they learned can help to dispel stereotypes. Some surprises are mundane, as in the case of the student “shocked” that her partner was competent using today’s technology: “In his room, there was a Mac desktop computer with working Internet and all. I sat in a chair thinking to myself that this elderly man uses technology. I was utterly amazed. I wanted to ask him if he could teach my grandmother how to use a computer! When I realized that he could operate a computer with no problems, I began to wonder if he was able to text....”⁸ Another student described her response to hearing the stories of her partner (“the sweetest lady”) who had participated in Belgian resistance during World War II when she was at an age younger than the student herself:

She told me of one instance when she jumped out of a moving train because she did not want to get deported to Germany to work in the factories. I said the first thing that came to my mind which was just, “That’s so cool!” ... I was shocked when she responded with, “Yeah, isn’t it cool?!” She was just as impressed with herself as I was with her. That was something I was not expecting from a 90 year old former member of the Underground.⁹

A nursing major wrote about how her service-learning experience converged with what she had been learning in her other courses: “Through all of my nursing classes, we are taught not to stereotype against the elderly and as much as I try not to, I still do. This project helped suppress some of these stereotypes.”¹⁰

As personal realizations—and, in this last student’s case, a professional insight—these reflections have considerable value, but they are not necessarily evidence that a critical understanding of history is emerging. That evidence does appear in a few

⁸Jasmin Hall, Reflection Paper, Fall 2013.

⁹Kristen Godzieba, Reflection Paper, Fall 2013.

¹⁰Page Bain, Reflection Paper, Spring 2008.

reflections, though. In terms of method, students discuss some of the challenges associated with oral history, such as their partners' faulty memories, keeping the interview focused, recognizing and accounting for bias, knowing what questions to ask and *if* to ask certain questions, etc. Others reveal insights about the nature of history itself. One student, for instance, came to the realization that the history told in textbooks is not the only history that there is to know:

People who are much older than us have experienced so many things. It doesn't matter if they lived a normal life and weren't related to someone famous, their lives are just as important and informative.... All of the people in history textbooks are the ones that people feel are worth noting about. What about all of the normal people? The people who weren't heroes or inventors, but the people that pretty much kept this country going. By interviewing Nancy I feel I have a better understanding about how the past was in real life and not just about the wars and the Depression.¹¹

One of my favorite reflections came from a student whose partner was a woman who graduated from college with advanced degrees and embarked on a career. This defied the student's image of women in the 1950s, showing her that not everyone lived as popular culture depicts and the popular imagination expects.¹²

Some students related how they discussed the conversations they had with their partners with their own family members, bringing them indirectly into the project. As one student described it, "It was basically like I was interviewing four people because I had so much input. It was interesting to talk to Trudy and take notes and then retell the information to my family and see if they could relate. When they gave their input, I would schedule another meeting with Trudy, and I would go back with a new set of questions and the process would repeat itself."¹³

The reflection that best indicated to me how the assignment can lead to a more sophisticated understanding of history came from a student who engaged in this same kind of triangulated conversation by comparing what she learned from her grandparents, who had suffered during the Depression and sacrificed during the Second World War, with memories of her partner, whose socio-economic situation made her own experiences during that period different. "When I tried to pin [my partner] down on what life was like for her family during the depression, she danced around the questions.

¹¹Kate Desmond, Reflection Paper, Fall 2008.

¹²Fallon McAnany, Reflection Paper, Spring 2008.

¹³Nicole Dougherty, Reflection Paper, Fall 2013.

Finally she admitted that her father had had to fire his office staff, a task that he found difficult....,” the student reported. She went on to say how both of her grandparents “were proud to contribute to the war effort by scrimping and doing without things, while my partner spoke about being worried that other girls would think she was a snob while riding in a Cadillac to her summer factory job. She too was proud to contribute to the war effort, but it didn’t seem to cost her what it cost my family.”¹⁴ In her reflection, this student observed:

Now it occurs to me to wonder just how accurate any history can be.... Specific information about dates and places can be verified through checking, but the impact of events varies from person to person.... If I tried to talk about the impact of the Great Depression on one person without talking about its impact on others, I would most likely not be getting the whole story. I understand now how difficult it can be to present an accurate history of almost anything.... My grandparents and my partner lived at the same time and in pretty much the same place, but the information I got from each of them was remarkably different. I’ll remember that.¹⁵

Her use of the word “remember” in that context referred not to the kind of memorization of facts that are a means rather than the end of historical thinking but instead to a critical habit of mind that the course—not to mention my mission as an educator—aims at cultivating in students.¹⁶

Students have expressed the pleasant surprise of experiencing the nature of “reciprocity” so critical in the service-learning environment in sensing that their partners were actually doing service *for them*, too.¹⁷ They are often surprised when their partners express interest by asking them about themselves, for instance. As one student explained, “I felt that if I offered to answer any of her questions, it may help her to be more open and willing to answer some of the questions that I asked her. Although I

¹⁴Lauren Smith, Reflection Paper, Spring 2012.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶Peter Stearns, *Meaning Over Memory: Recasting the Teaching of Culture and History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

¹⁷On reciprocity in service learning, see Lucia d’Arlach, Bernadette Sánchez, and Rachel Feuer, “Voices from the Community: A Case for Reciprocity in Service-Learning,” *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 16 (Fall 2009), 5–16; David M. Donahue, Jane Bowyer, and Dana Rosenberg, “Learning with and Learning From: Reciprocity in Service Learning in Teacher Education,” *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 36 (2003), 15–27.

meant this, I did not actually think she would take up my offer, but to my surprise, about halfway through our first interview, she began asking me questions as well.”¹⁸ This prompted the student to reflect more profoundly on the connection between “service” and “learning”:

After this point in our first interview, and in our subsequent interviews as well, I found that my learning from this experience was not limited to a wealth of important information about my partner’s life and the type of person she was, but also about who I am and my outlook on life... Hearing her stories really inspire me to search within myself and to find what my true motives and goals are in life. Although I had expected to come away with a new sense of understanding about my partner and the time period during which she grew up, I never expected to walk away from the experience with a better knowledge of myself.¹⁹

Some students recognized that they could do the same for their partners. As one student put it:

While interviewing Nancy she mentioned that her husband has unfortunately been diagnosed with Alzheimer’s. She says that he forgets a lot of things and can’t do the day to day errands and housekeeping things that he once was able to do. I could tell while interviewing her that it was hard for her to deal with but she really had a way to hide it... I felt that while talking to Nancy about her life when she had her wedding and had her children was nice for her to talk about. It was a chance for her to tell someone stories about her past, and for most people that is enjoyable... Nancy and I both learned from one another and now I consider her to be one of my friends. She mentioned during our visits that it is important to have friends of different ages because then you can see the world from many different angles. I agree with that one hundred percent...²⁰

The most satisfying experience that I’ve had with the project illustrates how it can place meaningful human connections and relationships at the center of historical understanding. It involves a student named Ron who had enrolled after he had returned from serving in Iraq, where he had been wounded. After I described the project to the

¹⁸Brett Bishop, Reflection Paper, Fall 2008.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰Kate Desmond, Reflection Paper, Fall 2008.

class, Ron approached me about being paired with a veteran of World War II and making a video about it. As I thought about who might make a good partner for Ron, I recalled an encounter that I had a few months earlier. I had been invited over to Foulkeways with several students to attend a ceremony arranged through the French consulate, which was conferring the Legion of Honor on several residents who had fought in armies that had helped to liberate France during World War II. As I sat chatting with some of the family members of those who were honored and explained who I was, several of them virtually pleaded with me to convince their fathers and grandfathers to participate in the project because they believed that they had never shared their experiences fully with their families. It occurred to me that some of those veterans might talk to Ron about their experiences in a way that they had never talked with their own family members. Ron already had hit it off with one of the veterans at Foulkeways, Bill, who arranged for him to meet with three of the other veterans there.

All of the participants clearly understood the reciprocal dynamic at the heart of the process. Ron had experienced difficulties adjusting after his return from Iraq and understood the project as “a chance for me to share my story with someone, and have someone share their story with me, and then be able to share that story with others.”²¹ He described meeting Bill as “being in a room full of strangers and then finding one friend you can cling to.”²² He and Bill both affirmed that there was a connection between them as soldiers—even as soldiers who had fought in two different kinds of wars decades apart from each other. Bill explained that he did not share some of his experiences with his own family members because he did not want them to think about him in that way. “Nobody likes to relive the scene over there or to hold on to those memories,” according to Ron.²³ Still, he got Bill and his other partners to reveal more than they had revealed with nearly anyone else while also making a little more progress in coming to terms with his own experience in Iraq. After Ron produced the video based on his interviews, he gave copies not only to his partners but—with their consent—to their families, as well. This turned out to be very timely because one of Ron’s partners passed away soon afterwards.

²¹Quoted by Rosaleen Gilmore, “Veterans: The Heroes Who Live Among Us,” *Gwynmercian* (May 2010), 2. This publication is the university’s newspaper.

²²Quoted by Megan Gilmore, “Sharing History,” *Today* (Summer 2010), 19. This publication is the university’s alumni magazine.

²³*Ibid.*

This was an exceptional experience, and I don't want to make exaggerated pedagogical claims about the project.²⁴ Most student reflections are fairly mediocre and even minor epiphanies are infrequent, if not uncommon. However, the project strives not so much for epiphany as it does for understanding and meaning, the product of experience and reflection.²⁵ It is a way to frame historical thinking for that growing contingent of students who arrive at college with limited exposure to the knowledge and skills associated with understanding the complex nature of the past and who question the relevance of history to their own lives. It seeks to displace that dismissive posture towards the past by transforming it into a human being and a real conversation; by evoking students' historical imaginations with experiences that they have never had themselves but that become part of what they know about the world; and by getting them to realize that history is not only a lens their partners use to remember their own pasts but one that might provide students themselves with perspective about their present lives and the possibilities for their futures.

²⁴In July 2010, Ron and I traveled to Prague to discuss our respective experiences with this project in presentations made at the International Oral History Association's conference.

²⁵Robert G. Bringle and Julie A. Hatcher, "Reflection in Service Learning: Making Meaning of Experience," *Educational Horizons*, 77 (Summer 1999), 179–185.

BOOK REVIEWS

Michelle Miller. *Minds Online: Teaching Effectively with Technology*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp.296. Cloth, \$27.95; ISBN 978-0-674-36824-8.

Digital technology permeates today's college classrooms, both physical and virtual. Economics, student demand, and the availability of new technologies, among other things, have led to the dizzying pace of change in the field of teaching with technology. Those of us on the ground, the faculty who are urged to use these technologies, are often left wondering how to do so effectively, and, more fundamentally, asking if they even work. In *Minds Online: Teaching Effectively with Technology*, Michelle Miller, Co-Director of the First Year Learning initiative and Professor of Psychology at Northern Arizona University, provides some answers to these questions, drawing from research in neuroscience and cognitive psychology. The book emphasizes the unprecedented potential of contemporary instructional technology to "align our teaching with the way the mind works." As such, it successfully marries the theoretical framework of learning research with practical examples of how online teaching tools can improve learning for all students.

Miller starts by examining the trends that have led to the explosion of interest in teaching and learning with technology. While they have to do with economic and organizational shifts in higher education, these trends provide an important context for the investigation of best practices for teaching with technology. It is clear that online learning is here to stay, even if most faculty continue to have doubts about its value and legitimacy. "In some fundamental ways, good teaching is the same in every modality," Miller replies. She provides a useful overview of best practices that apply to both face-to-face and online situations. More important, she addresses the concerns that many have about the quality of online learning, specifically the much-publicized issue of cheating. The conclusion: Empirical evidence indicates that concerns over cheating in the online environment might be overstated and that quality online experiences *are* possible.

The bulk of the book focuses on *how* to apply research findings to manage the online environment in order to optimize the learning experience for our students. A chapter on the psychology of computing tackles the widespread anxieties about the impact of technology on human thought. Miller puts minds at ease by examining the myths and facts of the impact of online communication and their meaning from a teaching perspective. The chapters on attention, memory, and thinking connect research to specific teaching strategies, and even technologies, that afford students frequent opportunity to practice the tasks they need to master in our classrooms.

Of special interest to this reviewer was Miller's discussion of the testing and spacing effects. Research indicates that the very act of answering test questions actually improves remembering that same material, thus making testing a powerful learning tool. The spacing effect, on the other hand, refers to the fact that spreading review *sessions*

over time is more effective than cramming at the last minute. Traditional course design has emphasized high-stakes assignments with infrequent deadlines. Miller's recommendation is for frequent, low-stakes assessments and tests as a learning tool where students can take them multiple times. Technology makes this approach easy to implement.

The chapter on multimedia and its applications offers practical recommendations on how to design effective presentations in both physical and virtual teaching environments. On the subject of student motivation Miller includes an array of suggestions for engaging students and minimizing procrastination and distraction, concluding that "in general, structure is the enemy of procrastination." In the final chapter, "Putting It All Together," Miller lays out questions, along with the cognitive principles behind each one of them, that every instructor needs to ask when (re)envisioning a course. She then lists specific tools and techniques to help address each question. Finally, she offers a sample syllabus for a "cognitively optimized" introductory online course. This last chapter thus presents a practical summary of the entire book, one that this reviewer found tremendously valuable in rethinking an online history course.

Minds Online is a brilliant book. Miller's prose, even when writing about the expert field of learning research, is approachable. Moreover, she successfully connects this research with practical design principles and technology tools that faculty can use when thinking about their courses. As such, this book is an essential read for all faculty engaged in hybrid and online learning.

California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

Päivi Hoikkala

Robert W. Maloy and Irene S. LaRoche. *We, the Students and Teachers: Teaching Democratically in the History and Social Studies Classrooms*. New York: SUNY Press, 2015. Paper, \$29.95; ISBN 978-1-4384-5558-7.

Democracy is a topic widely taught throughout public schools in the United States: Students learn democracy so that they can participate in democracy. Students usually list voting or volunteering for a campaign as examples of practicing democracy. However, learning about democracy and doing democracy are two different activities. *We, the Students and Teachers: Teaching Democratically in the History and Social Studies Classrooms* proposes a method for student teaching interns and practicing teachers to integrate more democracy rather than just listening about democracy into their elementary and secondary classrooms.

Stressing the 7 C's of democratic teaching (contrasting, conducting, collaborating, conversing, conferring, co-construction, and connecting), Maloy and LaRoche argue that "history/social studies classes at all grade levels play a unique and essential role

in how students learn about democracy and their roles as engaged members of a democratic society.” Through the 7 C’s, the authors guide the reader in an engaging and interesting read throughout the text. The chapters are research-based, including practical applications and commentary from university interns as they experience implementing the 7 C’s of democratic teaching. Each chapter includes a definition of the “C” being discussed, followed by an in-depth discussion of research to build a foundation of the “C.” The practical applications follow with examples of how to implement the “C” into elementary and secondary classrooms. The most important section of each chapter is the voices of student interns. This section of the chapter gives insight to implementation, including successes, failures, revelations, and frustrations of real life teaching. These voices are not altered, but reveal to the reader that implementation takes planning and reflection though trial and error. It outlines university student interns’ processes so that the reader can use, adjust, and learn from an intern’s experience. At the end of a chapter, the authors give a brief wrap up of the main points as a conclusion. After discussing all of the 7 C’s, the authors conclude with the chapter titled “Building Democratic Spaces for Teaching and Learning.” This chapter reminds the reader that implementing democracy into the classroom as a teaching methodology is a daily task. Teaching elementary and secondary students to do democracy can change classrooms and produce active and engaging citizens. The concluding chapter uses the university student interns’ experiences to show how teachers can implement this methodology into social studies classrooms and also to show how important it is to commit to this type of teaching.

This text is an excellent example of real life teaching, with a nice balance of research, practicality, and real teaching voices inside a classroom implementing the 7 C’s. Through the implementation of the 7 C’s, the interns allow for students to gain more autonomy and engage in a student-centered classroom. While implementing the 7 C’s into their classroom, student interns wrote honest and candid observations about their experience. Through the lens of the student intern, a practicing teacher can use the examples as a framework for their classes. This text should be used at the university level in methods courses and social studies professional development meetings to further democratic teaching in the classrooms. I highly recommend this text to intern student teachers, university methods professors, and practicing teachers to implement the 7 C’s to allow students to do democracy and stop just listening about democracy.

J.R. McNeill and Alan Roe, editors. *Global Environmental History: An Introductory Reader*. New York: Routledge, 2013. Pp. 449. Paperback, \$44.95; ISBN 978-0-415-52053-9.

Environmental history is an exciting and growing field. *Global Environmental History: An Introductory Reader* is an excellent starting point for understanding this fascinating field. J.R. McNeill and Alan Roe succeed in assembling a collection of eighteen important essays authored by several accomplished environmental historians and academics. These essays are organized into three sections: global perspectives, regional perspectives, and environmentalisms. McNeill and Roe begin by highlighting what they see as the three main approaches to the study of environmental history, which include material, cultural, and political environmental history. The editors point out that these approaches often overlap, an observation that is demonstrated throughout the various chapters of this text. Finally, McNeill and Roe call for a global approach to environmental history, particularly since ecological processes tend to be interactive, transcend political boundaries, and produce important second and third order effects that extend well beyond the time and scope of their origins.

The first major approach, material environmental history, examines ecological change over time and is concerned particularly with human impact on the environment. However, this is not merely a one-sided relationship, but can best be understood as a continuous process of change whereby humans and the environment co-evolve. The idea of co-evolution is an important theme that the authors and editors highlight in several chapters of the text. It is the subject of William R. Dickenson's opening chapter concerning human and environmental change during the Holocene, a geological period that began approximately 11,500 years ago and continues to the present. Stephen J. Pyne also illustrates the process of co-evolution in his study of anthropogenic fire, examining how the harnessing of fire has allowed humans to interact with and transform the environment. Finally, James L. Webb Jr.,'s essay on "Ecology and Culture in West Africa" demonstrates co-evolution in a regional context.

The next major approach is cultural and intellectual environmental history, which examines how individuals and societies conceptualize the relationship between humans and nature. Several of the chapters in *Global Environmental History* are critical of the human tendency, throughout time and across various cultures, to treat themselves as separate from the environment. This bias not only finds its origins in religion and politics, but also is perpetuated by well-intentioned conservationists, such as John Muir. For example, William Cronon's essay shows how, at the turn of the twentieth century, urban-based American intellectuals invented the concept of "wilderness" and made attempts to separate humans from nature so that certain environments could be restored to their original "pristine" conditions. However, as Harriet Ritvo demonstrates in her essay, "Animal Planet," searching for nature's "pristine" ecological baseline is unrealistic because the environment, its flora and fauna, and humans have long existed

in an ever-changing complex interactive relationship of co-evolution. In this sense, human-made nature preserves are just as unnatural as the process of urbanization.

These themes cross over into political environmental history, which is the third approach of this text. This approach looks at how different political entities, often the nation-state, attempt to regulate human impact on the environment and address competition over the access to nature. For example, Mark Elvin and Douglas R. Wiener's chapters on China and Russia show how political leaders tend to subordinate environmental considerations to their more immediate political and economic concerns. This often results in policies that transform the environment in ways that lead to dire ecological, economic, and political consequences for both the state in question and humanity at large.

Finally, McNeill and Roe make a strong case for adopting a global approach to environmental history. This is well exemplified by their inclusion of Alfred Crosby's essay on "Ecological Imperialism" and Donald Kennedy and Marjorie Lucks' chapter on "Rubber, Blight, and Mosquitoes." Both essays illustrate the complicated process through which various biota are transplanted from one region of the world to another through an imperial ecology in the former case and economic ecology in the latter. Without taking a global approach, it would be difficult to explain, for instance, how the Asian tiger mosquito ended up in Houston, Texas.

In closing, *Global Environmental History* is a valuable introductory text that has much to offer historians of various fields. It can be used as an introductory textbook for an undergraduate or graduate level course in environmental history or as a supplement to an existing course on regional and global history. Perhaps the only drawback is the lack of an annotated bibliography for further exploration. Nevertheless, McNeill and Roe succeed in putting together an exceptional work on environmental history.

United States Military Academy, West Point

Jason Halub

David C. Mengel and Lisa Wolverton, editors. *Christianity and Culture in the Middle Ages: Essays to Honor John Van Engen*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015. Pp. 522. Cloth, 468.00; ISBN 978-0-268-03533-4.

This fascinating volume of eighteen essays is a fitting tribute to the wide-ranging scholarship of John Van Engen, produced over the course of almost four decades in his field. The various contributors, who include both colleagues and former students, have sought to honor Van Engen's career by "mirroring topics and approaches that have characterized his scholarship" and the skills he modeled, "exploring the archives, reading texts sensitively, identifying larger themes, and refusing to force the evidence into received historical categories." The extent of his influence is clearly evident in the chronological, geographical, and thematic scope of this collection.

The book's constituent essays are organized into four sections, each addressing a theme that has been prominent in Van Engen's own research—Part One: Christianization; Part Two: Twelfth-Century Culture; Part Three: Jews and Christian Society; and Part Four: Late Medieval Religious Life. Most scholars' careers have not touched on such a wide range of topics and most readers are likely to be drawn to the section of the work that most directly concerns their own field. As such, rather than summarizing the contributions of these essays in each part of the collection, I would like to draw attention to a few elements that stand out after reading the volume as a whole.

One of Van Engen's writings to which several contributors refer is his influential 1986 piece in the *American Historical Review* entitled "The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem" in which he documented "the revision of the 'Age of Faith' into a world barely touched by Christianity at many social levels and marked rather by persistent folklore, popular beliefs, [and] magic." Several of the essays in this collection provide similar historiographical perspective, such as R.I. Moore's examination of how the myth of the Cathar Church developed, why it endured for so long, and various strands of scholarship that have undermined it. Likewise, Christine Ames argues that modern scholarship has often perpetuated, while inverting, "a schema of discernment and authority about 'right' religion—that 'propensity to sort religious behaviour into approved and disapproved categories,'" which is ironically an inheritance of the medieval inquisitors who produced many of our sources.

Throughout his career, Van Engen also modeled how careful study of particular individuals (such as Robert of Liege) or movement (the *Devotio Moderna*), and sensitivity to the specifics of time and place, can call into question "now-tired interpretative dichotomies." *Christianity and Culture in the Middle Ages* contains many essays that advance our understanding in just this way, such as Maureen Miller's thoughtful analysis of eleventh-century mosaics in Rome, which reveals the Investiture Controversy to have been a "factious family disagreement rather than ... a conflict between clearly defined parties. "Focusing on a text produced four centuries later, Giovanni Dominici's *Firefly*, James Mixon shows how this work "glides gracefully among our aging scholarly dichotomies—between sacred and secular, scholasticism and humanism, magic and miracles, medieval and Renaissance."

While some of these essays approach well-known figures (e.g. Peter Abelard and Martin Luther) and texts (e.g. Otto of Freising's *Chronica*) in interesting new ways, others introduce readers to individuals and documents they are unlikely to encounter elsewhere, such as Daniel Hobbins' discussion of "a remarkable [early fifteenth-century] story of a wandering hermit who apparently wanted people to believe that he was a devil, perhaps even Antichrist." Several essays include appendixes with critical editions of otherwise unavailable texts while another provides a helpful table documenting a "rare cache of pragmatic correspondence" preserved in two miracle collections for Thomas Becket at Christ Church, Canterbury.

This excellent collection of essays clearly demonstrates John Van Engen's influence on several generations of students and colleagues. This volume contains significant contributions by both established scholars and promising new voices. Its chronological, geographical, and thematic range, and the consistent quality of the individual studies, means that anyone interested in the medieval period will find something of value in this book.

College of the Ozarks

Brad Purdue

Fred Kaplan. *John Quincy Adams: American Visionary.* New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2014. Cloth, \$29.95; ISBN 0061915416.

Presidential biographies often concentrate on what the man did when occupying the White House, or discussing military expeditions and victories that led him to the highest office in the land. But Fred Kaplan has portrayed the sixth president of the United States as a statesman and man of letters whose importance to American development and prosperity was evident throughout his life, from boyhood service as his father's diplomatic secretary in the 1780s to his time of service as the sage Congressional elder of the 1840s.

The methodology used for this book's presentation leads the reader to discover just how much of a contribution the younger Adams gave to the early nineteenth century's American ideal. Adams's service as a diplomat to a half dozen nations of Europe and the subsequent treaty negotiations and signings alone make him important, but much of our foreign policy in regard to France and Spain, as well as Holland and Great Britain, owed to the tireless efforts of a man who played a major part in our nation's history from the American Revolution through to the end of the Mexican War.

Drawing from a voluminous collection of letters to and from Adams, Kaplan takes the reader on a journey of the mind put into practice, exploring the writings political and otherwise that give us a picture of this one man as a driving force in the New England intellectual movement of the first half of the nineteenth century. Adams came from good stock, as is evidenced by the writings from both of his parents that gave direction and a firm foundation for the younger man's education and upbringing in Massachusetts and France, which also provided him with the basis for a writing career that alone could make Adams famous in our own time. But given his family connections, it comes as no surprise to the reader that he chose to follow in his father's footsteps and take on the mantle of public service while still expressing himself through verse and prose. The citation of his writings altogether paint Adams as one of our most intellectual and smartest presidents, perhaps even surpassing the popular Thomas Jefferson in breadth and depth of knowledge, writings, and understanding. As Kaplan points out, even Jefferson himself thought John Quincy Adams a cerebral force to be reckoned with.

Few Federalists were able to make the transition from a dead political party and survive still to serve their country. Adams became a Republican shortly after Federalism's demise and prospered, not as a whipping boy of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, but as a unique and individual thinker who could act on his own, often displaying political viewpoints far afield from the party en masse and yet still be respected for the good man that he was. Adams's views on slavery, for instance, differed greatly from Southern Republicans who dominated the party in the 1830s and 1840s, but Adams still was allowed to present contrary beliefs through his floor speeches, written pamphlets, and dinner party banter and still be perceived as fair minded and worth listening to.

Kaplan has a clear bias against Andrew Jackson and his followers that is evident from the beginning of the book, and the author strays dangerously close to falling into the trap of falling in love with his biographical subject, but he does show the failures, foibles, and mistakes Adams made along the way, in his public and private lives, as clear as possible, while proving that it is often the mistakes that make the greatness of a man. No other study of John Quincy Adams is necessary for someone wanting to explore what happened in the history of the United States government in the nineteenth century.

Candler, North Carolina

Russell D. James

Robert K. Brigham, ed. *The United States and Iraq Since 1990: A Brief History with Documents*. West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014. Pp. 302. Paper, \$34.95; ISBN 978-1-4051-9899-8.

In the opening chapter of *The United States and Iraq Since 1990*, Robert Brigham demonstrates that American direct involvement with Iraq began in earnest when Dwight Eisenhower sent monies to the nation in hopes of stemming Soviet influence in southwest Asia. From that point forward, Iraq became a central point of focus for the geopolitical strategies of the United States during the Cold War, and, in many ways, served as a bellwether of American foreign influence writ large. As such, Brigham wisely contextualizes Iraqi foreign policy within the larger discourse of American politics, demonstrating how such policies helped shape the fortunes—and misfortunes—of myriad politicians. In many ways, the book serves as a history of the American presidency of the latter half of the twentieth century, for debates regarding Iraq were fodder for political and media discourses, but also—as evidenced within the primary sources contained in the book—a source of debate for the machinations of the nation's national security community. Over the decades Iraq has represented many things to American geopolitical strategy: a bulwark against Soviet incursions into the Middle East; a counter to the formation of the Islamic Republic; a locus of American

petroleum interests; an arena in which America could flex its military might to preserve its foreign interests; and, ultimately a lesson that twentieth-century models of nation-building were outmoded and unsuitable to the unyielding politics of both neo-conservatism and neoliberalism. In short, American successes and failures in Iraq reveal the nation's increasing inability to forge successful "high policy" malleable enough to manage the changing nature of nationalism and national identity in the twenty-first century.

The book is divided into chronological chapters split to include an analytical essay and each year's most relevant primary sources. The overarching goal is to offer both context and analysis so that the reader is able to discern military strategy and geopolitical maneuvering from popular perceptions of American-Iraqi interactions. One such example is in the 1992 election when George H.W. Bush's cautionary strategy to preserve stability in Iraq at the end of Operation Desert Storm led to the American president being characterized as weak and indecisive, contributing in part to his defeat. Yet, as the documents demonstrate, Bush's policies were the most prudent course of action. Yet in wake of post-Vietnam America, anything short of the toppling of the regime of Saddam Hussein was viewed as failure. Documents contained within show how some envisioned the 1991 Gulf War as a way to ameliorate the long-lasting effects of the Vietnam War, including ticker-tape parades for returning soldiers and a reascent national purpose of Americans. Indeed, veterans got their ticker-tape parades, but, as Brigham notes, there was "no symbolic Iraqi surrender" and was "indeed like America's other modern wars in Korea and Vietnam." As such, this book demonstrates the manner in which Iraq served as a surrogate through which American military and foreign policy was reimagined and, in many ways, reinvigorated through action in Iraq.

Brigham's work has a clear and direct pedagogical focus as evidenced by the inclusion of questions for consideration at the end of each of the book's 38 primary sources. Facilitating its classroom value, Brigham has included a section of *dramatis personae*, chronologies, and maps of Iraq relevant to the period, including a valuable visual depiction of the shifting demographic nature of Baghdad in the years 2006–2007. As such the book will undoubtedly provide students the proper historical context to discuss a matter that is still relevant and undoubtedly rife with partisan leanings. Brigham examines the so-called "surge" of 2006–2007 from inception in intellectual think tanks—as well as reflective of the public perception of the war—to its eventual inaction as a foundational aspect of American military strategy. This analysis precipitates a discussion of political and media representation of the "surge," which has the effect of demonstrating the oftentimes shallow politicization of the war on both the right and left. What results is a modeling of the importance of the role of the historian—that of the bulwark against the reductionist and oftentimes shallow analysis

of contemporary events. Ultimately, this work navigates the partisan divide by forcing the reader to justify or refute through the use of supporting evidence.

University of Wisconsin La-Crosse

Kenneth L. Shonk, Jr.

Jerry Dávila. *Dictatorship in South America.* Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013. Pp. 207. Paper, \$29.95; ISBN 978-1-4051-9055-8.

Erin E. O'Connor. *Mothers Making Latin America: Gender, Households, and Politics Since 1825.* Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014. Pp. 296. Paper, \$36.95; ISBN 978-1-118-27144-5.

With two recent additions to its Viewpoints/*Puntos De Vista* Series, Wiley-Blackwell provides educators with new texts designed for classroom use. *Dictatorship in South America* by Jerry Dávila and *Mothers Making Latin America: Gender, Households, and Politics Since 1825* by Erin E. O'Connor both take on important themes in modern (meaning post-independence) Latin America in a concise, engaging, and approachable manner. As series editor Jürgen Bucheanu points out about the Viewpoints texts, they are designed as broad, thematic, supplemental texts that introduce students to historiography, methodologies, and theories. The presence of such information is a real asset of both texts.

Jerry Dávila's *Dictatorship in South America* is an examination of the repressive military regimes that took power in Brazil, Argentina, and Chile during the late Cold War. The obvious challenge in a concise text is to deal with the circumstances of each individual country in sufficient detail to be meaningful while culling out continuities across the three examples to provide a useful synthesis for students. Dávila strikes an effective balance between national histories and regional synthesis.

An important element of that regional synthesis is Dávila's assertion that the period of dictatorship was not the inevitable result of an authoritarian Latin American political culture. Rather, the turn to dictatorship in these three countries, and arguably others as well, resulted from a unique confluence of political, economic, and geopolitical circumstances. In fact, an underlying conflict throughout the text is which exerted more influence on events, political ideologies or economic realities. One of the real strengths of this text is its deft weaving of economic and political themes. This is particularly advantageous when the text is assigned in a course because it allows the instructor to pick up on nineteenth-century themes like liberalism and conservatism, export economies, and order and progress and combine them with twentieth-century terms like populism and dependency to present a coherent trajectory of modern South American history.

Another strength of *Dictatorship in South America* is the attention paid to the political and economic agendas of the military regimes themselves. Dávila explains how the military regimes sought to revolutionize their countries. He presents the dictators as responding to trends in Latin America and around the world dating back to the Cuban Revolution. They were seeking to advance the economic positions of their nations through bold capitalist initiatives and systematically eradicating opposition through violence. They were responding to the radicalism of the left in the 1960s with an equally vibrant vision of change from the right.

In the end, their economic policies failed to solve the systematic economic problems facing their countries and their egregious human rights violations sowed discontent at home and disdain abroad. Here too, in the collapse of these dictatorships and their nations' gradual transition back to democracy and civilian rule, the classroom teacher has ample opportunities to take Dávila's contents and expand upon them. The debt crisis that gripped the subject countries, for example, also impacts much of Latin America and provides multiple points of comparison with other nations. Similarly, many countries had poor human rights records during the Cold War. The transition to democracy narrative, too, could prove a useful point of departure for discussions of other countries undergoing similar though obviously less extreme democratic openings in the same period.

One small piece of Dávila's narrative serves as a transition to the second text under discussion here. In his analysis of the waning days of the Argentine dictatorship, Dávila introduces readers to the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo. These mothers of disappeared persons began a peaceful protest against the regime that ultimately contributed to its demise. These women privileged traditional gender roles and created a powerful critique of the regime. Through their movement, we can see the centrality of gender and family to the course of history. That centrality is the core premise of Erin E. O'Connor's *Mothers Making Latin America: Gender, Households, and Politics Since 1825*.

O'Connor, too, takes up the topic of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo and actually opens her book with the discussion of the politicization of one of them. O'Connor uses this woman's story to illustrate the utility of exploring Latin American women's history through the lens of motherhood. One thing that readily becomes apparent is that while women's roles and opportunities have changed dramatically since 1825, the trajectory, pace, and implications of those changes have been far from consistent. O'Connor makes clear that any treatment of the historical evolution of motherhood in Latin America must take race and class closely into account. The myriad intersections of gender, race, class, politics, and economics O'Connor discusses make it clear that women had a vital role to play in the forging of new nations after independence and have helped to shape the histories of those nations ever since.

O'Connor approaches her subject by introducing the reader to a few women at the beginning of each chapter whose lived experiences are relevant to the themes at hand.

Many of these vignettes are populated by average women, though many prominent women in Latin American history also make appearances. This technique of using women's lives, in many cases even their words, to introduce historical issues and themes is particularly effective for student readers. These introductory vignettes humanize the issues and make the chapter contents very approachable. The chapters are roughly chronological and provide a thorough, though, as the author acknowledges, not exhaustive survey of women's history in Latin America.

Perhaps the primary strength of this text from a classroom use perspective is how it also functions as a gender primer as well. O'Connor introduces readers to all the major issues associated with gender studies. She references classic works in the field, discusses the contributions of respected scholars, and imparts a sense of the historiographical evolution of the topic over time. She provides a concise yet cogent discussion of feminism that includes mention of its regional variants. Information such as this makes O'Connor's text useful not only in Latin American courses, but also in broader courses on gender or maternal history.

In conclusion, these texts would contribute much to undergraduate history courses. They would provide students with clear, concise information on their respective topics, while also offering insights into how the historical profession has come to understand those topics.

Cazenovia College

Julia Sloan

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